

# The Symbolism of the Biblical World

Ancient Near Eastern Iconography  
and the Book of Psalms

*by*

Othmar Keel

Translated by Timothy J. Hallett

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eagle's wings points to a union of the highest powers (strength, speed, sagacity). In his vision, Ezekiel sees the throne (analogous to Mesopotamian and not Canaanite-Phoenician prototypes) still more powerfully portrayed. The lapis lazuli throne of the deity rises above the firmament, which is borne by the four winds (Ezek 1). Yahweh is portrayed as Lord of the cosmos. The four creatures were first identified with cherubim by the redactor of Ezek 10, in order to make certain the identification of the cosmic Yahweh with the God of Jerusalem.<sup>127</sup>

In two passages in the psalms, however, it is stated that right order and right

judgment (Pss 89:14; 97:2 [RSV: "righteousness and justice"]), rather than any natural forces, constitute the foundation (or support) of the divine throne. H. Brunner<sup>128</sup> has pointed out that in Egypt, especially in the Ramseid period, steps frequently led up to the divine or royal throne. Since these steps were enclosed by a side wall and were of a piece with the base, the foundation of the throne formed the sign, *m}'t*, "Maat," which is equivalent in meaning to the Hebrew *šdq* (375).<sup>129</sup> Of course we cannot prove that this thought was reflected in furnishing the *d'br*.

## 7. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEMPLE

Not only the name "house (or palace) of Yahweh," but also the temple complex as a whole clearly points to the fact that it was conceived of as a dwelling place. In many details, however, it differs markedly from a conventional residence, and even from a royal palace.

The principal distinctions lie in the way in which the forecourts are adjoined to the house, and in the fact that this house encloses yet another house (the holy of holies) which is thought to be the dwelling place of God. Anyone entering the complex from the east had to pass through a series of gates and ascend a number of steps before he found himself (at least in spirit) before the holy of holies. This, with its darkness and isolation, was well suited to represent the mysterious God. It becomes clear, especially in Ezekiel's temple plan, that the axial arrangement of the several forecourts, chambers, and stairways (cf. Ezek 40:22, 34, 49) is intended to express the sublimity and holiness (cf. Ezek 43:1-12) of God (Pss 47:9; 97:9). Even more strongly than its architectural configuration, however, the location of the temple on Mount Zion (the highest

point of the city) characterized it as the entrance to the heavenly regions and as the link between heaven and earth. The temple is a part of earth which reaches into the heavens—or a part of heaven that touches the earth.

Even the towering height of the mountain is far surpassed by the loftiness of God, who is enthroned upon the mountain like an earthly king. Statements such as "Yahweh is great," "Yahweh is highly exalted" (cf. Pss 47:2, 9; 86:10; 95:3; etc.), and personal names such as Ramiah or Jehoram (Joram) ("Yahweh is lofty") were perhaps originally meant more literally than was the case at a later time (cf. Amos 4:13; 46 and 291).

Fig. 237 shows a badly damaged lead figurine of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The god towers high above the huge temple building (cf. 179). At left and right are the half-figures of two enormous bulls. The god towers over them. The representation is reminiscent of Isa 6:1 and 1 Kgs 8:27. The latter passage expresses wonder that Yahweh, whom the highest heavens cannot contain, dwells in the temple. The immensity of Yahweh is

also in mind when the temple gates are summoned to "lift up their heads" (Ps 24:7, 9), so that King Yahweh can enter in.

In Ps 24:7, the temple gates are designated *pt̄hy 'wlm*, "gates of eternity" [RSV: "ancient doors"]. Because the psalm itself is very ancient, the term could hardly apply to the actual temple gates. Rather it might imply that the gates (of heaven), to which the temple gates give visible form, have been located at this place from time immemorial (as at Bethel). However, the election of Zion in history—an assertion repeatedly expressed in the psalms—would contradict the latter notion (cf. above, p. 120). In this instance, therefore, *'wlm* is to be understood as the sphere of God. Men pass away like shadows, but God abides for ever (*'wlm*; Pss 102:12; 29:10; etc.). The temple complex naturally participates in his time. The temple gates (in Jerusalem, at any rate) are not particularly ancient; rather they are of continuous duration, unshakeable as

237. "His train filled the temple" (Isa 5:1).

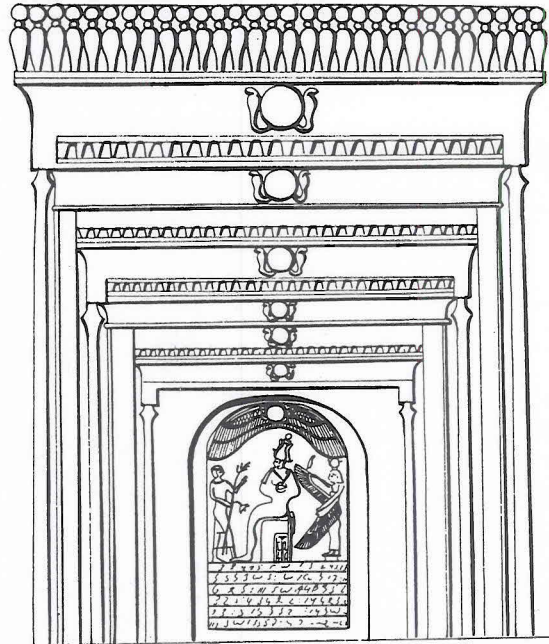


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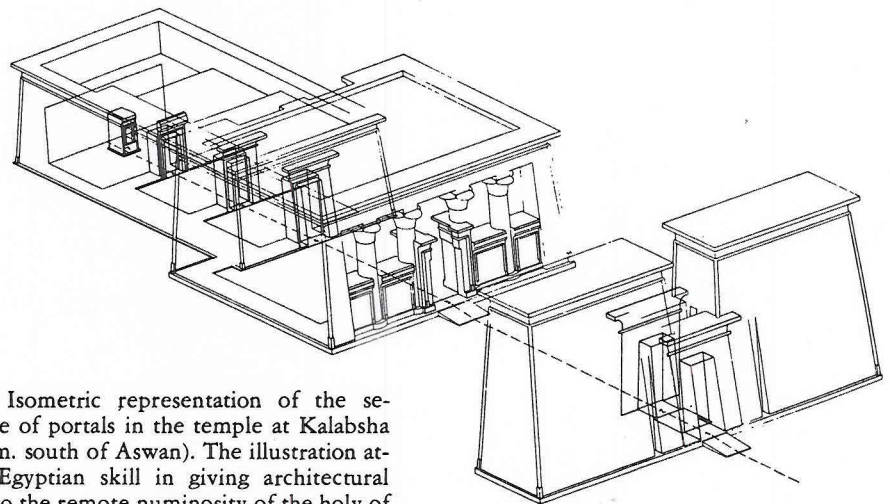
Zion (Ps 125:1). They partake of the fixity of the heavens (cf. 19–20). A temple in Sidon, or the city quarter defined by the temple, is called "high heaven."<sup>130</sup> In Egyptian temples, a sun flanked by hooded cobras or the winged sun mounted on the lintel (221–22) were often used to identify the temple gates as the gates of heaven. The plural number of gates (238, 238a) corresponds to the plural number of heavens (cf. 21, 30, 33). As is shown in Fig. 238, the seven gates were understood as a means of symbolizing the remote holiness of the deity.

In Egypt, the following formula was uttered at the daily opening of the *naos*: "The gates of heaven are opened."<sup>131</sup> The pertinent chapter bears the heading: "Utterance upon revealing the countenance of the god." A variant reads: "Utterance upon mounting the stairs" (which lead up to the *naos*).<sup>132</sup> When entering the *naos*, the officiant says: "I enter into heaven to behold N (name of the god)."<sup>133</sup> The temple of Heliopolis is called "the heaven of Egypt"; the temple of Karnak is "heaven on earth"; that at Dendera is "the heaven of Hathor."<sup>134</sup> The "farm of Neith" is "heaven in full form."<sup>135</sup> The temple, as the locus of the presence of God, is identical to heaven.<sup>136</sup> In the case of chthonic deities, the temple could naturally represent the earth and the interior earth as well. In the psalms, however, Yahweh appears nowhere as a chthonic deity. Accordingly, the temple is not depicted as a cave (cf. p. 181).

Mesopotamia also provides numerous examples of the identification of the temple with the heavenly regions. Fig. 239 shows King Nabuapaliddin of Babylon. Led by a priest and accompanied by a tutelary deity, he enters the sun temple of Sippar, his right hand raised in greeting. The emblem of the sun god stands on a tablelike platform. The sun god himself is seated behind it, under a baldachin composed of a serpent and a palm pillar. Above him, between the serpent and the pillar and over the ocean, are the emblems of three deities



238. "Can it indeed be that God dwells . . . on earth? If the heavens and the highest heavens cannot contain you, how much less this temple which I have built!" (1 Kgs 8:27 NAB).



238a. Isometric representation of the sequence of portals in the temple at Kalabsha (18 km. south of Aswan). The illustration attests Egyptian skill in giving architectural form to the remote numinosity of the holy of holies. As the holiness of space increases, the gates become ever smaller. This is also shown in Fig. 238.

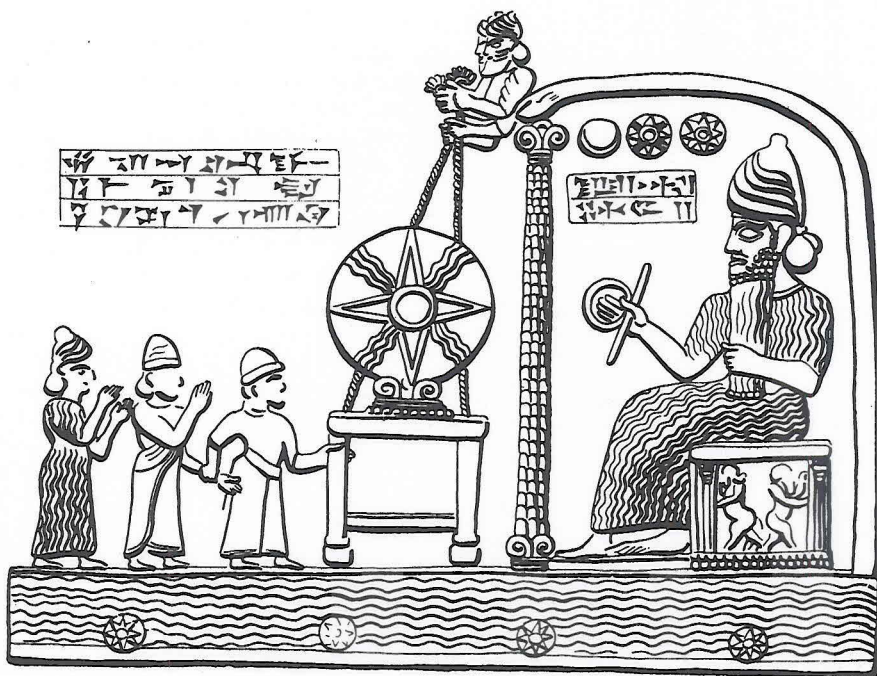
also mentioned in the text: they are Sin (= moon: horizontal crescent), Shamash (= sun: four-pointed star and clusters of flames), and Ishtar (= Venus: eight-pointed star). The "ocean" referred to is the heavenly ocean, above which the scene takes place. The four remaining planets (besides sun, moon, and Venus) are seen beneath the ocean. This picture merges temple interior and heaven in a manner quite similar to Isa 6. It is out of place to inquire whether the scene is set in the temple or in heaven.<sup>137</sup> The temple is on earth, but because Yahweh dwells in it, it is one and the same with heaven.

The temple is not merely a palace (*bykl*), house (*byt*), and habitation (*mškn*), nor is the holy of holies (*dbyr*) simply a tent (*'hl*), hut (*skh*), and hiding place (*m'nh*). Because of him who occupies it, the temple is also a sanctuary (*mqdš, qdš*). It is often unclear whether *qdš* should be translated "holiness" or "sanctuary, holy

place." In Ps 60:6 (cf. Ps 108:7), the probable translation is: "God has spoken in his sanctuary." Similarly, Ps 150:1 should probably be translated: "Praise God in his sanctuary." But these verses may also be translated: "God has spoken in his holiness" (cf. RSVm; and Ps 89:35; Amos 4:2); and "Praise God in his holiness" (cf. Pss 29:2; 96:9 [RSV: "holy array"]). In the Israelite view, holiness is not inherent in any created thing. It receives the quality of holiness only through relation to Yahweh (cf. above, p. 151). Because this relation is presupposed in the temple and its furnishings, the holiness of Yahweh is positively visible in the temple.

The sense of the holiness of the temple finds its strongest expression in the concept that Yahweh himself established it. Just as the expression "trees of Yahweh" can be interpreted to mean that Yahweh planted them (Ps 104:16), so too can the expression "house of

239. "The LORD is in his holy temple, the LORD's throne is in heaven" (Ps 11:4).





240. Yahweh chose "... Mount Zion, which he loves. He built his sanctuary like

the high heavens, like the earth, which he has founded for ever" (Ps 78:68b, 69).

Yahweh" signify that God built the house (cf. Pss 78:69; 87:1; 147:2; Exod 15:17). The psalms couple positive assertions that Yahweh is the founder and builder of the temple (cf. Exod 25:9, 40) with complete silence concerning Solomon, the earthly builder.

In Mesopotamia too, the gods are looked on as founders (cf. the commentary on Fig. 3) and builders of the temples.<sup>138</sup> Fig. 240 depicts Marduk slaying an enemy who represents the power of Chaos. Another god raises his arms in triumph (or lamentation?). Six divinities (Anunnaki) are at work in the construction of the temple, built subsequent to the conquest of Chaos. One divinity at the lower right digs up the ground. Above him, another fills a wooden form with clay. A third, on a ladder, carries a basketful of bricks to the top of the rising walls, while a fourth stands ready to relieve him of his burden. A fifth figure is shown hefting building materials up to the sixth.<sup>139</sup>

Quite similar ideas are to be found in Egypt. According to the "Theology of Memphis," Ptah established the sanctuaries; according to the "Instruction for King Meri-ka-Re," they were founded by the sun god (cf. 364).<sup>140</sup>

In Israel's environment, the temple is the place where the ordered and enlivened world emerged after the con-

quest of Chaos. It stands on the spot from which Chaos was first banished. In the Third Dynasty at Ur (ca. 2050–1950 B.C.), this event was represented in a number of foundation figurines (sunk into the temple foundations). It is also depicted in a relief fragment (241) from the same period.<sup>141</sup> The relief fragment shows a god wearing a triple or quadruple horned crown. He is driving an enormous stake or spike into the ground in order to secure the building site. To the left of the god (241) may be seen a portion of the head and front paw of a huge leonine monster (cf. 43–45, 81). The divinely implanted stake keeps the monster at bay.

In Israel too, the foundation of the temple is occasionally related to the foundation of the earth (Ps 78:69). In the tradition as a whole, however, the foundation of the temple is clearly seen as a historical and not a primeval event (cf. p. 120). The solidity of Zion stands opposed to "Chaos" in Egypt (cf. Exod 15; Ps 78). It is the world of nations (Pss 46; 65; 76), not the floods of Chaos, which rage against Zion. Within the temple precincts, Yahweh grants his worshippers no mere vision of trees and water and other elements, but an experience of joyful, human fellowship (Pss 42:4; 55:14). Ethicization goes hand in hand with historicization and humaniza-

tion. In Ps 15 and Ps 24:3–6, natural-cultic purity is superseded by ethical sensibility.

In the Deuteronomic history, the temple is nothing more than “the place where one can call upon the name of Yahweh (that is the essential content of the prayer at the dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8:26–43), in such a way that prayer is made ‘in this house’ (which may signify the entire sacred precincts) (1 Kgs 8:33b), or in such a way that the worshipper, whether near or far, orients toward this house (1 Kgs 8:29b, etc.), thus making the house the point of ‘prayer direction’ (= Arabic: *qibla*; cf. Dan 6:11).”<sup>142</sup> In comparison with the significance of the temple in the Canaanite sphere, and probably also in the early monarchical period in Israel, such sentiments imply a substantial reduction in content.

Yet, even in the face of these and similar theological interpretations and devaluations, we must not overlook the fact that for large segments of the Jewish people, the temple and its appointments continued to possess a kind of sacramental power. Haggai, for instance, makes the productivity of the fields and lands dependent on reconstruction of the temple. But even more strongly than such individual voices, numerous reactions from strictly Yahwistic circles demonstrate that the deity was nonetheless considered to be present in power in the trees, water, and other elements of the temple. More cautiously, one could say that such misunderstandings were not excluded. Accordingly, the Septuagint usually renders the divine name



241. “When the earth totters, and all its inhabitants, it is I who keep steady its pillars” (Ps 75:3).

“rock” by *theos* (Pss [LXX; MT in brackets] 30 [31]:2; 61 [62]:2, 6–7; 70 [71]:3; 94 [95]:1; etc.). According to Hecataeus of Abdera (fourth century B.C.) the inner courtyard of the temple no longer had a sacred grove of trees.<sup>143</sup> The expression “to behold the face of God” is rendered in the Septuagint as “to appear before God” (Pss 16 [17]:15; 62 [63]:3; etc.).



(1570-1345 B.C.). A. Lhote, *Peinture égyptienne*, fig. 78. *AOB*, no. 167. A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten*, p. 532, fig. 220.\*\*

130. Limestone relief: Luxor: first court of columns, first year of Ramses II (1301-1234 B.C.). W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 2, plates 71f.

131. Bronze relief, h. ca. 28 cm.: Balawat: Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.). L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. 21. *ANEP*, no. 362. A. Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 127. R. D. Barnett and W. Forman, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, fig. 159.\*\*

132. Relief: Nimrud: central palace of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.); BM 118903 and 115634. R. D. Barnett and W. Forman, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, figs. 40f. R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *Sculptures*, pp. 14ff., plates 37-40.\*\*

132a. Relief, w. ca. 1.70 cm.: Beit el-Wali (ca. 50 km. south of Aswan): entrance hall of the temple, north wall, second scene from the east: Ramses II (1301-1234 B.C.). H. Ricke et al., *Beit el Wali Temple*, pl. 12, cf. pl. 10, text 13. H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, pp. 238f., pl. 36. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 2, pl. 163. Drawing by J. F. Foster.

133. Wall painting (section): Tell 'Ahmar, 8th c. B.C.; destroyed; copy, L. Cavro, Paris. A. Parrot, *Assur*, figs. 116 (section), 117.\*\*

134. Relief: Nineveh: palace of Sennacherib, Room 33 (704-681 B.C.); BM 124801. R. D. Barnett and W. Forman, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, fig. 130.\*\*

135. Slate palette, ca. 25 × 20 cm.: late prehistorical period (before 2850 B.C.); BM 20791. F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, p. 14, pl. E. W. Wolf, *Kunst*, fig. 46. *IWB*, vol. 3, p. 110.\*\*

136. Bronze gate, h. 28 cm. Tell Balawat: Shalmaneser II (858-824 B.C.); BM. L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. 50. *IWB*, vol. 3, pp. 232f.\*\*

137. Relief, Nineveh, Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.); BM 124822. Drawing by A. Aebischer from a photograph by the author. Cf. A. H. Layard, *Monuments*, pl. 15.

138. Stele, width of section ca. 65 cm.: funerary temple of Merneptah: Amenophis III (1413-1377 B.C.); Cairo. W. Westendorf, *Ägypten*, p. 107. Cf. J. Leclant, "La 'Mascarade'"; S. Schott, "Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol."\*\*

139. Relief, Khorsabad, Sargon II (721-705 B.C.); lost. P. E. Botta, *Monuments*, vol. 2, pl. 141. *AOB*, no. 136. *ANEP*, no. 370. *IWB*, vol. 3, p. 66. Cf. M. Riemschneider, "Uraräische Bauten," pp. 325-28.\*\*

140. Bronze relief, h. ca. 28 cm.: Tell

Balawat, Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.); BM. L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. 8.\*

141. Limestone relief: Luxor: first court of columns, exterior of the west wall: Ramses II (1301-1234 B.C.). W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 2, pl. 65. W. Wolf, *Kunst*, fig. 574.

142. Basalt stele, h. 90 cm.: near Tell Ashara (Terqa), Tukulti-Ninurta II (888-884 B.C.); Aleppo. H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur*, pl. 83. Cf. R. J. Tournay and S. Saouaf, "Stèle de Tukulti-Ninurta II," pp. 169-90; H. G. Güterbock, "A Note on the Stela," p. 123.\*

143. Orthostatic relief, h. of section ca. 65 cm.: Alaça Hüyük, 15th c. B.C.; Ankara, Hittite Museum. E. Akurgal and M. Hirmer, *Kunst*, pl. 94. M. Riemschneider, *Herbiter*, pl. 54. *IWB*, vol. 3, p. 31.\*\*

144. Sandstone relief: Edfu: Temple, western enclosure wall, interior, first register, 12th scene: Ptolemy IX/Alexander I (107-88 B.C.). E. Chassinat, *Edfou*, vol. 13, pl. 513, G. Roeder, *Mythen*, fig. 28.\*\*

145. Proto-Ionic capital: Jerusalem: probably from the time of Solomon (970-932 B.C.). K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, pl. 20.\*\*

146. Monolith of Silwan, Jerusalem, 8th c. B.C. L. H. Vincent, *Jérusalem*, vol. 1, pp. 328-30, pl. 71.

147. Various forms of the primeval hill. Freehand drawing. Cf. H. Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 152-154.\*\*

148. Sculpture, h. 35 cm, 19th Dynasty (1345-1200 B.C.); Florence. H. Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 33.\*\*

149. Pyramid of Djoser, 109 × 124 m., h. 62 m.: Sakkarah, Third Dynasty (2650-2600 B.C.). *ANEP*, no. 764. W. Westendorf, *Ägypten*, p. 29.\*

150. Busink's reconstruction of the "Tower of Babel," in A. Parrot, *Sintflut*, p. 92, fig. 15.

151. Plan of Jerusalem at the time of Solomon (970-932 B.C.). K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, p. 81.

152. Diagram of the north-south line of Ophel, drawn from Fig. 151. Drawing by U. Winter.

153. Relief, gypsum, h. 1.36 m.: Assur: fountain of the Assur temple: second half of the second millennium B.C.; Berlin, VA 1358 W. Andrae, *Kultrelief*, pl. 1. A. Moortgat, *Kunst*, pp. 115f., pl. 236. *ANEP*, no. 528. A. Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 9.\*\*

153a. Ivory inlay: figure of the mountain deity, ca. 14. cm. high: Assur: New Palace, ca. 1500 B.C.; Berlin, Staatliche Museen. W. Andrae, *Kultrelief*, pp. 5f., pl. 6a. A. Moortgat, *Kunst*, fig. 243.\*\*

154. The Holy Rock at Jerusalem. Drawing by H. Schmidt in *Der heilige Fels*, pp. 102f., fig. 1; cf. fig. 2. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 11, fig. 5.
155. Rock at Gezer. R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 2., p. 401, fig. 490.
156. Rock at Megiddo. G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, vol. 1, fig. 226, pl. 49. AOB, no. 409. K. Galling, *BRL*, cols. 17f., figs. 1, 2.
157. Limestone relief: Karnak: Temple, exterior of the south wall of the great hall: Ramses II (1301–1234 B.C.). *LD*, vol. 6, pl. 145c. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 2, pl. 58. AOB, no. 102. ANEP, no. 334 (greatly simplified). Cf. Fig. 199.\*\*
158. Relief, gypsum, h. 1.06 m.: Nimrud: Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.); BM 118908. R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *Sculptures*, pl. 70. AOB, no. 133. ANEP, no. 366. M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia*, fig. 190. B. Meissner, "Palästinensische Städtbilder," pp. 261–63.\*\*
- 158a. Relief, sandstone: Soleb (ca. 600 km. south of Aswan): Temple, west side of the northern tower of the second pylon: Amenophis III (1413–1377 B.C.). J. H. Breasted, "Second Preliminary Report," pp. 89–92, fig. 51; cf. fig. 50 (the drawing is greatly simplified; e.g., the king is seen at every gate, and not merely at two of them). A section appears in *LD*, vol. 5, pl. 83c. A. Moret, *Royauté pharaonique*, fig. 32.
- 159–161. Tenaillé gates at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer. Y. Yadin, "Solomon's City Wall," pp. 84f.
162. Wall painting: West Thebes: Dra Abu'l Naga: tomb of Panehsi (no. 16): Ramses II (1301–1234 B.C.). G. Foucart et al., *Tombeau de Panehsy*, p. 31, fig. 16. A section appears in W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 1, pl. 114. Drawing by M. Baud.
- 162a. Wall painting, w. ca. 1.70 cm.: West Thebes: Choche: Tomb of Neferhotep (no. 49), right side of the north wall of the inner chamber: period of Eje (1349–1345 B.C.). N. Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-Hotep*, vol. 1, pp. 28–32, pl. 41; vol. 2, plates 3, 6. Drawing by N. de G. Davies.
163. Granite statue, length of base, 2.11 m.: Soleb (Sudan), whence it was brought to Gebel Barkal: Amenophis III (1413–1377 B.C.); BM. W. Westendorf, *Ägypten*, p. 108.\*\*
164. Bronze relief, l. 2.37 m., h. 1.07 m.: Tell Obeid: first half of the third millennium B.C.; BM. A. Parrot, *Sumer*, fig. 187. H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur*, pl. 40. M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia*, fig. 93. Cf. ANEP, no. 599.\*\*
165. Three-dimensional figure, fired clay: Tell Harmal, near Baghdad: beginning of the second millennium, B.C. A. Parrot, "Acquisitions," p. 10, fig. 6. Idem, *Sumer*, figs. 354, 356.
166. Lion orthostat, basalt: Hazor: Temple: pavement of the burial quadrant 2161, stratum 3: Late Bronze Period (15th–13th c. B.C.); Jerusalem, Israel Museum. Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor IV–V*, pls. 120, 2, 328. ANEP, no. 856.\*\*
167. Fragment of a ceramic shrine, Gezer. R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 2, p. 437, figs. 517–19.
- 167a. Relief: East Thebes: Luxor Temple, Great Court of Ramses II, southwest wall: Ramses II (1304–1238 B.C.). E. Otto and M. Hirmer, *Osiris und Amun*, pl. 33.\*\*
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174. Reconstruction of Ezekiel's temple plan. I. Benzinger, *Bilderatlas*, p. 293. *BHH*, vol. 3, cols. 1943f.
175. Reconstructed plan of the Herodian temple. H. Schmidt, *Der heilige Fels*, figs. 11, 11a.
176. Khonsu Temple, Karnak, 20th Dynasty (1200–1085 B.C.). J. Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 941, fig. 440.
177. Horus Temple, l. 137 m.: Edfu, 237–57 B.C. W. Wolf, *Kunst*, p. 606, fig. 609.
178. Baal Temple, Ugarit, ca. 2000 B.C. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit," *Syria* 15 (1934): 122, fig. 14. Cf. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, pp. 478–80.
179. Plan of the temple at Baalbek, 1st–

2nd c. A.D. P. Collart and P. Coupel, *L'autel monumental de Baalbek*, pl. 3.

180. Section of a limestone stele (height of section, 32 cm.): Ur, Urnammu (ca. 2050 B.C.); Philadelphia, University Museum. ANEP, no. 306. A. Parrot, *Sumer*, figs. 279–282. H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur*, pl. 54.\*\*

181. Ceramic fragment, h. 15 cm.: Tell Far'ah (Negev, ca. 30 km. WNW of Beersheba), 19th Dynasty (1345–1200 B.C.). H. G. May and R. M. Engberg, *Material Remains*, pl. 40b. I. Seibert, *Hirt-Herde-König*, p. 38, fig. 17. Cf. H. G. May, "The Sacred Tree."

182. Cultic stand, painted clay, h. 106 cm.: Meggido (1350–1150 B.C.); Loud, *Meggido*, vol. 2, pl. 251.\*\*

183. Limestone basin, h. 1.85 m., diam. 2.2 m.: Amathont (Cyprus), probably 6th c. B.C.; Louvre. G. Perrot and G. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. 3, p. 280, fig. 211. H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, nos. 281f. Cf. A. Parrot, *Le temple de Jérusalem*, pp. 99f.\*\*

183a. Basalt sculpture, l. 2.40 m., h. 1.10 m.: Carchemish: temple court: 9th c. B.C.; Ankara. C. L. Wooley and T. E. Lawrence, *Carchemish*, vol. 3, pl. B47, pp. 168f. Orthmann, *Spätethetische Reliefs*, pl. 25c.\*\*

184. Relief: Baalbek: great court of the Jupiter Temple, east side of the north water basin: Roman Period (2nd c. A.D.). T. Wiegand et al., *Baalbek*, pl. 111.\*

185. Dolerite relief, h. 1.17 m.: Assur: fountain of the Assur Temple: 8th–7th c. B.C.; Berlin, VA. W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, p. 155, pl. 2b. A. Parrot, *Assur*, p. 74, fig. 82.\*\*

186. Cylinder seal, carnelian, h. 3.7 cm., diam. 1.7 cm.: 9th–8th c. B.C.; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. ANEP, no. 706. M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia*, fig. 252. Cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. 34b.\*\*

187. Limestone relief, Abydos, temple of Seti I (1317–1301 B.C.). A. M. Calverley et al., *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 3.\*\*

188. Portable kettle, bronze: Larnaca (Cyprus), Late Mycenaean Period (1400–1200 B.C.); Berlin. A. Furtwängler, "Über ein . . . Bronzegerät," p. 411. *AOB*, no. 505. *IWB*, vol. 2, p. 217. Cf. *AOB*, no. 506; *ANEP*, no. 587.\*\*

189. Ivory, Nimrud, 9th–8th c. B.C. R. D. Barnett, *Catalogue*, pl. 33f. *BL*, col. 1031, fig. 67, fig. 2.\*\*

190. Gold lamella, l. 20 cm.: Enkomi-Alasia: grave no. 2: Neo-Cypriot Period (1430–1350 B.C.). C. F. A. Schaeffer, "La coupe en argent," pp. 57f.\*

191. Wall painting, l. 2.5 m., h. 1.75 m.: Mari: period of Hammurabi (1728–1686 B.C.); copy (after the original) in the Louvre. A. Parrot, *Sumer*, pp. 279f., fig. 346. M. T. Barrelet, "Une peinture de la cour 106," pl. 1. Cf. A. Moortgat, *Kunst*, p. 74.\*\*

192. Cylinder seal (impression) from Kül-tepe, 19th–18th c. B.C.; Ankara, Inventory No. Kt. a/k 462. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, no. 67 (cf. nos. 49 and 71).\*\*

193. Step-altar, hewn sandstone, with *massebab*: Petra: El-Meesara. K. Galling, *BRL*, cols. 17f., fig. 4. *AOB*, no. 449.\*

194. Attempted reconstruction of the altar of Ezekiel by E. Avi-Yonah. *IWB*, vol. 3, p. 201. Cf. *BHH*, vol. 1, col. 64.

195. Limestone altar, h. 54.5 cm.: Megiddo, near the sacred precincts: 10th–9th c. B.C.; Jerusalem, Palestine Museum. H. G. May and R. M. Engberg, *Material Remains*, pp. 12f., pl. 12. ANEP, no. 575. After a photograph by the author.\*\*

196. Relief: Amarna: Tomb of Panhesi: Amenophis IV (1377–1358 B.C.). N. de G. Davies, *Amarna*, vol. 2, pl. 18. J. Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 683, fig. 379.

197. Incense altar with an Aramaean inscription, Lachish, 5th–4th c. B.C.; Jerusalem, Palestine Museum. O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish*, vol. 3, pp. 286, 358f., pl. 49.3. Y. Aharoni, "Trial Excavation," pp. 163f., pl. 10a.\*

198. Incense stand, ceramic, h. 67 cm.: Megiddo, 1150–1100 B.C.; Chicago, Oriental Institute A 20830. H. G. May and R. M. Engberg, *Material Remains*, pp. 20–23, pl. 20. ANEP, no. 583.\*\*

199. Section of the relief in Fig. 157.

200. Relief on an incense altar, Palmyra, 85 A.D.; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. *IWB*, vol. 3, p. 164. H. Ingholt, "Le sens," figs. 1, 2.\*\*

201. Relief: Nineveh: palace of Assurbanipal, Room S (668–626 B.C.); BM 124886. R. D. Barnett and W. Forman, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, fig. 98.\*\*

202. Relief, w. 1.32 m., h. 0.93 m.: Nineveh: palace of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.); BM 124939A. R. D. Barnett and W. Forman, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, fig. 134. A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des AO*, fig. 18. *BHH*, vol. 3, cols. 1385f. Drawing after a photograph in the British Museum.\*\*

203. Long-house types. V. Müller, "Types," p. 179, pl. 1. ANEP, no. 752.

204. Bent-axis house types. V. Müller, "Types," p. 180, pl. 2. ANEP, no. 753.

205. Bent-axis house. W. Andrae,

"Haus-Grab-Tempel," col. 1037.

206. Courtyard house. W. Andrae, "Haus-Grab-Tempel," col. 1037.

207. Clay model, l. ca. 60 cm.: ca. 15 km. northeast of Uruk. G. Gerster, "Ein sumerisches Tempelmodell."\*\*

208. Temple plans from Hazor, Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.). T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 398, fig. 100.

208a. Plan of the Mortuary Temple I and III at Lachish (I: ca. 1480 B.C.; III: ca. 1325–1230 B.C.). O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish II*, plates 66, 68. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, pp. 405–11.

209–213. Attempted reconstructions of the Solomonic temple at Jerusalem (970–932 B.C.).

209–210. Longitudinal section and ground plan. C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, vol. 1, pl. 16.

211–212. Longitudinal section and ground plan. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, pp. 167, 165, figs. 49, 48.

213. Attempted reconstruction of Wright, Albright, and Stevens, in T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, fig. 15.

214. Plan of the temple at Sicheim, Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1650 B.C.). E. Sellin, "Ausgrabung von Sicheim," pl. 33. *ANEP*, no. 868. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 389, fig. 96A.

215. Plan of a temple at Megiddo, Late Bronze Age (ca. 1400–1150 B.C.). T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 396, fig. 99. *ANEP*, no. 735.

216. Plan of a temple at Beth-Shan, Iron Age I (ca. 1200–930 B.C.). T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 425, fig. 114.

216a. Plan of a temple at Beth-Shan, Late Bronze Age (ca. 1400–1300 B.C.). T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 413, fig. 108. *ANEP*, no. 737.

217. Plan of the Sin-Shamash Temple: Assur: Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.). W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, p. 156, fig. 57.

218. Plan of the palace and temple at Tell Tainat, according to McEwan, in T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 599, fig. 166. *ANEP*, no. 739.

219 and 220. Plans of Roman temples in Syria. D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, plates 117f.

220a. Ivory, w. of section, 4 cm.: Abydos: Early Dynastic royal tombs nos. B 18, 19: King Aha (ca. 2850 B.C.). J. Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 836f., fig. 560.

221. White limestone *naos*, h. 60 cm., w. 32 cm.: Sidon (?): beginning of the 5th c. B.C.; Louvre, AO 2060. M. Noël Aimé-Giron, "Un *naos* phénicien," pl. 1f. S. Moscati, *Phöniker*, facing p. 139.\*

222. Limestone *naos*, h. 65 cm., w. 36 cm.: Sidon: first half of the 5th c. B.C. M. Noël Aimé-Giron, "Un *naos* phénicien," pl. 4. *AOB*, nos. 519f.

223. Fragment of a columnar furniture ornament, ivory, h. 13.8 cm.: Arslan Tash: 8th c. B.C. F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan Tash*, vol. 1, pp. 129f; vol. 2, pl. 44, fig. 93.\*\*

224. Bronze tripod, h. 12.1 cm.: Ras Shamra: 14th–13th c. B.C. H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, no. 786. *ANEP*, no. 588. G. Cornfeld, *Von Adam*, p. 304.\*\*

225. Clay model, h. 21 cm.: Idalion (Cyprus): Iron Age (8th–7th c. B.C.); Louvre. *AOB*, no. 523. H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, no. 16. A. Vigneau and A. Ozenfant, *Encyclopédie photographique*, vol. 2, p. 152A.\*\*

226. Lampstand, gray limestone, painted, h. ca. 23 cm.: Megiddo: 5th c. B.C. (?) G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, frontispiece, fig. 190. *AOB*, no. 467. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, pl. 10, fig. 72.\*\*

227. Wall painting, Synagogue at Dura Europos, 244 A.D. R. Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures*, p. 21, fig. 15. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, p. 295, fig. 71.

228. Relief, Titus Arch, Rome, 70 A.D. *AOB*, no. 509. G. Cornfeld, *Von Adam*, p. 315. L. H. Grollenberg, *Bildatlas*, figs. 207f. Cf. M. Kon, "The Menorah of the Arch of Titus."\*\*

229. Limestone relief, Abydos, temple of Seti I (1317–1301 B.C.). A. M. Calverley et al., *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 4.\*

230. Limestone relief, Abydos, temple of Seti I (1317–1301 B.C.). A. H. Calverley et al., *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 4.\*\*

231 and 232. Reddish-brown clay figure with light brown clay coating and black painting: height of the seated figure, 28.6 cm.; length of the cherub, 20 cm.: Ayia Irini: Cypriot-Archaic Period I (700–600 B.C.). E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. 2, p. 731, pl. 233, figs. 10f. H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, nos. 130f.\*\*

233. Carved ivory, l. ca. 13 cm.: Megiddo: 1350–1150 B.C.; Jerusalem, Palestine Museum 38780. G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 4, no. 2. *ANEP*, no. 332. For the other half, cf. Fig. 321; cf. B. S. J. Isserlin, "Psalm 68, Verse 14."\*

234. Ivory model of a throne, h. 2.6 cm., w. 1.7 cm.: Megiddo: 135–1150 B.C.);

Chicago, Oriental Institute. G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 4, no. 3. O. Eissfeldt, "Zur Deutung von Motiven," pl. 5, fig. 3.\*\*

235. Stone sarcophagus, length of section, 33 cm.: Byblos: Tomb 5: late second millennium B.C.; inscription ca. 1000 B.C.; Beirut. ANEP, no. 458; cf. nos. 456f., 459. KAI, no. 1.\*

236. Stele with relief: Hadrummetum (Sousse). S. Moscati, *Phöniker*, fig. 35, cf. fig. 9. B. H. Warmington, *Carthage*, fig. 8a.\*\*

237. Lead figurine, Baalbek, Roman Imperial Period. H. Seyrig, "La triade," pl. 84, fig. 1. Cf. R. Dussaud, "Temples et cultes," p. 47, fig. 7.\*

238. Relief: Meroë: Begrawiya: Lepsius' Pyramid Group C, Pyramid 15: west wall of the chapel of Prince Taktidamani, ca. 15 B.C.–15. A.D. LD, vol. 10, pl. 54e. A similar representation is found in the Osiris Chapel at the interior of the eastern *temenos*-wall at Karnak: 23rd Dynasty (middle of the 8th c. B.C.). Cf. C. F. Nims, *Thebes*, p. 107.

238a. Isometric representation of the sequence of portals in the sandstone temple at Kalabsha, l. 72 m., w. 35.5 m.: formerly ca. 56 km. south of Aswan; since relocation in 1962–1963, 18 km. south of Aswan: Late Ptolemaic-Augustan Period. K. G. Siegler, "Die Tore von Kalabsha," fig. 7. Drawing by U. Rombock.

239. Stone tablet with inscription, 18 × 30 cm. (scene, 18 × 10 cm.): Sippar (40 km. southwest of Baghdad): Nabuapaliddin (885–850 B.C.); BM 91000. AOB, no. 322. ANEP, no. 529. A. Parrot, *Assur*, fig. 215. M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia*, fig. 37. Cf. M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt," pp. 141–44.\*\*

240. Cylinder seal, h. 4 cm., Akkadian-Period (2350–2150 B.C.); private collection. R. M. Boehmer, *Entwicklung der Glyptik*, no. 915, fig. 353. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 131f., pl. 22k. D. Opitz, "Studien zur altorientalischen Kunst," pl. 3.2. ANEP, no. 690. Cf. E. D. van Buren, "Representations of Battles."\*

241. Fragment of a relief, limestone, h. 57 cm. (figure, ca. 38 cm.): Susa, Pazur-Šušinak (second half of the third millennium B.C.); Louvre. A. Parrot, *Sumer*, fig. 293. A. Moortgat, *Kunst*, pl. 158. R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, fig. 16.\*\*

242. Votive tablet, limestone, h. ca. 20 cm.: Ur, ca. 2500 B.C.; BM 188561. C. L. Woolley, *Ur*, p. 115. ANEP, no. 603. E. Heinrich, *Bauwerke*, p. 83, fig. 101.\*\*

243. Reconstruction of the Fortress Tem-

ple at Sichern, 21.3 × 23.6 m.; corner tower 7 × 5 m., walls 5.2 m. thick; the temple stands on a platform: 1650 B.C. T. A. Busink, *Tempel*, vol. 1, pp. 388–94, figs. 96–98. Cf. Fig. 214.

244. Tower of refuge, h. 12 m., diam. 9 m.: Jericho: preceramic Neolithic Age (7th millennium, B.C.). K. M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho*, pl. 25. ANEP, no. 863. H. Wildberger and M. Wolgensinger, *Biblische Welt*, fig. 40.\*

245. Limestone relief: Karnak: exterior of the north wall of the great hall, east projection: Seti I (1317–1301 B.C.). W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 2, plates 34, 35a, 39f., 42. AOB, no. 95. ANEP, nos. 327, 329. R. Givon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, pp. 39–60.\*\*

245a. Relief, w. ca. 2 m.: Karnak: temple of Ramses III in the forecourt of the Amon Temple, exterior of the west wall, north end: Ramses III (1197–1165 B.C.). H. H. Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 2, plates 81, 82. Drawing by D. N. Wilbur.

246. Bronze coin, Byblos, Emperor Marcianus (A.D. 217–218); BM. Inscription: "(Coin) of holy Byblos (*bieras byblou*)." S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 160f., pl. 33, no. 5. AOB, no. 521. R. Dussaud, "Note additionnelle," p. 133ff.\*\*

247. Coin, bronze, diam. ca. 3 cm., ca. 3 U.: Tyre, 3rd–4th c. A.D. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue*, pl. 33.14.\*\*

248. Holy of holies, view to the northwest: steps, two altars and a painted stele (without image): h. of the taller incense altar, 51 cm.: Arad, 10th–8th c. B.C.; Jerusalem, Israel Museum. BL, pl. 21. ANEP, no. 872.\*

249. Limestone relief, h. ca. 25 cm.: Sakkarah: tomb of Mereruka: Teti (6th Dynasty, 2350–2200 B.C.). ANEP, no. 133. H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, fig. 183a.\*\*

250. Tomb painting, h. ca. 60 cm.: Abd el-Qurna: tomb of Rekhmire (no. 100): Thutmose III (1502–1448 B.C.). N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, vol. 2, pl. 52. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, vol. 1, pl. 316. G. Posener et al., *Knaurs Lexikon*, p. 45.\*

251. Terra sigillata, Roman; Archäologisches Institut der Universität Tübingen. K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. xvi, fig. 25.\*\*

252. Liver model, clay, ca. 7.7 cm.: Hazor: burial area H: Jerusalem, Israel Museum. B. Landsberger and H. Tadmor, "Fragments of Clay Liver Models," p. 206f. Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor III–IV*, pl. 315. ANEP, no. 844.

253. Tomb painting: Valley of the Kings: tomb of Thutmose III (1502–1448 B.C.). A.