

Ramses II in face of Foreign Deities

Evan Edwards

Lecturer- PhD- Tourism Guidance Department – High institute of Tourism and Hotels-
Shbramant – Egypt

Abstract

Ancient Egyptian Religion is recognized for its many gods, as many as 80 have been counted. These gods represented different qualities and importance. Increased contact with outside peoples in this period led to the adoption of many Near Eastern deities into the pantheon. At the same time, the subjugated Nubians absorbed Egyptian religious beliefs, and in particular, adopted Amun as their own. The presence of foreign deities in the Egyptian pantheon must be studied in the light of the openness of Egyptian polytheism and as a reflection on cultural identity. If the Egyptian self-identity was defined as basically opposed to the other (the foreigners). The paper aims to display the representations of Ramses II with the foreign deities. It investigated the reasons behind choice of the king Ramses II these gods and goddesses to be represented; their costumes, positions, emblems will be discussed. The paper concluded that receiving cult from both the state and private individuals, these deities were worshiped under their foreign name while depicted in Egyptian fashion. Their principal function was providing protection. It is the very nature of Egyptian polytheism that allowed for foreign divinities to acquire the same status as the indigenous gods.

Keywords: Foreign- Syrio-palastine- Gods- Ramses II

Introduction

Egypt always maintained contact with its neighbors, particularly Nubia and the Near East. These intercultural contacts had an effect on the religion. Since the earliest times, deities like Dedoun, Ha, or Sopdu, Reshef, Baal, Horon, and Anat formed an integral part of the Egyptian pantheon, so much so that their likely foreign origin is not immediately perceptible.¹ Particularly important is the introduction of a series of Near Eastern deities into the established pantheon at the beginning of the New Kingdom, under the reign of Amenhotep II. Worship at the time of Ramesses II as the most logical interpretation of stela. Ramesses II is described as ' Lord of the jubilees', and Habachi the stela must have been erected at the earliest after Ramesses second jubilee. His sixth jubilee must have been celebrated at Avaris/Piramases, since clay Moulds for faience tiles commemorating this jubilee were discovered there, together with a door lintel with the name of Khay, perhaps the vizier in charge of the arrangements for this jubilee.²

1 Tazawa, Keiko, Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The hermeneutics of their existence. Oxford, 2009, p.19-26

² Schneider, Thomas, Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the concept of cultural appropriation. *Ägypten und Levante* 13, 2003, p.155 – 161; Helck, Wolfgang, 1966 *Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten. Oriens Antiques*, p. 1

Not only goods were exchanged, but also ideas. Since there were already numerous Asiatic living in Egypt, it seems only natural that religious ideas were also exchanged. These ideas were spread in various ways. Cornelius mentions a few of these. There was a strong bond between Egypt and Syro-Palestine. Egyptian troops serving in the Levant took their own deities along, and returned to Egypt with knowledge of the deities of the countries where they served. Foreign merchants and sailors were also instrumental in introducing deities previously unknown in Egypt, such as evident from the cylinder seal mentioned by *Bietak* found on the floor of a palace from the eighteenth-century BCE at Tell el Daba; showing a representation of the god Baal-Zaphon the protector of sailors.³

1. Anat goddess⁴

Document 1

Owner of Piece: Relief of goddess Anat

Location: Temple Relief of Ramses II and the Goddess Anat, Saqqara, Egypt.

Piece no: Brooklyn Museum, 2.5.1.2 B

Date: New Kingdom, reign of king Ramses II

³ Cornelius, Izak, Op. Cit. p.45; Lipinski, Edward, Egypto-Canaanite iconography of Reshef, Bacal, Horon, and Anat. *Chronique d'Égypte* 1996, pp. 251-260.

⁴ The name Anat (contrary to some Ugaritologists who from time to time think up an etymology based on her character) is the same as the Mari Hanat, the goddess of Hana, Hana being the name of an Amorite nomadic group. Hebrew and Phoenician name of Anat is עַנַּת, 'Anōt; Ugaritic 'nt; Greek *Avaθ*, Anath; Egyptian *Antit*, *Anit*, *Anti*, or *Anant*) is a major northwest Semitic goddess. Her epithets are *btit*, usually rendered 'virgin' (but see below), *St*, 'lady' and, 'widow of the peoples' or 'widow of the god *Lim*'. Possibly, in view of where *limm* occurs alone, *ybm̄t limm* are two juxtaposed titles. She is described as 'Dame of royalty, dame of sovereignty, dame of the skies above, Anat of *kpt* and *Anat who hovers in the skies above*'. Other titles for this goddess are *xbly*, 'Destroyer', *xlS* 'Ruinous' and (*nt spn Anath of Sapon*. Like *Atthartu's*, her beauty is fabled. She is winged and has horns; W.G. Lambert, *Old Testament Mythology in its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (VTS, 40), Leiden 1988, pp. 124-43, pl. 132. He adds 'Thus she may well have been introduced into Syria and Mesopotamia by the Amorites', pp. 132; See also J. M. Durand: *SEL*, 8 (1991), pp. 92; Hardly 'Sutean' as proposed by B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT* (BZ AW 182), Berlin 1989, pp. 337-40; Surveys: TOu I, pp. 90-92; de Moor: UF, 1 (1969), p. 183; Herdner in TOu I, pp. 91 f. Cf. *AHW*, 1565a for Akk. *Yabamu*. On the epithet *rhm* see below; perhaps 'helmet'; cf. Ugart. *kubu.tc*, 'helmet', a loanword from Akk. *KubSu* as proposed by M. Saline, *Una nuova iscrizione urartica*: Or, 60 (1991), p. 345; For bibliography on 1.108 see D. Pardee, *Les Textes Paramythologiques de la 24c champagne* (1961) (RSO, 4), Paris 1988, pp. 75, TOu II, pp. 111-18. Hvidberg-Hansen, TNT, pp. 95-97 exaggerates in describing Anat as a celestial goddess; 1.39:17; 1.102:11; TRU 1, p. 80. De Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 171, prefers a toponym here; TRU 1, p. 54: 'Della devastation'; P. Bordreuil, *La déesse 'Anat et les sources du Sapon*, in *Techniques et Pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*. Actes du Colloque de Damas (1987), Paris 1990, II, pp. 257.

References: PM, I, 723; Meyer, M, 1877: 718-19; Leibovitch, 1942a: 84-85; idem, 1961:23:24; Cornelius, I, 2004: Cat 1.1, 5.1; Cornelius, I, 1994, RR30; RITA III, 413-14.



Doc 1A

Doc 1A: The scene represents Goddess Anat with king Ramses II, Anat appears wearing the *Atef* crown of Osiris, and she appears with a broad collar. Figure of king in combined raised and sunk relief and preserved only to torso. Although this relief may come from a temple, it somewhat resembles blocks from a private tomb at Saqqara showing seated pair statues of Ramses II with a deity in a similar combination of raised and sunk relief.

Document 2

Owner of Piece: Dyed statue of Ramses II and Anat.

Location: Habu Temple, Egypt.

Piece no: Egyptian Museum, JE 56366.

Date: New Kingdom, reign of king Ramses III.

References: Brooklyn institute of Arts and sciences museum, 1956: 27-28; pls. 51-52; Tazawa, K., 'Syrio- Palestinian Deities in the New Kingdom', in the 9th international congress of Egyptologists, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, p. 1799-1806; PM, II, 59; PM, V, 225; PM, VII, 98, 159; KRI, II, 233- 256; Lloyd, 1994: 2.3.2.8; Cornelius, I, 2000:71-73; Leitz, Ch., 2002; Cornelius, I, 2004: Cat 3.8.



Doc. 2

Doc: 2 Anat appear sitting pose next to Ramses II in a unique dyed gathering them in exciting representation. Anat appear wearing an Atef crown upon her head, and her body is hidden under the tight-fitting dress reaching to her ankle. Anat is touching gently the shoulder of Ramses II to indicate the close relation between them.

2. Goddess Ashtart⁵

Document 3

Owner of Piece: Stela of goddess Ashtart.

Location: Qantir, Lower Egypt.⁶

Piece no: Louvre Museum, E.26017.

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty

References: Roth, A.M., 'Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility.' In Rautman (ed.), *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 2000, p. 187–201.

⁵ *Astarte* was a Near Eastern war goddess who was introduced into Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. In Egyptian myths she was the daughter of *Ra* or *Ptah* and a consort of Seth.⁵ She was worshipped by the Philistines as *Ashtoreth* and the Canaanites as *Ashera*.⁵ A warrior goddess of Canaan and Syria who is a Western Semitic counterpart of the Akkadian *Ishtar* worshipped in Mesopotamia. When the Peleset (Philistines) killed Saul and his three sons on Mount Gilboa, they deposited the enemy armour as spoils in the temple of 'Ashtoreth' (*Astarte*). Like *Aat* she is the daughter of *Ra* and the wife of the god *Seth* but also has a relationship with the god of the sea. From the woefully fragmentary papyrus giving the legend of *Astarte* and the sea the following information can be gleaned: the sea-god *Yamm* demands tribute from the gods which involves the goddess of harvest *Renenutet*. Her place is then taken by *Astarte* called here 'daughter of *PTAH*'. The story is lost from this point on but one assumes this liaison results in the goddess tempering the arrogance of *Yamm*. She is an astral goddess (although possibly androgynous in origin) worshipped in Mesopotamia as 'lady of battle' and as an embodiment of sexuality and fertility. She is the Eastern Semitic counterpart of *Astrat* (who figures far more prominently in Egyptian theology) and the Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian goddess *Inanna*; Stadelmann, R., 1967 *Syrisch-Palastinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. Probleme der Ägyptologie 5*. Leiden: Brill; Albright, W.F. 1939. 'Astarte Plaques and Figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim', *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, p. 107–120; Albright, W.F. 1939. 'Astarte Plaques and Figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim', *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, p. 107–120; Cornelius, I., *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE*. Academic Press Fribourg. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen, 2004,

⁶ Tazawa, Keiko, 2009 *Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The hermeneutics of their existence*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1965. Oxford: Archaeopress; Stadelmann, R., 1967 *Syrisch-Palastinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. Probleme der Ägyptologie 5*. Leiden: Brill; Albright, W.F. 1939. 'Astarte Plaques and Figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim', *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, p. 107–120; Dijkstra, M., 'The Myth of Astarte the Huntress, (KTU 1.92, New Fragments)'. *UF 26*, 1994, p. 113–126; Roth, A.M., 'Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility.' In Rautman (ed.), *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 2000, p. 187–201



Doc 3

Doc 3: It is rounded topped stela missing the lower part showing three figures; in the lunette is couchant Seth animal looking to the right. There are four lines of texts around it. Underneath is Ramses II who identified by cartouche in front of him offering some Lotus flower in his left hand and incense in his right hand to goddess. She is shown wearing an *Atef*-crown with two feathers. Between them there is a heaped offering table. The main scene shown king Ramses II while presenting a lotus and burning incense before goddess Astrat. Goddess Astrat is standing holding a scepter in her right hand and *Ank* sign in her left hand.

Document 4

Owner of Piece: fragment stela of goddess Astrat.

Location: *Saft el Henna*, Lower Egypt.

Piece no: University College Museum, London, and UC 14399.

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramses II

References: Beck, P. 1986. 'A New Type of Female Figurine.' In M. Kelly-Buccellati, P. Matthias, and M. Van Loon (eds.) *Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, p. 29–34 and Plate 16; Dijkstra, M., 'The Myth of Astarte the Huntress, (KTU 1.92, New Fragments)'. *UF* 26, 1994, p. 113–126



Doc 4

Doc 4: It is a fragment stela which showing Astrat in standing pose in front of Ramses II. She is a female figure in standing pose as warrior, wearing an *Atef*-crown with hanging scarf. Her left hand holds a lance. Behind Astrat we can see the cartouche of Ramses II fastened with *Atef* crown and two alarmed serpents

Document 5

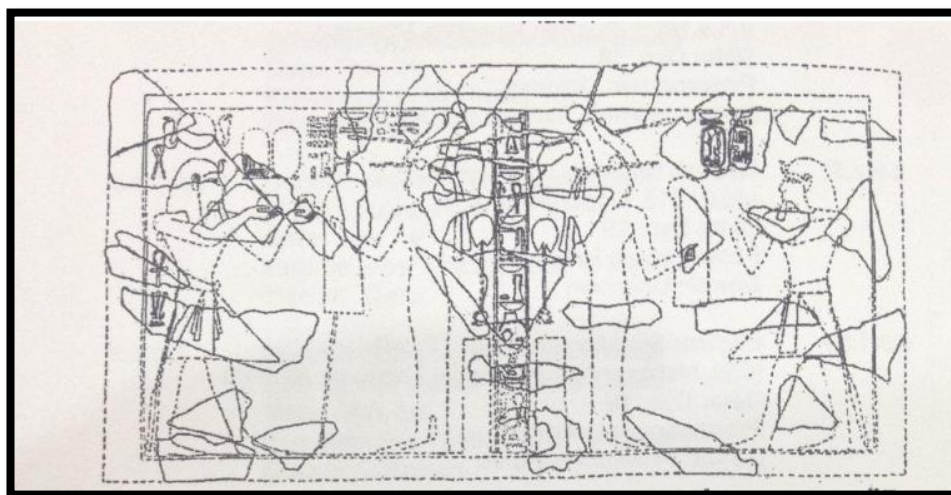
Owner of Piece: fragment stela of goddess Astrat.

Location: Qantir, Lower Egypt.

Piece no: University College Museum, London, UC 143100.

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramses II

References: Beck, P. 1986. 'A New Type of Female Figurine.' In M. Kelly-Buccellati, P. Matthias, and M. Van Loon (eds.) *Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, p. 29–34 and Plate 16; Dijkstra, M., 'The Myth of Astarte the Huntress, (KTU 1.92, New Fragments)'. *UF* 26, 1994, p. 113–126



Doc 5

Doc 5: It is a fragment stela which showing Astrat in standing pose in front of Ramses II. She is shown as female figure in a standing pose as warrior. She is wearing an *Atef*-crown with hanging scarf. Her left hand holds a lance. Behind Astrat we can see the cartouche of Ramses II fastened with *Atef* crown and two alarmed serpents. The double scene shown king Ramses II before goddess Astrat while presenting the *nw* jars.

Document 6

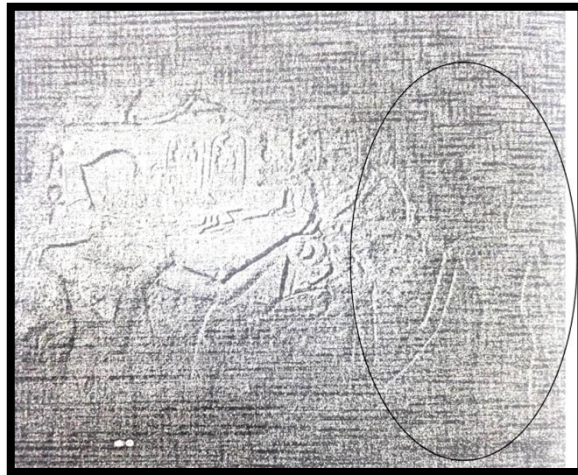
Owner of Piece: Relief of Ramses II and goddess Astrat.

Location: Tanis, Lower Egypt.

Piece no: Louvre Museum, A 26017.

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty, reign of Ramses II.

References: M.G. Easton M.A., D.D., Illustrated Bible Dictionary; 1897; fro 13 m e-Sword, topic: Ashtoreth; Skipwith, G. H., ' Ashtoreth, the Goddess of the Zidonians' Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania, The Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Jul., 1906), pp. 715-738.



Doc 6

Doc 6: The scene shown king Ramses II while burning incense before goddess Astrat. Ramses II offers offerings to Astrat and there is a table heaped with offerings. Astrat is represented as a full female lady in standing pose; she is wearing an Atef-crown; it is worth noting to see Astrat with tight fitting garment reaching to her ankle. The king appears in standing pose, he is wearing a blue crown; the whole body is hidden under bag-tunic with short sleeves. *Nb tAwy wsr mAat ra stp n ra sA ra mry imn ra msw mryt n asrt di anx Dt* which translated as: *The lord of two lands (Ramses II) son of god re (birth name of Ramses II), beloved of Astrat, may give life forever.*

3. God Baal⁷

Document 7

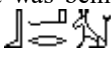
Owner of Piece: The 400-year stela of god Baal.

Location: Tanis, Egypt.⁸

Piece no: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG. 4221, J.E 57682

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty



⁷ *Ba'al* (*bet-ayin-lamedh*) is a Semitic word signifying 'The Lord, master, owner (male), keeper, and husband',⁷ which became the usual designation of the great weather-god of the Western Semites.⁷ Cognates include Standard Hebrew (*Bet-Ayin-Lamedh*);⁷ בַּעַל / בְּעַל, *Ba'al* (Hebrew word #1166 in Strong's Concordance), Akkadian *Bēl* and Arabic بعل. In Hebrew, the word *Ba'al* means '*husband*' or '*owner*' and is related to a verb meaning to take possession of, for a man, to consummate a marriage.⁷ The word '*Ba'al*' is also used in many Hebrew phrases, denoting both concrete ownership as well as possession of different qualities in one's personality.⁷ Baal is a prominent god of the sky and storms whose cult spread from Ugarit in Syria into Egypt, where he possessed priesthood by Dynasty XVIII. *Aliyan Baal*, son of a less well-attested god Dagan, dwelt on Mount Sapan (hence Baal-Zaphon) in north Syria but also became associated as a local deity of other sites such as *Baal-Hazor* in Palestine, and *Baal-Sidon* and *Baal of Tyre* (Melkart) in Lebanon. Although the name Baal can mean 'lord' or 'owner' it was being used as a proper name for a specific god by the sixteenth century BC. Baal, Egyptian  originally a Canaanite storm and fertility god, was brought to Egypt by the Hyksos. Mentioned first by Amenhotep II the god found few adherents among the native kings before the 19th dynasty, having been a major deity of the Hyksos enemies, but he had entered the pantheon of *Peru-nefer* near Memphis by the reign of Thutmose III and his cult was well established under the 18th dynasty.⁷ His importance grew under Ramses II when he rose to prominence as Seth-Baal, but his cult declined at the beginning of the first millennium BCE when Seth fell from favor and was more and more considered to be wholly evil. Baal's original roles of storm and fertility god were abandoned in favor of his new function of defender of creation, battling serpents and lions, taming the sea, and supporting the military endeavours of the pharaohs against their foreign enemies, who liked to compare themselves to the god and the terror he inspired, as did *Seti I* at Karnak: great with fear like Baal over the foreign countries, Albright, W. F., 1932. *The North Canaanite Epic of Aleyan Bad and Mot*. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 12, p. 185-208; Budde, D., *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterzeichnungen*, Volume 1, Peeters Publishers, 2003; Günter B., Heinz J. Thissen, *Einführung in die Altegyptische Literaturgeschichte*, Volume 2, LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster, 2003.

⁸ Battenfield, J.R., 1988. *Yahweh's Refutation of the Bad Myth Through the Actions of Elijah*. In *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*, Edited by A. Gileadi., p. 19-37; Cornelius, I., *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al*. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 - 1000 BCE), Fribourg (Switzerland), University Press /Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1994; Ithamar Gruenwald, Ilai Alon, Itamar Singer, *Concepts of the Other in Near Eastern Religions*, Brill, 1994; Otto Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*, Alfred Töpelmann, Berlin 1962; The feminine form is *Ba'alah*: Hebrew: בַּעַלָּה, *Ba'alah*, signifying 'a mistress: that has, a mistress' Arabic: بعلثة, *Ba'alah*, a rare word for "wife"; Te Velde, H., *Seth, God of Confusion: a study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion*, Brill Archive, 1977; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 3, 1871, p.139

References: Tazawa, Keiko, Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The hermeneutics of their existence, Op.cit; Helck, Wolfgang, 1966 Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten. *Oriens Antiques*, P. 22; Schneider, Thomas, Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the concept of cultural appropriation, *Ägypten und Levante* 2003, p.140-151.

Doc 7

Doc 7: The 400-year stela was first discovered by *Mariette* in 1863 and reburied, to be found again by *Montet* in 1933. It is a stela of granite. It has a rounded top and three figures are depicted on the surface. The male figure on the left strides to the right on a base-line. He wears a conical crown which resembles the Egyptian white crown, with a disk and horns in and a single streamer running from the tip of the crown to the ankles, ending in a flower. He also wears an Egyptian beard and is dressed in a decorated knee-length kilt. This is fastened to the body by two bands crossing over the chest. Around his neck is a broad necklace and on the wrists, are bangles. The right-hand hangs along the body and holds an ankh by its loop, while the left hand holds a scepter. To the right of this figure is the King, dressed in Egyptian guard with a bull's tail. He is offering wine in two jars. To the far right is a third figure in identical guard with his hands in a gesture of praise. There are inscriptions in front of the latter figures, and a longer inscription below.

Document 8

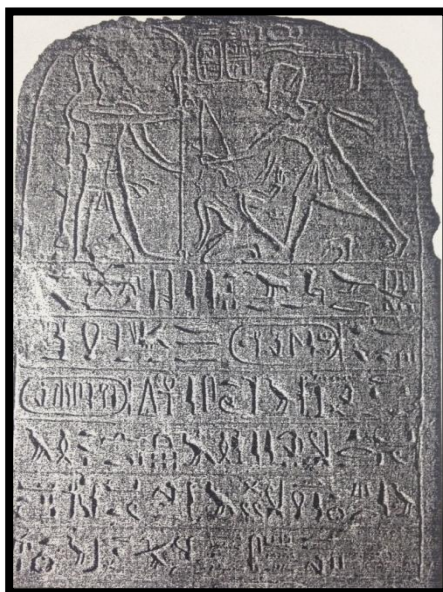
Owner of Piece: Stela of Baal and Ramses II

Location: Egypt.

Piece no: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and JE. 88879

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty

References: Thirion, M., 1986 Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 37, pp. 125-131



Doc 8

Doc 8: It is a stela which represent the god *Baal* in standing pose while helping king *Ramses II* to smite enemy, he gives to him a *kbsh* sword with his right hand upraised with a grasp or a spear for killing and the other hand appear holding a person from his locks of hair in kneeling pose. *Baal* may appear with the white crown and long streamer; also he appears wearing the Asiatic kilt with tassels.

Document 9

Owner of Piece: Baal with king Ramses III

Location: Medinet Habu, Egypt.

Piece no: in Situation

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty

References: Thirion, M., 1986 Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN', Revue d'Egyptologie 37, pp. 125-131.



Doc 9

Doc 9: It is a stela which represent the god *Baal* in standing pose while helping king *Ramses II* to smite enemy, he gives to him a *kbsh* sword with his right hand upraised with a grasp or a spear for killing and the other hand appear holding a person from his locks of hair in kneeling pose. *Baal* may appear with the white crown and long streamer; also he appears wearing the Asiatic kilt with tassels.

Document 10

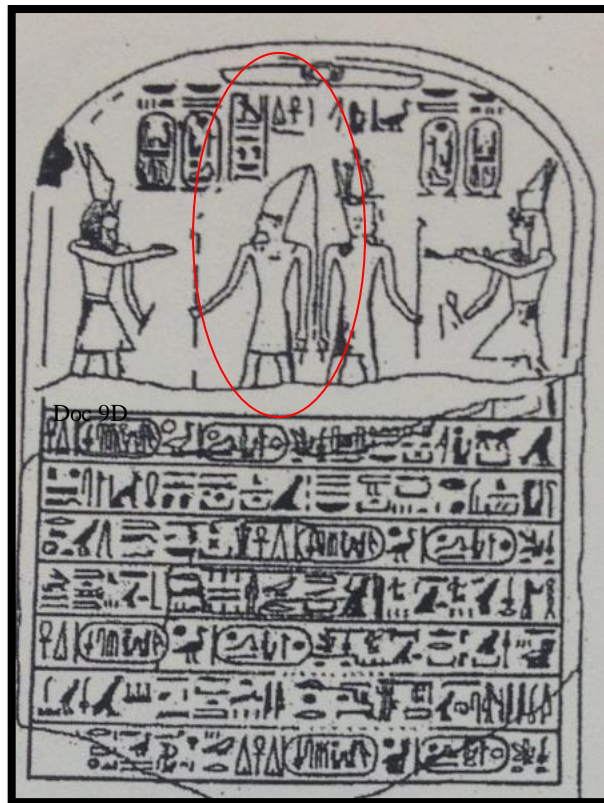
Owner of Piece: Baal with king Ramses III

Location: Tanis, Egypt.

Piece no: in Situation

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty

References: Thirion, M., 1986 Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN', Revue d'Egyptologie 37, pp. 125-131.



Doc 10: the god *Baal* appears standing in front of the king *Ramses II* who offered him the offerings, Baal appears as the Egyptian god with white crown and short bag tunic reach to his knee, he appears wearing the false beard with a broad collar.

Document 11

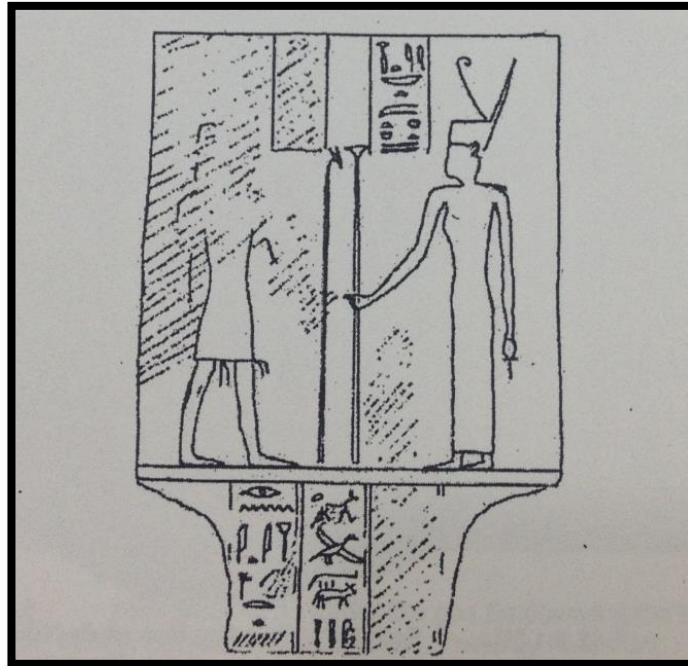
Owner of Piece: Baal with king Ramses III

Location: Saft el Hanna, Egypt.

Piece no: in Situation

Date: New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty

References: Thirion, M., 1986 Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une révision du Ranke PN', Revue d'Égyptologie 37, pp. 125-131.



Doc 11 A rare representation of god *Baal* standing in front of the Egyptian goddess *Neith* of war in ancient Egyptian beliefs. The relief of Baal is demolished, but we can trace that Baal appear wearing the bag-tunic with Asian frontal tassels, holding in his right hand the *was* scepter.

Discussion

The king Ramses II may be the only king in the Egyptian civilization who appear with numerous of foreign deities; the majority of these gods were the Asiatic or Syrio-palastine gods. The author also concluded that the majority of all his representations were the stela not statues; except the representation with goddess Anat. The King Ramses II assured his Egyptian authority on the new empire in Syria; by depicting himself with gods and goddesses of these foreign civilization. The author introduces his own view concerning the spreading of these foreign deities in Egypt, especially during New Kingdom; for example, there was a strong ties between Egypt and Syro-Palestine. Egyptian troops serving in the Levant took their own deities along, and returned to Egypt with Knowledge of the deities of the countries where they served. Foreign merchants and sailors were also instrumental in introducing deities previously unknown in Egypt, such as evident from the cylinder seal mentioned by Bietak found on the floor a palace from the eighteenth-century BCE at tell el Daba; showing a representation of the god Baal- Zaphon the protector of sailors⁹

Not only soldiers and sailors but also slaves brought their own deities along when they found themselves in Egypt. On a higher social level, Egyptian officials living abroad might have embraced the religion where they were stationed. In this way, there was a continuous exchange of religious ideas. At the expulsion of the Hyksos, just about all their stelae in Egypt were. We therefore have to look to the Levant to build up a picture of what religion was practiced by the Hyksos. In the mythology of the New Kingdom there are indications of a strong Asiatic influence, and this influence can be traced back to the Hyksos. Some of the infixes of Hyksos. Some of the infixes of Hyksos names points to the important of the prominent female goddess Anat, known from the Ugarit archives as the bloodthirsty consort of Baal.

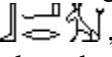
Anat She appears as the quasi Hathor, with sun disk and horns, cow's ears and curls around the face. On certain scarabs, she is referred to as "*Mistress of the Two Trees*". The assimilation of Anat with Hathor is suggested in the Ugaritic texts and the Brooklyn Papyrus. Both Hathor and Anat are seen as goddesses of love and war. Hathor, in the form of Sekhmet, carried out great slaughter in much the way as did Anat as consort of Ba'al. Unlike who became Seth in Egypt, Anat continued to be known in Egypt under her Semitic name and became known as the consort or 'milk cow' of Seth, while Seth is called '*the bull of Retjenu*'. Another goddess whose cult was firmly attested in Egypt by the mid-eighteenth Dynasty is the Phoenician Astarte. She was very similar to Anat and she, too, was a goddess of war these two goddesses were a closely linked –pair and were sometimes even considered as one Astarte is usually identified as a figure on-a throne with Hathor headdress and with an axe resting on her shoulder¹⁰.

One very fragmentary text makes mention of Astarte and Yam (the sea) in a manner reminiscent of the contest between Baal and Yam of Ugarit

9 Cornelius, Izak, Op. Cit. p.45

10 Collombert, Philippe, and Laurent Coulon, Op. Cit. p.33

mythology. The place of Ba al, however, seems to have been taken in Egypt by Seth, although the details of the struggle are completely lost. One should keep in mind that the religion practiced in the *Levant* was not uniform throughout the region. In Ugarit, for example, Anat was the main female partner of *ba al*, while in Emar it was Astarte. The Semitic god Horon was worshipped in Palestine as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty. He was assimilated with Horus by assonance of their names and was represented as a falcon, which may explain why a falcon-headed god is very common on scarabs from Palestine during the Hyksos period.¹¹

Baal, Egyptian , originally a Canaanite storm and fertility god, was brought to Egypt by the Hyksos. Mentioned first by Amenhotep II the god found few adherents among the native kings before the 19th dynasty, having been a major deity of the Hyksos enemies but he had entered the pantheon of *Peru-nefer* near Memphis by the reign of Thutmose III and his cult was well established under the 18th dynasty. His importance grew under Ramses II when he rose to prominence as Seth-Baal, but his cult declined at the beginning of the first millennium BCE when Seth fell from favor and was more and more considered to be wholly evil. Baal's original roles of storm and fertility god were abandoned in favor of his new function of defender of creation, battling serpents and lions, taming the sea, and supporting the military endeavours of the pharaohs against their foreign enemies, who liked to compare themselves to the god and the terror he inspired, as did Seti I at Karnak: *Great with fear like Baal over the foreign countries.*¹² From the time of Amenhotep II a record exists concerning a sacrifice to Baal at *Peru-nefer*, which was, according to some, the harbor city quarter of Memphis. He may have been worshipped there as tamer of the sea. But Baal never caught the public imagination as did another Canaanite god, Reshef. A few private stelae were erected by officials in his honor and some miniature art (seals, scarabs) has been found.¹³

ASTARTE is described as rejoicing at the crown prince's diligence in looking after his horses. Perhaps not too much stress should be placed on some of the Egyptian epithets which he receives, such as 'Lord of the Sky' or 'Lord of Eternity', but his status in the New Kingdom was high – a region on the east bank of the Nile even being named the 'Valley of Reshep'. He appears on Theban stelae alongside the Egyptian god MIN and the Syrian goddess QADESH. Reshep becomes (possibly because of Syrian enclaves among the Egyptian population) an approachable deity who can grant success to those praying to him. Also, his force for destruction of royal enemies in battle can be turned against diseases affecting ordinary people. For instance, Reshep and his wife *Itum* are called upon in a magical spell to overpower the 'akha' demon causing abdominal pains. As a deity combining the polarities

¹¹ Wolfgang Helck: *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 5) 2. Auflage, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1971

¹² Stadelmann, Rainer, *Syrisch-Palastinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. Probleme der Ägyptologie 5*. Leiden: Brill. 1967, p
Helck, Wolfgang, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1 - 14.

of life and death, he is known both in Egypt and the Near East as *Reshep-Shulman*.¹⁴ (*Reshep, reshpu*) A Syrian war god adopted by the Egyptians during the New Kingdom (1550–1069 B.Sc.), Reshef was especially appealing to the warrior kings of Egypt because of his bold and warlike nature. He is mentioned on the stele of Amenhotep II (1427–1400 B.Sc.) erected near the Great Sphinx on the Giza Plateau. Reshef, along with the foreign goddess, Ashtoreth/Astarte, celebrates Amenhotep II's prowess and skill in horsemanship, and they "rejoice in the crown prince's diligence in caring for his horses." During the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when Egypt was expanding its territory into Syria, the Egyptians must have recognized the foreign god who so closely resembled their own war gods. It is not surprising that Reshef is associated with Set and the Theban wargod *Montu* with whom he has the most in common. Interestingly, *Reshef's* deadly force in battle could also be used in peacetime.¹⁵ *Reshep's* power could be a source of help for the common people, and they appealed to him for deliverance from their ills and diseases. He was particularly sought out to relieve stomach pains, and Reshef and his wife, *Atum*, were frequently called upon to "*consume the demon causing the ailment.*" So assimilated into the Egyptian pantheon was Reshef that he is shown in Egyptian garb, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, but with a gazelle's head, which associated him with Set, rather than the traditional cobra head, uraeus. He is often shown wielding a club and wearing a Syrian-style beard. The only known carved stone statue of Reshef in Egyptian costume is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹⁶

Table 1: the scenes of king Ramses II with foreign gods and Goddess.

Doc	King pose	God pose	Costume	Emblem	Biblio
1	Ramses II standing pose (blue crown)	Anat in standing pose	Wearing the Atef crown of Osiris and abroad collar.	×	PM, I, 723; Meyer, M, 1877: 718-19; Leibovitch, 1942a: 84-85; idem, 1961:23;24; Cornelius, I, 2004: Cat 1.1, 5.1; Cornelius, I, 1994, RR30; RITA III, 413-14.
2	Ramses II sitting pose (blue crown)	Anat in sitting pose	Wearing the Atef crown of Osiris and abroad collar and also tight- fitting dress	×	Brooklyn institute of Arts and sciences museum, 1956: 27-28; pls. 51-52; Tazawa, K., 'Syrio-Palestinian Deities in the New Kingdom', in the 9th international congress of Egyptologists, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, p. 1799-1806; PM, II, 59; PM, V, 225; PM, VII, 98, 159; KRI, II, 233- 256; Lloyd, 1994: 2.3.2.8; Cornelius, I, 2000:71-73; Leitz, Ch., 2002; Cornelius, I, 2004: Cat 3.8.
3	Ramses II standing pose offer the offerings (blue crown)	Ashtart in standing in front of the king	Ashtart appear wearing tight-fitting dress. Atef-crown with two feathers	A scepter and Ank sign	Roth, A.M., 'Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility.' In Rautman (ed.), <i>Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record</i> , University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 2000, p. 187–201.

14 Leibovitch, Joseph, Op. Cit., pp. 163 -172.

15 Wilkinson, Richard H. (2003). Op. Cit. p. 211

16 Lipinski, Edward, Op. Cit. p. 254 -262.

4	Ramses II standing pose offer the offerings	Ashtart in standing in front of the king	Ashtart appear wearing tight-fitting dress. Atef-crown with two feathers and scarf	A scepter and Ank sign	Beck, P. 1986. 'A New Type of Female Figurine.' In M. Kelly-Buccellati, P. Matthias, and M. Van Loon (eds.) <i>Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada</i> , p. 29-34 and Plate 16; Dijkstra, M., 'The Myth of Astarte the Huntress, (KTU 1.92, New Fragments)'. UF 26, 1994, p. 113-126
5	Ramses II standing pose offer the nw jars	Ashtart in standing in front of the king	Ashtart appear wearing tight-fitting dress. Atef-crown with two feathers and scarf	A long staff and Ank sign	Beck, P. 1986. 'A New Type of Female Figurine.' In M. Kelly-Buccellati, P. Matthias, and M. Van Loon (eds.) <i>Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada</i> , p. 29-34 and Plate 16; Dijkstra, M., 'The Myth of Astarte the Huntress, (KTU 1.92, New Fragments)'. UF 26, 1994, p. 113-126
6	Ramses II standing pose burning incense	Ashtart in standing in front of the king	Ashtart appear wearing tight-fitting dress. Atef-crown with two feathers and scarf	A long staff and Ank sign	M.G. Easton M.A., D.D., <i>Illustrated Bible Dictionary</i> ; 1897; fro 13 m e-Sword, topic: Ashtoreth; Skipwith, G. H., 'Ashtoreth, the Goddess of the Zidonians' Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania, <i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , Vol. 18, No. 4 (Jul., 1906), pp. 715-738.
7	Ramses II in standing Pose	God Baal in standing Pose	Conical crown which resembles the Egyptian white crown, He also wears an Egyptian beard and is dressed in a decorated knee-length kilt. Around his neck is a broad necklace and on the wrists, are bangles. The right-hand hangs along the body and holds an ankh by its loop, while the left hand holds a scepter	Was scepter and Ank sign	Tazawa, Keiko, <i>Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The hermeneutics of their existence</i> , Op.cit; Helck, Wolfgang, 1966 <i>Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten</i> . <i>Oriens Antiques</i> , P. 22; Schneider, Thomas, <i>Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the concept of cultural appropriation</i> , <i>Ägypten und Levante</i> 2003, p.140-151
8	Ramses II in standing Pose offer the enemy	God Baal in standing Pose	the white crown (Conical crown) and long streamer; also he appears wearing the Asiatic kilt with tassels	<i>Kbsh sword and Was scepter and Ank sign</i>	Thirion, M., 1986 <i>Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN'</i> , <i>Revue d'Egyptologie</i> 37, pp. 125-131
9	Ramses II in standing Pose offer the kbsh sword	God Baal in standing Pose	the white crown (Conical crown) and long streamer; also he appears wearing the Asiatic kilt with tassels	<i>Kbsh sword and Was scepter and Ank sign</i>	Thirion, M., 1986 <i>Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN'</i> , <i>Revue d'Egyptologie</i> 37, pp. 125-131.
10	Ramses II in standing Pose offer the kbsh sword	God Baal in standing Pose	Baal appears as the Egyptian god with white crown and short bag tunic reach to his knee, he appears wearing the false beard with	<i>Kbsh sword and Was scepter and Ank sign</i>	Thirion, M., 1986 <i>Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN'</i> , <i>Revue d'Egyptologie</i> 37, pp. 125-131.

			a broad collar.		
11	Rare representation of god of war in ancient Egyptian beliefs. holding in his	Baal standing in front of the Egyptian goddess Neith	The relief of Baal is demolished, but we can trace that Baal appear wearing the bag-tunic with Asian frontal tassels,	right hand the was scepter	Thirion, M., 1986 Notes d'Onomastique: Contribution à Une revision du Ranke PN', Revue d'Egyptologie 37, pp. 125-131.