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A lesújtás motívumai a szíria-palesztinai ikonográfiában: az Egyiptom és a levantei régió közti interkulturális kapcsolat bizonyítékai (összehasonlító tanulmány)

Dissertatio ad Doctoratum (Ph.D.)

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Motifs of Smiting in the Syro-Palestinian Iconography: Proofs of Intercultural Exchange between Egypt and the Levantine Region (A Comparative Study)

Dissertatio ad Doctoratum (Ph.D.)

Supervisor:
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Preface

I have always been profoundly interested in what human beings believe in and how they see the environment around them in the context of their faith; how they perceive external stimuli and how they process external phenomena – how they envision the reality in which they live, and how they shape this reality by connecting the beginning and the end to infinity. In brief, how do humans try to establish themselves on an organic living desktop (the Earth) that is capable of working perfectly well without them? Apart from the physically perceptible, there is an invisible and mysterious phenomenon that affects us. It helps us to distil the stimuli from the world: it fills us with admiration, it explains, it frightens, enchants, liberates and destroys, but also organizes and leads us, inevitably creating a healthy symbiosis between thinking people and the world they perceive.

This special relationship is maintained and strengthened by religion, which could be described as an expression of the visible (finite) coherent relationship with the Invisible (Infinite) through space and time. Evidence for religion is provided by both written and material sources. Humanity develops a transcendent world with which to interpret and systematize the various signs and phenomena that are all around, creating a multidimensional coordinate system in which humanity has its own place, and whereby human existence becomes meaningful and predictable – this constitutes the essence (and importance) of religion.

Through verbal and visual abstraction, a system of religious symbols tends to grow increasingly rich and complex, accompanied by a fine-tuning of its imagery. By interpreting the religious symbolic system of a given culture, we can obtain a representative picture of the religious anthropology and phenomenology of the people who inhabited that culture.

The purpose of this study is to explore possible visual interpretations and connotations of an iconym found in the Bronze Age material culture of the Ancient Near East, concentrating on the region of Syria-Palestine, by examining the origin, evolutionary history and adaptation of the iconographic motif known as "*Smiting the Enemy*".

Erika Roboz (Bern, 5 September 2019)

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Chapter 1 – Introduction: using the tools of iconography to decipher the multi-layered meanings of a motif

1.1. Problems with the complexity of the topic: the concept of *images as media*

Every image that visualizes a historical scene contains a (concrete or hidden) message, considered as an idealized encapsulation of the event it depicts. This is especially true for ancient art, particularly in the case of artworks depicting religious scenes that communicate their meaning through a given system of symbols. To decipher an image, and thus to understand a single piece of the past, the spectator requires knowledge of the language encoded in the image. The process of deciphering images is as complicated as understanding a foreign language, because in order to arrive at an appropriate interpretation of an image, with all its multiple layers, we need to have an adequate command of the vocabulary, grammatical rules and dialect that are used, and an awareness of the context of the image.

1.1.1. A brief research history: milestones in the development of the disciplines of modern iconography and iconology – theory and practice

The word iconography derives from the Greek words *εἰκών* ("eikón", meaning "image") and *γράφειν* ("gráfein", meaning "to write" or "to draw"), and refers to the formal study of identifying, describing and interpreting images. In art history, 'iconography' may also refer to a particular depiction of a subject in terms of the content of the image, such as its motifs, the number of figures used, and their placing, attributes, features and gestures. Iconography as an academic art historical discipline is rooted in the heavily systematizing and classifying approach of 19th-century Western scholarship, with a strong interest in Christian religious art, which was initially predominantly French (A. N. Didron, A. H. Springer, É. Mâle).[1]

Iconology[2] denotes the analytical and synthetic method of interpretation in the cultural history of visual arts, uncovering the historical and cultural background and symbolic meaning of the subjects, motifs and themes of images. Despite there being some interoperability and overlap between the two terms, which often causes confusion, the difference between the two

[1] Kleinbauer – Slavens 1982: 60–72.
[2] The concept introduced and elaborated by the German art historian Aby Warburg and the German-Jewish art historian Erwin Panofsky, see Straten 1994: 12.

concepts is perceptible in the different approaches taken. The philosophical background of the concept of iconology provided by Erwin Panofsky,[3] together with his methodology, was embodied and codified in the work entitled *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939), which concentrated on particular themes in Renaissance art.[4] Further development of this concept, discussing the aims and limitations of iconology, was elaborated by the Austrian art historian Ernst Gombrich.[5]

This was alluded to with the comparison to language in the introductory paragraph of this chapter, an idea that was vividly expressed by Gombrich: '*the emerging discipline of iconology... must ultimately do for the image what linguistics has done for the word.*'[6] If we consider the distinction between the two terms according to Warburg and Panofsky, in order to achieve an appropriate interpretation of a given image, we have to deploy both the descriptive tools of iconography and the analytical tools of iconology, both of which mutually build on each other.

The intellectual trend of the era was matched by increased scientific interest in studying the cultures of Classical Antiquity through this "institutionalized" new perspective. One of the first initiatives was the founding of the Warburg Institute in Hamburg in 1933, based on Aby Warburg's personal library. The institute was intended as the intellectual repository of Aby Warburg's intellectual heritage, dedicated to the study of (cross-)cultural history and art history, and focusing on the role of the visual image. The institute moved to London in 1944, became associated with the University of London, and began its involvement in scientific research.[7] It published ambitious works aimed at the thematic iconographic organization of the historical eras of Western Antiquity.[8]

The Bible-centric world of scientific iconographical interest in the neighbouring ancient Near Eastern cultures gradually came to be interpreted in the light of the Old Testament narrative. The works of Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisterkultur* (1913) and *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients: Handbuch zur biblisch-orientalischen Altertumskunde* (1904, [3]1916), served this increasing interest in comparing ancient Near Eastern sources with the Bible.[9]

[3] Panofsky 1955: 26–54.
[4] Panofsky 1939.
[5] Gombrich 1972: 1–25; Taylor 2008: 1–10.
[6] Gombrich 1987: 246.
[7] For more information about the background of the institute the webpage (https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/about-us)
[8] Warburg's attempt is the "afterlife of antiquity" in the Western art history, see Warburg 1924–1929, *Mnemosyne-Atlas.*
[9] Jeremias 1904/[3]1916 and Jeremias 1913

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The interpretation of the ancient Near East as the cultural milieu encompassing the world of the Bible strengthened interest in ancient Near Eastern (religious and non-religious) imagery, which became intertwined with the emergence of biblical studies as a separate discipline, and resulted in the birth of works such as *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (^{2}1927) by Hugo Gressmann,[10] and *The Ancient Near East in Pictures. Relating to the Old Testament* (1954/1969) by James B. Pritchard.[11] This process led to the great encyclopaedic works of the 1960s, with their organized iconographic overview, which focused on the religious iconography of the ancient Near East, for example, *L'Iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VII^{e} siècle avant J-C* (1965) by Alain Vanel.[12]

In this subchapter, I considered it important to outline the developmental curves of the two disciplines in general, because later, mainly through the work of Othmar Keel, the study of visual representations within the discipline of Biblical science became increasingly important in the ancient Near Eastern context, which applies the research methods and approaches of iconography and iconology in this regard.

1.1.2. Syro-Palestinian religious iconography in focus: the impact of Othmar Keel and The Fribourg School in a nutshell

The attitude of interpreting images as independent historical sources is indelibly related to the Swiss theologian, art historian, Egyptologist and religious historian Othmar Keel. His early passion for iconography, based on his personal *in situ* experiences in the lands of the ancient Near East,[13] remained strong enough to lead him to pursue an academic career after his graduation. He was a member of the founding committee of the Biblical Institute (later renamed the Department of Biblical Studies) at the University of Fribourg in 1970. He built up a new branch of research within Old Testament studies. The "Fribourg School" that developed from his and his students' research work represented an entirely new level in studying visual sources, which probably fundamentally changed biblical science and the scientific attitude to the biblical world, one of its first imprints being *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (1972).[14] The series *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* (since

[10] Gressmann 1927.
[11] ANEP, see Pritchard 1954/1969^{b}
[12] Vanel, 1965.
[13] For Keel's passion on iconography strengthened personal experiences of travelling through the ancient Near East with a Vespa, see Keel – Uehlinger 1996: 10.
[14] Keel 1972/^{5}1996 (in German), for the English version of the work, see Keel 1997b.

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1973) and *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica* (since 1980), both founded and published by Keel, provide opportunities to publish the results of iconographic research.

According to Keel's method, the examination of objects from the visual perspective could offer a key to understanding connections, through the symbolism, metaphorism and visual exegesis of the images.

The main purpose of the investigations carried out by Keel, his colleagues and his students is to reconstruct the intellectual and religious history of Palestine/Israel, guided by the evidence of images. This involves understanding images as media[15] and paying greater attention to the ancient Near Eastern glyptic as an important object group, constituted of stamp seals and cylinder seals, and regarded as media of intercultural communication. The detection and synthetization of the dominant iconographic features and motifs culminated in the construction of a corpus of stamp seal amulets from Palestine/Israel (citing circa 10,000 amulets from legal excavations), entitled *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit,* have been published in five volumes, presenting the object material according to their archaeological sites. The chronological frames of the corpus processed from the beginning to the Persian period.[16]

Related studies on certain important key motifs connected to the corpus material entitled *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* have been published in five volumes.[17] This research can be considered a significant cornerstone of iconographic research on Syro-Palestinian miniature art. In addition, the *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien,* the catalogue of stamp seals originating from Jordan, has also been compiled in one volume. The chronological frames of the corpus extended from the Neolithic period to the Persian period .[18]

The comprehensive monograph entitled *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (1992), abbreviated as *GGG* is a guide handbook interpreting the symbol system of Syro-Palestinian material sources.[19] Keel's principles and attitude towards examining images as media are also followed by his students, using additional exciting perspectives of examination.

[15] For the reference of the concept about images acting as mass-media devices (*Massenkommunikationsmittel*) in the 1st millennium ancient Near Eastern glyptic, see Keel – Uehlinger 1990; Uehlinger 2000; XV–XVI
[16] For the volumes, see Keel 1995; Keel 1997a; Keel 2010a; Keel 2010b; Keel 2013; Keel 2017b.
[17] For the volumes, see Keel – Schroer 1985; Keel – Keel-Leu – Schroer 1989 (is dedicated for Dominique Collon); Keel – Shuval – Uehlinger 1990; Keel 1994.
[18] For the volume, see Eggler – Keel 2006.
[19] Keel – Uehlinger 1992/^{5}2001). The volume re-issued in English in Fribourg, Bibel+Orient Museum in 2010, and used for references in the present study.

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Urs Winter's iconographic exegesis entitled *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (1983) reflects on gender studies by investigating the correlation between biblical passages and the images of female deities in ancient Israel and neighbouring cultures.[20]

Silvia Schroer, in her doctoral dissertation entitled *In Israel gab es Bilder: Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament* (1987), pointed out that – contrary, for example, to the words of the Ten Commandments – there are many references found in the Bible to prove the existence of visual images in Israel.[21] Silvia Schroer is the author of the series *Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient* (IPIAO). The four-volume work seeks to construct and interpret the symbol system of Palestine/Israel with the help of contemporary iconographic examples cited from the surrounding cultures, using them to complement the lack of Syro-Palestinian sources from the Early Bronze Age to the Achaemenid Period.[22]

The unceasing passionate interest in and iconographic examination of objects ultimately led to the creation of a collection of objects. The Foundation BIBEL+ORIENT was established to develop its own collection, with the aim of setting up a museum, also serving as an exhibition space, which opened on the campus of Fribourg University in 2005, with a relatively small exhibition area of 60 square metres, under the name of BIBEL+ORIENT Museum.[23] As one of the pioneering projects related to the museum, the online iconographic database of digitized material sources (*BODO BIBEL+ORIENT Datenbank Online*) facilitates searching according to iconographic element and period. The database has been accessible to researchers all over today's digital world since 2010.[24]

The constant importance of glyptics as a key medium in interdisciplinary research is demonstrated by a recent Sinergia four-year research project entitled *Corpus of Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant* (CSSL), launched in January 2020. The programme aims to compile an open access digital database on the selected object group with a narrower regional focus than the CSSPI, concentrating on the area of the Southern Levant (present-day Israel, Jordan, and

[20] Winter, U. 1983.
[21] The doctoral dissertation of Silvia Schroer defended at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Fribourg, see Schroer 1987.
[22] For the volumes, see Schroer – Keel 2005; Schroer 2008; Schroer 2011; Schroer 2018.
[23] For the historical background and foundation of the museum, about the collections held, and the principles for expanding the collections, see the webpage with the related topics, see http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/index.php/de/information/geschichtliches (in German)
[24] The BODO BIBEL+ORIENT Datenbank Online database is available via the webpage of the BIBEL+ORIENT Museum Fribourg, see http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/

Palestine), to serve as the basis for international and interdisciplinary research (archaeology, biblical studies, history of religions, gender studies).[25]

1.1.3. Applied Methodology and Method schemas "*als das Recht (und Fähigkeit) zu sehen*"

The methodological skills required for iconographic analysis (*Methoden-Schemata*) within the complex system of visual interpretation elaborated by Keel with the contribution of Christoph Uehlinger[26] rest on two schemas,[27] based on Panofsky's three works on the topic of iconography and iconology (firstly, the structure of the interpretation process in Panofsky's works, and secondly, the aspects pertaining to the interpretation of the image).[28]

In the process of interpretation, starting from the applied methodology and continuing with the iconographical approach, it is important first to identify the individual image elements (e.g. main figures, symbols, motifs) and separate them from the decorative elements (e.g. elements out of context) and from the subject or key elements of the image as a whole (e.g. scene). In order to decipher the message, we then need to look for connections between the iconographic elements of the image (e.g. context and constellation) that will help us to formulate one or more possible interpretations of the image in its context.[29]

Epigraphical sources and archaeological evidence are indispensable in supporting the process of interpretation, for they help to determine the background of the depicted themes and scenes, but we need to bear in mind that in certain instances,[30] texts can be *Störfaktor* (disturbance factors),[31] as Keel warns us in the monograph *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden* (1992).[32]

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[25] For the detailed factsheet of the project, see https://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/en/forschung/projekte/SINERGIA-project.html

[26] Keel 1992: Appendix.

[27] For the tabular summary of *Die Methoden-Schemata,* see Keel 1992: 272–273.

[28] The first published versions of the papers, see Panofsky 1932: 103–119; Panofsky 1939: 3–31; Panofsky 1955: 26–41.

[29] Keel – Uehlinger 2010: 13–14.

[30] For an illustrated example of the problems with identification of the four-winged young deity in the Syro-Phoenician art using the epigraphical sources of Philo Byblius's Poenician History dated to the 1st century A.D much a later date is misleading, see Uehlinger 2000: XXVII–XXVII.

[31] For the argument *Texte als Störfaktor* in connection with the example of animal combat scenes of the 3rd millennium cylinder seals from the ancient Near Eastern sites, see Keel 1992: 1–23.
This problem is also emphasized by Izak Cornelius, see Cornelius 1994: 18.

[32] The dove symbolism (dove as the ambassador of love) is an another illustrated example for detecting connection constellations among the depicted figures and motifs shown on an Old Syrian and a Mitannian cylinder seal occurred on Attic red-figure vessels from the 6th century B.C. Classical Antiquity, see Keel – Uehlinger 1996: 126–127.

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1.4. The hypothesis of the present study

The study is intended to illustrate the cosmogonic aspect of the smiting motif, rooted in the ruler symbolism of ancient Egyptian art and transferred into the symbol system of the divine world of neighbouring cultures through the adaptation process, which in this context is combined with the abandonment of the representation of the image of the human enemy. The presentation of intercultural, political, economic and military relations shaping the face of the examined regions, which may serve as factors in the adaptation process of the motif, is summarized in the following subchapters (see 3.1.1, 3.2.1, 4.1).

In examining the smiting motif, I wished to avoid analysing the broader interpretation of the concept of triumph and its visual forms of representation in ancient Near Eastern cultures, focusing instead on the original meaning (triumph) expressed by the motif, which depends on its context.

Through an iconographic analysis of the object material depicting the smiting motif, the present study is intended to support the cosmogonic aspect of the interpretation of smiting, which – articulated in the canonical Egyptian context – could be a possible basis for deities and other supernatural beings depicted in this position in Syro-Palestinian iconography, surrounded by the visual imagery of ancient Near Eastern cultures. The general decline in the practice of depicting the enemy in the scene outside of the Egyptian context may support this idea.[33]

Through a discussion of the figures depicted in smiting position, the present study also aims to show what the smiting motif could have meant or expressed in its new context, and the ways in which its meaning was affected by being removed from its original context.

1.5. Structure of the present study

The present study deals with a specially selected iconographic motif or iconym known as "*Smiting the Enemy*", examining its symbolic meaning and connotation in ancient Near Eastern art, and concentrating on the visual imagery of Syria-Palestine. After an introduction that briefly covers the research history and discusses the background of the basic methodologies followed, which are summarized in the Chapter 1.

[33] For the former concerns according to Smith, R. H. 1962: 176–183; adapted by Collon 1972: 111–134.

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Chapter 2 starts the chronological investigation of objects focusing on the iconographic perspective of the motif, examined within its local context, Egyptian royal iconography. In line with the comparative aim of the study, and from the point of view of argumentation, I consider it important to present the detailed development of the original Egyptian smiting scene as a characteristic visual representation of royal power and to discuss the iconographic elements featured in the scene. Due to the fact that the smiting motif originates indisputably from Egypt, appearing later in Syro-Palestinian art, it is important to compare which elements of the original scene are incorporated, and how they occur, as well as which are neglected or modified through the adaptation process.

I examine the development of the scene as it progresses in chronological order of the selected objects of the Egyptian periods. I discuss the Ramesside period as a separate subchapter of the New Kingdom (2.2.4.1), because it will be considered as an artistically independent unit, which presents the richest occurrence of the scene within Egyptian royal art. A presentation of the featured figures and symbols and a discussion of their origin and development are illustrated through the iconographic features of the scene.

The Chapter 3 follows the tracks of the motif as it appeared outside of its original context, forming part of the religious iconography of the Syro-Palestinian region in the Middle Bronze Age. In addition, it provides the cultural and political-historical background, and describes possible ways in which Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian region were culturally interconnected, which contributed to an interchange of motifs among the neighbouring cultures. The challenge of the study is to illustrate the scale of appearance of the motif. The most speculative question concerns which aspect of the interpretation might have served as the possible starting point for the adaptation of the motif in its new context.

After a brief review of the cultural and political-historical background of Syria-Palestine and its neighbouring regions in the Late Bronze Age, Chapter 4 presents the golden age of the motif: it deals with the iconographic features of the smiting deities of the Syro-Palestinian transcendent world. In terms of the gender of the smiting deities, by discussing their physical characteristics and attributes, I outline the offensive aspect of their divine character with the help of selected material and textual sources. I consider it important for the hypothesis to shed light on whether the warrior aspect of the smiting deities and their mythological role in the cosmogonic struggle may be a common denominator or explanation for the incorporation of the motif into their martial iconography, since the original Egyptian smiting motif also has a cosmogonic level of interpretation in the iconography of the victorious pharaoh.

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In Chapter 5, a summary and concluding remarks close the study, which is supported by Appendices I (List of Abbreviations, Chronology of the Bronze Age) and Appendix II (List of Figures, which is related to the cited objects discussed in the Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), and finally supplemented with a Bibliography of the cited literature, and the Abstract.

1.6. Methodological scope of the study and handling of the object images

The present research seeks to fit into the iconographic approach as a link, by examining the visual culture of the Syro-Palestinian region focusing on a single iconographic element. Compared to previous research on this topic or related fields, by analysing the original motif with special regard to the variants of the motif that arose in its new visual contexts, it aims to present a complete picture of the motif using a comparative approach. By exploring the additional elements, investigating the original context in detail, and reviewing the development of the motif in the light of its ideological background, the present research may serve to identify certain characteristics which could potentially provide the basis for how the motif was adapted to the visual imagery of other cultures.

By way of introduction, it can be stated that my contact and working relationship with Prof. Dr. Silvia Schroer indisputably played the most important role in the formation of the thesis of the dissertation. During earlier short-term fellowships (2013, 2019) I spent time conducting library research at the University of Bern (*Theologische Fakultät, Institut für Bibelwissenschaft (IBW), Ancient Near Eastern Cultures Relating to Pre-Islamic Palestine/Israel*) to collect the relevant scientific material. These occasions afforded me the opportunity to share my ideas with her during personal consultations, and later via email. Her professional guidance, in the form of invaluable critical remarks, helped me to draw up the final outline of the thesis, to define the applicable research methods, to formulate the main questions raised during the development of the analysis, and through this, to define the spatial and temporal frameworks of the dissertation, which are explained below.

Definition of the smiting motif: a special iconographic visual element (iconym) of the Egyptian royal Pharaonic *Bildthema* “Subjugation of and Victory over the Enemy/Pharaoh Smiting the Enemy” in the form of a characteristic dynamic act articulated as an offensive gesture.

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The most important component in the act of movement is the raised arm (with or without a held weapon), which may be enough to identify the motif. The second important component is the position of the legs,[34] two subcategories of which are distinguished:

1. Dynamic: one leg steps forward in a striding position,
2. Static: legs are parallel to each other in a standing or sitting position.[35]

Geographical horizon (provenance): two main geographical viewpoints are possible with regard to the geographical distribution of the objects included in the catalogue. The first takes a stricter geographical approach, and is limited to the provenance of Syria-Palestine (modern Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria). The second geographical viewpoint takes a cross-cultural approach and includes ancient Near Eastern objects found outside the Syro-Palestinian region but connected to or originating from there (e.g. objects with Egyptian provenance depicting Syro-Palestinian deities).[36] Highlands of Anatolia and the Hittite *Kulturkreis* with Neo-Hittite examples were excluded, as were those with provenance from Aegean, Mediterranean and European sites.

Time horizon: the timeframe of the examination of the present study stretches from the Middle Bronze Age IA to the beginning of the Early Iron Age I (for the dating of the archaeological periods, see Appendix I, Table 1). These time limits fit to the appearance of the smiting motif outside Egypt dating back to the 19th–18th centuries B.C.[37] (with the possible first appearance at the glyptic of Sippar,[38] supporting considerable examples from Mari,[39] Ebla[40] and Alalakh[41]). The motif reached its zenith in the Late Bronze Age[42] and disappeared relatively quickly from the Syro-Palestinian iconography after the Ramesside Period, as Silvia Schroer (2018) pointed out.[43] This idea is also supported by defining the timeframes of the cited objects so as to include pieces from the Late Bronze Age, when the largest abundance of objects appeared bearing the smiting motif.

[34] For the change in the rendering of the legs in Egyptian context more discussed in the Chapter 2.2, based on Teissier 1996: 126.
[35] The representations of smiting figures depicting Syro-Palestinian gods and goddesses are rendered also in sitting position. For examples of the smiting Reshef seated, see Cornelius 1994: Pl. 16–19. For the representations of the seated smiting goddess, see Cornelius 2008a: 21–22 (on a throne); Cornelius 2008a: 40–44 (equestrian).
[36] Following the arguments of Izak Cornelius, see Cornelius 1994: 23, and Cornelius 2008a: 16–17, 53f.
[37] Teissier 1996: 116.
[38] Collon 1986: 165–166.
[39] Amiet 1961: 1–6, fig. 8.
[40] Cornelius 1994: fig. 33.
[41] Collon 1975: Pl. XXV
[42] Cornelius 1994: 256.
[43] Schroer 2018: 63.

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General restrictions for object images: smiting act performed in the original Egyptian context, smiting act performed against animals (e.g. hunting scenes, *Tierkampf*, *Chaoskampf* etc.).

The following questions are waiting to be answered during the examination, which are also reflected in the heading of the columns in the tables containing data on the examined objects:

- Who is the smiting figure (deity/human)?
- Is a visible or invisible enemy depicted in the scene?
- What type of scene the smiting motif appears in?
- What is the context of the scene?
- Can the figure be identified solely by the smiting motif?
- Can there be a correlation between the inclusion of the motif in the visual representation of the figure and the general role of the figure?

According to the methodological guidelines, the object material was examined using iconographical criteria during the examination. The iconographic analysis firstly focuses on the figure itself (deity or human), and also gives the typological classification (type) and the function (role) of the figure. Finally, identification is attempted and justified with explanations (if the identification is not possible, the function or type of the figure is relied on).

When discussing the Late Bonze Age objects in tabular form in the main text of the Chapter 4, the systematization and grouping principles are structured as follows: beyond the gender grouping of the smiting figure (female or male), the object types are divided into two parts in terms of visual representation: two-dimensional media, three-dimensional media. Within these categories, the object types are discussed in separate tables by progressing in size from large to small (two-dimensional: reliefs, stelae, ostraca, plaques/plaquettes, glyptic, pendants; three-dimensional: bronze figurines, sculpture).

The object catalogue presents the images of the discussed objects, which are those strictly bearing the smiting motif in the Syro-Palestinian iconographical *Motivschatz* in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (see Appendix II): focusing on anthropomorphic deities standing in a smiting pose with a raised hand holding a weapon or represented in the smiting position without a weapon. Several excellent object catalogues have been published in the past about the iconography of Syro-Palestinian deities, including objects bearing the smiting motif as a subcategory, or dealing with the gods and goddesses depicted in the smiting position.

Because of this, in this study I wanted to avoid unnecessary repetition of the general data and detailed descriptions of the cited objects. Therefore only the inventory number and the reference for the image of the actual object (Fig.) are included in the main text, while the related

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bibliographical reference is provided in a footnote. In the case of objects for which I was unable to include a picture (Figs. 70–71), I provide the related bibliographic references in the relevant part of the text. However, these objects are still numbered because they are cited among the material sources that I considered important for my argument, and they are included in the catalogue with a disclaimer (“photo is not available”).

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Chapter 2 – The Pharaoh smites the Enemy – the development of the visual conception and its message at different levels of authority in Pharaonic art

2.1. Description of the posture: research history and a definitive description of the final execution gesture as a dynamic act

The iconographic element delineated by the term "Pharaoh Smiting the Enemy" is one of the well-known scenes in Egyptian visual heritage, with a wide range of attestations on motif-bearers according to size, material, function, and type of objects classified, from monumental to glyptic art. The representation of the smiting posture has its own canonical rules with strong propagandistic features in the Egyptian royal iconography. The iconographical interpretation and projections of the pictorial meaning of "*PStE"* – the acronym created and used by the author in the present study, arguing that the applied fluent phrase term justifies using the verb "smiting" in the present continuous tense – emphasize the perpetuality (properly stationarity) in the mythological concept of the examinated motif as a visual element of Egyptian cultural historical memory.[44]

There have been many attempts at interpreting the concept in the discipline of Egyptology since the 1950s. The references have specifically dealt with interpreting the concept of "PStE" in Egyptian kingship mainly from its political aspect, considered primarily through the written sources.[45] In addition, the available literature concentrating on the depiction of the PStE in Egyptian pharaonic art shows growing interest in the visual representation of the concept.[46]

Besides the following substantive and comparative studies on this topic in its local context, there are further investigations interpreting the visual value of the PStE scene in Egyptian contexts, but with the inclusion of intercultural aspects related to the world of the Old Testament and Syria-Palestine.[47]

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[44] The name of the iconym is "(Nieder)schlagen das Feinde" in German references, but the acronym is PStE.

[45] For the related literature, see Frankfort 1948b: 7–11, 91–92; Schäfer 1957: 168–176; Posener 1960: XV–107; Hornung 1971: 48–58; Assmann 1992; Blumenthal 2002: 53–61.

[46] The related literature on the iconographic examination on the PStE summarized especially by Meltzer 1975, (unpublished, and available in the Egyptian Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, Ontario) cited after Hoffmeier 1983: 54, note 6; Schoske 1982 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation located in the Institut für Bibelwissenschaft, Altes Testament, Universität Bern, Switzerland) studied by the gentle courtesy of Pr. Dr. Silvia Schroer with her substantial remarks; Swan-Hall 1986; Schulman 1988: 8–115; Janzen 2013 (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Memphis).

[47] For the related literature on this aspect, see Keel 1974; Hoffmeier 1983: 53–60; Keel 1997b: 291–306; Keel – Uehlinger 1992: 134–138; Schroer – Keel 2005: 179–180, 230–249; Schroer 2008: 43, 146–161 (discussed together with the royal hunting scenes); Schroer 2011: 126–129; Schroer 2018: 63, 136–150.

According to the description of the PStE in the Egyptian context, this is a paused "snapshot" of the dynamic movement of the final act before execution: a standing, (usually) male figure (the king) is represented striding with one leg forward with his opposite arm raised above his head, holding a weapon with which he is threatening his enemy.

2.2. Development history: progress towards a complex symbol through the periods of Egyptian art (from the Early Dynastic Period to the end of the Ramesside Period)

In this section, the history of the motif is reviewed through motif-bearing objects that, from an iconographic aspect, added new features (e.g. royal attributes, symbols, assisting deities, persons, rendering, gestures, placing, representation) to the scene within Egyptian art. By reviewing the objects bearing the motifs, this section attempts to illustrate the development history of royal art through a review of the restricted or adopted elements in the canonical PStE iconography from the beginning to the later periods.

2.2.1. Early Dynastic Period (Archaic Period)

Emphasizing its ancient origin in Egyptian iconography, the PStE goes back as far as the Predynastic Period intertwined with the rise of the institution of the rulership (and its transformation to the kingship) with three forerunners on three different object types. In the sketched execution scene in the wall paintings of Hierakonpolis tomb 100 in the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt. Hierakonpolis 100 is the oldest known Egyptian painted tomb (in Kom el-Ahmar, Nekhen, dated about 3500 B.C.–Naqada II). The depicted scenes and motifs associated with power and authority indicate that the tomb might have belonged to an early king or ruler.[48] In the tomb scene, a larger male figure holding a hand-weapon, perhaps a mace or a club, is striking down three smaller figures bound together with a rope, which is considered to be the first attestation of the motif.[49] The larger scale of the smiting figure may indicate that he is a chief or a ruler defeating enemy prisoners. A similar scene featuring a larger figure using a hand weapon (mace or club) to smite one smaller figure who has his hands tied behind his back, who is being grasped by his forelock, is attested on ivory cylinder seals from the same site. Due to

[48] For more references, see Case – Payne 1962: 5–18; Payne 1973: 31–35.
[49] Swan-Hall 1986: 4.

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the type of object, the fact that the scene is constantly repeated in the three circular image fields below each other on the cylinder seals may support the eternal meaning of the scene.[50]

The alabaster palette of the tomb of Zer (Djer)[51], the third king of Dynasty I,[52] from Saqqara shows the king grasping a Libyan enemy by his forelock and performing the smiting before a recumbent lion figure represented as his frontal part, emphasizing symbolic domination during the act of execution. The recumbent frontal part of the lion may represent the king. It resembles the early form of the hieroglyph of "front" (*ḫȝt,* Gardiner F4), supposed to refer to the frontal position of lion statues in Egyptian temple architecture, which may confirm the idea that the scene is presented at a sacral place.[53] The king is wearing a short kilt and a wig or headdress, similar to the ruler depicted on the Hierakonpolis ivory cylinder seals. The smiting weapon has a handle, but its end is not visible.

The scene depicted on the obverse of the cosmetic palette of Narmer, made from siltstone,[54] found at the New Kingdom temple area also at Hierakonpolis, may indicate that it was a votive offering for the victory of Upper Egypt over the Delta (people of the Papyrus Land, literally known as Lower Egypt),[55] and it is commonly regarded as the first example of the classical PStE depiction. As a special object type of this period, the cosmetic palette is considered a ceremonial object related to the early concept of kingship.[56] It was made at the end of the Early Dynastic Period, ca. 3000 B.C., as a symbolic commemorative document of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.[57] The huge central figure of the bearded king Narmer is shown wearing the Upper Egyptian white crown (*ḥḍt)* and a ceremonial garment passing over his shoulder, with four short tassels hanging on the belt, ending in cow-shaped Bat-Hathor heads (the faces of the two goddesses refer back to the decoration of the King's ornament on the upper register of the palette)[58] with a bull-tailed streamer behind. The bull symbolizes the might of the king. The king in the form of a bull is trampling over an enemy and breaking into a fortress with his horns on the lower register of the other side of the palette.[59] The right arm is holding a

[50] For the objects, see Quibell 1900: Pl. XV; Bommas 2011: 13.
[51] For the line drawing about the scene, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 7.
[52] The reign of Zer is dated to the mid-31th century B.C., see Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 71–73.
[53] Pérez-Accino 2002: 97.
[54] Stevenson 2007: 148–162.
[55] For the object (JE 32169, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Keel 1997b: 293–294; Schroer – Keel 2005: 236–238.
[56] More about the cosmetic palettes, see Finkenstaedt 1984: 107–110; Stevenson 2009: 1–9.
[57] Davis 1992. I thank István Nagy for drawing my attention to this work. For further selected references on the literature about the Narmer palette, see Goldwasser 1992: 67–85; Baines 1995: 95–156; Yurco 1995: 85–95; Davis 1996: 199–231; Wilkinson, T. A. H. 2000: 23–32; O'Connor 2011: 145–152.
[58] Schroer – Keel 2005: 236.
[59] Schroer – Keel 2005: 238.

mace, the left leg is striding forward to the single kneeling enemy, who is grasped by his hairlock, preparing to face death. The symbol of the raised hand (or fist), interpreted as a common symbol of power with apotropaic connotations, is considered as the most meaningful part of the entire scene.[60] The apotropaic meaning of the fist is underlined by the fact that fist-shaped amulets, attested as common articles in the Old Kingdom,[61] can also be found in later periods of Egyptian culture.[62]

The barefooted legs of the king also indicate the holiness of the ground on which he stands. The king is barefooted in the scene until the New Kingdom, when Tutankhamun is first depicted wearing sandals on his ceremonial shield from Thebes.[63] The transcendental presence during the smiting act is provided by the falcon-god Horus. Hierakonpolis, the religious and political capital of Upper Egypt, was the major cult centre with a great temple of the falcon-god, Horus of Nekhen.[64] As the divine patron of the kingship, the god of heavenly spheres in his falcon form also performs an act of domination over Lower Egypt, displayed with a complex pictorial symbol before the face of the smiting king: with his human arm he is grasping a rope that is attached to the nose of an enemy head, which serves as the end of a pedestal of six papyrus stalks. The cryptographic symbolic reading might be translated back into hieroglyphs as "land" (Gardiner, N17), serving as a pedestal for the six papyrus stalks ending in the enemy's head, and "falcon" (Gardiner, G5), for the falcon-shaped Horus, and refers to the land of the Nile Delta.[65] The *serekh*-name of Narmer (*n'r*, "catfish" *mr*, "chisel") is found in the upper edge register, between the cow-shaped heads of the goddess Bas or Hathor. His catfish-*serekh* depicted on a macehead from Hierakonpolis may represent the offensive face of kingship and be associated with the smiting act that decorates the type of weapon used as royal insignia, which is usually featured in canonical smiting scenes.[66] As the common hand-weapon represented in early smiting scenes, the mace can be attested in the archaeological material from the Naqada I period (preserved maceheads), which is intertwined with the early ideology of Egyptian kingship right from the beginning.[67]

[60] For the reference to this concept, see Altenmüller 1977: 938–939; adapted by Cornelius 1994: 256
[61] The fist-shaped amulet dated to the Old Kingdom (MMA 59.103.22, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), see "Additions to the Collections" 1960: 57.
[62] The fist-shaped amulet dated to the Late Period (MMA 15.43.42, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), see https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/560913
[63] For the object (JE 61576, The Egyptian Musem, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: 6.
[64] Quibell 1902: Pl. LXXII.
[65] Keel 1997b: 225, 292.
[66] For the object, see Millet 1990: 53–59, fig. 1.
[67] Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 168.

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Due to their natural habitat, catfish generally live in muddy waters associated with the Egyptian chthonic deity Aker,[68] the ferryman of Ra and the protector of the Sun God, helping to navigate the nocturnal barque during the night passage through the primeval waters of the underworld. This concept may be reflected, for example, in the depiction of the group of anthropomorphic catfish-headed Naru-demons (*n'ry*) accompanying Aker on the sacrophagus of Djedhor from the Ptolemaic period.[69] The catfish, as the apex predator of the Nile (the domain of water), was thus associated with the king and the early ideology of kingship in Egypt, and played a role in maintaining cosmogonic equilibrium.[70] The smaller servant figure behind the king holds his sandals and a vessel for purification.[71]

The ivory label (known as the "MacGregor Plaque") served as an element of a sandal from the tomb of Den in Abydos.[72] Den was the fifth king of Dynasty I, whose Horus-name "The One who Slays"[73] first bears the title of "King of Lower and Upper Egypt" (*nsw-bity*) in his throne name, and he was also the first depicted as wearing the Double Crown (*pschent*), as seen on a fragment of another ivory label from his tomb in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T).[74] The "MacGregor Plaque" depicts the smiting beardless, barefooted pharaoh wearing the *khat,* headcloth with a *uraeus* and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached behind. The wearing of the *khat* (without stripes hanging open on the back) as the headcloth of the nobility dates back to Dynasty I.[75] As an important part of the royal garment, the ceremonial bull's tail symbolized, as part of royal regalia, the strength, vitality and power of the animal nature of the king from the Early Dynastic Period onwards.[76] He is grasping the Eastern enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, and smiting him with a mace. The *ʒmš*-sceptre (Gardiner S44), consisting of a club or mace combined with a flail, is a symbolic weapon and insignia of the invincible pharaoh.[77] The standard of Wepwawet,[78] depicted with the *shedshed*[79] symbol[80] and *uraeus* on a bracket at the top on a pole with streamers hanging down before the king, highlights the sacral

[68] More about Aker as protector of the Sun God, see Leitz 2002: 83–85.
[69] For the object and about the role of the Naru-demons, see Roberson 2012: 256–258, fig. 5.57.
[70] Finger – Piccolino 2011: 20–28.
[71] Keel 1997b: 292.
[72] For the object (BM EA 55586, The British Museum, London), see MacGregor 2010: 62–67, no. 11.
[73] Meltzer 1972: 338–339.
[74] For the object (now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Petrie 1901: 21, Pl. X. fig. 13., Pl. XIV. figs. 7–7a.
[75] Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 196.
[76] Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 161–162.
[77] Bunson 2002: 34.
[78] Frankfort 1948b: 91–92.
[79] The interesting interpretation of *shedshed* symbol as an artistic representation of the burrow or lair of a canine. For the iconographical evolution of the Wepwawet-standards, see Evans 2011: 104–115.
[80] Considering the *shedshed* depicted together with a bi-lobed sphere with a long streamer symbolizing the Royal Placenta associated with rebirth. For the connection of the *shedshed* with the sky, see Frankfort 1948b: 92.

context of the act of execution and is closely associated with kingship and power, recurring in smiting scenes from the Old Kingdom onwards. Wepwawet is a wolf-headed or later jackal-headed anthropomorphic deity, and in his theriomorphic form he appears as a wolf or jackal. His main cult centre was in Asyut in Upper Egypt. Wepwawet as "The Opener of the Ways" is considered to be a chthonic deity associated with war and death. In his anthropomorphic form he is depicted as a warrior equipped with a mace and a bow as his attributes.[81]

Unusually, the contesting behaviour of the kneeling enemy is observed to reach the calf of the king's striding left leg. The rendering of the scene suggests that the enemy is trapped between the king and the Wepwawet-standard which frames the slaying, and might seal off the possibility of escape due to the power it embodies.

The position of the both legs stays on the ground till the end of the Old Kingdom, although the ivory label of Den seems to contradict this general statement, because of the raised heel of the right leg. The heel of the back foot will first be raised from the ground in the Middle Kingdom, and this remains typical from the New Kingdom onwards, bringing greater dynamism to the whole scene.[82] The raised mace constructs an imaginary visual triangle with the diagonally rendered *ames* and the striding left leg.

2.2.2. Old Kingdom

The iconography of representations of smiting in the Old Kingdom recalls elements of the Early Dynastic Period. The stone markers of Wadi Maghara in the Sinai show the smiting kings from Dynasty III to Dynasty VI surrounded by newly introduced symbols, which indicate the increasing power ambitions of the Egyptian kingship, in parallel with the threat from Eastern enemies, the nomad Bedouin tribes Menthu and Iunu.[83]

The beardless Sanakhte, the first to wear the Red Crown (*dšrt*), is dressed in a short kilt with a ceremonial tail, and in front of him are his *serekh* and a Wepwawet standard with the *shedshed*. The weapon is not visible due to the fragmentary condition of the stela, but based on precedents of the scene, it was probably a mace.[84]

Djoser is wearing a ceremonial beard and possibly a *khat* with an *uraeus*, as well as a short kilt with an attached ceremonial tail. He is using a mace to smite a kneeling prisoner. The scene

[81] Wilkinson, R. H. 2003: 191.
[82] For the fundamental change in the rendering of the legs in Egyptian context, see Teissier 1996: 126.
[83] For the site, see Mumford 1999: 875–876.
[84] For the object (BM EA691, The British Museum, London), see Strudwick 2006: 46–47.

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is positioned between the *serekh* and a goddess holding a *was*-sceptre, the symbol of power and domination over the forces of Chaos, with the head of the Seth-animal.[85]

Behind his *serekh*, Sekhem-khet is wearing a ceremonial beard and costumed similarly to Narmer. The heel of his back foot is raised, and he has a short sword or knife thrust in his belt. With a mace, he is smiting a half-kneeling enemy as he grasps his hairlock together with the *ames*. The commemorative representation with reiterations of the king wearing various Egyptian crowns shows the symbolic path of dominance from the smiting leader annihilating the enemy to the king who has unified his realm.[86] The enemy figure is holding a feather before his chest and facing the king. The feather might be associated with the goddess Ma'at, who embodied the Egyptian concept of cosmogonic order (the principle of world order, harmony, law and morality), as her ostrich feather represents the truth, as a measure of weight used during the ordeal of the "Weighing of the Heart" in the Afterlife.[87]

On his stone marker in Wadi Maghara,[88] the beardless Snofru is wearing a complex headdress consisting of a short curled wig, to which are attached two Horus-feathers and some curved cow-horns and horizontal ram-horns, as well as a short pleated kilt with a ceremonial tail, and a collar necklace. He is holding his naked enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames* and smiting him with a mace in the presence of crowned Horus, who is standing on the *serekh*. The enemy is twisting his body and reaching out his left hand to the king.

Similarly, on another stone marker from Wadi Maghara, Snofru is grasping the enemy by his hairlock together with a flat-ended *ames* and smiting him with a mace, which is depicted at the same height as the top of the *ḥḏt*, before Horus, who is standing on the *serekh* turning his back to the scene.[89] The reiterations of the standing king depicted in the lower register are all wearing various Egyptian crowns, and may reflect a similar unifying concept to that of his predecessor Sekhem-khet.

The beardless Khufu is wearing the Double Crown (*pschent*) with a short kilt, and grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, performing the smiting act with a mace before ibis-headed Thoth ("The Lord of Foreign Countries"),[90] who is in his

[85] For the image and related references to possible ways of identifying the goddess as Edjo, Hathor, or the Mistress of Mafket, the goddess of the turquoise mines in the Sinai, see Swan-Hall 1986: 7, fig. 11. (in situ?)
[86] For the image, see Swan-Hall 1986: 7, fig. 12. (in situ?)
[87] For more discussed references about the feather (Gardiner H6) representing Ma'at and justice, see Mancini 2004.
[88] For the image (CG 5757102, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and the concept of the ideology of divine kingship manifested in the tendency of creating new corwn types and king Snofru, see Gallardo 2014: 87–127, fig. 3.
[89] For the image (CG 57103, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 14.
[90] For the title of Thoth, see Bard 1999: 876.

anthropomorphic form, holding a *was*-sceptre and an *ankh*. For the first time, the Horus of Beḥdet,[91] the falcon-god of Lower Egypt, is hovering protectively above the king.[92]

The bearded Sahure, wearing the *ḥḏt* and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail, is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, which ends at the enemy's chest, and smiting him with a mace. The Wepwawet standard in the axis of the entire depiction, with the *shedshed* and *uraeus*, separates the smiting scene featuring the king, and may recall the visual concept of the predecessor Sekhem-khet representing the unification of the kingdom. As a "flow diagram", the scene depicts the way to achieve authority and power over the realm. The figure of the king facing right is seen in three reiterations: in two standing reiterations, the king is wearing the different crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, while in the last he is smiting with the *ḥḏt.* Two *was*-sceptres delimited the image field on both sides, and the depiction of the star-filled heavens above represents the cosmogonic frame for the two scenes, illustrating the different phases of gaining power.[93]

The fragmentarily preserved figure of the bearded Ny-user-ra is wearing the *ḥḏt* and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached, as he grasps the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, and smites him with a mace. The starry sky below the winged sun disk and the Horus-falcon standing on the *serekh* wearing the *pschent* provide the cosmogonic level for the scene. In the right register, the large ritual *hes*-vessel on the cartouche of the king, which is standing on a pedestal in the form of three *ankhs*, serves as a symbol of purification.[94]

The bearded Djedkare-Isesy, wearing a wig with a *uraeus* and a short kilt (whose ceremonial tail is not visible), is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, which has protuberances on both sides. He is smiting the enemy with a mace. The scene is depicted below the *nsw-bity* symbol, referring to the unified realm of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Horus-falcon turns its back to the scene.[95]

The first appearance of the winged sun disk accompanied by *uraei* on both sides, above the head of the bearded Pepy I, protects the king in a typical Old Kingdom-style smiting scene.[96]

The institutionalization of the increasing religious and commemorative value of the smiting motif can be observed in the Old Kingdom. The fragmentary wall relief from the mortuary

[91] For more references about Horus of Beḥdet, see Gardiner, A. H. 1944: 23–60.
[92] For the image, see Lepsius 1897: Blatt I–LXXXI., Blatt 2a.
[93] For the object (JE 38569, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Schoske 1982: 71, a38.
[94] For the image (CG 57105, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, desroyed), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 17.
[95] For the image see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 19. (now destroyed)
[96] For the image, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 20. (probably now destroyed)

temple of Ny-user-ra at Abusir,[97] showing parts of a smiting scene featuring a group of enemies, and the scene from the mortuary pyramid temple of Pepy II at Saqqara,[98] depicting the pharaoh wearing a wig adorned with the Horus-feather crown and a short kilt with the attached ceremonial tail, smiting two groups of striding enemies grasped symbolically by the hairlock without the *ames*, may provide the first examples of the smiting scene in the context of a temple area and featuring multiple enemies (an enemy group).

An unpublished block fragment depicting the smiting torso of Unas in a pleated kilt and a pleated *khat*, grasping the highly damaged figure of a single enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, is found on the Causeway of Unas leading to the pyramid of his mortuary temple at Saqqara.[99]

According to a small relief fragment from his valley temple, showing the lower arm of Ny-user-ra adorned with a bracelet decorated with a smiting scene, the smiting motif was used as decorative element on royal jewellery.[100]

A schematic depiction of the smiting scene in the hieroglyph of Pepy I on a cylinder seal from Tell el-Maskhuta supports the unique appearance of the smiting motif in royal administration.[101] The lower register of the two-registered vertical image field shows the king wearing the ceremonial tail, grasping the kneeling enemy by the hairlock together with the *ames*, and smiting him with a mace. The king in this scene is unusually facing left. The top of the upper register shows two falcons wearing the *deshret* and facing each other with two ascending *uraei* before both of them.

2.2.3. Middle Kingdom

After the disunited political organization of the First Intermediate Period, Mentuhotep II arrived on the scene in the role of unifier of the kingdom. His wall reliefs from Gebelein and the western wall of the Middle Kingdom chapel at the Dendera temple complex in Upper Egypt confirm the consistent attestation of the smiting motif in royal representations.

The beardless Mentuhotep II is shown facing left, wearing the *ḥḏt*, a collar necklace, and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail. He is grasping the kneeling enemy (probably a Libyan

[97] For the object (Berlin/GDR 16110/11/15, 17921, 17922, The Egyptian Museum of Berlin), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 18.
[98] Arnold et al. *Egyptian Art in the Age of Pyramids* 1999a: 92, fig. 56.
[99] For the object, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 22b.
[100] For the object (Berlin 17910, The Egyptian Museum of Berlin), see Swan-Hall 1986: 11.
[101] For the object (now in the Ismailia Museum, Egypt), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 21.

tribesman holding a feather) by his hairlock together with a long staff with a globe at the end, which is held outstretched approximately at the same angle as the mace held in his smiting left. Uniquely in this scene, a particular type of fish (possibly a catfish) is laid along the enemy's extended leg, which is rendered similarly to the place of the ceremonial tail attached to the kilt of the king. Considering the position of the fish in this example of the Egyptian smiting scene, the interpretation is, to the best of my knowledge, currently uncertain.[102] The Wepwawet standard with *shedshed* and *uraeus* delimits the space before the enemy. A *wab*-priest[103] in a ceremonial robe made from leopard-skin, who is responsible for cultic activities related to purification, might be standing behind the pharaoh holding the tail of his garment.[104]

The beardless Mentuhotep II, shown facing left, is wearing the *ḥḏt* with a *uraeus*, a broad multi-lined collar necklace, and a short pleated kilt with a ceremonial tail attached. He is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock, who is depicted in a short pleated kilt and a wig, and is possibly an Egyptian nobleman. Other kneeling foreigner figures, representing the official enemies of Egypt, are lined up behind the Egyptian prisoner: a Nubian, an Asiatic, and a Libyan, the latter two wearing a feather on their heads. The smiting mace is shown lower than the end of the crown. The presence of an Egyptian enemy alongside the foreigners awaiting their fate may allude to internal disturbances during the process of unification.[105]

In a two-register wall relief from Dendera, the small bearded Mentuhotep II, facing left, is wearing the *pschent*, a broad multi-lined collar necklace, and a short pleated kilt with a ceremonial tail attached. The weapon in his raised left hand is not visible. He is holding a special staff in his right, consisting of vegetal elements symbolizing the geographical poles of the North (papyrus blossom) and the South (lily), embodying the enemy. Holding the vegetal staff during the smiting act can be interpreted as maintaining order and unity in his complete realm from North to South, which correlates with the unification scene in the lower register. A part of an *ankh* held by a hovering falcon is depicted above the king, blessing and protecting him.[106]

In a new tendency that appears in smiting scenes from the Middle Kingdom, several traditional iconographic elements are replaced by symbols. Based on the number of pictorial sources surviving from this period, the presence of the PStE was far less pronounced in the royal iconography of the Middle Kingdom, which may be related to the declining imperial

[102] For an interpretation of this interesting and unique depiction associated with the electric or other species of catfish (?) in the iconography of the triumphant pharaoh Mentuhotep II, see Park 1997: 51–56. I thank Péter Gaboda for bringing this interesting paper to my attention.
[103] For more about the responsibilities of the *wab*-priest, see Wilkinson, T. A. H. 2001: 88–91.
[104] For the object (JE TR 1/11/17/10, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Marochetti 2013: fig. 4.
[105] For the image (JE TR 24/5/28/5, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 24.
[106] For the image (JE 46068, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Habachi 1963: 16–52, fig. 6.

ambitions of Egypt, compared with the Old Kingdom, whose evidence can be considered as the true imprint of the increasing expansion of the kingdom (Sinai).

Besides the unification efforts of the kingdom, which involved internal struggles, the graffito of Senwosret III from Gebel Agg (Tushka East) may indicate that the king also had to face an external threat from Nubia. The schematic rock carving shows the king wearing the *ḥḏt* and a short kilt, smiting a Nubian enemy grasped by the hairlock, who is raising both hands. The mace, as the smiting weapon, is depicted with an additional blade, which may be the precursor of the mace-axe.[107]

The smiting scene appears on royal jewellery, on the pectoral of Amenemhet III from the burial of Queen Mereret, the wife of Amenemhet from Dahsur. Designed with a cut-out and inlaid technique and enriched with gold and semi-precious stones, the crowded, symmetrical rendering of the symbols on the object make it an artistic masterpiece, which is considered to be a commemorative object of the victorious king, made using the repetitive visual solution developed in the Old Kingdom. The scene shows two smiting pharaohs mirroring each other wearing the *khat* with a *uraeus* ending in three strands, a broad multi-lined collar necklace, and a short striped kilt as part of the ceremonial garment passing over the shoulder. The figures are each using a mace-axe to smite a kneeling bearded Asiatic enemy, grasped by his hairlock. The enemy, unusually, is holding weapons (throwstick and dagger), offering them to the king as a sign of complete surrender. The vulture goddess, with outstretched wings, is hovering above the entire scene, holding complex symbols in her claws consisting of *ankh*s ending in *djed*-pillars. The entire scene is set in a portal-shaped frame with stylised cavetto cornice and torus mouldings, recalling the traditional elements of Egyptian temple architecture. Personified *ankh*s with human arms hold fans that keep the king cool during the execution.[108]

2.2.4. New Kingdom

After its overshadowed presence in Middle Kingdom art, the PStE enjoyed its golden age in the New Kingdom, as confirmed by the variety of divine figures featuring in the scene. The display of the motif became more grandiose and served to raise awareness of the defeated enemies represented on the surfaces of monumental architecture. With its commemorative

[107] For the object, see Simpson 1962: 36.
[108] For the object (CG 52003, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Grajetzki 2014: 88–89, fig. 69.

nature and significant cosmogonic content, the PStE was depicted to proclaim the total triumph of the pharaoh to the living, and as well in eternity.

Ritual weapons served as royal insignia. The ceremonial parade axe of Ahmose, the founder of Dynasty XVIII, is a commemorative artefact about the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt which stabilized the economic and political system, and led to the PStE being applied in a royal context thereafter. The object, made from semi-precious stones and various precious materials, such as copper, electrum, gold and cedar wood, was found in the tomb of Queen Ahhotep, the mother of Ahmose, in Dra'a Abu El-Naga, near Luxor. On the blade of the axe, the schematic figure of the king is depicted wearing the war-crown *khepresh* (Blue Crown) with, for the first time, a *uraeus*. He is wearing a short kilt and grasping the half-kneeling Hyksos enemy by his hairlock, stabbing the enemy in the chest with a dagger, as the enemy raises his arms defensively across his chest. Unusually, the stabbing right hand is not in the typical smiting position, but according to the context of the scene, it depicts the final act of victory over the enemy, as represented by the smiting scene.[109] The crouching griffin on the lower register symbolizes the falcon-headed war god Montu[110], which suggests a possible eastern origin of the design.[111]

Personal artefacts can also be motif-bearers. Scarabs served as amulets, or were used as personal or administrative seals or incorporated into jewellery. Some scarabs were apparently created for political or diplomatic purposes to commemorate or proclaim royal achievements. Thutmose III, during his long reign, led seventeen military campaigns beyond the borders of Egypt to Syria and Canaan, conflicting with the Mitanni Kingdom, reaching the river Euphrates in Asia[112], and fighting in Nubia[113] in his mainland, making him one of the supreme conquering pharaohs of Egypt who nursed imperial ambitions. Two scarabs dated to the reign of Thutmose III which bear scenes depicting the victorious king can be considered parallels in the representation of the hand gesture of the enemy figure. In the vertical image field of the first scarab (BM 4189), the beardless king, wearing a short wig and a short kilt, is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock and smiting him with a mace. The enemy is lifting both hands defensively before his chest. This hand gesture was probably represented for the first time in this scene, and could be interpreted to ward off evil in the apotropaic aspect.[114] The elongated

[109] For the image of the object (CG 52645, the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: 16. For the object, see Stierlin 1997: 112, 114–115.
[110] More references about Montu, see Wilkinson, R. H. 2003: 203–4.
[111] About the comparative iconographical analysis on the griffin in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures including Egypt, see Bisi 1965.
[112] For the campaigns of Thutmose III in Syria and Canaan, see Redford 2003.
[113] For his champaign to Nubia, see Grimal 1988: 215.
[114] For the references to the concept, see Keel 1974: 99, fig. 47.; Keel 1997b: fig. 417.

depression by the enemy's head is not clearly visible, but could be the *ames*. In the horizontal image field of the second scarab (BM 47055), the king is wearing the *deshret* and unusually seems to be naked. He is grasping the hairlock of the half-kneeling enemy and smiting him with a mace, while the enemy is performing a similar apotropaic hand gesture as in BM 4189. The scene contains a divine presence, a hovering vulture is protecting the king with her wings, and a god with an indistinct headdress (maybe Amun) is standing before the pharaoh, offering him a weapon with which to commit the act with his divine supervision.[115]

The smiting scenes of Thutmose III embodying the warrior king adorned the pylons of the monumental temple complex of Karnak. A *pylon* is an architectural element in sacral architecture, whose shape resembles the hieroglyph *akhet* (Gardiner N27, "horizon"), a symbolic depiction of two hills framing the setting sun.[116] The entrance gateway to Egyptian temples consisted of two tall tapering towers ending in cornices, decorated on the exterior with images of the king destroying the enemies of Egypt, as a clearly visible public space for proclaiming the glory of triumph. The temple was where order triumphed over chaos, just as Egypt was considered to be the place of *ma'at*. The temple gateway was also regarded as the liminal zone dividing the sacred world from the profane world.[117] In the wall relief commemorating the Battle of Megiddo on the southern part of Pylon VII (originally, both symmetrical pylons of the gateway contained the same scenes, mirroring each other), the bearded king, wearing the *deshret* with a *uraeus*, a short pleated kilt with an attached ceremonial tail, and a broad multi-lined collar necklace, is smiting a group of kneeling Syrian enemies raising their hands towards the king. All the members of the group are grasped together by their hair, with the *mekes* staff supplemented with a blossoming element with a cylindrical cone-shaped thickening end above the king's hand, resembling the protruding hairlocks. The *mekes* staff, as a royal walking staff, is an attribute of royalty.[118] A smaller figure of Amun is standing in the same angle as the king's hand, assisting the scene.[119] Preserved fragments of the PStE are also represented on the Western sides of Pylons V and VI.[120]

A fragment depicting the smiting arm of the king holding a mace, which may have been part of temple architecture, might support the visualization of the eternal victory of Thutmose III in his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari.[121]

[115] For the objects (BM 4189 and BM 47055, The British Museum, London), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 4.
[116] Wilkinson, T. A. H. 2005: 195.
[117] For more references abot the temple architecture in Egypt considering pylons, see Wilkinson, R. H. 2000.
[118] Hayes 1953: 285.
[119] For the image, see Schroer 2011: 128, 626.
[120] Swan-Hall 1986: 17.
[121] For the reference, see Porter – Moss 1972: 378.

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After the death of his father, Amenhotep II inherited and maintained the stable empire system. With the beginning of a more peaceful period, with stability reflected in the declining number of foreign military campaigns, Amenhotep II managed to establish a consolidated relationship with the Mitanni Kingdom in the Egyptian power struggle over Syria.[122] Despite his moderate power strategy, he also left his visual mark on Karnak, where he is represented as the victorious king. The scene on Pylon VIII, which is filled with royal symbols, depicts the king wearing a short echeloned wig with a *uraeus*, a short pleated kilt, and a belt with an attached ceremonial tail. We can see a striding group of enemies with their hands raised, and the king is grasping them by the hairlock; he also holds the *mekes*, while a bow[123] and two arrows, in the presence of Amun, are depicted in his tall, feathered headdress. The smiting weapon is not visible, but a similar scene on the corresponding wall depicts a mace-axe. The vulture is hovering above the king holding an *ankh* in his claws. A smaller figure of Amun is standing in the same angle with the king's hand.[124] On the granite low-relief slab from Pylon III, the upper body of the king is wearing the Nubian wig with a *uraeus*, smiting with the Egyptian sickle-sword (*ḫpš*-sword),[125] which is included for the first time in this scene.[126] Additionally, there is a fragmentary scene on the masonry along the west side of the base of Hathshepsut's Southern obelisk.[127]

On two inscribed rings, Amenhotep II is shown defeating a human enemy and animal enemies. The square, silver signet ring bearing his name depicts the king wearing the *khepresh* (Blue Crown) with a *uraeus*, and a short *shendyt* kilt with an attached ceremonial tail, grasping the kneeling bearded Asiatic enemy and smiting him with a mace. The wearing of *shendyt* tailoring allowed easier movement of the legs and was preferred in combat and hunting activities.[128] The prisoner is facing him and raising his hand to his head. The *ankh* behind the king symbolizes the power of life.[129] On the green jasper ring of Amenhotep II, the king is wearing a short wig with a *uraeus*, a short kilt with attached streamers, and a sword at his waist. The scene represents him grasping the lion – the embodiment of the enemy – by the tail, thereby

[122] For the administration system and military activities of the Egyptian empire during the reign of Amenhotep II, see Manuelian 1987: 45–171.
[123] For the bow is considered as symbol of domination, see Keel 1977: 141–177.
[124] For the object, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 29.
[125] For further references of the weapon type *ḫpš, see* Hamblin 2006: 66–71.
[126] For the object (JE 36360, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 30.
[127] Porter – Moss 1972: 83, 175–176.
[128] Vassilika 1989: 96.
[129] For the object (37.726E, The Brooklyn Museum, New York), see https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4092

lifting its hind legs off the ground. The lion with its back turned away from the king, who is smiting the beast with a club, may imply a Near Eastern origin.[130]

During the reign of Thutmose IV, new deities and symbols appeared in the scene, as well as archaic elements, probably evoking the past. The elaborated ivory arm guard of Thutmose IV[131] from Tell el-Amarna, designed to protect the left hand, depicts the king in an Old Kingdom-type curled wig resembling that worn by Snofru, with a *uraeus* and a sun disk, also wearing a double-lined collar necklace, a falcon-wing garment, a knee-high skirt with an attached ceremonial tail, and an apron with two streamers attached. The falcon-wing garment as the attribute of Horus in the royal *regalia* highlights the falcon-like nature of the king in his attire.[132] He is grasping the kneeling Asiatic enemy by his hairlock, together with a bow and two arrows, and a long staff bearing his cartouches. He is smiting with the *ḫpš* before the falcon-headed war god, Montu, in anthropomorphic form, who is wearing a double-feathered headdress with a sun disk and holding a staff with *ankh*s, while also grasping a *ḫpš* in his hand. The enemy is raising his hand to his head and facing the king, and behind him there is a papyrus stalk with blossom surmounted by a *uraeus*.

In an elaborate relief from his tomb (KV43) in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes, Thutmose IV is depicted in his war chariot in a battle scene against the Syrians, which also features the PStE.[133] The beardless king is wearing the *khepresh* with a *uraeus* and a multi-lined collar necklace, standing in his horse-drawn chariot (the reins of the horses are at his waist) and hurtling into the middle of the battle, smiting with a raised battle axe in his left. With his right hand he is grasping two enemies, shown at a smaller scale, by their hairlocks, together with a bow, and he is wearing an arm guard for archery. One of the two enemies is raising a rectangular shield, while the other is pointing backwards with a dagger (?). Above the scene, a hovering falcon holds an *ankh* and the *shen* ring,[134] the circled symbol of eternal protection and infinity. Behind the king, personified *ankh*s with human arms holding fans keep him cool during the battle. The lower register presents an interesting composite depiction of a falcon-headed deity[135] re-enacting the victorious act of smiting: he is wearing the *pschent*, and his body is comprised of the cartouche containing the king's name, with attached tail feathers. One of his human arms is grasping the hairlock of a kneeling Syrian who has his hands tied behind his back, together

[130] For the object E.6256 (Louvre, Paris), see Barnett – Wiseman 1969: 94.
[131] For the object ÄM 21685 (Neues Museum, Berlin), see Seyfried 2012: 200, Cat. no. 1.
[132] Hornung 1997: 303.
[133] For the image (CG 46097, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 32.
[134] The cartouche is the elongated version of the symbol protecting the containing the royal name. For more references about *shen* ring, see Kemp 2007: 106.
[135] For the composite representation of the falcon-headed deity, see Schroer 2011: 126, no. 625.

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with two papyrus stalks with blossoms, while the other is smiting with a mace. The falcon-headed deity uses his talons to force the other Syrian enemy to the ground, holding his head in his claws. The sub-scene may depict the post-battle situation: a row of prisoners, bound together with papyrus ropes around their necks, may symbolize the oppressive power of Egypt, and the triumphant king shows his power in his Horus-like nature, as in Old Kingdom representations.

On the false door stela of Thutmose IV[136] from Memphis, the king is wearing a short wig with a *uraeus* and maybe the *atef* crown upon it[137] and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail, grasping a kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with a bow, and smiting with a mace (?) before a statue of Ptah, who is standing on a pedestal and presenting a weapon to the king. The Egyptian creator god Ptah,[138] the central figure of Memphite theology, was introduced in the PStE scene by Thutmose IV and appeared on private stelae[139] and scarabs[140] as the divine attendance during the smiting act.

Foreign deities are also included in the smiting scene: Thutmose IV performs the smiting act before two Nubian gods on the Konosso rock, near the island of Philae, indicating the suppression of a Nubian revolt in Wawat, as evidenced by the inscriptions.[141]

The royal iconography of Amenhotep III inheriting a stable state organization also includes the smiting motif. The depictions on his two rock-cut stelae from Mahatta (near Aswan) are considered as parallels to each other in terms of the similar rendering of the scene. The frames of the upper register of the stela from his 5th year[142] consist of a surmounting winged sun disk with *uraei* below and two *was*-sceptres delimiting the image field. Within the "transcendental frames", the beardless king is depicted wearing a feathered composite crown with *uraei*, consisting of a sun disk and curled horizontal ram-horns, and a short wig with an attached streamer behind. His attire features a collar necklace, a short kilt with an attached ceremonial tail, and a sword in his belt. Two kneeling enemies face each other, each with one hand raised, while the king grasps them together by their hairlocks, holding a bow and a staff in the same hand, and smites them with a mace-axe held in his other hand. The scene takes place in front of the standing Amun, in anthropomorphic form, holding a *was*-sceptre and a curved scimitar. The

[136] For the object (E.04499, Royal Museums of Art and History, Bruxelles), see Swan-Hall 1986: 21.
[137] For more references about the crowns of Egypt including the *atef*, see Goebs 2001: 321–326; Goebs 2008.
[138] For more references about Ptah's divine charachter, see Sandman 1946. About his role in the Creation, see Allen 1988.
[139] Smiting scenes before Ptah are depicted on a private stela from Memphis (1935.200.229, Kestner Museum, Hannover), see Schroer 2011: 192, fig. 715.
[140] Scarabs with depictions of the smiting scene before Ptah, see Keel 1989b: 304–307.
[141] For the Konosso Inscription of Thutmose IV, see Breasted 1962: 326–329.
[142] For the object (Amenhotep III year 5 stela), see Delia 1999: 110, fig. 9.

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ram-headed Khnum[143] is holding in his outstretched hand a *djed*-pillar and a *was*-sceptre, standing in a *nb* basket. In a shrine behind the king, a statue of Ptah is standing on a pedestal, holding a composite sceptre consisting of the *was*, the *djed*-pillar[144] and maybe the *ankh*. In a newly introduced element in the scene, the king's back leg is trampling on the head of the enemy. This conception may be reflected in depictions of enemies found in the floor inlay decorations in the throne rooms of Ramesside palaces.[145] The iconography of the scene on the second stela (Amenhotep III undated stela)[146] differs from that of the first only below: the king is wearing the *pschent*, while Amun is holding an *ankh* instead of a scimitar. The enemies are half-kneeling back to back, and the trampling-element is missing here. The goddess Anuket[147] of Elephantine is standing in her tall feathered headdress holding a *was*-sceptre behind the king.

The wall reliefs[148] of the tomb of Amenemhet-Surer[149] (TT48) in the Theban Necropolis depict three smiting scenes. This is a unique example of the scene, usually associated with royal iconography, appearing in the private tomb of a high-ranking courtier bearing the title of "Fan-bearer on the Right Side of the King" and the head of the royal artisans.

Amenhotep III is smiting an unidentified enemy on the architrave in the forecourt in Luxor.[150] On a relief fragment from Pylon III in Karnak, he is trampling on the face of a reclining enemy with his striding leg on the painted curtain of the kiosk on the Royal Barque. The king is wearing a short kilt with six *uraei* attached in the forepart. He is grasping two other kneeling enemies by their backs. Pylon III provides the first example of the scene being included as a secondary decorative detail in another composition with a different visual representation, which will be reapplied in the Amarna age and in later periods.[151]

The religious and political reorganizations in the Amarna Period also resulted in an artistic evolution intertwined with the development of the Amarna style, which can be identified primarily by the humanistic portrayal of the royal family in focus. The smiting Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is also represented on the northern porch of Pylon III.[152]

The design of the fragmentary block on Pylon III precedes the classic Amarna style and rather resembles the Battle of Megiddo scene of Thutmose III on Pylon VII in Karnak. The

[143] For the god Khnum "the divine potter" associated with fertility and the river Nile, see Hart 2005: 85–86.
[144] For the symbol of djed-pillar ('*ḏd*', stability), see Remler 2010: 51–52.
[145] Swan-Hall 1986: 23, fig. 33.
[146] For the object, see Delia 1999: 110, fig. 8.
[147] For the character of Anuket (Anukis) as goddess of the Lower Nile Delta, see Hart 2005: 28–29.
[148] Three smiting scenes depicted in TT48, see Porter – Moss 1994: 87–91.
[149] For the person Amenemhet-Surer, see see Helck 1975: 194–195.
[150] For the reference about the scene detected, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 35a.
[151] Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 35b.
[152] For the object (visible in the Karnak Open Air Museum, Luxor) see Sa'ad 1970: 187–193, fig. 3.

headless king is wearing a short kilt and grasping by their hairlocks a "hecatomb" of four kneeling groups of armed enemies (*Feindbündel*)[153] facing each other, together with the *mekes* staff. The smiting weapon is not preserved. Traces of red paint are preserved on the hair of the enemies, perhaps as a distinctive mark.[154] On Egyptian monuments, the hair of prisoners was often painted red. The colour red has negative connotations in Egyptian colour symbolism (expressing anger, blood, danger), and is associated with Seth.[155]

Talatats are stone blocks designed in a standardized size and used as decorative elements in the architecture of the Aton temples in Karnak and Amarna during the reign of Akhenaten.[156] The talatat 3198[157] was originally part of the surface decoration of Pylon IX in Karnak. The kilted Akhenaten, with feminine hips as his typical physical feature, is wearing the *deshret* and grasping two kneeling enemies together by their hairlocks, along with the *mekes* staff, and smiting with a curved sword. The rays of the sun disk, as the divine presence, fall on him during this act.

Due to her special status, Queen Nefertiti provides an exclusive example of the topos of the "smiting queen", depicting her with strong masculine symbolism in the smiting scene, indicating conceptual changes in the institution of queenship in this period, which are connected to the Aton cult.[158] The *topos* of the smiting queen seemed unique in Egyptian art, and returned in the pylon decoration of the Lion temple of Naga in the Meroitic Nubia.[159]

The depiction of the offensive face of the female ruler, who appeared as the partner of the (predominant) male ruler, may have been the result of Akhenaten's new conception of religion, which was intertwined with the symbolism of royal power. In the development of this conception, the forerunner of Nefertiti may have been the iconography of Tiye, the wife of Amenhotep III, who, like her husband, appears in the form of a sphinx, shown with her head, trampling on the enemy.[160]

Additional examples of Nefertiti depicted as the "The Queen Smiting the Enemies" are found on two talatats from Karnak, featuring a female enemy on the kiosk on the Royal Barque in procession scenes of the Opet festival. On the kiosk surmounted by a cornice of *uraei*, the queen is wearing a long garment and her characteristic crown with two attached streamers, grasping

[153] For more about the iconographic definition *Feindbündel* discussed via the related representations, see Schoske 1982: 85–102.
[154] For the reference, see Spineto 1829: 415.
[155] Davies, W. V. 2001: 182–185.
[156] Aldred 1991: 72.
[157] For the object, see Sa'ad 1970: 190–191, fig. 2.
[158] More about Akhenaten and his solar cult with monotheistic features, see Reever 2001.
[159] Schoske 1982: 4, fig. a446.
[160] Matić 2017: 103–121.

by the hairlock a female enemy who is raising her hand, and smiting her with a curved sword beneath the rays of the sun disk of Aten with a *uraeus*.[161]

Another fragment likewise depicting the kiosk shows the lower part of the queen's body, dressed in a long pleated garment, grasping a kneeling female enemy by her hairlock.[162] In a talatat fragment from Luxor depicting the kiosk surmounted by a cornice of *uraei*, the schematic figure of the queen is wearing her characteristic crown, grasping by her hairlock a long-haired female enemy raising her hands, and smiting her with a curved sword beneath the rays of the sun disk of Aten.[163]

The queen also assists Akhenaten in a "family smiting scene" taking place on a kiosk surmounted by a cornice of *uraei* on the Royal Barque, as depicted on a talatat that probably came from Amarna.[164] The king is wearing the *khepresh* and smiting with a curved scimitar a standing enemy with raised hands, whom the king grasps by his hairlock. The queen and a daughter are standing behind the king.

Among other iconographic features applied by his royal ancestors the antecedent Tutankhamen adopted the concept of family supremacy from Akhenaten's royal ideology, which is embodied in the queen's participation in the smiting scene on a golden foil,[165] with his general, Ay, depicted with divine features, from the "Chariot Tomb" (KV58) in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes. The foil bears the names of Tutankhamen and Ay, and shows the beardless king wearing the *khepresh*, a knee-length kilt with two attached streamers, and a multi-lined collar necklace, grasping the bearded kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with the *ames*, and smiting with a curved scimitar. The queen is standing behind him in a long garment with her double-feathered crown comprising the sun disk. Grand Vizier Ay, the patron of the young king, who wielded power behind the throne during Tutankhamen's reign, is depicted wearing a shoulder-length wig and a long kilt, while shouldering a feather. He is raising his hand in a gesture of honour similar to a deity, but there is no assisting deity in the scene.

Dressed feet (wearing sandals) are visible for the first time on ceremonial shield 379B[166] of Tutankhamen from his tomb (KV62) in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes. The gilded wooden cut-out shield covered with plaster depicts the king wearing a curled wig with streamers as a *uraeus*, similar to the arm guard of Thutmose IV, the *atef* crown, a pleated knee-length kilt with

[161] For the object 63.260 (The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Roeder 1969: no. PC 150.
[162] For the object 64.521 (The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), see Roeder 1969: no. PC 67.
[163]For the object, see Tawfik 1975: 165, fig. 1.
[164] For the object MMA 1985.328.15 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), see Freed – Pischikova – Markowitz – D'Auria 1999: 238, no. 112.
[165] For the object (In. no. JE 57438, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Desroches-Noblecourt 1967: 202, fig. 121.
[166] For the object (JE 61576, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Nibbi 2006: 69–70, Taf. XXII., no. 379B

two streamers and a ceremonial tail attached, a multi-lined collar necklace, a falcon-wing garment, and sandals. He is grasping two lions by their tails, lifting their hind legs off the ground while one of the lions turns towards him, and he is smiting them with the *ḫpš* sword. The visual element borrowed from Amenhotep II, as already discussed, suggests ancient Near Eastern origins. The scene is surmounted by the winged sun disk. Before the king is a pedestal of three papyrus stalks with blossoms growing from the ground and bearing the *nb* sign, serving as the seat for the vulture goddess of Egypt, who is wearing the *ḥḏt*, and holding the *shen* ring and flail, as royal regalia, protecting the king with her outstretched wings. In the other ceremonial shield from his tomb, 379A,[167] the king is depicted in a form of a sphinx trampling on the enemies. The ideology of the visual element of "Trampling on the Enemy" reappeared in physical form in the marquetry veneer sandals of Tutankhamen from his tomb (KV62), and a comparison with the iconography of the inner layers on both the right and the left sandals reveals that they depict an Asian and an African enemy tied back to back.[168]

Horemheb, the last king of Dynasty XVIII, also left smiting scenes on Pylons II and X in Karnak.[169]

2.2.4.1. Ramesside Period

During the period of Dynasties XIX and XX, the application of the smiting motif reached the zenith of its golden age, which started in the New Kingdom. Scenes boasting of war and traditional smiting scenes, aided with divine assistance, as well as the Aswan rock carvings of Sety I, may reflect the confident social and economic status of a kingdom with strong central power, which could stabilize military control in the Syro-Palestinian region and consolidate its conflicts with the Hittite Kingdom beyond the borders of Egypt.[170]

Sety I elaborated the chariot scene of Thutmose IV on the relief in the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak.[171] He is wearing the *khepresh* with three attached streamers behind and a short kilt, leaping into the dramatic battle with his war chariot. The reins of the horses are tied at his waist, he is grasping his bow, and with a *ḫpš* he is smiting a standing enemy who has a spear or arrow (?) in his chest and a bow in his hand. The divine presence is the sun disk surmounted with

[167] For the object (JE 61577, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Nibbi 2006: 68–69, Taf. XX., no. 379A
[168] For the sandals of Tutenkhamen (No. 379, JE 62692, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Veldmeijer 2011: 87–95.
[169] His depictions on the Pylon II (unsurped by Ramesses I) and Pylon X, see Porter – Moss 1972: 38, 187.
[170] For more references about Sety I and his militarty activities reviewing the geographical references thought historical datas and objects in the Levantine region, see Hasel 1998: 118–151.
[171] For the image, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 47.

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uraei below the king's head. Sety I provides examples of a newly introduced smiting weapon, the spear. The spear and the act of spearing can be compared with the topos of "Spearing the Theriomorphic Enemy", in which aggressive natural forces are embodied by the hippopotamus. The scene has great religious significance and is connected to the early concept of kingship with cosmogonic connotations.[172] "Spearing the Enemy" is also depicted in the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak, combined with "Trampling on the Enemy".[173]

Two scenes from the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak depict the bearded Sety I wearing the *deshret*, a multi-lined collar necklace and a short pleated kilt, grasping a group of enemies by their hairlocks together with the *mekes* staff (the actual depiction of the staff is missing from one scene but can be inferred from the other scene and from the rendering of the king's hand). The smiting weapon is the mace and the act is presented before Amun, who is depicted in a smaller range but at a higher angle than the king's feet, and who presents a curved scimitar to the king. A hovering vulture is shown before the king, protecting him with her wings and holding the *shen* in her claws.[174]

Sety I opened new quarries in Aswan to supply the raw material for his monumental constructions and for building obelisks.[175] The rock carvings near Aswan proclaim the victory of the king and feature both the PStE and "Spearing the Enemy"[176] as iconographic elements. Sety I is wearing a short wig without a headdress and a short kilt, grasping the half-kneeling enemies by their hairlocks and smiting them. In the first scene the smiting weapon is a mace-axe. The only divine presence is the sun disk with *uraei* and *ankh*s.[177] In the second scene the king's fan-bearer assists him with a gesture of adoration, and the weapon is the *ḫpš*.[178]

The largest number of smiting scenes depicting the triumph of Egypt at domestic and foreign sites was created during the reign of Ramesses II, which is widely considered as the most heroic phase of the Egyptian Kingdom.[179] By adopting the rich set of motifs of his predecessors, he copied and modified the elements, creating new artistic solutions in the smiting scene.

He also modified the rendering of the smiting scene of Amenhotep III on his stela from Aswan.[180] The king is depicted similarly to the portrayals on the Mahatta stelae of Amenhotep

[172] There are several references to the depictions of the hunting activity from the reign of Den in the Dynasty I, see Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 185–186, 258.
[173] For the image, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 49.
[174] For the images, see Swan-Hall 1986: figs. 45–46.
[175] Brand 1997: 101–114.
[176] For the reference, see Morgan 1984: 20, no. 123.
[177] For the object, see Morgan 1984: 20, no. 124.
[178] For the object, see Morgan 1984: 28, no. 5.
[179] For more references about the reign and achievements of Ramesses II in Egypt, see Kitchen 1983: 97–217.
[180] For the object, see Morgan 1984: 6.

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III, but the double rendering of two separate smiting scenes featuring different gods is a discernible difference: figures of Amun (in a feathered headdress, in anthropomorphic form) and Khnum (in an *atef* crown, in a ram-headed anthropomorphic form) are both presenting the *ḫpš* sword. Amun is holding an *ankh*, Khnum is holding a *was*-sceptre, and they are facing back to back, forming the imaginary *axis* of the scene. The repetitions of the king wearing the *pschent* show him presenting the smiting act before them and smiting an enemy facing him with a mace-axe, as he grasps him by the hairlock, together with a bow. The winged sun disk in the upper register is rendered more schematically than in the image on the Mahatta stelae.

The limestone stelae can be considered milestones in the historical crossroads at the estuary of the Nahr el-Kalb river on the Levantine coast (modern Lebanon).[181] The *in situ* objects confirm that it was a site of commemoration, where several conquering empires left their royal marks, including Egypt, which did so with three stelae. These commemorative stelae were erected by Ramesses II and made with cavetto cornice and torus mouldings imitating Egyptian architectural elements. The Northern stela[182] depicts the king wearing the *ḥḏt* with a *uraeus* and a short kilt with an attached ceremonial tail grasping the enemy by his hairlock in the presence of a statue of Ptah standing in his shrine holding a *was*-sceptre which is threaded through an *ankh.* The smiting weapon is not visible. The winged sun disk is visible in the scene below. The end of the king's headdress is taller than Ptah, but the deity and the king have the same body dimensions. On the Middle stela,[183] in a roughly preserved condition, the king is holding a curved weapon in the smiting position and grasping an enemy wearing a long robe by his hairlock, in the presence of Harmachis,[184] who is holding a sceptre and a curved scimitar. The Southern stela[185] shares parallels with the Northern stela in terms of the elements of the sun disk below and the invisible smiting weapon, while it differs in that the king is wearing the *atef* and a short kilt, grasping a standing enemy by the hairlock, and smiting him in the presence of Amun.

The temple façade wall reliefs from Tell el-Rataba and the stelae of Wadi Sannûr in the Lower Egyptian Delta region report the triumph of the king over Asiatic and nomad enemies from the Eastern desert. On the wall relief from Tell el-Rataba,[186] the bearded king is wearing the *pschent* and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail, grasping an Asiatic enemy by his hairlock,

[181] For the concerning bibliography to the monuments of Nahr el-Kalb stelae, see Lipiński 2004: 1.
[182] For the object, see Weissback 1922: 17–19, fig. 4.
[183] For the object, see Weissback 1922: 19–21, fig. 5.
[184] Harmachis as a local form of the sun god associated with Horus, see Hart 2005: 75.
[185] For the object, see Weissback 1922, 21–22: fig. 6.
[186] For the object (E3067, Penn Museum, Philadelphia), see Petrie 1906: 29, Pl. 29.

which protrudes from his fist. The enemy is completely turned away from the king, and they are before Amun, who is presenting a curved scimitar and holding an *ankh.* There is a similar scene roughly preserved on the top of a right doorway found at the Eastern part of the site, possibly in the Temple of Atum, which shows, for the first time, the presence of Seth as the assisting deity. A smiting scene featuring Ramesses II on the left part of the temple façade shows him smiting the Syrian enemy before Atum.[187]

The enemies to be smitten who are depicted on two stelae from Wadi Sannûr are tribesmen from the Menthu and Iunu tribes. On the first stela, Ramesses II is wearing the *khepresh* with a *uraeus* with two attached streamers, a short kilt with a long apron, grasping two enemies grasping by their hairlocks, which protrude from his fist. He is smiting with a *ḫpš*.[188] The very weathered second stela[189] shows the king wearing a short wig with a tall headdress, grasping the enemy by his hairlock. He is smiting with a mace-axe before Seth depicted in anthropomorphic form, with the head of the composite being of the Seth-animal wearing the *pschent* and holding a sceptre with its left hand while raising the right before his face.

The possible connotations for the inclusion of Seth in the PStE scene may be related to the concept that Seth, originally an Upper Egyptian deity, is associated with the kingship from the Predynastic Period and is generally considered to be the god of chaos and disorder. He is the local god of Naqada and connected to the deserts and foreign areas, which lie outside the civilized territories representing the cosmos.[190] In addition, as the enemy of Horus, Seth embodies the negative balance in their mythical relationship, which depicts the combat between the cosmos and chaos, but Seth can be also reconciled and unified with him.[191] Following the reasoning in the previous comments, the cosmogonic aspect of Seth in maintaining world order may be related to the power exercised when defeating enemies.[192]

On the inner walls of the main entrance gateways leading to the Great Columned Hall of the Abu Simbel rock temple on the Nubian border, Ramesses II, the builder of the temple, is depicted smiting enemies in groups or alone. The Northern section of the Great Columned Hall is dedicated to Re-Harakhty, the Southern section to Amun-Re.[193] On the left wall relief[194] the bearded Ramesses II is wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus* (headdress with two tall horns and

[187] For the references, see Porter – Moss 1934: 55.
[188] For the object (CG 34512, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Barta 1965: 98–101.
[189] For the object (Gl. 29, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München), see Barta 1965: 98–101.
[190] Wilkinson, T. A. H. 1999: 255.
[191] Velde 1967: 59–73.
[192] Cruz-Uribe 2009: 201–226.
[193] Spalinger 1980: 86.
[194] For the depiction, see Champollion 1835: Pl. VIII, fig. 2.

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sun disk), a collar necklace, a short kilt with a straight ceremonial tail, sandals, a dagger in his belt and a quiver full of arrows with two streamers attached. He is grasping the single kneeling Nubian enemy facing him by his hairlock, which protrudes from his fist, together with a bow and staff with a knob on a cavetto-shaped end (with two short streamers hanging down), smiting with a mace-axe before Amun-Re, who is dressed in his tall feathered headdress and holding a curved scimitar and a *was*-sceptre. A goddess standing behind the king is wearing a long garment and a tall double-feathered headdress with tall horns and a sun disk, holding a lotus blossom (?) in her left hand and raising her right. There is a hovering vulture above the king with the *shen* held in her claws. By contrast, on the right wall relief,[195] the bearded king is wearing the *deshret*, and smiting the single Libyan enemy facing him, holding his hairlock, which protrudes from his fist, together with only a bow, before Re-Harakhty, who is wearing the *pschent* and holding a curved scimitar and an *ankh*. An inscribed standard behind the king is holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather and the *ka*-staff[196] of the king. A goddess standing behind the inscribed standard is wearing a long garment and a tall double-feathered headdress with tall horns and a sun disk, with a small bird's head in place of the *uraeus* (headdress with two tall horns and sun disk). She is holding a plant stalk (?) on her left shoulder and raising her right hand. The hovering vulture above the king is holding the *shen* in its claws.

The wall reliefs featuring groups of enemies on either side of the main entrance follow the rendering in the versions of the wall reliefs that feature a single enemy. The procession of the king's children decorated the lower register of the smiting scenes.[197] In the left wall relief,[198] the bearded king is wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus*, a collar necklace, a short belted kilt with a straight ceremonial tail, a quiver full of arrows with two streamers attached, and an outer garment with two crossed straps on the chest with upper arm bands. He is grasping the kneeling group of enemies by their hairlocks, which protrude from his fist, together with a bow and a staff with a knob on a cavetto-shaped end (with two short streamers hanging down), smiting with a mace-axe before Re-Harakhty, who is holding a curved scimitar and an *ankh*. Behind the king, an inscribed standard (a *ḥḏt*-crowned *uraeus* before a falcon wearing the *pschent* on the top, and a sun disk surmounted by a uraeus holding an ankh at the neck behind) is holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather and the *ka*-staff of the king. The hovering vulture above the king is holding the *shen* in her claws. In the right wall relief,[199] the bearded king is wearing the

[195] For the depiction, see Champollion 1835: Pl. VIII, fig. 1.
[196] For the identification of the *ka*-staff of the king in the war scenes of Abu Simbel, see Spalinger 1980: 86.
[197] Swan-Hall 1986: 32.
[198] For the depiction, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 55.
[199] For the depiction, see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 56.

pschent, a collar necklace, a short belted kilt with a straight ceremonial tail, a quiver full with arrows with two streamers attached, a falcon-wing garment with bird heads and overlay decoration with two streamers attached to the chest, and upper arm- and wristbands. He is grasping the kneeling group of enemies by their hairlocks, which protrude from his fist, together with a bow and a staff with a knob on a cavetto-shaped end (with two short streamers hanging down), smiting with a mace-axe before Amun, who is holding a curved scimitar and a *was*-sceptre. Behind the king, an inscribed standard (a *ḥḏt*-crowned *uraeus* before a falcon wearing the *pschent* on the top and a sun disk surmounted by a *uraeus* holding an *ankh* at the neck behind) is holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather and the *ka*-staff of the king. The hovering vulture above the king is holding the *shen* in her claws.

The constant iconographic element in the Abu Simbel smiting scenes is the staff that denotes the *ka* of the king. The *ka* is an aspect of the Egyptian soul representing the vital essence, whose departure from the body results in physical death.[200]

The wall reliefs of the Beit el-Wali rock temple[201] in Nubia, dedicated to Amun-Re, Re-Harakhty, Khnum and Anukis, were built by Ramesses II to maintain an Egyptian presence at the Nubian border of the kingdom, and a certain amount of control.[202] In a narrative context, the painted wall reliefs provide new iconographic motifs and scene combinations, expressing various methods of enemy defeat in addition to the original smiting motif. On the Northern wall of the Entrance Hall, the larger figure of the king is wearing a striped headcloth with a *uraeus* and two attached streamers hanging behind, an outer garment with two crossed straps, and overlay decoration with two streamers on the chest, as well as arm- and wristbands, and a knee-length kilt with a straight ceremonial tail and a belt tied in the front. He is grasping the enemy chief by his hairlock, together with a bow, pulling him out from the complete town, and smiting him, probably with a *ḫpš*. There are perceptible size differences, as the enemy figures shown fighting and falling from the city walls are smaller than the chief.[203] The symbolic scene of "Smiting the Town" was introduced by Sety I. Based on a fragmentary scene at Abydos, it could be reconstructed with the help of the recent Beit el-Wali scene.[204] The motifs of "Smiting the Town" and "Trampling on the Enemy" also appeared together in the same relief at Karnak, where Ramesses II is wearing a striped headcloth with a *uraeus* with two attached streamers

[200] For the concept of the *ka* (Gardiner D28, *kꜣ*, "double"), see Kaplony 1980: 275–282.
[201] For the dedication and location of the temple in Beit el-Wali, see Arnold – Strudwick 2003: 200.
[202] For the cosmological interpretation of the architecture and rendering of the decoration scenes, see McCarthy 2007: 127–146.
[203] For the scene, see Ricke – Hughes – Wente 1967: Pl. 12.
[204] Swan-Hall 1986: 28.

hanging behind, a quiver adorned with two streamers, a knee-length kilt with a straight ceremonial tail and a belt tied in front, and an apron with two long streamers attached. With his feet in sandals, he is trampling on the head and back of two fallen enemies. He raises both hands up, and with his right hand he grasps a hairlock without the attached enemy, smiting with a mace-axe in his left the two towns of Akko (lower) and ʾA-sa-ira (upper), both of which are full of soldiers. The enemies are falling from the walls and the inhabitants are raising their hands to the king.[205]

The rendering of the Beit el-Wali chariot-scene[206] that features the PStE recalls the depictions of Thutmose IV and Sety I. In the "Smiting on the Chariot" scene, the king is wearing the *deshret* with two attached streamers hanging behind, arm- and wristbands, a knee-length kilt with a straight ceremonial tail and a belt tied in front with an apron, and a quiver full of arrows adorned with two streamers. With his raised right hand he is smiting with a curved scimitar. The reins of the horses are tied at his waist and he is galloping with his chariot into the battle against the Bedouins. A hovering vulture above him is holding the *shen* in her claws.

Instead of featuring the smiting motif, the third wall relief depicts a new method of displaying the defeat and humiliation of the enemy, namely "Scalping the Enemy".[207] An animal helper appears next to Ramesses II during the execution. The king is wearing the *khepresh* (Blue Crown) with a *uraeus* and the same garment (with slight differences) from the previous Beit el-Wali depictions. He is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with a bow, as the enemy faces the king and raises both hands. The right hand of Ramesses II is holding the *ḫpš*, but it is not in the typical smiting position, rather he is scalping the enemy's head with the *ḫpš*. The downward position of the *ḫpš* can be compared to the similar position of the knife depicted on the ceremonial axe of Ahmose. As a "bloodhound", a small canine animal is attacking the waist of the kneeling enemy, which is beside the advancing left leg of the king. The king is wearing sandals with both feet planted firmly on the ground.

The "Shouldering of the Battle-Axe" motif was first introduced by Ramesses II in Beit el-Wali.[208] The king is grasping two kneeling enemies by their hairlocks with his left hand facing back to him, shouldering a battle-axe with his right hand. He is trampling on the bound body of a third enemy, displaying complete triumph over the Northern enemies. The depiction of the enemy is similar to that of the chief enemy in the "Smiting the Town" scene.

[205] Hasel 1998: 48–49.
[206] For the object, see Ricke – Hughes – Wente 1967: Pl. 13.
[207] For the object, see Ricke – Hughes – Wente 1967: Pl. 14.
[208] For the object, see Ricke – Hughes – Wente 1967: Pl. 11.

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One of Ramesses II's sons accepted the PStE in the Ramesseum at Thebes, which may support the notion that Pharaonic authority extended to the royal family and anticipated the articulation of royal power to the future by the next generation.[209] The battle scene depicts the prince as one of the sons of the king. He is wearing the sidelock, symbolizing royalty, and carrying a shield on his back, grasping a falling enemy by the hairlock, who has his back turned to him. He is smiting with a hand-weapon, but only the handle is visible. An arrow is embedded in the enemy's shoulder.

The successor Merneptah seems to keep continuing the power articulation by applying the canonical smiting scene on a door jamb from the Palace of Merneptah at Memphis.[210] The bearded king is wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus*, a multi-lined collar necklace, arm- and wristbands, a knee-length pleated kilt with a straight ceremonial tail, a belt, an apron with attached streamers ending in *uraei* in front, and sandals. He is grasping by the hairlock the kneeling enemy who is raising both hands, and smiting him with a mace-axe. As a "bloodhound", a small leonine animal is attacking the enemy's chest between the king's legs. Behind the king, an inscribed standard (with a falcon wearing the double-feathered crown with a sun disk and horizontal ram-horns on the top, and a sun disk surmounted by a *uraeus* holding an *ankh* at the neck behind) is holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather, *ankh* and *ka*-staff of the king.

An additional door jamb relief[211] on the gateway leading to his palace at Memphis depicts the bearded Merneptah wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus*, a multi-lined collar necklace, arm- and wristbands, a falcon-wing garment, a knee-length pleated kilt with a ceremonial tail, belt and apron with attached streamers ending in *uraei* in front. A group of enemies stands, each with one hand raised and a weapon held in the other, and the king is grasping them by their hairlocks together with the *mekes* staff and smiting them with a mace-axe. Behind the king, an inscribed *ka*-standard (with a falcon wearing the double-feathered crown with a sun disk and horizontal ram-horns on the top) is holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather, an *ankh* and a smaller staff with the sun disk surmounted by *uraei* (?). The alloying of the *ka*-symbol in the inscribed standard may have been an innovation of Merneptah. Two vulture goddesses above the scene hold the *shen* in their claws to protect the king during the smiting act. Two androgynous Nile gods are tying the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt around the

[209] For the object, see Schoske 1982: 168, fig. a447.
[210] For the object (E17527, Penn Museum, Philadelphia), see Silverman 1997: 166, fig. 50A.
[211] For the object (E13575, Penn Museum, Philadelphia). see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 63.

"unite" symbol in the lower register.[212] Beside the scene, a Libyan and a Nubian enemy are kneeling with their hands tied behind their back.

The rendering of the smiting scene on the Eastern wall of the "Cour de la Cachette" of Pylon VII at Karnak may recall the smiting depictions of Thutmose III and Sety I.[213] The bearded Merneptah is wearing the *deshret* with a *uraeus*, and a short belted kilt with a ceremonial tail. A group of Nubian, Libyan and Asiatic enemies kneel on the ground, each with one hand raised, as the king grasps them by their hairlocks together with the *mekes* staff, and smites them with a mace before Amun-Re, who is presenting a *ḫpš* to the king. The hovering vulture goddess holding the *shen* protects the king below.

The fragmentary low relief on a stela from Kom el-Ahmar[214] depicts the king wearing the *khepresh* with two attached streamers hanging behind, and a short kilt with an apron and a ceremonial tail (?). He is grasping by the hairlock the kneeling Libyan enemy, who raises both hands, and smiting him with a *ḫpš* before Re-Harakhty, who is holding a curved scimitar and an *ankh*. The winged sun disk is present in the scene below. According to the epigraphic sources of Merneptah, the stela commemorates the military campaigns he led to Libya in his fifth regnal year against Libyan invaders, who were helped by the military forces of the Sea People who appeared in the Nile Delta.[215]

The topos of enemy defeat expressed with the iconographic element "Holding the Weapon to the Enemy's Head", as it appears on the red granite statue from the Karnak Cachette in the court of Pylon VII, may be its first occurrence on three-dimensional media in New Kingdom sculpture.[216] The statue depicts the king striding with his left and grasping a smaller Libyan enemy with his hands tied behind his back by his hairlock, holding a curved scimitar to his head. The weapon held to the head of the enemy can also be applied as a motif expressing the defeat of the enemy. Similarly to the smiting movement, it can also be interpreted as a concept of victory and triumph in Egyptian visual language.

Ramesses III makes rich use of the iconographic solutions developed by his predecessors in his smiting scenes. The decorative programme of the temple complex of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu presents numerous fictive royal battle scenes (conflicts of the "Nubian war" and "Syrian war")[217] capturing the real fight against the Eastern Mediterranean migrant ethnic

[212] For the role of the pair of the Nile gods associated with Hapi and fertility, see Wilkinson, R. H. 2003: 107.
[213] For the object, see Abbas 2015: 243–252.
[214] For the object (JE 50568, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Lefebvre 1927: 19–30, Pl. II.
[215] Manassa 2003: 23–27.
[216] For the object CG 1240 (The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Borchardt – Volten 1934: 124–125, Blatt 172., fig. 1240.
[217] Sales 2012: 94.

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groups of the Sea Peoples, mostly copied from the Ramesseum as proclamations of the royal ideology about their domination over foreign lands, although Ramesses III also had a real local conflict with invading Libyans in the Nile Delta.[218] The depictions on the outer walls and inner columns provide rich imagery for the application of the PStE. The architectural design and the inclusion of smiting scenes in the decoration programme of the temple complex may highlight the cosmogonic connotations of the scene.[219]

The motif of "Shouldering the Battle-Axe" appears in two scenes[220] on the Western walls of the Central Tower in the *migdol* of the mortuary temple, and it resembles the parallel scene of Ramesses II in Beit el-Wali. The standing king is wearing a neck-long wig with a *uraeus*, a short kilt with a ceremonial tail and a multi-lined apron with attached streamers ending in *uraei*, and a quiver. He is grasping a group of standing, bound enemies by their hairlocks together with a bow (?), and shouldering a battle-axe. The hovering vulture goddess above the king is holding the *ma'at* feather in her claws.

In the scene from the Northern wall of the passage[221] leading through the Central Tower, Ramesses III is wearing a long wig with a *uraeus*, a double-feathered composite crown consisting of two horizontal ram-horns holding the sun disk, surmounted by horns with six *uraei*, a short belted kilt with a ceremonial tail and a multi-lined apron with attached streamers ending in *uraei*, sandals, and one armband. Two enemies, each raising one hand, are being grasped by their hairlocks and smitten with a mace-axe. Between the king's legs a rampant male lion is biting the elbow of one of the kneeling enemies. The male lion, included in the scene as an animal assistant and symbolizing the power of the king to vanquish his enemies, also appears on an unfinished limestone trial plaque dated to the reign of Ramesses III or later. The identification of the assisting deity holding a curved scimitar is not possible due the unfinished condition of the plaque.[222] The hovering vulture goddess above the king is holding the *ma'at*-feather in her claws.

On the outside walls there are three PStE scenes featuring Egyptian soldiers instead of the king.[223] These scenes are special to the smiting person, as soldiers from the common level of Egyptian society are shown defeating the enemy with the smiting motif, which is clearly a visual element of royal imagery.

[218] For the location of the related scenes of the different ethnical military conflicts and narrational scheme, see Cavillier 2013: 23–35.
[219] For more reference, see Sales 2012: 85–116.
[220] For the object, see Swan-Hall 1986: figs. 68–69.
[221] For the object, see Nims et. al 1970: Pl. 622.
[222] For the object (MMA 90.6.144, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), see Hayes 1959: 370.
[223] For the reference, see Swan-Hall 1986: 34.

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On the gigantic exterior surfaces at the entrance of Pylon I, Ramesses III is represented performing two smiting scenes[224] mirroring each other, in which he grasps by their hairlocks (together with the *mekes*) a group of enemies who each raise one hand while holding a dagger in their left. The scenes have a complex symbolic rendering. On the south tower, the king is wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus* and smiting with a mace-axe before Amun, while on the north tower he is wearing the *deshret* with a *uraeus* and smiting with a mace before Re-Harakhty. Both the major gods are presenting a personified (?) *ḫpš* to the king, one with a small ram-head (by Amun), and one with a falcon-head (by Re-Harakhty). Behind the king, inscribed *ka*-standards ending in *shen*-shaped mountings (a *ḥḏt*-crowned *uraeus* before a falcon wearing the *pschent* on the top and a sun disk surmounted by a uraeus holding an *ankh* at the neck behind) are holding, with human arms, the *ma'at*-feather, an *ankh* and a smaller staff with two streamers attached, with a bust of the king (?) wearing a wig with a *uraeus* and a complex double-feathered crown with a sun disk and horizontal ram-horns. A sun disk surmounted by two *uraei* (wearing the *ḥḏt* and *deshret*, and holding *ankhs* at their necks) is depicted between a hovering vulture and a hovering falcon, who hold the *shen* in their claws above the scene below. Amun is holding the *ankh* in his left. Re-Harakhty is holding the *was*-sceptre together with reins attached to the bound personified cartouches that fill the space behind him on the left, which contain the town-names of the defeated enemies. This concept is repeated in miniature behind the back of the king, with a small goddess holding a *was*-sceptre leading two bound personified cartouches of the defeated enemies.

On the upper scene on the east face of the two towers, the king is lifting up four enemies, whom he grasps by their arms, smiting them with a mace, before Amun-Re on the south tower, and before Re-Harakhty on the north tower, with both gods presenting a *ḫpš* to the king.[225]

Distinctive iconographic elements in the smiting scene, such as the falcon-wing garment symbolizing the Horus-nature of the king, as introduced by Thutmose IV and used by Ramesses II and Merneptah, were also applied by Ramesses III, supplemented with bird-heads on an ostracon, with an elaborate style of drawing that can be dated to his reign.[226]

The related scenes of enemy defeat, like "Spearing the Enemy", first used by Sety I, and "Trampling on the Enemy", introduced by Amenhotep III, can be seen on the wall of the Bubastite Court,[227] where the king is grasping a Libyan enemy chief by the wrist, trampling on

[224] For the objects, see Nelson et al. 1932: Pl. 101–102.
[225] For the objects, see Nims et al. 1970: Pl. 598–599.
[226] For the object (E.7359, Royal Museums of Art and History, Bruxelles), see Lefebvre – Van Rinsveld 1990: 135.
[227] For the object, see Breasted et al. 1936: Pl. 82.D

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his knee, and spearing him through the chest. The kiosk scene on the exterior surface of the West Wall[228] was introduced by Amenhotep III, but the concept was developed further in the Amarna Period by including the smiting queen in the triumphant repertoire of Ramesses III in Karnak. The kiosk scene of Ramesses III follows the schemas of representation established by his predecessors. It depicts the arrival of the Royal Galley, accompanied by numerous ceremonial barques, to the quay of the Luxor temple for celebrating the Opet festival. The king is wearing a double-feathered composite crown with a sun disk and horizontal ram-horns, and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail. On the kiosk of the Royal Barque, surmounted by a *uraei*-frieze, the king is grasping the kneeling enemy by his hairlock together with a staff resembling the *mekes* with a cavetto-shaped end, and smiting him. The vulture goddess Nekhbet in anthropomorphic form, wearing her vulture-shaped headdress and *atef* (?), stands behind the king holding a sceptre in her left hand and raising her right hand in a gesture of adoration.

Ramesses IV also continued the use of the Ramesside iconographic toolbox on ostraca. On ostracon MFA 09.289, the bearded king is wearing the *pschent* with a *uraeus* and two streamers attached behind, a multi-lined collar necklace, a short pleated kilt with a ceremonial tail, and a falcon-wing garment. A group of enemies, each raising one hand, are grasped by their hairlocks, and smitten with a *ḫpš* which is tied with a strap around the king's wrist (?). On the verso of the fragmentary ostracon there are two enemies with raised hands standing before a war-chariot, which may contain the king. This may depict the scene preceding the annihilation with smiting shown on the recto side.[229] On ostracon piece CG 25124,[230] the beardless king is depicted in his war-chariot pulled by two horses. He is wearing a wig with a *uraeus* and a streamer, a falcon-wing garment and a short pleated kilt. The reins of the horses are tied at his waist. Together with a bow, in his left hand he is grasping two enemies by their hairlocks, who standing behind the horses, but his right hand is hanging down without presenting the classical smiting position. A third enemy is running before the galloping horses, being chased and attacked by a male lion as the king's "royal bloodhound". A block that probably originates from the Pavilion Pylon at Medinet Habu presents Ramesses IV smiting two enemies in a mortuary complex erected by his predecessor Ramesses III.[231]

Ramesses VI introduced the newly developed motif of "Shouldering a Battle-axe", which was related to the visual toolbox for representing enemy defeat. On ostracon GC 25119,[232]

[228] For the object, see Breasted et al. 1936: Pl. 85–88.
[229] For the object (09.289, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) see Swan-Hall 1986: fig.74.
[230] For the object (CG 25124, The Egyptian Musem, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 77.
[231] For the depiction, see Porter – Moss 1972: 527.
[232] For the object (GC 25119, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Swan-Hall 1986: fig. 78.

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Ramesses VI is wearing the *khepresh* with a *uraeus*, a multi-lined collar necklace, a short kilt tied with two streamers, and arm- and wristbands. He is grasping by his hairlock the standing enemy, whose arms are tied back. The weapon in this rendering is clearly visible as the battle-axe, and can be compared with the shouldered axes of three-dimensional sculptures.

On the royal statue[233] of Ramesses VI, the striding king is wearing a short wig with the *atef* and a short pleated kilt. He is shouldering a battle-axe and grasping a bound Libyan enemy by his hairlock, with a striding lion behind his legs facing forwards. The prototype of the design of the striding statue probably appeared as an artistic solution during the reign of Merneptah, but under Ramesses VI a change can be observed in the rendering of the arm holding the weapon, as the "shouldering" movement replaced the gesture of "holding the weapon to the head of the enemy". On another royal statue[234] of (probably) Ramesses VI, the striding king is likewise wearing the *atef* and a short kilt, shouldering a weapon (probably a battle-axe), and grasping the Nubian enemy by his hairlock. The Nubian is attacked in parallel by a lion who is standing between the king's legs, assisting the king in the humiliation of the enemy.

2.2.6. Third Intermediate Period

The process by which the centres of power were rearranged at the end of the New Kingdom led to the priesthood of Amun at Thebes gaining increasing political influence, making them the *de facto* rulers of Southern Egypt. The reorganization of power had already begun during the reign of Ramesses XI, and after his death, the kingdom declined into the unstable political milieu of the Third Intermediate Period.[235]Bearing the title of High Priest of Amun at Thebes, the influential and powerful army officer Herihor[236] turned his power into kingship, as is reflected in the application of the motifs of the PStE, "Trampling on the Enemy" and the kiosk scene, typical of the Amarna Period, which originally occur in the royal iconography. The incorporation of the dedicated iconographic tools for expressing defeat of the enemy into his own visual imagery in representing himself as a ruler may have served as a means of legitimizing his power.

[233] For the object (CG 42152, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Legrain 1906: 171, 79.
[234] For the object (1392, Muzeo Egizio, Turin), see Petschel 2004: 50, 56–57.
[235] Taylor, J. H. 2000: 330–368.
[236] About the background of the increasing power of Herihor as High Priest of Amun turning into kingship and his reign, see James – Morkot 2010: 231–260.

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The lower register of the wall relief on the West Wall of the Court in the Temple of Khonsu in Karnak[237] depicts the arrival of the Royal Galley with numerous ceremonial barques to the quay of the temple for celebrating the Opet festival. On the painted curtains of the kiosk of the Royal Barque, the king Herihor is wearing a complex double-feathered crown with horizontal horns, and a short kilt with attached streamers. He is facing left and grasping two enemies by the hairlock together with a *ḫpš*, and smiting them with a battle-axe. He is trampling on the head of an enemy lying on the ground. The winged goddess Ma'at, wearing the *ma'at*-feather on her head, is standing behind him with her outstretched arms to protect him. The scene is surmounted by a *uraei* frieze.

The PStE was used as a visual element on a ceremonial vessel, a fine piece of craftsmanship from the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis.[238] The blue faience chalice with a lotus-formed rim is decorated with vignettes depicting the PStE scene featuring a single enemy.

2.2.7. Closing remarks

The evolutionary steps of the motif provide a wide range of contexts (e.g. martial, ceremonial, commemorative, religious etc.) for the physical material in the visual imagery of Egyptian art. The intellectual development of the topos is illustrated by the inclusion of new visual elements in the canonical smiting scene, articulating complex symbolical meanings (e.g. "Smiting the Town", "The Queen is Smiting the Enemy"). The cooperation of certain iconographic conventions associated with the original message of the smiting act, namely the triumph of the total defeat of the enemy (e.g. "Shouldering the Battle-Axe", "Trampling on the Enemy", "Spearing the Enemy"), bear the same ideological concept transmitted through different artistic representations of the (idealized) moments representing the final blow before the execution. The interpretation of the ambivalent visual elements depends on or is determined by the context and the rendering of the original scene (e.g. the lion can be interpreted as the "bloodhound" who multiplies the Pharaoh's power as a royal animal, or as embodying the enemy itself).

The divine sphere is represented in the assistance of the deities in their theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms, or in the form of divine symbols (standards, sceptres). The divine presence is also reflected in elements of the king's ceremonial attire (crown types, attributes,

[237] For the object, see Wente et al. 1979: Pl. 19–20.
[238] For the object (height: 14.5 cm, ECM 1583, The Myers Museum, Eton College, Windsor) dated to the 22th Dynasty (ca. 925 B.C.), see Spurr – Reeves – Quirke 1999: 9 (object photo), 39, Cat. no 54.

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garments), visually "adorning" him with additional transcendental power, and this tendency is generally observed in the smiting scene. The weaponry used for the smiting act is physically designed to have a short handle, ideal for performing the gesture of smiting.

2.3. The "smiting Pharaoh": *ordo ab chao* as representing the characterized cosmic triumph

To understand the visual presence we have to decode the message of this movement, starting with the subject person in the motif: the character of the pharaoh as a human ruler with cosmogonic features. The concept of leadership in ancient Near Eastern cultures
may have been stimulated by geographical circumstances, which also contributed to the building of the state organization with a centralized ruling system in the Egyptian region.

The dependability of the annual flood, bringing with it fertilization for the soil, led to the Nile valley becoming well populated thanks to regular, scheduled agricultural activity, which created the conditions for the birth of Egyptian civilization. Urbanization resulted in the coexistence of large numbers of people, which necessitated the establishment of a stable administration system. After a while, the population began to produce surpluses that could not be consumed, which caused imbalances in the sensitive equilibrium of consumption and production, and prompted the development of systems of storage and trade.[239] The achievements of urbanization had to be protected by maintaining authority, through the use of rules, laws and military power at the secular level, and by traditions and religious beliefs at the cosmic level. The unifiers of the region used their personal military power to sustain their authority, supported by an insistence on their unquestioned transcendental importance.[240]

Under this concept, the health of the land depended on the personal characteristics of the perfect ruler. The pharaoh was a superhuman being who received his power from the gods, a factor that was regarded as the main part of the Egyptian ideology of kingship. He was a liminal figure, with divine parents, acting as the mediator between gods and mortals. The connection was bidirectional: due to his religious prestige, the pharaoh performed cultic acts before the gods, presented offerings, built temples, and ensured that images of him supported the transcendental connection with his might, in exchange for which the gods blessed him and,

[239] Yildirim 2016: 710–712.
[240] Frankfort 1948a: 30–58.

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through him, the entire land of Egypt.[241] His divine power shone through the bright Sun onto the society he ruled, as part of the cosmic order.[242]

The pharaoh appeared as a son of Ra, and then in the Old Kingdom as Horus or as an incarnation of Horus.[243] The pharaoh's nature combined Horus in living form (creation) and Osiris as deceased (death), referring to the Egyptian metaphysical system built around the concepts of life and afterlife, as they appear in the rituals of the Pyramid Texts.[244] The *ka* of the king was his protective genius and a personification of his vital force, as well as the pharaoh's "twin".[245]

From earlier times, Horus's name was associated with the offensive face of kingship. The ruler smites the enemy leader in human form with a mace, and subjugates the enemy in falcon form. On the obverse of the cosmetic palette of Narmer, the Horus-falcon grasps with his human hand the human-headed personification of the Delta Land (Lower Egypt) with a rope passed through the nose, while on the reverse, the king attacks the stronghold of the enemy by trampling on a kneeling naked enemy in the form of a bull.[246]

Tangible evidence that the kingdom's military aspirations were sanctified by the name of Horus can be found in the name of the coastal military route, "Way(s) of Horus", an important strategic bridge, which spanned the North Sinai Peninsula, connecting Egypt with the Southern Levant.[247] The plural form indicates the presence of a road system, confirmed by archaeological evidence, with desert routes traced back to the Early Dynastic Period being the first contacts between the two regions.[248]

The living king was an incarnation of Horus, equipped with divine and royal attributes as insignia, endowed with various epithets, and taking part in ceremonial performances with a mythological significance, to express and demonstrate his power and ability.[249]

The nature of the pharaoh's power had two faces: he was the defender of the kingdom (defensive role), but in addition, he had to show his aggression before immortals and mortals alike in order to prove his ability to destroy any sources of danger threatening the kingdom, so as to maintain order at the secular and cosmic levels (offensive role).[250] This duality is also

[241] Hornung 1997: 283–286.
[242] Frankfort 1948b: 159–161.
[243] Hornung 1966a: 9–29.
[244] For example the texts regarding to Unas in the Old Kingdom, see Allen 2005: 15–64.
[245] Frankfort 1948b: 70.
[246] Frankfort 1948b: 173.
[247] Gardiner, A. H. 1920: 99–116.
[248] Hussein 2019: 348–355.
[249] Hornung 1997: 284–289.
[250] Hornung 1983: 135–142.

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perceptible in interpreting the iconographic representation of the power of the pharaoh, culminating in the iconym of the smiting act surrounded by specified divine symbols and gods, as is seen in the previous section. The image of the smiting pharaoh shown with his royal attributes could be considered as an idealistic visual portrayal (*Rollenporträt*) expressing his abilities as the perfect ruler of his realm.[251] Subjugating the enemy is not a simple profane act: the verbal expression of the action is highly significant, as indicated by the increasing number of verbal phrases in the language for enemy defeat and annihilation (there are 21 different terms expressing military activities over the defeated enemy, and 2 for annihilation),[252] besides the visual representations. The phrase *ḥḏ tꜣ* ("the land falls into the light", literally referring to the dawn period, when the light falls upon the earth) as a temporal expression was used as a metaphor in Egyptian literature expressing violent acts and sacrifice. The similar form of the hieroglyphs constituting the phrase may be echoed in the rendering of the pictorial representations of the PStE. The depiction of the "ground" sign connected with the word *tꜣ* that delimited the scene (and symbolically the country of the king) indicates an intellectual development, which could serve as the background to the location of the smiting scene in the liminal surfaces of the sacral buildings (for example on temple pylons or doorways).[253]

Like the cyclical movement of nature, historical cycles also repeat themselves, which are followed by the reigning cycles of the rulers: the pharaoh must show his charisma again and again, performing rituals proving that, as the representative of the gods holding power on Earth, he is able to overcome chaos and therefore protect his realm.[254]

The Sed Festival (*ḥb-sd*) was related to the ancestor cult and celebrated the renewal of the continuous and prospering rule of the pharaoh in relation to the land and fertility, thus proving his ability to reign.[255] The name of the festival was derived from the wolf god Sed, who was also worshipped under the name of Wepwawet.[256] Wepwawet was tied in many ways to the concept of rebirth of the kingdom, and was identified with the king in Memphite theology. According to Frankfort, the standard of Wepwawet accompanied the king at the ceremony entitled the "Dedication of the Field", which included the royal placenta appearing together with Wepwawet, symbolizing the stillborn twin of the king and associated with the birth of the king.[257]

[251] For the notion "*Rollenporträt*" with the identification via personal attributes, see Keel 2017a: 31–34.
[252] Hasel 1998: 29–65.
[253] Pérez-Accino 2002: 91–102.
[254] Gloy 2016: 93–94.
[255] Frankfort 1948b: 79–82.
[256] Shaw 2003: 53.
[257] Frankfort 1948b: 71, 91.

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Unlike the Valley Festival, the practice of the annual Opet Festival celebrated in Thebes (Luxor) since the New Kingdom was regarded as renewal through life in the form of a celebration.[258] The festival involving a divine procession organized around the triad of gods in Theban theology (Amun, Mut and Khonsu) also focused on rebirth, while the re-enacting of the coronation of the pharaoh was part of the associated celebrations.[259]

2.4. Transcendental assistance: endowed with the power of the gods

The different forms of transcendental presence that appeared among the iconographic elements of the PStE are discussed widely with interpretation and identification in section 2.1., and are collected via the following grouping terms to emphasize the visual development of the scene, which became filled with increasing transcendental content during the historical periods of Egyptian art. In reviewing the discussed object material, the deities assisting the king that are highlighted in the PStE scene are listed below in tabular form, quoting the objects that probably represent their first appearances, and giving the related periods (Table 1a. Deities and symbols in theriomorphic form; Table 1b. Deities in anthropomorphic form). The various roles of the deities are connected to cosmogony, creation, war, fertility and protection, and their presence is also of supportive and apotropaic significance. The gods train the king for war and endow him with the aura of "fear", "awe", and "dread" as an aid to defeating the enemy. [260]

Animal	**Theriomorphic deity or symbol**	**Object**	**Period**
falcon standing on *serekh*	Horus	Narmer palette	Early Dynastic Period
hovering vulture	Nekhbet	pectoral of Amenemhet III	Middle Kingdom
lion	royalty (?)	alabaster palette of Zer (Djer)	Early Dynastic Period
hovering falcon	Horus of Beḥdet	stone marker of Khufu, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
fish (catfish) laid along the extended leg of the kneeling enemy	uncertain (in this rendering)[261]	wall relief of Mentuhotep II at Gebelein	First Intermediate Period
crouching griffin	Montu	parade axe of Queen Ahhotep	New Kingdom

Table 1a. Deities and symbols in theriomorphic form.

[258] The comparison of the Opet Festival (rebirth) with the Valley Festival (funeral) regarding the form of the renewal through life or death, see Fukaya 2007: 95–124.
[259] Bell 1997: 174.
[260] Hoffmeier 1983: 65–66.
[261] For the explanation, see footnote 100.

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Anthropomorphic deity	**Object**	**Period**	**Comments**
goddess holding the *was*-sceptre	stone marker of Djoser, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom	first occurrence
ibis-headed Thoth holding a *was*-sceptre and *ankh*	stone marker of Khufu, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom	-
Amun (?) offers a weapon to the king	scarab from the reign of Thutmose III	New Kingdom	-
standing Amun	wall relief of Thutmose III, Battle of Megiddo scene, Karnak Pylon VII	New Kingdom	-
falcon-headed Montu	arm guard of Thutmose IV, Tell el-Amarna	New Kingdom	-
statue of Ptah	false door stela of Amenhotep III, Memphis	New Kingdom	-
Nubian gods	Konosso rock inscription of Thutmose IV	New Kingdom	first occurrence of foreign gods
ram-headed Khnum holding a *djed*-pillar and *was*-sceptre in a *nb*	stela of Amenhotep III, Mahatta	New Kingdom	-
Anukis of Elephantine	stela of Amenhotep III from Mahatta	New Kingdom	-
Harmachis holding a sceptre and a curved scimitar	stela of Ramesses II, Nahr el-Kalb	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
Seth	wall relief from Temple of Atum (?), Tell el-Rataba	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
Amun-Re	left entrance wall relief, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
standing goddess in a tall double-feathered headdress with tall horns and sun disk in a long garment and holding a lotus blossom (?)	left entrance wall relief, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
Re-Harakhty	right entrance wall relief, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
standing goddess in a tall double-feathered headdress with tall horns and sun disk and a small bird head in a headdress with two tall horns and sun disk in a long garment and shouldering a plant stalk (?) in her left, while raising her right hand	right entrance wall relief, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
Nile gods tying the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt	relief of Merneptah, Memphis	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
vulture goddess Nekhbet wearing her vulture-shaped headdress and *atef* (?)	exterior relief of Ramesses III on the West Wall, Karnak	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom	-
winged Ma'at wearing the *ma'at*-feather on her head	wall relief of Herihor on the West Wall of the Court, Temple of Khonsu, Karnak	Third Intermediate Period	-

Table 1b. Deities in anthropomorphic form.

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Symbols expressing the transcendental presence surrounding the smiting king emphasize the complexity of the scene. The elements of the ceremonial garments, royal insignia and weapons of the king are excluded here (Table 2. Appearance of the related symbols in the smiting scene).

Symbol	**Object**	**Period**
Wepwawet-standard including *shedshed* and *uraeus*	ivory label of Den	Early Dynastic Period
ma'at-feather held by the enemy	stone marker of Sekhem-khet, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
was-sceptre held by the deity	stone marker of Khufu, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
ankh held by the deity	stone marker of Khufu, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
ostrich feather of Ma'at in the enemy's hand	stone marker of Sekhem-khet, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
hes-vessel of purification	stone marker of Ny-user-ra, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
winged disc accompanied by *uraei*	Stone marker of Pepy I, Wadi Maghara	Old Kingdom
papyrus stalk with blossom surmounted by *uraeus*	arm guard of Thutmose IV, Tell el-Amarna	New Kingdom
shen-ring	relief from the tomb of Thutmose IV, Thebes	New Kingdom
djed-pillar	stela of Amenhotep III, Mahatta	New Kingdom
sun disk of Aten with rays	wall relief of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) on Pylon IX, Karnak	Amarna Period, New Kingdom
ka-staff of the king	right entrance wall relief of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom
composite inscribed standard holding with human arms the *ma'at*-feather and the *ka*-staff of the king	right and left entrance wall reliefs of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel	Ramesside Period, New Kingdom

Table 2. Appearance of the related symbols in smiting scenes.

The smiting motif is not found exclusively in the royal iconography related to the repertoire of the pharaoh, and can be detected in later periods of Egyptian art. Animals,[262] supernatural creatures and deities are also known to assume the smiting motif in mythological scenes, expressing victory over the symbolic enemy.

Vignettes depicting the theme of the "cat is slaying the Apophis serpent with a knife in front of the *ished*-tree" illustrate the papyri of the "Book of the Dead of Ani" (Spell 17).[263] The "Book of the Dead of Hunefer" (Spell 17) depicts a similar scene.[264] In a wall painting from the tomb of Inherkha (TT359), from the reigns of Ramesses III and IV at Deir el-Medina, the cat, with

[262] A rabbit smites a snake on an ostracon. For the object, see Brunner-Traut 1956: 93, fig. 28.
[263] The document is dated to circa 1250 B.C., from Thebes (EA10470,10, British Museum), see Tarasenko 2016: 4, 20–21, 100, figs. 5, 5A.
[264] The document is dated to circa1180 B.C., perhaps from Memphis (EA9901,8, British Museum), see Tarasenko 2016: 3, 91–92, 99–100, fig. 4.

straight elongated ears, is smiting a serpent with a long-bladed knife stealing blood, holding the serpent in its left paw while the right is trampling on the head of the snake, in front of the *ished*-tree.[265] The relationship between the cat and the Sun god is close and bidirectional, and the cat is closely related to the sun god Ra, as he could manifest himself in a form of a cat. According to the cosmogonic interpretation of the iconographic theme, Ra in the form of the cat is killing Apophis, his eternal foe, embodied by the serpent.[266]

In a wall-painting depicting a scene from the Book of Amduat from the tomb of Thutmose III (KV34) in the Valley of the Kings, the cat-headed anthropomorphic demon (*mds-ḥr*), as the indigenous supernatural creature from the 7th hour of the Amduat, is using a *ḫpš* to smite three headless enemies with their arms bound behind their backs.[267]

Tutu, the composite sphinx-god worshipped as the protector of ordinary people in the Late Period, has apotropaic features to ward off demonic forces. A limestone stela[268] of unknown provenance depicts the god, with its right hand holding a double axe, smiting a small enemy figure grasped by his hairlock together with a spear. There are traces of red painting on the wings and neck of the god.

A statue found in the Temple of Opet in Karnak, from the Ptolemaic Period, represents the rare scene of the falcon-headed god Horus smiting with a mace-axe the god Seth, who is represented as a donkey with long ears, standing with his arms tied to his body.[269]

2.5. The Enemy: faces of *isfet* as offerings for a ritual sacrifice?

To understand why the inclusion of the defeated enemy figure is important for maintaining the "visual balance" of the PStE scene, let us turn to the ancient Egyptian cosmogonic concept and world view. The unique depiction of a cosmographical map,[270] representing the Egyptian world, is found on the lid of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, from Saqqara, from the early Ptolemaic Period (3rd century B.C.). The body of the sarcophagus represents the netherworld,

[265] For the object, see Malek 1993: 87, fig. 55.
[266] Malek 1993: 82–87.
[267] The figure is previously misidentified with Reshef, see Cornelius 1994: 26; Hornung 1963: I 120, II 128, no. 495.
[268] For the object (20840, Berlin Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), see Kaper 2003: 298–300, Cat. no. S-3.
[269] For the object, see Porter – Moss 1972: 248–249.
[270] For the line drawing, see Keel – Uehlinger 1996: 13, fig. 5.

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and the lid of the sarcophagus represents the sky (the world).[271] In this complex cosmographical representation, the world – encircled by Shu and Geb, as the frames of Heaven and Earth – consists of three circular layers (outer layer: the circle of the Ocean; middle layer: twelve ovals with the seated figures of the defeated kings with feathers on their knees, symbolizing the foreign countries overseen by Ha (left) and Sopdu (right) as gods of the western and eastern deserts; centre layer: the symbols of the forty nomes).[272]

In interpreting this concept, it is clear that the land of Egypt is the centre of the cosmos, the *axis mundi*, but foreign areas also occupy a place in the periphery in the ancient Egyptian ideology. Egyptians designated their own country as *kmt* (The Black Land), referring to the fertile soil of the Nile Valley, as opposed to the *dšrt* (The Red Land) of the desert areas.[273] The map shows that the land of Kemet (*ma'at*) is surrounded by *isfet* in order to maintain the balance of the world order, and in this ideology, the enemy can only be included when represented as defeated.[274] According to the Egyptian abstract concept, Chaos (*isfet,* disorder, decay, injustice) and its counterpart *ma'at* (order, harmony, justice) coexist in a paradoxical dualism, each helping the other to sustain the equilibrium of the world.[275]

In the cyclical approach to the world and the universe, the Egyptian king keeps *ma'at* in his hand as a weapon of protection and justice in the constant struggle to destroy *isfet*.[276] Chaos also has faces, and is represented physically in the divine world as Seth, the god of disorder, appearing as the embodiment of *isfet* in the myths of "Horus and Seth" and in the Osiris Myth,[277] as well as the chaos-serpent Apep. Apep (*3pp*, Apophis in Ancient Greek) is a symbol of disorder that never bears the determinative *nṯr* ("god") in Egyptian theology, represented in a form of a serpent (a snake-like creature), or a turtle.[278]

The borders of Egypt were surrounded by its immediate neighbours on the same continent (e.g. Libya/*Tekhnu*, Nubia/*Kush*, land of Punt in the Eastern part of Africa or in the Arabian Peninsula) and its regional neighbours further away (e.g. Syro-Palestine/*Retjenu*, Anatolia, Greek Islands/*Keftiu* i.e. Crete).[279]

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[271] For the object (14.7.1, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), see Arnold 1997: 36–8; 51–4, figs. 13–6.
[272] There is an earlier example of the cosmogonic cartograph from the New Kingdom, the second half of the second millenium BC, see Keel 1997b: 37–40.
[273] For the terms and concepts, see Mu-chou 2005: 45.
[274] For the attitude of ancient Egyptian ideology to the foreign people, see Cornelius 2010: 324.
[275] Asante 2011: 22.
[276] Goelet 2003: 24.
[277] Velde 1967: 32–59, 81–84.
[278] Morenz 2004: 201–205.
[279] For the geographical locations and the Egyptian names of the mentioned foreign lands, see Cornelius 2010: 325.

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The limits were not only regarded as spatial, but also cultural, moral, and connected to identity. The value of being an Egyptian, as opposed to a non-Egyptian, appeared in the Story of Sinuhe, which was composed around 1875 B.C. but set in the early 20th century B.C. in the Middle Kingdom, and may have been based on real events.[280] The protagonist is Sinuhe, an Egyptian court official who, upon interrogation, revealed information about the death of King Amenemhet I, resulting in his exile to Syria-Palestine, where he started a new career beyond the borders of *kmt*. After the end of his exile, he returns to Egypt, where he once again enjoys the civilized Egyptian customs (shaving, combing hair, anointing with fine oil, dressing in fine linen, manners of behaviour, sleeping in a bed), illustrating the differences in lifestyle between Egyptians and Asiatics, and implying that Egyptian values and cultural identity are superior. Using sensual, literary imagery, the author expresses how he "undressed" the squalor of the barbarian lifestyle, "I had returned the sand to those who dwell in it".[281]

The general collective term "Nine Bows" (*Pdwt psdt*) is used in the royal narrative as a designation for the traditional enemies of Egypt. One of the first visual representations of the concept behind this term is reflected in the seated statue of Djoser resting his feet upon the figures of foreign captives symbolizing the Nine Bows, where the bow referred to the Southern Nubians, whose main weapon was the bow and arrow.[282] The bow was regarded as a symbol of royalty and authority,[283] while the act of breaking of the bow[284] or cutting the bowstring[285] and the gesture of the "turned bow" alluded to the defeat of the enemy.[286] The interpretation of the number nine is three times three (3 x 3)[287] and can be considered as the symbolic expression of the plurality of pluralities (totality) in Egyptian numerology (three = many). The grouping of gods into Enneads consisting of nine deities reflects this concept and can be found in several theological notions in Egypt.[288]

The Execration texts, written on papyrus, pottery or small figures, are represented in the ritual literature as part of the royal and ordinary cult, and provide a rich source of material to name the neighbours of Egypt as enemies containing Nubian, Egyptian and Asiatic names of

[280] For the entire story and its interpretations, see Parkinson 1999: 21.
[281] Smith, S. T. 2003: 29.
[282] Mu-chou 2005: 43.
[283] For the symbolism of the bow in the war and hunting scenes on the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian glyptic, see Keel 1977: 141–177
[284] In a text from the reign of Ramesses II (KRI II 319.7-10) destroying their assault weapon the enemy is breaking their bows as a sign of total submission, see Manassa 2003: 50–51.
[285] For the references, see Darnell 1991: 73–93.
[286] The motif of the turned bow is also a gesture to surrender, see Wilkinson, R. H. 1987: 128–133.
[287] Hornung 1966: 54.
[288] For example the Great Ennead led by the Creator god Atum connected to the Heliopolis theology, see Dunand – Zivie-Coche 2004: 31–32.

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chiefs, military commanders, officials, and countries. The text used in the related ritual was intended to prevent rebellious actions and could be used against enemies – political, abstract or supernatural, and personal – embodying *isfet* in all spheres connected to the individual. As imprints of a beneficent magical practice with prophylactic and apotropaic features, the texts were used in the ritual to help the objective of destroying the enemy, usually represented by physical objects or animals, although archaeological evidence from Mirgissa and Avaris from the reign of Ahmose shows that the enemy could also be represented by humans. The most complete execration find contains a huge amount of red pottery, remnants of melted wax, the remains of using figurines made from mud, limestone and probably wax, and a ritually severed human head buried upside down in the large Egyptian military fortress at Mirgissa on the bank of the Nile in Kush (Nubia) from the Middle Kingdom.[289] In Avaris, execration pit Locus 1055 contains three human male skulls and the fingers from the right hands of (probably the same) three males, while Locus 1016 contains two male skeletons lying face down.[290] The ritual of annihilation was conducted verbally by reciting the ritual text while simultaneously performing the physical annihilation of the ritual object symbolizing the enemy (e.g. inscribed or uninscribed, predominantly red pottery vessels, small figurines). The aim of the execration ritual was to overcome chaotic forces (*isfet*) and achieve magical victory. Jan Assmann links the ritual of smashing red pots to the execration rituals based on the Pyramid Texts,[291] and he connects a similar ritual formula in Utterance 23 of the Pyramid Texts in the execration texts, where Osiris is invoked to protect the name of the king and to seize his enemies.[292] According to his observations, the practice of the ritual can be traced as far back as the early Old Kingdom and continues to be present in Egyptian history as late as the Roman Period.[293]

The literary foreigner *topos*[294] referred to non-Egyptians disparagingly, using a variety of terms such as barbaric, primitive, animalistic or cowardly entities, with recurrent epithets including "wretched" (mainly for Nubians) and "vile" (for Asiatics and Hittites),[295] and this can be found throughout the general narrative of Egyptocentric ideology.[296] It should be noted, however, that the ideological picture often differs from reality: the general stereotype of foreign savages in royal art always depicted them as defeated or subjugated, but according to real

[289] Muhlestein 2008.
[290] Muhlestein 2011: 18–20.
[291] Assmann 1994: 50–52.
[292] Assmann 1994: 45–46.
[293] Muhlestein 2008.
[294] For more about the foreigner *topos* in the Egyptian literature, see Loprieno 1988.
[295] Cornelius 2010: 326.
[296] Smith, S. T. 2003: 24–27.

historical events, on a number of occasions, Egypt was invaded, occupied and ruled over by its enemies, both its immediate neighbours and more distant ones (e.g. Hyksos, Libyans, Nubians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Ptolemies, Romans).[297] The Hyksos (*ḥḳꜣ(w)-ḫꜣswt,* "ruler(s) of foreign lands") invaded Egypt in 1650 B.C. and established the 15th Dynasty, taking control over the Northeastern Nile Delta region from Avaris in the Second Intermediate Period.[298] In the politically instable milieu of the Third Intermediate Period, during the late 21st Dynasty, the Libyans settled in the Western Nile Delta, gradually expanding their authority and control over the region from Tanis. The kings of the 21st-22nd Dynasties originated from a Libyan tribe known as the Meshwesh (*Mšwš.w*).[299] As a result of a Nubian invasion and their strong military supremacy over Egypt, a sovereign dynasty was established (the 25th Kushite Dynasty) in the Third Intermediate Period from 744–656 B.C., known as "The Black Pharaohs".[300] The rulers of the Macedonian Greek Ptolemaic dynasty declared themselves pharaohs and adopted Egyptian traditions and religious practices in the Hellenistic Period of Egypt.[301] After the conquest of Cambyses II, the 27th Dynasty that ruled Egypt was a satrapy of the Achaemenid Persian Empire between 525–404 B.C.[302]

Despite the general Egyptian contempt towards foreigners that is reflected in the literature and ideology, it appears that assimilation of foreign knowledge and human resources and skills occurred widely, and even foreign gods[303] were accepted in certain forms in Egyptian society and religion. In the written documents of the ethnically and religiously diverse nuclear society of Deir el-Medina, which was inhabited by workers, artisans and craftsmen building the tombs of the Valley of the Kings and Queens, Canaanite personal names can be found among the names of public workers.[304] Nubian bowmen served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army.[305] Through the increased military, intercultural and commercial connections established between Egypt and the Canaanite region during the New Kingdom, the cults of the foreign Canaanite gods (e.g. Ba'al, Reshef, Anat, Astarte and Qudshu) were imported and incorporated into the

[297] Cornelius 2010: 333–334.
[298] Ryholt 1997, 118–143.
[299] Dodson 1995: 52–67.
[300] For more about the 25th Dynasty, see Török 1998: 132; Morkot 1999.
[301] Lloyd 2000: 395–421.
[302] Klotz 2015: 1–2.
[303] Deities and cults to the background and tendency of imports and exports through intercultural channels between Egypt and neighboring regions, see Quack 2015: 255–277.
[304] Lesko 1994: 67–69.
[305] Smith, S. T. 2003: 23.

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Egyptian religious system, and are often represented in an Egyptianizing manner in Egyptian art.[306]

Foreigners are often depicted with symbolic physical features. The typical differences perceived among foreigner figures (e.g. hairstyle, beard style, skin colour, clothing) were considered as ethnographic hallmarks. On a relief fragment from the pyramid complex of Sahure, Seth and Sopdu (right), the "lord of the mountainous foreign lands" facing to the left, are leading four captives representing the traditional enemies of Egypt (East African from Punt, Lybian, uncertain Asiatic, and Asiatic) marked in a distinguishable manner on the basis of their physical appearance. The figures are tied by long ropes to the.[307] With regard to different skin colours used in Egyptian art, such distinctions were only symbolic artistic expressions, as "racial" distinctions have no relevant interpretation in the ancient (Egyptian) context.[308] Horus is facing right and leading four figures, who are distinguished by depicting the colour of the skin as well as by their physical appearance: a red-brown Egyptian, a light-skinned Asiatic with a thick beard and atasseled kilt, a black Nubian without abeard with a long apron, and a light-skinned Lybian with a goatee beard and upper-arm tattooes on both arms, wearing a half-shouldered robe and feathers in his hair. The skin colour of the Egyptian figure can be represented in the balance of emphasis in the dark and light shades, as he is darker than the Asiatic and the Lybian, but lighter than the Nubian.[309]

Discrimination was based on Egyptian ideology, and foreigners were treated differently and not necessarily accepted as "Egyptians" regardless of whether they were born in Egypt or in a foreign region; basically, they were not part of the Egyptian language and culture embodied in the concept of "Egyptianness".[310]

To return to the PStE scene, the artistic representations of the enemies (in human or non-human form) are summarized below in tabular form, quoting the objects that probably represent the first appearance of each type of enemy (single, pair, group) in the smiting scene, with the related period also given (Table 3. Representation of the enemy in the smiting scene).

Enemy figure	**Object**	**Period**
single male enemy	ivory cylinder seals, Hierakonpolis	Early Dynastic Period
single female enemy	talatats, Karnak and Luxor	Amarna Period, New Kingdom
male enemy pair	mortuary temple of Unas[311]	Old Kingdom

[306] Stadelmann 1967: 56–76; Zivie-Coche 2011: 1–3.
[307] Keel 1997b: 300–302, Abb. 406.
[308] For more about the treatment of skin colour in ancient times, see Snowden 1983.
[309] Hornung 1999: Abb. 120.
[310] For this explanation, see Redford 2004: 9.
[311] The scene is not discussed in detail in Chapter 2.1, but see Schoske 1982: 102.

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group of male enemies	wall paintings of Hierakonpolis	Early Dynastic Period
enemy in animal form (lion)	green jasper ring of Amenhotep II	New Kingdom
enemy in vegetal form	Narmer Palette	Early Dynastic Period
enemy "hecatomb" (*Feindbündel*)	block of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) on Pylon III, Karnak	Amarna Period, New Kingdom
Egyptian enemy	wall relief of Mentuhotep II, Gebelein	First Intermediate Period
mass of enemies (chariot scene)	relief from the tomb of Thutmose IV, Thebes	New Kingdom

Table 3. Representations of the enemy in smiting scenes.

The symbolic representation of the defeat of the enemy is combined with representations of hunting (both Nilotic/water hunting and desert-hunting scenes) and expressed in the complex scene of "Spearing the Theriomorphic Enemy". The interpretation of the two types of hunting scenes is linked to the concept of conquering and achieving victory over the different environmental regions of the land, eliminating their chaotic forces from the Early Dynastic Period iconography.[312] The assault weapon in the scene is the spear, and the spearing movement expresses a similar meaning to that in the PStE, in which aggressive natural forces are most frequently embodied by the hippopotamus.[313] The scene is of great religious significance to the kingship, with cosmogonic connotations, and there are numerous instances of it in the art from the reign of Den in Dynasty I.[314]

The solar circle of the Sun god appears in popular mythological tales about the Battle of Ra against the chaos serpent Apep, which emerged in the New Kingdom. Regarding his origin, he is absent from Egyptian creation myths, which suggests he is not a primordial being, and he is usually described in the myth as having been born from Ra's umbilical cord. Regarding the process of his birth, forming a literal analogy with reality, it would seem that his existence is the consequence of Ra's existence.[315] According to the related Egyptian stories, at the end of each day, the evil serpent Apep must be defeated by Ra or his personal defenders (e.g. the harpooning Seth on Ra's Solar Barque) in the Western horizon, and then it goes into the underworld. After defeating him the Sun god can continue his journey to rise on the Eastern horizon the next day, ensuring the solar circle and maintaining the order of the cycle of life.[316] The commemoration of Ra's victorious battle to maintain world order[317] is also reflected in the Egyptian temple cult and in religious literature, in the form of magical rituals, prayers and

[312] Hendrickx – Förster 2010: 830–832.
[313] For more detailed to the symbolic role of the hippopotamus represented as the enemy to be defeated, see Säve-Söderberg 1958.
[314] For the object, see Chapter 2.1.1.
[315] For more about the concept and origin of evil in ancient Egyptian context, see Kemboly 2010.
[316] Assmann 1995: 49–57.
[317] Hornung 1990: 103–113.

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official religious texts. The annual apotropaic ritual of "The Banishing of Apep" was based on pure sympathetic magic. The ceremony was performed by priests to ward off all the malevolent and evil substances that had accumulated in Apep, whose effigy was burned in order to secure protection against him for the entire coming year.[318] The religious fighting guide entitled "The Books of Overthrowing Apep"[319] in the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus[320] describes in step-by-step detail the methods and weapons to be used for the smiting of Apep.[321]

The scene is examined from the perspective of the enemy figure in the representation known as the "cat is slaying the Apophis serpent with a knife in front of the *ished*-tree", in vignettes illustrating the Egyptian Book of the Dead. Here, the enemy, represented by the chaos-serpent Apep and embodying *isfet*, has been slain in the cosmogonic battle by Ra in the form of a cat.[322]

In the motif of "Smiting the Town", an artistic innovation of the 19th Dynasty at the beginning of the Ramesside Period, the abstract representation of the enemy emphasized the politico-military significance of defeating the enemy.[323]

As has been seen, the depiction of the struggle against chaos is a central theme in the iconography of the Egyptian ruler, in which the figure of the pharaoh fighting against animal and human enemies may also appear. The smiting motif occurs as a representative iconographic device in displaying mainly the fight against the human enemy.

2.6. Meaning: magical and metaphysical interpretations in the original Egyptian context

The smiting act is understood as an intervention which is completely filled with positive energies used against chaotic conditions to maintain world order. The mythological duty of the pharaoh (embodying the power of *ma'at*), as a person endowed with divine power, is to re-enact the cosmogonic struggle to restore the balance of world order.[324] The manifestation of the enemy (*isfet*) appears in a concrete visual form that can be overcome in the struggle by the king, who is the liminal transmitter of power and charisma borrowed from the gods. The repetition

[318] Budge 1969: 270–271.
[319] Faulkner 1937: 166–185.
[320] The ritual text dated to the Ptolemaic Period also contain the "Names of Apep" (cols. 32-33.). For more about the object (BM EA10188, The British Museum, London), see Faulkner 1933.
[321] Kousoulis 1999: Chapters 3–5.
[322] References for the scene, see Chapter 2.4.
[323] For the related iconographic examples, see Chapter 2.1.
[324] Assmann 2000: 168.

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of the divine act at the secular level[325] can also be interpreted proof of the king's aptitude and charisma to achieve victory, ensuring a continuous relationship between the cosmos and the kingship.[326] The PStE scene can be understood as the constellation of symbols that construct the visual system proclaiming the king's victory and communicating that the king is endowed with the power of the gods to fight a successful cosmogonic struggle against chaotic forces. The depiction of the smiting movement captures the last victorious moment of the struggle as a visual commemoration, which consolidates the essence of the motif into this vivid image, which can be sharply recalled from the Egyptian collective cultural memory. The meaning of the "communicative memory" is the remembrance of the recent past, shared with one's contemporaries, focusing on fixed points of the past, which become symbolic memories. The term was introduced by Jan Assmann to describe the processes of remembering used within society, which starts from a cultural basis consisting of traditions, feasts and commemorative religious events that are remembered in history. The concept is based on Maurice Halbwachs's theory on "collective historical memory". The commemorative event of Egyptian cultural history is the mythological "Unification of the Two Lands", which is evoked through the PStE scene, and forms part of the Egyptian cultural memory that may have been nurtured by the elite of society.[327] The scene is also considered as a magical act that affects the time levels of the past, present and future.[328]

2.7. Transmitters of victory: types of material sources as motif-bearers

After reviewing the object types as motif-bearers, it can be stated that, in terms of the material, what we are encountering is a wide spectrum of multimediality. The objects dated after the Ramesside period are not discussed in detail in the Chapter 2.1. due to the defined timeframe of the examination of the motif in the Egyptian art, see Chapter 1.1.5.

The smiting motif appears predominantly in the royal context, although on individual occasions it also appears in the private context. According to the chronological list of the appearance of the object types that bear the smiting motif, it can be detected as a primary decorative element in the royal iconography: tomb paintings, cylinder seals, ceremonial

[325] The interpretation of the repetition motif on the Wadi Maghara stone markers from the Old Kingdom, see Chapter 2.2.2.
[326] Assmann 2001: 119–123.
[327] Luiselli 2011: 10–25.
[328] Muhlestein 2011: 83–91.

palettes, ivory labels as funerary objects, stone markers, royal jewellery, ceremonial weapons, ceremonial vessels, scarabs, ostraca, sculptures, ceremonial pottery, wall reliefs embedded in mortuary temple decoration programmes, temple wall reliefs, stelae, and pylon façades of mortuary and divine temples.

In addition, the PStE appeared as a secondary decorative element in a different iconographic context on draperies (kiosk scene) and on the clothes in temple wall reliefs. In the wall reliefs of Ptolemy VIII or IX, and Mammisi from the temple of Hathor at Dendera in the Ptolemaic Period the scene appears on the short kilts worn by the kings (Ptolemy VIII or IX and the emperor Traian).[329]

The nineteen private stelae featuring the PStE are dated to the New Kingdom, from the late 18th to the early 20th Dynasty, and were erected by high-ranking officials. They represent a distinct group of Egyptian stelae, as processed by Alan Schulman.[330] It is a speculative question whether the PStE can be interpreted as depicting a real execution event (idea A), or an act of sacred violence in the service of order, which makes it a royal duty to perform a live execution or to re-enact a symbolic execution scene with apotropaic features (idea B). Due to a lack of textual sources describing the ritual killing of prisoners as a sacrifice in a ritual context, the question arises mainly with regard to the group of private stelae.[331] Alan Schulman argues that the appearance of the scene on private stelae can be explained by the direct experience of the persons who erected the stelae; these persons witnessed the actual event at an execution ceremony presented by the king, and the stelae commemorate this ritual act because of the rewards given to them by the king. Based on the architectural elements in the scene, Schulman deduces that its location was the sacral precinct, which can be seen in the rendering of the stelae.[332] This notion should be treated with caution as there is currently no scholarly consensus on this. The literary sources describe the smiting scene as "head-smashing" scenes, in which one or more of the enemies are grasped by the hair, which also correlates with the pictorial representations of the PStE. The preparatory gesture of adjusting the enemy's head into the perfect position by grasping his hair, immediately prior to the final strike, can be found textually on the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II, and on the stelae of Thutmose III. On the latter, the expression *nbdw ḳd* – "bad character" – is used to denote the enemies, as it appeared in the texts of the 18th Dynasty. Since it shares the same root as *nbdt* – "tress of hair" –, there may be a

[329] Swan-Hall 1986: figs. 84-85.
[330] For the analysis and the catalogue about the objects providing the inscriptions and discussing through with artistic, symbolic, religious, and historical context, see Schulman 1988: 8–39, figs. 1-18.
[331] Trimm 2017: 382–383, with the furtner references to support this argument in the note 344.
[332] Schulman 1988: 39–52.

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connection between the enemy and the hair as a form of verbal feedback to the visual representation, in which mainly Asiatic and Libyan enemies are represented with long, braided hair.[333]

In my opinion, the repetition and inclusion of unrealistic, symbolic elements in the PStE scene, and the existence of PStE scenes without any connection to the actual historical events, are factors that tend to confirm idea B and support the strong royal ideological value of the scene, serving a commemorative function.[334]

The apotropaic meaning can also be emphasized with the depiction of the smiting scene as the most important visual element of royal decoration programs in monumental art. The entrances to sacred areas underline the transcendent aspect in the interpretation of the scene. As the smiting motif was used to decorate surfaces that were clearly visible to the common people, like temple walls and the outer façades of pylons, it may also have served as a kind of cosmogonic commemorative proclamation: representations of the smiting king eliminating the enemy in a moment of victory reaffirmed his ability to defend his realm from chaotic forces, at both the secular and the cosmic level.[335]

[333] Hoffmeier 1983: 54–55.
[334] About the review of Schulman's theory and the related discussion on the topic summarized by Kerry Muhlestein, see Muhlestein 2011: 86–88.
[335] Luiselli 2011: 20–21.

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Chapter 3 – Tracking the motif beyond the borders of Egypt: adaptations of an iconographic element

3.1 Early Bronze Age (3500–2300 B.C.)

3.1.1. Connections between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian region in the Early Bronze Age: Introducing Egypt to Syria-Palestine

Geographically the Syro-Palestinian region (consisting of the contemporary states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Jordan) lies in the Fertile Crescent[336] in the vicinity of three different cultural spheres (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia). Its physical features do not allow any geographic independence, and the role of this region can be perceived as a natural bridge, an interface of influences coming from these cultural spheres. The sub-regions of Syro-Palestine have their own diverse cultural patterns: Syria in the north, extending beyond the Euphrates, is ethnographically and politically distinct from Southern Palestine and the Lebanese coast. Nonetheless, economic-cultural-political relationships with the surrounding neighbours and "a unity of religious culture"[337] merge these geographical sub-regions into one unit, referred to during the Bronze Age period as Syria-Palestine. Besides the political, military and cultural connections, trade relations also brought different cultures into contact.

The intercultural connections were initiated through the established interface, to which religions, visual art, and the iconographic motifs of the interacting cultures also responded, promoting the birth of new ideas that combined foreign innovations with local elements.[338]

Existing trade relations between the Egyptian Old Kingdom and its ancient Near Eastern neighbours in the Early Bronze Age[339] intensified with the Syro-Palestinian region through the establishment of routes crossing the Northern Sinai peninsula at the end of the Early Bronze Age I, in parallel with the unification efforts and territorialization of the Upper Egyptian Naqada

[336] The term introduced by the American archaeologist (founder of the Chicago Oriental Institute) James Henry Breasted on the beginning of the 20th century, see Breasted 1916: 100–101.
[337] For considering to Syro-Palestine as "a unity of religious culture in ancient Syro-Palestine", see Toorn 1995: 2043, here cited after Cornelius 2008a: 8.
[338] For the most recent catalogue on Egyptianizing objects (Aegyptiaca-objects) from the Northern Levantine region. discussed by geographical location as imprints of the cultural and socio-political interconnections between Egypt and Syria-Palestine during the Bronze Age, see Ahrens 2020.
[339] For more about the connections of the Old Kingdom with the ancient Near Eastern regions in the Early Bronze Age regarding to the sources of the trade with Syria, Sumer (e.g. *lapis lazuli* from Afghanistan) and the Lebanese coastal region, see Helck 1962: 4–42.

culture in Lower Egypt.[340] Urbanization in the Palestinian region resulted in the development of settlements (e.g. Megiddo, Beth-Shean, Beth-Yerah, Tell el-Far'a [North], Jerusalem, Lachish), which provided the ideal economic conditions for building a commercial network.

The Western Delta cities served as the Egyptian centres of trade relations with the adjacent Southern Palestinian region, from where mostly expensive import products flowed (either raw or in processed form) that were not available in Egypt: minerals, timber, oil, honey, wine and dried fruit, and pottery (Abydos ware). The conglomerate term "Abydos ware" is used for the group of imported Syro-Palestinian pottery vessels identified and denoted by Sir Flinders Petrie in the 1st-Dynasty royal tombs in Abydos, including three main different designs of pottery (1. the most common low-fired and red-polished pottery; 2. high-fired pottery with a metallic ring; 3. the rarest light-faced, white-slipped and painted pottery with brown/red geometric signs). [341] The main Egyptian export items were Egyptian artefacts and luxury goods,[342] as well as Egyptian pottery, which had an impact on stimulating Palestinian urbanization. Egyptian import stone vessels were found in Palace G at Ebla from the Early Bronze Age IV. In this period Ebla was a distribution centre between the Lebanese coast and Mesopotamia.[343] As evidenced by import pottery finds at South Palestinian and Egyptian sites, Egypt increasingly expanded northwards in the region through the establishment of trade centres rather than military bases.[344]

As evidence of commercial expansion, several Egyptian trading posts operated in Southern Palestine (Tell es-Sakan, Ein Besor, Tel Erani, Tell Halif). Tell es-Sakan at the entrance of the Wadi Gazzeh on the Southern Palestinian coast and ʿĒn Bĕsor in the Northern Negev desert were contemporary wine-trading settlements functioning as Egyptian staging posts along the "Ways of Horus" trade route during the 1st Dynasty.[345] The presence of Egyptian pottery, namely a potsherd bearing the *serekh* of Narmer, suggests that an Egyptian trading post operated in this period at Tel Erani (Tel Gath), on the eastern edge of the Shephelah lowland region on the Southern Palestinian coast.[346] Tel Halif is located in the Northeastern Negev desert on the edge of the Shephelah lowland region in Southern Palestine. The archaeological evidence of Early Bronze-Age fine Egyptian ceramic import ware found on the site also

[340] Schroer 2005: 161.
[341] Philip – Baird 2000: 4; Wilkinson, T. A. H. 2001: 134.
[342] For more about the regional urbanization and the Palestinian export ware and trade relations of Palestine, see Ben-Tor, A. 1986: 1–27.
[343] Ahrens 2011: 295–298.
[344] Braun 2011: 105–122.
[345] McGovern 2003: 101.
[346] Yeiven 1962: 193–203. For more about the Egyptian connections of Tel Erani, see Czarnowicz – Pasternak – Ochał-Czarnowicz – Skłucki 2014: 235–243.

suggests the presence of trading connections with the Egyptian Kingdom.[347] The decrease in the intensity of trade with the Southern Palestinian region and the rearrangement of Egypt's relations towards the north may be related to the Egyptian discovery of maritime trade via the Mediterranean Sea with a new trading partner on the northern coast, Byblos. The archaeological evidence of the harbour installations with ship models (*kpny*,"giblite", from Gbl-Jbayl, as Byblos) discovered at the ancient Egyptian sites 'Ayn al-Sokhna and Wadi el-Jarf at South Suez on the Red Sea may suggest that Egypt adopted the Canaanite shipbuilding techniques in the third millennium B.C.[348]

3.1.2. The absence of the smiting motif

As a result of the growing Egyptian presence (import products, and the use of Egyptian ware as a commercial unit), Syro-Palestinian art was generally stimulated by the Egyptian visual influence, with Egyptian motifs copied and imitated locally without any of their original context.

We may ask whether Egypt served as a general model in the royal iconography of the ancient Near East, especially in the depiction of smiting. Two iconic objects depicting royal triumphs from different periods of Mesopotamian history, the Vulture Stela (Eannatum, Lagash, Early Dynastic III Period)[349] and the Victory Stela (Naram-sin, Akkadian Period)[350] from the Third Millennium, illustrate the victory of the local ruler over the enemy.[351] Both objects are arched stelae, an object type which may refer to the Egyptian influence[352] in ancient Near Eastern art.[353]

The narrative depicted on the inscribed and fragmentary two-sided Vulture Stela is divided into the mythological side (obverse) and the historical side (reverse), commemorating the victory of Lagash over the neighbouring city of Umma.[354] On the mythological side, the scene may show the larger figure of the ruler (Eannatum) or the god Ningirsu himself, grasping the anzu-emblem (which may refer to the city god of Lagash, Ningirsu) with his left hand, which is connected to a large net filled with the bodies of naked men, while holding a mace in his

[347] Seger – Baum – Borowski – Cole – Forshey – Futato – Jacobs – Laustrup – O'Connor Seger – Zeger 1990: 1–32.
[348] Francis-Allouche – Grimal 2016: 242–277.
[349] For the reference, see Spycket 1995: 2584–2585.
[350] For the discussion about the object, see Winter, I. J. 1995: 2578.
[351] For the literature on this topic focusing on Mesopotamian iconography, see Kaehlin 2006.
[352] For the Egyptian influences on Mesopotamian stelae from the Prehistoric Period to the Middle Bronze Age, see Ward 1964: 121–135.
[353] Frankfort 1954: 256.
[354] For the discussion about the narrative of the object, see Winter, I. J. 1985: 11–32; Nadali 2014.

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right. On the historical side of the stela we can see several different forms of depicting victory over the enemy in military scenes: Eannatum is shown as a commander in chief of infantry soldiers trampling on the lying bodies of naked men; Eannatum is depicted in his chariot stabbing into the air with a long spear or directly to the forehead of an enemy; there is a presentation scene beside a hecatomb, depicting the bodies of the enemy dead before the ruler; and on the upper part of this side, vultures are grasping the heads of the defeated enemies in their beaks.

The Victory Stela of Naram-Sin depicts the victory of the Akkadian ruler over the Eastern hill tribes. The scene may take place in an outdoor area indicated by a huge mountain and two large trees, which may be realistically related to the subject of the scene. The deified king is wearing a horned crown and depicted with a well-formed body, in larger proportions than the other figures in the scene. The dynamism of this new artistic invention of the Semitic newcomers is reflected in the movement of the entire scene, which represents the king climbing on the heads of his soldiers towards a mountain which is topped with various divine symbols (Sun, Moon, Star). A dramatic picture of absolute victory is represented by a stabbed fallen enemy with a spear protruding from his head, while the advancing king holds his weapons in both hands, and the figures behind their dead fellow tribesman beg for their lives.

As these two examples show, the smiting motif is not an integral part of the royal victory iconography in either case: the ruler is basically not depicted with a raised weapon in his hand defeating the enemy, as can be seen in the original Egyptian smiting position representing total defeat. Compared with the Egyptian scene, these examples feature differences in size to indicate social position, as well as the motif of "Trampling on the enemy", and the inclusion of a weapon as a symbol of royal power. The mace or lance are much more characteristic as royal insignia used for scenes in connection with the execution, where these weapons are not depicted at the moment of the execution act.

The iconym of the PStE (the smiting motif) is an important element that already existed in the contemporary Egyptian kingdom as part of the symbolism of the Upper Egyptian visual concept of kingship, but it is absent from the iconographic *Motivschatz* of Syria-Palestine in the Early Bronze Age.[355] The incised drawing on the wall of the courtyard of Megiddo's Double Temple (from EBA I)[356] depicted four schematic beheaded prisoner figures lying on the ground as the subjugated enemy, relating to the context of the PStE as a symbol of the royal power and authority. The representation of the four lying bodies are incised into plaster on a limestone

[355] Schroer 2005: 180.
[356] For the object and related references, see Schroer 2005: 240, no. 136.

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wall "covered" with mesh pattern, and framed with circular recesses depicted in sacral/temple area suggest magico-ritual function of the depiction via symphatetic magic as subjugation of the enemies in the presence of the gods.

3.2. Middle Bronze Age (2300–1550 B.C.)

3.2.1. Connections between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian region in the Middle Bronze Age: the Egyptian influence on the visual appearance of local art

The three sub-regions in the Middle Bronze Age are reviewed separately below, with regard to the relationships arising from the political-historical and economic situations of the period.

3.2.1.1. Palestine

MBA I-IIA (2300–1700a B.C.): The cultural influences of the closest surrounding neighbours theoretically bisected Middle-Bronze-Age Palestine: that of Syria prevailed in the northern area and on the Lebanese coast, while the Egyptian influence was stronger in Southern Palestine due to direct interactions. During the Early Bronze Age IV transition, the majority of the Palestinian population practised a nomadic pastoral lifestyle. The change in the lifestyle paradigm is also evident in the archaeological material, which comes from graves instead of rich material culture of the urban settlements.[357] One important Palestinian export was livestock, as attested by the evidence for the importation of cattle to Egypt from Retenu.[358]

The narrative of the Egyptian story of Sinuhe takes place in this period and refers to the economic and cultural profile, but it does not show a unified picture of the political and social milieu of the land, which was ruled by fractious local tribal chiefs (*ḥq3*). The text mentioned Upper Retenu with its ruler's name, Ammunenshi and Qedem. Sinune rejoices in his migration in the passage (25): "*I heard the lowing sound of cattle and saw Asiatics*" may refer to the cattle breeding as the economic profile of the region. Ammunenshi says when he bring Sinuhe with him in the passage (30): "*You will be happy with me; you will hear the language of Egypt.*"

[357] For more about the cultural, social and economical situation in Palestine/Israel in the Middle Bronze Age, see Schroer 2008: 14–19.
[358] Newberry 1895: 26–28, Pl. 18.

suggest that the foreign chief are familiar with the Egyptian language and people and has the appropriate cultural niveau to get in contact with an Egyptian official.[359] This pattern of a tribal system seems to be confirmed by the execration texts, which mention Syro-Palestinian places, which may be attributed to the impact of the increase in Palestinian urbanization in the Middle Bronze age,[360] and to the fact that numerous local persons bore West Semitic names.[361]

Trade relations were restored after the political and economic disintegration of Egypt during the 12th Dynasty, in parallel with the reunification processes of the pharaohs of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.[362]

The strong Egyptian influence increased during the reign of Amenemhet III, as indicated by the mass production of scarabs, reflecting Egyptian cultural stability and central authority. Regarding the presence of the object type in the archaeological evidence from Egypt and Nubia, the historical and cultural developments associated with the strengthening of central power stimulated the beginning of this production process in the late Middle Kingdom, firstly attested as most preferred funerary amulets in tombs.[363] Egyptian scarabs (scarab amulets) are present in the archaeological material of the Syro-Palestinian cities of Ashkelon and Aphek on the Lebanese coast.[364] According to the Mitrahine incription of Amenemhet II, referring to the military intervention in Syria-Palestine and citing the tributes from Retenu and products from Byblos, Palestine continued to be a rich source of goods (raw materials, metals, minerals, oil, timber, herbs, cattle, textiles, weapons)[365] and also human resources (e.g. specialists in mine working and hunting, textile worker slaves).[366] The procession of the Aamu *(3mw)* group bringing offerings to the deceased nomarch in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan, dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIA, presents various skilled workers and nomadic traders from Moab.[367] The Egyptian 12th Dynasty saw the start of the infiltration of Canaanites into the Upper Egyptian Delta.[368]

MB IIB (1700–1550 B.C.): Semitic immigrants gradually gained increasing political control and crushed the power of the 13th Dynasty, resulting in the conquest of Northern Egypt. The

[359] For the translation of the story, see Lichtheim 1973: 222–235.
[360] Ben-Tor, A. 2006: 63–87.
[361] For the references for appearance of the West Semitic names in the Middle Bronze Age Execration Texts, see Ahituv 1984.
[362] Schroer 2008: 16.
[363] Ben-Tor, D. 2007: 5–9.
[364] Ben-Tor, D. 2007: 118.
[365] Altenmüller – Moussa 1991: 1–48.
[366] Schroer 2008: 17.
[367] For the detailed iconographic description and interpretation of the the procession of the Aamu *(ʿ3mw)* people, see Staubli 1991: 30–35.
[368] Redford 1993: 102.

Hyksos rulers (*ḥq3 ḫ3s.t*, "the rulers of foreign lands") founded two ruling dynasties (15th and 16th Dynasties of Egypt) and established their independent realm, managed from their capital, Tell ed-Dab'a (Avaris).

Upper and Lower Egypt were politically divided between the contemporary native Egyptian 17th Dynasty, located in Thebes, and the Hyksos kings in Avaris in the Second Intermediate Period.[369] Tell ed-Dab'a generally functioned as an important commercial centre throughout the Middle Bronze Age. The Canaanite population of the city maintained trade links with their place of origin, and production of the Canaanite scarab is attested only here, which argues that the immigrants occupying the Delta may have originated from the South.[370]

According to Mari texts, Hazor was an important trading partner of the king of Mari in the MB IIA,[371] but it became the significant major city of Palestine in MB IIB.[372] Sharuhen (Tell el-'Ajjul), Dan, Shechem, Beth-Shean, Jericho, Megiddo, Ashkelon, Tell el-Far'ah (North) and Gezer were important cities in this period.[373]

The first serious military confrontation between Egypt and Palestine was the conquest of Avaris and Sharuhen (ca. 1550 B.C.) by Ahmose I during the first Asian campaign, which later had an impact on the collapse of the Palestinian urban system in MB IIB.[374]

3.2.1.2. Lebanese coast

Byblos continued to be the most important maritime port to Egypt from the EBA onwards. Due to the strong Egyptian influence, but not any direct control by the Egyptian Kingdom, Byblite rulers and their court culture were fascinated by Egyptian culture and customs as part of their own identity (e.g. titulature, use of hieroglyphs, worship of Egyptian deities).[375]

3.2.1.3. Syria

The political map of predominately Amorite Middle-Bronze-Age Syria reveals politically autonomous kingdoms acting as local centres of power. As a serious rival to the Old Babylonian

[369] For more about the power relations in the Second Intermediate Period, see Ryholt 1997: 118–184.
[370] Ben-Tor, D. 2007: 189.
[371] Schwartz 2008: 451.
[372] Ben-Tor, A. 2006: 74–75.
[373] Barton 2004: 376.
[374] Na'aman 2005: 13–14.
[375] Teissier 1996: 2–3.

Kingdom, Yamhad[376] (capital city in Aleppo) in Northern Syria influenced the Northwestern kingdoms of Ugarit, Alalakh, Ebla, Carchemish and Mari (until the annexation by Babylonia ca. 1760 B.C.).[377] According to Mari texts, the importance and wealth of Qatna in Central Syria is supported by the fact that it gained control over the trade routes connecting Mesopotamia, Mari and the Lebanese coastal cities.[378]

Syria, with a relatively stable political system, maintained vibrant trade relations with almost every state in the ancient Near Eastern region, including – albeit indirectly – with Egypt, mainly via maritime trade through Ugarit and Byblos.[379] Ebla also had relations with the Egyptian Old Kingdom dating back to the Early Bronze Age,[380] but archaeological evidence from Middle-Bronze-Age tombs implies that Eblaite Egyptianizing luxury products had a Syro-Palestinian origin, judging from the technique of manufacture and their artistic features, which suggests secondary trade rather than a direct trade relationship.[381]

The art and craftsmanship of Egypt highly stimulated local artistic practices and visuality. Egyptian or Egyptianizing motifs (religious symbols, ornamental motifs, deities), which featured on the import objects flowing through the commercial and cultural network, were adopted mostly as decorative elements without their original (religious, royal etc.) contexts, and used in Classic Syrian art in conjunction with motifs from other neighbouring cultures (Mesopotamia, Anatolia). The imitation of Egyptian iconography on locally produced objects could also have had a social significance, by expressing the identity of the local ruling elite as belonging to the Egyptian court and cultural sphere.

3.2.2. The smiting motif in Syria

3.2.2.1. Old Syrian cylinder seals

There is already archaeological evidence from Tell Brak[382] that supports the use of cylinder seals in the Early Bronze Age Syria.[383] Due to increasing trade relations, the development of

[376] Bryce 2014: 18–20.
[377] For the political relations between the Old Babylonian Empire and Mari, see Mieroop 2005: 64–78.
[378] Podany 2010: 76–77.
[379] Teissier 1996: 2.
[380] For the archaeological evidence at Ebla from the Early Bronze Age, see Chapter 3.1.1., footnote 339.
[381] Lilyquist 1993: 44–47.
[382] For more about the cylinder seals from the Third Millenium Tell Brak, see Matthews, D. M. 1997.
[383] Collon 1987: 24–25.

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Classic Syrian cylinder seal production as a new industry in the Middle Bronze Age IIB[384] began with the establishment of workshops applying Egyptian and Egyptianizing iconographic motifs incorporated with Mesopotamian and Anatolian elements in Syrian glyptic art. As for their provenance, most Syrian cylinder seals originated from the Northwestern, central and coastal regions of Syria.

According to the chronological frames determined by Beatrice Teissier, in terms of their dating, their seal impressions and their inscriptions – based exclusively on stylistic and iconographic features –, Old Syrian cylinder seals can be classified into three main periods within the Middle Bronze Age I-II, one of which is divided into two sub-periods:[385]

Period I : "pre-classical" (ca. 1920–1830 B.C.),

Period II A: "classical" (1820–1740 B.C.),

Period II B: "classical" (1720–1620/1600 B.C.),

Period III : "post-classical" (1600–1550/1500 B.C.).

With regard to the general classification of the object group, in the present study I follow the terminology of Beatrice Teissier (Old Syrian cylinder seals), who defined these periods when examining the Egyptian motifs that appeared in the iconography of Syrian cylinder seals in the Bronze Age, but focused not just on the set of motifs from the classical period, but also the preceding and subsequent periods. Among the Egyptian motifs that occur on Old Syrian cylinder seals, she regarded the smiting motif as a special motif attributed partly to rulers and primarily to the gods (mainly the storm god). This ascertainment is illustrated by selected cylinder seals from all of these periods, which are discussed in chronological order. In addition, the cylinder seals relevant to the smiting motif, which are discussed in the catalogue of the IPIAO 2 about the Middle Bronze Age, are also discussed in this subchapter.

A more recent publication on the object group, the work of Adelheid Otto, uses the terminology of "Classical Syrian cylinder seals" in the classical era of Syrian cylinder seals, encompassing the time period 1800–1728 B.C.[386]

Periods I and II correspond to the contemporary Egyptian Middle Kingdom, and period III to the Second Intermediate Period, when the absorption of the principal Egyptian iconographic elements is increasingly observed in the Syro-Palestinian iconography of the Middle Bronze Age. There is no archaeological evidence for local industry in Southern Palestine in periods I "pre-classical" and II A "classical", which contrasts with the practice in periods II B "classical",

[384] Schroer 2008: 17.
[385] Teissier 1996: 12–14.
[386] Otto 2000: 1.

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III "post-classical", and the Early Bronze Age,[387] when the use of cylinder seals was a dominant sealing practice, rather than scarabs and scaraboids, which appeared in the Middle Bronze Age due to the general influence of mass production in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.[388]

Period I correlates with the Old Assyrian trading colony of *kārum* Kanesh[389] Level II (1940–1830 B.C.)[390] at the merchant settlement at Kültepe in South Central Anatolia (Cappadocia), and with the trading colonies in North Syria.

The prominent seal in Anatolia was originally the stamp seal, but the use of cylinder seals is attested only in the first quarter of the Second Millennium among the Assyrian merchant colonies in South Eastern Anatolia.[391] Certain individual motifs (e.g. the sphinx,[392] the smiting motif) are attested in the South Eastern Anatolian,[393] North Syrian ("Syro-Cappadocian")[394] and Northwestern Syrian glyptic art of the merchant colonies, which were influenced by Mesopotamian artistic features.[395] Such features can also be found in Egyptian iconography, but they are distinctly different in style. The sphinx-shaped ivory figurines from the assemblage of furniture attachments from Acemhöyük (the Pratt Ivories) document traces of Egyptian influence in Anatolia; they date to the early Second Millennium and may have been Syrian imports.[396]

The smiting motif turns up within the overcrowded *horror vacui* rendering of cultic and religious group scenes featuring local Anatolian and Mesopotamian (Old Babylonian) deities in the Anatolian group of the Kültepe Level II cylinder seal impressions, and is attested in the iconography of the Anatolian weather god (storm god).

In one seal impression (Kt. g/k 4-)[397] the Anatolian weather god is facing left and standing on the bull beside Shamash, the sun god, and a seated deity holding a goblet. He is represented holding the reins of the bull and a trident thunderbolt in his right hand, while a mace, raised high in a smiting pose, is in his left (Fig. 1). In an another seal impression (Kt. a/k 497; b/k 313)[398], the short-kilted weather god is standing on a bull and smiting with a mace in his right

[387] Lapp 1989: 1–15; For the cylinder seals from the Third Millenium Palestine, see Ben-Tor, A. 1978.
[388] For the reference, see Chapter 3.2.2.1., footnote 363.
[389] For more about Kültepe in the *kārum*-period, see Porada 1976–1980: 369–388; Veenhof 1995: 859–871; Larsen 2015.
[390] For the chronology of Kültepe in the *kārum*-period, see Kulakoğlu 2016: 1012–1031.
[391] Porada 1948a: 107.
[392] For the references of examples of the sphinx, see Teissier 1996: 12, footnote 4; Özgüç 1965: 72.
[393] For the catalogue of the Anatolian seal impressions from Kültepe, see Özgüç 1965.
[394] Porada 1948a: 114–115.
[395] Teissier 1993: 601–612; Teissier 1994.
[396] For more about the Pratt ivories and dating of the objects, see Harper 1969: 160, fig. 8; Simpson 2013: 221–261.
[397] For the object, see Özgüç 1965: 63–65, 75, Pl. I, no. 4.
[398] For the object, see Özgüç 1965: 83, Pl. XXIII, no. 69.

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hand, while holding the rein of the bull and a boomerang in his left (Fig. 2). The iconographic relationship between the bull and the storm god can be traced back to the Middle Bronze Age in Anatolia.[399] The motif of the bull-shaped god (bull god), possibly standing on an altar (bull altar), has been assumed to come from the Anatolian visual imagery, but Agnete Lassen pointed out, that is was an Assyrian invention in the glyptic of the Old Assyrian period.[400] However, the motif can also be identified with the theriomorphic manifestation of the Anatolian weather god (weather god of Ḫatti) by Nancy Westneat Leinwand, which confirms the presence of the deity in the religious traditions of Anatolia prior to the Hittite period.[401] The figures holding the bull by the reins (occasionally by a head-rope tied to a ring in his nose) as an attribute animal, or standing on the bull's back, can be considered as the first appearances of the Anatolian weather god in anthropomorphic form.[402] To compare this with the Mesopotamian and North Syrian effect on the visual concept of the deity-bearing attribute animal (animal pedestal),[403] the general iconographic representation of the Mesopotamian storm god Iškur/Adad often shows him holding a lightning trident in his hand, standing on (or beside) a bull as one of his attribute animals.[404]

While the bull is regarded as a symbol of fertility, the lion appears as an attribute of power and strength in the iconography of the storm god.[405] The short-kilted deity standing on the back and on the head of a lion (Kt. c/k 487-), from Kültepe Level II, holds the reins of his attribute in his right, together with a goblet, while raising a boomerang in his left, held in a smiting pose (Fig. 3).[406]

Smiting scenes are rarely found on Syro-Cappadocian cylinder seals: on one cylinder seal which shows such a scene, a female figure is represented inside the winged structure of a shrine (the "bull and gate" scene)[407] above a bull being slain by a smiting god, with bull-men depicted in the lower register.[408] According to Thorkild Jacobsen, the appearance in the scenes of the theriomorphic manifestation together with the anthropomorphic form of the deity may follow

[399] Herbordt 2016: 100–108.
[400] For the iconography and interpretation of the "bull god" or "bull altar" motif as a representation of the god Ashur in the glyptic of Kültepe in the Old Assyrian Period, see Lassen 2017: 177–194; Russell 2017: 460–461.
[401] For the reference, see Leinwand 1984; Leinwand 1992: 141–172.
[402] For the iconographic evolution of "the storm god standing on the bull" in the Anatolian artistic tradition, see Roboz 2019: 15–34.
[403] The general iconographic representation of the Mesopotamian storm god Iškur/Adad, often standing on (or beside) the bull as one of the attribute animals holding lightning trident in his hand, see Dietz – Otto 2016: 91–100; Schwemer 2008b: 130–168.
[404] For the development of the "god standing on the bull" in Mesopotamia, see Demircoğlu 1939: 8–9.
[405] Green, A. W. 2003: 23.
[406] Özgüç 1965: 63–65, 75, Pl. XVII, no. 52.
[407] Matthews, D. M. 1997: 148.
[408] Porada 1992: 473, fig. 8.

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the Sumerian model, in which the later form vanquishes the earlier non-human form. This can also be observed in the Anatolian representations of the storm god.[409] Bulls in cultic scenes depicted carrying shrines on their backs are represented on cylinder seals from the Akkadian glyptic (ca. 2360–2100 B.C.) through the Ur III periods, and refer to the bull cult that is connected to the cult of the storm god in Mesopotamia.[410]

The enslavement of the bull by the storm god and "the bull and gate" scenes are attested on a cylinder seal from Samiya[411] (18th century B.C.). The storm god is depicted in the lower register, wearing a long tunic with his protruding left leg trampling on the head of a half-crouching bull, which he simultaneously smites with a weapon ending in a double-pronged tip held in his right hand (Fig. 4). The bull is carrying a winged shrine on his back, with a nude female figure inside (maybe the rain goddess[412]), seen from the front. The scene is surrounded by various animals and combat scenes, hallmarks from the Akkadian glyptic. In the impression of the haematite cylinder seal Macropoli 426 (dated ca. 1920–1840 B.C.),[413] the storm god is facing left, wearing a long robe, stepping on the back of a bull with his right leg. He is brandishing a mace in a smiting posture, in his right hand, while holding the reins of the bull, a throwstick and an axe in his left (Fig. 5). A crouching "mongoose" and a rampant lion are represented behind the figure, while a worshipper stands before him holding a jar. A sceptre is shown above the head of the bull.

Period IIA refers to the Kültepe Level Ib (1798–1740 B.C.), Chagar Bazar and Tel Leilan in north-eastern Syria (1760–1730 B.C.), Mari (during the Third Kingdom, ca. 1820–1750 B.C.) and Sippar (ca. 1792–1712 B.C., Isin-Larsa Period), near to the heart of the Old Babylonian Kingdom by the Euphrates. The classical period provides the first evidence of Classic Syrian cylinder seals depicting the smiting motif used in a royal context, or belonging to royal officials.

We can witness the first appearance the smiting scenes on cylinder seals which resemble the Egyptian canonical features of the subject, in which a (non-Egyptian) ruler, the defeated enemy and the assisting deity are included, although the cast of characters in the scenes differs from the classical Egyptian rendering, clearly demonstrating the combination of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Syro-Anatolian iconographic elements in the glyptic of the period.

[409] Jacobsen 1978: 128–129.
[410] Green, A. W. 2003: 18–19.
[411] Amiet suggests Cretan influence beside the Mesopotamian, see Amiet 1961: 1–6, fig. 8.
[412] The connection between the Storm god and the female figure as the rain goddess as his consort interpreted by Porada and Van Loon, see Porada 1992: 465–466.
[413] For the object details, see Teissier 1984: 220, no. 426.

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The hematite cylinder seal Macropoli 442 (dated 1850–1720 B.C.)[414] shows a scene featuring a bearded storm god (or the ruler?) facing left, wearing a long robe decorated with a wing-like pattern on the trim, a horned headdress topped with a spike, and a long curled hairlock hanging down his back, in front of a semi-naked goddess who is also wearing a trimmed long robe (Fig. 6). With a mace held in his right hand, he is smiting the head of a half-kneeling enemy or prisoner while grasping his hairlock with his left, beneath a crescent and a star disc.[415] Based on the ascending and trampling stance of the figure, Beatrice Teissier raises the possibility that the deified ruler was depicted as the storm god.[416] The representation of his ascending leg testifies to Akkadian, Northwestern Mesopotamian influences, but the (imitating or intentional) depiction of the enemy facing him, grasped by the hairlock, clearly indicates Egyptian influence, or presupposes a visual knowledge of the rendering of the Egyptian canonical scene. The three-columned cuneiform inscription beside the scene informs us that the owner of the seal is a person who is the son of a person, who is the servant of Apliḫanda, the king of Carchemish.[417] Carchemish, rising as the river port of Ebla by the Euphrates, was the most important rival and neighbour of Yamhad in North Syria. As the ruler of a rich, important trading centre, Apliḫanda (Aplaḫanda) was contemporaneous with Shamsi-Adad I, the ambitious king of the Old Assyrian Empire, Hammurapi, and with Zimri-Lim in Mari. He is mentioned in Mari texts, and probably ruled the city between 1786 and his death in 1766 B.C.[418]

Based on a comparison with closely similar seal impressions dated to the reign of Buntaḫtunila of Sippar (ca. 1850 B.C.)[419], the earliest datable attestations of the smiting motif in a royal context, associated with rulers outside the Egyptian border, are on cylinder seals BM 89809 (Fig. 7), and maybe BM 26180 (Fig. 8)[420] dated to the 19th century B.C. during the Isin-Larsa Period from Sippar in Mesopotamia. The seals of the Sippar workshop belong to a wider group of Old Babylonian cylinder seals, in which the motif is mostly associated with the storm god smiting a kneeling enemy (with the detail of the hair-grasping omitted), possibly adopted via Syria and Anatolia rather than directly from Egypt. According to Dominique Collon, who introduced the concept and term of the "smiting god",[421] as applied to divine figures represented

[414] For the object details, see Teissier 1984: 226, no. 442.
[415] Collon 1987: 125, no. 541.
[416] Teissier 1996: 34.
[417] For the two variant of the reading the personal names in the family relationship, but the relation "servant of Apliḫanda" is clear, see Teissier 1996: 118.
[418] Klengel 1992: 70–72.
[419] Al-Gailani Werr 1980: 41, 63, nos. 14a, 39.
[420] Especially for the cylinder seals may belong to the Sippar-workshop in the British Museum, see Collon 1986: 165–179, no. 418 (BM 89809), no. 424 (BM 26180).
[421] Collon 1972: 111–134.

in this position in a gesture of victory and power, two main types of the smiting posture were adopted in the Old Babylonian repertoire: the storm god (or the deified ruler represented as the storm god), and the lion-demon.[422]

The earliest anthropomorphic type found on seals is wearing the same garment as the king, armed with a sickle-sword (*harpe*-sword) in his raised right, and whirling a mace in his left. The sickle-sword[423] in the hands of gods and kings is considered to be the symbol of royal power and authority in Mesopotamian art. His headdress consisted of a higher round-capped crown with a narrower brim, to which horns – referring to divinity[424] – are attached in a single instance, on the seal of Ḫāli-ilū (BM 89011),[425] servant of Abī-maraṣ, found near Babylon,[426] which further supports the idea that in this group, the deified ruler was depicted in a way that associated him with the storm god (Fig. 9). The enemy figure is lying on his back, facing his attacker, who is trampling on the enemy's chest. The motif of "Trampling on the Enemy" is also attested in the Egyptian canonical scene, although the trampling is never on the enemy's chest.

The general iconographic depiction of the storm god in the Old Babylonian period differs in several aspects from the Syro-Anatolian visual attestation (see Table 1).

	Old Babylonian	**Syro-Anatolian**
Headdress	horned cap of divinity	headdress with a pair of horns ending in a point/ball
Hairstyle, beard	bearded	long curled hairlock hanging down his back
Garment	striped skirt hanging open in front with a protruding leg in ascending position	kilt with horizontal ridges, bare upper body
Weapon	sickle-sword (*harpe*-sword), whirling mace, axe	brandishing a mace in his right in a smiting position, holding weapons and the reins of the bull in his left
Attribute	holding the reins of the bull (animal pedestal), or with the bull completely omitted lightning fork, rod-with-balls[427]	standing or trampling on the back of a small crouching bull (animal pedestal)
Direction	facing right	generally facing right
Smiting posture	rare	frequent
Enemy	included	not included

Table 1. General differences between Old Babylonian and Syro-Anatolian representations.

[422] Collon 1986: 165–179, nos. 418–467, 550.
[423] For more about the types of the weapon, see Maxwell-Hyslop 2002: 210–213, 216.
[424] For more about the symbolism of the horned headdress of the gods in the Mesopotamian divine iconography, see van Buren 1943: 318–327.
[425] For the object details and inscription, see Collon 1986: 167, no. 420.
[426] Abī-maraṣ was a petty king in Lower Mesopotamia, see Frayne 1990: 814.
[427] The rod-with-balls is a replacement of the lightning fork generally may associated with the Sun God, For introducing the term, see van Buren 1945: 153–166.

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In one interesting example among the seals mentioned above, the storm god is wearing the kilt of the king and depicted as a cult statue standing on a dais in a cultic setting, before other, three smaller kneeling figures wearing caps and clasping their hands or raising them in a gesture of adoration. The cult statue of the god rests one foot on a fallen enemy. The smiting weapon is unclear, but in his other hand, the statue is holding a lightning bundle like a weapon (mace) (BM 102562) (Fig. 10).[428]

The second type is the lion-demon, a hybrid anthropoid-leonine creature (*Mischwesen*),[429] which already appeared in the Akkadian glyptic. The creature is identified with the *ugallu* in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods and often associated with the Smiting God, and has apotropaic significance. [430] In his first attestation, on the cylinder seal BM 89074, dated to the Akkadian period,[431] the lion-demon is standing behind an armed, bearded god, wearing a short kilt, and holding a dagger in his left hand. This figure reappeared on Old Babylonian seals, mostly armed (sometimes unarmed) in a smiting pose, accompanying the smiting god (in the form of the storm god).[432] The lion-demon can also act as the smiting person on his own performing the act over the enemy: the kilted figure is grasping a small inverted enemy figure in his paw while smiting him with the other (BM 89399) (Fig. 11).[433]

Returning to the Classic Syrian IIA glyptic, the Syro-Anatolian type of the smiting storm god is very rare, and the enemy is restricted in the scenes. He is facing the winged naked goddess among Syrian divine figures, and the Egyptian *ankh* symbol on a Cypriote-styled cylinder seal (Fig. 12).[434] The short kilt and long curled hairlock, typical elements of the storm god's iconography, are worn by the pharaoh on other seals from this period, although the smiting position is not adopted.[435]

Another cylinder seal[436] depicting the storm god features a whole repertoire of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Syrian and Anatolian motifs in a cultic setting (Fig. 13). The storm god is facing to the right, wearing a short kilt and an oval headdress with two protruding horns,

[428] For the object, see Collon 1986: 168–169, no. 422a.
[429] For the identification and artistic references, see Green, A. 1993: 246–264.
[430] For more about the representations of the *ugallu* in Neo-Assyrian art, see Green, A. 1983: 87–96; Wiggerman 1992: 169–172; Battini 2014: 165–176.
[431] For the object, see Collon 1982: 76–77, no. 146.
[432] For the object details of the cylinder seals representing the smiting lion-demon, see Collon 1986: 166, nos. 461–467, no. 550.
[433] For the object, see Collon 1986: 179, no. 463.
[434] For the object, see Teissier 1996: 58, no. 41.
[435] Teissier 1996: 57.
[436] For the object, see Teissier 1996: 74, no. 120.

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standing astride two small mountains.[437] He is smiting with a sickle-sword (maybe an Egyptian *ḫpš*-sword?) held in his right, and holding a staff with his left hand in front of a headless person in a long robe posed in a gesture of adoration; the absence of the head conceals his identity (maybe a Syrian or Mesopotamian ruler), but he is holding a staff or an offering ending in snake head.[438] Between them is a low sacrificial table, on which there are two goblets. Behind the headless figure can be seen a scorpion and another figure in a long, body-fitting dress holding a sickle. The field behind the storm god is filled with an Egyptianizing sphinx, and a guilloche (intertwined bands of two strands), functioning as a dividing element,[439] separating the sphinx from the rearing lion that faces back to the god.

The human-headed sphinx positioned behind the ruler is wearing an Egyptian wig and raises one paw vertically in a gesture of protection, as an apotropaic symbol; as an expression of power, it resembles Egyptian New Kingdom scenes featuring Tutankhamun in the form of a sphinx, trampling on his enemies.[440]

There is one Old Syrian example from this period which, Beatrice Teissier argues, may attest that the smiting figure is not the storm god (or the deified ruler), but the mantled figure of the Syro-Palestinian plague god Reshef, who, on haematite cylinder seal Macropoli 480,[441] is depicted in a smiting posture, armed with a mace and an axe, facing the winged deity, who is holding a spear and a flail (Fig. 14). Along with inconsistencies resulting from the small-sized miniature representation, this identification is perhaps misleading in my view, because the depiction lacks the general iconographic attributes and weapons of the god (e.g., most typically, the shield, the quiver, the raised fist without a weapon, or the gazelle-horned headdress with long, hanging streamers attached to the back), any one of which enables Reshef to be securely identified on Syro-Palestinian seals and amulets.[442] In this case, a general identification of the figure as the smiting god seems more likely.

As Beatrice Teissier has already suggested with regard to dating the iconographical evidence of Old Syrian period IIA cylinder seals, considering the influence of the visual art of the neighbouring cultures, the appearance of the smiting motif probably did not derive directly from

[437] On the iconographic relationship between the Anatolian Weather god and the mountains, see Dijkstra 1991: 127–140.
[438] The Anatolian and Syrian Storm god also associated with the serpent, see Lambert 1985: 435–451.
[439] The guilloche (horizontally) used to separate the secondary decorative elements into an upper and lower image fields, see Teissier 1984: 76.
[440] On the end of a painted box from Tutankhamun's tomb showing two repetitions of king in a form on a sphinx facing each other and trampling on two Nubian enemies lying on the ground. For the detailed discussion on the object, see Davies, N. M. – Gardiner, S. A. H. 1962.
[441] For the object, see Teissier 1984: no. 480.
[442] For the iconography of Reshef miniature art, see Cornelius 1994: 101; Lipiński 2009: 150–160.

Egypt, but arrived in Syria through Anatolian influences.[443] The adaptation of Egyptian or Egyptianizing motifs in the glyptic of period IIB is detected at royal level after its first appearances at ordinary level in period IIA.

The majority of the evidence for cylinder seals being used in a royal context comes from the seal impressions in the palace archives of Alalakh Level VII (ca. 1720–1620/1600 B.C.). The rulers of the city shared dynastic family relationships with the powerful kingdom of Yamhad, with Aleppo as its capital.[444] According to the general dating, Alalakh VII is contemporaneous with the 13th Dynasty and a part of the Second Intermediate Period. According to Dominique Collon, the general iconography of the smiting figures of Alalakh VII and VI (ca. 1620/1600–1550/1500 B.C.) refers to a new, (possibly) Hurrian aspect of the storm god, introduced in the 19th/18th centuries B.C.[445]

Alalakh Level VI equates with the Old Syrian glyptic period III, but it is discussed here because of the consistency of the iconographic attributes of the storm god as attested in the glyptic of both Alalakh periods. In general, the smiting deity of Alalakh wears a short kilt with horizontal ribbed decoration, a horned conical headdress with a pointed top (or with a spike at the top), and a long curled hairlock hanging down his back. He is usually smiting with a mace while holding in his other hand the reins of the bull, and either a double-pronged fork of lightning, a disc-and-crescent standard, or a ball-ended staff.

The clearly visible figure of the pharaoh, recognisable by his wig with uraeus and his short kilt, is kneeling behind the storm god on a haematite cylinder seal (BM 89514) (Fig. 15).[446] The storm god is wearing a short striped kilt, a double-horned headdress with a spike, a long curled hairlock hanging down his back and a collar necklace, wielding a mace to smite a serpent depicted in a vertical position, while holding a plant sceptre (*Pflanzenzepter*)[447] in his other hand, which he thrusts into the open mouth of the serpent. An earlier example of the scene, on a haematite cylinder seal from period IIA,[448] depicts the storm god in the same attire before an Egyptianizing winged *Mischwesen* figure or a falcon-headed god (Horus?) (Fig. 16).

As a chthonic symbol, the serpent in a peaceful aspect is generally associated with fertility[449], vitality and blessing in ancient Near Eastern art, but it is represented as a hostile enemy

[443] Teissier 1996: 12, 116.
[444] Collon 1975: 140–145.
[445] Collon 1975: 184–185, Pls. XXV–XXVI.
[446] For the object BM 89514, see Teissier 1996: 58, no. 42.
[447] On the discussion of the motif "Storm god holding a plant scepter" in the Middle Bronze Age IIB, see Schroer 2008: 51.
[448] For the object (AO 1183, Louvre, Paris), and the identification of the winged figure with the falcon-headed god, see Keel 1989a: 265, Abb. 66.
[449] Joines 1974: 110–113.

subjugated by the storm god in conflict scenes in Old Syrian art and on seal impressions from Kültepe Level Ib.[450]

Beside the naked goddess, the storm god appears as secondary actor in the cultic scene of cylinder seal Enkomi-Alasia 13.093 (Fig. 17).[451] Beside the primary scene of the image field, where the goddess is wearing the *atef* crown and facing two rulers (one of them holding the *ankh*), the storm god is shown together with the naked goddess in her shrine on a crouching sphinx facing towards the *atef*-crowned goddess. A bird flying in front of the smiting storm god fills the space.

Among Egyptian deities, falcon-headed Horus is depicted in a scene with attributes from the repertoire of the Egyptian king: he is wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached to it, and holding a hoop-ended staff and *ankh* in his hands. He is standing on a pedestal higher than the accompanying bare-headed ruler in a *Wulstsaummantel* (mantle with rolled borders), on cylinder seal Durham N 2408 (Fig. 18).[452]

The figure of a ruler depicted in *Wulstsaummantel* first appeared on Alalakh VII seal impressions and became a characteristic figure of Middle-Bronze-Age IIB art in Syria-Palestine.[453] Its pair follows another ruler wearing a tall oval headdress and *Wulstsaummantel*, before a smiting storm god armed with a mace, an axe and a throwstick, standing on the ground as high as Horus on the pedestal. The rendering of the figures and the relative sizes of the two deities may suggest the predominance in the scene of the storm god over the Egyptian god, who is associated with the ideology of kingship and rulers in Egyptian contexts. The field around the figures is filled with astral and Egyptian symbols (*ankh*s, star, disc?). On cylinder seal Louvre AO 10.862 the same ruler figure is depicted in a tall oval headdress and *Wulstsaummantel* in a pose of adoration in front of the short-kilted storm god, who is armed with the same arsenal of weapons and holding the reins of the crouching hump-backed bull (Fig. 19). A guilloche divides the image field behind the deity, which is filled with a crowned crouching sphinx in the upper register, and a lion holding a fallen deer in its mouth in the lower register.[454]

On cylinder seal Ras Shamra 5.175,[455] the hunting scene with the lion and the deer is replaced by a small scene of a goddess wearing a wig, who is holding the pharaoh's hand and facing him

[450] Green, A. W. 2003: 116–120.
[451] For the object (Enkomi-Alasia 13.093), see Teissier 1996: 70, no. 105.
[452] For the object (Durham N 2408, University of Durham, Durham), see Lambert 1979: Pl. VI, no. 44.
[453] For the term and the related concept, see Schroer 1985: 49–115.
[454] For the object, see Teissier 1996: 81, no. 141.
[455] For the object, see Amiet 1992: 28, no. 42. and 30, Pl. fig10: no. 40–44.

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behind the smiting storm god. (Fig. 20).[456] The gesture of holding hands may evoke Egyptian cultic scenes where the goddess embraces or blesses the king with the *ankh* touching him.

In a later example of the scene from the Egyptian New Kingdom, the primordial goddess Iusaaset (Saosis) is seen embracing Seti I and blessing him with an *ankh*. The relief is located on the west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Seti I Temple at Abydos, between the entrances of the Chapel of Ra-Harakhty and the Chapel of Amun.[457]

The long-haired figure of a "Syrian woman" dressed in a full-length robe is one of the most typical iconographic elements occurring on Old Syrian cylinder seals, and can be observed in later styles from the Syrian glyptic onwards. A female figure accompanies the smiting figure of the storm god on haematite cylinder seals Macropoli 481 (Fig. 21) and Macropoli 483 (Fig. 22).[458]

On the cylinder seal impression from the shoulder of a storage jar from Ebla (Western Palace)[459], the ruler is standing with one hand raised in gesture of adoration before the storm god, as his patron, who is facing left with an advancing left leg, wearing a short kilt, and a headdress with a spike on the top and two protruding horns on the forehead (Fig. 23). He is smiting with a mace held in his right and a sword sheathed at his waist. An Egyptian-styled winged disc flanked by two *uraei*, a symbol of power and authority[460], appears above the ruler's head. An *ankh* is depicted between the deity and the ruler, below the figure of a small bull crouching on an altar, the monarchical status of the ruler is indicated by his attire (*Wulstsaummantel*). A Syrian goddess is standing behind the storm god, and the field between them is filled with a cuneiform inscription arranged in two columns.[461] According to the inscription bearing the name of the owner, the seal belonged to the crown prince, Maratewari, son of Indilimgur, the last king of Ebla, who ruled the city until its occupation around 1600 B.C.[462]

In addition to the fact that the smiting posture is primarily adopted by the storm god in the Old Syrian glyptic, period IIB provides three examples of the smiting pose adopted by rulers (Figs. 24–26.), with the enemy figure included, which is closest to the canonical Egyptian context of the motif (for the iconographical features of the three cases, see Table 2).

[456] For the image, see 1996: 51, no. 9.
[457] For the object, see Calverley – Broome – Gardiner, A. H. 1958: Pl. 1.
[458] For the objects, see Teissier 1984: 244.
[459] For the image, see Cornelius 1994: fig. 33.
[460] Ornan 2005: 207–241.
[461] For the inscription and the object details, see Collon 1987: 128, no. 545.
[462] Matthiae 2010: 218–219.

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	Brussels 1484[463]	**Macropoli 455**[464]	**De Clercq 395**[465]
Figure no.	Fig. 24	Fig. 25	Fig. 26
Headdress	tall oval headdress	tall oval headdress	tall oval headdress
Hairstyle, beard	beardless	beardless	beardless
Garment	*Wulstsaummantel,* short kilt with horizontal ridges	*Wulstsaummantel,* short kilt with horizontal ridges	*Wulstsaummantel,* short kilt with horizontal ridges
Weapon	axe	throwstick/axe (?)	axe
Symbol	- *ankh* (horizontal, over the handle of the axe) - bird of prey (profile with outstretched wings, before the face of the ruler)	none	- winged disc (before the headdress of the ruler) - bird of prey (folded wings, facing the ruler)
Figure(s) against whom the act of smiting is targeted	standing figure in a tall oval headdress with its apex bent over, *Wulstsaummantel,* long rod on the back, one hand raised in front of himself	deity in a horned headdress, *Wulstsaummantel,* one hand raised in front of himself, a semi-naked goddess holding a spear, a bearded deity in a short kilt with a back panel, holding spear and bow	standing figure in a tall oval headdress, *Wulstsaummantel,* short kilt with horizontal ridges, one hand raised in front of himself holding an axe
Direction	facing left	facing right	facing right
Smiting posture	right hand	right hand	right hand
Enemy	half-kneeling, naked, grasped by the hand, facing the ruler	sitting, naked, grasped by the hand, facing the ruler	standing, short kilt, grasped by the hairlock, facing away from the ruler
Decorative motif	none	scroll motif along the upper edge, angular guilloche along the lower edge	dividing guilloche behind the ruler

Table 2. Iconographical differences between smiting scenes featuring the ruler.

In all three cases the physical depiction of the ruler follows the same pattern. The small size of the enemy figure represented in a kneeling, sitting or standing position emphasizes his defeated and diminished status. The oval headdress with the apex bent over on Brussels 1484 is reminiscent of the design of the Phrygian cap. Both of the featured Egyptianizing symbols, the unusually horizontally depicted *ankh* (Brussels 1484) and the winged disc (De Clercq 395), are associated with veneration and kingship in Egyptian royal contexts. The central position of the bird of prey (vulture) depicted before the face of the ruler is unusual in an Egyptian context but occurs on both Brussels 1484 and De Clercq 395, and may be associated with Nekhbet, the vulture goddess in the form of a bird of prey, who embodies celestial protection for the king. On De Clercq 395, the four small enemy figures depicted in a row behind the smiting ruler, holding each other's shoulders and wearing the same type of headdress and kilt as the enemy figure executed by the ruler, may be prisoners for whom the same fate awaits.

[463] For the object, see Speelers 1943: 143, no. 1484. For the image, see Teissier 1996: 117, no. 248.
[464] For the object, see Teissier 1984: no. 455.
[465] For the object, see De Clercq – Menant 1888, no. 395. For the image, see Teissier 1996: 117, no. 250.

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On the way to the Late Bronze Age transition, period III parallels the decline of the autonomous kingdoms of Syria and Alalakh Level VI (ca. 1620/1600–1550/1500 B.C.), which is also reflected in the relatively poor cylinder seal evidence from this time. While remaining a consistent part of the iconography of the storm god, as observed in Alalakh VI, as discussed earlier, the appearance of the smiting pose adopted by rulers is insignificant, although it does show Egyptian influence in period III. On cylinder seal Moore 32, the pharaoh is shown in two scenes, performing different actions (Fig. 27).[466] The first depicts the pharaoh wearing a long wig with a protrusion reminiscent of a *uraeus* on the forehead, and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached to it, grasping by the hairlock an enemy who is facing him, and smiting him with a mace. Above the enemy, a rampant lion is shown upside down. The second scene depicts the pharaoh in a horned conical headdress and a short kilt with a ceremonial tail, holding an *ankh* that is missing its horizontal element and a sceptre with a double-forked end, resembling the end of a *was*-scepter. He is embraced by the Egyptian goddess Hathor, identified by her cow-horned headdress and long robe. A parallel object for the original Egyptian motif of "goddess embracing the king" is an Old Kingdom triad statue, which depicts the sitting Hathor embracing the king Menkaura standing on her left and the deified Hare nome (*nomós*) on her right.[467] A rampant horned animal standing on its hind legs is behind the pharaoh. The costume of the Egyptian pharaoh is different, but some characteristic elements can also be found in more recent representations, suggesting that the male figures can be identified with the pharaoh. The pairing of the two scenes is unusual in the canonical Egyptian context, but their juxtaposition in a different artistic context may emphasize the various aspects of the power of the Egyptian pharaoh.

On cylinder seal Meek 1[468] the smiting Syro-Anatolian storm god also appears in cultic scenes that show a mixture of Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences (Fig. 28). He is in the company of a goddess with a short curled hairlock, who is wearing a long robe and a high, square-crowned, horned headdress, who offers him a goblet. A worshipper is standing behind the goddess, and an incense altar is depicted between them. The standing *ankh*s before and behind the smiting storm god and behind the goddess bear witness to a purely Egyptian influence, while the astral symbols (crescent moon, stars) show the Mesopotamian influence in the iconography of the cylinder seal. The scene may be a Syrian adaptation of a common Mesopotamian intercession scene featuring the smiting storm god , the interceding goddess in

[466] For the object, see Eisen 1940: Pl. 15, no. 160.
[467] For the object 09.200 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), see Arnold 1999b: 40–49.
[468] For the object, see Meek 1943: 24–27, fig 1.

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a flounced robe and the worshipper from the Mesopotamian glyptic, typically in the Ur III, Isin-Larsa, and Old Babylonian periods.[469]

The parallel grouping of Syrian and Egyptianizing scenes – "the smiting storm god standing on a mountain-peak" before a male figure (perhaps a ruler) with an Egyptian male worshipper in a short kilt and a wig, holding an *ankh* and facing Isis, who is wearing a sheath dress and a headdress consisting of the *uraeus* and the sun disc, and holding a papyrus sceptre[470] – can be observed on cylinder seal Meek 2 (Fig. 29).[471] Because of the iconographic attributes, Meek's identification is misleading, as the Egyptian goddess can be the naked goddess or Astarte.

The smiting motif appears in relation to a monkey on a cylinder seal from Tomb 9 at Kition (Fig. 30).[472] One of the three separate scenes in the image field shows two schematically drawn long-tailed animal figures facing each other and, using short-handled weapons held in their raised arms, smiting towards the tree depicted between them. On the basis of the humanoid characteristics and the proportions of the bodies of the animal figures, it can be concluded with certainty that they are monkeys. The scene is separated by a vertical guilloche entwined of three strands from another, in which the bare-headed pharaoh, in a short kilt with a ceremonial tail attached to it, raises one hand; facing him is a bare-headed figure in *Wulstsaummantel,* and an *ankh* is depicted between them in the angles of their faces. Beside the fact that the symbolism of the monkey (or baboon) is associated with fertility and solar worship in Egypt, the animal has strong ties to the early ideology of kingship, to deification and to the ancestor cult.[473] The grand sculpture known as the "Narmer Baboon" depicted a seated figure of a baboon[474] made from travertine,[475] with the *serekh* of Narmer considered as the divine image of the deceased king.[476] The general resemblance to human features may have been the basis for this identification with the deceased ruler, but there is also an aggressive aspect of the animal's natural behavior that may be associated with power and kingship and – through this concept – with the act of smiting, as the characteristic iconographic representation of royal power that is represented in the Old Syrian scene with Egyptianizing elements.

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[469] For more about the evolution of the intercession scenes in Mesopotamian glyptic from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian Period, see Elhewaily 2017: 133–147.
[470] For the latest literature on the general iconography and images of Isis, see Tripani 2019.
[471] For the object, see Meek 1943: 24–27. fig 2.
[472] For the object, see Porada 1974: 163–166. For the image, see Teissier 1996: 113, no. 236.
[473] For more about the solar symbolism of the baboon, the animal statues and the early ideology of kingship in the Egyptian Early Dynastic Period, see Patch 2012: 163–164.
[474] For the object "Narmer Baboon" (ÄM 22607, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Neues Museum), Patch 2012: 257, Cat. 137.
[475] A more precise definition of the material (travertine) of the sculpture, see Aston – Harrell – Shaw 2000: 5–77.
[476] Krauss 1994: 229–230.

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3.2.2.2. Stelae

In Middle Bronze Age monumental art, the Syrian-type storm god appears in a smiting posture. The complex decoration on a basalt stela from the Middle Bronze Age IIIA/B Ebla sanctuary area,[477] consisting of depictions of various deities, *Mischwesen* and animals participating in scenes of contest, adoration, cult and ritual, reveal a mixture of Mesopotamian, Syrian and Anatolian influences (Fig. 31). Among the scenes, in the upper register on the *recto* side, the "bull and gate" scene is depicted with the female figure in her winged shrine standing on the back of a small bull,[478] as known from the Syro-Cappadocian glyptic, with the inclusion of two flanking bull-men, referring to the bull cult and associated with the storm god. The frontal-faced bull-man is commonly depicted in the Akkadian glyptic, and with the revival of Akkadian visual elements it reappears in Old Babylonian art.[479] In the lower register on the *verso* side, a figure wearing a tall, striped conical headdress and a short kilt, which is connected to a belt attached by two straps running to it across his chest, is armed with an axe or a throwstick. A standing naked male figure with both hands raised makes a motion reminiscent of grabbing the ponytail above his head. In the absence of any royal or divine attributes, he is believed to be a ruler smiting a standing naked male figure with a visible penis, who is wearing a cap and holding up both his hands.

In prison and war scenes in both Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, the nudity of the uncovered body of enemies can signify humiliation and shame.[480] The ruler makes a gesture above the prisoner's head which is reminiscent of the Egyptian gesture of grasping somebody by the hair. A crouching female cervid (deer) is depicted below the prisoner's head. In contrast to Palestinian,[481] Mesopotamian[482] and Anatolian art, where the animal occupies an important place as a divine attribute,[483] the presence of a species of deer (*Cervidae*) is rare in Egyptian art, and belongs to the wild fauna that appear in royal desert hunting scenes. However, comparing zoological evidence with the artistic manifestations, opinions among scholars are split on whether the animal was natively present in Egyptian fauna or was spread artifically (imported).[484]

[477] For the object (3003, Museum, Idlib) and related references, see Schroer 2008: 228, no. 464.
[478] For the references and discussion for this scene and parallels, see Chapter 3.2.2.1. with the related footnotes.
[479] Potts 2012: 32.
[480] Asher-Greve – Sweeney 2006: 125–177.
[481] Bodenheimer 1960: 18–28
[482] On the species of deer in the Mesopotamian art, see Heimpel 1972–1975: 418–421.
[483] On the species of deer in the Anatolian art, see Collins 2003: 73–82.
[484] On the species of deer in the Egyptian art, see Houlihan 1987: 238–243.

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Probably the best-known monumental bas-relief bearing the motif of the "smiting storm god holding a vegetal symbol" is carved on the limestone arched stela from the Acropolis of Middle Bronze Age IIB Ugarit (Fig. 32).[485] The iconographic scene of the storm god holding, as his divine symbol, a branch or a plant referred to as a "tree" is attested in the glyptics of Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia in the first half of the Second Millennium.[486]

The earliest representations of the storm god using the plant sceptre as a weapon are the battle scenes from that time, showing the storm god fighting a serpent, thrusting the plant sceptre down the throat of the vertically depicted serpent, as the final act of victory.[487] The serpent's name and identity are unclear, but its negative aspect can be inferred from the fact that it plays the role of the defeated enemy,[488] both in Old Assyrian (Kültepe II) scenes,[489] and later in Old Syrian scenes. Old Syrian cylinder seals also provide various examples of the right hand in a smiting position, but without the serpent; in the iconography of the "storm god standing on two mountains" on a limonite cylinder seal, the god holds a plant sceptre ending in a blossom in his right hand, and the reins of a crouching bull in the left (Fig. 33).[490] On a haematite cylinder seal, the god is holding a tree-standard (Fig. 34).[491]

To return to the afore-mentioned stela, the bearded Syro-Anatolian type storm god in a peaked headdress with two protruding horns and two long curled hairlocks is facing right and wearing a short striped kilt fastened with a belt, with a curved dagger in a sheath attached to it. However, he is standing with both feet on the straight line of the ground, while the double wavy patterns beneath it may indicate mountains and/or waves of water.[492]

He is smiting with a mace raised in his right hand, the end of which cannot be identified due to damage on the upper arch. With his left hand he is holding in front of himself a downward-pointing spear with a plant sprouting from its end, and judging from the position, the symbolic weapon functions as his standard. If we compare this with the sword god depicted in the wall reliefs of the Hittite rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya, Dominik Bonatz suggests that the spear in this

[485] For the object AO 1183 (Louvre, Paris) and related references, see Cornelius 1994: 135–138, no. BR 1.
[486] For further references for the related object groups of the geographical regions, see Lambert 1985: 435, footnote 3.
[487] For the objects depicting the stabbing of the snake with the plant spear in Old Syrian glyptic, see Williams-Forte 1983: 27–29, figs. 8-10.
[488] Green, A. W. 2003: 119.
[489] The storm god holding a plant scepter in his right and holds a dead serpent by the neck on an Old Assyrian seal impression from Kültepe Level II before the naked goddess, see Teissier 1994: no. 1.
[490] For the object, see Porada 1948a: Pl. CXLVI, no. 967.
[491] For the object, see Keel 1989a: 263–265, Abb. 67.
[492] Comparing with the scene of the "Storm god standing on two mountains" see Chapter 3. For further ideas to the identification, see Cornelius 1994: 136, footnote 1. For summarizing further interpretations of the stela, see Wyatt 2018: 431–433.

position symbolizes the chthonic axis to the underworld.[493] A similar vegetal weapon is held by the storm god facing left, standing on two small mounds and smiting with a mace, on a black steatite cylinder seal also from Ugarit (Fig. 35, Fig. 104).[494] The deity is unusually depicted horizontally in the seal impression, parallel to the direction of the ground line of the image field, with plants sprouting behind the god's back. A paralell horizontal rendering of the figure holding the plant spear can be observed on the serpentine cylinder seal Borowski 217 (Fig. 106), dated to 1600–1300 B.C.[495]

Turning back to the recent stela, the much smaller-sized figure in *Wulstsaummantel*, indicating his status as a ruler,[496] is also facing right, like the deity, standing on a pedestal and raising one hand in front of himself, between the advancing leg of the storm god and the spear. The fact that the god and the king are facing the same direction indicates that the representation depicts the deified king after his death. As the possible donor of the stela and the worshipper of the god, he may be the deified king of Ugarit, protected by the patron deity of the kingdom.[497]

Based on the archaeological context and the iconography of an object found west of the Temple of Ba'al, it can be stated beyond doubt that the divine image on the stela excavated from this temple depicts Ba'al as a storm god named "*Ba'al au foudre*".[498] The historical name of the god on the stela derives from the fact that the plant emerging from the handle of the spear was incorrectly identified as the lightning fork.[499]

According to textual sources, in the Ugaritic state pantheon Ba'al was a vegetation deity responsible for the cyclical (agricultural) fertility of the land through his power over rains and storms.[500] Due to his role in controlling meteorological phenomena, he was related to the celestial sphere, as reflected in his epithets in Ugaritic texts as "Rider of the Clouds"[501] or "The Prince, Lord of the Earth".[502] According to various narratives of the mythical texts constituting the "Baal Cycle", as a powerful younger god in the pantheon, he struggled with other, rival gods for kingship, and fought the primeval sea-monster, Yam. In these battles Ba'al emerges triumphant as the warrior who, through victory, maintains the cosmic balance. In one narrative,

[493] Bonatz 2000, 135.
[494] For the object image (AO 19408, Louvre, Paris), see Cornelius – Niehr 2004: 47, Abb. 75.; The object dated to 1600–1350 B.C., and classified in the Chapter 4.4.1.2.2., see Cornelius 1994: 172, no. BM5; For the line drawing, see Fig. 104.
[495] The object classified in the Chapter 4.4.1.2.2., see Cornelius 1994: 175, no. BM9
[496] For the reference for this concept in the Middle Bronze Age IIB, see Chapter 3.2.2.1., footnote 451.
[497] Bonatz 2000: 134–135.
[498] For the excavation of the object (RS 9.273), see Schaeffer 1934: 1–18.
[499] Cornelius – Niehr 2004: 46.
[500] Schwemer 2008b: 9–11.
[501] Green, A. W. 2003: 190–198.
[502] Rahmouni 2007: 162–164.

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the rebellious Ba'al is defeated by Mot and buried, only to return from the underworld as the embodiment of the vegetation cycle, the guarantor of seasonal change, and the provider of prosperity of the land.[503]

3.2.2.3. Closing remarks

In various iconographic representations and scenes, whether or not they include the enemy figure associated with the smiting, the most frequent and primary adopter of the smiting posture is the storm god (or the deified ruler as the storm god). It is adopted less frequently by the ruler, and in one sole example by two Egyptianizing animal figures (Fig. 30). Motif-bearing cylinder seals and stelae also appear in cultic and royal contexts.

Based on its core meaning, the initial interest in the motif, and its use as a symbol of power outside the borders and sphere of influence of Egypt, was relatively directly and easily applied by local (male) rulers. Regardless of gender, it also seems to have appeared quite soon in the iconographic repertoire of gods and goddesses, as compared to the Egyptian custom, with its limited number of smiting queens and royal women.

Apart from the few aforementioned Syrian representations, which depict the smiting ruler (or a local ruler or the pharaoh) with the defeated enemy (Figs. 24–26), it can be stated that the smiting motif never became a standard, defining element of royal iconography similarly to the canonical Egyptian context, but was given a more frequent role in divine representations in Old Syrian glyptic and monumental art.

3.2.3. The smiting motif in Palestine/Israel

Due to the region's role as a geographic bridge connecting several neighbouring cultures in the ancient Near East, the art of Palestine/Israel was stimulated both by Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Syrian and Egyptian influences in the Middle Bronze Age. As a result of these influences, the smiting motif is basically found in the iconography of two figures, the storm god and the ruler (local ruler, pharaoh), who previously appeared in this posture in Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian and Old Syrian glyptics.

[503] Schwemer 2008b: 11–14.

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3.2.3.1. Stamp seals

Within the group of Palestinian/Israelite stamp seals depicting the storm god, one characteristic subgroup features a combination of different iconographic motifs of the "smiting storm god holding a plant sceptre (or a plant)".[504] The appearance of vegetal attributes in the iconography of the storm god may reflect the god's important role in cosmogony and/or in controlling the vegetation cycle and thus ensuring fertility in the Canaanite religion.[505]

On a small steatite scarab from Tel el-Ajjul, the smiting storm god steps forward with one leg, holding a plant sceptre in front of him with his left hand (Fig. 36).[506] He is wearing a tall conical headdress and a short pleated kilt, and raising his right arm, although he is not holding any smiting weapon; the absence of both the smiting weapon and the enemy figure may emphasize the victorious and apotropaic aspect of the posture. The storm god is surrounded by Egyptian divine symbols, he is standing barefoot with both feet firmly on a *nb*-pedestal as the ground, with an *ankh* depicted before him and a *nfr* behind him. According to Silvia Schroer, the scene has a more complex symbolism, as the branch that merges into the line demarcating the oval image field can be interpreted as a link between the deity and the branch goddess, his companion in Palestine. The chthonic branch goddess in Palestinian iconography is regarded as a manifestation of the Syrian naked goddess, associated with vegetal elements (branches and trees) and connected to fertility and vegetation, as well as erotic aspects.[507] This scene of the "smiting storm god holding a vegetal symbol" has parallels on two further scarabs, in which the storm god is holding a plant standard ending in a lotus blossom, with a branch protruding from the oval line of the image field between his legs (Fig. 37)[508], and with a fish appearing before the storm god, who is holding a branch scepter (Fig. 38).[509]

Another parallel in this group is found on a small steatite plate in the shape of a square with rounded edges engraved on both sides, which may have functioned as an amulet (Fig. 39). In the scene on the *recto* side, the smiting storm god is holding a blossom-sceptre in his left, surrounded by two *uraei* and an *ankh* as the Egyptian symbols of protection. On the *verso* side, three lightly-dressed dancing figures in headcloths fill the image field. Dance and celebration

[504] Schroer 2008: 51.
[505] For the interpretations of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle from the aspects of cosmogony and vegetation, see Smith, M. S. 1994: 58–87.
[506] For the object and related references, see Schroer 2008: 242, no. 477.
[507] For the iconographic types of representations of the naked goddess in Palestine/Israel, see Schroer 1989: 89–213.
[508] For the image, see Keel – Uehlinger 2010: 47, 32c (plant standard).
[509] For the image, see Keel – Uehlinger 2010: 47, 32b (fish).

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may imply that the scene had a ritual context, and the dancers are imitating the smiting gesture of the storm god with their raised hands, with one even holding a branch sceptre in front of him.[510]

A steatite Egyptian scarab from Hyksos-ruled Avaris in the Nile Delta, dating from the Middle Kingdom, shows a similar rendering of the scene, featuring the pharaoh in the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and a royal kilt, smiting with a mace in his right (Fig. 40).[511] There is no visible enemy in the scene, but the king holds a branch in his left in the same manner as the attribute of the Syrian storm god.[512] The two fish depicted vertically on either side of the king can be clearly identified in this case as the common Nile species Tilapia (*Tilapia nilotica*).[513] Water was regarded as the source of prosperity in Egypt, so as a water creature, this mouth-brooding species of fish was a symbol of rebirth and regeneration,[514] and was associated with protection. As the symbol of rebirth, the fish often appears in tomb wall paintings and is associated with Hathor, to protect and guide the Solar Barque of the Sun God on its daily journey across the sky.[515] The cosmogonic aspect of smiting can be interpreted in Egyptian context as the symbol of the ability to maintain world order and ensure prosperity of the land. This idea may also apply when interpreting smiting in the iconography of the storm god, as a visual device expressing the vital role of the storm god (or king) in maintaining cosmogonic balance.

Scenes depicting the smiting ruler can be divided into two main groups, depending on whether the enemy is animal or human. The motif of smiting the animal appears quite rarely in the symbolism of Middle-Kingdom royal hunting scenes, as harpooning the hippopotamus[516] and smiting the gazelle[517] represented different types of wild habitat that lay beyond the organized realm. The gazelle in Egyptian art is associated with the desert as its natural habitat.[518] In Egyptian cosmogony, the desert symbolized chaos (*isfet*) and was regarded as an enemy-filled wilderness beyond the boundaries of the world order (*ma'at*) represented by Nile-nurtured human civilization; in Egyptian royal ideology, the desert was also often associated

[510] For the object SK 1996.41 (Sammlung Keel, Freiburg) with the related discussion and references, see Schroer 2008: 252, no. 486.
[511] For the object and related references, see Schroer 2008: 244, no. 478.
[512] For the iconographic connection of the king and the Syrian storm god in Egyptian seals of the Thirteenth Dynasty, see Bietak 2006: 201–212.
[513] The fish has its own hieroglyph (*in.t*, Gardiner K1), see Gardiner, A. H. 1957: 476.
[514] Anthony 2016: 55.
[515] Robin 1993: 188.
[516] For the references, see Keel 1996: 119–136; Keel – Schroer 1985: 222–223, § 604. with Corrigenda and Addenda, 791, §604.
[517] For the references, see Keel – Schroer 1985: 222, § 603. with Corrigenda and Addenda, 791, § 603.
[518] Strandberg 2009: 24.

with foreign peoples.[519] The lion, symbolizing an opponent equal to the king, first appeared in royal lion-hunting scenes in the art of the New Kingdom. The figure of the lion is deeply entwined with the ideology of kingship, where the lion, as king of the animals, was associated with royalty, rather than being viewed as just another dangerous wild beast that man had to protect himself against.[520]

A small white steatite scarab provides an example of the pharaoh in the *deshret*, smiting a prancing gazelle with a mace while grasping its back (Fig. 41). Behind the king are several Egyptian symbols, one of which is a horizontal *w3ḏ*, while the other two elements are unidentified.[521] The etymology of *w3ḏ* ("to be green", "to be young and new", "to prosper", "to be fertile") refers to the papyrus stalk, the symbol of Lower Egypt, used to represent growth, vigour, youth, growing plants and vegetables, fresh and new things; as such, it may emphasize here the vitality and energy of the powerful king, which gives him the strength to overcome his enemy.[522]

In parallel with the declining use of the motif, the PStE is rarely depicted on stamp seals from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.[523] Similarly to the smiting of wild animals, the smiting of human enemies is also an infrequent element in these periods.[524] The figure on a steatite cowroid[525] wears a short wig, the typical headdress of Old Kingdom kings, but without a *uraeus*, and a short kilt with a clearly visible ceremonial tail, thus clearly identifying the figure as the pharaoh (Fig. 42). Using a weapon with a handle, he is smiting the half-kneeling enemy who faces him, grasping him in this case by the face, and not by the hairlock, which would have been the customary Egyptian representation of domination over the enemy. The *uraeus* and the sitting falcon were both common symbols associated with Egyptian royal ideology. During the execution, the king is surrounded by other symbols as well: a sitting bird, a lotus flower and two branches, as vegetal elements. Othmar Keel argues that the fragmentary stamp seal impression on a mud seal (*bulla*) from Pella (Jordan),[526] also from this period, contains a similar rendering of the figures, depicting the pharaoh wearing a wig or the Blue Crown, while the half-kneeling enemy raises his hands defensively before him (Fig. 43).[527]

[519] O'Connor 2003: 155–185.
[520] Strawn 2005: 161–163.
[521] For the object and related references, see Schroer 2008: 148, no. 364.
[522] For *uatch*, see Budge 1920: 150.
[523] Keel 1996: 126–128.
[524] Keel – Schroer 1985: 221–222, § 602.
[525] For the object and related references, see Schroer 2008: 150, no. 366.
[526] For the object, see Potts 1987: 66, fig. 9a.
[527] For the image, see Keel 1995: 222, Abb. 489.

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3.2.3.2. Cylinder seals

The upper part of an Old Syrian haematite cylinder seal, clearly an import object, excavated from the Late Bronze Age Stratum of Hazor Temple H area, bears an iconographic scene typical of the Middle Bronze Age. The upper half of the fragmentary seal represents the upper body of a Syrian-type storm god with his attributes: the horned headdress and the long curled hairlock hanging down his back (Fig. 44).[528] He is facing a goddess, who spreads to both sides the edges of her robe, the upper part of which is shown being held by her hands. A bird appeared beside her raised left hand. A ruler is standing behind her in a tall oval headdress and a robe reminiscent of the *Wulstsaummantel*. There is a winged sun disc above them. The storm god is armed with a throwstick and another object, which he holds before him in his left hand, while with his right he smites with a mace, although there is no visible enemy.

The characteristic figure of the unveiling goddess, her face shown in profile with her body depicted from the front and her robe held open to reveal her genitalia, is associated with sexuality and fertility, and she appears as a partner of the storm god in Kültepe seal impressions.[529]

The same associations are supported by the presence of the dove near the naked goddess, as her attribute of passion.[530] On Old Syrian cylinder seals, the dove is considered a visual metaphor for passion and symbolizes the goddess's love and sexual attraction, especially in iconographic constellations featuring the dove flying between the companions, thus binding male and female together, at both secular and divine levels.[531] A similar rendering of this scene shows the dove flying directly from the naked goddess to the smiting storm god on an another Old Syrian limonite cylinder seal (Fig. 45).[532] Turning back to the Hazor cylinder seal, the gesture of the goddess spreading her robe, the presence of the bird (maybe a dove), and – separated by the upper part of a guilloche – the sub-scene behind the storm god, depicting a cow suckling her calf, all emphasize the erotic context of the scene and refer to the fertility aspect of the storm god.[533]

[528] For the object 1933-1825 (Israel Museum, Jerusalem), and related references, see Schroer 2008: 224, no. 458.
[529] On the iconography of the scenes featuring the unveiling goddess as a partner of the storm god, see Winter, U. 1983: 273–276.
[530] Keel 1992: 150–152.
[531] Keel 1992: 153–154.
[532] For the object, see Porada 1948b: Pl. CXLVI, no. 968.
[533] Keel – Uehlinger 2010: 44, Abb. 31a.

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3.2.3.3. Pottery

As a decorative motif, the smiting gesture appears in a hunting scene on a domestic pottery object, namely a jug acquired from Lebanon, part of a group of characteristic black-burnished Canaanite-type pottery objects classified as Tell el-Yahudiya Ceramic Ware (Fig. 46). [534] This type of pottery was originally produced in the Egyptian Nile Delta controlled by the Hyksos in the Second Intermediate Period and frequently found as import ware in the archaeological material of Middle Bronze Age Palestine/Israel.[535] In the cylindrical scene on the body of the jug, a hunter figure in a short kilt raises a weapon with a curved handle in his left; the weapon may be a throwstick, but its end is not visible as it falls outside the image field. In his right he holds a bow and arrow, and he is hunting caprids.

3.2.3.4. Closing remarks

All in all, the archaeological evidence of Middle Bronze Age Palestine/Israel provides a relatively meagre quantity of objects bearing the smiting motif. Egyptian motifs that related to the ruler and to the expression of his authority tended to be adapted more frequently in symbolic form in the iconographic repertoire of Palestine. However, the theme of defeating the enemy was embodied in hunting scenes and in scenes of combat involving animals, which provides further evidence of the Egyptian presence and cultural influence, rather than the misleading interpretation of Egypt's direct power aspirations in the region.[536]

[534] For the object MHP 7788 (Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv) and related references, see Schroer 2008: 150, no. 365.
[535] For more about the archaeological site Tell el-Yahudiya, see Bietak 1999: 964–965.
[536] Schroer 2008: 43.

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Chapter 4 – Iconography of Syro-Palestinian smiting deities in the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.)

4.1. Connections between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian region in the Late Bronze Age: In the shadow of rival great powers

In history, the Late Bronze Age is regarded as a period when empires were established and control over different territories constantly changed hands, which repeatedly rearranged the political system of the ancient Near Eastern region. This period is also known for the system of economic and trading networks that arose, facilitating international contact and communication via trade and diplomacy, which linked the various cultures in the region.[537]

On the regions's political chessboard, the existing smaller state formations became the pawns of the great powers: Egypt, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. From a strategic point of view, due to its geographical location, Syria-Palestine was a constant factor in the confrontations between the great powers that sought to expand their influence, and it was included in the power struggle as a buffer region in a variety of combinations regarding the composition of its potential overlords: Egypt versus Mitanni, and Egypt versus the Hittite Empire.

This intensive period ended with the collapse of Bronze Age civilization, referred to in the ancient Near East as the Late Bronze Age Collapse. The fall of the Bronze Age kingdoms came about through a combination of several factors that arose simultaneously: climate changes accompanied by drought and famine, natural catastrophes in the form of earthquakes, the decreasing political influence of the great powers and the ensuing internal tension and instability, the economic crisis resulting from the collapse of palace organizations, the waves of migration of the Aramaic peoples in Mesopotamia, and the Luwians in Anatolia and Northern Syria; the invasion of the Sea Peoples who reached the coast of Canaan also affected the Syro-Palestinian region.[538]

However, in parallel with the processes of global collapse, the threatening superpowers also either declined (Egypt), were reduced to their core territories (Assyria, Babylonia), or were abandoned (Hittite Kingdom) and thus, with the transition to the Early Iron Age, the reorganization of the Syro-Palestinian region began to take place in a power vacuum.[539]

[537] For the international developments in the region during the Late Bronze Age, see Mieroop 2007: 129–149.
[538] Considering the Late Bronze Age collapse as the "Perfect Storm" of Calamities?", see Cline 2014: 139–171.
[539] Matthews, V. H. 2018: 70–72.

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4.1.1. Palestine

Functioning as a frontier zone between Egypt and the ancient Near Eastern region, the land of Palestine had already been a cultural, political, trading and economic interface in earlier periods, but in the Late Bronze Age it became an integral part of an international world.

The communities of the urbanized populations in the area were essentially considered as colonial encounters with a strong relationship with the Egyptian empire.[540] The Canaanites accepted the Egyptian cultural, clerical, economic and religious customs introduced by the Egyptian people who settled here as a result of a process of bi-directional population movement between the two regions.

After the reign of the "rulers of the foreign lands" in the Nile Delta was crushed, and the Hyksos were forced back to Southern Palestine, with the reversal of the balance of power, the increasingly aggressive central power also resulted in the great military expansion of the Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1550 B.C. – ca. 1070 B.C.), which eventually resulted in them taking control over the region.[541] After their expulsion from Lower Egypt, the Hyksos were defeated by the Egyptian empire with the conquest and destruction of the fortress of Sharuhen (Tell el-Fara South) around 1550 B.C. by Ahmose I, and subsequently in Canaan, their place of origin. This is considered as the key historical event that marked the beginning of the Late Bronze Age in Palestine.[542]

The trade routes connecting Egypt with Palestine played an important role in the development of economic relations from the Early Bronze Age, which continued to be used for commercial trade via water and land during this period,[543] but also provided a potential physical network for the diplomatic, military and economic activities of the Egyptian Kingdom.[544]

The direction of colonization, as outlined by archaeological evidence in Southwestern Palestine, started from the coastal strip area and expanded towards the mainland. Besides promoting trade, the Egyptian military operations also contributed to the urbanization of the region. Early 18th Dynasty Egyptian-type pottery has been found at Tel el-Ajjul.[545] Along the Way(s) of Horus military route, there were settlements that functioned as garrisons and

[540] On discussing the concept and applying the term "colonial encounter" in the relation of the Egyptian Empire and the Canaanite region in the Late Bronze Age, see Koch 2018: 24–25.
[541] On the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the rise of the Egyptian New Kingdom, see Weinstein 1981: 1–28.
[542] Grabbe 2018: 9.
[543] For more about the import and export ware Canaan accoring the archaeological evidence of the recent period, see Schroer 2011: 15–16.; Weippert 1988: 317–324.
[544] Grabbe 2018: 78–80.
[545] Kopetzky 2011: 201–209.

residences. According to Papyri Anastasi I and III, Jaffa and Gaza were important to the military distribution and operations of the 19th Dynasty.[546] Beth-Shean served as an Egyptian garrison, which contributed greatly to the development of the town.[547]

Concerning the archaeological finds unearthed at the Late Bronze Egyptian estate at Tel Aphek, Building 1104 provides evidence that in addition to military fortifications, there were also agricultural facilities in the area, which were involved in the storage and shipment of surplus agricultural produce.[548]

The fortified city of Lachish with its surrounding imposing *glacis* walls was destroyed at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, was re-established without walls and became a large, prosperous city during the New Kingdom,[549] and then came under Egyptian hegemony during the 20th Dynasty.[550]

As one of the largest cities in the region hosting palaces and public buildings at the end of the Middle Bronze Age,[551] Megiddo was besieged and forced to surrender in the Battle of Megiddo, fought between Thutmose III and a coalition consisting of rebellious Canaanite vassal states led by the king of Qadesh in the 15th century B.C.[552] According to the Annals of Thutmose III, a long-term effect of his iconic victory at Megiddo, followed by his subsequent victorious military campaigns to Canaan and Syria, was that Egypt managed to stabilize its power and reach its greatest extent during his reign, thereby entering the club of the great powers of the ancient Near East.[553] The cities of Gezer and Ashkelon, whose names are mentioned in a brief passage in the appendix of the Merneptah Stela, were subjugated during his reign in the military intervention against Canaan that followed his Libyan campaign.[554]

The hegemony of Egypt had a strong effect on the social image of the region. In order to increase and consolidate its own political power, the local elite sought to identify themselves as much as possible with Egyptian customs and social norms (combined with local customs), in order to define their social identity in the eyes of the Egyptian court.

[546] References for Jaffa and Gaza, see Morris 2005: 470–471 and 478–486.
[547] For more about the Egyptian garrison town at Beth-Shean, see Mazar 2009: 155–189.
[548] For more about the archaeological evidence from Aphek, see Gadot 2010: 48–66.
[549] Na'aman 2014: 25–26.
[550] Ussishkin 2008: 207–210.
[551] Cohen 2014: 451–64.
[552] Cline 2002: 16–17.
[553] The significance of the iconic event is indicated that it established a historical tradition, see Redford 2003: 206–209.
[554] Noil 2002: 124–126.

The relations of the local elite, bound in patronage relationships[555] with the court, is well documented in the el-Amarna correspondence,[556] mostly written in Akkadian cuneiform, which cover approximately thirty years of diplomatic relations between the vassal kings of Canaan and Amurru and the Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1360–1332 B.C.).[557] The Canaanite rulers, who wrote the vast majority of the submissive letters, constantly testify to their loyalty and affinity to the court, culminating in their devotion to the Egyptian pharaoh as the symbol of authority, although the practical reason for this was their hope for Egyptian military assistance and intervention in resolving their own local conflicts and strengthening their local powers.[558]

The social impacts of interculturality typically occurred in three interrelated fields of religious and cultic practices,[559] artistic representations and motifs, the use of various object types, and habits of consumption,[560] clearly reflecting the interaction of cultures in close contact. Due to the bi-directional effect of the intercultural exchange, the cults of certain Canaanite deities (e.g. Anat, Astarte, Qudshu, Ba'al, Horon, Reshef) appeared in New Kingdom Egypt and were incorporated into Egyptian religious beliefs.[561]

4.1.2. Syria

In the Late Bronze Age, Syria was made up of politically non-independent small city-states, which manoeuvred within the spheres of interest of the neighbouring great powers of Egypt and the Hittite and Mittani empires.[562] The starting and ending events in the history of Mittani were related to the intensity of Hittite power aspirations in the region. There are two main established hypotheses about the emergence of the kingdom founded there by the Hurrians. According to Hittite textual sources, in North-Eastern Syria in the 15th century, a political vacuum was created when the Hittites sought to crush the two important regional powers of Yamhad and the Old Babylonian Empire.[563] Wedged between Egypt and the Hittites, Mittani appeared as a major new force with significant political influence, and was utilized either as a rival or an ally

[555] The patronage attested in the Amarna letters, see Pfoh 2009: 365–369.
[556] For more detailed about the diplomatic relations of the Amarna letters, see Rainey 2015.
[557] For the dates, see Moran 1992: xxxiv–xxxix.
[558] Na'aman 2000: 125–138.
[559] On the tendency of importing and exporting of deities and cults through the intercultural channels between Egypt and the neighbouring regions, see Quack 2015: 255–277.
[560] To determine these focus points of the contact regarding the chronological phases of the Late Bronze Age with the related examples, see Koch 2018: 26–33.
[561] For more about the phenomenon, see Stadelmann 1967.
[562] On the political-historical background of Syria during the Late Bronze Age, see Luciani 2014: 509–512.
[563] According to Stefano de Martino, here is the second variation is mentioned. On the two hypotheses about the formation of Mittani with different variations of the historical context and chronology, see Martino 2014: 61–75.

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on the map of the ancient Near East until its conquest by the Hittite New Kingdom and the Assyrians in the 13th century.[564]

According to textual sources reflecting their general political status, the Syrian nuclear states appeared as vassals of the great powers, divided into three sub-regions. Carchemish,[565] the centre of Yamhad, and Halab (Aleppo)[566] were the most important cities in the Northern region located on the Mittanian-Hittite power axis.

The states of Qadesh, Amurru[567] and Qatna[568] in the Southern region belonged in the buffer zone of Egyptian-Hittite expansion efforts. The ruler of Qadesh, leading the coalition of rebellious Canaanite cities, had already experienced the power of the 18th Dynasty in the Battle of Megiddo, which led to the extension of Egyptian hegemony over Syria. The pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty continued this process, with Ramesses I and later his son Seti I leading subsequent campaigns to Canaan, to try to restore the extant borders of the great Thutmoside empire and to compete with Hittite power in the Southern region by temporarily capturing Qadesh[569] and Amurru, which subsequently returned to Hittite control after the Egyptian campaign.[570]

In response to Hittite southward expansion, their descendant, Ramesses II, in his fifth regnal year, prepared an aggressive military campaign in North Syria to measure his strength against Muwatalli II in the Battle of Qadesh,[571] the perhaps the earliest well-documented military conflict of ancient history, in the 13th century B.C.[572] Although the battle was claimed as a military success[573] by both rivals in their official records,[574] a stalemate appears to have ensued between the two forces. The long-term winner of the political situation caused by the battle, however, was Muwatalli II, which is also reflected in the aftermath of the event, with the city remaining unchanged under the control of the Hittites, the kingdom of Amurru being recaptured, and the retreating Egyptian armies being pursued back to Egyptian-controlled

[564] On the background and preparations of the conquest of Mittani by Suppiluliuma I, see Bryce 2019: 81–90.
[565] Carchemish worked also as a Hittite viceroyalty in the Late Bronze Age, see Hawkins – Weeden 2016: 9.
[566] The city was conquered by Mittani and subsequently by the Hittites, see Hawkins 2000: 388.
[567] On the territory of the state, see Singer 1991: 69–74.
[568] Richter 2005: 109–126.
[569] On the commemorative Kadesh (Tell Nebi Mendu) Stela of Seti I (Aleppo 384), see Brand 2000: 120–122.
[570] On the military interventions led by Sety I to Syria and Palestine and to Amurru-Qadesh, see Murnane 1990: 42–45 and 52–58.
[571] For more about the circumstances and the political situation led to the Battle of Qadesh, see Healy 1993.
[572] For a possible suggestion about the more precise date of the event as May of 1274 B.C., see Breasted 1906: 317.
[573] Gardiner, S. A. 1960.
[574] There are no survived Hittite records on the battle itself, but referring about the defeat of the Egyptian king, see KUB XXI 17 (CTH 86) I 14–21 with duplicate KUB XXXI 27:2–7,[51], see Beal 1992: 307.

territory in the Land of Aba (Damascus), all of which contributed to securing Hittite hegemony in Syria.[575]

Nearly fifteen years after the battle, the bilateral peace agreement named the "Eternal Treaty", ratified by Ramesses II and Hattusili III, brought to an end the long-lasting conflict between the hostile empires.[576] The peace treaty may have been motivated by some remarkable factors taking place in the background, such as the rise of Assyria in the East and the threat of the Sea Peoples, so settling this conflict was of key concern to both the Hittites and the Egyptians, who thereby sought to consolidate their own power bases.[577]

The cities of the coastal region were involved in maritime trade. Although it was an important seaport, Ugarit was not a political superpower, but according to documents in the Ugaritic archives, it was able to establish an extensive system of relations with the surrounding city-states. The main resources of the city lay in its economic significance. Having established itself as the major trading centre of the coastal region, Ugarit exploited the benefits of the transit trading routes between Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean, which transformed the city into a prosperous Canaanite metropolis.[578] As a vassalage, Ugarit had political connections to the Hittite Empire,[579] while in parallel with this, it also maintained close diplomatic relationships with the Egyptian court.[580]

According to archaeological evidence, Hittite, Mitannian and Cypriote products came out of Alalakh, the capital of Mukish, supporting the multi-cultural integration of the city as part of the international trade network pervading the region.[581]

The harbours of the emerging Phoenician territory, the most significant cities being Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus and Arwad, all in the coastal region, belonged to the Egyptian sphere of interest[582] and started to develop through maritime trade in the Late Bronze Age,[583] which made the Phoenicians experts at seafaring[584] and also led to technical and artistic innovations which shaped their culture towards in the Iron Age in the First Millenium.[585]

[575] Bryce 2006b: 239–241.
[576] On the date and the significance of treaty, see Bryce 2006a: 1–11.
[577] Bryce 2014: 76–77.
[578] Vidal 2006: 269–279.
[579] Breckman 2007: 163–174.
[580] Feldman 2006: 186–187.
[581] Akar, 2010: 38–39.
[582] Markoe 2000: 14–17.
[583] Woolmer 2017: 10.
[584] Markoe 2000: 12.
[585] For more about the early Phoenician art, see Markoe 1990: 13–26.

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In addition to its cultural impact, the early Phoenician alphabetic writing system also greatly assisted commercial administration and diplomacy, linked to Byblos.[586] The Phoenician merchant ports increased their influence in the Early Iron Age as the authority of the superpowers decreased in the wake of the Bronze Age Collapse.[587]

4.2. Variants of the smiting motif in the Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian iconographic context

The Syro-Palestinian art of the Late Bronze Age also provides many variations of representations of defeating the enemy, including the smiting motif as one of the preferred artistic expressions of this concept.[588] The massive abundance of surviving representations dated to the Late Bronze Age suggests that, similarly to the increasing tendency of its usage in Egyptian royal art, this period can clearly be seen as the zenith in the application of the smiting motif in the iconography of Syria-Palestine.

In terms of the actor, following the general trend of the Middle Bronze Age, the smiting motif can consistently be discovered in secular and divine levels, appearing in the triumphant iconography of the ruler (the Egyptian pharaoh, local ruler) and the storm god.

The Late Bronze Age provides a more prominent presence of symbols related to war and martial domination, in both divine and secular levels in Syro-Palestinian art,[589] which may have been due to the political-historical background of the region, where real military events abounded, with numerous major military encounters between great powers dated to this period.

Figures of warriors depicted in the smiting position appear in combat and battle scenes, but compared to the ratio of attestations of smiting deities and rulers, these secular appearances seem less significant in quantity, so it may be safe to say that the motif is fundamentally attested in the royal iconography and even more so in the divine iconography.

Scenes with representations of two groups of bearded and beardless warriors, armed with shields and holding their throw sticks in a smiting position, are depicted on two separate painted clay fragments, which may be components of the same ritual object, a *kernos*[590] from Megiddo

[586] Scott 2018: 28.
[587] Markoe 2000: 11–12.
[588] Schroer 2011: 36.
[589] Keel – Uehlinger 2010: 68–70, § 38.
[590] The *kernos* is a type of ancient Greek pottery or stone ring with attached small vessels containing ritual ingredients or offering related to the cults of Demeter and Kore and of Cybele and Attis, see Clinton 1976: 29–30.

Stratum IV (Fig. 47), where the smiting motif appears in a martial context, which can be interpreted purely as a demonstration of war and military force.[591]

The scene of a smiting Egyptian pharaoh frequently appears on Egyptianizing scarabs from Syria-Palestine, representing the canonical Egyptian PStE iconym, featuring a human enemy (Figs. 48–60),[592] and in royal hunting scenes an animal enemy (Fig. 61).[593]

It can be assumed, that the canonical Egyptian scene also appears in the monumental art (rock art) of the region, a unique example of which comes from the Southern Palestine/Israel. The Har-Michia petroglyph located in the Central Negev desert depicts a schematic and isolated, unmounted smiting human figure belonging to the iconographic type classified as a group of "line at the waist", which may be interpreted as a horizontally depicted weapon or military equipment (belt, sword or a sheath tied at the waist).[594] However, the rocks of the Har Michia hill show a wide repertoire of artistic representations in rock art, including abstract geometric, and figurative, zoomorphic elements, tools, weapons, hand/footprints, and inscriptions. The object is documented among the small percentage of anthropomorphic petroglyphs from the site.

According to one argument, if the "line at the waist" element is interpreted as a sheath of a weapon, the date of origin of the object cannot be earlier than the Late Bronze Age, when longer swords first appeared and became commonly used weapons in the region. If the "line at the waist" represented in the group of minimalist-style figures is also interpreted as the sheath of a sword, this reinforces the date interval as being from the 12th to the mid-4th century B.C.[595]

Thus, according to the minimalist and roughly proportioned depiction of the figure, it is difficult to identify his weaponry securely, meaning that the chronological determination of the depiction is not clear and perfectly plausible, so it was not included in the catalogue of the present study, but it must be mentioned here. According to Davida Eisenberg-Degen, the figure can be interpreted as the smiting pharaoh wearing the *ḥḏt* crown, his arm holding a long-handled weapon (resembling a lance or a spear) in the smiting position, with an unclear

[591] For the images and details of the fragments with related references, see Schroer 2011: 372, no. 946; Keel – Uehlinger 2010: Abb. 58.
[592] For the stamp seals dated to the Late Bronze Age representing the smiting pharaoh from various Syro-Palestinian sites, see Keel 1997a: 610–611, no. 226 (Fig. 48); Keel 2010a: 46–47, no. 11 (Fig. 49), 106–107, no. 23 (Fig. 50), 118–119, no. 47 (Fig. 51), 126–127, no. 63 (Fig. 52); Keel 2010b: 134–135, no. 245 (Fig. 53), 404–405, no. 896 (Fig. 54), 418–419, no. 936 (Fig. 55); Schroer 2011: 112, no. 605 (Fig. 56), 180, no. 698 (Fig. 57); Keel 2013: 126–127, no. 8 (Fig. 58); Keel 1990c: 345, figs. 17–18. (Figs. 59–60).
[593] For the object, see Schroer 2011: 104, no. 596.
[594] For the image, see Eisenberg-Degen 2015: 12–15., fig. 2.
[595] Eisenberg-Degen – Rosen 2013: 240–242.

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symbol indicating the defeated enemy in a schematic composition, which may conjure up the original Egyptian smiting scene as an impression of power.[596]

The smiting motif was considered the universal iconographic device expressing power and victory in Egyptian contexts primarily associated with the Egyptian ruler, but it was also sporadically incorporated by the local Syro-Palestinian ruling elite into its own power symbolism, due to its dedicated devotion to Egyptian culture, as examples of the smiting ruler accepting the somewhat modified display of the original motif can be found in the Late Bronze Age. The ivory bed panel from Ras Shamra depicting a local ruler stabbing a captive with a knife (Fig. 62).[597] The attacking weapon, the knife and the stabbing posture can be compared with the depiction of the ceremonial axe of Ahmose, dated to the New Kingdom.[598]

Whether an enemy figure is included in or omitted from a scene can help in determining the identity of the actor as a deity or the ruler.[599] In the present chapter, I focus in greater detail on the characteristics of the smiting motif as adapted to the iconography of figures from the divine sphere.

With regard to the gender of the smiting deity, previous periods only represented male gods assuming the posture, especially in the iconography of the storm god. By contrast, the period at hand also provides the first examples of Syro-Palestinian goddesses (Anat, Astarte)[600] depicted in the smiting position.[601]

In the Late Bronze Age, besides the smiting storm god (identified with Ba'al, and additionally Ba'al-Seth), the type of the divine actor is expanded with further deities. The incorporation of the smiting motif can be observed in the iconography of specific Syro-Palestinian deities with different functions (Anat, Astarte, Reshef), where it represented the martial aspect of their divine character. Thus, different deities appear as smiting actors, but identifying a particular deity solely on the basis of the smiting motif can be misleading. In the case of different deities depicted in the smiting position, additional visual characteristics and attributes of the deity types can also aid identification of the specific deity based on the iconography.

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[596] Eisenberg-Degen 2015: 12–13.
[597] For the object, see Markoe 1990: 13–26., fig 5.
[598] For the object, see Chapter 2, 2.2.4.
[599] As shown in the Chapter 1.5, this conclusion was drawn by R. H. Smith and adapted by Collon, see here based on Cornelius 1994: 255.
[600] For the latest descriptive catalogue on the representations of the smiting Anat and Astarte, see Cornelius 2008a: 104–108, 117–123. The second, enlarged edition (2008) is used in the present study.
[601] For the previous works on the iconography of the Syro-Palestinian smiting female figures, see Falsone 1986: 53–67; Negbi 1976: 84–86, no. 1624–1629, Fig. 98, Pl. 44. ("Type III: Female warriors in smiting pose"); Seeden 1980: 108–111, Pls. M–N, Pls. 102–103, nos. 1719–1728 ("Group XI: Attacking/Armed female figures from other Near Eastern sites") and Pl. 96, nos. 1681–1682 ("Group V: Byblos figurines of attacking warriors").

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Related motifs expressing similar ideological content are also attested in the Syro-Palestinian iconographic repertoire. The motifs of smiting and holding or raising a bow on Palestinian stamp seals share the same interpretation and meaning. In the symbolism of combat and hunting scenes, the figure of the ruler (possibly the Egyptian pharaoh) depicted in the smiting position or holding or shooting with a bow, defeating a symbolic animal or a human enemy without any visible resistance, may represent the Egyptian royal ideology about the perfect ruler maintaining world order and expressing the gesture of triumph.[602]

4.3 Syro-Palestinian goddesses in the smiting position: the iconographical attributes of the armed female deity

4.3.1. Anat

4.3.1.1. An outline of the divine character of Anat

Anat was originally known as a Northwest Semitic goddess and appears in the Ugaritic texts of the Second Millennium as an adolescent, violent, bloodthirsty warrior goddess related to combat and hunting, endowed with masculine properties.[603] The huntress Anat is described as the "mistress of animals" in Ugaritic texts. Peggy Day incorrectly interpreted the representations of the "mistress of animals" with Anat, departing from this epithet and the texts, which was revised by Izak Cornelius suggesting Qudshu according to iconographical sources.[604] Differing interpretations of the Ugaritic textual evidence mean that scholarly views are divided on her relationship to Ba'al and her function. As the older sister of Ba'al,[605] the general view of her role was that she was a fertility goddess, similarly to other ancient Near Eastern goddesses.[606] She was identified as Ba'al's consort, implying they had a sexual relationship.[607] The sexist model of this view has been criticized for misinterpreting her function, which clearly links her character to warfare.[608]

[602] Keel 1990a: 27–65.
[603] For her complete profile, see Day, P. L. 1999: 36–43.
[604] Cornelius 1993: 21–45.
[605] Her frequent definition is the sister (*aḫt*) of her younger brother, Ba'al, see Day, P. L. 1999: 37.
[606] On the general movement of the sexist model applied to the interpretation of of the ancient Near Eastern godesses related to fertility and sexuality, see Hackett 1989: 65–76.
[607] For the related references in the KTU supporting this interpretation, see Day, P. L. 1999: 36–37.
[608] Day, P. L. 1991: 141–146, 329–332; Walls 1992: 13–75.

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Anat was an active participant in cosmogonic battles. Ugaritic mythical texts described her as helping and accompanying Ba'al in his struggles to acquire the palace and the divine kingship in the myths related to the Ba'al Cycle.[609] Both of them appeared as triumphant warriors in the defeat of Yam and in the attack on Mot.[610] She longed to perform masculine activities and appeared as a huntress, killing Aqhat to acquire his bow and arrows; her actions were thus contrary to those of her brother in the Ugaritic Story of Aqhat.[611]

Underlining her importance and demonstrating the existence of her cult from the early Second Millennium onwards, Anat's name (*'nt*) is preserved as a theophoric element in local personal and place names, and also on objects. [612] An Egyptian ostracon from the 13th century B.C. mentioned her name in relation to a religious event from the Syro-Palestinian region (a festival of Anat in Gaza).[613] The city named Hanat/Anat, in the South-Eastern part of the territory controlled by the kingdom of Mari, often appears in Mari archives in the 18th century B.C., but the etymological connection between Anat's name and the goddess Ḫanât of the Hanaeans,[614] the residing Amorite/Northwest-Semitic ethnic group, is speculative.[615] Her name is also mentioned in the Amarna correspondence[616] and the Alalakh IV archives.[617] According to a lawsuit originating from Hazor her name, appeared as a theophoric element in two personal names in the 18–16th century B.C.[618] Her name was preserved in the names of a person from Byblos, and a ship captain from Syria (*b'n 'nt*) from the reign of Ramesses II.[619]

The campaign records of the Ramesseum mention a Canaanite settlement named Beth-Anat that was attacked by Ramesses II during his "post-Qadesh" military operations in Syria.[620] The ostracon Michaelides 85 from the reign of Sety I contains a copied text from a letter addressed to the Egyptian commander of the garrison host, the main topic of which is the procurement of ingredients for a festival to be held in the goddess's honour in Gaza.[621] The letter proves the presence of the cult of Anat in a military context, and indicates the importance of her cult in the

[609] Day, P. L. 1999: 36–37.
[610] For the related references in the KTU, see Day, J. 1985: 12–16.
[611] For more about the Story of Aqhat, see Wyatt 1999b: 234–259.
[612] Day, P. L. 1999: 37–38.
[613] Grdseloff 1942: 35–39.
[614] Lambert 1986: 132; Albright 1925: 73–101.
[615] There is no any textual reference to claim directly that Anat is the goddess of the Hanaeans, see Day, P. L. 1999: 36.
[616] The name *A-na-ti* in Amarna letter EA 170:43 (To Aziru in Egypt), see Moran 1992: 257–258.
[617] *Ap-ti-a-na-ti* in AT 128 and nos. 300:14, 301:6, see Green, A. W. 2003: 201, footnote 225.
[618] Hallo – Tadmor 1977: 1–11.
[619] Day, P. L. 1999: 38.
[620] Redford 1993: 186.
[621] For the translation of the fragmentary preserved text, see Higginbotham 2000: 50–52.

eyes of the Egyptians in Southern Palestine, which belonged to the hegemony of the Egyptian Empire.

In Beth-Shean, another important military post in the region, Ramesses III and various Egyptian officials dedicated stelae to the local deities Mekal, Anat and Astarte, featuring their depictions.[622] On the upper part of the severely weathered, inscribed limestone stela from the "Northern temple", erected by Ramesses III, Anat is facing towards a praising Egyptian worshipper in a typical Egyptian offering scene.[623] Beth-Shean is a perfect example of the tendency for Canaanites and Egyptians to share the same cultic site, with both venerating local deities in different cultic rooms and representing them according to their religious customs.[624] According to Frank M. Cross, the name of Anat is contained in the surname *bn 'nt*, found in an inscription on the reverse of the 'El-Khadr Arrowhead V, dated to Iron Age IA; based on Canaanite onomastic evidence, this surname associated with military families.[625]

Among the cults of other Canaanite deities that became very popular in the period of the New Kingdom, the introduction of the cult of Anat to Egypt came with the cultural influence of the Hyksos, and can be traced to the Second Intermediate period;[626] this cult was worshipped continuously until the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[627]

The Egyptian references to Anat's divine character that associate her with warfare are consistent with her mentions in the Ugaritic myths. The earliest proof of the continuing presence of the cult of the goddess, who became increasingly popular during the New Kingdom, is provided by textual and material evidence from the reign of Ramesses II.[628] The important role of Anat in the royal ideology of Ramesses II is connected to her divine protection in war and supremacy. The epithet of Anat as "Mistress or Lady of (the) Heaven(s)" frequently appeared in Ramesses II's inscriptions, connecting her with supporting him in battle and legitimating his ultimate rule.[629] Ramesses II also had a parental relationship with her, as he often refers to himself as a "nursling of Anat" and "beloved of Anat".[630] On the statues of Tanis, the unarmed peaceful Anat is holding him by his hand or resting her hand on his shoulder, depicting their close relationship.[631] In Papyrus Chester Beatty VII, she is called "Anath, the goddess, the

[622] Rowe 1930: 14–15, 19, 21, 32–33, Pls. 33, 50:2.
[623] The stela (Cat. 3.1) is classified by Izak Cornelius to the iconographic type of the "The standing goddess". For the iconography of the object (RJ 36.920) and related references, see Cornelius 2008a: 111–112.
[624] For the references related to Beth-Shean, see Avner 2014: 123–125.
[625] For the object and discussion, see Cross 1980: 6–8.
[626] Stadelmann 1967: 91–96.
[627] Day, P. L. 1999: 40.
[628] Leclant 1973: 253–258, 515.
[629] For the Ramesside texts, see Stadelmann 1967: 91–93.
[630] Smith, M. S. – Pitard 2009: 151.
[631] For the classification of Anat's association with royal figures, see Cornelius 2008b: 2.

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victorious", in reference to her triumphal conduct in battle as "a woman acting (as) a man, clad as a male and girt as a female".[632] Ramesses III regarded her as a protective shield in battle.[633]

Due to her militant nature, Anat's image is also associated with other war goddesses in the ancient Near East, such as the Hurro-Hittite Ishtar-Shawushka, the Mesopotamian Inanna-Ishtar -Annunatum, and the Hindu goddesses Kali and Durga.[634]

The popularity of Anat as a major deity in the Second Millennium decreased in the First Millennium, and through her amalgamation with Astarte, she is embodied as the North Syrian goddess Atargatis,[635] known as Dea Syria by the Romans in Classical Antiquity.[636]

4.3.1.2. The smiting motif in the iconography of Anat

The most common problem arising from the closeness between the iconography of Anat and Astarte, which often overlap each other, is that it becomes quite difficult to distinguish between their depictions solely on an iconographic basis, because they share similar attributes (the *atef* crown, armed with weapons) and gestures, including the smiting position. This problem may even exist in cases where the representation is identified by a name.[637]

The depictions of the smiting Syro-Palestinian goddesses Anat and Astarte have been classified by Izak Cornelius into three phenotypes, namely: 1. "the menacing seated goddess"; 2. "the menacing standing goddess"; and 3. "the menacing goddess on horseback".[638] At this point I will briefly discuss the change of the terminology used so far to describe the iconographic representation of the gesture or position commonly known as "smiting". To describe the posture, the term "smiting" was introduced by Robert H. Smith (1962) and adapted by Dominique Collon in her study of a bronze statue in the Pomerance Collection (1972).[639] Cornelius argues that the term "menacing" is a more appropriate expression for this gesture, as it emphasizes that the symbolism of the raised hand (or fist), even without a weapon, can be interpreted as a gesture of power in itself.[640] Robert H. Smith argues that the omission of an

[632] Gardiner, A. H. 1935: 62–63.
[633] Mentioning together with Astarte, see Pritchard 1969: 250.
[634] On the related references collected to the various war goddesses, see Cornelius 2008: 92.
[635] Rostovtseff 1933: 58–63.
[636] Cornelius 2008b: 1–5.
[637] For the misinterpretations, see Cornelius 2008b: 1–2.
[638] The phenotype 3 is typically related to the smiting Astarte and discussed in the corresponding subsection. For the categories, see Cornelius 2008a: 21–26, 42–44.
[639] For the general term "smiting", see Smith, R. H 1962: 176–183; Collon 1972: 111–134; For other references of "smiting", see Lipiński 1995: 181, footnote 457.
[640] Cornelius 1994: 255; Cornelius 1999, 269.

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enemy figure in representations of deities making this gesture indicates that the symbolism of the position is sufficient in itself to express power and victory.[641]

On introducing the term "menacing", I think that any general replacement of the original term "smiting" should be avoided. If we accept Smith's and Collon's basic views on the interpretation of the posture and pursue them through an examination of how the motif was applied within the Egyptian original context and later adapted in Syro-Palestinian visual art, we can make the following statements:

1. Smiting originated in Egyptian royal art, and depicted the final moment of an execution.
2. The symbolism of smiting refers to the visual expression of the ruler's power and victory.
3. The motif is regarded as a visual device for expressing royal authority and triumph and it also has cosmogonic meaning, so it can be interpreted on both secular and cosmic levels.
4. According to the functions they fulfil in the organized secular world or at the divine level, the ruler (e.g. the Egyptian pharaoh or any ruler leading a community) and all the deities adopting the smiting position play a role in the cosmogonic struggles to maintain world order.
5. All of the smiting actors are related to the struggle (regardless of which level they fight on) that is visually communicated by applying the motif in their iconography.
6. The symbolism of one raised arm (hand/fist) is understood as a gesture of power and has apotropaic connotations.[642]
7. The visible enemy in the smiting scene may help to identify the smiting person as a ruler, while the omission of the enemy is typical of deities, but in general the interpretation of the motif has a secondary role.

Having accepted these statements, however, the smiting gesture alone has sufficient symbolic value to represent victory achieved on both levels, regardless of whether the raised arm is holding a weapon or not. I will therefore refrain from applying Cornelius's term and consistently use the term "smiting". If we still insist on introducing the term "menacing", Cornelius's argument can be refined by making a distinction between the terms: "smiting" may denote the act conducted with a weapon, while "menacing" may be used for unarmed smiting, where we interpret the raised arm (or fist) as a gesture of power in itself with an apotropaic connotation.

[641] For this conclusion, see Smith, R. H. 1962: 180; Collon 1972: 130.
[642] For the general interpretation of the "one arm raised" in certain contexts in the ancient Near Eastern iconography, see Roberts 1998: 53–55.

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Within the iconography of the "armed goddess" associated with Anat, there are two phenotypes distinguished by Cornelius, depending on the position of the legs in the stance of the figure: 1. "The seated menacing goddess", 2. "The standing menacing goddess".[643] Here I would like to suggest adding a third category to this typology regarding the dynamics of the standing position (using the term "smiting" for the reasons given above), in order to distinguish between the dynamic and the static position: 3. "The advancing smiting goddess".

Anat is represented in anthropomorphic form, while theriomorphic depictions are unknown. Cornelius argues that her theriomorphic representations (e.g. bird, cow, heifer, lioness), and her symbolic representations (as a bow) are questionable in her iconography.[644] She is described in Ugaritic texts as being winged.[645] Cornelius's identification of depictions of (winged and non-winged) equestrian female figures as Astarte[646] has been criticized by Edward Lipiński, who links this figure-type to Anat rather than Astarte, and who identifies the winged equestrian figure on scarabs as the winged Anat from the Ugaritic texts, solely on the basis of philological arguments.[647]

The iconographic characteristics of the smiting representations which can be associated with Anat are illustrated in the following table, which also includes objects previously associated with Anat, for which other scholars have suggested Astarte as a potential alternative candidate[648] (see Table 1, Figs. 63–69). The work of Izak Cornelius entitled *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE* was published originally in 2004, and the second, enlarged version of this book was issued in 2008. To the best of my knowledge, Cornelius's revised work (2008) is the most recent on the subject, and this version is used in the present study. He included the cited objects in a descriptive catalogue in his comparative monography on the iconography of the Syro-Palestinian goddess, which explains his arguments concerning the identification of the depicted figures, and so it is unnecessary to repeat here his descriptions or his discussion on the related literature on the objects.[649]

[643] Cornelius 2008a: 21–26, Cat. 1.1–1.6
[644] For the related references for the refutations, see Cornelius 2008b: 2.
[645] "She raised her wings and flew up" (KTU 1.10 II 1 1), see de Moor 1987: 112.
[646] Cornelius identifies the equestrian winged figures with Astarte, see Cornelius 2008a: 40–45.
[647]; Lipiński 1996: 262; Lipiński 2005: 124–128.
[648] The smiting iconography of Astarte is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.3.2.2., but among the objects in this chapter, that can be associated with Anat I also include the pieces, which could also depict Astarte instead of Anat due to the speculative identification.
[649] For the catalogue numbers, see Cornelius 2008a: 104–106 (descriptive catalogue), 80–83 (titles from the inscriptions).

	British Museum BM EA 191 relief stela (lower register)	**Hetepka relief** (fragmentary)	**London Petrie Museum UC 14399 relief fragment** (unknown provenance)	**Louvre AO 14.811 cylinder seal**	**Beirut 16596 bronze statuette**	**Beirut 16589 bronze statuette**	**Louvre AO 22.265 bronze statuette group**[650]
Figure no.	Fig. 63	Fig. 64	Fig. 65	Fig. 66	Fig. 67	Fig 68	Fig. 69
Cornelius Cat. no.	1.1	1.1a	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6
Headdress	*atef* crown	ram-horned *atef* crown with two attached streamers, sun disc on top	*atef* crown with one streamer (tied around it), sun disc on top	*atef* crown	*atef* crown	Western Asiatic curved-type set on the horned helmet	larger: ram-horned *atef* crown with sun disc, smaller: curved horned headdress (damaged)
Hairstyle, physical features	–	–	–	–	–	–	both: large ears, larger: hairlock/rib bon hanging on her back
Garment	tight-fitting, ankle-length shoulder strap dress, collar necklace, barefoot (on a pedestal)	tight-fitting, ankle-length dress, barefoot (on the ground line)	knot tied around the waist, tight fitting skirt/dress (?)	ankle-length, belted skirt/dress with fishbone pattern, barefoot (on the ground line)	tight-fitting, chest to ankle-length dress with fishbone pattern, naked breasts, necklace, barefoot	tight-fitting, ankle-length dress, barefoot	both: long, belted dress
Weapon	left: mace-axe, right: round-topped shield and spear together	left: hand-weapon (end not visible), right: curved shield and spear together	only left: shaft of the hand-weapon (end not visible: mace or spear?)	left: no weapon, right: lance/spear	right: lost, left: bent forward (pierced holes in both fists)	right: lost, left: bent forward (pierced holes in both fists)	both: pierced holes in both fists, larger right: lost, larger left: bent forward, smaller right: forearm lost, smaller left: lost, smaller back: quiver
Attribute	–	–	–	–	–	–	chariot
Stance, position of the legs	seated on a low-backed throne	standing, sun-shade behind	standing or seated? (cannot be determined)	advancing left (?) leg	standing	standing	standing

[650] Included in the group "sets of joined figures" by Ora Negbi (1976), but the smiting figure is restricted from the group of the female warriors as considered to male, see Negbi 1976: 144, no. 22.

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Enemy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smiting position	left: mace-axe, facing left	left with hand-weapon, facing left	left: shaft of the hand-weapon, facing left	left (?): arm, no weapon, facing left	right: lost weapon	right: lost weapon	larger right: lost weapon
Context of the scene	offering scene with private worshippers	royal offering scene	cannot be determined, royal cartouche (Ramesses II or Ramesses III) crowned with ram-horned *atef* with sun disc and *uraei*	supporting the royal hunting scene (smaller goddess is standing behind the seated pharaoh, who is hunting for animals (eagle, lion, caprid) with a bow)	?	?	statuette group of armed goddesses (larger smiting goddess, smaller charioteer goddess) in a chariot
Style	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptianizing with Western Asiatic traditions	Egyptianizing	Western Asiatic	Egyptianizing
Object type and provenance	private stela upper part: triad with Reshef, Min, Qedeshet (Cat. 5.1)	relief from the private tomb of Hetepka, North Saqqara	relief fragment with unknown provenance, traces of red pigment on the goddess	haematite cylinder seal from the Late Bronze Age tomb from Minet el-Beida	bronze statuette (KL 70.847) from a shrine from Kamid el-Loz Late Bronze Age level, amulet (?): back loop for hanging	bronze statuette from Biqa	bronze statuette group of two goddesses in a chariot from Tartus (Syria), purchased in 1967
Date (B.C.)	19th Dynasty	reign of Ramesses II	reign of Ramesses II or Ramesses III	ca. 1450–1350	Late Bronze Age	Second Millennium	14–13th century (after Collon)
Title, epithet	“Anat, lady of heaven. Mistress of the gods.”	“[Astar]te, lady of heaven, [mistress of the tw]o lands”	–	–	–	–	–
Goddess	Anat	Astarte	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)

Table 1. Reliefs and stelae: The iconographic characteristics of the smiting goddess associated with Anat/Astarte.

The table clearly illustrates the difficulties in identifying the smiting goddesses as either Anat or Astarte based on their iconography. The fact that the smiting Anat shares several iconographic features with the smiting Astarte (e.g. *atef* crown, garment, holding the shield and spear together) makes identification extremely difficult, if not impossible. For a unique example, there are questions surrounding the identification of the two figurines in the bronze

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statuette group Louvre AO 22.265, because Anat and Astarte are both linked with chariots, and furthermore, Astarte is associated with horses and chariots.[651]

Among the factors that help in identifying the goddess, the presence of the inscription seems to offer the most valuable information, whereas style and provenance are of little use in this respect, although they do play an important role in dating the objects. There is a single case known in relation to the smiting Anat (BM EA 191), which is the only depiction of her seated in the smiting position, which can be reliably identified by the inscription on the stela. Cornelius refers to the smiting weapon here as a battle-axe, but according to the curved shape of the blade, combined with a mace, this is a mace-axe (*ḥ3*), a new type of weapon in the Middle Kingdom, which is often featured in smiting scenes in Egypt.[652] It is therefore not possible to define the specific attributes pertaining to visual representations of the smiting Anat on the basis of just a single positively identified example, so it would be misleading to draw any further specific conclusions about her smiting iconography.

Among the factors that help with identification in the case of the object group of bronze statuettes as three-dimensional media, the aggravating circumstance is the fact that there is no example of a smiting Syro-Palestinian female bronze figurine which contains any identifying inscription.[653] Additionally, with regard to the bronze statuettes depicting armed figures related to this region, the other general and perhaps most significant problem is the question of exact dating.[654] Regarding objects for which only the acquisition is known, the lack of information about the original archaeological context may also raise questions about their authenticity. By way of example, only one bronze object cited in Cornelius (2008) has a clear archaeological context and dating (Beirut 16596), but there is no way of knowing what to do with it when it comes to the exact identification of the goddess.

Previous works on the study of Syro-Palestinian metal sculptures which attempted to classify the enormous quantity of known objects are problematic in many respects, and no attempt has been made to identify the depicted figures. Ora Negbi, in her monograph entitled "Canaanite Gods in Metal" (1976), was the first to examine male and female smiting deities as separate groups along gender lines. She classified the "female warriors in smiting pose" (Type III) as one of the four main types, used the traditional term "smiting" for the posture, and added a general dating as the second half of the Second Millennium B.C.

[651] For the references about their relations to chariots, see Cornelius 2008a: 42.
[652] Hamblin 2006: 425.
[653] Cornelius 2008a: 25.
[654] Moorey – Fleming, S. 1984: 67–90.

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Helga Seeden classified the armed figures into geographical groups in her work entitled "The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant" (1980), in which a part of Group XI (of twelve groups in total) is dedicated to armed female warriors containing smiting female figures, without any distinction in terms of posture. The catalogue presents a detailed iconographic description and the archaeological context (if available) of the objects ("Group XI: Attacking/Armed female figures from other Near Eastern sites"), without reference to the divine or human sphere of the depicted figures, consistently regarding them as warriors and generally also dating them to the same period as Negbi.[655]

The following tables summarize the characteristics of the bronze statuettes depicting the smiting armed female figures as presented in Negbi (1976) and Seeden (1980). The overlaps for the cited objects are indicated in the related footnotes (see Table 2a. Negbi, Figs. 70–75; Table 2b. Seeden, Figs. 76–77).

Negbi Cat. no.	**1624**	**1625 Louvre AO 3889** (unpublished)	**1626 Louvre AO 4049**	**1627**[656]	**1628**	**1629 Louvre AO 3276**
Figure no.	Fig. 70 (no image)	Fig. 71 (no image)	Fig. 72	Fig. 73	Fig. 74	Fig. 75
Headdress	high headdress (broken)	*atef* crown	short Hathor-wig, horned *atef* crown flanked by *uraei*	short Hathor-wig	long wig, *uraei* crown with three horns	cylindrical headgear (broken)
Hairstyle, physical features	–	–	–	large ears	–	nostrils and ears pierced
Garment	long plain skirt	unclad	tight-fitting, ankle-length pleated dress, belted	tight-fitting, ankle-length dress, belted	tight-fitting, ankle-length dress	unclad, naked breasts, tail attached to buttocks
Weapon	?	?	lost (pierced holes in both fists)	lost (pierced holes in both fists)	left: unidentified weapon	?
Stance, position of the legs	advancing leg	–	–	advancing left leg	advancing left leg	standing, on two crouching lions
Smiting position	right: smiting, left: missing	left: extended forward	right: lost weapon, left: bent forward	right: lost weapon, left: bent forward	right: partially broken, left: holding a unidentified weapon	right: lost weapon, left: partially broken
Style	?	Egyptianizing	Egyptianizing	Egyptianizing	Egyptianizing	Western Asiatic?
Object type, and physical conditions	votive statuette, pegged feet	arms partially broken, lower	?	on a small moulded platform	on a platform with four	set on a pedestal

[655] For the detailed references without the unnecessary repetition here, see Chapter 4.2., footnote 601.
[656] The object was published by Ora Negbi in a separate article, see Negbi 1964: 270–271, Pl. 56, A–B (B: Front view = Fig. 73.)

		part: bent, damaged			flanked female figurines on the edges	
Acquisition/ provenance	Byblos temple area (outside the *dēpōts d'offrandes*)	vicinity of Beirut (Lebanon), origin unknown	purchased in Fakra (Lebanon) in 1902, context unknown	vicinity of Tel Dan (Israel), origin unknown	Kafer Kanna (Israel), context unknown	Hauran (Syria), context unknown
Date (B.C.)	Late Bronze Age IB	second half of the Second Millennium	second half of the Second Millennium	second half of the Second Millennium	second half of the Second Millennium	second half of the Second Millennium
Goddess	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)

Table 2a. Characteristics of the bronze statuettes depicting the smiting armed female figures in Negbi (1976).[657]

Seeden Cat. no.	**1724**[658] **Louvre AO 20160**	**1727**[659] **Jerusalem Palestine Archaeological Museum 38.133**
Figure no.	Fig. 76	Fig. 77
Headdress	three-horned, cylindrical-conical headdress	conical headdress
Hairstyle, physical features	long hair, large nose and nostrils, large ears, upturned lip corners ("smiling"?), feminine breasts and waist	large eye sockets
Garment	knee-length kilt with ankle-length underdress, barefoot	ankle-length pleated overlapped dress, belted
Weapon	right: double-headed battle-axe, left: bent forward with knife, sword hanging on a rope around the upper body	right: lost weapon, left: bent forward with remnant of a shaft in the fist
Stance, position of the legs	advancing left leg	standing
Smiting position	right: double-headed battle-axe	right: lost weapon
Style	Western Asiatic (?)	Western Asiatic
Object type, and physical conditions	feet moulded together and joined in a long peg, tapering tang attached on the back for attaching the figure to the wall of a *naiskos* (?)	found with arms in a temple context, corroded condition: arms, feet with separate pegs lost after cleaning
Acquisition/provenance	from Syria, purchased in 1952	found at the floor of the lowest Fosse temple (Field no. 5333), Tell el-Duweir (Israel)
Date (B.C.)	second half of the Second Millennium	1480–1420
Goddess	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)	unidentified (Anat or Astarte)

[657] The Negbi 22 is omitted here, because the object previously discussed in the Table 1 of the present chapter, 125–126, see Cornelius 2008a: Cat. no. 1.6. The object ("the Phoenician couple") classified to the "Type I: Sets of joined figurines, Class B: Round-cast figurines" assigned to the Late Bronze Age transition to the Iron Age I by Negbi, see Negbi 1976: 6, 144, Pl. 5., no. 22.; In the case of Negbi 1624 and Negbi 1625 only the bibliographic references are provided without any images in her catalogue, see Negbi 1976: 184.

[658] This object representing a female figure classified incorrectly to the "Type III: Male warriors in smiting pose" by Ora Negbi, see Negbi 1976: 29–41, 163, Pl. 21, no. 1317.

[659] This object representing a female figure classified incorrectly to the "Type III: Male warriors in smiting pose" by Ora Negbi, see Negbi 1976: 29–41, 165, no. 1368.

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Table 2b. Characteristics of the bronze statuettes depicting the smiting armed female figures in Seeden (1980).[660]

In the visual representation of the smiting goddess, it is possible to perceive Egyptian and Western Asiatic (Syro-Palestinian, Syro-Anatolian) iconographic influences, the most illustrative indicator of which is probably the type of headdress (e.g. *atef* crown, conical, cylindrical, horned) indicating the divinity of the figure. The retained or visible smiting weapons are hand weapons and correspond to the parallels found in the original Egyptian context of the scene (e.g. the mace-axe in BM EA 191, Hetepka relief). The two depicted variations of the shield (a. shield with curved top viewed from the side, b. shield with rounded top viewed from the front) held together with the spear in the same hand of the smiting goddess, in both seated and standing positions, are similar to those seen in the smiting iconography of depictions of seated/standing Reshef found on stelae (BM EA 191, Hetepka relief).[661] Based on the data visualized in the tables (Table 1, 2a, 2b), it can be seen that the reliefs are the best source for identification due to the presence of inscriptions (BM EA 191, Hetepka relief). In the case of glyptics and bronze statuettes, it is quite impossible to distinguish between Anat and Astarte as warfare goddesses solely on the basis of their armed smiting iconography in the Late Bronze Age.

4.3.2. Astarte

4.3.2.1. An outline of the divine character of Astarte

The etymology of the name Astarte is uncertain, but her name appeared in a number of forms: *ʾṯtrt* (Ugaritic), Ishtar (Akkadian), Shaushka (Hurro-Hittite), *ʾštrt* (Phoenician), ‘*Aštóret* (Hebrew), *Astartė* (Greek).[662] The Western Semitic goddess Astarte was also involved in war and hunting, like Anat, and also had close relations with both Ba’al and Anat, but she was

[660] Seeden (1980) nos. 1723, 1725, 1728 are omitted here, because the objects previously discussed in the Table 1 in the present chapter, see Seeden 1723 = Cornelius Cat. no. 1.5; Seeden 1725 = Cornelius Cat. no. 1.6; Seeden 1728 = Cornelius Cat. no. 1.4; Seeden (1980) nos. 1721, 1722, 1726 are omitted here, because the object discussed in the Table 2a, see Seeden 1721 = Negbi 1627, Seeden 1722 = Negbi 1626, Seeden 1726 = Negbi 1628. (but the related reference is not cited by Seeden)

[661] For the types of the shield and spear held together in the iconography of Reshef, see 1994: 252–253 with Table 10.

[662] Cornelius 2008a: 93.

represented less commonly and played a much smaller role in Ugaritic mythological texts.[663] Modelled on her analogy with Anat, which served as the basis for their later syncretism (Atargatis), the earlier scholarly view that Astarte was associated with fertility cults, sexuality, and erotic rites can be dismissed, and her character in the First Millennium B.C. is now rather interpreted as a cruel goddess of war.[664] While Ugaritic texts mention her close relationship with Ba'al, in the different pantheon of Late Bronze Age Emar, Astarte was clearly the chief goddess, the female consort of Ba'al, and related to war.[665]

Judging from related archaeological evidence from the Hyksos period of scarabs bearing the name of Anat as a theophoric element, traces of Astarte may have been present in Egypt as early as the 15th Dynasty, and her cult was imported with that of Anat during the 18th Dynasty and was related to warfare. Although there is no direct evidence for the use of the name Astarte, by way of parallel archaeological evidence, the name of Anat was utilized on scarabs from the Hyksos period.[666] She became even more popular during the end of the 19th Dynasty, when the chariotry gave Egypt increasing military power.[667] The Tura stela from the reign of Amenhotep II provides the first textual evidence that mentions her together with her depiction: *atef*-crowned Astarte is standing with Memphite deities and with the Pharaoh on her right, holding a *was*-sceptre in the left, and an *ankh* in the right hand.[668] The description refers to her as the "Mistress of Peru-nefer",[669] the important New Kingdom military port near the Nile Delta, identified by Manfred Bietak as the previous Hyksos capital, Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a/Ezbet Helmy).[670]

As a sign of her popularity, together with other Canaanite deities, Astarte the warrior goddess was incorporated into the Egyptian pantheon through "translative adaptation", as a result of which she entered into various relationships with local Egyptian deities.[671] She was variously the daughter of Ptah, and also the daughter of Ra and the wife of Seth, in the fragmentary literary text of the Astarte Papyrus,[672] which describes a revised version of the traditional Ugaritic myth about the conflict between Seth (syncretized with Ba'al in Egypt) and the Sea.[673] The fragmentary text of the Amherst Papyrus describes the central conflict in the myth of "Astarte

[663] For the related references to the Ugaritic texts, see Wyatt 1999a: 110.
[664] Schmitt 2013: 213–219 with related footnotes.
[665] Fleming, D. E. 1992: 216.
[666] Schmitt 2013: 219–220.
[667] Helck 1971: 456.
[668] For the image and description, see Cornelius 2000: 71–77.
[669] Stadelmann 1967: 101–102.
[670] Bietak 2009: 15–17.
[671] On the explanation of the term "translative adaptation" applied to the recent process, see Tazawa 2014: 103–120.
[672] Helck 1983: 215–223.
[673] Wilson-Wright 2016: 56–57.

and the tribute of the Sea". The text also refers to the key role of the already Egyptianized Astarte, who appears here as the daughter of Ptah, in restoring cosmogonic order by reconciling the wrath of Yam to deliver to him the tribute of the gods (the Ennead). Yam responded by demanding her in marriage, as assurance against further threats. With the help of other sources it can be reconstructed that Yam was vanquished by Seth (Ba'al).[674] In another mythological text, the "Contendings of Horus and Seth", Astarte and Anat, as daughters of Ra, are given to Seth as wives.[675]

According to Day, the epithet shared by Astarte and Anat in Harris Magical Papyrus 501, "the two great Goddesses who were pregnant but did not bear",[676] might imply that both goddesses were involved in the male activities of combat and hunting, without any sexual connotations, rather than the female activity of procreativity.[677]

Owing to her martial character, Astarte was associated with horses and war chariots in Egypt. The first traces of the connection between Astarte and horses remain uncertain, but one possible source may be rooted in her Mesopotamian origin, through Ishtar, as the armed and combative Astarte can be compared with the Mesopotamian war goddess.[678] According to the Epic of Gilgamesh Tablet VI, Ishtar was in a relationship with a horse.[679] Although horse-riding existed in Mesopotamia before the second half of the First Millennium, as the pictorial evidence proves,[680] it began to develop in Egypt after the importation of horses from Syria-Palestine.[681] According to Catherine Rommelaere, representations of horses in the art of the New Kingdom can be divided into two main types (the earlier "Longiligne" and the later "Bréviligne"), depending on the shape of the neck.[682] The switch from the earlier type to the "Bréviligne" type can be observed following the substantial military expansion of the 18th Dynasty into Syria-Palestine.[683] In the New Kingdom, horses were primarily utilized for military purposes, and the earliest texts associate Astarte with horse training, clearly linking her to horses and horse-drawn chariots.[684] Egyptian texts confirm her connection with these typical Egyptian symbols of military equipment. The text from the tomb of Thutmose IV compares the king on his chariot

[674] Ritner 2003: 35–36.
[675] For the related reference (iii 4), see Wyatt 1999a: 110.
[676] Pritchard 1943: 79.
[677] Day, P. L. 1999: 37.
[678] For the different manifestations of the war goddess Ishtar, see Colbow 1991.
[679] For the references about this concept, see Tazawa 2014: 106, footnote 14.
[680] Moorey 1970: 36–50.
[681] Cornelius 2008a: 40.
[682] Rommelaere 1991: 34–37.
[683] Hoffmeier – Kitchen 2007: 135–136.
[684] Wilson-Wright 2016: 61.

to Astarte, as he is "valiant in the chariot like Astarte".[685] Ramesses III in Medinet Habu compared the double part of the vehicle to the two Canaanite war goddesses in a poem praising his own war-chariot: "Montu and Seth are with him in every fray; Anath and Astarte are a shield to him".[686] She gained her epithet as "Astarte, Mistress of Horses, Lady of the Chariot" in a Ptolemaic text.[687]

In the art of the New Kingdom, Astarte is frequently depicted as an armed equestrian warrior wearing the *atef* crown,[688] but, as is the case with other Canaanite deities, identifying her on the basis of iconography and the related texts can be problematic.[689]

This issue is especially true in the case of Astarte, and despite the fact that depictions of figures on horseback (especially female figures) are quite rare in the art of the New Kingdom compared with chariot scenes,[690] we should avoid identifying every image of a female equestrian figure with her.[691] In pictorial representations, she is shown as a warrior and the "goddess of horse-riders".[692]

Although there is no mention of the specific epithet in textual sources, the equestrian Astarte does appear pictorially as the mistress of various wild animals (bull, lion, antelope) on a green faience cylinder seal (BNF Seyrig 29).[693]

Besides their association with warfare and hunting, Anat and Astarte also appear in Egyptian magical texts, such as the Leyden Magical Papyri, which features the largest number of Canaanite gods.[694] According to the text, both Anat and Astarte, like other adopted Canaanite deities, may have been related to healing and had apotropaic functions, which may explain the popularity of their cults among ordinary people ("*Anat und Astarte sind es, die dein Blut und dein Gift entfernen werden*").[695]

In addition to occupying an important position in the Egyptian divine world though her connection to the chariot, as a new type of weaponry, the adopted Canaanite war goddess Astarte was also associated with royal power and authority. She was venerated by certain pharaohs of the 18–19th Dynasties as a symbol of the verification of the power ambitions of

[685] Stadelmann 1967: 102.
[686] Pritchard 1969: 250.
[687] Wyatt 1999a: 111.
[688] For the Egyptian representations of Astarte, see Leclant 1960: 1–67.
[689] Cornelius 2014: 87–102.
[690] For more on the horsemen representations in the New Kingdom, see Schulman 1957: 263–271.
[691] Stadelmann 1967: 103–104.
[692] Cornelius 2008a: 93.
[693] For the object, see Cornelius 2008a: 120, Cat. 4.8
[694] On the identification of foreign deities of the related passages I 343 + I 345, see Ayali-Darshan 2015: 87–89.
[695] For the reference to I 345 rto xiiii, x+1/2: "Anat und Astarte sind es, die dein Blut und dein Gift entfernen werden.", see Schmitt 2013: 221, footnote 40.

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the New Kingdom (occurring with Thutmose IV, Ramesses II, Amenhotep II, Ramesses III, Merneptah, and Siptah).[696]

4.3.2.2. The smiting motif in the iconography of Astarte

Regarding the typology of iconographic depictions of Astarte, as accurately elaborated by Izak Cornelius, who distinguishes three main phenotypes – 1. standing; 2. seated; and 3. equestrian goddess –, the smiting motif appears in standing (armed, menacing) and equestrian (menacing) depictions.[697] To the best of my current knowledge, his monograph on the subject of the Syro-Palestinian Goddess is the most recent, and I will continue to follow his typology in my discussion.[698]

The phenotypes of the representations associated with the smiting Astarte in the standing and seated position (even if they are unidentifiable in several cases) have already been discussed in the iconography of the smiting Anat (4.3.1.2.). In this subsection I will therefore deal exclusively with objects representing the characteristics of the smiting equestrian phenotype, which is especially associated with Astarte ("The menacing goddess on horseback").[699] I will refrain from unnecessarily repeating a detailed descriptive catalogue of the cited objects. Focusing solely on the iconographic features of the smiting equestrian goddess, the cited objects are grouped below according to their motif-bearing media, and are published textually (an ostracon, Fig. 84) or in tabular form, depending on their quantity (see Table 1. Reliefs and stelae, Figs. 78–83; Table 2. Cylinder seals, Figs. 85–87; Table 3. Scarabs, Figs. 88–92; Table 4. Pendants and plaquettes, Figs. 93–94).

	Zawyet Sultan stela	**Kanais relief** (in situ)	**Ashmolean Museum E. 3879 stela**	**Turin Museo Egizio 50068 stela**	**Sudan National Museum Khartoum 62/8/20 stela** (upper part)	**Tell el-Borg stela**[700] (TBO 760)
Figure no.	Fig. 78	Fig. 79	Fig. 80	Fig. 81	Fig. 82	Fig. 83
Cornelius Cat. no.	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.4a	4.4b

[696] Cornelius 2008a: 85.
[697] Cornelius 2008c, 2–4.
[698] For the previous literature regarding to the iconography of Astarte summarized, see Cornelius 2008a: 2–4.
[699] For the objects and related references and discussion, see Cornelius 2008a: 42–44 (type), 82 (inscriptions), 117–122 (catalogue), Cat. 4.1-4.14; Cat. 4.19-4.20. Regarding the Tell el-Borg stela, only the object photograph is included, see Cornelius 2008a: 211, Cat. 4.4b.
[700] For the object description, dating and related references, see Hoffmeier – Kitchen 2007: 127–137, fig. 1a–1b (Fig. 83).

Headdress	*atef* crown	*atef* crown with two streamers	*atef* crown	*atef* crown	*ḥḏt* crown with uraeus (?) and two streamers	Astarte: horned *atef* crown Reshef: *ḥḏt* crown with gazelle head
Hairstyle, physical features	female (breasts)	female? (no visible breasts), upper part of the slim body visible	female (breasts)	female (breasts)	female (breasts?)	Astarte: breasts, Reshef: narrow beard
Garment	collar	–	crossed warrior bands around the breasts	collar	–	Astarte: tight-fitting belted long dress, Reshef: long belted garment
Weapon	right: unidentified hand weapon held at an angle, left: frontal spear held vertically	right: unidentified hand weapon held at an angle, left: angular shield held up	right: unidentified hand weapon held at an angle, left: holding the reins	both: raised bow with an arrow before shooting, quiver behind	right: pear-shaped mace held at an angle, left: shield and spear frontal held together vertically	Astarte left: spear held at an angle, Astarte right: frontal small curved shield (side view) held vertically, Reshef right: pear-shaped blade-mace, Reshef left: frontal small curved shield (side view) held vertically
Attribute	bridled horse with four-feathered headdress, without saddle	prancing horse, without saddle	bridled horse, without saddle	bridled horse without saddle, winged sun disc above, fan behind	horse with feathered headdress with sun disc	Astarte: horse
Stance, position of the legs	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible)	seated, riding (upper body visible)	seated, riding astride (one leg visible)	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible)	seated, riding (lower part is missing)	Astarte: seated, on a throne on horseback, barefoot, Reshef: advancing leg, barefoot on a pedestal
Enemy	–	–	–	Kushite prisoner with arms bound behind, showing his back	–	–
Smiting position	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right	no smiting (shooting with a bow), facing right	right: smiting, facing right	Astarte left: smiting, facing left Reshef right: smiting, facing right
Context of the scene	offering scene: before the goddess offering table, and Horus-falcon above	worshipping scene (high official kneeling before the goddess)	upper register: equestrian goddess, lower register: offering scene with a	battle scene, the equestrian goddess is shooting the enemy	offering scene: before the goddess a part of an extended arm with a	upper register: smiting Astarte and smiting Reshef facing each other, lower

			kneeling woman with incense before two offering stands		hand holding a *nw*-vessel	register: offering scene with two worshippers
Style	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian
Object type, and provenance	stela from the official tomb of Nefersekheru, Tell Zawyet Sultan (Egypt)	damaged relief fragment from an official tomb, Wadi ábbad (Egypt)	stela from the Ramesseum (Thebes, Egypt)	weathered stela, purchased in Egypt	stela found in Buhen (Nubia/Kush)	private stela of the "overseer of horses", found in the fortress of Tell el-Borg (Sinai)
Date (B.C.)	ca. 13th century	reign of Sety I (1314–1304)	reign of Ramesses II (1304–1237)	reign of Thutmose IV (1419–1410)	reign of Ramesses II (1304–1237)	14th century
Title, epithet	"Astarte"	"Astarte"	–	"Astarte mistress of the stable who punishes (?) the enemy ... "	"Astarte"	Astarte: "Astarte name" Reshef: "Reshep Lord of the estate (or house) of the stable of horses"
Goddess	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte and Reshef[701]

Table 1. Reliefs and stelae: The iconographic characteristics of the smiting equestrian goddess associated with Astarte.

All the discussed Egyptian-style objects representing the smiting equestrian goddess depict Astarte, who can be clearly identified in four cases by the inscription and in only one case by her smiting equestrian iconography. The Turin Museo Egizio 50068 stela, with the earliest date, is considered an exception, because the smiting motif itself is not represented. At the same time, however, it is a unique piece and was included in the table due to the special composition of elements in the scene depicted on it:

1. Attested enemy: a bound Kushite prisoner is represented in the scene, depicted as a typical representative of the enemies of Egypt;

2. Different weapon: the weapon is not a hand-weapon (a bow), the smiting movement is not discernible;

3. The deity (what is more, the goddess), and not the Egyptian king is executing the enemy;

4. The scene is precisely narrated by the inscription;

5. The final act of the defeat of the enemy is represented without including the smiting motif but expressing the same visual message.

[701] For the TBO 760, Reshef's iconographic features are described because of the unique context of the scene representing him together with Astarte in smiting position, but the iconographical characteristics of the smiting Reshef will be discussed in detail later in the relevant section.

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The bridle and the feathered headdress (consisting of two or more feathers) on the head of the horse that serves as Astarte's mount in her representations form part of the special equipment of military horses used for pulling chariots, which visually enhances the martial character of the goddess.[702]

Generally, the smiting Astarte is depicted in an *atef* crown, but the Sudan 62/8/20 stela from Buhen represents her wearing the White crown of Upper Egypt, an archaic element with streamers attached to it, which may refer to an archaic style of representation of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods. In certain respects, Stela TBO 760 is without any parallel in Egyptian art, for it includes the smiting Reshef and Astarte together in the same scene, and depicts Astarte seated on a throne, the legs of which rest on the back of a horse. This seated and smiting type of representation can be compared with a winged figure that appears on New Kingdom scarabs, wearing the Egyptian double crown and depicted seated or kneeling above the back of a horse, but without a throne or the smiting position. This figure was formerly identified with Baal-Seth, and then because of the wings, with Anat, and because of the horse, with Astarte. Due to the depiction of the horse, and the larger number of inscribed Egyptian objects, Astarte seems the likelier possibility.[703] In the scene, Astarte and Reshef not only share the smiting position, but also have common elements in their warrior iconography: the typical iconographic attributes of Reshef – the shield[704] (TBO 760 stela), the crossed warrior band[705] (Ashmolean E. 3879 stela) and the two streamers attached to the different types of crowns[706] (Kanais relief, Sudan 62/8/20 stela) – also appear here among the iconographic attributes of Astarte. The warrior band could be decorated, and crossing the chest, it was used to carry weapons on the body. The attached streamers are characteristic in depictions of other Syro-Canaanite deities (Reshef, Ba'al, Anat) and can be perceived as distinctive features of their foreign origin.[707] The inscription on the stela names both deities with their epithets. For Astarte, in the event of a lack of space, her epithet ("Astarte name") may be the abbreviated form of Astarte's common Canaanite epithet in Egyptian writing, as "Astarte the name of Baal".[708]

Of the three Ramesside ostraca that form an object group on the basis of their identical Egyptian style and general iconography of a woman holding a bow in smiting position, a single

[702] On the special elements in the equipment of the cariot horses, see Hansen 1992: 173–179, figs. 4–6.
[703] For the object group ("The non-menacing goddess") with related references to the identification attepts, see Cornelius 2008a: 44–45, 4.22–4.26
[704] Cornelius 1994: 252–253.
[705] Cornelius 1994: 249–250, Table 7.
[706] Cornelius 1994: 247.
[707] Cornelius 1994: 52–53.
[708] Hoffmeier – Kitchen 2007: 132.

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painted object may be associated with the equestrian goddess Astarte, as it depicts a woman on horseback (Berlin 21826, Fig. 84).[709] The physical appearance and attire of the female depicted on the ostracon is significantly different from the canonical visual representation known from stelae and reliefs. She wears a lotus on her oblong head, and has short hair, without any headdress indicating her divine origin. Apart from her jewellery (heart-amulet pendant, earrings), she is completely naked and rides astride a "Bréviligne"-type horse without a saddle.

	BNF Seyrig 29.	**Ashmolean 1892.1388**	**Ashmolean 1013.750**
Figure no.	Fig. 85	Fig. 86	Fig. 87
Cornelius Cat. no.	4.8	4.9	4.10
Headdress	*atef* crown with ribbon	*atef*? crown	unclear
Hairstyle, physical features	female (breasts)	unclear	unclear
Garment	unclear	unclear	unclear
Weapon	right: curved shield frontal, left: mace (impression)	right: shield frontal, left: hand-weapon (impression)	right: ?, left:hand-weapon (impression)
Attribute	horse with double-feathered headdress, without saddle	horse with double-feathered headdress, without saddle	horse with headdress?
Stance, position of the legs	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible on the other side of the horse)	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible on the other side of the horse)	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible on the other side of the horse)
Enemy	–	–	–
Smiting position	left: smiting, facing left (impression)	left: smiting, facing left (impression)	left: smiting, facing left (impression)
Context of the scene	"Mistress of animals" accompanied by bull, lions, antelope and sun disc (impression)	procession scene (?): tasselled-kilted winged figure on a lion behind the smiting goddess, standing figure with a plant and *uraeus* before, *ankh*, *nb* signs, and a bird (?) (impression)	procession scene (?): unclear objects and figure before the goddess, plant behind (impression)
Style	Egyptianizing	Egyptianizing	Egyptianizing (?)
Object type, and provenance	Green faience cylinder seal, purchased in Beirut (Lebanon)	steatite cylinder seal, purchased in Smyrna (Greece)	steatite cylinder seal, purchased in Deve Hüyük (Syria)
Date (B.C.)	14th century	late Second – early First Millennium	late Second – early First Millennium
Title, epithet	–	–	–
Goddess	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte

Table 2. Cylinder seals: The iconographic characteristics of the smiting equestrian goddess associated with Astarte.

On cylinder seal BNF Seyrig 29, the equestrian goddess appears as the "Mistress of Animals", surrounded by various wild beasts with the sun disc above a male lion, and in this scene, the smiting motif can be associated with Astarte's power and domination over the wilderness. The procession scene on cylinder seal Ashmolean 1892.1388 presents the goddess surrounded by Egyptian symbols (*ankh*, *nb*). The accompanying winged figure in a short

[709] For the object and the related references, see Cornelius 1994: 42–43, 118–119, Cat. 4.5

tasselled kilt (?) on a male lion is holding an animal by its tail. The short, tasselled kilt[710] is specific for the garment of Reshef, but Reshef does not have wings, and is not depicted on a lion pedestal in any of his representations.[711] The winged male figure on a lion only appears on scarabs from the 12–10th century B.C. and could be identified as a representation of the Canaanite deity Ba'al-Seth standing on a lion.[712] The scene on cylinder seal Ashmolean 1013.750 may be a less elaborated version of Ashmolean 1892.1388.

	Chicago OI 17402	**Berlin SM 841/73**	**London Petrie Museum 38068**	**Fribourg SK 2002.36** (private collection)	**Fribourg SK 1986.**2 (private collection)
Figure no.	Fig. 88	Fig. 89	Fig. 90	Fig. 91	Fig. 92
Cornelius Cat. no.	4.11	4.12	4.13	4.13a	4.19
Headdress	*atef* crown with two streamers	*atef* crown	*atef* crown	*atef* crown	*atef* crown
Hairstyle, physical features	–	–	–	–	unclear
Garment	–	–	–	–	–
Weapon	right: hand-weapon, left: shield frontal	right: hand-weapon, left: shield frontal or horse?	right: hand-weapon, left: horse	right: hand-weapon, left: reins of the horse	right: hand-weapon (throw-stick/*ḫpš* sword?), left: horse by neck
Attribute	horse with double-feathered headdress, reins around the hips of the goddess	horse with double-feathered headdress	horse in plumed headdress resembling a branch	horse in plumed headdress resembling a branch	horse with double-feathered headdress
Stance, position of the legs	seated, riding sidesaddle ?	seated, riding sidesaddle ?	seated, riding sidesaddle ?	seated, riding sidesaddle ?	seated, riding sidesaddle
Enemy	–	–	–	–	enemy figure lying on the ground
Smiting position	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right
Context of the scene	?	unclear sign behind	unclear sign behind	?	sun-shade (*swt*), unclear signs (*nfr*, *ankh*?)
Style	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian
Object type, and provenance	Carnelian scarab, unknown	steatite scarab, unknown	steatite scarab, unknown	steatite scarab, unknown	steatite scarab with haematite parts, purchased in Jerusalem (Israel)
Date (B.C.)	ca. 15–14th century	ca. 14th century	1300–1200	ca. 1300–1200	Late Bronze Age
Title, epithet	–	–	–	–	–
Goddess	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte	Astarte

Table 3. Scarabs: The iconographic characteristics of the smiting equestrian goddess associated with Astarte.

[710] Schulman 1985: 89–106, figs. 5, 11, 18.
[711] Cornelius 1994: 243, 253.
[712] For the identification, see Keel 1990b, 304–307, figs. 77-79.

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The branch-shaped headdress on the horse, which replaces the feathered headdress on London Petrie Museum 38068 and Fribourg SK 2002.36, appears only on scarabs as a new element in the depiction of the smiting equestrian Astarte. Fribourg SK 2002.36 is a unique piece due to its inclusion of typical elements from Egyptian royal and battle scenes, such as the motif of "Trampling on the Enemy", as a figure lies on the ground under the horse's hooves. This is the first instance of a scarab depicting the enemy in this particular scene, and it also shows the royal fan behind the goddess.

The classical, semi-circular, short-handled Egyptian sun-shade (*swt*) was one of the oldest royal symbols to appear in representations of the Early Dynastic period, but it became a common element in ceremonial and festival scenes in the art of the New Kingdom, and has complex sacral connotations. The Egyptian sun-shade *swt* means (Gardiner S35) "shade, shadow", and it has a sacred meaning because of its connection with the Egyptian concept of the soul. The sun-shade appearing behind the king symbolically indicates the liminal border between the divine and the secular level, while used as an air-stirring device, it is associated with breath and life.[713]

	Plaquette (present location unknown)	**Walters Art Gallery Baltimore 57.1593**
Figure no.	Fig. 93	Fig. 94
Cornelius Cat. no.	4.14	4.20
Headdress	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers	horned *atef* crown with sun disc and streamer
Hairstyle, physical features	-	female (breasts)
Garment	-	-
Weapon	right: hand-weapon, left: holding the horse by its head	right: hand-weapon, left: holding the reins of the horse
Attribute	horse with double-feathered headdress, prancing, saddlecloth (?)	horse with plumed headdress
Stance, position of the legs	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible on the other side of the horse)	seated, riding sidesaddle (two legs visible on the other side of the horse)
Enemy	-	-
Smiting position	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right
Context of the scene	?	?
Style	Egyptian	Egyptian
Object type, and provenance	plaquette, unknown provenance	gold-framed pendant with traces of paste inlays, two suspension loops (application), from Syria
Date	ca. 1300–1200 B.C.	Late Bronze Age
Title, epithet	"Lord of the land" (*nb t3w,* twice above)	-
Goddess	Astarte	Astarte

Table 4. Pendants and plaquettes: The iconographic characteristics of the smiting equestrian goddess associated with Astarte.

[713] McDonald 1999: 8–14.

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The depiction of the smiting figure on these two objects, which can be seen as parallels of each other, is distinguished by the types of headdress she is wearing, both of which appear in the smiting iconography of Astarte. The plaquette, which may have been used as an application element, twice features the epithet "Lord of the land". This can be compared to the inscription ("Astarte, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands")[714] on the limestone stela Louvre 26017, which depicts an incense-offering scene, in which Ramesses II is standing before Astarte holding an unidentified sceptre with a missing end.[715]

4.4. Syro-Palestinian gods in the smiting position: the iconographical attributes of the armed male deity

4.4.1. The storm god

4.4.1.1. Storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo): the smiting Hittite storm god in Syria

Aleppo came under Hittite rule in the 15th century and, beside Carchemish, became one of the important Syrian territories subject to the Hittite Empire.[716] While Carchemish functioned as the political-administrative centre of the Hittites in the North Syrian region, Aleppo, under strong Hittite cultural influence, served as the major cult centre of the storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo)[717] in Late Bronze Age Syria, with a massive temple dedicated to him on the mound of its citadel.[718] The general importance of the storm god in the Hittite pantheon can be observed during the Late Bronze Age,[719] as a result of which the deity played an increasingly prominent role in the visual communication of the regions that came under the Hittite control, in parallel with the establishment of the state organization of the Hittite Empire, and associated with the local storm gods in different regions of the empire. This tendency is reflected in the storm god's iconographic representation.[720]

[714] For the inscription, see Schmitt 2013: 223.
[715] For the object, see Cornelius 2008a: 113–114.
[716] Bryce 2012: 15.
[717] On the textual evidence for the storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo), see Schwemer 2008a: 162–168.
[718] For the excavations in the citadel of Aleppo and the archaeological periods of the temple, see Kohlmeyer 2009: 109–202.
[719] Houwink ten Cate 1992: 83–148.
[720] Bonatz 2007: 3–4.

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According to the general iconography of the anthropomorphic storm god type of the Hittite imperial period, the deity wears a beard with a long hairlock flowing down his back, a horned conical headdress, a short tunic, and shoes with upturned toes. As for armour, he mostly holds or shoulders a mace, and keeps a sword with a crescent-shaped handle in a sheath by his waist.[721] It should be noted that from iconographic features alone, it is generally misleading to identify the storm god of a particular region. The storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo), however, could be an exception to the preceding statement, as he can be identified with certainty on the basis of his special iconographic attributes (bull-drawn eagle-shaped chariot) and the related Luwian hieroglyphic epigraphs.[722] As an expression of power supremacy, the smiting motif is consistently detected in the general iconography of the Hittite storm god, from the Old Hittite period onwards (Dövlek and Karaman bronze figurines).[723] According to its four-sign Luwian hieroglyphic epigraphs (DEUS.TONITRUS GENUFLECTERE-*MI*),[724] the orthostat limestone relief (ALEPPO 5) found *in situ* in the Neo-Hittite archaeological context of the 11th century B.C. is from the Temple of the Storm-God in Aleppo citadel (Fig. 95). Based on the stylistic features and rendering of the slab, with his cult image in the composition of the orthostat reliefs, the object was dated to the 13th century B.C. by Kay Kohlmeyer, the archaeologist who unearthed it.[725] It depicts the storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo) without his eagle-drawn chariot. On the elaborate representation he is wearing a garment decorated with geometric patterns and rosettes, and advancing with his left leg. Both arms are raised, and the clenched right fist in smiting position may have gripped a hand-weapon, which is not shown. This type of storm god bears the Hittite iconographic characteristics of attire and shows traces of a visual influence that differs from the type of Canaanite storm god typical of the Syrian-Palestinian region, who was associated with fertility and prosperity in the Late Bronze Age.[726]

4.4.1.2 Ba'al and his manifestations

4.4.1.2.1. An outline of the divine character Ba'al

[721] Herbordt 2016: 102.
[722] For the visual representations of the storm god of Ḫalab (Aleppo) in the Old Hittite and Hittite Empire periods remaining consistent, see Herbordt 2016: 102–103.
[723] Bonatz 2007: 3.
[724] For the object and inscription, see Hawkins 2011: 39–40, fig. 3.
[725] Kohlmeyer 2009: 190–195.
[726] According to Schroer 2011: 404.

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Ba'al's name comes from the Northwest Semitic noun *ba'al* means "lord, owner". Although the name occurs as the proper name of particular deities, it was also used as a divine epithet and as an element of a territorial name (lord of the place, mountain, city). From the second half of the Second Millennium, the deity named Ba'al evolved from an epithet of the Mesopotamian storm god Hadad/Haddu, who already counted as a prominent deity in Syro-Palestine, and acquired his own unique identity in the Canaanite coastal lands.[727]

Ugaritic textual sources from the Second Millennium present the richest evidence for the cult of Ba'al (Ba'al of Ugarit). In the Ugaritic pantheon, Ba'al occupied a prominent multifunctional position among the gods. As a storm god, reflected in his literally descriptive epithet "the rider on the clouds", which appears in the myth of the "Palace of Ba'al",[728] he was responsible for the fertility of the soil and the changing of the seasons, and associated with vegetation and prosperity, without any dedicated consort. As a young and victorious god, he fought for kingship of the pantheon, and defeated both the Sea, with its primeval monsters, and Death, to whom several cosmogonic myths (the Ba'al Cycle and other related myths) are connected.[729]

As a consequence of his victorious and bellicose nature and his chthonic aspect, he was also endowed with a protective function based on his mythological acts. This function was manifested not only at the mythological level, but also when he was asked to intervene in critical human events: in a siege of Ugarit, for example, he was invoked in prayer and given offerings and sacrifices in exchange for driving away the enemy attacking the city ("O Baal drive away the mighty one from our gates, the warrior from our walls!").[730] The abundance of votive anchors found at his temple in Ugarit reflects the important position of the city in maritime trade, and Ba'al, the mythical conqueror of the Sea Monster Yam, was worshipped as the protective deity of seafarers.[731]

The storm god Ba'al of Mt. Ṣapuna (Ba'al-Zaphon), associated with Mount Zaphon (Ḫazzi, Zaphon, Cassius, modern Ǧebel el Aqra'), is representative of other traditions connected to the regional worship of Ba'al in particular places.[732]

[727] Schwemer 2008b: 8–9.
[728] For the epithet, see Gibson 2004: 50–51.
[729] For the related textual references to the Ugaritic mythological background related to the various aspects of Ba'al's character, see Herrmann 1999: 132–135.
[730] KTU 1.119:28-34, see Longman – Enns 2008: 598.
[731] Schwemer 2008b: 13.
[732] Niehr 1999: 152–154.

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His cult was found in important cities in the Late Bronze Age, such as Emar, in the vicinity of the Middle Euphrates,[733] where the storm god in his most important quality was worshipped under the different names of Hadad (Adad, Addu), Teshub and Ba'al, depending on the linguistic context of the region, and also associated with additional visual representations, that varied according to the different traditions.[734]

Ba'al was known in Egypt as early as the Middle Kingdom period, possibly under the name Hadad,[735] but through a process of adaptation he was syncretized with Seth (Ba'al-Seth)[736] and became worshipped in the New Kingdom.[737] The identification of the malevolent Egyptian god of ambivalence, who is simultaneously the god of foreign lands, with the Canaanite storm god under the name of Ba'al can be traced back to the Second Intermediate Period in Hyksos-ruled Egypt. Through this bi-directional syncretism, the positivization of Seth can be observed, by which – to paraphrase Niv Allon – the god was "set free" from the negative connotations and attributes of his original character.[738] The result of Seth's re-characterization was present at the royal level by the time of the 18th Dynasty, and it was at its strongest during the rule of the 19-20th Dynasties in the New Kingdom, which is also indicated *inter alia* in the appearance of his name as a theophoric element in the names of three pharaohs (Sethnakhtre, Sety I, and Sety II).[739]

From the 18th Dynasty, Ba'al was worshipped as "Ba'al of Peru-nefer", with a temple dedicated to him in the military harbour of Avaris in the Nile Delta.[740] His warrior aspect is reflected in the Astarte Papyrus, dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, which contains the Egyptian version of the myth of Ba'al and Yam, presenting Ba'al as the conqueror of chaos, who acquired the kingship of the gods and thus became the primal epitome of the victorious king in Egypt.[741] In addition to his combative nature, the Egyptian magical texts also refer to his association with fertility and vegetation, besides emphasizing his beneficent apotropaic aspect in warding off evil forces. The Leiden 345 Magical Papyrus, containing the text "Baal smites thee with the cedar tree which is in his hand", uses precisely the term smiting to express the process of keeping away harmful forces with a plant-weapon.[742]

[733] For more about Ba'al as the chief god in the pantheon of Emar, see Fleming, D. E. 1992.
[734] Schwemer 2001: 548–552.
[735] Bietak 1990: 15, Abb. 5.
[736] For the references to the identification, see Cornelius 1994: 134, footnote 1.
[737] For the references to the worship of Ba'al in Egypt, see Stadelmann 1967: 32–47.
[738] Allon 2007: 19–20.
[739] Velde 1967: 129–130.
[740] Habachi – Engel – Jánosi – Mlinar – Czerny 2001: 106–108.
[741] Schneider 2003: 160–161.
[742] Papyrus Leyden 345, recto, iv 12-v 2, see Pritchard 1969: 249.

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4.4.1.2.2. The smiting motif in the iconography of Ba'al

The fundamental difficulty in identifying objects depicting Ba'al is the lack of material sources which bear any inscription accompanied by the image of the deity represented in the Syro-Palestinian style. It should be noted here, however, that in the case of establishing the iconographic typology of a certain deity, the existence of an inscription seems fundamentally irrelevant. I would merely point out that if two (or more) deities share the same visual element(s) in their martial iconography, in the general absence of inscriptions, we have to rely solely on iconographic features when attempting an identification.

Moreover, based on certain iconographic attributes (e.g. gesture, stance, garment, headdress etc.), depictions that are possibly of Ba'al also show parallels with other male deities (Seth, Reshef), which makes it quite difficult to define a separate and specific iconographic profile for Ba'al.[743] The only exception to this is the Egyptianizing style Mami stela from Ugarit, which, according to the inscription, shows Ba'al-Zaphon.[744] Furthermore, the iconography of Ba'al is most identifiable in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, because based on textual sources related to the Second Millennium, Ba'al as an independent deity may have evolved from one of the epithets of the Syrian storm god Hadad, which means that, without any inscription, identifying visual representations of the Syrian storm god from previous periods is somewhat uncertain.[745]

The creation of an iconographic profile with a definition of the different phenotypes that classify the smiting representations of Ba'al, including the "menacing god", is based on the work of Izak Cornelius (1994),[746] followed by Edward Lipiński's critical work (1996), which deals with the iconography of the Egypto-Canaanite deities Reshef, Horon, Ba'al and Anat.[747]

Cornelius distinguishes between the theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations of Ba'al. Theriomorphic representations associated with Ba'al occur significantly less frequently than anthropomorphic representations. However, the depiction of the storm god in the form of a bull (or standing on the back on the bull, his attribute animal) dates back a long way in the traditions of ancient Near Eastern art,[748] which also raises the possibility that, in the Canaanite

[743] Lipiński 1996: 258–259.
[744] For the object (Louvre AO 13176), see Schaeffer 1931: 10–12, Pl. 6.
[745] Cornelius 2007: 1.
[746] For the iconographic phenotypes and the descriptive catalogue related to Ba'al, see Cornelius 1994: 134–235.
[747] Lipiński 1996: 254–262.
[748] Ornan 2001: 1–26.

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region, bull statuettes – such as those from the "Bull-Site" in Samaria[749] or the basalt statue[750] from Hazor temple H,[751] dated to Late Bronze Age Canaan – may have been associated with the Canaanite storm god, Ba'al.[752]

According to the revised typology on iconographic phenotypes of Ba'al in the IDD elaborated by Izak Cornelius, the smiting motif is represented as a separated phenotype within the anthropomorphic representations of the deity ("Brandishing a mace or sword"); within this phenotype there are three subcategories, all concerned with the weapon held in the deity's other hand (i.e. not the hand in smiting position): 1. Holding a spear; 2. Holding a tree; 3. Slaying a serpent.[753] Focusing only on the iconographic features of objects dated to the Late Bronze Age that can be identified with the smiting Ba'al, the cited objects are classified according to the motif-bearing media, and are published either textually (stelae and reliefs (Fig. 32, Fig. 96–98); one bronze statuette (Fig. 118) or in tabular form, depending on the quantity of objects in each group (see Table 1. Cylinder seals and plaques, Figs. 99–115; Table 2. Scarabs, Figs. 116–117).

In his catalogue Cornelius connects only two stelae with the smiting Ba'al, both from Ugarit, and no Egyptian representations of this phenotype are known. The first object (BR1) is the well-known Ugaritic *Ba'al au foudre* stela (Louvre AO 15775), dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 32). Based on its iconographic features it belongs to the subcategory "2. Holding a tree", and as already discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.2. The smiting motif in Syria, 3.2.2.2 Stelae), it served as a model to define the smiting iconography of Ba'al also in the Late Bronze Age. On the second stela, also from Ugarit (Aleppo National Museum),[754] with a rounded top forming an anchor, the smiting male god faces left and wears the *ḥḏt* crown, with an Asiatic beard, a collar necklace, and a striped belted kilt with border and tassels (Fig. 96). His right hand is holding a spear vertically on the ground, but he is smiting with his left, holding an unclear weapon (Cornelius sees no weapon, but the form of the object resembles a *ḫpš* sword), which clearly classifies the object into the first subcategory "1. Holding a spear". Cornelius identifies the deity possibly with Ba'al, but this is disputed by Lipiński, due to the fact that the other iconographic criteria cannot be applied to other Ugaritic stelae.[755] In my opinion, starting from the fact that the stela is shaped like an anchor, and that anchors are clearly associated with seafaring and therefore with Ba'al in Ugarit, where they appeared as votive offerings dedicated

[749] For the cult place and the object, see Mazar 1982: 27–42, figs. 2-3.
[750] For the object (IAA 95-1483/4., Israel Museum), see Beck 1989: 335–338, Pls. 324-325.
[751] For the identification of the object with the storm god with lunar associations, see Barnett – Keel 1998: 37.
[752] Cornelius 2007: 3.
[753] Cornelius 2007: 1–2.
[754] For the object and related references, see Cornelius 1994: 138–139, no. BR2
[755] Lipiński 1996: 259.

to the deity, it seems that Cornelius's identification is more likely. The two limestone rectangular stelae with rounded tops, RS 23.216 (Fig. 97) and RS 17.138 (Fig. 98) excavated from Late Bronze Age Ugarit[756] depict an advancing thick-bearded, barefoot figure facing right, who is wearing a short kilt (tasselled in RS 23.216, flapped in RS 17.138) with a belt and a conical headdress, which is more elaborated and decorated with horns in RS 17.138. The smiting right hand is empty in both cases, but clenched into a fist. In RS. 23.216 the left hand is holding a bow, while in RS 17.138 it is empty, although based on the position of the arm, the deity could have been holding a shield. The empty fist touches the boundary line delimiting the image field. The rectangular shield with rounded top is an important attribute of the iconography of the smiting Reshef.[757] Comparing the shape of the shield with the shape of the stela could lead to a false pictorial association: the shield is missing from the hand of the deity, but it is reflected in the form of a stela. Although the pointed beard, the short kilt, and the smiting position can be found in the martial iconography of both Reshef and Ba'al, these figures can be linked exclusively to Ba'al, based on the conical headdress (which is sometimes supplemented with horns) and the clear provenance and controlled excavation context.

The smiting storm god, as a popular theme in the Late Bronze Age glyptic art of Syria-Palestine, can be observed in the iconography of Ba'al and Ba'al-Seth, and is restricted to three object types: cylinder seals in the vast majority of cases, and plaquettes and scarabs sporadically. The identification of the smiting storm god depicted on the cylinder seals is fundamentally difficult and problematic because of the general lack of inscriptions bearing the name of the deity. The few exceptions are three cylinder seals depicting a smiting storm god with the inscription "*wardum ša (d)Addu* = servant of Addu".[758] In many cases, therefore, we have to rely solely on iconographic attributes to help to identify the actual storm god according to the related culture, but this is not an easy task. The smiting posture cannot be used as a starting point or an excluding factor, because Ba'al and Reshef, with different functions, both share this position in their iconography. The long curled hairlock hanging down the back, the bull, and the lightning fork, however, are general attributes of the storm god.[759]

Syro-Palestinian Late Bronze Age cylinder seals representing the smiting Ba'al should be iconographically distinguished from the smiting storm gods of the Anatolian (the Hurrian

[756] For the objects (Damaskus Nationalmuseum 3655, Field no. RS 32.216; Damaskus Nationalmuseum 4471, Field no. RS 17.138), see Schroer 2011: 348, no. 915 (RS 32.216) and no. 916 (RS 17.138)
[757] For the detailed discussion of the iconography of the smiting Reshef, see Chapter 4.4.2.2.
[758] For the objects, see Porada 1948a: nos. 964–965; Moortgat 1988: Pl. 62, no. 523.
[759] Green, A. W 2003: 155–156.

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Teshub) and Mesopotamian (Akkadian Adad, Addu) cultural spheres.[760] The name of Addu as a storm god was the Akkadian translation of Ba'al as a divine first name, which appears in the Hurro-Akkadian bilingual documents, the Ugaritic pantheon lists.[761] We should therefore consider, when attempting to identify the smiting figures on cylinder seals from the Late Bronze Age, that they might represent Ba'al or Addu. The curled hairlock and the short kilt are typical of Ba'al on Louvre AO 15775. The visual connection between the storm god and the bull had a long-standing tradition as a motif in the Anatolian iconography that was impacted by Akkadian and North-Syrian influences,[762] so, as discussed earlier, the bull also appears as a symbol of Ba'al. The lightning fork was an identifying weapon of the storm god, especially in Anatolia, with its different iconographic tradition, but nevertheless, not a single object is known that bears a positively identified figure of Ba'al holding a lightning fork as a weapon instead of his raised hand-weapon or raised fist alone.[763] In addition to (or instead of) these criteria, the iconographic motifs of "holding of the spear" and "holding of the plant-spear (holding a tree)" are specific to depictions of the smiting Ba'al on cylinder seals, while the "slaying the serpent" motif is not represented in this object type, but does feature on scarabs. The following table summarizes which of the objects included in Cornelius's descriptive catalogue on cylinder seals (1994) fall within the different subcategories, using his catalogue numbers.[764] Objects that cannot be classified into any of the subcategories (motifs) are included in the "Other element" rows, which indicate the iconographic element or combination of elements that could identify the smiting figure as Ba'al (see Table 1).

Iconographic motif or element	**Cornelius Cat. no. (Figure no.)**
1. Holding a spear	BM7 (Fig. 99), BM12 (Fig. 100), BM14 (Fig. 101)
2. Holding a tree (plant-spear)	BM1a (Fig. 102), BM3 (Fig. 103), BM5 (Fig. 35, Fig. 104), BM8 (Fig. 105), BM9 (Fig. 106), BM 15 (Fig. 107)
Other element: hairlock	BM1 (Fig. 108), BM2 (Fig. 109), BM10 (Fig. 110), BM11 (Fig. 111), BM13 (Fig. 112)
Other element: bull	BM6 (Fig. 113), BM16 (Fig. 114)
Other element: hairlock, bull	BM4 (Fig. 115)

Table 1. Cylinder seals and plaques. Representations of the smiting Ba'al according to subcategories.

[760] Cornelius 1994: 167.
[761] RS 20.24 and KTU 1.47 27, see Schaeffer – Nougayrol 1968: 44–45.
[762] Roboz 2019: 19–25.
[763] Cornelius 1994: 168–169.
[764] For the catalogue numbers of the cylinder seals and plaques with the related references of the objects ("The menacing god"), see Cornelius 1994: 169–178, nos. BM1a-BM14, BM16

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The identifying motif of "holding the plant-spear" appears more often than "holding the spear", but it seems clear that the iconographic element on cylinder seals that is most frequently associated with the smiting Ba'al is the curled hairlock.

Only two Egyptianizing style plaques, the Ward steatite plaque (Fig. 102) and the Farouk steatite plaque (Fig. 107)[765] represent the motif of "holding the plant-spear" in parallel scenes depicting the smiting Ba'al raising an unclear hand-weapon, wearing a tasselled (?) short kilt and an unclear headdress, facing to the right before a smaller figure in a short kilt, who may represent the pharaoh. The deity is holding a plant sceptre, which on the Farouk plaque more closely resembles a papyrus stem (*wadj*). The *nbw*-sign ("gold"), associated with the royal titulary of the Egyptian pharaoh (Golden Horus Name) symbolizing royal power,[766] serves as a pedestal for the standing figures.

The "Spearing the Enemy" motif typically appears in the iconography of Ba'al-Seth but only as an iconographic type of a distinct Egyptian-influenced Syro-Palestinian storm god, featuring in scenes depicting "Ba'al-Seth, the serpent/lion and monster slayer".[767] Seth was identified with Ba'al from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. The interaction process with the Syro-Palestinian storm god was also reflected in his iconography with the appearance of Canaanite elements: the horned conical headdress with attached streamers; the tasselled short kilt, as the typical garment of Shasu Bedouins,[768] indicating his Canaanite origins; and wings, as a symbol of protection.[769]

The "slaying a serpent" motif associated with the smiting posture is represented on two scarabs depicting Ba'al-Seth in winged and wingless form.[770] The following table presents the iconographic features of the objects which depict similar scenes, despite the inclusion of different visual elements (wings, headdress) (see Table 2).

	Rockefeller 36./572 (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem)	**BN 1034.4 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)**
Figure no.	Fig. 116	Fig. 117
Cornelius Cat. no.	BM77	BM84
Headdress	horned headdress with streamer	*ḥḏt* crown
Hairstyle, physical features	wingless	winged
Garment	short kilt	short kilt

[765] For the objects and related references, see Cornelius 1994: 169, no. BM1a (Ward plaque); 177, no. BM15 (Farouk plaque)
[766] The sign (Gardiner S12, "gold"), see Leprohon 2013: 15–17.
[767] On the descriptive catalogue about the objects with related references bearing the motif, see Cornelius 1994: 212–224, nos. BM74–BM87 (miniature art); 161–167, nos. BR17–19 (reliefs)
[768] Ward 1972: 38.
[769] Cornelius 2007: 2.
[770] For the objects BM77 and BM88, see Cornelius 1994: 214–215, no. BM77; 218, no. BM84

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Weapon	right: *ḫpš* sword, left: holding the serpent vertically by its neck	right: hand-weapon, left: holding the serpent vertically by its neck
Attribute	–	–
Stance, position of the legs	advancing left leg	advancing left leg
Enemy	horned serpent	horned serpent
Smiting position	right: smiting, facing right	right: smiting, facing right
Context of the scene	Ba'al-Seth the serpent slayer, sun disc behind the deity	Ba'al-Seth the serpent slayer
Style	Egypto-Canaanite	Egypto-Canaanite
Object type, and provenance	steatite scarab, found in Lachish Late Bronze chamber (locus 120)	greenstone facies conoid, purchased
Date (B.C.)	1300–900	11–10th century
Title, epithet	–	–
God	Ba'al-Seth	Ba'al-Seth

Table 2. Scarabs: The iconographic features of the smiting wingless Ba'al-Seth.

A large number of bronze statues depicting smiting male warriors[771] in standing posture have been unearthed from different geographical regions within and outside the Ancient Near East, including Syria-Palestine.[772] These objects, based solely on the smiting position, could be linked to both Reshef and Ba'al,[773] although it should be noted here that any clarification of the still unidentified bronze statuettes falls beyond the scope of the present study.

The problem of identification through the separation of objects clearly related to Reshef is further aggravated by the facts and similarities indicated by Cornelius: namely, that no bronze is known that bears an inscription with the name of Ba'al. They wear similar short kilts. There is an absence of the typical weapons related to Ba'al. They wear Egyptian-type crowns as headdresses with streamers, and sometimes have similar bull horns (considering Ba'al in itself a non-identifying factor).[774]

Despite the abundance of published bronze smiting god figurines, it is only in a negligible number of cases that Izak Cornelius identifies the sole possible candidates, based on the smiting position, as the Syro-Palestinian male gods (Reshef and Ba'al), a shortcoming that has been critically pointed out by Edward Lipiński.[775]

[771] For the male warrior bronze figurines classified by gender by Ora Negbi (Type III: "Male warriors in smiting pose"), see Negbi 1976, 29–41, nos. 1307–1429, figs. 42–51, Pls. 18–30.
[772] For the smiting armed male figurines grouped by geographical sites by Helga Seeden, see Seeden 1980: Pl. K, nos. 1652–1653, 1659, 1672 (Group IX: Byblos figurines of attacking warriors, males); Pl. L, nos. 1693–1694 (Group X: Ras Shamra figurines); Pl. O, nos. 1710, 1755, 1756, 1760 (Group XI: Figurines from other Near Eastern sites); Pl. P, no. 1808S (Group XII: Figurine of foreign provenance); Pls. 26–27, nos. 106–112 (Group IV: Orontes figurines); Pls. 94–96, nos. 1648–1680 (Group IX: Byblos figurines of attacking warriors), Pl. 97–98, nos. 1683, 1686–1706 (Group X: Ras Shamra figurines); Pls. 99–101, nos. 1707–1718, Pls. 104–105, nos. 1729–1737, Pls. 106–107, nos. 1741–1744, 1746, 1750–1758, Pls. 108–111, nos.1760–1764, 1767, 1770–1777, 1781, 1784–1789, 1791–1792 (Group XI: Figurines from other Near Eastern sites); Pls. 111–116, nos. 1794, 1796–1801, 1808S–1809, 1811–1824, 1828–1832 (Group XII: Figurines of foreign provenance).
[773] For the Levantine figurines of the Smiting God, see Collon 1972: 113–120, Nos. 1–36.
[774] Cornelius 1994: 229–231.
[775] Lipiński 1996: 258.

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Based on a comparison with the Ugaritic *Ba'al au foudre* stela, especially the armament of the deity, which was used as the primary criterion for identification in this case, Cornelius identifies only one object with Ba'al (H-1906, Reuben and Edith Hecht collection, University of Haifa) (Fig. 118).[776] The small bronze figure with green patina on its surface has been cautiously dated to the Second Millennium B.C., and it shows a long-bearded deity in a horned conical crown and a short pleated kilt, smiting with his weaponless right hand. The only preserved weapon is the dagger hanging from his belt, which is clearly the only clear iconographic element in the identification that securely relates the object with the prototype image of the stela.

4.4.2. Reshef

4.4.2.1. An outline of the divine character of Reshef

The name of the Canaanite deity worshipped in the Syro-Palestinian region in the Bronze and Iron Age first appeared among the names of gods on clay tablets from Ebla (modern Tell Mardikh) (Rašap) in the Third Millennium B.C., where he is mentioned as the god of the Canaanite cities of Atanni, Gunu, Tunip, and Sekhem.[777] Considered one of the chief deities of Ebla, the significance of Reshef is shown by the fact that, besides the temple dedicated to him in the city, one of the four city gates also bore his name. Although the names of the city gates are known (Dagan, Hadda, Rasap, Utu), it is uncertain which gate belonged to which deity.[778] The Eblaite mythological texts identify Reshef with Nergal, the chief god of the Mesopotamian underworld, which reinforces the chthonic and warrior features of Reshef's character. The Ebla 215 text describes the similarities between Nergal and Reshef, so further identification is based on the etymological comparison between Reshef with Nergal in the Eblaite texts.[779] The texts name Adamma as his consort, the goddess of fertility and fertile land with Hurrian origins, interpreted in Eblaite sources as *magna mater*.[780]

[776] For the object and the related references, see Cornelius 1994: 232–233, no. BB1
[777] For the epigraphic sources, see Münnich 2013: 48–56.
[778] Feliu 2003: 8.
[779] Münnich 2013: 58–64.
[780] On the etymological background of the relationship between Reshef and the Anatolian goddess Adamma, see Lipiński 2009: 51–64.

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In the Second Millennium, the name of Reshef appears as a theophoric element in personal names from the major cities of Ur III,[781] Mari, Terqa and Tuttul in the central Euphrates region.[782]

Beside Ba'al, Reshef (*Ršp*) also plays a prominent role in the Ugaritic pantheon in the Second Millennium, and his name is mentioned in a range of written sources, from religious texts through incantations to theophoric elements in personal names. The Ugaritic ritual texts often equate him with Nergal, and the possible etymological connection in the Akkadian texts is based on the bilingual Karatepe inscription (KAI 26)[783] dated to the 8th century B.C., which is based on the Hittite transcription rather than the Akkadian practice. The possible etymological connection is based on the relation of the ^{d}KAL logogram = ^{d}LAMMA = *lamassu* = Nubadig (an Anatolian protective deity) = Reshef (*ršp sprm*) in the Ugaritic Akkadian texts.[784]

Appearing in the Ugaritic literature as essentially an epidemic god and divine warrior, Reshef is described using a variety of adjectives in religious and administrative texts, which further sharpens the complex character of the deity and his cult, as reflected in his epithets (*ršp gn*, *ršp ḥṣ*, *ršp mlk*, *ršp ḥgb, ršp ṣb'i*).

The epithet *ršp gn (gú-nu/núm^{ki})* refers to the cult of the deity, and more narrowly to the name of a specific cultic place connected to the city (presumably with a special function), which already appears in Eblaite texts.[785]

The relationship between the epithet *ršp ḥṣ* and Reshef, which also appears in the inscription Karatepe (KAI 32:4), can be traced back to Kition in Cyprus. This is established on the basis of a Phoenician inscription dated 431 B.C., in which the Ugaritic Reshef (*ršp ḥṣ*, "Reshef of the Arrow", RS 19.13.5) was identified with Apollo (*interpretatio graeca*). Based on both meanings of *ḥṣ* (*ḥēṣ* = "arrow", *ḥūṣ* = "street"), it can be related to Apollo (and through this analogy to Reshef, as identified with him). The divine archer (Iliad I 43-87), who appears as the protector of the streets, Apollo also carries the well-known classical epithet of "The Apollo of the Street".[786] According to Ugaritic sources, the third meaning of *ḥṣ* (*ḥēṣ* = 'luck') raises the possibility that the arrowheads, bearing the Phoenician *ḥṣ* ('arrowhead') inscription from Phoenicia and Palestine, are utensils of belomancy, a popular magic-based prognostication technique in ancient Near Eastern cultures, which used arrowsheads as the tool of divination.[787]

[781] Xella 1999: 701.
[782] For the onomastics of personal names of Mari, Terqa and Tuttul, see Münnich 2013: 73–78.
[783] For the inscription, see Hawkins – Halet 1999: 122.
[784] Barré 1978: 465–467.
[785] Münnich 2013: 51–54.
[786] Lipiński 2009: 104–105.
[787] Iwry 1961: 27–34.

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The local presence of Reshef is indicated by the ephitet *ršp mlk* ("Mulukku Reshef", RS 24.249.B.7-8), which was mentioned among the rituals to be performed in the month of Ḫiyyar (April/May), with the presentation of a bull and a ram as animals of sacrifice for the deity.[788]

The epithet *ršp ḥgb* ("Reshef, the Gatekeeper", RS 19.13) appears in a text describing a sacrifice prescribed to the ruler in the offering ritual, which refers to the chthonic character of Reshef and indicates his role in the royal cult.[789]

The epithet *ršp ṣb'i* ("Reshef of the Army", RS 19.15) is mentioned in the list of ceremonies performed by the king of Ugarit, describing a ritual with the presentation of a sacrifice offered for peace.[790]

As a divine warrior, Reshef is also involved in cosmogonic struggles. The basic conflict in the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle, in which Ba'al defeats Yam, can also be regarded as a cosmogonic struggle, where Reshef fights on the side of Ba'al against primeval forces. The conflict can be seen as a mythological foreshadowing of the cosmogonic struggle reflected in the background of the biblical poem Habakkuk 3:5 in the Old Testament.[791]

During the First Millennium B.C. his popularity was widespread in the Phoenician world.[792] Traces of his cult can be found in Cyprus (*ršp mkl*), which served as a major cult centre, where Reshef was identified with Apollo.[793] Well-known in the Mediterranean, Reshef reached the western part of the Mediterranean Sea as far as the Iberian Peninsula, and then gradually lost popularity during the Punic period, although he survived until the Greek era.[794]

The intensive military expansion of the 18th Dynasty and the consequent economic and military agreements with the prominent state formations of the Late Bronze Age (Ugarit, Mitanni, Hittite Empire) increased Egypt's influence in the Canaanite region. This bi-directional process of cultural and economic relations also resulted in the import of various foreign deities and their cults, probably via Hyksos mediation, through which Reshef was introduced into Egypt.[795] The image of Reshef (*ršpw*) depicted with military attributes appeared during the reign of Amenhotep II, due to his conquest of Syria.[796]

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[788] Lipiński 2009: 90.
[789] Lipiński 2009: 100–103.
[790] Münnich 2013: 131–132.
[791] Day, J. 1979: 353–355.
[792] For the relationship between the seated god of the Syro-Palestinian city of Beth-Shean, *mkl* (Mekal, Mikal) represented in the Mekal stela and Reshef, see Levy 2018: 370–371.
[793] Dietrich 1978: 1–18.
[794] Ulanowski 2013: 157–163.
[795] Zivie-Coche 2011: 1–3.
[796] The Sphinx Stela from Giza from the early period of Amenhotep's reign (1425–1399 BC) presents Reshef depicted as a war god in the company of an another war goddess, Astarte related to horses and warfare, see Fulco 1976: 3, E3

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His militant character is represented in royal inscriptions, stelae and reliefs, and essentially he is related to war, chariots and horses,[797] all fundamental features of warfare in the royal narrative of New Kingdom Egypt.[798] Based on a similar character, Reshef was also syncretized with the falcon-headed Egyptian war god Montu. The result of syncretism is a figure on a chariot with an attached quiver, visible on a heavily damaged relief on the Northeast Wall of the *heḥ-sed* pavilion (G 235) of Amenhotep II in the temple complex of Amun in Karnak, which according to the inscription depicts the deity Montu-Reshef (*[m] nṯw-ršp*). An inscription from the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, reporting on the fifth year of his reign about his military success over the Libyans, mentions the names of Reshef and Montu in the same military context.[799]

Inscriptions on private stelae dedicated to the honour of the war god, meanwhile, refer to health, prosperity and prophylactic aspects, indicating a different function of Reshef and presenting him with another face, which contrasts with the martial character reflected in royal narratives. While the interpretation of his role was expanded with a new metaphorical aspect of warfare ("the fight against disease"), the iconographic model of the armed war god fighting the enemy remained unchanged.[800] In the Canaanite religion, the ambivalent properties of Reshef, originally linked to epidemics and diseases and, by association, to the sphere of the underworld, also endowed him with a protective and apotropaic function against diseases. In the Leiden Magical Papyrus, Reshef appears as a healing god against disease demons,[801] to which his main epithets also refer. According to Alan Schulman, the Egyptian stelae depicting the figure of Reshef are interpreted as a cult image and can be divided into four main groups based on the related epithets of the deity[802]:

1. "Reshef, who winds about"/"Reshef when he multiplies"[803]
2. "Reshef, who hears prayers"
3. "Reshef, who gives a happy life"
4. "Reshef, (lord) of the feathered missiles"

To emphasize his relation to fertility and prosperity, the Egyptian triad stelae show Reshef accompanied by the popular Canaanite fertility goddess, Qudshu, and the Egyptian ithyphallic

[797] Schulman 1977: 13–17
[798] Helck 1971: 485–487.
[799] Münnich 2013: 81, 94.
[800] Münnich 2009: 60–61.
[801] Stadelmann 1967: 73.
[802] Schulman 1981: 157–166.
[803] Cornelius accepted Wolfgang Helck's interpretation on the translation of the epitheton as "Reshef when he multiplies". For the related references on different translations and interpretations of the epitheton (*ršpw qȝb.f*), see Cornelius 1994: 33, footnote 2.

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Min.[804] Presumably due to his positive attributes, the number of pictorial representations of him that have survived on objects from Egypt far exceeds that of other Western Asiatic deities, showing that Reshef achieved a prominent status among the foreign deities in the Nile Valley. At present, there are a total of forty stelae bearing representations of Reshef originating from the Egyptian region in the New Kingdom period, while no parallels are known from Syro-Palestine. However, based on the presence of the shield, considered an identifying element, a small number of objects from Ugarit might represent Reshef.[805]

Judging from the large number of private stelae erected by common people[806] from the ethnically and religiously mixed nuclear society in the village of Deir el-Medina,[807] as well as amulets[808] bearing his name or image, the cult of the imported Canaanite god became highly popular, especially within the lower strata of Egyptian society, among a wide range of common people (artisans, soldiers and craftsmen). The tradition of his cult survived the decline of the New Kingdom and the Ramessides, and traces can be found in the Late Period as well as during the Greco-Roman Period, during reign of the Ptolemaids. The largest and best-known three-dimensional artwork is the limestone statue depicting the smiting Reshef wearing the White Crown (*ḥdt*) decorated with a gazelle's head on the forehead, a false beard, a short kilt, and a small shield, primarily dated to the reign of the 20th–24th Dynasty in the Late Period. The end of the weapon raised high in his right hand is missing, so identification is uncertain.[809]

4.4.2.2. The smiting motif in the iconography of Reshef

The literature on Reshef deals with the iconography of the deity[810] depicted in smiting posture as an independent phenotype ("menacing god"), [811] within which, following Izak Cornelius, in this study there are two subcategories based on the position of the body and legs:

[804] On the object group of the Egyptian triad stelae, see Schulman 1982: 81–91.
[805] Cornelius 2008d: 1–4.
[806] About twelve stelae erected by private individuals are bearing the name of Reshef were found in Deir el-Medina, see Münnich 2013: 93, footnote 90.
[807] Lesko1994: 67–69.
[808] For the "Fish Amulet", see Lipiński 2009: 174; For the amulets as a separate object type, and the cylinder seals, scarabs bearing the name of Reshef can also be functioned as amulets, see Cornelius 1994: 39, 108–109, 88–124.
[809] For the object (MMA 98.2.215, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and for the further Late Period and Ptolemaid depictions of Reshef, see Simpson 1951–1952: 186–187.
[810] The related literature on the iconography of Reshef, see Fulco 1976; Schulman 1977: 13–17; Schulman 1979: 69–84; Schulman 1981: 157–166; Schulman 1982: 81–91; Schulman 1984: 855–865; Schulman 1985: 89–106; Cornelius 1994: 8–12, 25–134, 246–259; Lipiński 1996: 254–262; Cornelius 1998: 167–177; Cornelius 2008d: 1–4; Lipiński 2009: 139–161, 163–217.
[811] Cornelius uses the term "menacing" instead of "smiting" in relation to the posture on his arguments declarated in Chapter 4.3.1.2., see Cornelius 2008d: 2.

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1. standing;

2. seated

Only anthropomorphic representations of Reshef are known for sure, and the emerging identifications with a lion or dog are uncertain.[812]

According to his general Egyptianizing iconography, Reshef is depicted wearing a short tasselled kilt as a sign of his Canaanite origin,[813] or a longer kilt. His primary headdress is the White Crown (*ḥḏt*) with a gazelle head, but he also occurs in the Red Crown (*deshret*), and the conical headdress. The Asiatic thick beard and the streamers attached to the headdress hanging on the back[814] are indicators of his foreign origin. The gazelle head appearing on the forehead of the headdress of Reshef, replacing the *uraeus*, may emphasize the apotropaic role of the deity and is generally associated with healing.[815] The gazelle also appears in Egyptian art as an animal associated with its natural habitat and symbolizing the desert.[816] In Egyptian cosmogony, the desert, symbolizing chaos (*isfet*) and filled with dangerous enemies, lay beyond the orderly world (*ma'at*) embodied by the Nile and inhabited by human civilization, and was often associated in Egyptian royal ideology with foreign peoples and forces.[817]

Reshef and Ba'al were both represented as smiting deities in the Late Bronze Age. When creating the iconographic profile of Reshef, the ascertainments previously noted in Ba'al's profile (see Chapter 4.4.1.2.2.) also apply to Reshef. In the absence of any inscription facilitating certain identification, the smiting position alone is not enough to identify this deity either, as the presence of his characteristic attributes is also required.

Reshef's most typical representation is as an armed god smiting with an offensive hand-weapon (a large axe, club, mace, knife, sword or spear).[818] This may be supplemented with further armaments: archery supplies, primarily as a quiver full of arrows; a bow, which can be regarded as a symbol of power,[819] especially on Middle Bronze Age cylinder seals;[820] or, on a few stelae from Ugarit,[821] a bow and shield,[822] emphasizing Reshef's martial character.

[812] Cornelius 2008d: 1.
[813] For the related reference to this ascertainment, see Ward 1972: 38 discussed in the Chapter 4.4.1.2.2.
[814] For the related reference to this ascertainment, see Chapter 4.4.1.2.2.
[815] Strandberg 2009: 190.
[816] Strandberg 2009: 24.
[817] O'Connor 2003: 155–185.
[818] Cornelius 1994: 252.
[819] For the related reference to this ascertainment, see footnote 281.
[820] Cornelius 1994: 90, figs. 22–23.
[821] Yon 1991: 309–312.
[822] Cornelius 1998: 171.

The inclusion of the shield among his weaponry reflects his defensive nature, emphasizing Reshef's protective functions.[823] Various types of shields can be distinguished in the representations, either held alone or together with a vertical spear, with or without a handle: 1. the rectangular Egyptian shield (with a rounded top, E); 2. the 8-shaped Hittite shield (H);[824] 3. the oval shield (O).[825] The shield can be depicted frontally, showing the rectangular (oblong) shield with a rounded top, or from the side, showing the curved top leaning inwards or outwards from the deity.

Although wings, as divine attributes, are also associated with protective functions, Reshef is never depicted in his iconography as winged, as Alan Schulman has demonstrated that all the related questionable images are linked to Ba'al (as Ba'al-Seth).[826]

The enigmatic attribute that accompanies only Reshef is an ancient Near Eastern type of stringed music instrument, the lute, with a small oval body and a long neck, often decorated with cords and tassels, and used in ritual and cultic ceremonies and everyday entertainment.[827]

The Egyptian symbols of protection surrounding Reshef that are usually found on stelae are: the sun-shade, the winged sun disc, the personified *ankh* with human arms holding the *ḫw*-fan,[828] and the lotus (on a pedestal, in a lily).[829] Regarding its location in the composition and the symbolic value of the plant, the lotus flower represented behind the deity with an open or closed cup can be also interpreted as an apotropaic element.[830]

Following Izak Cornelius's descriptive catalogue of objects dated to the Late Bronze Age representing the smiting Reshef (as a "menacing god"), there is no need here to repeat his descriptions of the objects and the corresponding literature references.[831] Depending on the quantity of the cited objects that focus only on their iconographic features, the objects are published in tabular form according to the classification of the motif-bearing media (see Table 1a. Stelae and reliefs: Smiting Reshef in standing position (Figs. 119–140.); Table1b. Stelae and reliefs: Smiting Reshef in seated position (Figs. 141–145.); Table 2. Cylinder seals (Figs. 146–151.); Table 3. Stamp seal, scarabs, pendant (Figs. 152–158.); Table 4. Bronzes (Figs. 161–163.) and textually (an ostracon (Fig.159), a plaque (Fig. 160).

[823] Cornelius 2008d: 2.
[824] For the Hittite 8-formed shield, see Yadin 1963: 13.
[825] For the types of the shields, see Lipiński 1996: 258.
[826] Schulman 1979: 69–84.
[827] Cornelius 1994: 55–56.
[828] For the short-handled *ḫw*-fan (Gardiner S37, "fan"), see Gardiner, A. H. 1957: 508.
[829] Cornelius 1994: 56.
[830] Schulman 1985: 94–95.
[831] Cornelius 1994: 25–134, nos. RR1-RR27 (reliefs), nos. RM1-RM15 (miniature art), nos. RB-RB3 (bronzes)

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The depictions of the smiting Reshef appear almost exclusively on Egyptian and Nubian stelae and reliefs dated to the Late Bronze Age. The votive stela from Tell el-Borg unearthed in 2006[832] contradicts Cornelius's earlier finding that no identification is attested outside Egypt and Nubia.[833] The stelae depicting the smiting Reshef can be divided into two subcategories based on the position of the legs: 1. standing (majority); 2. seated (minority). The characteristic features of the examined stelae, taken as an object group, is that Reshef usually appears alone and facing right, and there is no enemy involved in the smiting scene. The following tables (Table 1a, Table 1b) summarize the objects on which the deity can be safely identified as Reshef, according to inscriptions and his main iconographic features, using the catalogue numbers of Cornelius. If the inscription includes an epithet in addition to the name, the object can also be classified into the appropriate group defined by Alan Schulman.[834] The different shield types are marked with the previously mentioned capital letters.[835]

Cornelius Cat. no. Museum No.	Fig. no.	Headdress	Garment, physical features	Weapon	Attribute	Stance, position of legs	Smiting position	Context of the scene	Inscription/ epithet
RR1 Strasbourg 1398	Fig. 119	*ḥḏt* crown	short kilt	hand-weapon, quiver, shield (E)	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: hand-weapon, left: shield (E)	upper register: smiting before Ptah, lower register: offering scene	–
RR2 Hildesheim 1100	Fig. 120	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers, gazelle/ uraeus (?)	short kilt, collar, belt, beard	hand-weapon, shield (E) + spear	lute	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: hand-weapon, left: shield (E) + spear	offering stela	Reshef, the hearer of prayers
RR3 Leipzig 3619	Fig. 121	*ḥḏt* crown with streamer	short, tasselled kilt	mace-axe, shield (E) + spear	lute	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E) + spear	offering scene on a private stela	attested (identifies the owner and the offering)
RR4 Cairo JE 71816	Fig. 122	*ḥḏt* crown (partly visible)	short, tasselled kilt	hand-weapon (not visible), shield (E with inwards	–	facing left, advancing right (no visible feet)	smiting left: not visible, right: shield	offering scene	–

[832] Hoffmeier – Kitchen 2007: 127.
[833] Cornelius 1994: 50.
[834] For the reference, see Chapter 4.4.2.2.
[835] For the reference to the discussed shield types, see Chapter 4.4.2.2.

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				curved edges)					
RR5 Cairo JE 71815	Fig. 123	*ḥḏt* crown	short kilt, belt, pectoral/cylinder seal amulet	decorated shield (E with inwards curved edges)	–	facing left, advancing right, barefoot	smiting left: no weapon, right: shield	offering scene	attested (identifies the owner)
RR6 Zaqaziq 368	Fig. 124	? (not visible)	short kilt with tassel, belt	pommelled sword in belt	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	? (not visible)	offering scene	–
RR7 OIC 10569 Athribis	Fig. 125	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers, gazelle	short, tasselled kilt, collar, belt, beard, crossed chest bands	battle-axe, shield (E) + spear	lute (tasselled) fastened on the smiting right arm	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: battle-axe, left: shield (E) + spear	offering stela	Reshef, who winds about when he multiplies
RR8 UC 14401	Fig. 126	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers	short, tasselled kilt, collar, belt	hand-weapon, shield (E, outwards curved top) + spear	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot, on a pedestal	smiting right: hand-weapon, left: shield (E, outwards curved top) + spear	offering scene	name (Reshef)
RR9 Brussels E. 5294	Fig. 127	not visible	short, tasselled kilt, belt	part of a quiver, shield (E/O?) + spear	part of an unidentified object behind	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: not visible, left: shield (E/O?) + spear	?	–
RR10 UC 14400	Fig. 128	*ḥḏt* crown, uraeus	short kilt, collar, Egyptian beard, belt, ceremonial tail	pear-shaped mace, shield (E, curved inwards)	lute fixed to the belt	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: pear-shaped mace, left: shield (E, curved inwards)	offering scene, *ankh* and *nfr* behind	Reshef, who gives a good life
RR11 Aberdeen 1578	Fig. 129	*ḥḏt* crown	short flapped kilt, belt (?), ceremonial tail	mace-axe, shield (E)	sun-shade	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right, left: mace-axe shield (E)	offering scene	Reshef-Šulman[836]
RR12 Memphis 2792	Fig. 130	*pschent* crown with two streamers, gazelle	knee-length kilt, collar	hand-weapon, shield (E) + spear	lotus on dais/shrine	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: hand-weapon, left: shield	offering scene	name

[836] Due to his dual nature, Reshef associated with other Syro-Palestinian deities. Reshef-Šulman is an aspect of Reshef with protective and healing functions, see Stadelmann 1967, 59–60.

							(E) + spear		
RR13 Cairo JT 15/11/21/1 (JE 4658)	Fig. 131	*ḥḏt* crown	short kilt, collar, belt	hand-weapon, shield (E)	winged sun disc	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: hand-weapon, left: shield (E)	stela	–
RR14 Deir el-Medina 1	Fig. 132	*ḥḏt* crown	short kilt, collar, belt	mace-axe, shield (E) lifted up	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E)	offering scene	–
RR15 Leibovich coll.	Fig. 133	*ḥḏt* crown	short kilt, belt	mace-axe, shield (E) + spear	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot on a pedestal	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E) + spear	stela-amulet, offering scene	–
RR16 Deir el-Medina 2	Fig. 134	? with two streamers	short flapped kilt, belt	shield (E?) + spear	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: not visible, left: shield (E?) + spear	stela	–
RR17 BM 263	Fig. 135	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers, damaged symbol	short tasselled kilt, banded belt, Egyptian beard	mace-axe, shield (E) + spear, quiver with arrows on back	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E) + spear	offering scene	name
RR18 Wilkinson stela	Fig. 136	*ḥḏt* crown, gazelle	short flapped kilt, banded belt, Egyptian beard, collar with pectoral	mace-axe, shield (E) + spear, quiver with arrows on back	–	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E) + spear	offering stela	name
RR19 Berlin 14462 Turin 50067	Fig. 137	*ḥḏt* crown, gazelle	Egyptian beard (upper torso)	pear-shaped mace, shield (E) with metal disk + spear	lotus in lily	facing right, legs not visible	smiting right: pear-shaped mace, left: shield (E) with metal disk + spear	offering scene	Reshef, the hearer of prayers
RR20 Varielle coll.	Fig. 138	? with two streamers	short flapped kilt, collar, belt, chest band	weapons not visible, empty quiver on back	lute (tasselled) fastened on the smiting right arm	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right, left: weapons not visible	offering stela	attested (but identify the owner)
RR21	Fig. 139	*ḥḏt* crown with long	short flapped	mace-axe,	sun-shade	facing right,	smiting right:	offering scene	name

Cairo JE 70222		streamer hanging from the end, unclear symbol	kilt, banded belt, Egyptian beard, collar, corselet	shield (E, curved inwards)		advancing left, barefoot	mace-axe, left: shield (E, curved inwards)		
RR22 Compiègne	Fig. 140	*ḥḏt* crown	short flapped kilt, banded belt, Egyptian beard, collar	mace-axe, shield (E)	lotus	facing right, advancing left, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E)	offering scene	–

Table 1a. Stelae and reliefs: Smiting Reshef in standing position.

The sword, which is more characteristic in Ba'al's arsenal, appears among the weapons of Reshef in a single case (Zaqaziq 368), and here the only identifying factor is the clear origin that links the object to Reshef. The green faience stela excavated in Zaqaziq can be compared with Cairo JE 71816 and Cairo JE 71815, also from Zaqaziq, which may indicate that the stela bears the image of Reshef.[837] The Athribis stela (OIC 10569) is considered a highly crafted, classic prototype of the votive stelae related to Reshef. The chest bands that are visible on the upper body of the deity were commonly used by warriors to fasten the kilt or to attach weapons to, which further emphasizes his bellicose nature.[838] The shield type appearing on all of the standing smiting stelae is the Egyptian rectangular shield with a rounded top, represented in frontal and side vertical views; the shield is raised only in Deir el-Medina 1. The curved top of the shield seen from the side on UC 14401 unusually leans outwards from the deity. The unidentified object on Brussels E. 5294 does not resemble any of the attributes discussed.

Alan Schulman previously referred to a slender tail-like object[839] on this fragmentary stela, but there are other speculations about this object.[840] The ceremonial bull's tail, the iconic attribute of the pharaoh that features in canonical Egyptian smiting scenes, appears on Reshef's garment on UC 14400 and Aberdeen 1578. Reshef is wearing a pectoral on the Wilkinson stela and perhaps also on Cairo JE 71815 (pectoral or cylinder seal as pendant), which is also found in the royal jewellery of the pharaoh. Interestingly, on Strasbourg 1398, the Egyptianized foreign deity performs the smiting act before the Egyptian creation god, Ptah, who is depicted in mummified form. The rendering of the scene can be compared with the Nahr el-Kalb *in situ* commemorative stela from Lebanon, dated to the reign of Ramesses II, depicting him smiting

[837] For Schulman's arguments with the identification, see Schulman 1984: 855–865.
[838] Cornelius 1994: 32.
[839] Schulman 1985: 93
[840] For other suggestions, see Cornelius 1994: 35, footnote 3.

the enemy before Ptah standing in his shrine in mummified form.[841] Cairo JT 15/11/21/1 (JE 4658) is the only example of Reshef being depicted beneath the protective Egyptian symbol of the winged sun disc.

Cornelius Cat. no. Museum No.	Fig. no.	Headdress	Garment, physical features	Weapon	Attribute	Stance, position of legs	Smiting position	Context of the scene	Inscription/ epithet
RR23 Cambridge EGA 3002.1943	Fig. 141	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers	short kilt, belt, Egyptian beard (?)	pear-shaped mace, shield (E)	personified ankh with human arms holding the *ḫw*-fan	facing right, seated on *ḥwt*-throne, barefoot	smiting right: pear-shaped mace, left: shield (E)	upper register: seated Reshef, offering table, lower register: worshipping scene	Reshef, that he may give life
RR24 Avignon A16	Fig. 142	*ḥḏt* crown with two streamers, gazelle	short kilt, belt, collar, Egyptian beard (?), frontal ceremonial tail	mace-axe, shield (E) with metal disk	personified ankh with human arms holding the *ḫw*-fan	facing right, seated on *ḥwt*-throne, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E) with metal disk	upper register: seated Reshef offering scene, lower register: worshipping scene	name
RR25 Deir el-Medina 3	Fig. 143	not visible	upper body not visible, short kilt	shield (E) + spear	-	facing right, seated on *ḥwt*-throne, barefoot	smiting right: not visible, left: shield (E) + spear	offering scene	attested (identifies the owner)
RR26 BM 264	Fig. 144	not visible	only legs visible	shield (E) + spear	-	facing right, seated on *ḥwt*-throne, barefoot	smiting right: not visible, left: shield (E) + spear	upper register: offering scene, lower register: kneeling worshipper	Reshef, may he give life
RR27 Tushka rock relief	Fig. 145	*ḥḏt* crown	long garment, Egyptian beard	mace-axe, shield (E)	-	facing left, seated on *ḥwt*-throne, barefoot	smiting right: mace-axe, left: shield (E)	procession scene, wall-relief in Tushka/ Gebel Agg rock shrine	name

Table1b. Stelae and reliefs: Smiting Reshef in seated position.

[841] For the object, see Weissback 1922: 17–19, fig. 4.

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The majority of the figures of the smiting Reshef in seated position face to the left and are represented with consistent iconographic attributes. The epithet attested in the inscriptions appearing in the present iconographic context highlights Reshef's life-giving function and his association with prosperity and health. The traditional square, short-backed block-throne (*ḥwt*-throne) with a *ḥwt* (house) design existed in Old Kingdom art as a typical seat for deities in sacred and religious contexts.[842] The enigmatic attribute of the personified *ankh* with human arms holding the *ḫw*-fan is unique to the seated subcategory and can be compared with the personified *ankh*s holding fans behind the smiting pharaoh in a pectoral of Amenemhet III, dated to the Middle Kingdom, but this type of fan is different from the the *ḫw*-fan.[843]

The depictions of the rock-shrine at Gebel Agg (Tushka) at the Nubian frontier may reflect the religious and cultic beliefs of the mixed-ethnicity elite during the reign of Senwosret III in the Middle Kingdom.[844] The Tushka wall-relief depicts a procession scene of Nubian offering-bearers appearing before a group of deities in the order of Horus of Miam, the deified Senwosret III and finally Reshef, seated in their thrones. The long garment can be compared with the image of Reshef in the Tell el-Borg stela from the Sinai,[845] but is more characteristic of the attire of Anat or Astarte, although the beard clearly indicates that this is a male god. The smiting position is a typical indicator of Reshef's martial aspect, which is clearly consistent with the proper image of a foreign war deity, represented in the Egyptian cultic context by an Egyptian (or Nubian) artist. The third worshipper is bearing a gazelle, the typical animal symbolizing the desert region, as a sacrifice.[846]

	Amarna cylinder seal	**Louvre AO 22361**	**Louvre AO 22362**	**Rockefeller J. 951**	**Rockefeller 34.34123**	**Berlin 15394**
Figure no.	Fig. 146	Fig. 147	Fig. 148	Fig. 149	Fig. 150	Fig. 151
Cornelius Cat. no.	RM1	RM2	RM3	RM4	RM5	RM6
Headdress	*ḥḏt* crown (?)	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown	conical	conical	*ḥḏt* crown
Hairstyle, physical features	–	–	–	–	–	–
Garment	knee-length kilt	short pleated kilt	short pleated kilt, belt (?)	short kilt	short kilt	knee-length kilt
Weapon	right: hand, left: shield (E?	right: mace, left: shield	left: mace, right: shield	right: hand-weapon, left: shield	right: mace-axe, left: shield	right: hand-weapon, left:

[842] Kuhlmann 2011: 3.
[843] For the object, the pectoral of Amenemhet III (CG 52003, The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), see Grajetzki 2014: 88–89, fig. 69.
[844] Török 2008: 213.
[845] The stela is discussed in 4.3.2.2. Table 1. For the related reference to the object, see footnote 700.
[846] Cornelius can not see direct connection with Reshef and the sacrifice animal, which refers much more to the surroundings of the desert sanctuary, see Cornelius 1994: 49.

	curved inwards?) (impression)	(E+curved inwards) (impression)	(E+curved inwards) (impression)	(E+curved inwards) (impression)	(E+curved inwards), quiver on the back (?) (impression)	shield (E) + spear (impression)
Attribute	–	–	–	–	–	–
Stance, position of the legs	standing, facing right, advancing left (impression)	standing, facing right), advancing left (impression)	standing, facing left, advancing right (impression)	standing, facing right , striding left (impression)	standing, facing right, advancing left (impression)	standing, facing right, advancing left (impression)
Enemy	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smiting position	right: hand (impression)	right: mace (impression)	left: mace (impression)	right: hand-weapon (impression)	right: mace-axe (impression)	right: hand-weapon (impression)
Context of the scene	hovering bird, rampant horned animal (caprid?), part of a tree before the god (impression)	praising human standing between Reshef and Seth (impression)	procession scene from the left (impression): Reshef, Seth, Re-Harakhty	contest scene, flanking rampant lions showing their back (impression)	image field (impression) right: Reshef, plant before, left: stylized tree	duplex images repeated: ibex behind the deity, caprid behind the deity, sun disc between the figure (impression)
Style	West-Semitic	Egyptian-Syro-Palestinian (?)	Egyptian-Syro-Palestinian (?)	Syro-Palestinian	popular Mitannian	?
Object type, and provenance	cylinder seal, from El-Amarna	blue cobalt royal cylinder seal, from Sidon?	blue cobalt royal cylinder seal, from Sidon?	glazed steatite cylinder seal, from Beth-Shean VII	dark brown faience cylinder seal, excavated in Lachish Temple III (shrine of Amenhotep II)	glazed stone cylinder seal, unknown provenance
Date (B.C)	ca. 1365–1350	14–13th century	14–13th century	15–12th century	ca. 1300–1220	ca. 1500–1300
Inscription	–	Addumu, king of Sidon (Middle-Babylonian cuneiform)	Annipi, son of Addumu, king of Sidon (Middle-Babylonian cuneiform)	–	–	–
God	Reshef/Nergal	Reshef (on the left)	Reshef (on the left)	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef

Table 2. Cylinder seals: Characteristics of representations of the smiting Reshef.

Although the conical headdress appears beside the Egyptian White Crown, the figure of Reshef is usually depicted according to his Egyptian iconography in the object group of cylinder seals from outside Egypt, and can be identified by his smiting position and his typical attribute, the shield. Louvre AO 22361 and Louvre AO 22362 can be compared to each other based on stylistic similarities. Both objects reflect an artistic tradition different from the one in Egypt, although the iconography of the deities is clearly Egyptian. The objects may have originated from Sidon, one of the major port cities in the coastal region of Syria. The human figure wearing a short wig is perhaps the king of Sidon, referred to in the cuneiform inscription on Louvre AO 22361, which can be considered a royal cylinder seal. He stands between the Syro-Palestinian

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Reshef and the Egyptian god Seth,[847] who are both related to warfare, facing the latter and expressing his respect for him with a praising hand gesture. According the inscription on Louvre AO 22362, the owner of this seal was Annipi, son of the Sidonian king Addumu, known from Louvre AO 22361. The inclusion of Reshef and Seth on both cylinder seals related to the royal family may indicate that the local ruling dynasty of Sidon maintained a close connection with the cults of both gods, while adopting their Egyptian iconography.[848] The figure in cylinder seal Rockefeller J. 951 is uniquely striding with his foot off the ground. He raises his shield (represented in side view) up from the vertical position, which contrasts with the shield on the Deir el-Medina 1 stela (represented in frontal view).

The earliest depiction of the smiting Reshef, identified by the smiting position, the Egyptian White Crown, the short kilt and the shield, is known from the image engraved on a steatite scarab (SK 1999.17) dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIB, but the deity rarely appears in the art of this period.[849] The closest parallels to the object are the Late Bronze Age scarabs, summarized in Table 3, supplemented by other object types of glyptic art (see Table 3. Stamp seal, scarabs, pendant).

	Israel Museum IAA 74-219	**YMCA 287B Clarke coll.**	**Strasbourg 1477**	**Rockefeller 32.2672**	**Ashmolean 1890.119a**	**UC 38064**	**Minet el-Beida pendant**
Figure no.	Fig. 152	Fig. 153	Fig. 154	Fig. 155	Fig. 156	Fig. 157	Fig. 158
Cornelius Cat. no.	RM7	RM8	RM9	RM10	RM11	RM12	RM13
Headdress	conical	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown	*ḥḏt* crown with *uraeus*
Hairstyle, physical features	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Garment	short kilt	knee-length kilt, chest band	knee-length kilt	short striped kilt	knee-length kilt	short kilt	knee-length kilt, belt, ceremonial tail
Weapon	left: hand-weapon, right: shield (E, curved inwards)	right: *ḫpš* sword?, left: shield (E, curved outwards), quiver (plant?)	right: mace, left: shield (E, curved inwards), quiver	right: short hand-weapon, left: shield (E, curved inwards)	right: hand-weapon, left: shield (E, curved outwards)	right: hand, left: (E, curved inwards)	right: hand, left: shield (E)
Attribute	–	–	–	–	unidentified object behind	–	–

[847] Reshef and Seth appeared together as parts of a triad with Amun on the Aswan 16 sandstone stela (Aswan 16, Aswan Museum, Egypt), from the Ramesside Period, see Schulman 1979: no. 15.
[848] Markoe 1990: 18.
[849] For the object (SK 1999.17, Sammlung Keel, Fribourg, Schweiz) and related references, see Schroer 2008: 284, no. 524.

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Stance, position of the legs	standing, facing left, advancing right	standing, facing right, advancing left	standing, facing right, advancing left	standing, facing right, advancing left	standing, facing right, advancing left	standing, facing right, advancing left	standing, facing right, advancing left
Enemy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smiting position	left: hand-weapon	right: *ḫpš* sword?	right: mace	right: short hand-weapon	right: hand-weapon	right: hand	right: hand
Context of the scene	tomb offering	scarab, *ankh* and *uraeus* before	scarab	scarab, *nfr,* branch, *uraeus*	scarab	scarab, two flanking *uraei* (one with sun disc on the head) on *nb*s, sun disc in a barque/crescent	ankh behind, uraeus before, standing on *nbw*
Style	Syro-Palestinian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian	Egyptian
Object type, and provenance	serpentine stamp seal, excavated in Gezer	steatite scarab, from Palestine	green-glazed scarab, unknown provenance	grey steatite scarab, purchased	dark-green jasper scarab, bought from Beirut	green-blue glazed scarab, unknown provenance	blue-paste oval pendant, from Minet el-Beida, Aleppo?
Date (B.C.)	15–14th century	15–13th century (?)	18–13th century (?)	15–14th century	13–12th century	15th century	14–13th century
Title, epithet	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
God	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef

Table 3. Stamp seal, scarabs, pendant: Characteristics of representations of the smiting Reshef.

All the objects show standing representations of the smiting Reshef, and to the best of my knowledge, the seated subcategory of the smiting phenotype is not attested in glyptic art. Two scarabs provide examples of the shield unusually leaning outwards, in YMCA 287B and Ashmolean 1890.119, as compared with the UC 14401 stela. The presence of the warrior chest band makes it more likely that the object behind the figure is a quiver rather than a plant, because it is attached to the deity's back in YMCA 287B, and the plant is never attached to the deity's back on stelae. Scarabs Rockefeller 32.2672 and UC 38064 and the pendant Minet el-Beida feature the Egyptian symbols of protection, the *ankh* and the *uraeus*, which often feature on scarabs associated with deities. Additionally, in Rockefeller 32.2672 the *nfr* and *uraeus* may be combined together (*nṯr nfr*), which can be read as "good god", serving as an epithet to Reshef.[850] The branch is the attribute of the smiting storm god on Middle Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian scarabs,[851] but the shield clearly shows that the deity depicted here is Reshef. On scarab Ashmolean 1890.119a, the unidentified vertical object with a short junction on the upper part has no parallels with any objects depicting Reshef. On scarab UC 38064, the special type of shield depicted from the side, showing the separate rounded top curving inwards towards the

[850] Following to Leibovich's observation, see Cornelius 1994: 96, footnote 3.
[851] For the objects with related references discussed, see Chapter 3.2.3.1. (Stamp seals).

deity, is the same as that represented on Zaqaziq stelae (Cairo JE 71816, Cairo JE 71815). The scarab presents a variety of Egyptian symbols associated with royal power, consisting of protective *uraei* standing on *nb* pedestals flanking the deity, and supplemented by the sun disc. On the Minet el-Beida pendant, the ceremonial tail uniquely appears on Reshef's garment in glyptic, while the *nbw* sign served as royal insignia.[852]

The ostracon Cairo CG 25063, recovered from royal tomb KV9 (Ramesses V, Ramesses VI) in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes and dated to the 20th Dynasty, shows the smiting Reshef in standing position, identified by the Egyptian shield held together with a spear, seen in frontal view and showing the handle of the shield (Fig. 159).[853] Although the smiting weapon and the lower part are not visible, based on the Egyptian style of the image, the dating of the object, the object type and the smiting position, it can be compared to the ostracon depicting the smiting equestrian Astarte, also from the Ramesside Period (Berlin 21826) (Fig. 84).[854]

The blue-glazed Müller plaque (Fig. 160),[855] of unknown provenance and location, depicts the Egyptian-style smiting Reshef in standing position, and the view of the Egyptian-type shield and spear, held together in his left, is similar to that on the ostracon Cairo CG 25063.

In relation to bronze statuettes, without repeating the arguments discussed earlier, it remains valid that, based on the smiting position alone, bronzes depicting a smiting god can be associated with both Ba'al and Reshef, so precise identification is highly speculative in the absence of inscriptions, special attributes, or weapons.[856] Accepting the methodological arguments of Izak Cornelius concerning the object type examined here, only three bronze figures dated to the Late Bronze Age are identified with Reshef in Cornelius's catalogue (see Table 4).[857]

	Rockefeller 1078	**OIC A. 18331**	**REH-149**
Figure no.	Fig. 161	Fig. 16	Fig. 163
Cornelius Cat. no.	RB1	RB2	RB3
Headdress	conical	feathered, conical (*atef*?)	conical
Hairstyle, physical features	beardless	beardless	beardless
Garment	short kilt	short kilt, chest bands	short, flapped kilt
Weapon	right: hand-weapon (sword?), left: shield (rectangular)	right: club-like weapon, left: shield (H)	right: club, left: shield (O)

[852] For the references to the *nbw* sign ("gold") as royal insignia, see Chapter 4.4.1.2.2.
[853] For the object and the related references, see Cornelius 1994: 98–99, no. RM14
[854] For the object and related references, see footnote 709.
[855] The present location and provenance of the flat-design plaque are unknown. No traces about the object could be in the collection of the Cairo Egyptian Museum despite that Alan Schulman formerly added the inventory number Cairo JE 2630, see Cornelius 1994: 99, no. RM15
[856] For the arguments previously discussed at the smiting Ba'al with related footnotes, see Chapter 4.4.1.2.2.
[857] For the earlier literature on the bronze statuettes related to the smiting god, the principles of restriction and inclusion of objects with related references in the catalogue, see Cornelius 1994: 125–131, nos. RB1–RB3.

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Attribute	–	–	–
Stance, position of the legs	standing, advancing left, barefoot	standing, advancing left, barefoot	standing, advancing left, barefoot
Enemy	–	–	–
Smiting position	right: hand-weapon (sword?)	right: club-like weapon	right: club
Context of the scene	votive offering, applied, on a pedestal/part of an object	votive offering, applied, on a pedestal/part of an object	votive offering, applied, on a pedestal/part of an object
Style	Syro-Palestinian	Egyptian-Syro-Palestinian	Syro-Palestinian
Object type, and provenance	bronze figurine, from Megiddo (Tomb 4), pegs on feet	bronze figurine, found in Megiddo (sanctuary BB, S=2050), pegs on feet	bronze figurine, from Sebaste (Samaria), pegs on feet
Date (B.C.)	1350–1150	1050–1000	13–12th century
Title, epithet	–	–	–
God	Reshef	Reshef	Reshef

Table 4. Bronzes: Characteristics of representations of the smiting Reshef.

Objects of three-dimensional media depicting Reshef represent only the smiting phenotype emphasizing his warrior aspect, and depictions of other phenotypes (standing, equestrian, standing on an animal) are not currently known in this type of media dated to the Late Bronze Age.[858] Similarly to the other object types discussed, the primary attribute used for identifying Reshef is the attesting shield as the part of his armament, which unambiguously distinguishes his smiting representations from those of Ba'al. The pegs on the feet served to attach the object to a pedestal or stand, or to connect it as part of another object.[859] Examples of the 8-shaped Hittite type (OIC A. 18331) and oval type (REH-149) of shield are represented exclusively on bronze objects, while the rectangular shield without the rounded top, known as the Egyptian-type shield, uniquely appears on Rockefeller 1078. On OIC A. 18331 the chest bands are represented as a part of the warrior's attire, but the downward-facing position of the 8-shaped Hittite shield is unusual, as the figure is not holding it not protectively in front of him.

[858] Cornelius 1994: 133.
[859] For the characteristic feature appearing on bronze objects served as placing of the object, see Weippert 1988: 311.

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Chapter 5 – Summary and concluding remarks

As the subject motif of the present study, the "smiting posture" is one of the most specific iconographic elements of Ancient Near Eastern art. The classical form of the position, depicting the raised arm of the figure holding a weapon, together with one leg placed forward, can be interpreted as a dynamic movement that defines aggressive behaviour, which thus illustrates the smiting person's power over his enemy.

Through this fragment of Egyptian cultural heritage, the transmitted message – which, in the visual language, meant "triumph" and "victory" – was commonly articulated to recall the former act of subjugating the enemy in order to establish and defend the realm (secular level). Showing the offensive face of kingship simultaneously had transcendental significance, namely to prove the charismatic ability of the pharaoh (king) to maintain world order (*ma'at*) against chaos (*isfet*) with the assistance of the gods (cosmic level).

Despite its origins in Egyptian Pharaonic art, the motif spread in the Middle Bronze Age IA as a result of trading, diplomatic and cultural connections. The (probably) earliest appearance of the smiting motif in the Ancient Near Eastern iconography outside the borders of *kmt* can be detected on a glyptic from Anatolia, which features the smiting storm god and the bull in a cultic context, in the Anatolian group of Kültepe II seal impressions from the Old Assyrian merchant colony of *karum* Kanesh.

The motif occurs in cultic and royal contexts on cylinder seals from the Old Syrian Period I and in the Syro-Cappadocian glyptic, probably due to Anatolian artistic influences. Parallel pictorial evidence datable to the mid-19th Century B.C. from the Old Babylonian Period has been identified from Sippar in Mesopotamia, where the motif may have arrived through the mediation of Old Syrian and Anatolian glyptics, rather than directly via Egyptian influences. The occurrence in Mesopotamian art of divine entities, such as the smiting god (storm god, or the deified ruler represented as a storm god) and the lion-demon, also illustrates the prevalence of intercultural exchange. Representations of the storm god and the ruler (the Egyptian pharaoh, or the local ruler) adopting the smiting posture in the classical Old Syrian glyptic demonstrate a vast repertoire of visual elements that incorporated a mix of artistic influences from the neighbouring cultures of Egypt, Syria, Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

The Late Bronze Age is regarded as the zenith of the smiting motif, both in Egypt and in Syria-Palestine, and the motif seems to take on new characteristics in the art of the surrounding cultures outside Egypt. Due to increasing Egyptian influence, a large number – and both genders

– of Syro-Palestinian deities appeared as candidates for being shown in the smiting position, which emphasizes the martial aspect of their divine character (Anat, Astarte, Ba'al, Reshef).

The smiting scene in the iconography of the Egyptian pharaoh can be interpreted as serving a propagandistic function in Pharaonic art. The Egyptian pharaoh was revered as a divine descendant, who, as the main actor adopting this posture, is frequently surrounded by protective symbols, as he performs the smiting act, aided by Egyptian deities, as the final execution of the visible enemy figure(s). The smiting motif can be understood as a visual representation of the role of the Egyptian pharaoh as the perfect ruler, at both secular and cosmic levels, symbolizing his power and authority, and also his ability to ensure cosmogonic equilibrium, thus guaranteeing the prosperity of his realm.

The application of the power of the Egyptian pharaoh is bidirectional: he appears as both an offensive warrior showing his martial aspect, and as a defensive protector fulfilling his duties. According to the original mythological background and related beliefs, this dual direction of the use of power can also be observed in the roles of the smiting Syro-Palestinian deities, which were preserved even after their incorporation into the pantheon of the Egyptian New Kingdom, namely their associations with war, or protection, healing, and prosperity.

The divine character of the storm god in Ancient Near Eastern pantheons can similarly be defined as the guarantor of cosmic balance, ensuring the prosperity of the land by regulating the meteorological phenomena (storms and rainfalls), and keeping chaos away from the organized cosmos of the human world by supporting the processes of vegetation and fertility. If cosmic equilibrium were upset, the ensuing unpredictable consequences would disrupt the cycle of the world. Losing control over meteorological phenomena could trigger a chain reaction and cause damage that could have a major impact on human populations.

The female deities who assume this position (Anat, Astarte) are not actually storm gods, but they are associated with warfare. In addition, they are connected to the storm god through various relationships and they take part in the cosmogonic battle, so their simultaneously warlike and protective nature is reflected when they are shown adopting the smiting motif, as a visual symbol of triumph and power in their martial iconography.

Based on his function as a god of epidemics, the Syro-Palestinian god Reshef originally exercised control over plagues and diseases, but thus he also had the power to destroy the organized cosmos of the human world. His dual ability may be reflected in his Egyptian image of a smiting god before the offering table, equipped not only with an offensive weapon, but also with a shield for protection, associated with prosperity and healing.

The disappearance of the visible enemy from smiting scenes may also indicate the process by which the symbolism of the raised arm or fist itself assumed apotropaic connotations. This makes the motif a more complex symbol of power, even without the visual representation of the enemy in the iconography of Syro-Palestinian deities.

On the first comparison stage (motif): the Egyptian smiting motif is the essential element in the visual expression of the political ideology of rulership with a transcendental aspect. The gods also take part in the scene, but they are not the ones who fight; rather the king acts with the power bestowed by them to restore order in his realm at both secular and cosmic levels. The gods only assist, but through their assistance they provide the strength, the weapon, the protection and the support to the king during the act of overcomimg the forces of chaos.

Outside Egypt, some essential changes occur in the context of the smiting scene, which, after leaving certain original canonical elements out of the composition, is distilled to the smiting gesture itself, as the symbol encapsulating the entire meaning of the original scene. Without the general elements of the original Egyptian smiting scene, the depiction of the weapon and the enemy, the smiting gesture can probably be interpreted as an artistic expression of triumph and menace, influenced by the scene in which it is applied; the application of the gesture itself is primarily meant to express its original meaning in an abbreviated form, with apotropaic connotations.

On the second comparison stage (actor): outside Egypt, the central figure of the scene is no longer primarily the ruler, who uses the smiting motif to express power visually and fights to restore the secular and cosmic order, but one of the warrior deities (e.g., Anat, Astarte, Baal, Reshef), who have a cosmogonic role based on their mythology. Compared to the Egyptian pharaoh, in order to prove their power and ability to perform this duty, there is no need to display a human enemy or even a weapon in the scene, but nevertheless the protective presence of the transcendent sphere is represented by the smiting deity itself. A probable explanation for the appearance of the smiting motif in the divine iconography may be intertwined with the omission of the human enemy and the weapon from the scene.

Compared to the general depiction of the triumphant Egyptian pharaoh, it can be concluded that ancient Near Eastern rulers did not really welcome the classical smiting gesture in their victorious iconography. Accordingly, in representations of the final act of defeating or killing the enemy, the ruler is rarely depicted with a weapon held with his upraised arm in the smiting position, but more frequently stabbing with a lance or dagger.

The textual imprint of the ideological background and the concept related to the visual representation of smiting are clearly reflected in the Bible as well. The smiting motif appeared

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in the Old Testament and was obviously linked to the divine sphere, especially in connection with the warrior image of YHWH defeating his enemies.[860] Interestingly, besides his warrior nature, YHWH may also bear the characteristics of the storm god (especially his theophany in the storm, Ps:18), and in first phase of the formation of his divine character, he was assimilated with the figure of El (the warrior king of the gods) and Ba'al (fertility, agriculture) in the 12th century B.C.[861]According to the relevant passages, it can be determinated that it is not the king, but the god who is the smiting actor, which might be consistent with the outer Egyptian iconographic context of the motif generally represented in the divine iconography. The elements referred to in the description of the act in the Book of Psalms (Ps 110:5, 6a; Ps 68:21; Ps 21:8)[862] – such as the hair-grasping, the right hand serving as the common limb performing the smiting movement, the shattering of the head (possibly with a mace as a related tool, a significant royal weapon involved in the early phases in the evolution of the scene), the smiting act as divine judgement in the form of the final execution performed by the god – correlate with the sub-elements or additional elements of the canonical Egyptian smiting scene.

The further development and continuation of the smiting motif did not stop with the end of the Bronze Age and can be observed in the divine iconography of the neighbouring cultures, which survived or were revived in the First Millenium and afterwards in ancient and Early Christian art. It can be detected in Neo-Hittite art, which is a result of the amalgamation of the Anatolian and Northern Syrian iconographic traditions, supplemented with Assyrian artistic elements, especially in the iconography of the storm god:[863] the storm god Ḫalab (Aleppo), and the different manifestations of the Luwian storm god, Tarḫunzas ("Storm god standing on the bull", "Storm god of the Vineyard"[864]). The smiting storm god standing on the bull survived in the iconography of the local storm god in Urartian (Teisheba)[865] and Hellenistic-Roman art (Jupiter Dolichenus).[866]

The ideological background of the original smiting scene is reflected in the statuettes depicting various Roman emperors (or perhaps deities) defeating Barbarian enemies from the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D, which show the victorious ruler defeating the enemy.[867] The sculptures do not present the classical smiting motif, as the sword of the emperor is not raised high, only

[860] Hoffmeier 1983: 55–56.
[861] Green, A. W 2003: 258–275.
[862] Keel 1997b: 293–294.
[863] For the iconography of the different types of the storm gods Neo-Hittite art, see Herbordt 2016: 105–108.
[864] For the iconography of the „Storm god of the Vineyard", see Roboz 2019: 1–13.
[865] For the infiltration of the „storm god standing on a bull' motif into the iconography of Teisheba, see Jakubiak 2001: 92–93.
[866] Bunnens 2004: 57–81.
[867] For the objects, see Swan-Hall 1983: 75–79, figs. 2–3.

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held at the waist, but the hair-grasping element can be detected, indicating the defeated status of the Barbarian.

An interesting artistic example depicting the biblical scene of Abraham and Isaac featured the smiting motif as the visual expression of divine judgement in the marble sarcophagus of Adelphia from the catacombs of San Giovanni in Syracuse, dated to 340 A.D. Abraham determines to show his faith with the sacrifice of his kneeling son, whose hands are tied behind his back and who is showing his back to his father. The static figure of Abraham is standing on the ground with both legs, facing the opposite direction to Isaac, but still grasping him by his hair. The smiting scene is placed beside two other scenes depicting a small burning altar before Isaac, which are followed by the scene of "Jesus Christ healing the Blind".[868]

Turning back to the conclusion, because of its highlighted transcendental aspect, suggesting the idealistic concept of the perfect ruler in view of the complex city-state system, with many poles for sustaining authority, the smiting motif seemed to be adapted apolitically into the iconographic repertoire of the Ancient Near Eastern regions and predominantly occurred in a cultic context. Despite its original context of meaning, the smiting motif never became a standard royal iconographic device in the art of Syria and Palestine, but can be identified rather in the divine iconography, emphasized by the metaphysical interpretation of the motif when it is taken as a symbol of cosmic power.

[868] For the object, see Swan-Hall 1983: 75–79, fig. 4.

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6. Appendix I

6.1. List of abbreviations

ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte***,** Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, since 1900.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, since 1919.
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, Leiden, 1999.
Gardiner	Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Oxford, 1927, 438–548. (List of Hieroglyphic Signs)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Israel Exploration Society, since 1950.
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions,* since 2001.
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, American Research Center in Egypt, since 1962.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, The Egypt Exploration Society, since 1914
JEGH	*Journal of Egyptian History*, García, J. C. M. – Morris, E. – Miniaci, G. (eds.), Brill, since 2008.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* University of Chicago's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, since 1884
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities,* The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities/La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne, Toronto, since 1969.
LdÄ	Wolfgang Helck, W. – Otto, E. – Westendorf, W. (hrsg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie (Band 1–7)*, Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LGG	Leitz, Ch., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 6), Peeters Publishers, Leuven, 2002.
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, since 1930.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Verlag Walter de Gruyter, since 1863.

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6.2. Chronology of the Bronze Age

Early Bronze Age (EBA)	
I (A-B)	3500–3000a
II	3000–2700a
III	2700–2300a (or: 2650–2350a)
IV (= MBA I)	2300–1950/2000a
Middle Bronze Age (MBA)	
I (= EBA IV)	2300–1950/1900a
IIA	1950/1900–1700a
IIB	1700a–1550a
Late Bronze Age (LBA)	
I	1550–1400a
IIA	1400–1300a
IIB	1300–1250a
Iron Age (IA)	
I	1250/1200–1000a
IIA	1000–840a
IIB	840–700
IIC	700–600a
III	600–500a
(Babylonian and Early Achaemenid Period)	

Appendix I. Table 1. Chronology of the archaeological periods

The chronological subdivision of dating the archaeological periods follows the *Datierung* of the hints of the concerning passages of the *IPIAO Bands I-IV* (EBA: Schroer, S., *IPIAO Band 1*, 2005, 155, MBA: Schroer, S., *IPIAO Band 2*, 2008, 9–12, LBA: Schroer, S., *IPIAO Band 3*, 2011, 9–10, IA: Schroer, S., *IPIAO Band 4*, 2018, 11).

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7. Appendix II: List of figures

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

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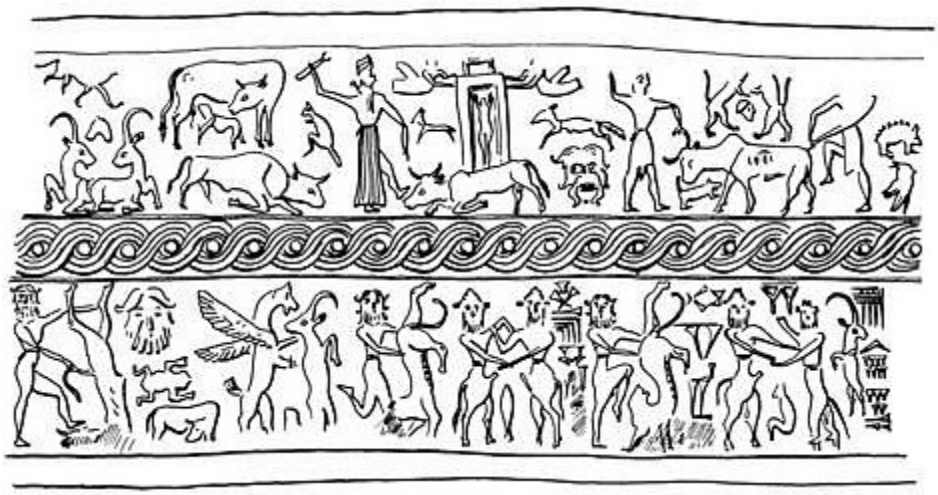

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

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Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

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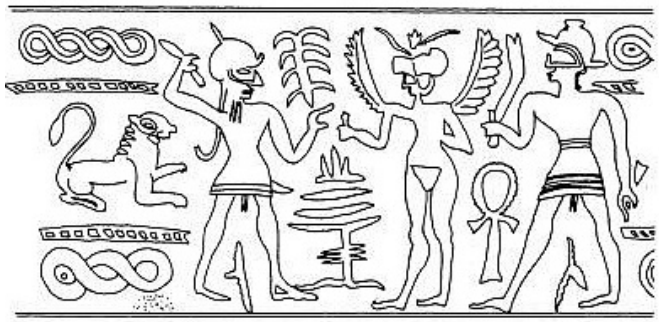

Fig. 12

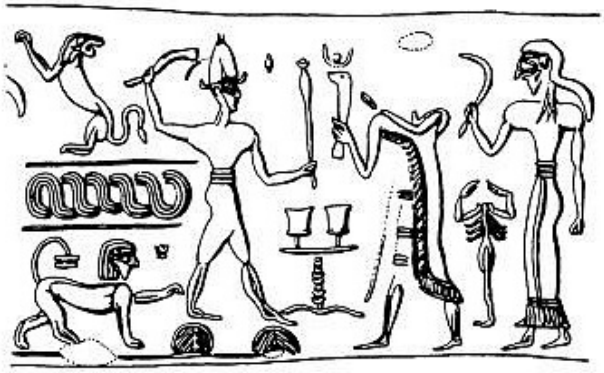

Fig. 13

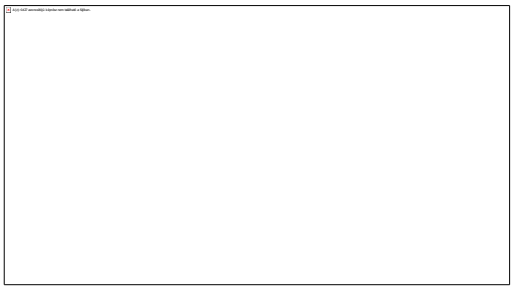

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

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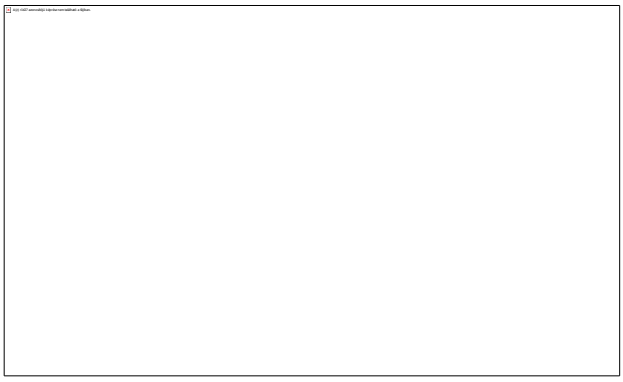


Fig. 16

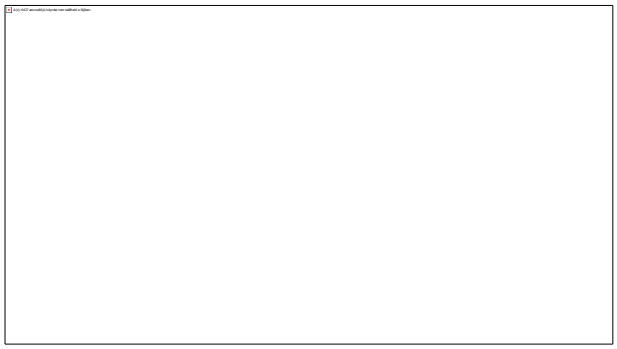
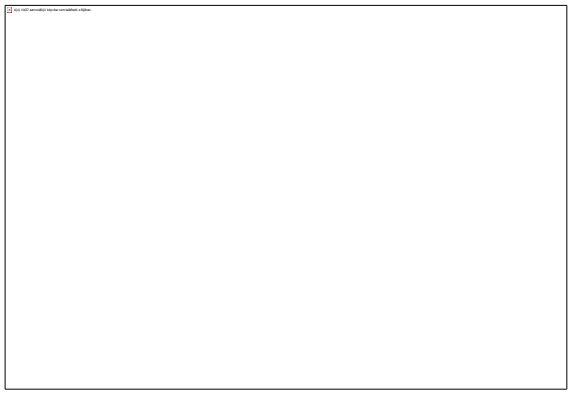


Fig. 17



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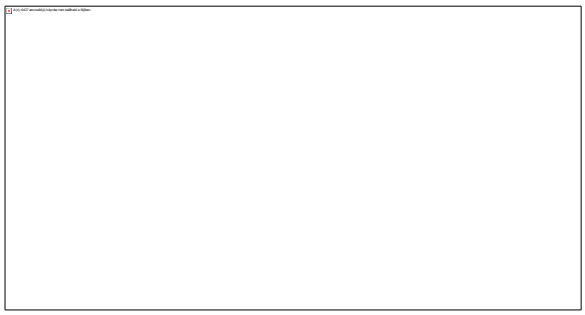

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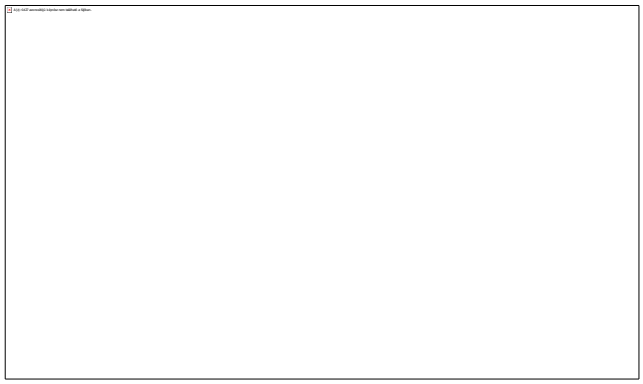

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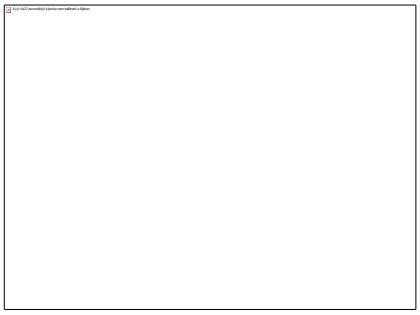

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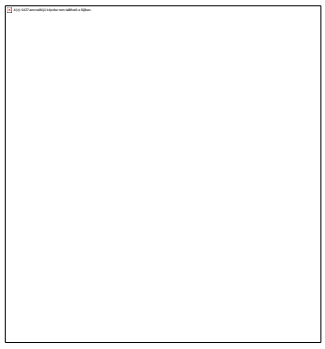

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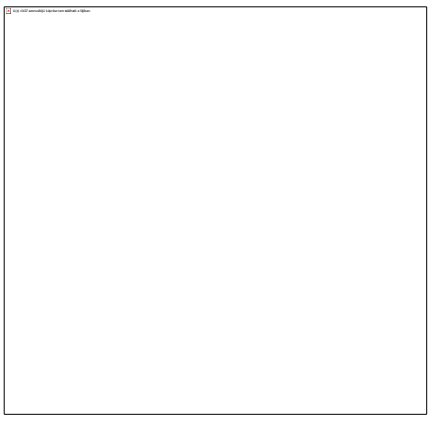

Fig. 23

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Fig. 24

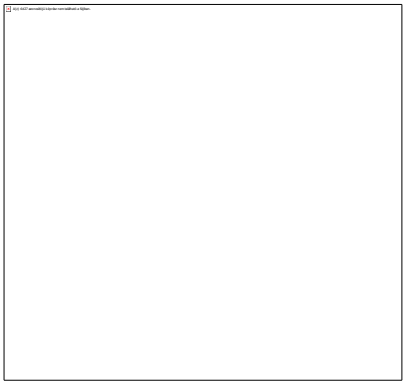


Fig. 25

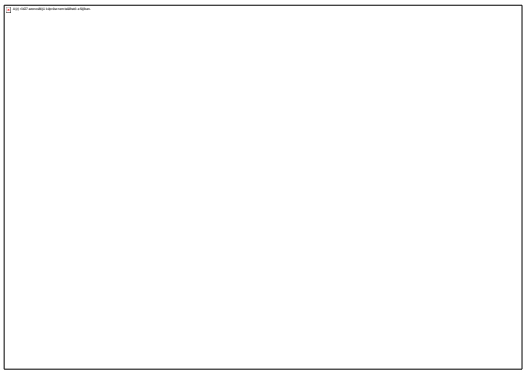
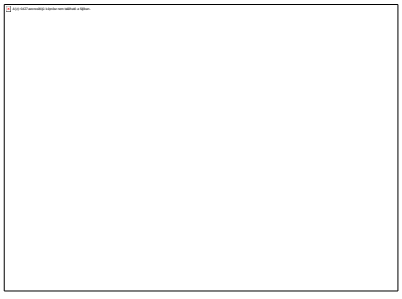


Fig. 26



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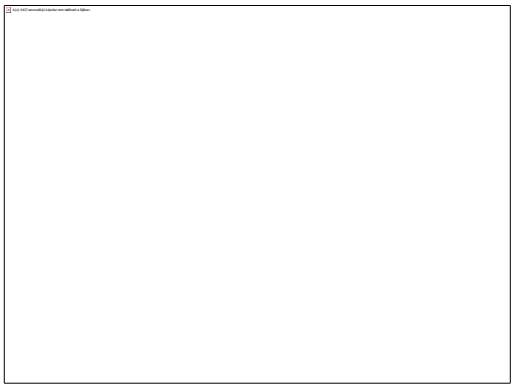
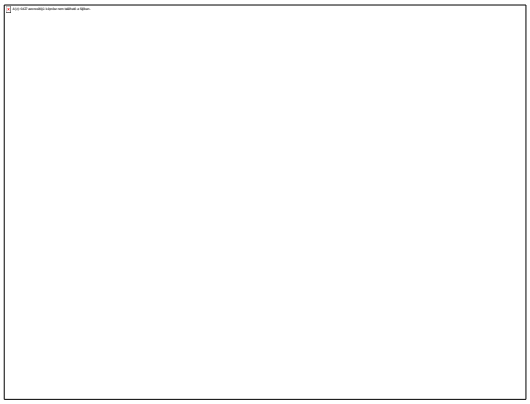


Fig. 28



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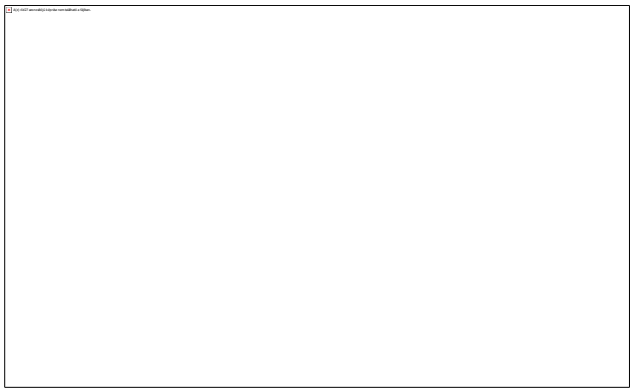

Fig. 30

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Fig. 31

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Fig. 32

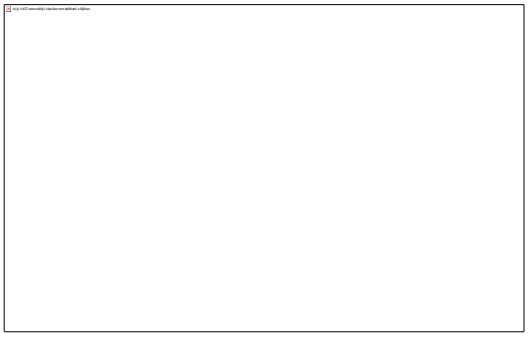
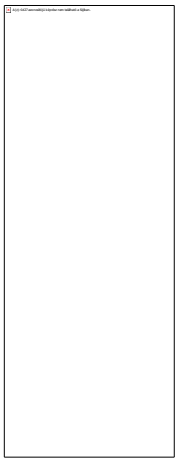


Fig. 33

Fig. 34

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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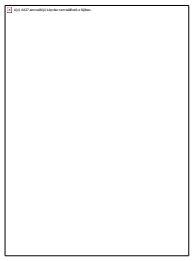

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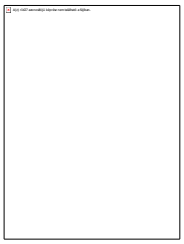

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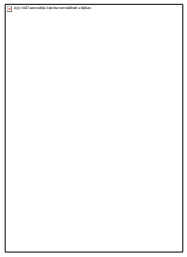

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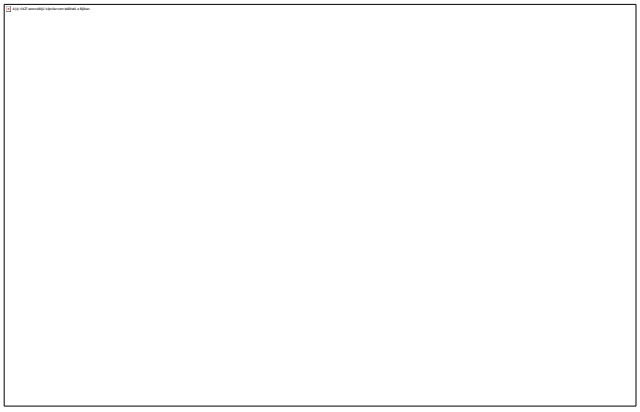

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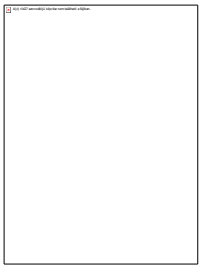

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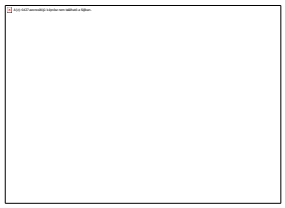

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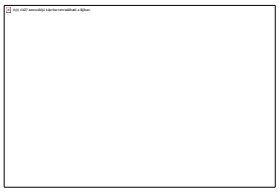

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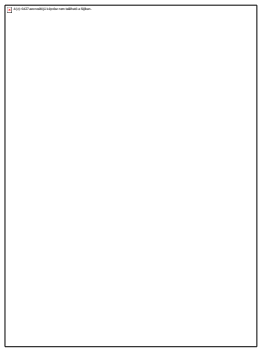
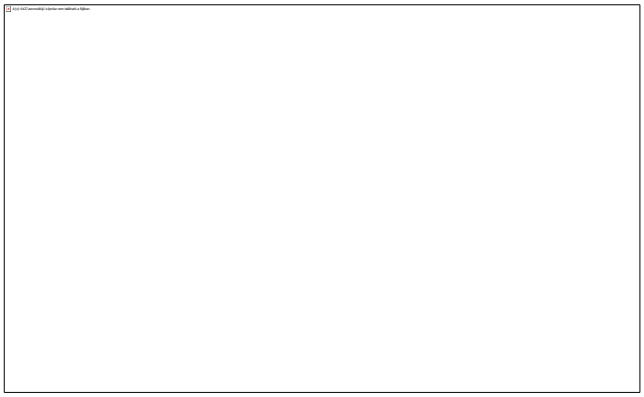


Fig. 43

Fig. 44



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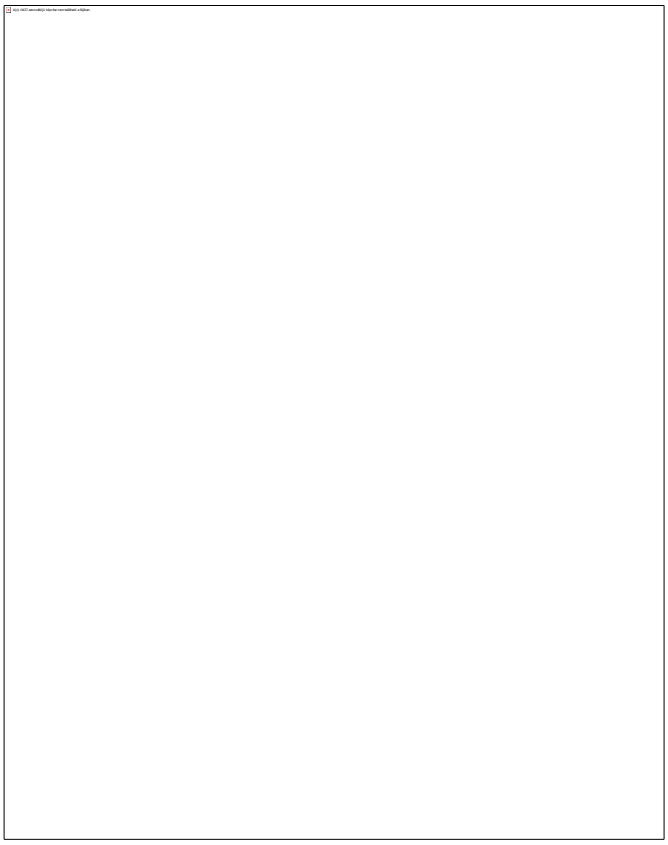

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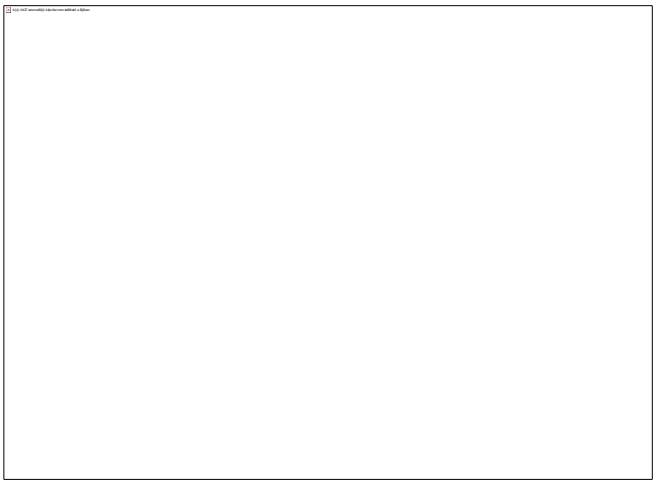

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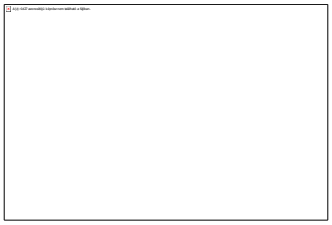

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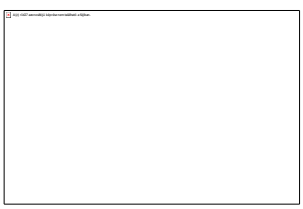

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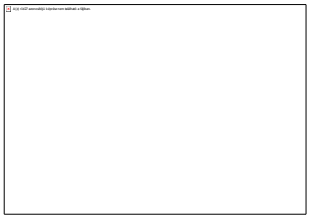

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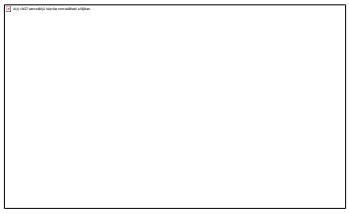
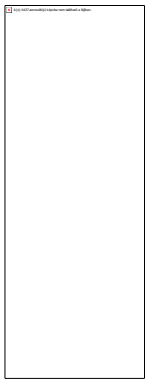


Fig. 51



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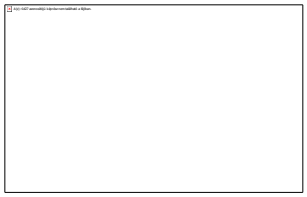
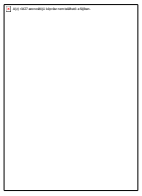


Fig. 53

Fig. 54

Fig. 55.



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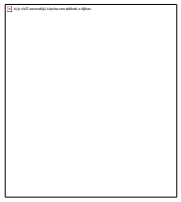
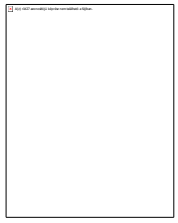


Fig. 57

Fig. 58



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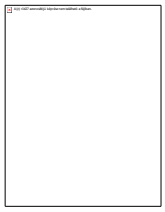
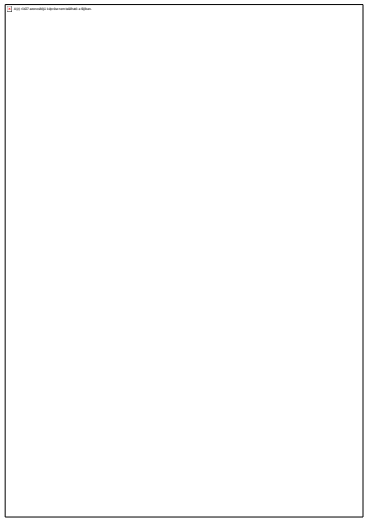


Fig. 60

Fig. 61

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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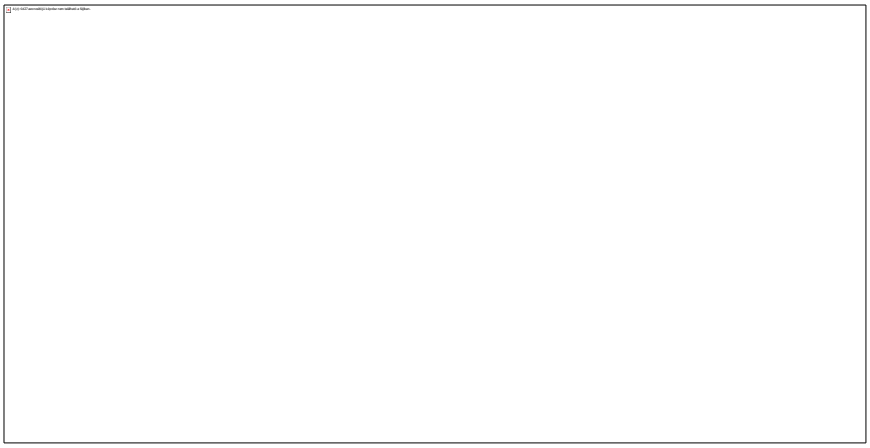

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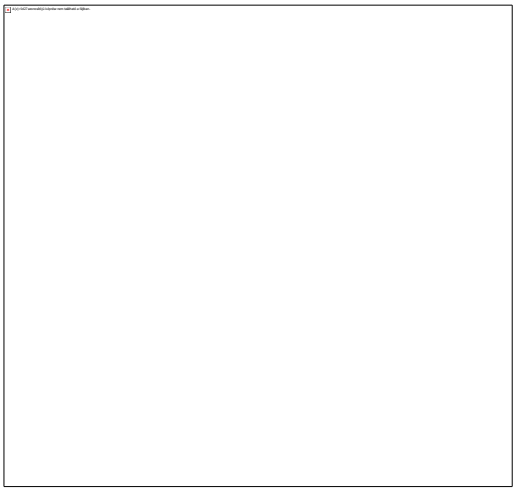

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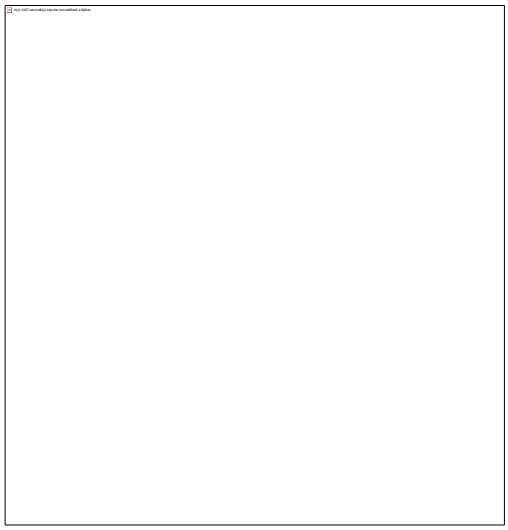
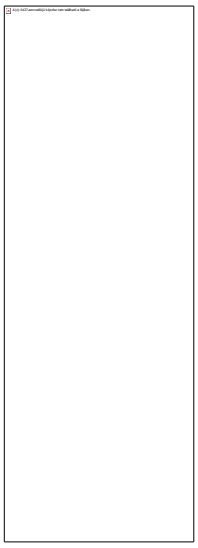


Fig. 65

Fig. 66



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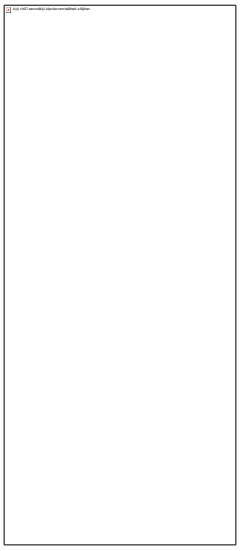

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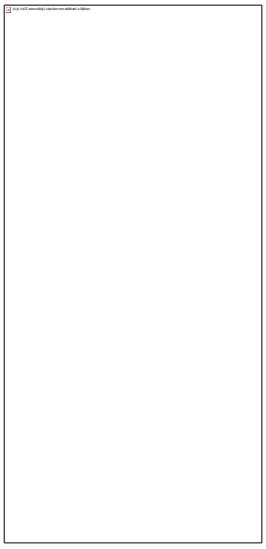

Fig. 69

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Fig. 71

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Fig. 70

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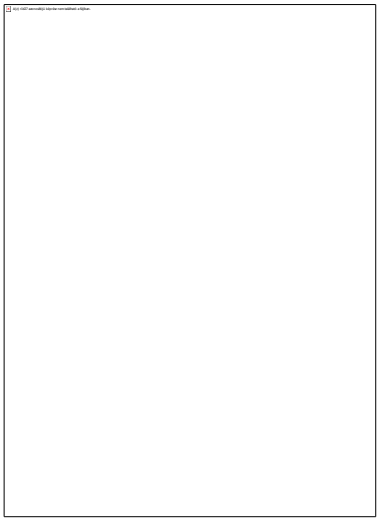
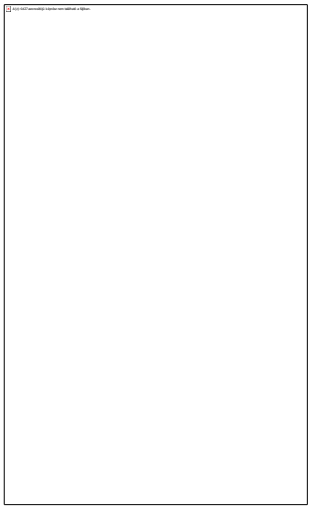


Fig. 72

Fig. 75



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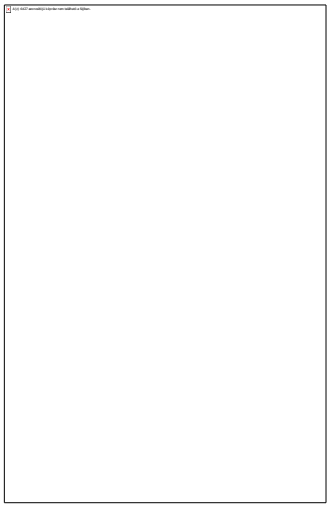

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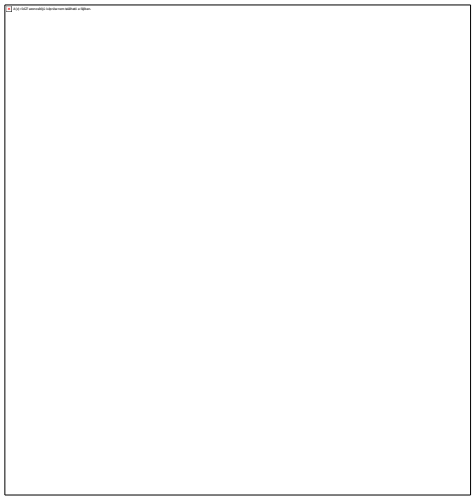

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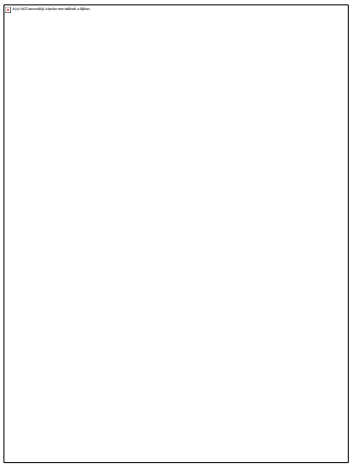

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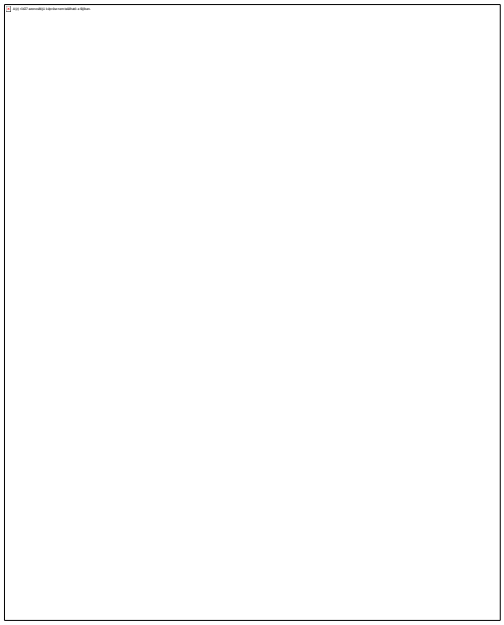

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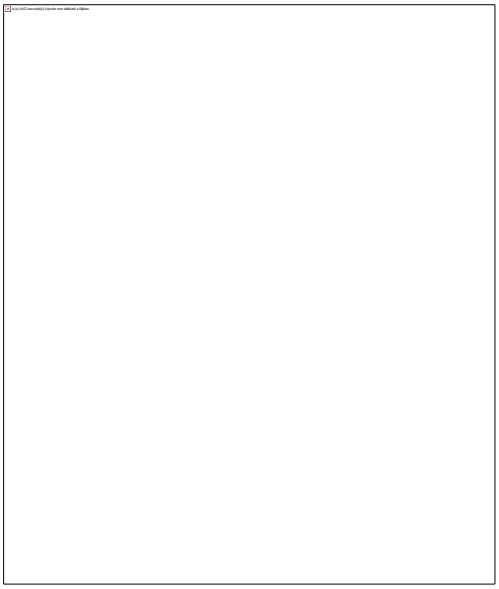

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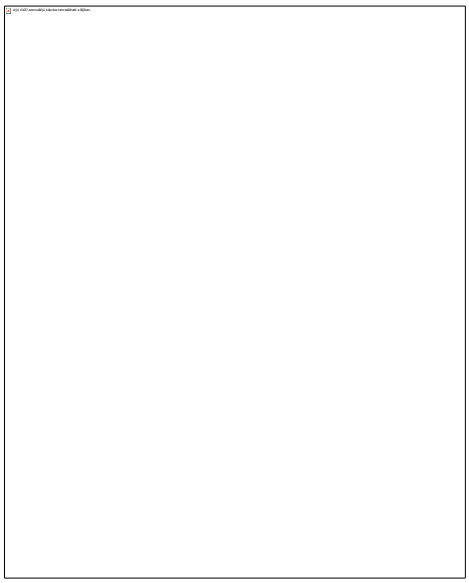

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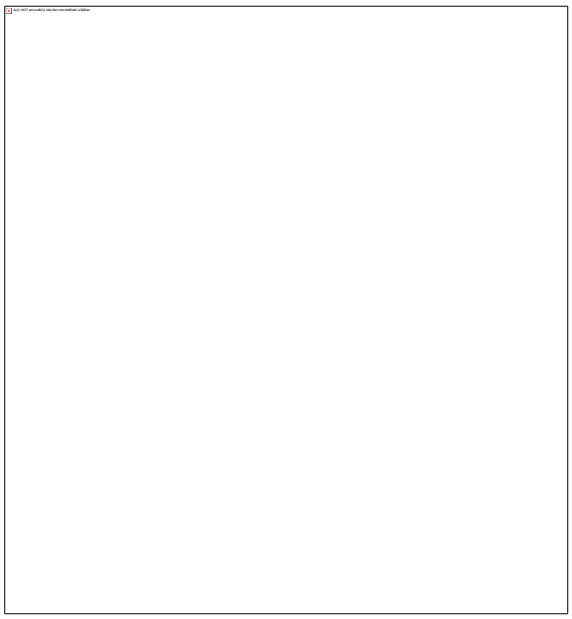

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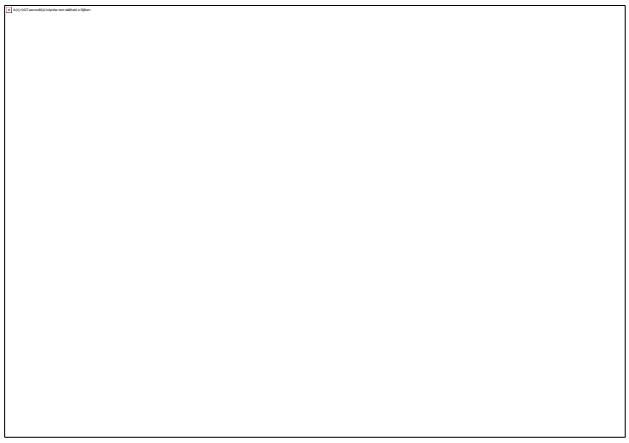


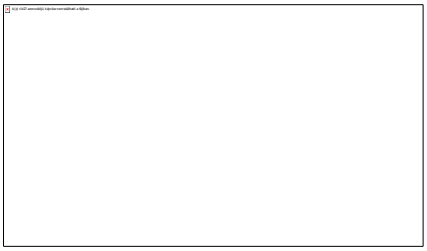
Fig. 82

Fig. 83

Fig. 84

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013

Fig. 85



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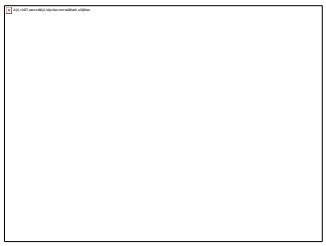

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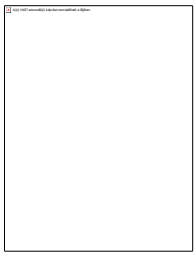

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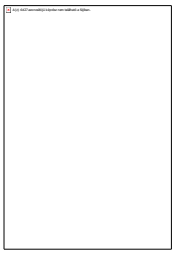

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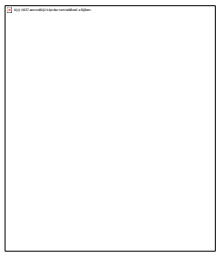

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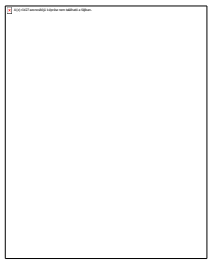

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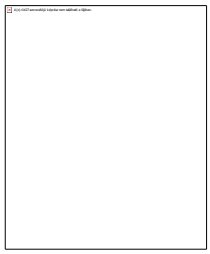

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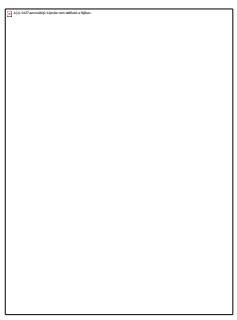

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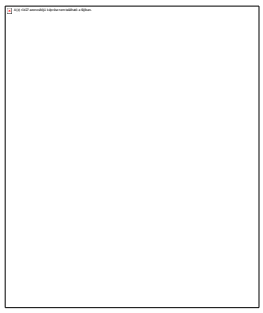
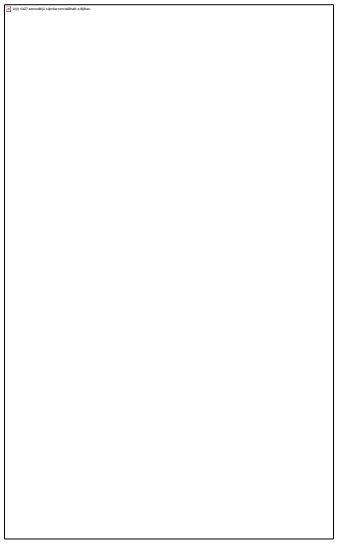


Fig. 94

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013

Fig. 95



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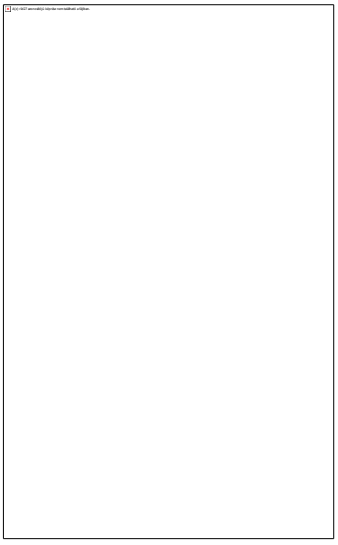

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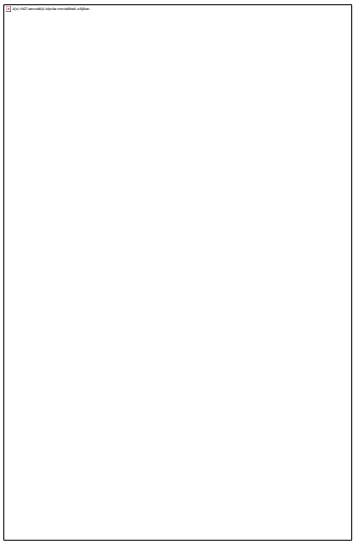

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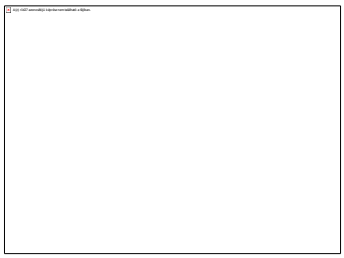

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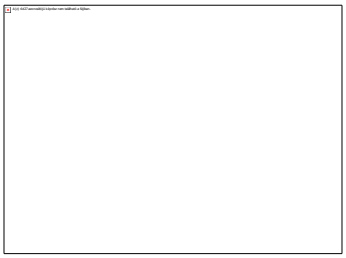

Fig. 100

Fig. 101

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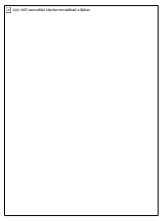

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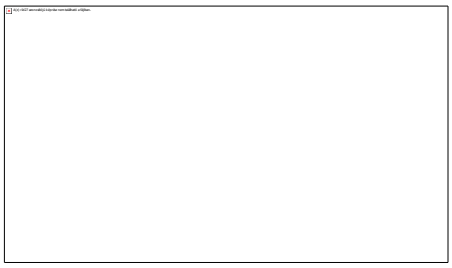

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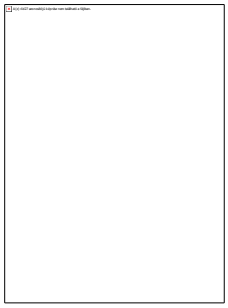

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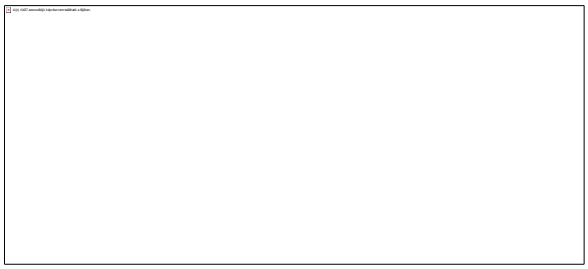

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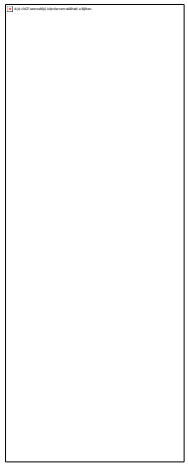


Fig. 106

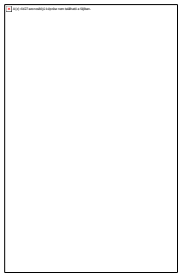
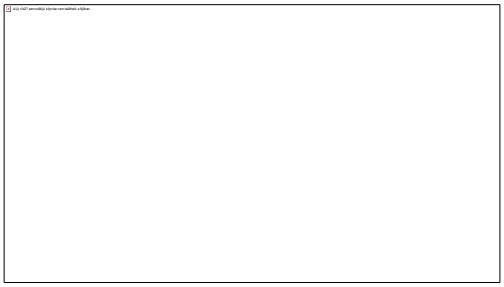


Fig. 107



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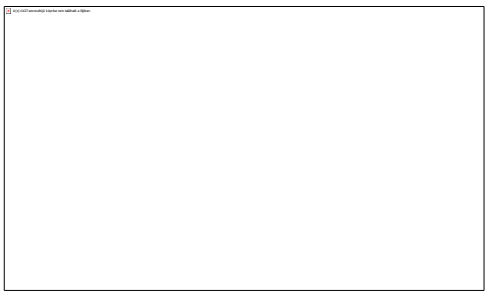
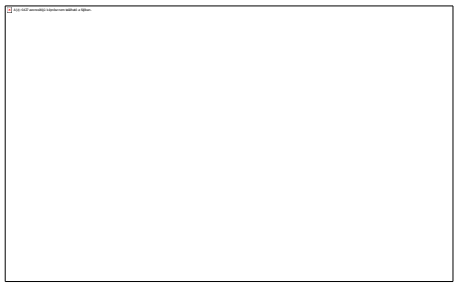


Fig. 109

DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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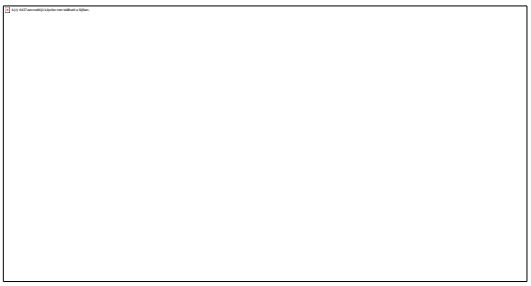

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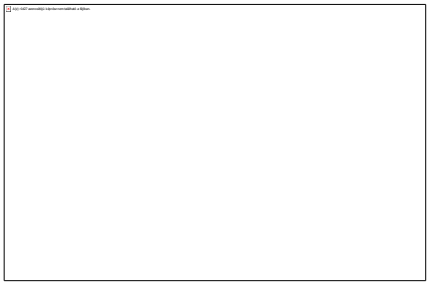

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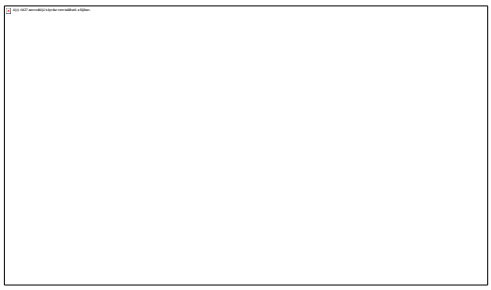

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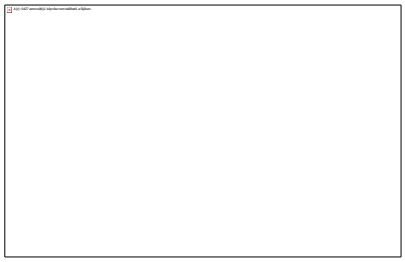
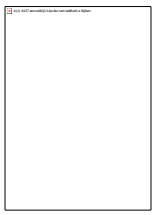


Fig. 114

Fig. 115



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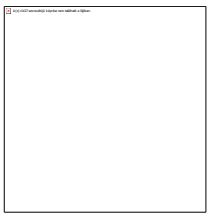

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DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013

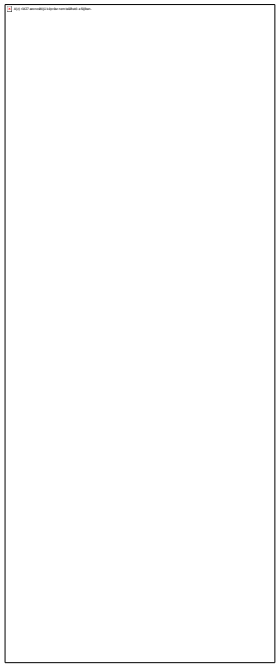
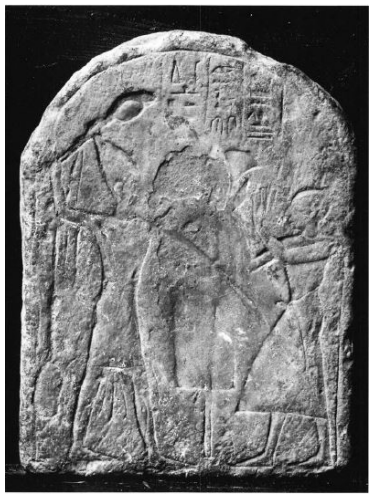


Fig. 118

Fig. 119

Fig. 120



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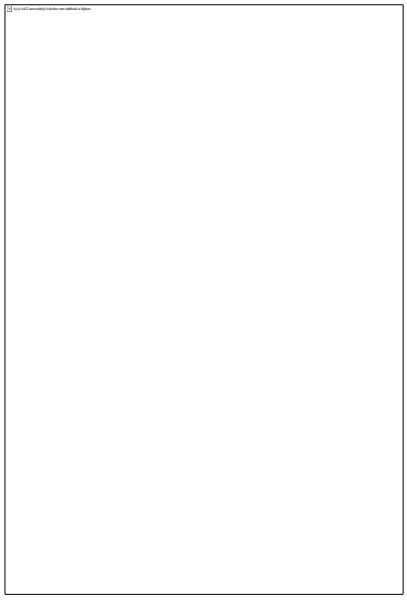

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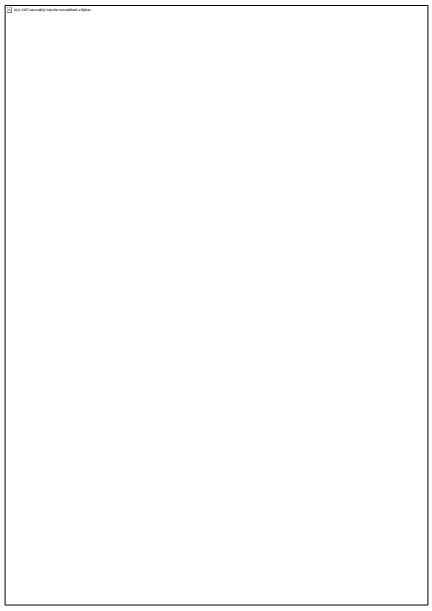

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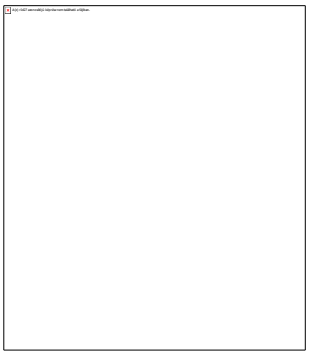

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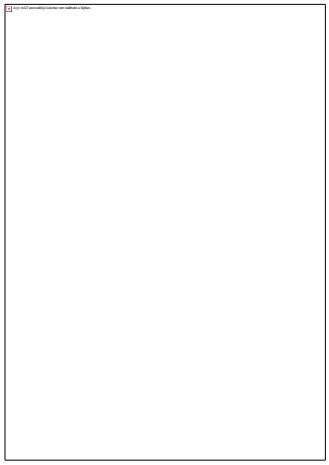

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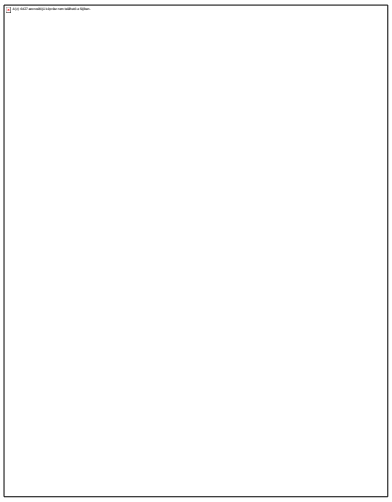

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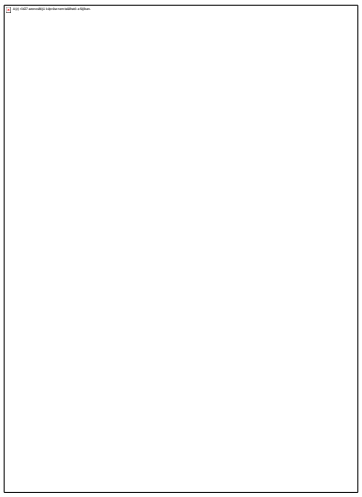

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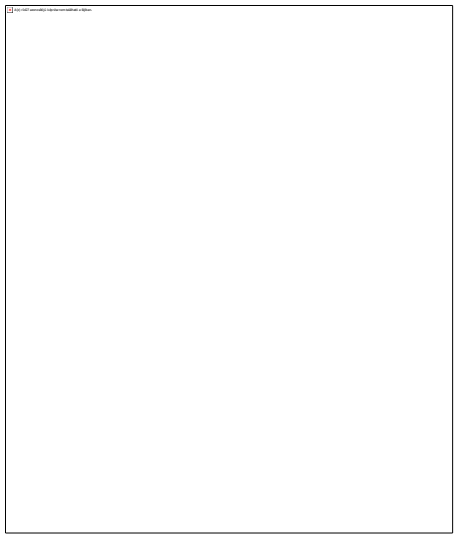
DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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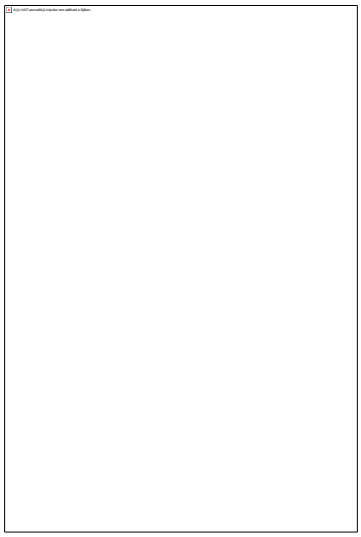

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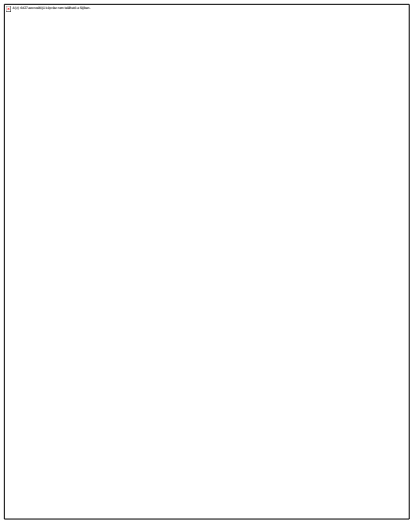

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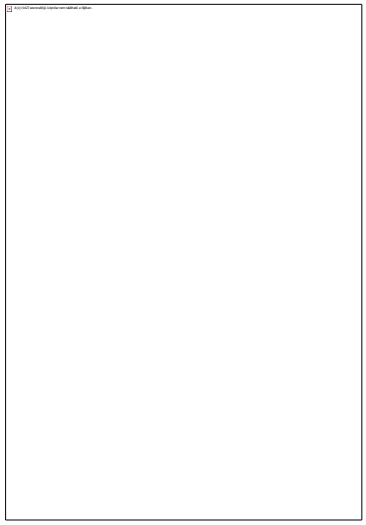

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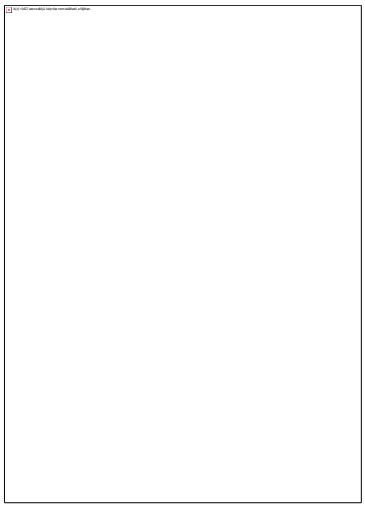

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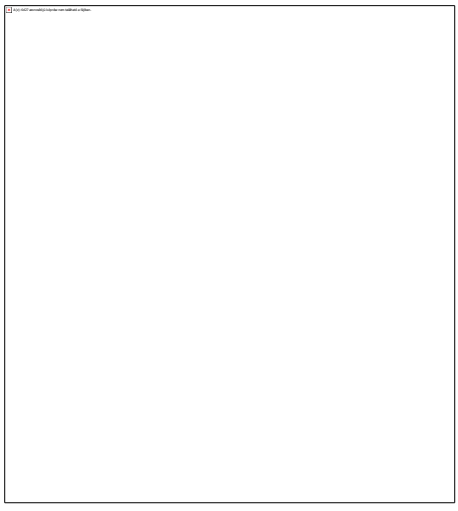

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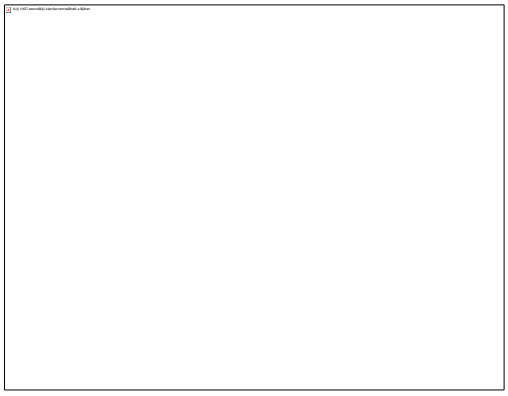
DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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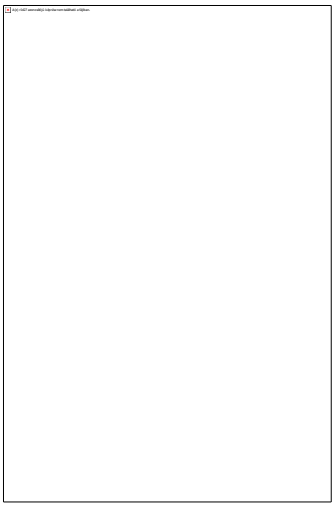

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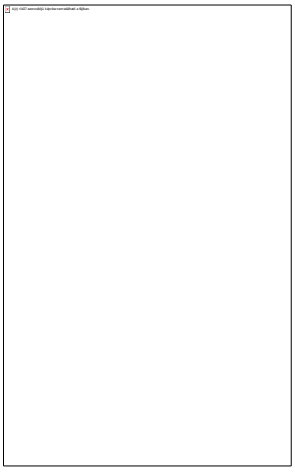

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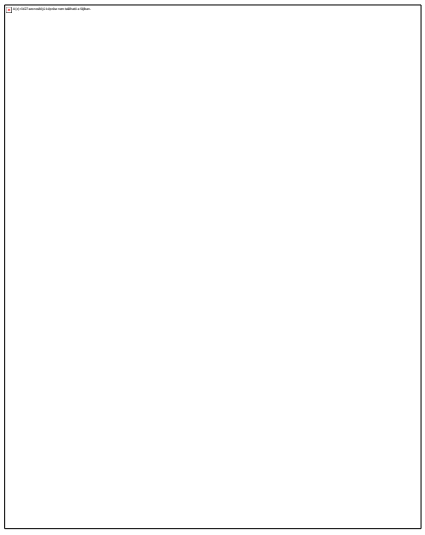

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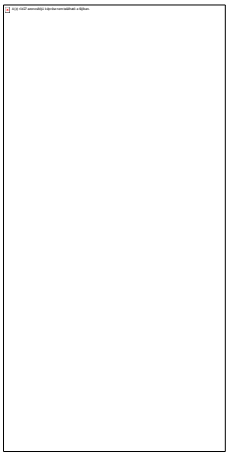

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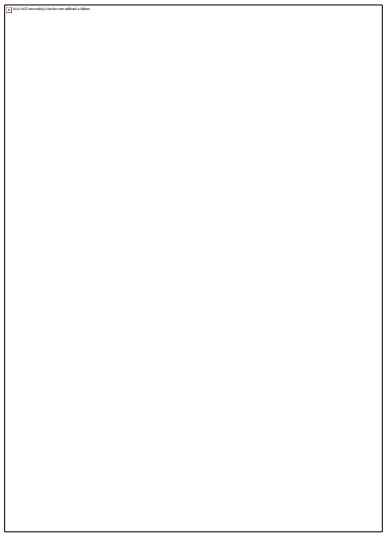

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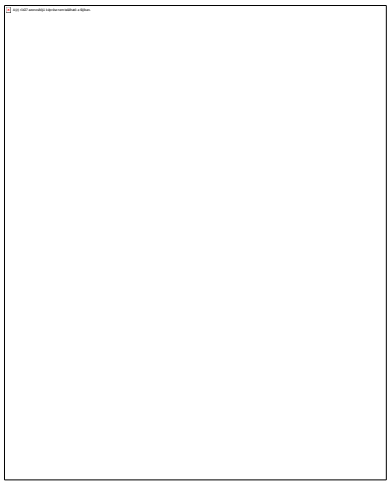
DOI: 10.15774/PPKE.BTK.2021.013



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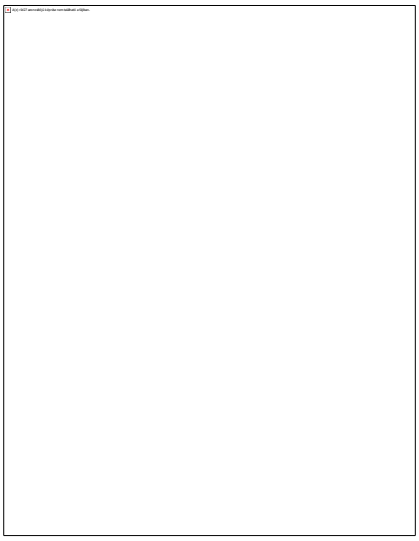

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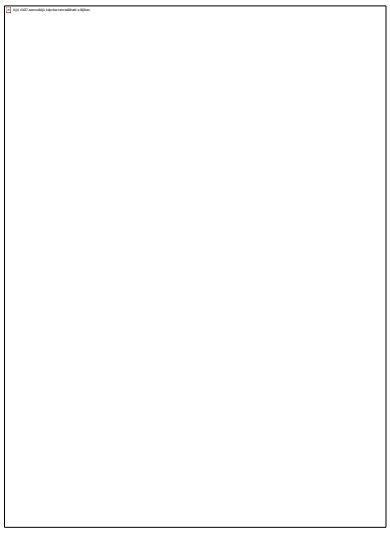

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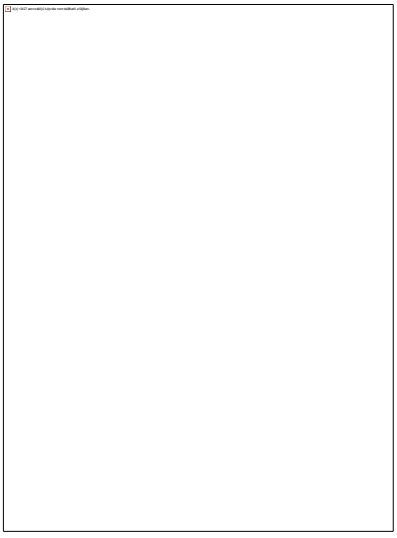

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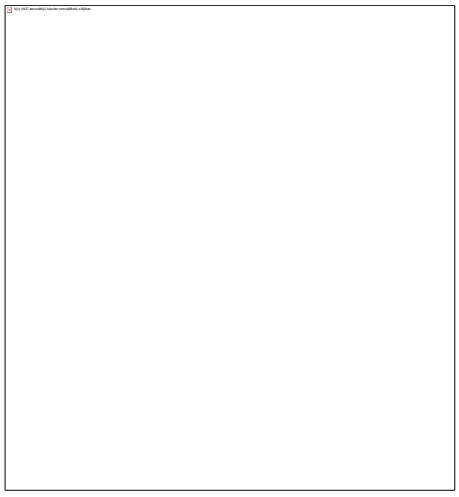

Fig. 144

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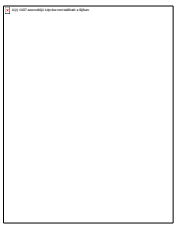
Fig. 145



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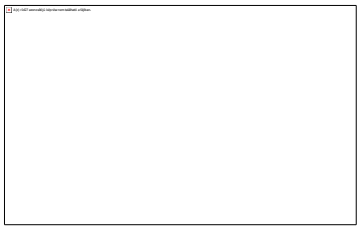

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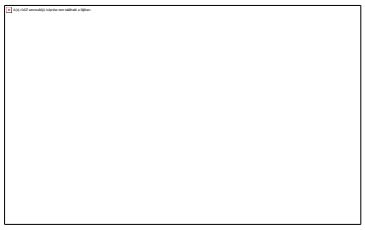

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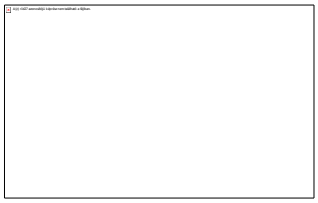

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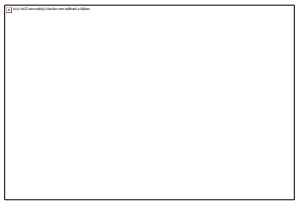

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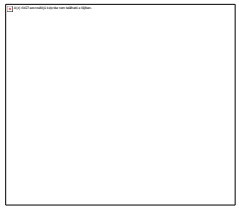

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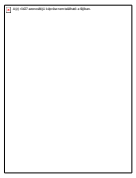

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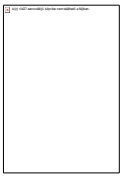

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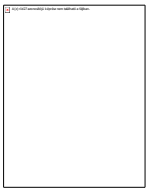

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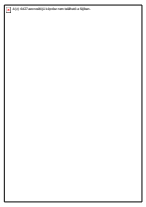

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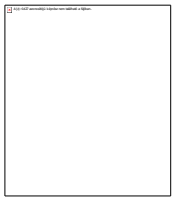

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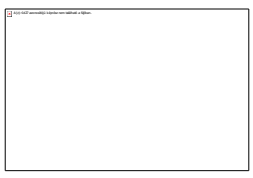

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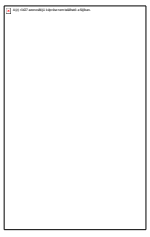

Fig. 158

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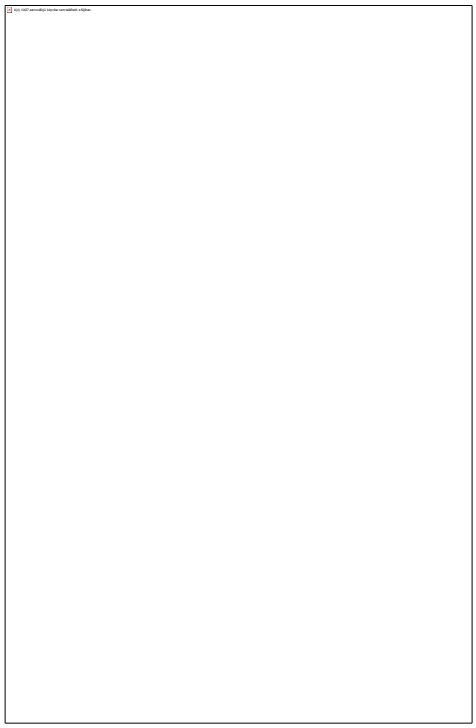

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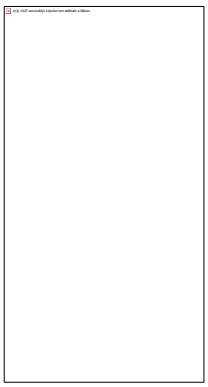

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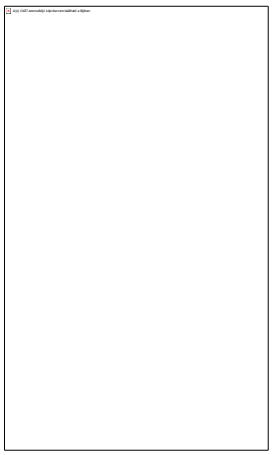

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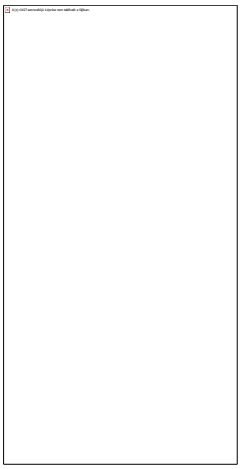

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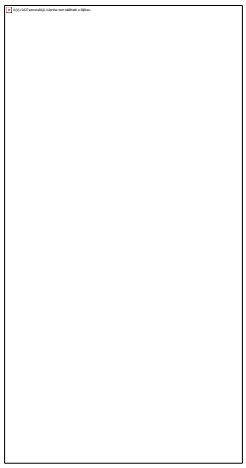

Fig. 163

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9. Abstract

The subject of examination in the present study, the “smiting motif”, is one of the most specific iconographical elements of Ancient Near Eastern art. The raised arm of the figure holding a weapon, together with one leg positioned forwards, can be interpreted as a dynamic act of motion and defines an aggressive behaviour, which illustrates the smiting person’s power over his enemy.

Through this fragment of Egyptian cultural heritage, the message conveyed - shortly meaning ‘triumph’ and ‘victory’ in the visual language - was commonly articulated to recall the former act of subjugating the enemy to defend and establish the realm (secular level). Showing the offensive face of kingship has transcendental significance, which simultaneously proves the charismatic ability of the pharaoh (king) to maintain world order (*ma’at*) against chaos (*isfet*) with the assistance of the gods (cosmic level).

Despite its feasible origin in Egyptian Pharaonic art, trading, diplomatic and cultural connections drove the infiltration of the motif in the Middle Bronze Age IIA. Probably the earliest manifestation of this phenomenon in the Ancient Near Eastern iconography outside the borders of *kmt* is detected on a glyptic from Sippar dated to the mid-19th Century B.C. (Old Babylonian Period). There are parallel pictorial examples identified from Anatolia (The Anatolian Group of Kültepe cylinder seal impressions from the ancient merchant colony, *karum* Kaneš) and from Mesopotamian art, while its presence in Syria-Palestine also illustrates the intercultural circulation.

Because of its highlighted transcendental aspect, it suggested the idealistic concept of the perfect ruler in view of the complex city-state system, with many poles for sustaining authority in this area, although the topos seems to have been adapted apolitically into the specific iconographical device repertories of each region. The disappearance of a visible enemy may also indicate the process by which it became a complex symbol. Despite its original context of meaning, it never became a standard royal motif in Syria-Palestine, but can rather be identified in the divine iconography, emphasizing the metaphysical interpretation (principally in view of the dichotomical contest scenes of Cosmos and Chaos).

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Absztrakt

Jelen tanulmány témája a „lesújtás-motívum" ikonográfiai vizsgálata, mely az ókori közel-keleti művészet egyik legspecifikusabb ikonográfiai motívuma. A fegyvert tartó figura felemelt karja, és előre lépő lába együttesen olyan dinamikus mozdulatként értelmezhető, mely illusztrálja az agresszív viselkedést, és szemlélteti a lesújtó személyének hatalmát annak ellensége felett.

Az egyiptomi kulturális örökség ezen töredéke által átadott üzenetet - amely vizuális nyelven röviden diadalt és/vagy győzelmet jelent - az egyiptomi uralkodói művészetben gyakran fogalmazták meg, hogy felidézzék az ellenség legyőzésének profán aktusát a királyság vívmányának létrehozása és védelme érdekében (világi szint). A királyság offenzív arcának ábrázolása emellett azonban transzcendentális jelentéstartalommal is rendelkezik, amely a fáraó (király) azon karizmatikus képességének bizonyítékaként is értelmezhető, hogy az istenek segítségével fenntartsa a világ rendjét (*ma'at*) a káosszal (*isfet*) szemben (kozmikus szint).

Annak ellenére, hogy vitathatatlanul az egyiptomi uralkodói művészetből származik, a motívum a térségben zajló kereskedelmi, a diplomáciai és kulturális kapcsolatok révén megjelenik a környező ókori kultúrák középső bronzkori (IIA) művészetében. Valószínűleg e folyamat legkorábbi előfordulásaként az ókori közel-keleti ikonográfiában *kmt* határain kívül az ún. "lesújtás" a Sipparból származó, Kr. e. 19. század közepére keltezett gliptikában (óbabiloni korszak) tűnik fel. A motívum emellett párhuzamosan megjelenik Anatóliában, a Kaneš területén működött óasszír kereskedőtelepről (*kārum*) származó pecséthengerek lenyomatain ("Kültepei pecséthengerek anatóliai csoportja"), illetve a mezopotámiai művészetben is, de jelenléte Szíria-Palesztinában is kimutatható, mely a különböző régiók közt zajló interkulturális keringési folyamatot szemlélteti.

Az ókori közel-keleti térségben található különböző városállamok alkotta több pólusú hatalmi berendezkedés meglétét tekintve úgy tűnik, hogy a motívum által megjelenített tökéletes uralkodói toposz mégis apolitikus módon, vélhetően annak kiemelt transzcendentális aspektusa miatt épül be az egyes kultúrák művészetének ikonográfiai repertoárjába. Erre az ellenség ábrázolásának a lesújtó jelenetből történő elhagyása is utalhat, mely egyúttal a motívum egy összetettebb szimbólummá válásának folyamatát jelezheti. Eredeti jelentéstartalma ellenére Szíria-Palesztinában a "lesújtás" soha nem vált az uralkodói ikonográfia kiemelt elemévé, és túlnyomórészt az isteni ikonográfiában azonosítható, mely a motívum metafizikai síkon történő (elsősorban a kozmosz és a káosz duális küzdelmének szempontjából kiinduló) értelmezését hangsúlyozza.