



## REFERENCES TO THE PHARAOH IN THE LOCAL GLYPHTIC ASSEMBLAGE OF THE SOUTHERN LEVANT DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM BCE

**Stefan Münger**

Institute of Jewish Studies, University of Bern

### ABSTRACT

*Among the thousands of scarabs, scaraboids and other stamp-seal amulets unearthed in Iron Age contexts in Cis- and Transjordan, many are engraved with royal Egyptian imagery. Focusing mainly on pharaonic motifs, this paper aims to catalogue the principal motifs and production groups, to trace their development throughout the earlier parts of the Iron Age and to extrapolate their significance vis-à-vis the other contemporary glyptic assemblages. As will be shown, the royal imagery of the Egyptian king underwent considerable changes during pre-monarchic and monarchic times in Israel, Judah and neighboring regions. Local seal production not only vividly copied earlier and contemporary Egyptian prototypes, it also developed idiosyncratic “pharaonic” motifs that were produced for the local market. Imported Egyptian glyptic goods—such as scarabs and other amulet types—reveal further facets of the seal consumption. They, too, shed light upon the ideological and religious preferences of the local population and illuminate the development of vernacular attitudes towards pharaonic symbols of power—including their obvious political and sacred connotations.*

### INTRODUCTION

Stamp-seal amulets, unearthed in Iron Age contexts in Cis- and Transjordan, are among the primary sources for the study of the political and religious history of the region. These tiny artifacts offer direct and unbiased access to the past societies’ belief systems and their participation in the cultural exchange with neighboring civilizations.<sup>1</sup> In the following, a few selected “sidelights” on the passive and active reception of Egyptian royal imagery by the local population of the Southern Levant during the first half of the first millennium BCE shall be presented. Passive reception in this context refers to the acceptance and usage of “foreign” symbolic elements on imported goods; active reception stands for the reproduction and appropriation of extrinsic symbols and their eventual amalgamation with local traditions by vernacular seal-cutters producing for the domestic market.<sup>2</sup> The latter case, however, is

difficult to extrapolate due to the—in many cases — difficult differentiation between Egyptian prototypes and their Levantine imitations.<sup>3</sup>

### EGYPTIAN STAMP-SEAL AMULETS WITH PHARAONIC NAMES

As indicated by, e.g., 2 Samuel 7:9, the king’s name was—to a certain degree—part of the royal ideology in Israel and Judah during the monarchic period, being a substitute for the anthropomorphic image of the king and at the same time the rulers’ immanent—divine—manifestation.<sup>4</sup> The appearance of contemporary Egyptian royal names on imported and locally produced stamp-seal amulets can thus be viewed as an indicator for the attitude of the local population towards foreign potentates and ideologies.

Against this background, the small number of stamp-seal amulets engraved with the name of a

contemporary pharaoh tells its own tale. While royal scarabs and amulets bearing pharaonic symbols, including the names of contemporary rulers were ubiquitous during the Late Bronze Age under Egyptian hegemony,<sup>5</sup> their numbers drop almost to null after the Egyptian withdrawal, sometime after Ramses III or IV towards the close of the 12th century BCE.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent, temporarily limited Egyptian presence—though certainly orchestrated with royal propaganda—left almost no direct traces in the glyptic record of the Southern Levant, although the Egyptian impact on the material culture is otherwise attested.<sup>7</sup>

One of the problems—not uniquely related only to the post-imperial era—is that in quite a few cases the royal names on the plinth of the stamp-seal amulets are ambivalent and fit several candidates. They, therefore, cannot count in the same way as identifiable and clearly attributable items.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, the quite large group of items referring to *Mn-kꜣ(w)-rꜥ*, i.e., Mykerinos, builder of one of the pyramids at Giza and a 4th Dynasty ruler of the 3rd millennium BCE, cannot be taken into account. These stamp-seals were posthumously produced and part of the revival of the Mykerinos cult during the 26th Egyptian Dynasty.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, a handful of stamp-seal amulets do have base engravings with sufficiently secured and commonly accepted readings of a name of an Egyptian ruler who reigned sometime during the first part of the 1st millennium BCE. During the later Iron Age, there are, e.g., two references to Psammetichus I (664–610 BCE)<sup>10</sup>—founder of the 26th, i.e., Saïte, Dynasty<sup>11</sup>—and three references to his next but one successor, Psammetichus II (595–589 BCE).<sup>12</sup> Earlier rulers attested within the glyptic material of the Southern Levant include the following:

#### SIAMUN

This important pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty ruled during the second quarter of the 10th c. BCE (c. 979/8–960/59 BCE; alternatively 995–976 BCE).<sup>13</sup> A scarab from an unknown context at Tell el-Far'ah (South) bears a variant of his throne-name <Ntr>-*hpr-<rꜥ>-stp-n-rꜥ* with the epithet *ntr nfr* “perfect god” (Fig. 1:1).<sup>14</sup> This reading is commonly accepted.<sup>15</sup> Another seal from an unclear context at Gezer may also belong to this monarch.<sup>16</sup> It is a bifacial rectangular piece engraved on both sides, with *Mn-hpr-rꜥ* and—to the lower right—possibly a graphic variant of *sꜣ ntr* “son of god” on one of the sides (Fig.

1:2).<sup>17</sup> The third possible reference to Siamun comes from Tell Deir 'Alla in the Jordan Rift Valley and is, again, a surface find (Fig. 1:3).<sup>18</sup> It features on its base the hieroglyphic sequence *hpr-rꜥ* with the epithet *stp-n Jmn* “chosen by Amun.” Assuming the full formula would be <ntrj>-*hpr-rꜥ*, one could read here the throne-name of Siamun.<sup>19</sup>

The fourth and fifth possible reference samples come from two northern sites: Megiddo in the Jezreel plain<sup>20</sup> and Tel Dor on the Mediterranean coast (Fig. 1:4).<sup>21</sup> Both scarabs feature Siamun's birth name on their bases. While the item from Megiddo comes from a problematic context,<sup>22</sup> the item from Tel Dor was found in a clear stratigraphic context in Area G, Phase 7a, which is radiometrically dated to post-900 BCE.<sup>23</sup> The reading of the slightly differing base engravings of the two scarabs as *zꜣ-j-m-n* “Siamun,” which I suggested a few years ago,<sup>24</sup> is not commonly accepted,<sup>25</sup> although it occurs in this writing in various Egyptian documents of the time.<sup>26</sup>

#### SHOSHENQ I

Founder of the 22nd (Libyan) Dynasty, this Pharaoh campaigned in Palestine towards the beginning of the third quarter of the 10th century BCE.<sup>27</sup> Shoshenq I, i.e., biblical Shishak (1 Kings 11:40, 14:25; 2 Chronicles 12:2–9; 946/45–925/924 BCE; alternatively 962–941 BCE<sup>28</sup>) was the first Egyptian king after the Ramessides to assert enough domestic strength in order to pursue active foreign policies by clearing the trade routes to Phoenicia and Cyprus,<sup>29</sup> as well as opening the gateways to the copper resources located in the Arabah. This is corroborated by the famous stele from Megiddo found in tertiary context by the Chicago expedition<sup>30</sup> and recently also by glyptic evidence in the form of a scarab from the Faynan copper mining region in the Arabah. The scarab was found on the surface of Khirbat Hamra Ifdan in Wadi Fidan. It bears the hieroglyphic sequence *hd-hpr-Rꜥ stp.n-(J)mn-Rꜥ* “bright is the manifestation of Re, chosen of Amun-Re” that corresponds to the throne name of Shoshenq I (Fig. 1:5).<sup>31</sup>

In sum: Although there was a constant flow of miniature artifacts from Egypt to the Levant in the period under discussion,<sup>32</sup> scarabs and other seal-amulets transporting royal propaganda in the most direct way, i.e., bearing a pharaonic name, were not among the goods that normally reached Cis- and Transjordan in considerable quantities. Only the two pharaohs Siamun and Shoshenq are attested. If we were to include other imported inscriptional



FIGURE 1: Seals with royal names (1–5), Egyptian mass-produced stamp-seal amulets (6–11), and items belonging to the “Rectangular Stylized Enthroned Figure Group” (12–13).

material, only an alabaster vessel from Samaria bearing the name of Osorkon II could be cited in addition.<sup>33</sup>

**THE “EARLY IRON AGE MASS-PRODUCED SERIES”**

The database should therefore be expanded in order to trace the local perception of pharaonic power. A suitable glyptic group are items belonging to the so-called “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” (Figs. 1:6–11), which were first noticed and described by William Flinders Petrie and Pierre Montet, two of the excavators of ancient Tanis in the Eastern Delta.<sup>34</sup> Only much later, André Wiese and Othmar Keel realized the religio-historical potential of the group and paved way for its further study.<sup>35</sup> The amulets in question occur in various shapes and forms, such as coarsely worked scarabs, human-headed-, lion-, or ibex-scaraboids, and round and rectangular pieces with domed top.<sup>36</sup> The base engravings are normally executed in a bold and hollowed-out style.<sup>37</sup>

**DATING**

In relative terms, the scarabs and stamp-seal amulets in question do have a clear *terminus ante quem non*, which is the late Iron Age IB.<sup>38</sup> <sup>14</sup>C-datings of reliable find contexts of the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” position the group’s first appearance at the very beginning of the 10th century BCE or somewhat later.<sup>39</sup>

**MAIN MOTIFS**

The iconographic repertoire<sup>40</sup> is rather poor but highly standardized, which points at some sort of mass-production. It includes the name of Amun represented by the hieroglyphs *Jmn(-R)* or in cryptographic writing. Other gods of the solely male pantheon represented are the originally Asiatic deities Baal-Seth<sup>41</sup> and Reshef—either alone or paired—the falcon-headed Egyptian god Horus, and a “Lord of the crocodiles,” possibly Shed.<sup>42</sup> The royal sphere embodies the hieroglyphic sequence *mn-hpr-*



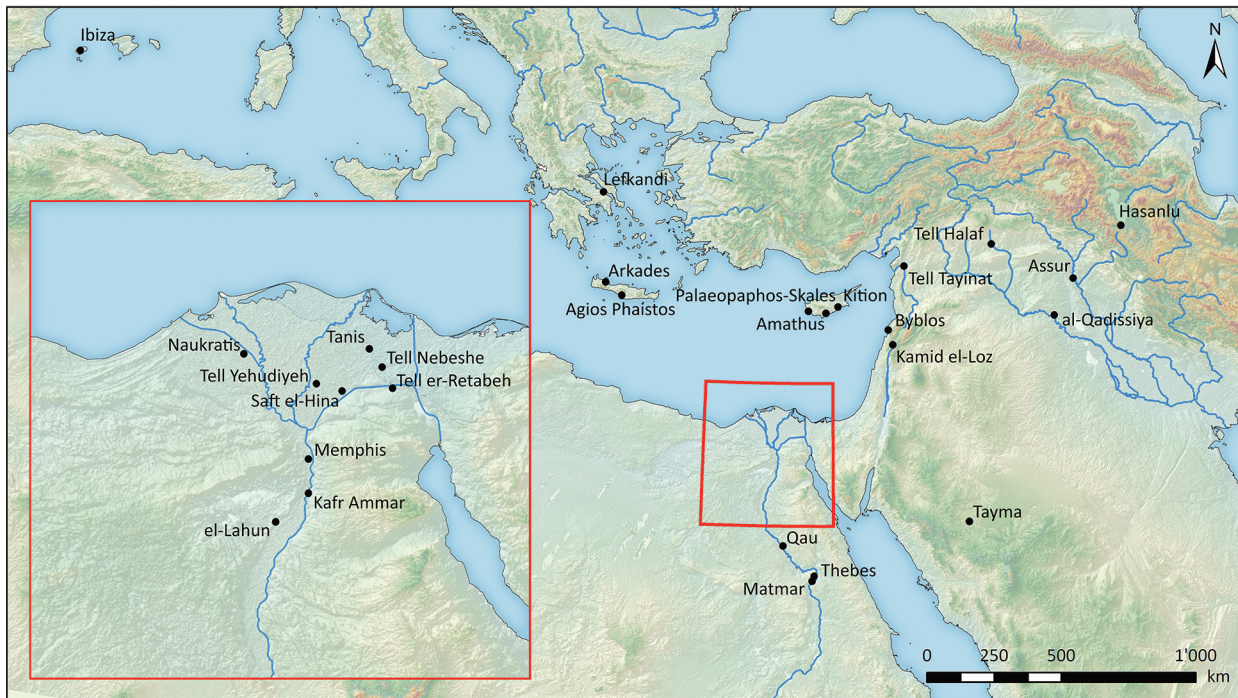
*r*<sup>c</sup>, the throne-name of Thutmose III (18th Dynasty; Fig. 1:6),<sup>43</sup> which should be viewed as a cypher or code for the Egyptian king *per se*, time and again repeated on posthumously produced stamp-seal amulets.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the pharaoh is represented sitting on his throne accompanied by an adorant (Fig. 1:7)<sup>45</sup> or kneeling on a branch (Fig. 1:8).<sup>46</sup> Also the “classic” motif of the pharaoh trampling on an enemy lying on the ground occurs (Fig. 1:9).<sup>47</sup> Other motifs are chasing lions, simple and more complex hunting scenes with an archer and his prey, as well as various minor iconemes, such as the two apes flanking a pillar or tree, a standing human figure, or purely geometric patterns.

All motifs represented in the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” reveal a strong dependency from the Ramesside iconographic pool.<sup>48</sup> Yet, the single motifs are very debased copies from their 19th and 20th Dynasty prototypes. A closer look at the pharaonic motifs reveals, for example, that the figure representing the king lost almost all of his royal attributes, such as the crown or the uraeus on his forehead; only the crook and flail remain. Similarly, the royal hunting scenery is not recognizable as such

anymore. The king’s chariot is now no more than half a wheel. The figure standing on it is deprived of all majestic emblems (Fig. 1:10).<sup>49</sup> In addition, classic Ramesside motifs are occasionally combined in a way that they completely lose their primary meaning. This can be observed on several items from Egypt and the Southern Levant. As an example one could cite the motif of the lion above a lying human figure, which is at the same time the target of a standing archer (Fig. 1:11).<sup>50</sup> While the lion above a human figure originally goes back to the motif of the pharaoh—in the guise of a lion (and later also as a human-headed sphinx)—who is trampling on his foe, the standing archer initially stood for the king hunting wild and dangerous animals. When combined the resulting motif is a paradox at its best.<sup>51</sup>

#### DISTRIBUTION AND PLACE OF PRODUCTION

On this background, scholars have assumed that the mass-produced series was crafted outside Egypt, possibly in southern Palestine. While it is true that most of the published seals belonging to this group come from Cis- and Transjordan, where over 200



MAP 1: Distribution of the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” in Egypt and the wider Mediterranean.



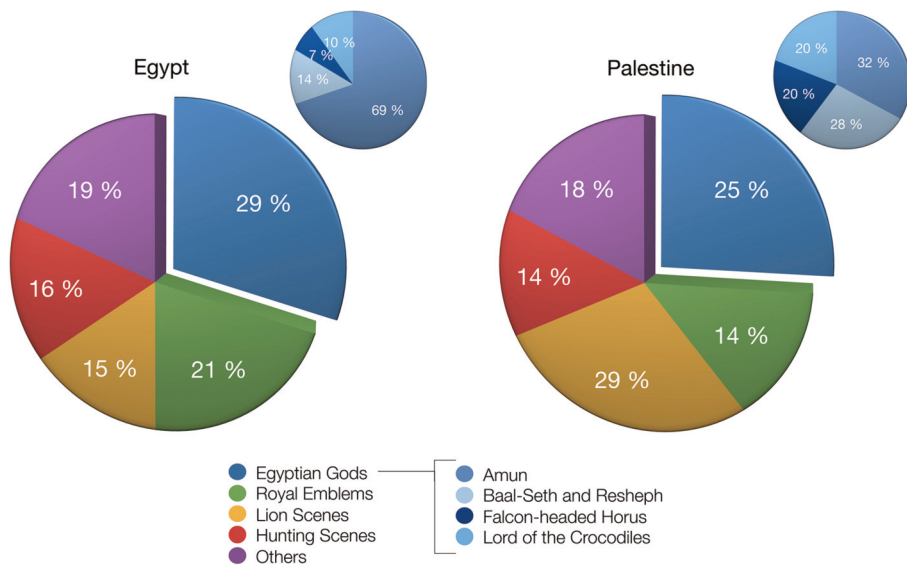
items from legal excavations are properly published (Map 1),<sup>52</sup> a closer look at the—much lesser documented—Egyptian record shows that these items were fairly widespread in Lower Egypt as well, especially in the Eastern Delta at San el-Hagar, ancient Tanis (Map 2). Since such a distribution cannot be explained on the background of an otherwise hardly attested flow of goods from Palestine to Egypt during the Early Iron Age,<sup>53</sup> one should better assume an Egyptian place of production for the entire group.<sup>54</sup>

The group’s distribution in significant numbers, both in Egypt and in Cis- and Transjordan, gives the rare opportunity to compare the Egyptian consumer-behavior versus the Southern Levantine preferences (Diagram 1).<sup>55</sup> Although the general picture does not differ much on either side, a minimal reservation towards pharaonic symbols in the Southern Levant is palpable.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the quite high number of items found in Cis- and Transjordan reflects a basically positive acceptance of the Egyptian symbol sets propagated by the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” at the dawn of the 1st millennium BCE in the Southern Levant. The reason for this behavior may be found in the non-obtrusive and quasi un-Egyptian nature of the symbol-system displayed on the amulets’ bases.



MAP 2: Items belonging to the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” found in Cis- and Transjordan.

DIAGRAM 1: Distribution of motives of the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” in Egypt and the Southern Levant.



**PRODUCTS FROM LOCAL WORKSHOPS**

Research in recent years has added much to the knowledge of local seal production in the Southern Levant during the Bronze Age.<sup>57</sup> As for the Iron Age, on the other hand, not much secured information is available at present.<sup>58</sup> One possible exception could be a small group of typical scarabs with a characteristic, geometric engraving style, which Othmar Keel dubbed “Rectangular Stylized Enthroned Figure Group.”<sup>59</sup> Similar to the above-mentioned mass-produced items, the dependency on Ramesside prototypes is striking. Nonetheless, the iconography is idiosyncratically reduced and modified, exemplified, e.g., by the uraeus that was originally part of the headgear but now protrudes from the seated king’s mouth or by the formerly elaborate winged sun-disk that now is graphically reduced beyond all recognition to a horizontal line (Figs. 1:12–13).

FIGURE 2: Locally produced seals (or impressions thereof) from Tel Rehov.



Unfortunately, this group is not sufficiently contextualized in the material culture, since only five archaeologically documented items from modern Israel are known;<sup>60</sup> to those comes an item each from Tell Yehudiyeh in Lower Egypt, from Tell Tayinat in southeastern Turkey, and from Amathus on Cyprus.<sup>61</sup> Such a database is far too narrow to claim a local workshop in the (Southern) Levant.

**LOCAL SEAL PRODUCTION DURING THE IRON AGE IIB**

Certainly locally made are scarabs, scaraboids and other seals made of limestone that follow the local glyptic tradition. A representative group comes from Tel Rehov in the Jordan Rift Valley (Fig. 2),<sup>62</sup> but comparable Iron Age II assemblages could be cited, e.g., from Lachish, Tell en-Naşbe, Tell el-Hammah, Megiddo, and other sites.<sup>63</sup> The Tel Rehov lot is homogenous in style and workmanship. Remarkably enough, it completely “lacks Egyptian and Phoenician influences, utilizing only local motifs related to fertility and worship,”<sup>64</sup> except for a seal that displays a standing figure holding what appears to be two schematic crocodiles.<sup>65</sup> The artistic rendering, however, indicates that the seal-cutter was not at all familiar with the meaning of the Egyptian iconographic prototype, popular in the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” (see above).

**ISRAELITE/JUDEAN BONE SEALS DURING THE IRON AGE IIB**

A more promising group to trace the echoes of Egyptian traditions in local seal production is the so-called Judean bone seals group. Once more, it was the Fribourg School who was the first to point out the peculiarities of this distinct, locally made stamp-seal class.<sup>66</sup> The seals, actually scaraboids, are made of bone and are generally produced in an oblong to squarish shape with rounded corners. They are relatively flat and have a slightly convex back. The schematic engraving style is typical and easily recognizable. Flat hollowed-out and hatched elements are combined with linearly engraved motifs. A framing line always borders the pictorial scene on the plinth.



FIGURE 3: Israelite/Judean bone seals and impressions thereof.

*Motifs*

Keel and Uehlinger view these seals as a provincial replication of the Egyptian royal iconography.<sup>67</sup> According to them, this is first and foremost reflected by several iconemes with a cartouche as their central motif. These include: the double cartouche (Fig. 3:1),<sup>68</sup> the saluting worshipper in front of a cartouche (Fig. 3:2)<sup>69</sup> or even two cartouches (Fig. 3:3),<sup>70</sup> the cartouche in combination with the winged sun disk (Fig. 3:5),<sup>71</sup> the Horus falcon (Fig. 3:4),<sup>72</sup> or the striding ibex/oryx (Fig. 3:6).<sup>73</sup>

The combination of the saluting worshipper in front of a cartouche goes back to Ramesside prototypes that feature such a figure standing in front of an oval containing the birth or throne name of Ramesses II (19th Dynasty).<sup>74</sup> However, the Palestinian copies made of bone<sup>75</sup> never feature a cartouche with that name. Also, saluting or worshipping figures—on bone seals sometimes antithetically positioned (Fig. 3:7)<sup>76</sup>—are not uncommon in the contemporary Egyptian glyptic repertoire as well as in the local tradition, represented, e.g., by a scaraboid from an unknown context at Samaria,<sup>77</sup> a seal impression from the Gihon spring,<sup>78</sup> or a scaraboid made of composition from Tell el-Far’ah South (Fig. 4:1).<sup>79</sup> The saluting human figure is also present on earlier items, such as bifacial, rectangular plaques (Fig. 4:5);<sup>80</sup> see also the stamped handle from Iron Age Tel Kinrot on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>81</sup>

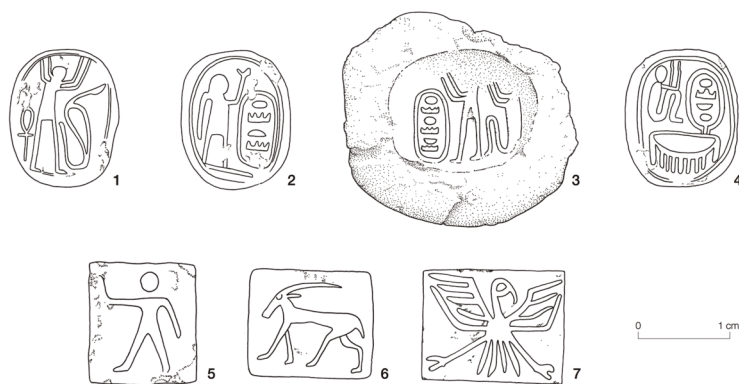


FIGURE 4: Comparanda to the Israelite/Judean Bone Seals.

As for the cartouches, one should note that they are either of the *anra*-type<sup>82</sup> or vaguely reminiscent of the throne-name of Thutmose III (18th Dynasty) *mn-hpr-r*.<sup>c</sup> In some cases, Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger—in an addendum to the German edition of their seminal work, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole*<sup>83</sup>—suggest to read the pseudo-hieroglyphic sequence as two  $\mathfrak{S}^3$  (Gardiner Sign List M8)—the stylized “lotus pool”—*n* (N35)—“ripple of water” rendered as a simple dash—and *q/k* (N29)—the “sandy hill slope.”<sup>84</sup> If this reading is correct, the sequence results in  $\mathfrak{S}^3$ - $\mathfrak{S}^3$ -*n*-*q*, i.e., Shoshenq I,<sup>85</sup> who ruled sometime during the second or third quarter of the 10th century BCE (see above). This reading is, however, not beyond any doubt, since it basically depends on the decipherment of one item from Tel Dan only (Fig. 3:6),<sup>86</sup> which is not free of difficulties on its own.<sup>87</sup> Keel’s additional argument<sup>88</sup> that double cartouches are typical for the glyptic iconography of the time of Shoshenq I is convincing insofar as there are indeed conspicuously



many (museum) examples featuring Sheshonq's birth- and/or throne-name in two cartouches.<sup>89</sup> However, there are other (contemporary) Third Intermediate Period and earlier royal scarabs that feature a double cartouche as well.<sup>90</sup>

The winged sun disk, which protects the cartouche, is of undoubted Egyptian origin<sup>91</sup> and can be ubiquitously found on contemporary scarabs produced in the Eastern Delta, i.e., the so-called "Lotos Clypeus Group."<sup>92</sup> It is certainly one of the most adopted Egyptian pictorial elements in Greater Syria and the Levant and very prominent in the first part of the 1st millennium BCE.<sup>93</sup> The striding lion (Fig. 3:8)<sup>94</sup>—sometimes trampling on an enemy—is also well attested in the royal Egyptian iconography of the New Kingdom and later (see also Fig. 1:9),<sup>95</sup> where as the ibex/oryx/billy goat (Fig. 3:9)<sup>96</sup> seems to be part of the local Palestinian symbol system (e.g., Fig. 4:6).<sup>97</sup> It is only rarely found on Egyptian prototypes, where it usually is a prey animal in hunting scenes.<sup>98</sup> Finally, the Horus falcon with spread-out wings (Fig. 3:10)<sup>99</sup> and claws is also attributed to the Egyptian royal imagery and represented, e.g., within the Ramesside glyptic repertoire.<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless, its rendering on the bone seals is in good tradition with the equally locally made "Green Jasper Group" of the MBIIB<sup>101</sup> and LB (I)–IIA "Animal Plaques" (e.g., Fig. 4:7).<sup>102</sup> Thus, almost all iconographic elements of the alleged "strongly Egyptianizing"<sup>103</sup> Judahite bone seals can be found in local Late Bronze and later traditions as well. Therefore it seems quite daring to claim that this group's iconographic set imitates contemporary Egyptian (royal) iconemes, since—except for the double cartouche—all motifs seem to be rather firmly rooted in the vernacular, long ago acculturated iconographic tradition.<sup>104</sup>

#### *Distribution and Date*

When looking at the distribution of these seals, it becomes clear that the South somewhat overshadows the North (Map 3), promoting Keel's designation of the bone seals as "Judahite." These quantities, however, need to be contextualized, since the Southern material mainly comes from graves or caches,<sup>105</sup> while the Northern material is almost uniquely from surface or settlement layer contexts,



MAP 3: Distribution of the Israelite/Judahite bone seals.

which are normally less productive in small finds.

According to Keel, the production of bone seals of our type started in the late 10th century BCE in the Jerusalem region as a loyal and grateful reaction to Shoshenq's exemption of the city during his march through Palestine.<sup>106</sup> To link the bone seal production with Shoshenq's campaign is chronologically difficult to accept. As Baruch Brandl already noted some years ago, these seals—being an originally Israelite product—are a phenomenon of the 9th and the 8th centuries BCE.<sup>107</sup> Given the fact that such seals—like the "Rectangular Stylized Enthroned Figure Group" (above)—are not found in contexts prior to the Iron Age IIA *late* horizon, the chronological range can even be narrowed down to the last third of the 9th to 8th centuries BCE.<sup>108</sup>

In sum, the Iron Age II bone seals that were uniquely found in Cis-Jordan shed light on the local reception of a minimal set of iconic motifs that was

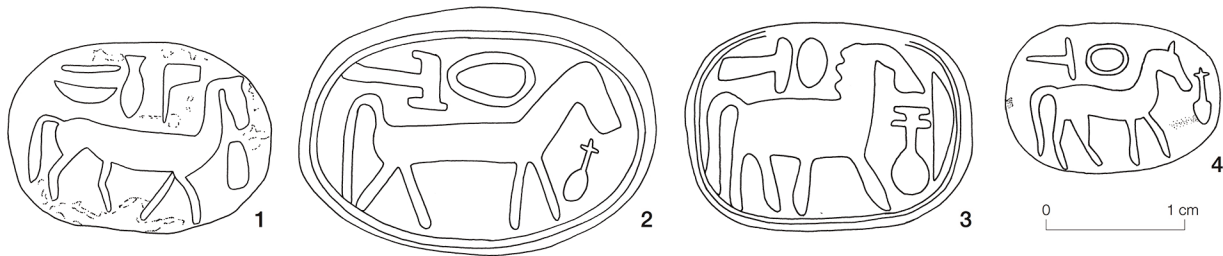


FIGURE 5: Egyptian scarabs depicting a horse.

reproduced from ca. 830 until the end of the 8th century BCE. Although one cannot easily link the production with a certain pharaonic name and although the iconography does not necessarily copy immediate, contemporary prototypes, the seals nevertheless show a certain fascination by the local population *vis-à-vis* the neighboring power in the South.

#### LOCAL ADAPTATION OF PHARAONIC SYMBOLS IN JUDAH

It is only towards the close of the 8th century BCE that the Judean seal industries started to translate Egyptian symbols of royal power into the vernacular iconography.<sup>109</sup>

By that time a clearly royal Egyptian motif was already established and certainly known in both regions, Egypt and the Southern Levant.<sup>110</sup> It shows a horse standing to the right as main motif that is sometimes accompanied by the hieroglyphs *ntr nfr* and/or *nb t3wj*,<sup>111</sup> “Perfect god,” “Lord of the Two Lands,” both being kingly titles (Fig. 5:1–4). The iconographic tradition of equating the horse with the pharaoh is already well attested during the New Kingdom, as indicated, e.g., by scarabs with the name of Thutmose III and IV (18th Dynasty)<sup>112</sup> displaying a horse trampling over a bound enemy,<sup>113</sup> a truly kingly scenery demonstrating the pharaoh’s power.<sup>114</sup>

The horse, though lacking the further emblems, appears on seal impressions on *lmlk*-type jars of the late 8th–early 7th century BCE.<sup>115</sup> Six almost identical seal impressions were found in excavations at Tel Azekah,<sup>116</sup> Ramat Raḥel,<sup>117</sup> the Western Hill in

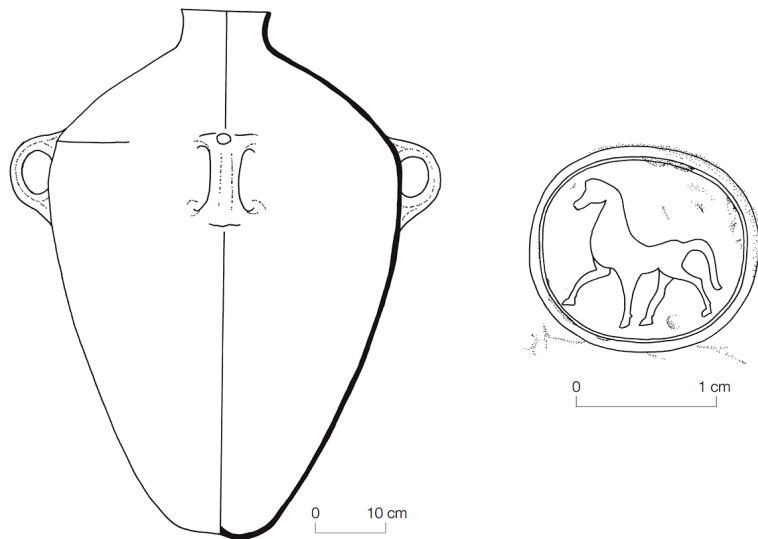


FIGURE 6: Jar handle sealings depicting a prancing horse.

Jerusalem,<sup>118</sup> Tel Goren at En Gedi (Fig. 6),<sup>119</sup> Tell en-Naṣbeh,<sup>120</sup> and Tell el-Judeideh.<sup>121</sup> The horse thus reflects, possibly for the first time in 1st millennium BCE Judah, a successful and quite self-confident transfer of propagandistic Egyptian pharaonic imagery into the local<sup>122</sup> “state” iconography.<sup>123</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

During the Late Bronze Age and again after the 8th century BCE, strong cultural contacts existed between Egypt and the Southern Levant. The time in between was significantly less intense, apart from a short and not very lasting intermezzo—with a minimal cultural impact—towards the end of the 10th century BCE. Although movable goods were constantly transferred from Egypt to the Southern Levant (e.g., faïence amulets, pottery, fish), it seems that the accompanying cultural knowledge was not

easily understood and thus misappropriated in Cis- and Transjordan. Therefore, a productive intellectual interaction with the Egyptian realm and its rich symbol systems during this period is not easily feasible—at least not on iconographical grounds—until the close of the 8th century BCE. Nevertheless, it is certainly true that few local seal productions reflect a positive attitude towards Egypt. This may be understood on the background of Egypt's politics, which were modestly supporting—or at least not additionally threatening—Israel, Judah, and neighboring entities during their conflicts fought with the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE.<sup>124</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> E.g., Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger (eds.), *Altorientalische Miniaturkunst. Die ältesten visuellen Massenkommunikationsmittel. Ein Blick in die Sammlungen des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz* (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Christoph Uehlinger (ed.), *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean: 1st Millennium BCE*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 175 (Freiburg [CH]: University Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), esp. XV–XVII; cf. also Gunnar Lehmann, “Media and the Symbolic Texture of Material Culture. Critical Theory of Practice in Archaeology,” in Christian Frevel (ed.), *Medien im antiken Palästina? Materielle Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament II* 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 63–83.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Hildi Keel-Leu, *Vorderasiatische Stempelsiegel. Die Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg, Schweiz*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 110 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991); Othmar Keel, “The Problem of Palestinian Workshops in the Second

Millennium and Some Remarks on the Preceding and Succeeding Periods,” in Joan Goodnick Westenholz (ed.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Symposium Held on Sept. 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel* (Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 1995a), 93–142; Daphna Ben-Tor and Othmar Keel, “The Beth-Shean Level IX Group. A Local Scarab Workshop of the Late Bronze Age I,” in Mayer Irwin Gruber, Shmuel Ahituv, Gunnar Lehmann and Zipora Talshir (eds.), *All the Wisdom of the East: Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 255 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 87–104.

- <sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, “Egypt and the Levant in the Iron Age I–IIA: The Ceramic Evidence,” *Tel Aviv* 38 (2011a): 94–119, esp. 99, with earlier literature.
- <sup>4</sup> E.g., Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997a), 256–268; Antti Laato, “Second Samuel 7 and Ancient Near Eastern Royal Ideology,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59 (1997): 244–269; Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons. Messiah—Murderer—Traitor—King* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2001), 134. On the anthropomorphic image of the Egyptian king on (post)-Ramesside glyptics, cf. notably André Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 96 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
- <sup>5</sup> E.g., Nir Lalkin, *Late Bronze Age Scarabs from Eretz Israel*, PhD dissertation. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2008), esp. 128–148.
- <sup>6</sup> E.g., Christoph Uehlinger, “Der Amun-Tempel Ramses' III. in *p<sup>c</sup>-Kn3n*, seine südpalästinischen Tempelgüter und der Übergang von der Ägypter- zur Philisterherrschaft: ein Hinweis auf einige wenig beachtete Skarabäen,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 104 (1988): 6–25; Bietak, Manfred, “The Sea Peoples and the End of Egyptian Administration in Canaan,” in Abraham Biran and Joseph Aviram (eds.), *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990: Proceedings*



- of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology (Jerusalem: Keter, 1993), 292–306; James M. Weinstein, “Egyptian Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean World at the End of the Second Millennium BCE,” in Seymour Gitin, Amihai Mazar and Ephraim Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 188–196; Baruch Brandl, “The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Scarabs Reconsidered,” in Manfred Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000—EuroConference, Haindorf 2nd May–7th May 2001*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 29 (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 249–262; Bernd Ulrich Schipper, “Vermächtnis und Verwirklichung. Das Nachwirken der ramessidischen Aussenpolitik in der frühen Eisenzeit,” in Rolf Gundlach and Ursula Rössler-Köhler (eds.), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit: Voraussetzungen—Verwirklichung—Vermächtnis. Akten des 3. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Bonn 7.–9.6.2001 [Beiträge zur altägyptischen Königsideologie, Teil 3]*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 36,3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 241–275.
- <sup>7</sup> E.g., Bernd Ulrich Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit. Die kulturellen Kontakte von Salomo bis zum Fall Jerusalems*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 170 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 41–82; Gregory Mumford, “Egypto-Levantine Relations During the Iron Age to Early Persian Periods (Dynasties Late 20 to 26),” in Thomas Schneider and Kasia Maria Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 347 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007); Ben-Dor Evian 2011a.
- <sup>8</sup> As examples one could mention (for a list of further ambivalent seal inscriptions, cf. Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Einleitung*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 10 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995b], §634):
- 1) A scarab from a late Iron Age IIB context at Akhziv, tomb ZR 28, with the inscription *ḥd-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, which alludes either to the throne name of Smendes (21st Dynasty) or to the throne name of Shoshenq I (22nd Dynasty); cf. Michal Dayagi-Mendels, *The Akhziv Cemeteries. The Ben-Dor Excavations, 1941–1944*, IAA Reports 15 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002), 72 (context); Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band I: Von Tell Abu Farağ bis Atlit*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 13 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997b), 34–35 No. 37.
  - 2) A scarab found in a Persian Period layer at Ashkelon bearing the formula *wsr -m<sup>3</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> stp-n-jmn-r<sup>c</sup>*, which could refer to the throne-name of sixteen pharaohs from the 19th to the 22nd Dynasties; cf. Lawrence E. Stager, J. David Schloen and Daniel M. Master (eds.), *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview, Vol. 1*, Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 321 (context); Keel 1997b, 704–705 No. 41.
  - 3) A scarab retrieved from tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh. The tomb has a long range of use, starting in the Iron Age IB/IIA early and ending sometime in the Iron Age IIB. The item has the formula *wsr-m<sup>3</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> stp-n-jmn* engraved on its plinth, which may refer to Ramesses IV (20th Dynasty), Amenemope (21st Dynasty), Osorkon II, Shoshenq III, Pami, Osorkon III, Takelot III, Pedubaste II, Rudamun, or Iuput II (22nd/23rd Dynasties); cf. Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band II: Von Bahan bis Tel Eton*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 29 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010a), 226–227 No. 20.
- Uncertain are the following items:
- 1) Beth-Shemesh, surface find (Keel 2010a, 280–281 No. 155): The reading of the name

- of Shoshenq V (22nd Dynasty) on this scarab's base is questionable, and, since this item possibly belongs to Keel's "Beth-Shean Level VI/VII-Group" dating to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, such identification is impossible.
- 2) Megiddo, Stratum III (Gordon Loud, *Megiddo II. Seasons of 1935-39*, Oriental Institute Publications 62 [Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago—University Press, 1948], pl. 115:4): The reading of this seal impression of a scarab as the name of Shabaka (25th Dynasty) is not beyond doubt too; cf. Raphael Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan. Iconographical and Related Studies*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 20 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 123 No. 3.
  - 3) Gaza region, exact origin unknown (Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band IV: Von Tel Gamma bis Chirbet Husche*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica* 33 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013a], 130–131 No. 5): The scarab has an ambivalent hieroglyphic sequence on its base that could either point at Pepy (6th Dynasty), Ramesses IX (20th Dynasty) or Shabako (25th Dynasty).
  - 4) Samaria, unclear context (John Winter Crowfoot, Grace M. Crowfoot and Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Samaria—Sebaste. Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935. Vol. 3: The Objects from Samaria* [London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957], 86 No. 5 with Pl. 15:5): The reading of Shabitqo's name (25th Dynasty) is questionable since the item is broken and only partially readable; in addition it would be an intrusion into an Iron Age II layer; cf. Giveon 1978, 124.
  - 5) Ekron, Stratum IC (Amir Golani and Benjamin Sass, "Three Seventh-Century B.C.E. Hoards of Silver Jewelry from Tel Migne-Ekron," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 311 [1998]: 57–81, see 68–70 fig. 13:5): According to Keel (2010a, 534–535 No. 45a), the reading of the name of Psammetichus I is questionable.
  - 6) Ashdod, Stratum XI/X (Keel 1997b, 666–667 No. 14): The reading Psammetichus II on the scarab's base is not certain and would only be valid if the item is viewed an intrusion.
- 9 Dietrich Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt: posthume Quellen über die Könige der ersten vier Dynastien*, PhD dissertation (München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1969), 222–224; Keel 1995b, §625 and §647; for the broader context, see Martin Bommas, "Die verstorbenen Könige im kulturellen Gedächtnis des Alten Ägypten," *Kaskal* 5 (2008): 57–71. Items bearing this pharaoh's name were, e.g., found in 7th/6th century BCE contexts at Southern Levantine sites such as Akhziv (Keel 1997b, 38–39 Nos. 52–53 and 64–65 No. 130), Ashdod (Keel 1997b, 670–671 No. 24; reading as *Mn-k3(w)-r*<sup>c</sup> convincingly suggested by Bernd Ulrich Schipper, "Egypt and the Kingdom of Judah under Josiah and Jehoiakim," *Tel Aviv* 37 [2010]: 200–226, see 206 note 14), Ashkelon (Keel 1997b, 724–725 No. 93), Balu'a (Jürg Egger and Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien. Vom Neolithikum bis zur Perserzeit*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 25 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006], 96–97 No. 1), Beth-Shean (Keel 2010a, 116–117 No. 46), Beth-Shemesh (Keel 2010a, 242–243 No. 60), Dor (Keel 2010a, 478–479 No. 37), Tell el-Far'ah South (Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band III: Von Tell el-Far'a Nord bis Tell el-Fir*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica* 31 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010b], 182–185, No. 361), Gezer (Keel 2013a, 168–169 No. 7), Hanita (Keel 2013a, 550–551 No. 2), Tell Jemmeh (Keel 2013a, 18–19 No. 42), Yavneh-Yam (Alexander Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavyahu: Its Material Culture and Historical Background," *Tel Aviv* 28 [2001]: 3–165, Fig. 48:2) and maybe Akko (Keel 1997b, 618–619 No. 250). Other items were found in the Egyptian Delta at Naukratis (William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis I, 1884-5*, *Egypt Exploration Fund* 3 [Cambridge University Press, 1886], pl. 37,61–62) or Tell Nebeshe

- (William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Tanis II / Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, Vol. 4, Egypt Exploration Fund 4 [London: Trubner, 1888], pl. 8,60) and in the wider Mediterranean area at Carthage (Jean Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 40 [Paris: Geuthner, 1945], Nos. 14–18.371–379.413, and others), Amrit (Hall 1913, No. 40), Amathous (Harry Reginald Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum. Vol. 1. Royal Scarabs* [London: British Museum, 1913], No. 41), Perachora (John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury and Thomas Garnet Henry James, “The Egyptian Type Objects,” in Thomas James Dunbabin [ed.], *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia: Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1930–1933, Vol. II: Pottery, Ivories, Scarabs, and other Objects from the Votive Deposit of Hera Limenia Excavated by Humphry Payne* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], 461–516, Pl. 192,D61) or Cagliari (Gabriella Matthiae Scandone, *Scarabei e scaraboidi egiziani ed egittizzanti del Museo nazionale di Cagliari*, Collezione di studi fenici 7 [Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1975], Pl. 30:A2).
- <sup>10</sup> For the chronology of pharaonic Egypt, cf. von Jürgen von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 46 (Mainz a.R.: von Zabern, 1997). Alternatives are given for 21st–22nd dynasty rulers only.
- <sup>11</sup> One item comes from Akhziv, tomb ZR 34 (7th–6th century BCE; cf. Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 87–88; Keel 1997b, 38–39 No. 52). The plinth features *Mn-k<w>-r<sup>c</sup>* “Mykerinos” (see above note 8) in a cartouche combined with *ḥ-jb*, i.e. the Horus name of Psammetichus I. (cf. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 49 [Mainz: von Zabern, 1999], 214–215 [H2]). The other item was found at Yavneh-Yam, Stratum IX (7th century BCE; cf. Fantalkin 2001, 132–133 with Fig. 48:1). Its base engraving equally features the Horus name of Psammetichus I.
- Note that Schipper (2010, 204) cautiously mentions four further other Psammetichus I scarabs originating from Aseka and Gezer. They are, however, all dating to earlier periods and—contrary to Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Archaeological Museum* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1936), Nos. 893–894.896.898—do not refer to Psammetichus I; cf. Keel 1997b, 744–775 No. 26 (Aseka) and Keel 2013a, 256–257 No. 203, 272–273 No. 236 and 370–371 No. 471 (Gezer).
- <sup>12</sup> Tell Keisan, unstratified (cf. Othmar Keel, “La glyptique de Tell Keisan [1971–1976],” in Jacques Briand and Jean-Baptiste Humbert [eds.], *Tell Keisan [1971–1976], une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 1 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980], 257–295, see 270–271 No. 12 with Pl. 88:12) featuring *mn-jb-r<sup>c</sup>* that is possibly referring to *mnh-jb-r<sup>c</sup>*, i.e., the Horus name of Psammetichus II; Tell el-Far’ah South, surface find (Keel 2010b, 198–199 No. 398) with the inscription *nfr-jb-(r<sup>c</sup>)*, which alludes to Psammetichus II’s throne name; Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, unclear context (Keel 2013a, 106–107 No. 28) with *nfr-jb-r<sup>c</sup>*, i.e., the throne name of Psammetichus II.
- <sup>13</sup> von Beckerath 1997, 191; Thomas Schneider, “Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period,” *Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant* 20 (2010): 373–403, respectively.
- <sup>14</sup> Keel 2010b, 118–119 No. 213.
- <sup>15</sup> Schipper 1999, 20 note 56.
- <sup>16</sup> Bertrand Jaeger, *Essai de Classification de Datation des Scarabées Menkhéperre*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 2 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), §1479–§1491, esp. §1489.
- <sup>17</sup> Keel 2013a, 354–355 No. 430.
- <sup>18</sup> Egger and Keel 2006, 392–393 No. 2.
- <sup>19</sup> The alternative emendation to *mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, throne-name of Thutmose III, is—of course—viable as well.
- <sup>20</sup> Loud 1948, Pl. 149/154:1.
- <sup>21</sup> Stefan Münger, “Egyptian Stamp-Seal Amulets and Their Implications for the Chronology of the



- Early Iron Age," *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003): 66–82, Fig. 1:2.
- <sup>22</sup> An MBIIB burial; cf. Keel 1995b, §657 and §691.
- <sup>23</sup> Ayelet Gilboa, Ilan Sharon and Jeffrey R. Zorn, "Dor and Iron Age Chronology: Scarabs, Ceramic Sequence and 14C," *Tel Aviv* 31 (2004): 32–59.
- <sup>24</sup> Münger 2003, 72–73.
- <sup>25</sup> Cf., e.g., Keel 2010a, 470, who argues that the engraving is a variant of the royal predication *nfr z3-jmn* "perfect is the son of Amun"; see also Othmar Keel, "Glyptik von Qubur al-Walaydah," *Die Welt des Orients* 40 (2010c): 244–254, esp. 250–252, and Daphna Ben-Tor, "A Scarab of the Mass-Production Groups: The Origin and Date of Early Iron Age Scarabs in the Southern Levant," in Anabel Zarzeki-Peleg (ed.), *Yadin's Expedition to Megiddo Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1960, 1966, 1967 and 1971/2 Seasons)*, Qedem 56 (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology/Hebrew University, 2016), 319–321, esp. 320.
- <sup>26</sup> Stefan Münger, "Stamp-Seal Amulets and Early Iron Age Chronology – An Update," in Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (eds.), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating. Archaeology, Text and Science* (London/Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2005a), 381–404, see 399; Stefan Münger, *Studien zur Frühen Eisenzeit in Israel Palästina*, PhD thesis (Bern: Universität Bern, 2011), 140, with notes 320–322. A sixth possible reference to Siamun is a still unpublished scarab that was allegedly found in Palestine briefly mentioned by Raphael Giveon, "An Egyptian Official in Gezer?" *Israel Exploration Journal* 22 (1972): 143–144, see 143 note 4.
- <sup>27</sup> Nadav Na'aman, "Shishak's Campaign to Palestine as Reflected by the Epigraphic, Biblical and Archaeological Evidence," *Zion* 63 (1998): 247–276 (Hebrew); Kevin A. Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Alexander Fantalkin and Israel Finkelstein, "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th-Century-BCE Earthquake: More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I-IIA," *Tel Aviv* 33 (2006): 18–42; Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, "Shishak's Karnak Relief—More Than Just Name-Rings," in Shay Bar, Dan'el Kahn and J.J. Shirley (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature: Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011b), 11–22.
- <sup>28</sup> Cf. von Beckerath 1997, 191; Schneider 2010, 403, respectively.
- <sup>29</sup> It should be noted that Shoshenq I scarabs were found as far off as Perachora in the sanctuary of Hera Limenia; cf. Nancy Joan Skon-Jedele, "Aigyptiaka". *Catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects Excavated from Greek Archaeological Sites, ca. 1100-525 B.C., with Historical Commentary*, PhD dissertation (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 340–341, 486–487 Nos. 285–286 with Fig. 2758:285. They were, however, not found in contemporary deposits.
- <sup>30</sup> Clarence S. Fisher, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, Oriental Institute Communications 4 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago—University Press, 1929), 60–61 Fig. 7; see also Rupert L. Chapman III, "Putting Sheshonq I in His Place," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141 (2009): 4–17.
- <sup>31</sup> Thomas E. Levy, Stefan Münger and Mohammad Najjar, "A Newly Discovered Scarab of Sheshonq I: Recent Iron Age Explorations in Southern Jordan," *Antiquity: Project Gallery* (2014), <http://journal.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/levy341>, accessed 10 November 2017; Stefan Münger and Thomas E. Levy, "The Iron Age Egyptian Amulet Assemblage," in Thomas Evan Levy, Mohammad Najjar and Erez Ben-Yosef (eds.), *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations and Research from the University of California, San Diego & Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP), Vol. 2*, Monumenta archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014), 741–765, see 748–749 No. 6.
- <sup>32</sup> According to exemplary evidence from the cemeteries at Tell el-Far'ah South, trade of "antique" Egyptian glyptic material with the Southern Levant increased significantly after the

- early Iron Age IIA (cf. Münger 2011, 128; for a similar situation with regard to faïence amulets, cf. Christian Herrmann, *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel III*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 24 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006], 47).
- <sup>33</sup> George Andrew Reisner, Clarence S. Fisher and David Gordon Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria. 1908-1910*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 334; for Egyptian artifacts found in the (Southern) Levant, cf., e.g., Schipper 1999, 41–55.162–172.251–257; Mumford 2007, 225–288, see 262 Table 1; Ben-Dor Evian 2011a, 95–97 Table 1.
- <sup>34</sup> Petrie 1888, 27–29; Pierre Montet, *Tanis: douze années de fouilles dans une capitale oubliée du delta égyptien*, Bibliothèque historique (Paris: Payot, 1942), 219.
- <sup>35</sup> Othmar Keel, “Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol. Einige unveröffentlichte Skarabäen aus Agypten und Israel zum Thema ‘Jagd und Krieg’,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93 (1977): 141–177, see 153–154 note 56; Othmar Keel, “Der Pharaon als vollkommene Sonne: Ein neuer ägypto-palästinischer Skarabäentyp,” in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies*, Scripta Hierosolymitana 28 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 406–512, see 458 notes 179–181; Othmar Keel in Othmar Keel, Menakhem Shuval and Christoph Uehlinger, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel III. Die frühe Eisenzeit. Ein Workshop*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 100 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 337–367; Wiese 1990, esp. 89–94; Othmar Keel (ed.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina, Israel. IV. Mit Registern zu den Bänden I–IV*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 135 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 1–52, esp. 46–49; Othmar Keel, “Excavation at Tsur Natan—2011: An Iron Age Tomb, Byzantine Quarry and Other Remains: Glyptics,” *NGSBA Archaeology* 2 (2013b): 30–36, esp. 33–35.
- <sup>36</sup> Münger 2005a, 383; Münger 2011, 133–135 with many examples.
- <sup>37</sup> Münger 2003, 67 with Figs. 1–2.
- <sup>38</sup> Münger 2005a, 398 Table 1; Münger 2011, 67–130. The Siamun scarabs belonging to the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” from Dor and Megiddo (see above) also provide an absolute date. However, to depend on their reading only is risky and should not serve as a sole basis for the absolute chronological attribution of the seal-amulets, let alone for the entire series. Therefore, robust data is required to bolster the dating of the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series.”
- <sup>39</sup> The earliest hitherto known <sup>14</sup>C date comes from Locus 1721 at Tel Kinrot, which proved to be extremely rich in pottery and other finds, including a scarab belonging to the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series.” The calibrated range for the construction (!) of the surrounding, undoubtedly contemporary structures is with a probability of 1  $\sigma$  1056–1004 cal BCE and 1117–1043 cal BCE, respectively (pers. comm. Dr. E. Boaretto, 09 August 2014). Unfortunately, however, no <sup>14</sup>C dates for the destruction and thus for the well-preserved finds of Locus 1721 are available. One should note that all other radiometrically determined find contexts of “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” items are—sometimes significantly—later; cf. Gilboa, Sharon and Zorn 2004; Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Higham, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Neil G. Smith, Eretz Ben-Yosef, Mark Robinson, Stefan Münger, Kyle Knabb, Jürgen P. Schulze, Mohammad Najjar and Lisa Tauxe, “High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (2008): 16460–16465.
- <sup>40</sup> Münger 2011, 135–146.
- <sup>41</sup> On the syncretism of the Egyptian Seth and the Asiatic Hadad/Baal that constitutes a “cultural ligature” in Hyksos and post-Hyksos Egypt peaking during the New Kingdom, cf. Niv Allon, “Seth is Baal—Evidence from the Egyptian Script,” *Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant* 17 (2007): 15–22.
- <sup>42</sup> For the latter identification cf. Keel 2010a, 474–475 No. 26 for an item from Tel Dor.
- <sup>43</sup> Keel 2010b, 154–155 No. 294 (Tell el-Far‘ah South).
- <sup>44</sup> Jaeger 1982, §1601–§1603.

- <sup>45</sup> Keel 1997b, 376–377 No. 798 (Tell el-‘Ajjul).
- <sup>46</sup> Keel 1997b, 174–175 No. 210 (Tell el-‘Ajjul).
- <sup>47</sup> Keel 2010a, 6–7 No. 4 (Beersheba).
- <sup>48</sup> Cf., e.g., Keel in Keel, Shuval and Uehlinger 1990, 290: Fig. 0130.
- <sup>49</sup> Keel 2010b, 124–125 No. 226 (Tell el-Far‘ah South).
- <sup>50</sup> Keel 1997b, 612–613 No. 233 (Acco).
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Stefan Münger, “Medien und Ethnizität—Das Beispiel einer Tanitischen Stempelsiegel-Gruppe der Frühen Eisenzeit,” in Christian Frevel (ed.), *Medien im antiken Palästina? Materielle Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament II* 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005b), 85–107, see 93; Münger 2011, 138 note 307 with examples from el-Lahun, Tanis and Acco.
- <sup>52</sup> For a comprehensive catalogue, cf. Münger 2011, 131–261.
- <sup>53</sup> But see, e.g., the Cypriote/Phoenician pottery in an Early Iron Age tomb at Tell Nebeshe in the Eastern Delta, cf. Petrie 1888, Pl. 3; note that—during the Early Iron Age—Egyptian imports to the Southern Levant were much more frequent than previously assumed; cf. Ben-Dor Evian 2011a; Paula Waiman-Barak, Ayelet Gilboa and Yuval Goren, “A Stratified Sequence of Early Iron Age Egyptian Ceramics at Tel Dor, Israel,” *Ägypten und Levante* 24 (2014): 317–341.
- <sup>54</sup> Münger 2003, 70–71; Münger 2005a, 396–397. Recently, Ben-Tor (2016) discussed the “Early Iron Age Mass-produced Series” with different results. I will counter her arguments in a different place.
- <sup>55</sup> For a comprehensive catalogue of items found in Egypt, the (Southern) Levant and the wider Mediterranean, cf. Münger 2011, 131–176.
- <sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the resolution is still too low to differentiate within the regions of the Southern Levant, e.g., the central hill-country *vis-à-vis* the coastal areas.
- <sup>57</sup> E.g., Othmar Keel and Silvia Schroer (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 67 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985); Othmar Keel, Hildi Keel-Leu and Silvia Schroer (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel II*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 88 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Keel 1995a; Brandl 2003; Daphna Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections. Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica* 27 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); Ben-Tor and Keel 2012; Vanessa Boschloos, “Egyptian and Egyptianising Scarab-Shaped Seals in Syria and Lebanon,” *Bibliotheca orientalis* 59 (2012a): 175–181; Vanessa Boschloos, “Late Bronze Age Cornelian and Red Jasper Scarabs with Cross Designs. Egyptian, Levantine or Minoan?” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 4 (2012b): 5–16; Vanessa Boschloos, “Tyre, Achziv and Kition. Evidence for a Phoenician Iron Age II Scarab Seal Workshop,” in Angelika Lohwasser (ed.), *Skarabäen des 1. Jahrtausends. Ein Workshop in Münster am 27. Oktober 2012*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 269 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 5–36; Günther Hölbl, “Die asiatischen blauen Skarabäen des 9. und 8. Jhs. v. Chr.,” in Angelika Lohwasser (ed.), *Skarabäen des 1. Jahrtausends. Ein Workshop in Münster am 27. Oktober 2012*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 269 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 65–91.
- <sup>58</sup> See, e.g., Keel 1995b, §67–§72.
- <sup>59</sup> Keel 1982; Keel 1994, 53–134; Schipper 2003, 260–265; Bernd Ulrich Schipper, “Egypt and Israel: The Ways of Cultural Contacts in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (20th–26th Dynasty),” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 4 (2012): 30–47, see 34–35.
- <sup>60</sup> Four scarabs come from Achziv, Tell el-Ajjul, Gezer, and Tel Zeror; cf. Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1998), §83 with Fig. 158a–c and 159a = Keel 1994, 63–64.66–72.81–82 Nos. 4, 7, 10 and 21 (= Fig. 1:12); a prism (type I, Keel 1995b, §237–238 = Fig. 1:13)—sharing the same iconographic characteristics—comes from Megiddo, Stratum VA, cf. Keel 1994, 78–79 No.



17. Another item—a bi-facial plaque (type II, Keel 1995b, §216–218 and 224)—was allegedly found at Tell Ta’anach and later sold on the antiquities market; cf. Keel and Uehlinger 1998, Fig. 159b = Keel 1994, 73–76 No. 13.
- The two items from Achzib, tomb ZR IX and Tel Zeror, tomb III, were both found together with Cypriot Black-on-Red ceramics (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, Fig. 4.7 and Kiyoshi Ohata [ed.], *Tel Zeror 2. Preliminary Report of the Excavation. Second Season 1965* [Tokyo: Society for Near Eastern Studies, 1967], 37–38, 10–5–10–15, NaN–43; see also Tenri Sankōkan Museum [ed.], *Artifacts of Tel Zeror in Israel* [Tokyo: Tenri Sankōkan Museum, 2005], 15–16). Equally, Megiddo, Stratum VA, produced considerable amounts of Black-on-Red ware (Nicola Schreiber, *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 13* [Leiden et al.: E.J. Brill, 2003], 92–103). Thus it seems that according to ceramic evidence the “Rectangular Stylized Enthroned Figure Group” cannot pre-date the Iron Age IIA *late* horizon (for the relative date of the Cypriot Black-on-Red ceramics, cf., e.g., Ayelet Gilboa, “Iron Age I–II Cypriot Imports and Local Imitations,” in Seymour Gitin [ed.], *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Iron Age Through the Hellenistic Period* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2015], 483–507, see 485–486), at least not in the Southern Levant.
- <sup>61</sup> Cf. Keel 1994, 65.80–81 Nos. 6.19–20. While the context of the scarab found at Tell Yehudiyeh is unclear, the item from Tayinat comes from stratified settlement layers. It was found in the first Building Period, dated by the excavators to the 10th/9th century BCE (pers. comm. Prof. G. Hölbl, 04 April 2016). Its exact find context, however, awaits full publication. The Amathus item comes from tomb 142, dated to the Cypro-Geometric IIIB horizon (c. 800–750/725 BCE); cf. Gisèle Clerc, “Aegyptiaca,” in John Boardman, Gisèle Clerc, Ino Nicolaou, and Olivier Picard (eds.), *La nécropole d’Amathonte. Tombes 110–385, Études chypriotes 13* (Nicosie: Fondation A.G. Leventis, 1991), 1–157, see 50.
- <sup>62</sup> Othmar Keel and Amihai Mazar, “Iron Age Seals and Seal Impressions from Tel Rehov,” *Eretz Israel 29* (2009): 57\*–69\*, esp. 57\*–62\* with Figs. 1–2.
- <sup>63</sup> Robert Wenning, “Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus den Gräbern der Eisenzeit in Juda im Kontext,” in Angelika Lohwasser (ed.), *Skarabäen des 1. Jahrtausends. Ein Workshop in Münster am 27. Oktober 2012*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 269* (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 37–63; Chester Charlton McCown (ed.), *Tell en-Nasbeh. Excavated under the Direction of the Late William Frederic Badé, Vol. 1: Archaeological and Historical Results* (New Haven/Berkeley: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947), Pl. 54:17–19.23.25.28.47.50 etc.; Keel 2013a, 546–549; Robert S. Lamon and Geoffrey M. Shipton, *Megiddo I. Seasons of 1925–1934, Strata I–V*, *Oriental Institute Publications 42* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), Pl. 67:4.13.25.38–39.53.56, Pl. 69:7.17.22.29–30.38–39 etc.
- <sup>64</sup> Keel and Mazar 2009, 65\*.
- <sup>65</sup> Keel and Mazar 2009, Fig. 1/2:16.
- <sup>66</sup> Keel-Leu 1991, 71–78; Keel 1995a, 129; Keel 1995b, §139–§142; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, §157–§159; Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, 2 vols., *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel IV*, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 242–244; Othmar Keel, “Paraphernalia of Jerusalem Sanctuaries and Their Relation to Deities Worshipped Therein During the Iron Age IIA–C,” in Jens Kamlah (ed.), *Temple Building and Temple Cult Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.). Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 317–342, see 320.
- <sup>67</sup> Keel and Uehlinger 1998, §157–§159.
- <sup>68</sup> Keel 2010b, 400–401 No. 884 (Tell el-Far’ah South).
- <sup>69</sup> Keel 2010b, 126–127 No. 231 (Tell el-Far’ah South).
- <sup>70</sup> Keel 2013a, 72–73 No. 168 (Tell Jemmeh).
- <sup>71</sup> Olga Tufnell, Margaret A. Murray and David Diringer, *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir). The Iron Age*,

- 2 vols. (London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953), 364.371 with Pl. 44/44A:106 (Lachish).
- <sup>72</sup> Keel 2013a, 290–291 No. 280 (Gezer).
- <sup>73</sup> Keel 2010a, 394–395 No. 30 (Dan).
- <sup>74</sup> Cf. Tell el-‘Ajjul: Keel 1997b, 170–171 No. 199 (surface find); Tell Deir ‘Alla: Egger and Keel 2006, 398–399 No. 17 (Iron Age IIB context). For further items cf. Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 174 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Editions Universitaires/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 225–227 Nos. 127–136. Note that only once the birth name of Merneptah (19th Dynasty) is mentioned (Spieser 2000, No. 135).
- <sup>75</sup> There may be some secondary copies made of stone or composition, such as Beth-Shemesh, tomb 1: Keel 2010a, 226–227 No. 22 = Fig. 4:2; Megiddo, Stratum II: Lamon and Shipton 1939, Pl. 72:9 or the collection item in Thomas Staubli, “Sammlung Liebefeld: 60 Siegelamulette aus der Südlevante,” in Susanne Bickel, Silvia Schroer, René Schurte and Christoph Uehlinger (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen—Images as Sources. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible. Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Special Volume* (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 45–80, see 57 No. 26. An earlier version of the motif in question, possibly also dependent on Ramesside prototypes, which displays two cartouches and possibly a quadruped, is a seal-impression from Ekron, Stratum IVB; cf. Keel 2010a: 546–547 No. 67. Yet another comparable motif is Ekron, Stratum IC: Keel 2010a, 544–545 No. 62 = Fig. 4:3 that displays on its base two apes (?) venerating a cartouche; similar is Beth-Shemesh, tomb 4: Keel 2010a, 242–243 No. 58 = Fig. 4:4. See, additionally, the unprovenanced bone seal with its typical shape, where the anthropoid figure is “worshipping” the Hebrew name *Mattan*; cf. Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, 1997), No. 256.
- <sup>76</sup> Keel 2010b, 158–159 No. 303 (Tell el-Far‘ah South).
- <sup>77</sup> Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, Pl. 57a:2.
- <sup>78</sup> Keel 2012, 321 with Fig. 32.
- <sup>79</sup> Keel 2010b, 168–169 No. 325.
- <sup>80</sup> Keel 1997b, 4–5 No. 4 (Tell Abu Hawam).
- <sup>81</sup> Wolfgang Darsow, “Tell el-‘Oreme am See Genezareth. Vorläufiger Bericht über die erste Grabung im März und April 1939,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* 9 (1940): 132–145, see 142 with Taf. 24e (right).
- <sup>82</sup> Cf. Keel 2013a, §469–§470.
- <sup>83</sup> Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen*, 6th ed., *Quaestiones disputantae* 134 (Freiburg i.Br. et al.: Herder, 2010), §255; see also Keel 2007, 343.
- <sup>84</sup> The second horizontal dash in the cartouche is explained by Keel and Uehlinger 2010, §255, as reminiscence to *mrj-jmn* “beloved of Amun” and—again according to them—the remaining roundish sign could allude to the *r<sup>c</sup>* in the throne-name of Shoshenq I, i.e. <*hd-hpr*>-*r<sup>c</sup>*.
- <sup>85</sup> Cf. von Beckerath 1999, 184–194.
- <sup>86</sup> Keel 2010a, 394–395 No. 30.
- <sup>87</sup> See, e.g., Schipper 1999, 132 note 105.
- <sup>88</sup> E.g., Keel 2012, 343.
- <sup>89</sup> E.g., William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Historical Scarabs. A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections, Arranged Chronologically* (London: Nutt, 1889), Nos. 1763–1765, 1767–1775; Percy E. Newberry, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire. Nos. 36001-37521. Scarab-Shaped Seals* (London: Archibald Constable and Co Ltd, 1907), Nos. 36292, 36294, 36297; Percy E. Newberry, *Scarabs. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings* (London: Archibald Constable and Co Ltd, 1908), Pl. 37:2–3.5–6 (with adorants) and 8; William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London: Martin Press, 1917), Nos. 22.1.11–13; Fouad S. Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée égyptien. Vol. 1, Les scarabées royaux* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1971), Nos. 781–783; for other 22nd Dynasty items, see also Jaeger 1982, §1501–1509 with many references

- and variants.
- <sup>90</sup> For 18th Dynasty and earlier examples, see, e.g., Lisa Giddy (ed.), *Kom Rabi'a: The New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects*, The Survey of Memphis 2 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999), 74, No. 1845 with Pls. 18/84:1845 (Kom Rabi'a); Keel 1997b, 474–475 No. 1085 (Tell el-'Ajjul); Keel 2013a, 22–23 No. 51 (Tell Jemmeh); see also Petrie 1889, Nos. 952, 1273–1274, 1301–1304, 1306–1307; Newberry 1907, Nos. 36134, 36212; Petrie 1917, No. 18.8.13 etc. For Ramesside items, see, e.g., Petrie 1889, No. 1636; Newberry 1908, Pl. 35:5 and 15, 36:3 and 17; Petrie 1917, No. 20.2.12 etc. For other early 1st millennium BCE examples, see, e.g., Keel 2013a, 208–209 No. 94 (Gezer); Newberry 1908, Pl. 37:10 and 14 etc.
- <sup>91</sup> Dieter Wildung, "Flügelsonne," in Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie 2* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), 277–279; Keel 1995b, §450.
- <sup>92</sup> Othmar Keel, "Die Lotos-Kopfschild-Gruppe. Neo-Hyksos Skarabäen der Eisenzeit IIB (ca. 900–700 v.u.Z.)," in Cornelis Gijbert den Hertog, Ulrich Hübner and Stefan Münger (eds.), *Saxa loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 302 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 127–157, see 139–141 with Nos. 1–8, 19–20, 30–31.
- <sup>93</sup> E.g., Dominique Parayre, "À propos des sceaux ouest-sémitiques: le rôle de l'iconographie dans l'attribution d'un sceau à une aire culturelle et à un atelier," in Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger (eds.), *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 125 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 27–51.; Stephan Lauber, "Zur Ikonographie der Flügelsonne," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 124 (2008): 89–106; John B. Whitley, "עִיפָה in Amos 4:13: New Evidence for the Yahwistic Incorporation of Ancient Near Eastern Solar Imagery," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 134 (2015): 127–138.
- <sup>94</sup> Tufnell et al. 1953, 363–370 with Pl. 44:64 (Lachish).
- <sup>95</sup> Brent A. Strawn, *What Is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 212 (Freiburg [CH]/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).
- <sup>96</sup> Keel 2013a, 616–617 No. 81 (Hazor).
- <sup>97</sup> Keel 2013a, 562–563 No. 21 (Tel Harasim).
- <sup>98</sup> E.g., Giveon 1978, 81–84.
- <sup>99</sup> Keel 2010a, 184–185 No. 200 (Beth-Shean).
- <sup>100</sup> Egger and Keel 2006, 272–273 No. 3 (Sahem) = Peter M. Fischer and Othmar Keel, "The Sahem Tomb. The Scarabs," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 111 (1995): 135–150, see 141–142 No. 4660 with Fig. 5a and Pl. 12:C–D with further parallels; note the similar stance of vultures in the Ramesside glyptic repertoire, represented, e.g., by an item from Deir el-Belāḥ; cf. Keel 2010a, 412–413 No. 26 and others (Jaeger 1982, § 1426). Also note roughly contemporary cylinder seals that display the falcon in a comparable stance; see also Keel et al. 1989, 233–235.
- <sup>101</sup> Cf. Keel et al. 1989, 209–242, see Nos. 26–28; see also Keel 2010a, 262–263 No. 105 (Beth-Shemesh), 328–329 No. 4 (Tel Bira; with additional cartouche) with further parallels.
- <sup>102</sup> Baruch Brandl, "From Milos-Phylakopi to Khirbet ed-Dēr: Additional Observations on a Canaanite Group of Bifacial Rectangular Plaques," in Shay Bar (ed.), *In the Hill-Country, and in the Shephelah, and in the Arabah (Joshua 12, 8): Studies and Researches Presented to Adam Zertal in the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 2008), 134\*–150\*, see 138\* with Fig. 2a (Tel Shiqmona).
- <sup>103</sup> Keel 2012, 320.
- <sup>104</sup> Similar, e.g., Christoph Uehlinger, "Bildquellen und 'Geschichte Israels'. Grundsätzliche Überlegungen und Fallbeispiele," in Christof Hardmeier (ed.), *Steine – Bilder – Texte. Historische Evidenz ausserbiblischer und biblischer Quellen*, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 5 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 25–77, see 65–71, esp. 68, for the situation during the Iron Age IIC in Judah.
- <sup>105</sup> Like, e.g., the one found below the under the beaten earth floor of a private house near the



Gihon spring in the city of David in Jerusalem, cf. Ronny Reich, Eli Shukron and Omri Lerna, "Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 57 (2007): 153–169, esp. 154–163). On the date of the finds and findings see also Alon De Groot and Atalya Fadida, "The Pottery Assemblage from the Rock Cut Pool near the Gihon Spring," *Tel Aviv* 38 (2011): 158–166; Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Pottery from the Rock-Cut Pool Near the Gihon Spring in the City of David, Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 128 (2012): 10–14.

<sup>106</sup> "Am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt die Annahme, Jerusalem habe sich [Scheschonq] unterworfen, Tribut bezahlt und sei so nicht weiter belästigt worden. Für eine Anerkennung Scheschonqs sprechen auch archäologisch-ikonographische Zeugnisse [i.e. the bone seals]. Diese sind nicht, wie in Megiddo [...], wo der Sieger sein Denkmal aufstellte, vom Eroberer aufgezwungen, sondern von den Einheimischen als Zeichen ihrer Loyalität geschaffen worden" (Keel 2007, 342).

<sup>107</sup> Baruch Brandl, "Two Stamped Jar Handles," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern (eds.), *Megiddo IV. The 1998–2002 Seasons, Vol. 1*, Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 24 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2006), 426–429, see 427–428; Baruch Brandl, "Scarabs, Scaraboids, other Stamp Seals and Seal Impressions," in Alon de Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg (eds.), *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. VIIA. Area E: The Finds*, Qedem 54 (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology/Hebrew University, 2012), 377–396, see 383–386. Brandl's argument for an Israelite origin of the bone seals "is founded on the distribution pattern of this group seals and the dates of their archaeological contexts" (Brandl 2006, 427), which is accepted by the present author.

<sup>108</sup> The earliest find spot is tomb 239 at Tell el-Far'ah South, which is reported to have among the find assemblage a monochrome Philistine bowl of Trude Dothan's type I (Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982], 101–102 with

Fig. 2:9; see also William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Beth-Pelet I. Tell Fara*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 48 [London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930], Pl. 31:296), which Dothan dates to the first half of the 11th century BCE (i.e., Intermediate Iron Age IB, according to the traditional chronology). Nevertheless, in view of the other grave goods, the tomb's chronological range needs to be broadened and/or multiple phases must be assumed. The latter option seems to be more reasonable since at least Duncan's bowl type 20B must be compared with Orna Zimhoni's bowl types B-12 and B-14 (Orna Zimhoni, *Studies in the Iron Age Pottery of Israel. Typological, Archaeological, and Chronological Studies*, Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. Occasional Publications 2 [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University/Institute of Archaeology, 1997], 91–94; see also Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz, "Redefining the Centre: The Emergence of State in Judah," *Tel Aviv* 31 [2004]: 209–244, see 211) so typical for Lachish Stratum V and—increasingly—Stratum IV with further parallels in Arad Stratum XI (Lily Singer-Avitz, "Arad: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages," *Tel Aviv* 29 [2002]: 110–214, Figs. 6:5–6, 8:1–2) or Beersheba, Strata V and IV (Yohanan Aharoni [ed.], *Beer-Sheba 1. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba 1969–1971 Seasons*, Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 2 [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1973], Pl. 53:7.7, 55:4.6), i.e., an Iron Age IIA late horizon. In addition, the second stamp-seal amulet said to come from tomb 239 at Tell el-Far'ah South is definitely of a 22nd Dynasty origin with comparanda from Akhziv, tomb ZR39 and Beth-Shean, surface (Keel 1997b, 44–45 No. 68 and Keel 2010a, 180–181 No. 190).

All other tombs at Tell el-Far'ah South (tombs 201, 213, 221, 228, 229, 231), which produced bone seals, have a wide chronological range reaching until the end of the Iron Age IIB and are thus—being unstratified mass burials—not very suited to serve as chronological anchors (cf. also Thomas L. McClellan, "Chronology of the 'Philistine' Burials at Tell el-Far'ah [South]," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6 [1979]: 57–73 [seriation units 200B and 229]; Elisabeth M. Bloch-

Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 123 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992], 30, 56, 66, 69, 85, 158–159.183–184).

Tombs 201, 213 and 229 produced elaborately decorated chalices. These vessels are normally dated to the Iron Age IIA–B; cf. Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land. From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age* (Ramat Gan: Massada Press, 1969), 213; Helga Weippert and Manfred Weippert, “Jericho in der Eisenzeit,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 92 (1976): 105–148, see 119; Dothan 1982, 184–185; Helga Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien 2/1 (München: C.H. Beck, 1988), 501; they are usually associated with Cypriot Black-on-Red ware (Duncan’s [1930] type G<sup>2</sup>, K<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>2-3</sup> T and U in tombs 201 and 229, see J. Garrow Duncan, *Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery* [London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930]). Tomb 228 produced *inter alia* a Hebrew name seal from the 9th–8th century BCE, cf. Avigad and Sass 1997, 401 No. 1069 and Keel 2010b, 160–161 no. 307; for tomb 221, cf. Münger 2011, 91–94; for tomb 229, cf. Münger in Keel 2003, 144–145 and Münger 2011, 98–102.

<sup>109</sup> For the reorientation in the Southern Levantine material culture towards the Egyptian symbol system from Psammetichus I onwards, cf. Uehlinger 2001, 65–71; Keel 2007, §619–625; Schipper 2010.

<sup>110</sup> For the following cf. Keel 2007, §516; Keel 2010c, 245–246, who—once again—was the first to note this “iconographic genealogy” between iconemes from different periods.

<sup>111</sup> Both formulas are found, e.g., on items from Naukratis (Petrie 1886, Pl. 38:153 [with *nfr* in front]) and Beth-Shean (surface find; Keel 2010a, 180–181 No. 190 = Fig. 5:1); see also the collection items in William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs. Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 38 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1925), Pl. 13:847 (with *nfr* in front); Alice Grenfell, “Les divinités et les animaux figurés sur les scarabées; sur les scaraboides: les plaques; les chatons, et

les amulettes,” *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti* 17 (1908): 135–155, 153 Fig. 48 (with *nfr* in front) or on an item in the Israel Museum, accession number 76.31.2269. Only a *nb t3wꜣj* above the horse’s back and a *nfr* in front of it shows, e.g., an item from Heliopolis (William Matthew Flinders Petrie and Ernest J. Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 24 [London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College/Quaritch, 1915], Pl. 2:2); see also Petrie 1925, Pl. 13:848. *Nṯr nfr* above the horse’s back is, e.g., seen on Akhziv (tomb ZR39, Keel 1997b, 44–45 No. 68; with an *anra*-like sequence in front of the horse).

An *nh* above the horse’s back and a *nfr* in front of it, is, e.g., displayed on items from Defenneh (Petrie 1888, Pl. 41:49 = Fig. 5:2), Tell er-Retabeh (William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt 12 [London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1906], Pl. 33:24, with additional *nb* = Fig. 5:3), Tell el-Far’ah South (tomb 239, Keel 2010b, 126–127 No. 230) or Qubur al-Walayida (Stratum V, Keel 2010c, No. 1 = Fig. 5:4); see also the collection items in Grenfell 1908, 153 Fig. 49; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1 (Mainz a.R.: von Zabern, 1976), No. 905 and B42 (without *nfr*); cf. also Günther Hölbl, “Die Problematik der spätzeitlichen Aegyptiaca im östlichen Mittelmeerraum,” in Manfred Görg and Günther Hölbl (eds.), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions am Institut für Ägyptologie der Universität München*, 25.–27.10.1996, Ägypten und Altes Testament 44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2000), 119–161.

A similar motif is an oval above back and a *nfr* in front of the horse; cf., e.g., Sanam (tomb 456; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, No. 904) or the unprovenanced item in Newberry 1907, No. 36594. An oval above the back, an *nh* in front of horse and additional adorant, is, e.g., found on Tell el-Far’ah South (tomb 201, Keel 2010b, 176–177 No. 343; locally made scaraboid). An *nh* in an oval above the horses back and an additional

- monkey to the right of the horse is shown on a collection item, published by Grenfell 1908, 153 No. 49; see also Jaeger 1982, §1418.
- For a single horse in combination with papyrus buds, cf. an item from Akhziv (Keel 1997b, 56–57 No. 106 with further parallels). Other single horses on roughly contemporary and rather crudely engraved seals, e.g., come from Tell eš-Šafi (Frederick Jones Bliss and R.A. Stewart Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898–1900* [London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902], 152 with Pl. 83:7), Bet Guvrin (Keel 2010a, 36–37 No. 1 with additional graphic elements) or Jericho (John Garstang, “Jericho: City and Necropolis,” *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 20 [1933]: 3–42, see 28 with Pl.26 [Tomb No. 5, Fig. 3]; bone seal with additional + or Tau). Unfortunately, none of those seals is unambiguously stratified.
- <sup>112</sup> Jaeger 1982, §1325 note 807.
- <sup>113</sup> Hall 1913, Nos. 1029–1031; see also the museum item in Daphna Ben-Tor, *The Scarab. A Reflection of Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1993), No. 5; for the interpretation, see also Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 131; Jaeger 1982, §392.
- <sup>114</sup> Single horses with other attributes are, e.g., found on items from Tell el-Far’ah South (Keel 2010b, 148–149 No. 282 [22nd Dynasty] and 286–287 No. 600 [19th–20th Dynasty]), Gezer (Keel 2013a, 370–371 No. 469 [18th Dynasty] and 432–433 No. 618 [19th–20th Dynasty]); these may be viewed as iconographic links between the 18th Dynasty prototypes and the 22nd Dynasty items discussed above in note 41.
- <sup>115</sup> Gabriel Barkay, “‘The Prancing Horse’—An Official Seal Impression from Judah of the 8th Century B.C.E.,” *Tel Aviv* 19 (1992): 124–130.
- <sup>116</sup> Keel 1997b, 736–737 No. 5.
- <sup>117</sup> Ido Koch, “Prancing Horse Impression,” in Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot and Liora Freud (eds.), *Ramat Rahel III—Final Publication of Yohanan Aharoni’s Excavations (1954, 1959–1962), Vol. II* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 368–370.
- <sup>118</sup> Barkay 1992, 124–125 with Fig. 1; see also Nahman Avigad and Gabriel Barkay, “The LMLK and Related Seal Impressions,” in Geva Hillel (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. I. Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Hebrew University, 2000), 243–257, see 250–251 No. 56.
- <sup>119</sup> Ephraim Stern, *En-Gedi Excavations, Vol. 1* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2007), 163–165; Keel 2010b, 562–563 No. 4. This impression is the only one found on a complete jar “of Type ... IIIA” (Barkay 1992, 125; see also Irit Yezereski, “Pottery of Stratum V,” in Ephraim Stern [ed.], *En-Gedi Excavations, Vol. 1* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007], 86–129, see 103 with Pl. 9:14); for the typology used, see Zimhoni 1997, 221–228; for more recent discussions of such jars, cf., e.g., Amihai Mazar and Nava Panitz-Cohen, *Timnah (Tel Batash) II: The Finds from the First Millennium BCE*, 2 vols., Qedem 42 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001), 93–96; Seymour Gitin, “The lmlk Jar-Form Redefined: A New Class of Iron Age II Oval-Shaped Storage Jars,” in Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji (eds.), “I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times.” *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, 2 vols. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 505–524; Omer Sergi, Avshalom Karasik, Yuval Gadot and Oded Lipschits, “The Royal Judahite Storage Jar: A Computer-Generated Typology and Its Archaeological and Historical Implications,” *Tel Aviv* 39 (2012): 64–92.
- <sup>120</sup> McCown 1947, 154 Fig. 35:6; see also Barkay 1992, 126.
- <sup>121</sup> Mentioned by Barkay (1992, 126–127); the item is missing in Keel 2013a, 498–505.
- <sup>122</sup> However, Koch (2016, 369) suggests that the seals that were used to stamp the handles from Jerusalem and Tel Goren were probably imported from Phoenicia (see already Benjamin Sass, “The Pre-exilic Hebrew Seals: Iconism vs. Aniconism,” in Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger [eds.], *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 125 [Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,



1993], 194–256, see 225; possibly the item from Aseka should be added as well), while, e.g., the items from Ramat Raḥel and Tell en-Naṣbeh originated from local products. Contrarily, Schmidt assumed an Assyrian influence on locally produced items, cf. Rüdiger Schmitt, *Bildhafte Herrschaftsrepräsentation im eisenzeitlichen Israel*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 283 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 127–128).

<sup>123</sup> See also Keel 2007, 444. Note that the prancing horse as symbol of political power is (much) later also found on coins from Samaria minted during the Persian period; cf. Patrick O. Wyssmann, *Vielfältig geprägt. Das späterszeitliche Samaria und seine Münzbilder*, PhD dissertation (Bern: University of Bern, 2014), 235–237.

<sup>124</sup> Schipper 2012, 36–40.