

“THE LORD WILL ROAR FROM ZION” (AMOS 1:2): THE LION AS A DIVINE ATTRIBUTE ON A JERUSALEM SEAL AND OTHER HEBREW GLYPHTIC FINDS FROM THE WESTERN WALL PLAZA EXCAVATIONS

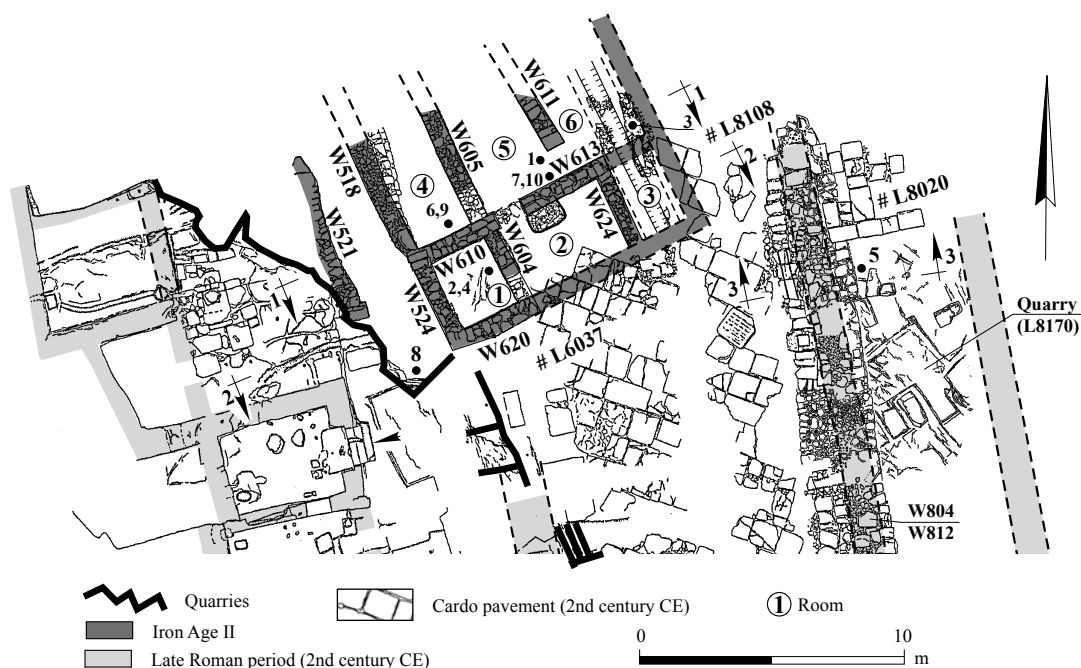
TALLAY ORNAN, SHLOMIT WEKSLER-BDOLAH, SHUA KISILEVITZ AND BENJAMIN SASS

A stamp seal bearing the image of a roaring lion and a Hebrew legend was found during the excavations of the Western Wall Plaza, in the Old City of Jerusalem.¹ The seal is only the second of its kind unearthed in Israel, the first being the seal of Shema‘, a high official of King Jeroboam II, discovered in Megiddo more than a century ago. The new find, moreover, is the first seal with a lion motif to be published from Iron Age II Jerusalem (but see n. 12), and one of only a few with a lion motif from Judah, the others all uninscribed. Four seals from the excavation have already been published (Ornan et al. 2008), and to these we add here the said seal, as well as another one and a bulla, both with Hebrew inscriptions. Besides these seven items, the excavation yielded one other seal and a sealing, as well as an Egyptian scarab (see

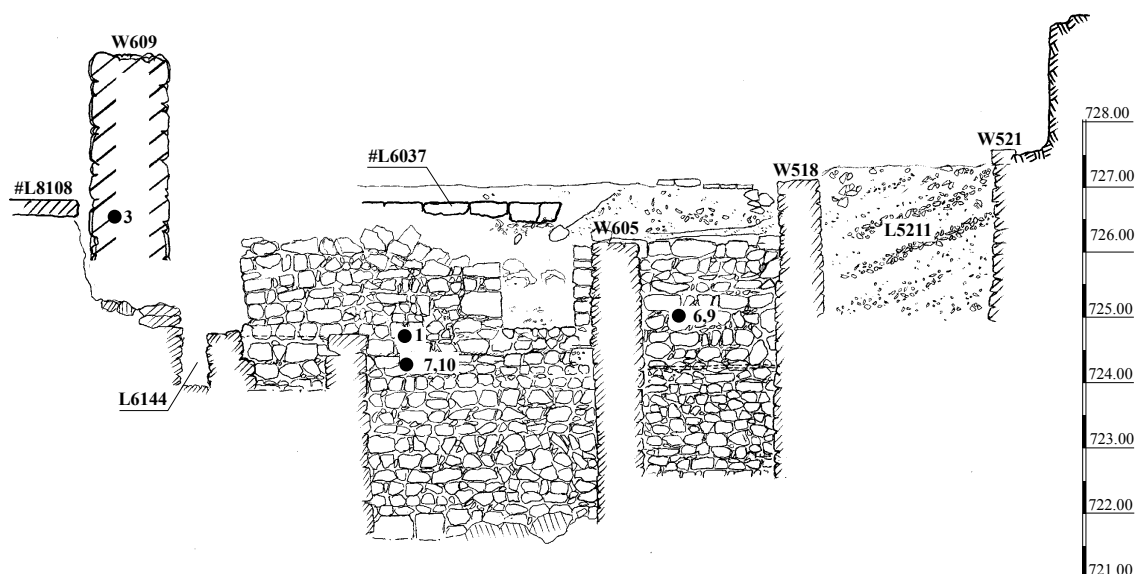
Ornan, this volume; Brandl, forthcoming; and Keel, this volume, respectively). The seal is anepigraphic, as is, most probably, the sealing. All ten items are discussed in the section “The Archaeological Context” below.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

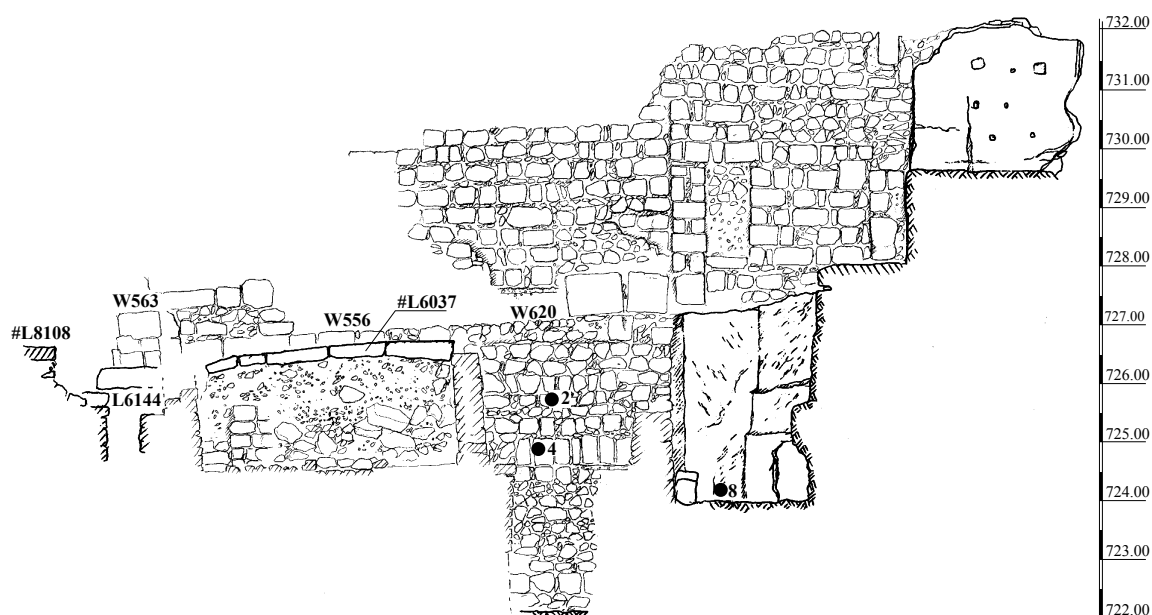
The Western Wall Plaza excavations took place between 2005 and 2010 on the northeastern slope of the western hill of Iron-Age Jerusalem, about 100 m west of the Western Wall. In the course of the excavations, a building, probably of the four-room house type, was partly uncovered (Ornan et al. 2008:116; Weksler-Bdolah et al. 2009; 2012:37–41). The house was built over an abandoned quarry (Plan 1), and its foundations were laid on the exposed



Plan 1. Iron Age II building and its vicinity, plan and sections (on following pages), with indication of the findspots.



I-1



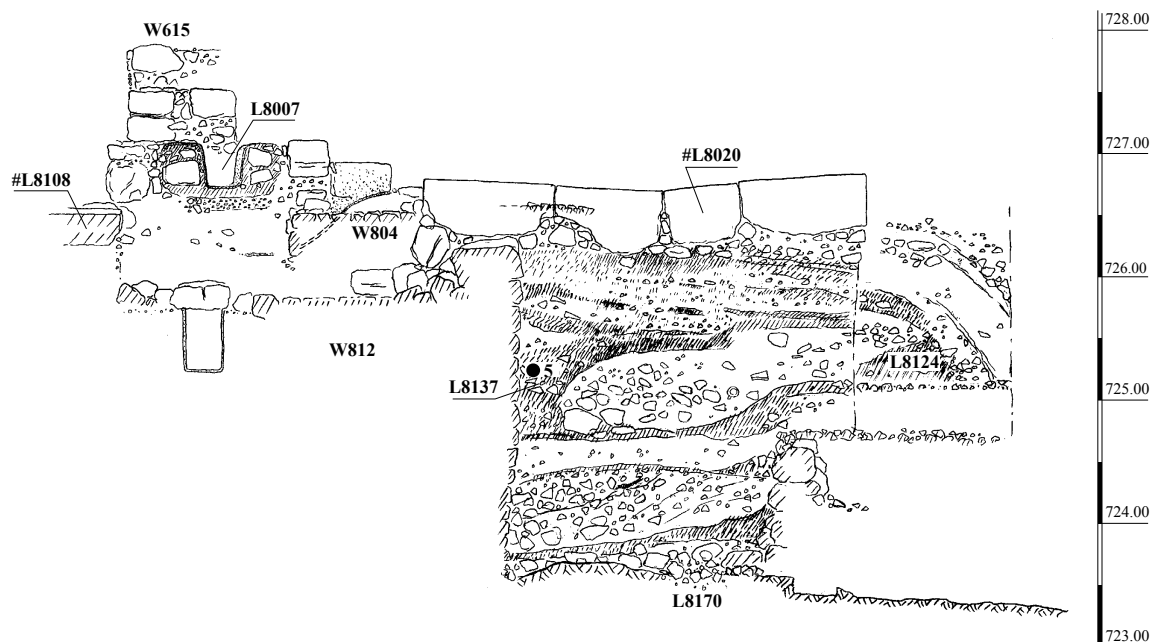
I-2

bedrock. Earthen fills were intentionally laid between the walls, up to floor levels.

These fills beneath the floors, which are up to 2.5 m thick, yielded numerous pottery sherds from the eighth and seventh centuries, some 200 fragments of terracotta figurines, and five marked handles, one of them with a *lmk* impression, three with incised concentric circles, and one with a *lmk* impression and

incised concentric circles. The latest pottery beneath the floors included forms typical of the seventh–early sixth centuries BCE, indicating that the building cannot be earlier than the seventh century.

The building was abandoned and destroyed in the first quarter of the sixth century BCE (Ornan et al. 2008; Weksler-Bdolah et al. 2008; 2009), but determining whether the time of the



3-3

destruction was 586 BCE or slightly earlier must await the full processing of the ceramic assemblage. After its collapse, the house was filled by slope wash. Finds within this fill date between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE.

Of the ten items listed in Table 1 and indicated on Plan 1 (numbered according to the order of their publication), seven were uncovered inside the Iron Age building. Three of these come from floor contexts (Room 5; Plan 1: Section 1–1): the bulla and sealing (Nos. 7, 10) were sealed in a fill, L6172, between the main floor of Room 5 (L6088) and a lower floor of a probably square installation (L6184); the seal inscribed *lntnyhw bn y's* (No. 1) was found on top of the same main floor, but may be part of its makeup (L6088). The other four seals (Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9; Rooms 1, 4; Plan 1: Sections 1–1, 2–2) come from the accumulations above the floors, and their depositional history is less clear. They may have originated in the building itself—either on the main floor or in the upper story—or in the debris of the Iron Age dwellings upslope, washed down after the neighborhood

was abandoned. Of the three remaining glyptic finds, No. 3, inscribed *lyd'yhw 'ws'*, was discovered in an Early Ottoman wall (W609; Plan 1: Section 1–1)² that cut through Rooms 3 and 6 of the four-room house; No. 5, the seal of *nw'*, was found in a Roman-period fill (L8137; Plan 1: Section 3–3) east of the same house; and the scarab (No. 8), in a clean Iron Age II fill above the quarried bedrock just west of the house (L6134; Plan 1: Section 2–2).

Some of the glyptic finds are thus linked to the four-room house, and several of the others may be assumed to have originated there as well (Table 1). As no intact or restorable pottery or other larger finds were uncovered *in situ* on the floors, with the exception of one intact lamp (Reg. No. 60958; Ornan et al. 2008:127), one may wonder about the contextual significance of the three items from Room 5 (Nos. 7 and 10, and possibly No. 1), and to some extent, about the four from Rooms 1 and 4: can they be considered *in situ* at all?³ We must postpone the discussion of this undoubtedly justified observation until all the finds are processed.

Table 1. All Seals and Bullae from the Excavation arranged by Contextⁱ

Item No.	Context	Provenience	Description	Sieving Find No.	Publication
1	Iron Age building, floor	Room 5, floor make-up or just above	Plain scaraboid inscribed <i>lntnyhw bn y's</i>	70229	Ornan et al. 2008: No. 1
7		Room 5, between upper and lower floors	Bulla—tiny fragment, inscription lost, palmette	71072	Herein, No. 7
10		Room 5, between upper and lower floors	Sealing—fragmentary, iconic, uninscribed(?)	71071	Brandl, forthcoming
2	Iron Age building, accumulation above top floor	Room 1	Plain scaraboid inscribed <i>l'... y or lq... y</i>	70344	Ornan et al. 2008: No. 2
4		Room 1	Plain scaraboid inscribed <i>lhgb</i>	71157	Ornan et al. 2008: No. 4
6		Room 4	Plain scaraboid inscribed ... <i>bn ...y</i>	71534	Herein, No. 6
9		Room 4	Circular stamp seal, winged uraeus, uninscribed	71586	Ornan, this volume
8	Iron Age quarry west of Iron Age building	Clean Iron Age fill	Scarab	71528	Keel, this volume
3	Post Iron Age	Early Ottoman wall, cutting into Iron Age building	Plain scaraboid inscribed <i>lyd'yhw 'ws'</i>	60841	Ornan et al. 2008: No. 3
5		Outside Iron Age building, Roman-period fill	Plain scaraboid inscribed <i>lnw'(?)</i>	80828	Herein, No. 5

ⁱ The items are numbered according to the order of their publication.

Table 2. The Context of the Two Seals and the Bulla

No.	Item	Locus	Basket No.	Provenience	Floor level	Basket level	Excavated	Wet-sieved	Sieving Find No.
5	Seal	8137	80828	Roman-period fill	—	725.40–724.99	20.08.2008	—	—
6	Seal	6106	60742	Room 4, above floor	724.91 (upper floor)	725.52–725.37	13.05.2008	13.01.2009	71534
7	Bulla	6172	61231	Room 5, between floors	724.70 (main floor) 724.03 (lower floor – installation?) ⁱ	724.23–724.03	30.07.2008	31.08.2008	71072

ⁱ In Ornan et al. 2008:118, Table 1 we indicated the upper floor only; the lower floor was discerned later.

THE SEALS AND BULLA

We turn now to the three new items. Table 2 summarizes the archaeological data.

NO. 5: SEAL WITH IMAGE OF ROARING LION, INSCRIBED לנא(?) , BELONGING TO NAWÂ(?) (Fig. 1)

Sieving Find No. 80828, L8137. Plain-backed limestone scaraboid, unperforated, 15 × 12 ×

7 mm. The stone contains iron oxides and is studded with fossils.⁴ The craftsmanship is poor, and the image is further obscured by considerable erosion and pockmarks.

Provenience (Plan 1)

Locus 8137, 8–9 m east–southeast of the Iron Age building, is part of a Roman-period fill with hardly any Iron Age finds. This fill or accumulation is located east of the Cardo's stylobate, overlying an Early Roman-period



Fig. 1. Seal No. 5: (a) drawing of impression and section; (b, c) sealing surface before cleaning; (d) sealing surface, cleaned; (e, f) modern impression, in different light-settings; (g) back; (h) side.

quarry that had in turn removed any pre-existing Iron Age remains.

Description

A disjointed single line delineates the border, and another serves as a field divider. In the top register, a poorly engraved roaring lion, showing several tool slips, walks to left (note: throughout the description, ‘left’ and ‘right’ are as on the impression; see Fig. 1:e, f); legend in the bottom register.⁵

The lion’s forelegs and tail are incised, the body and head executed by drilling and some modeling, and the upper and lower jaws are indicated by one drill-hole each. The right-hand hind leg is incised and drilled, and the left one probably incised; in both, the engraving tool slipped several times. Another drilling terminates the tail (the seemingly claw-like shape beyond is probably where the drill slipped again).

In the legend, the *lamed* and *nun* are clear, and the fourth letter is probably an *aleph* (best seen in the impression, Fig. 1:e). The third letter is damaged: If the underlying Y-shape (Fig. 1:e, f) constitutes the original engraving, we have a *waw* here, later obscured by erosion. Alternatively, the letter may have been a *resh*, of which only the lower part of the leg remains. If so, all the traces in the upper half of the line must be understood as damage. The chief justification for this less likely interpretation is the resulting well-known personal name *nr’*. See “The Names”, below.

The Lion Motif and Its Background

The lion is a timeless motif in the ancient Near East, whose various representations are loaded with multivalent meanings (Buchholz 2005; Strawn 2005). We may divide these representations into five main thematic groups:

1. Lion as the rival of a supernatural or royal figure.
2. Lion as a mount or attribute of a divine figure.
3. Lion as a guardian figure, usually one of a pair, positioned at the entrances of buildings or their pictorial renderings.

4. Lion pursuing another animal, mostly horned.
5. Lion as sole motif—found mainly on stamp-seals of the eighth–sixth centuries.

The last group is the one that interests us here. The lion as a sole motif continues a local glyptic tradition of Iron Age I and early Iron Age II (cf. Keel 1997: Achziv No. 204, Arad, No. 21; Keel and Uehlinger 1998:112–114; Fritz and Vieweger 1996:97–98; Münger 2009:120–121). In the following discussion, we focus on the eighth–sixth centuries, but let us turn to the lion’s divine associations first.

According to Wiggermann (1994:226–227), the motif of an animal or a fantastic hybrid serving as a mount of a deity derives from a reconstructed mythological past, when the god or goddess overcame a rival, appropriated its forces, made it his/her servant and symbolically stood on this erstwhile enemy. Although no direct evidence for the lion as a deity’s former enemy is recorded, the very depiction of a god or a goddess standing on a lion implies that the latter could have been conceived as a subdued rival. Pictorial representations of deities standing on lions and concurrently holding lions, as on the Amrit stele and on other objects, such as chariot and horse accessories,⁶ further support this conclusion.

A much-attested, securely identified deity related to the lion is Inanna/Ishtar, whose pictorial liaison with the beast is known in Mesopotamia already in the mid- to late third millennium (Seidl 1989:139; Collins 2009:23–24). In this context, we may suggest that the subjugation of the lion in first-millennium art, frequently performed by the king (Weissert 1997; Winter 2000:54–60; Collins 2009:30, 35, 98–99, 117–127), can thematically be linked to representations of the lion as Ishtar’s mount. Considering the close relationship of several Neo-Assyrian kings with Ishtar (cf. Livingstone 1989:34; Parpola 1997:xxxvi–xli), the lion as a rival of the king not only symbolized the enemies of Assyria (Weissert 1997), but also the primordial enemy of the goddess, an enemy whom the king vanquishes on her behalf (cf. Barnett 1969:419; Maul 2000:37).

The lion, when associated with the king or when depicted alone in a royal context, has often been considered a royal symbol (Buchanan and Moorey 1988:40; Seidl 1989:139; Keel and Uehlinger 1998:269; Strawn 2005:104, 125; Sass and Marzahn 2010:179–180). But, if the above reasoning is accepted, the lion's origin in ancient Near Eastern imagery is basically in the divine realm.

The lion in first-millennium representations, however, is associated not only with goddesses; in a few instances, it is found with male deities (Strawn 2005:125), mainly warrior gods, who seem to be more characteristic of the Levant than of Mesopotamia. Monumental examples are found in two early first-millennium steles from Syria, one from a mountain sanctuary at Jebel Qaḏbun, between Arwad and Hamath,⁷ the other, the just-mentioned Amrit stele. The motif of a smiting god on a lion is also known in Levantine glyptic, e.g., on the unprovenanced, inscribed stamp seal of *sdyrk* (WSS 1098),⁸ showing a male god striding on a lion and raising a stick-like weapon. A particularly relevant example for our discussion is an impression from Tell en-Naṣbeh, north of Jerusalem, showing a god mounted on a lion.⁹ The lion is standing on a symbol of three hills, in turn recalling the mountains on which the god on a lion strides in the Amrit stele.

An iconographical offshoot of the theme “deity on animal or hybrid” is the depiction of the animal/hybrid alone, transformed, as it were, into a stand-in for the deity (Maul 2000: 37–38). This, we suggest, is the case with the lion as a sole motif on our seal. Several similar seals were discovered in the territory that once belonged to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah: at Megiddo (two uninscribed seals and one inscribed *lšm* ‘*bd yrb*’*m*), Shechem and Tell en-Naṣbeh (an uninscribed seal from each; Fig. 2), and Hazor (uninscribed impressions).¹⁰ The lion as a sole motif is found on more inscribed West Semitic seals, Hebrew and other, mostly of unknown provenance.¹¹ Moreover, our lion seal, together with the uninscribed striding-lion seal and the god-on-the-lion impression



Fig. 2. Seal from Tell en-Naṣbeh, IAA I.5954 (photograph Israel Museum, not to scale).

from Tell en-Naṣbeh, ultimately confirm the conjecture (Sass 1993:221) that the Iron Age lion seals also typified Judah, and not only Israel.¹²

The role of the lion as a mount or an attribute of female and male deities, taken in conjunction with the common ancient Near Eastern convention of displaying an attribute animal in place of its signified deity, favors, as said, the same understanding of the lion when it is a sole motif. At the same time, it raises the question of whether the deity represented by the lion on the seal of Nawa is male or female. Considering the Jerusalem findspot, the date, the Hebrew script and the name of the seal owner, two divine candidates are in order, namely Ashera (or the Queen of Heaven) and Yahweh. However, as no clear, commonly accepted inscriptional evidence regarding the worship of Ashera in Judah is known (Hadley 2000:84–105), and the goddess is securely alluded to only in some biblical references (Hadley 2000: 54–83), it seems preferable to associate the lion in Judah with Yahweh, whose widespread cult in the kingdom during the eighth–sixth centuries is amply documented in the biblical, epigraphic and archaeological record. Reinforced by the Israelite origin of the Megiddo seal of *šm* ‘*bd yrb*’*m* and the lion impressions from Hazor, as well as by the earlier local Iron I–II tradition of representing male gods by lions (see above), it is further suggested that lions in both Israelite and Judahite seals symbolize Yahweh. This notion was already voiced before (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:114, 190–191; Strawn 2005:250–270),

although somewhat hesitantly.¹³ If this proposal is accepted, the lion will join other Yahwistic emblems—the two-winged disc and four-winged beetle that adorn various glyptic and other finds, notably the administrative state seals used for the impressions on the *lmk* jars (Ornan 2005:231–234), and the winged uraeus (e.g., on a seal from the present excavation, Table 1: No. 9; see Ornan, this volume).

Considering the high status of Shema', an official of Jeroboam II, documented on his Megiddo seal, one may ask whether Nawa, the owner of the Jerusalem seal, was a person of rank too, despite the lack of a title in his seal legend. The low-quality carving does not lend strength to this conjecture.

NO. 6: SEAL INSCRIBED י... בן ..., ... SON OF ...Y (Fig. 3)

Wet-Sieving Find No. 71534, Room 4, L6106. Fragment of a plain-backed scaraboid made of hippopotamus ivory (identified by Yuval

Goren), originally c. 16 × 12 × 12 mm in size; preserved width 6 mm, perforated lengthwise.

Provenience (Plan 1)

Locus 6106 forms part of an accumulation layer about 0.75 m thick, above the upper floor, rich in Iron Age II pottery and terracotta figurines. The accumulation may be local, or a wash from dwellings upslope. The uninscribed winged-uraeus seal (Table 1; Ornan, this volume), a jar handle with a *lmk šwkh* impression (60740) and another handle with incised concentric circles (71613) also come from this accumulation.

Description

Double-line border, no field divider preserved, two inscribed registers.

The material and fine engraving, including the meticulous double-line border, recall Seal No. 2 in Ornan et al. 2008 and another from the City of David excavations (Reich and Shukron 2009:359). All three seals may be the product of the same workshop.

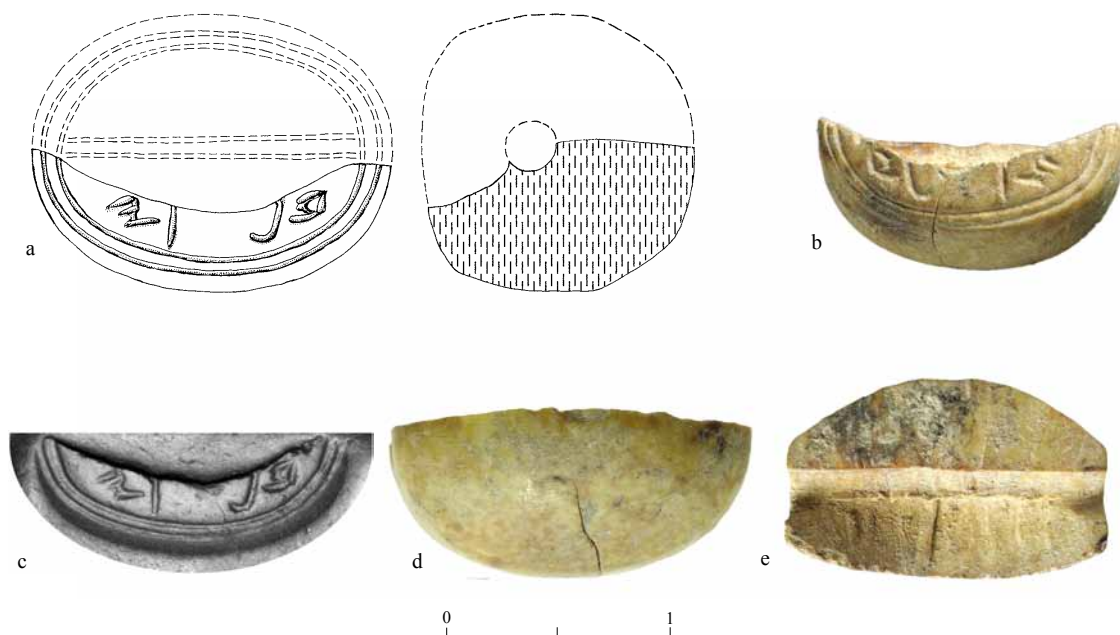


Fig. 3. Seal No. 6: (a) drawing of restored impression and section; (b) sealing surface; (c) modern impression; (d) back; (e) side.

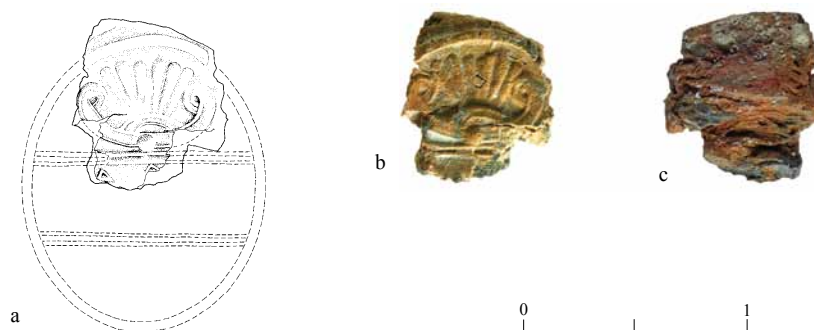


Fig. 4. Bulla No. 7: (a) drawing of restored obverse ; (b) obverse ; (c) reverse.

The top register with the seal-owner's name is missing. The bottom register contains the filiation *bn* and remnants of the patronymic, perhaps to be completed *hgy* or *hry* written with a tiny *het*, now lost, high on the line; however, other restorations may be possible.

NO. 7: BULLA WITH PALMETTE, INSCRIPTION BROKEN (Fig. 4)

Wet-Sieving Find No. 71072, Room 5, L6172.

Tiny flake, barely 2 mm thick, of a fired bulla. The sealing surface would have been c. 15 × 12 mm in size, of which only the top 7.5 × 7.5 mm remain.

Provenience (Plan 1)

Locus 6172 is a fill between the main floor (L6080) and the lower floor of a probably square installation (L6184).

Description

The layout of the seal with which our bulla was impressed may confidently be reconstructed after the unprovenanced seal *WSS* 166 (Fig. 5).¹⁴ The latter lacks the raised dot, however, and its proportions are slightly more elongated.

Double-line field dividers, only the top one remaining. The imprint of the metal mount in which the seal was set is visible, concealing the seal's border; the latter was presumably



Fig. 5. Unprovenanced seal of *hnnnyhw bn 'kbr*, Berlin VA 33: modern impression (*WSS* 166).

double-line too, as befits finer inscribed Hebrew seals. In the top register, a trunkless palmette with a dot at its bottom center;¹⁵ in the two lower registers an inscription, now lost (possible traces of two letters in the little that remains of the middle register). The raised dot at the base of the palmette seems to stand for the small triangle often found at the same spot in more detailed images on ivories and metal bowls (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938: Pl. 21:2; Herrmann, Coffey and Laidlaw 2004: Nos. S1213, S1214; Markoe 1985:242, 243, 248, 249, 256, 258).

THE NAMES

The names *nr'* in Seal No. 5 and *hgy* in No. 6, if identified correctly (see below), are amply attested in epigraphic Hebrew and in the Bible; see for instance *WSS*:496, 516.

The more likely reading of the former name, *nw'*, hitherto undocumented as far as we know, is a hypocoristic from *nwy*, “DN is my/ an abode/pasture”, or else “DN is beauty”, if one of the interpretations of the verbal *נָחַ* (Exodus 15:2), is accepted. See further *BDB*, s.v. *נָחַ*, and compare with *hwš'yhw bn nwy* and *hwš'yhw nwh* in Ostraca 10 and 24 from Ḥorbat 'Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:139 and 164 respectively), and an uncertain *nwy* in an Aramaic graffito of the Persian period from Egypt (*KWIC*:379).¹⁶ The interpretation “abode” finds comparisons in personal names composed with *hšy*, “refuge, shelter”, principally Hebrew

mšyhw (*WSS*:500), and *'hl*, “tent, shelter, clan” (*WSS*:477; Sass and Marzahn 2010:167).

The alternative reading *hry* of the name in Seal No. 6 is little documented in epigraphic Hebrew (*WSS*:500), but compare *חרי*, the proposed original of *חדי*, Hiddai, in 2 Samuel 23:30 (Zadok 1988:142).

GLYPHIC FINDS FROM JERUSALEM

The number of seals and bullae from excavations in Jerusalem, inscribed in Hebrew as well as uninscribed, has increased manyfold in recent years. It was long thought that only the privileged possessed personal seals, but the introduction of wet-sieving has taught us otherwise (Ornan et al. 2008:115). Paraphrasing Herodotus on the Babylonians,¹⁷ we may now say that in Jerusalem, too, “everyone” had a seal in his pocket.¹⁸

NOTES

¹ The excavations (Permit Nos. A-4604, A-4710, A-5002, A-5432, A-5568) were initiated and financed by The Western Wall Heritage Foundation on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority. They were directed by Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah and Alexander Onn, with the participation of Zvi Greenhut (Iron Age pottery analysis), Shua Kisilevitz and Brigitte Ouahnouna (area supervisors), and Larisa Shilov and Kiyoshi Inoue (wet-sieving). The plan is by surveyors Vadim Essman, Mark Kipnis, Mark Kunin and Yaakov Shmidov, and draftspersons Natalia Zak, Elizabet Belashov and Irina Berin. The seals discussed herein were found in 2008 under Permit No. A-5432. Josef Bukengolts treated seals 1 and 4 in the laboratory. The photographs are by Clara Amit (Figs. 1:b, d, g, h; 3:b, d, e; 4:b, c), Benjamin Sass (Figs. 1:e, f; 3:c), Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah (Fig. 1:c); the drawings, by Dalit Weinblatt Krauz (Figs. 1:a; 4:a) and Noga Ze'evi (Fig. 3:a). Our thanks to the anonymous reader for several corrections and suggestions.

² An Ottoman rather than Medieval wall, as it was designated previously (Ornan et al. 2008:117). This

wall is not shown on Plan 1 (Iron Age to Late Roman period), but marked schematically in Section 1–1.

³ We are grateful to Hillel Geva for this observation.

⁴ Our thanks to Yuval Goren, who identified the materials of the two seals.

⁵ The photograph was first published in Weksler-Bdolah and Onn 2010:125; Weksler-Bdolah et al. 2012:40 Fig. D.

⁶ The stele attributed to Amrit possibly originated in nearby Tell Kazel on the Syrian-Lebanese border (Gubel 2002:51–53; to the bibliography there add Warmenbol 1983:69–70, Pl. VIIc). For more compositions of a deity standing on a lion and holding two others, cf. a bronze chariot standard from Zincirli (von Luschan and Andrae 1943:78–79, Fig. 90; Pl. 40d) and a bronze horse frontlet from Tell Tayinat (Kantor 1962).

⁷ Bounni 1992; Abu Assaf 1992; Ornan 2006:306–307, Fig. 8, with earlier examples of the theme. On the findspot, see Briquel-Chatonnet 2005:25–26.

⁸ The pre-1967 acquisition date reduces the doubt as to the authenticity of the seal (see Ornan et al. 2008: n. 6).

⁹ IAA 34–101. McCown 1947:153–154, 297, Pl. 55:81; Keel 1994: Fig. 99; cf. a winged Ba'al-Seth on a seal from Megiddo, Keel and Uehlinger 1998: Fig. 134a, and a god on a lion from Tell Far'ah South, Cornelius 1994:203–204, Pl. 50 BM65.

¹⁰ Megiddo: Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pls. 67:52; 72:11; Deutsch 2000:426–427; WSS 2. Shechem: Toombs and Wright 1963:41, Fig. 18:7 (compare a jar-handle impression from Tell Deir 'Alla, Eggler and Keel 2006:401, No. 20). Tell en-Naşbeh: McCown 1947:150, 296, Pl. 55:74. Hazor: Yadin et al. 1960: Pls. 89:5, 102:23, 162:5. For the lion as a main motif, striding over symbols or enemies, see Keel and Uehlinger 1998:268–269, Figs. 268a, b.

¹¹ WSS 843 comes from Khorsabad. WSS 851, 1104, 1111, 1135, 1145 and 1169, of unknown provenience, were bought before 1967. WSS 100, 391, 1141 and 1168 were acquired after 1967, which adds to the doubt about their authenticity (see Ornan et al. 2008: n. 6); the former two, however, broken and also damaged, may be less suspect than the last two.

¹² Dated to the ninth–eighth centuries, a seal from the City of David shows a striding lion, separated by a double line from a perpendicularly depicted human who raises his hand (Brandl 2012:383–384) in a gesture of veneration, signifying the beast as a focus of worship. An unpublished, uninscribed ivory stamp seal depicting a lion found in Yigal Shiloh's

excavation at the City of David should be added to these. Sincere thanks are due to Baruch Brandl for bringing the seal to our attention.

¹³ Strawn (2009:53, 59–67) suggested further that it was a female deity who served as the model for Yahweh's leonine image, even though he did not exclude the alternative of a male deity (Strawn 2009:68–69). For the biblical references linking Yahweh with the lion, see Strawn 2005:25–74.

¹⁴ WSS 166 was bought in Jerusalem in 1870, its authenticity reasonably supported by the early acquisition date. Most other seals and bullae with Hebrew inscriptions and a similar motif and layout were acquired on the antiquities market after 1967 and their genuineness is in doubt (see also Ornan et al. 2008: n. 6).

¹⁵ To be exact, the dot is slightly off center, to the left.

¹⁶ We are grateful to André Lemaire for an enlightening consultation about *nwy* in personal names. Some recently marketed inscribed seals bearing the same name-component are better not considered (see n. 14 with reference).

¹⁷ "The dress of the Babylonians is a linen tunic... They have long hair... Every one carries a seal and a walking-stick..." (*Histories* I 195).

¹⁸ The rarity of seals with female names (e.g., Reich and Sass 2006:317) indicates that women were less fortunate in this regard.

REFERENCES

- Abu Assaf A. 1992. Eine Stele des Gottes Ba'al im Museum von Tartūs. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 6:247–252.
- Barnett R.D. 1969. 'Anath, Ba'al and Pasargadae. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 65:410–428.
- BDB: F. Brown, with the cooperation of S.R. Driver and Ch.A. Briggs. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, Mass. 1996.
- Beit-Arieh I. 2007. *Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev* (Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 25). Tel Aviv.
- Bounni A. 1992. La stèle de Qaḏbun. *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale* 4:141–150.
- Brandl B. 2012. Scarabs, Scarboids, other Stamp Seals, and Seal Impressions. In A. de Groot and H. Bernick-Greenberg. *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh VIII: Area E; The Finds* (Qedem 54). Jerusalem. Pp. 377–396.
- Brandl B. Forthcoming. An Israelite Basket Box Sealing from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations. *Atiqot*.
- Briquel-Chatonnet F. 2005. Les cités de la côte phénicienne et leur sanctuaires de montagne. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7:20–33.
- Buchanan B. and Moorey P.R.S. 1988. *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum III: The Iron Age Stamp Seals*. Oxford.
- Buchholz H.-G. 2005. Beobachtungen zur nahöstlichen, zyprischen und frühgriechischen Löwenikonographie. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 37:27–215.
- Collins P. 2009. *Assyrian Palace Sculptures*. Austin.

- Cornelius I. 1994. *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c. 1500–1000 BCE)* (OBO 140). Fribourg–Göttingen.
- Crowfoot J.W. and Crowfoot G.M. 1938. *Samaria-Sebaste 2: The Ivories from Samaria*. London.
- Deutsch R. 2000. A 'Babylonian' Grave from Area F. In I. Finkelstein, D. Ussishkin and B. Halpern eds. *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons* (Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 18). Tel Aviv. Pp. 424–428.
- Eggler J. and Keel O. 2006. *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien vom Neolithikum bis zur Perserzeit* (OBO, Series Archaeologica 25). Fribourg–Göttingen.
- Fritz V. and Vieweger D. 1996. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Kinneret (Tell el-'Orēme) 1994 und 1995. *ZDPV* 112:81–99.
- Gubel E. 2002. *Art phénicien: La sculpture de tradition phénicienne*. Paris–Gand.
- Hadley J.M. 2000. *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah: Evidence for a Hebrew Goddess*. New York.
- Herrmann G., Coffey H. and Laidlaw S. 2004. *The Published Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud*. London.
- Kantor H.J. 1962. A Bronze Plaque with Relief Decoration from Tell Tainat. *JNES* 21:93–117.
- Keel O. 1994. *The Song of Songs: A Continental Commentary*. Minneapolis.
- Keel O. 1997. *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit I: Von Tell Abu Farağ bis 'Atlit* (OBO, Series Archaeologica 13). Fribourg–Göttingen.
- Keel O. This volume. A Scarab from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations, Jerusalem.
- Keel O. and Uehlinger Chr. 1998. *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*. Minneapolis.
- KWIC: B. Porten and J.A. Lund. *The Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance and Prosopography*. Winona Lake 2002.
- Lamon R.S. and Shipton G.M. 1939. *Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925–34, Strata I–IV* (OIP 62). Chicago.
- Livingstone A. 1989. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (State Archives of Assyria 3). Helsinki.
- Luschan F. von and Andrae W. 1943. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V: Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli* (Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen 15). Berlin.
- Markoe G.E. 1985. *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*. Berkeley.
- Maul S.M. 2000. Der Sieg über die Mächte des Bösen. Götterkampf, Triumphrituale und Torarchitektur in Assyrien. In T. Hölscher ed. *Gegenwelten. Zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*. Munich–Leipzig. Pp. 19–46.
- McCown C.C. 1947. *Tell en-Nasbeh I: Archaeological and Historical Results*. Berkeley.
- Münster S. 2009. "Handle with Care"—Notes on Stamp-Seal Impressions on Jar Handles and a Bulla from Early Iron Age Tell el-'Orēme/Tēl Kinrōt. *ZDPV* 125:116–138.
- Ornan T. 2005. A Complex System of Religious Symbols: The Case of the Winged Disc in First-Millennium Near Eastern Imagery. In C.E. Suter and Chr. Uehlinger eds. *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art of the First Millennium BCE* (OBO 210). Fribourg–Göttingen. Pp. 207–241.
- Ornan T. 2006. The Lady and the Bull. Remarks on the Bronze Plaque from Tel Dan. In Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits eds. *Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context. A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*. Winona Lake. Pp. 297–312.
- Ornan T. This volume. Member in the Entourage of Yahweh: A Uraeus Seal from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations, Jerusalem.
- Ornan T., Weksler-Bdolah S., Greenhut Z., Sass B. and Goren Y. 2008. Four Hebrew Seals, One Depicting an Assyrian-Like Archer, from the Western Wall Plaza Excavations, Jerusalem. *'Atiqot* 60:115–129.
- Parpola S. 1997. *Assyrian Prophecies* (State Archives of Assyria 9). Helsinki.
- Reich R. and Sass B. 2006. Three Hebrew Seals from the Iron Age Tombs at Mamilla, Jerusalem. In Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits eds. *Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context. A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*. Winona Lake. Pp. 313–320.
- Reich R. and Shukron E. 2009. Two Hebrew Seals and Three Hebrew Bullae from the City of David in Jerusalem. *Eretz-Israel* 29:358–362 (Hebrew; English summary 293*).
- Sass B. 1993. The Pre-Exilic Hebrew Seals: Iconism vs. Aniconism. In B. Sass and Chr. Uehlinger eds. *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals* (OBO 125). Fribourg–Göttingen. Pp. 194–256.
- Sass B. and Marzahn J. 2010. *Aramaic and Figural Stamp Impressions on Bricks of the Sixth Century B.C. from Babylon* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 127; Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Babylon 10). Wiesbaden.

- Seidl U. 1989. *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs* (OBO 87). Fribourg–Göttingen.
- Strawn B.A. 2005. *What is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (OBO 212). Fribourg–Göttingen.
- Strawn B.A. 2009. Whence Leonine Yahweh? Iconography and the History of Israelite Religions. In M. Nissinen and C.E. Carter eds. *Images and Prophecy in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 233). Göttingen. Pp. 51–85.
- Toombs L.E. and Wright G.E. 1963. The Fourth Campaign at Balâṭah (Shechem). *BASOR* 169: 1–60.
- Warmenbol E. 1983. La stèle de Ruġm el-‘Abd (Louvre AO 5055). Une image de divinité moabite du IX^{ème}–VIII^{ème} siècle av. n. è. *Levant* 15:63–75.
- Weissert E. 1997. Royal Hunt and Royal Triumph in a Prism Fragment of Ashurbanipal (82-5-22, 2). In S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting eds. *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project. Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995*. Helsinki. Pp. 339–358.
- Weksler-Bdolah S., Greenhut Z., Onn A., Kisilevitz S. and Ouahnouna B. 2008. An Impressive Building of the Late Iron Age in the Western Wall Plaza. In D. Amit and G. Stiebel eds. *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region 2*. Jerusalem. Pp. 35–43 (Hebrew).
- Weksler-Bdolah S. and Onn A. 2010. Remains of the Roman Eastern Cardo in the Western Wall Plaza. *Qadmoniot* 43 (140):123–132 (Hebrew).
- Weksler-Bdolah S., Onn A., Kisilevitz S. and Ouahnouna B. 2009. Jerusalem, the Western Wall Plaza Excavations, 2005–2009. *Hadashot Arkheologiyot—Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 121. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1219&mag_id=115.
- Weksler-Bdolah S., Onn A., Kisilevitz S. and Ouahnouna B. 2012. Layers of Ancient Jerusalem. *BAR* 38.1:36–47, 69–71.
- Wiggermann F.A.M. 1994. s.v. Mischwesen A. Philologisch. Mesopotamien. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8:222–244.
- Winter I.J. 2000. *Le palais imaginaire*. Scale and Meaning in the Iconography of Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seals. In Chr. Uehlinger ed. *Images as Media. Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)* (OBO 175). Fribourg–Göttingen. Pp. 51–87.
- WSS: N. Avigad and B. Sass. *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. Jerusalem 1997.
- Yadin Y., Aharoni Y., Amiran R., Dothan T., Dunayevsky I. and Perrot J. 1960. *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem.
- Zadok R. 1988. *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28). Leuven.

