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The Cylinder Seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine

as indicators of Hurrian influence

Mary-Louise Mussell

June, 1983

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Preface

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my advisor Dr. L. E. Toombs for his help and guidance. The topic of this thesis was suggested by Dr. Toombs and for that I am indebted to him, as I might otherwise never have considered it. I would also like to thank Dr. R. W. Fisher whose attention to detail has smoothed the rough edges of this work.

Thanks must also go to Dr. Ragnar Teigen whose advice and support I have valued. I would also like to thank Mrs. G. (Pamela) Schaus for her assistance with the illustrations in this text.

Abstract

This thesis consists of five basic units: a general history of the cylinder seal, a discussion of the seals on an artistic level, a general history of Palestine at the time the seals were being made, and Late Bronze Age cylinder seals as indicators of cultural influence. There are four appendices which include a typology, a catalogue of cylinder seals, a glossary and plates.

I-History of the Cylinder Seal

The cylinder seal had its earliest roots in the Uruk period and developed as an amulet as well as a functional seal. The seals were initially shaped by hand; however the development of the bronze saw made the process easier. The seals were engraved using the traditional burin, as well as bow and circular drills. The seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine were predominately Mitannian. The Mitannian seals may date as early as sixteenth century BCE and they were still being produced at the time of the fall of Mitanni (c. 1360 BCE). After the fall of Mitanni the traditional Elaborate and Common Mitannian seals degenerated into the so-called depleted class of seal. It is felt that the fall of the Mitannian Empire created an artistic void which was

filled by local artistic styles and eventually by Egyptian art. The artistic styles of Palestine may be considered Hurrian/Mitannian due to the survival of the Mitannian style seals after 1360 BCE.

II-Artistic Treatment

The majority of Late Bronze Age seals in Palestine, 75 of 196, come from Beth Shan. This testifies to the size and importance of the city, but the large number of seals may also be explained by the extensive excavation of the site. The most common type of seal was our typology number IVc (see Appendix I), twenty-eight examples a human or deity with an animal and a sacred tree. Also popular were IIE with fifteen examples, IIC with nineteen examples, and IVf with seventeen examples. Six examples of seals with hieroglyphics can be found in our corpus, as well as four seals with cuneiform. The seals were mainly Mitannian in style, with sixteen Cypriote influenced seals, one Mesopotamian seal and ten seals which definitely show Egyptian influence.

III-Cultural and Economic Influences on Palestine

Palestine was influenced by a number of powers during the Late Bronze Age. Egypt occupied sites in southern Palestine such as Sharuhēn, and was a strong military influence in the area throughout most of the Late Bronze Age. Palestine was a conduit for Egyptian troops going north to fight the Mitannians or the Hittites. The Mitannians exercised influence on Palestine without ever seeming to have occupied it militarily. Mitannian influence on Palestine can be seen in the Indo-Aryan and Hurrian names of Palestinian princes which appear in the Amarna Letters. Mesopotamia exerted only minor influence on Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. The Kassite dynasty which ruled in Babylon tried to remain neutral, while the Assyrians were vassals of the Mitannians. The Hittites became the dominant power in Asia Minor and Syria when dynastic quarrels caused the downfall of the Mitannian Empire. The Hittites actively opposed the Egyptians and this rivalry culminated in the battle of Kadesh c. 1286 BCE. After the battle a peace treaty was concluded, and the warring powers became allies. The Cypriotes were master traders. They spread their wares, pottery in particular, across the Middle East. Cypriote trade seems to have flourished despite political upheavals in Palestine.

IV-Cylinder Seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine

The influence of Cypriote trade can account for the sixteen Cypriote style seals found in Palestine. It is apparent that the Cypriote style seals were produced in Palestine by Cypriotes or Cypriote trained craftsmen, who lived in clusters around the coastal ports. It is well known that Egyptians lived in Palestine, officials of the pharaoh and their families and servants. The presence of Egyptians in Palestine would account for Egyptian style seals; cylinder seals were not used in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age. The one Mesopotamian seal in our corpus was undoubtedly imported. It was the property of a priest of Ea, who was in all likelihood from Mesopotamia. The large number of Mitannian seals found in Palestine can only be explained by the presence of Mitannians or more properly the culture carrying Hurrians. The Hurrians appear to have made up a large portion of the population of Palestine, as indicated by the large number of so-called Mitannian seals produced after the fall of Mitanni.

Appendices

The Appendices contain the seal typology, the catalogue, a glossary and plates. The typology and the catalogue are the basis for Chapter II. The typology allows the corpus of

cylinder seals to be broken down into manageable units. The catalogue is the only complete list of Late Bronze Age Seals from Palestine. The glossary has been included to explain some of the technical terms, which are not commonly used. The plates provide a brief glimpse of the cylinder seals.

Abbreviations

- AASOR Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
- Ain Shems E. Grant, and G. E. Wright. Ain Shems IV. Haverford Pa: Haverford College Press, 1938.
- Alalakh Sir Leonard Woolley. Alalakh. Oxford, 1955.
- AJA American Journal of Archeology
- Ashmolean Briggs Buchanan. Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966
- Atiqot Atiqot-Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities
- Beth Pelet II Sir F. Petrie and Olga Tufnell. Beth Pelet II. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930.
- Beth Shemesh E. Grant. Beth Shemesh I. Haverford Pa: Haverford College Press, 1929.
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- Corpus E. Porada, ed. Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, 2 vol. New York: Pantheon Books, 1948.
- DeClerq Catalogue methodique et raisonne de la Collection DeClerq.
- Dever-Gezer W. G. Dever. Gezer II. Hebrew Union College, 1974.
- EA el-Amarna-publication number of a text from Tell el-Amarna.
- Eisen G. Eisen. Ancient Oriental Cylinders and Other Seals, with a Description of the Collection

- of Mrs. William H. Moore. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940.
- Ency. M. Avi-Yonah. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975.
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- Gaza Sir F. Petrie. Gaza 4 vol. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, I-1931, II-1932, III-1933, IV-1934.
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- Hazor Y. Yadin. Hazor vol. II and III-IV. Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ., 1958-1961.
- Hogarth D. Hogarth. Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection. Oxford: Clarendon, 1920.
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
- Iron Age Beth-shan F. W. James. Iron Age at Beth Shan. Philadelphia: Univ. Museum, 1966.
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- Megiddo II G. Loud. Megiddo II. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Megiddo Tombs P. L. O. Guy. Megiddo Tombs. Chicago: OIP LXXXIX, 1955.
- Nougayrol J. Nougayrol. Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres en Palestine au cours de fouilles regulieres. Paris: Geuthner, 1939.

- Nuzi E. Porada. "Seal Impressions of Nuzi," AASOR XXIV (1944-1945).
- Parker B. Parker. "Cylinder Seals in Palestine," Iraq 11 (1949), 1-42.
- PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly
- QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
- RB Revue Biblique
- Rowe Cat. of Scarabs A. Rowe. A Catalogue of Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum Cairo. Cairo: 1936.
- Topography and History A. Rowe. The Topography and History of Beth-shan. Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1930.
- Sellin E. Sellin. "Eine Nachlese auf den Tel Ta'annek in Palastina." Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Philos. hist. Klasse. Wien, 1906. Vol. 52, No. 3.
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Abbreviations-Site List

TAH	Tell Abu Hawam
TA	Tell el-Ajjul
Ak	Akko
TAr	Tell Artal
Ash	Ashdod
Ba	Balata
BP	Beth Pelet
BS	Beth Shan
BSh	Beth Shemesh
Gz	Gezer
Ha	Hazor
TH	Tell el-Hesi
La	Lachish
Me	Megiddo
TM	Tell Mevorakh
TS	Tell es-Safy
Sh	Shiqmona
TT	Tell Ta'anach

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Beth Shemesh 1
Hazor 2
Lachish 1
Tell es-Safy 1

Plate 12

VAg-Bethel 1
Beth Shan 1
VBg-Megiddo 1

Chapter I-A History of the Cylinder Seal

Toward the end of the fourth millennium a series of cultural changes began to take place in Southern Mesopotamia. Northern Mesopotamia lagged behind, perhaps due to natural conservatism, its more direct exposure to the raids of nomads, or, possibly the lack of a co-ordinating body or regional government, such as that which must have existed in the south. The irrigation canals of the south were products of centralized government and led to a concentration of wealth and power. They gave the people of the region security, since drought could no longer threaten the food supply. This new prosperity existed in part due to surpluses, which in turn fostered more trade, which provided new luxuries. The people's security led to a blossoming of culture.(1)

An increase in wealth and security saw the expansion of the village temple into a cultural centre. Around the temple the craftsmen would gather as it would be the temple, with its ever growing compliment of priests and administrators, that could offer them employment. This type of transition, rural to urban, produced new pottery types, the potter's wheel and saw the replacement of the stamp seal by the cylinder seal.(2)

The Development of the Cylinder Seal

The cylinder seal did not appear suddenly; it was not a spontaneous artistic creation, but the product of slow development. It is likely that the cylinder seal had its roots in the Early Neolithic Age, with cylindrical beads. As early as the Upper Palaeolithic, bones and shells were perforated to be worn as ornaments. By c.5900 BCE a workshop had been established in Beidha to produce beads and the middle of the fourth millennium saw the production of stone beads in all sizes, shapes and hardnesses, many with decorative incisions.(3)

The skill of the bead maker combined with that of the engraver of stamp seals, which were developed in the sixth millennium to produce the cylinder seal. The stamp seal's major function was similar to that of the cylinder (the sealing of jars), but it was the cylinder that was best suited to the job. The stamp seal had a secondary function, that of an amulet. The development of the stamp seal's amuletic function may parallel the development of small clay and stone amulets. The stone animal amulets of the Neolithic period had by the end of the fourth millennium gained engraved designs on their bases, suggesting that they were used as seals.(4)

It is possible that one variety of stamp-type seal was not used in the same manner as the cylinder seal, but rather as a crude "printing" device. Some flat-bottomed, button-shaped seals with handles, such as those that were found at Tell Abu Hureyra and Çatal Hüyük, may have been used to stamp cloth or skin. One such seal was found at the Natufian site of Muharet el Kebarah. The limestone seal had traces of a red pigment on both the stamp and handle. It is worth noting that the seal may date later than the Natufian period, if parallels from Tell Halaf and from Jarmo are taken into account.(5)

Stamp seals were used to secure containers, such as jars or baskets. Strings were tied around the containers, lumps of clay pressed over the strings, and the clay was then sealed with a stamp. This practice was followed throughout most of the Near East. The stamp seal was not ideally suited to this purpose since the impression of a flat stamp does not conform to the curve of a jar's neck.(6)

If the pressure exerted by a stamp seal was not suited to the affixing of a wad of clay to the neck of a jar, it was equally ill-suited to the sealing of round balls of clay, which enclosed small counting devices.(7) The counting devices or tokens date back as far as the ninth

millennium and may well represent the first steps towards writing. It is possible that the incisions on the tokens represented an object type which was to be traded. The stamps on the balls of clay would have indicated what tokens lay within.(8)

Clay balls have been found in the Eanna precinct at Uruk dating to the second half of the fourth millennium. These balls bear notations on the outside and it is suggested that the notations mark a second stage in the use of tokens. The first stage would have been a clay ball which would have had to be opened in order that the contents might be known. It is suggested that the distance separating a sealed clay ball and a tablet, recording numbers, and bearing the impression of a cylinder seal, is very small. The third stage would be a tablet with pictographs, allowing a more accurate economic record to be kept.(9)

The cylinder seal, though a medium of artistic expression, was in the main a legal device; it was a person's signature, a mark of ownership. In Mesopotamia during the Uruk period the seals had become pendants and were as closely associated with a person as his finger nails, the impression of which could act as a legal seal. As would be the case today, with a good piece of jewellery, a wealthy person could have a seal made to order. The "mass

ware" of the Jamdat Nasr style occurred along side the better quality Uruk seals, though they had once been considered to be of a later period. Frankfort viewed the squatting pig-tailed figures and animals worked with a mechanical drill as later summary representation of detailed offering scenes.(10)

The Materials of Cylinder Seals

The material of the seals varied greatly, though it is possible to note certain trends. The "trends" though at times compelling cannot accurately be used to date seals. The seals of the Uruk period (see chart-plate 1) tended to be of pink or white marble, which continued in use into the Jamdet Nasr period. Many of the Jamdat Nasr seals were of limestone, predominately light grey. The tall and slender seals dating to the end of the period tended to be of glazed steatite or faience, while the small seals dating to the end of the period tended to be of red, grey or green limestone.(11)

The so-called Brocade seals of the First Early Dynastic period were usually of green, blue or black limestone or dark serpentine. On the other hand seals of the Second Early Dynastic period were of serpentine, white or green aragonite, calcite or shell core. The occasional gold or

silver seal has been found dating to the Third Early Dynastic period; some are solid while others are of foil, molded over a bitumen core.(12)

The seals of Sargonid times were of many different types of stones but it is interesting to note the use of hard stones such as jasper and rock crystal, while the use of soft material such as shell core died out. Haematite seals far outnumbered seals of other materials during the Third Dynasty of Ur. This material was especially common in Syria and Palestine during all periods, until faience became popular, from Mitannian times onward.(13)

The seals of the Kassites, Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians tended to be of chalcedony or agate, though semi-translucent stones were widely used. Lapis lazuli was used for important seals in most periods and was imitated in Assyrian frit. Seals of real glass or obsidian were relatively rare.(14)

In Egypt wood was usually used to make cylinder seals. The cylinder seal was replaced by the scarab during Middle Kingdom times. The situation was different in Palestine and Mesopotamia (15), although an example of a wooden seal may have been found in Palestine at Tell el-Hesi by Bliss. There is some doubt as to the authenticity of the seal as

the circumstances of its discovery are vague. The site is also in the northern Negev where the rainfall is sufficient to put the survival of wood in doubt.(16) It is likely that a wooden seal would rot, and this fact combined with little information on the discovery suggests a forgery. The motif of the seal (a deer) is also quite different from "other" third millennium seals, both in style and subject matter.

The cylinders were usually worn as necklaces or in wristbands. In Early Dynastic time the seals sometimes adorned pins which were used to fasten cloaks. Some seals were capped with gold, silver or copper. Kassite caps sometimes overlapped the seal with triangles decorated with gold granulées. This was imitated in stone as late as Assyrian times.(17)

Techniques of Manufacture

Before the artist's work could begin the raw stone had to be shaped. The techniques that the seal maker used to shape his seals had developed over millennia. It is possible to view the development of shaping as having begun with the first smashing of two rocks together, but by the fourth millennium the art of shaping had become quite refined. Flaking techniques had developed early. These techniques, used in combination with a knowledge of the

structure of the stone, allowed the stone to be given precise cylindrical form.(18) After the introduction of the copper saw, the first rough shaping could be done with this instrument.(19)

The final smoothing and shaping was done by grinding which was accomplished by the use of abrasives. Quartz sand was an excellent abrasive which was easily available. This material, with a Mohs hardness of 7, would be hard enough to effectively smooth any stone employed by the seal makers. No seals or beads harder than quartz have been found.(20)

Grinding also permitted the use of softer, more granular rocks. These rocks would not be suited to flaking, being too soft to produce flakes. Soft stones like chalk could initially be shaped by a saw, then ground smooth.(21)

After the seal was formed it could be drilled. The axial perforation was achieved by drilling from both ends,. It is likely that beads were also drilled in this manner. Drilling from both ends might have caused some problems when the perforations met at an obtuse angle, but the advantages would have outweighed the disadvantages.(22) It is likely that by drilling from each end the craftsmen could minimize the breakage of drill tips as well as the breakage of seals. Drilling from both ends would also allow the use of a

shorter drill tip and allow more accurate centering of the drill hole.(23)

To begin drilling it was necessary to "peck" the area which was to be drilled. This process would roughen the surface and keep the drill from slipping. The small cavities made by the pointed pecking stone would also hold the abrasive which was an important part of the drilling process (see below).(24)

A seal could be perforated by use of a hand drill or a bow drill. Use of a hand drill is confirmed by an Egyptian wall painting dating to the fifth dynasty (c.2500 BCE). The painting is accompanied by an inscription which reads "drilling of a cylinder by a seal maker".(25)

The bow drill, in all likelihood was developed in the later Palaeolithic or early Mesolithic period, as a tool used in firemaking. A microlith would have been affixed to a shaft, the flint acting as a drill tip. A cap stone would be placed on the upper end of the shaft to centre the bit and to help in applying even pressure. An abrasive would allow the flint to penetrate a stone as hard as, or harder than, itself.(26)

Sand in its role as an abrasive is very important, as it can allow a drill bit which is softer than the seal that it is cutting to be effective. It is possible for a drill tip as soft as wood to be used as the wood carries the sand allowing the process of abrasion to be performed more efficiently. This theory has been confirmed by electron microscope scanning. The wear marks produced by a wooden tip are different than those made by a flint tip. In the case of wear marks produced by a wooden tip, the pattern of the tree's concentric rings can still be seen. An Early Bronze Age seal which was examined by Gorelick and Gwinnet proved to have been drilled with a wooden drill tip.(27)

The drill was important not only in the perforation of the seal but in the rendering of the design itself. The drill was used in combination with other tools to produce the seal's design. The earliest engraving was done with a graver or burin and began in the Upper Paleolithic. These chisel-like tools eventually became specialized; Gordstov has identified thirteen groups and seventy-five subtypes.(28) Some of the burins were as small as half an inch and could have produced very detailed work.(29)

Burins were still being made during the Early Bronze Age, but were probably replaced by bronze engraving tools. Few bronze tools have been found with cylinder seals, but the progression is logical.(30)

Using the principle of the bow drill, it was possible for the craftsman to use small discs of various sizes or tubes with a circular cutting edge in his work. This technique was used from Kassite times onwards, most especially in the manufacture of Mitannian seals, though some seals were cut with a disc as early as the First Dynasty of Babylon. The copper discs allowed the designs to become more elaborated, but they reduced the artist's repertoire, limiting him to straight lines. The lines produced by discs are distinctive, in that they tend to be deeper and wider towards the centre than other lines. The seal was held steadily against the turning disc. It is the curved surface of the seal moving against the circular saw that accounts for the width and depth of the cut being greater towards its centre.(31)

These were the tools of the seal maker. They changed as his art changed, and his art changed as they changed. One wonders how the tools changed with the introduction of iron. Did iron simply replace copper or did it give rise to a different type of tool? No iron tools have ever been found with cylinder seals.

The engraver was faced with a difficult task, in that he was working in miniature, in the negative, and on a curved

surface. The ideal he was striving for had to be rendered in the reverse. In the excavations at Ur, Sir Leonard Woolley found small pieces of limestone with sketches on them. It is likely that the sketches were seal makers' test pieces. An unfinished seal published by Henri Frankfort revealed a scratched outline, overlaid by drillings that would eventually have been connected.(32)

The problem of magnification is one that has not been solved. It is difficult to imagine being able to engrave a design on a seal less than 15mm in height without the aid of some type of magnification. It has been suggested that the "pin hole" effect might have been utilized. By focusing through a pin hole one sees with greater clarity, as only the central part of the retina is used. This method is plausible, but it would not be practical. It would be necessary to develop a stand to hold the object with a pin hole, so that the artist could look through the hole continually. Another possibility is the use of water in a clear curved glass vessel, but clear glass was not invented until Roman times.(33)

The most likely explanation for a craftsman's ability to work in miniature centers around natural ability. It might have been that the seal makers had a natural ability to translate thought into action, or that they were myopic.

The vision of a myope would provide greater magnification than a pin hole, as well as the awareness of depth that can only be achieved with binocular vision.(34)

Cylinder Seals in Syro-Palestine

The cylinder seal spread from Mesopotamia and with it the technology to produce it. By the end of the fourth millennium use of the cylinder seal was established in Syria and Palestine, but the designs remained heavily Mesopotamian. During times of Mesopotamian dominance, either political or commercial, the glyptic art of the so-called "Peripheral" regions tended to flourish. This implied dependence holds true in all but one case. The pressure exerted on Babylon by the Hittites and the Kassites created an atmosphere in which local glyptic art could grow. The scenes were still Babylonian, but the medium was local.(35)

Examples of glyptic art found in Palestine can be divided into three groups: imported seals; imitation of imported seals; seals free of outside influence.(36) These three groups can be found in all periods and may best reflect the nature of Palestinian glyptic art, and of Palestinian culture itself. Palestine with its place at the cross roads of the Middle East could not help but produce a "hybrid" form of art.

For the purposes of this thesis it is sufficient to deal with only two groups, those seals showing foreign influence and those free of outside influence. It is in fact difficult to distinguish between imported seals and those made locally in the style of imported seals. The "foreign" seals of the Late Bronze Age are for the most part Mitannian or Middle Assyrian. However it is maintained by some that it is virtually impossible to distinguish some Mitannian and Middle Assyrian seals, especially outside the Tigris-Euphrates area.(37) The early Middle Assyrian seals resembled Mitannian seals in subject matter, but the style was a "modelled" one, as opposed to the Mitannian "engraved" style.(38)

The so-called Mitannian seals have been divided into two groups by Edith Porada, based on her work with the seals and sealings from Nuzi (see AASOR XXIV). The first type is the Common style. These seals tended to be of faience or glazed steatite and they have been found all across the Middle East in levels dating to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. With the wide geographic spread comes an interesting phenomena; there is little local variation.(39)

It is usually assumed that the Common style ended c. 1350, with the destruction of the Mitannian empire. It may

be that the style lingered on, especially in the west, until the thirteenth century.(40) Pirhiya Beck in her dissertation suggests that the simpler designs of the Common style showed a tendency towards certain motifs. These motifs (for example contest scenes) may be traced back earlier than the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries.(41)

The second type is Porada's Elaborate style. It is a varied group of seals. The seals are well worked and on the whole they tend not to be of faience. They are usually of colourful stones: marble, chert or haematite.(42) In contrast to the composition of Mesopotamian seals, Mitannian seals were carefully spaced, creating a feeling of balance. The designs were symmetrical, the field and open spaces were not overcrowded.(43)

The Common style preceded the development of the Elaborate style by as much as 200 years. Edith Porada dates the development of the Common style as late as 1500 BCE (44), while Frankfort wishes to place the development back 200 years with the settling of the Indo-Aryan Mitannians, the Asiatic branch of the Indo-European peoples, languages etc. That the Mitannians were Indo-Aryan can be seen in the gods that they worshiped and in the Mitannian fondness for the winged sun-disc, derived from the pillar which supports heaven, mentioned in the Vendantic texts (see below p. 43).

Frankfort believes that the high quality seals of the Elaborate style were founded upon the wide spread production of the Common seals.(45) That is to say, the "Common" seals provided a basic repertoire of motifs, which were refined to produce "Elaborate" seals.

No discussion Mitannian cylinder seals, no matter how brief, can be complete without mention of Helene Kantor's "depleted" class of seals. "Depleted" refers to a class of seal dating to after the fall of the Mitannian Empire (c. 1350). These seals tend to make use of Mitannian motifs, but in a simplified manner. A typical ancillary motif such as a deer and a guilloche might fill the field of a depleted seal. This style is common in Palestine, but it is not possible to prove that it is peculiar to Palestine. Kantor also suggests that there is a "thickly modeled" class of seal. She feels that this style is a thirteenth century descendant of the "Elaborate" style. Kantor cites our IVF Lachish-2 as an example of the "thickly modeled" style.(46)

Mitannian seals are good examples of the artistic limitations created by cutting discs. The designs of Mitannian seals tend to be schematic and they are heavily dependent on drill work. The seals display different themes from the Old Babylonian seals of the preceding period. Mitannian seals depend heavily on monsters. The Old

Babylonian style focused on man's image of his gods as he adored them. The Mitannian style was more abstractly imaginative, dealing with creatures that were not human in appearance nor closely concerned with the human sphere.(47)

The Middle Assyrian style (1400-1200 BCE) displays a change in iconography when compared with the Mitannian style of seal. The Mitannian love of demons and the imaginary is replaced by a dependence on humans and their activities. Once again we see man and his gods as a major theme in glyptic art.(48)

The unstable political situation which allowed a foreign power, Mitanni, to dominate Assyria may have caused a sense of cynicism to develop. It may be suggested that the return to worship scenes as a theme in glyptic art indicates an increased confidence in the power of prayer, after the collapse of the Mitannian Empire. This may reflect a return to the status quo. The end of Mitannian rule may have brought renewed faith in the old gods.

The relationship between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian seals is a difficult one. As stated above some think that the two styles are indistinguishable. It is the opinion of Henri Frankfort that the Middle Assyrian seals show symmetry in their design and display a marked favouritism towards

demons when it comes to subject matter.(50) This serves to confuse an already difficult subject. Both Porada and Frankfort recognize two distinct styles of Mitannian seal, but why they diverge when it comes to Middle Assyrian seals is hard to explain.

When discussing the cylinder seals of Syro-Palestine from 2000 BCE on, Frankfort divides the seals into three groups: First, Second and Third Syrian Groups. Seals of the First Syrian Group use Babylonian motifs as a central theme. A quilloche or twist is often used to divide part of the seal into two horizontal registers. Antithetical groups are common, but they are not the main focus of the seal, as is the case in Mitannian seals. Seals of this group date to a period between 2000 and 1700 BCE.(51)

Seals of the Second Syrian Group are based on Babylonian motifs, but they show some deterioration of style. Frankfort feels that between 1700 and 1350 BCE neither Egypt nor Mesopotamia was able to influence Syria artistically, due to internal weaknesses. As a result Syro-Palestinian glyptic stagnated and Mesopotamian elements were slowly replaced by other themes such as the sacred tree and the winged sun-disc.(52)

The Third Syrian Group (1350 to 1200 BCE) contains seals which are mainly dependent on local themes. Frankfort believes that there was an artistic void created when the Mitannian Empire fell. Only Egyptian influence remained in the south, i.e. Palestine.(53)

The local style of Palestine must now be considered, but it is not a straight forward subject. The political vacuum created by the pressure of the Hittites, the weak Kassite dynasty in Babylon, and Egypt's isolationist tendencies in the pre-Empire days should have produced one of two situations. If the local artists were heavily dependent on outside influence, glyptic art should have come to a near stand still, but this was not the case. We know that glyptic art flourished in the form of Mitannian seals that show little variation across the Middle East. This raises the probability that the second alternative, large Hurrian population movements, was operative. Such movements would make Hurrian/Mitannian art local. The question of the nature and extent of the population movement forms the backbone of this thesis and with it the question of how the Egyptian Empire and other political factors influenced the art of Palestine in the Late Bronze Age.

END NOTES-CHAPTER I

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(2) Roux, op. cit., p. 74.

(3) Leonard Gorelick and A. John Gwinnet, "The Origin and Development of the Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seal," Expedition vol. 23 #4 (1981), 18.

(4) Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

(5) Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

(6) Edith Porada, ed. Ancient Art in Seals (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 4-5.

(7) Porada, op. cit., p. 5.

(8) Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

(9) Porada, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

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(17) Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 7.

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- (22)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 5.
- (23)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 25.
- (24)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 26.
- (25)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 24.
- (26)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 24.
- (27)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 25.
- (28)Semenov, op. cit., p. 107.
- (29)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 27.
- (30)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 27.
- (31)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 5-6.
- (32)Gorelick and Gwinnet, op. cit., p. 27.
- (34)Leonard Gorelick, "Close Work Without Magnifying Glasses," Expedition vol. 23 #4(1981),15-16.
- (34)Gorelick, op. cit., p. 16.
- (35)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 224.
- (36)Ben-Tor, op. cit., p. 93.
- (37)Anton Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel (Berlin: Gebr. MannVerlag, 1940), p. 64.
- (38)Edith Porada, ed. Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections 2 vols. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Bollinger Series XIV. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1948), p. 216.
- (39)Porada, Ancient Art in Seals, p. 11.
- (40)C. McEwan, H. Kantor, et al., Soundings at Tell Fakariyah (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications LXXIX, 1958), p. 84.
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(42)Porada, Ancient Art in Seals, p. 13.

(43)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 273.

(44)Edith Porada, "Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art," Akkadica 13, 2.

(45)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 278.

(46)McEawan and Kantor, et al., op. cit., p. 84.

(47)Porada, Ancient Art in Seals, p. 11.

(48)Porada, "Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) Glyptic Art," p. 2.

(49)Edith Porada, "Sealings from Nuzi" AASOR XXIV, pp. 123-125.

(50)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 186.

(51)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 256-257.

(52)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 260.

(53)Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pp. 288-289.

Chapter II-Artistic Treatment

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the artistic elements of the Late Bronze Age cylinder seals from Palestine. An attempt has been made to indicate parallels to the seals from Palestine and those which can be found in published works. Abbreviations, which can be found at the beginning of the text, are used to indicate the works in which the parallel seals may be found.

The glyptic art which survives from Late Bronze Age Palestine represents over a third of the cylinder seals found in Palestine. This group of cylinder seals gives us an excellent opportunity to compare and contrast the seals' subject matter, as the size of the corpus insures a good sample, no matter what the subject of the seal.

Before the cylinder seals can be studied, it is necessary to sort them by subject matter. The general divisions of geometric/ linear designs, religious scenes or themes, representational art and inscriptions will be used in this study (see Appendix I).(1)

Geometric/linear motifs can be divided into seven basic groups (see Appendix II-herringbone, net, wavy lines,

geometric figures, spirals and combinations). Variations within these groups are possible, but these divisions supply us with a frame in which to work. It is interesting to note that in the Late Bronze Age only three of the categories are represented. The first is the net or cross hatched motif.

I-Geometric and/or linear

B-net/cross hatched

The six very simple seals of this category all come from Beth Shan. This is a very old motif, as seals from the Jamdat Nasr period have been found with this design (see Ben-Tor IB-4, 5).

F-spirals

The guilloche has often been considered a Syrian motif, but can be seen in Mesopotamian art as early as Early Dynastic times.(2) In Mitannian glyptic the guilloche is primarily used as a scene divider or base. The use of the tubular drill often reduced the guilloche to a series of concentric circles.(3) It may be suggested that the concentric circle motif is used when a divider of length, often the entire length of the scene, is needed.

A type of reduced guilloche can be seen in IF-Gezer 1-plate 2. Three lines of the spiral motif are present and dominate the seal. The seal is comparable to Alalakh 80, which shows three rows of "spirals", though they are not separated by lines as is the case with the Gezer seal. The spirals of Alalakh 80 may be more complex than those of IF-Gezer 1, but they do not appear to be as symmetrical. The Gezer seal may display a higher quality of workmanship.

The running spiral decorated a throne base at Mari (4), and survived as a decorative motif into the Late Bronze Age. Four seals with this pattern as the sole motif (IF-Beth Shan 1, 2, IF Megiddo-1, 2) can be found in our corpus. The rows of "running spirals" tend to be separated by lines and to run in alternate direction. The four seals are of faience and may show us the degeneration of a motif found in seals of the Mitannian Elaborate style; the "connected spiral".

Seal 1067 of Porada's Corpus (5) is a good example of the "connected spiral" pattern, rendered in haematite. The spirals, running alternatively to the left and to the right are connected by short lines to form a complex unit. This pattern can be seen in IF-Beth Shan 3, 4. IF-Beth Shan 3-plate 2 is a fine example of the connected spiral motif, seeming to rival Corpus 1067 in execution, though like its Palestinian counterpart it is of faience; note also Ashmolean 921.

Like the guilloche the connected spiral seems to have been used to define the limits of a scene, but unlike the guilloche it is used vertically (see Nuzi 492). A difference in engraving/drill techniques can be noted in the rendering of the connected spiral. The "loop" of the spiral may be two lines, as in the case of Corpus 1067 and IF-Beth Shan 3, or a flat "button" encircled by a line (see Nuzi 492 and IF-Beth Shan 4).

The spiral can easily be adapted to become a floral or vegetal motif. This can be seen in IF-Megiddo 3, where a lotus motif is flanked by bands of spirals (degenerated guilloche), such as we saw in IF-Gezer 1. The lotus motif bears some resemblance to the swirls of Alalakh 82. The term "lotus" may be misleading, implying the traditional Egyptian symbol of rebirth, when the design merely suggests the shape of the open flower. This lapis lazulli seal with gold caps may be a good example of the Mitannian Elaborate style in Palestine.

Phiryha Beck suggests that gold caps may indicate that a seal was imported from Cyprus, as gold caps were common there. This would suggest the importation of Mitannian seals via Cyprus. Beck illustrates this theory with three seals found in tombs near Akko, one of the seals is of

Cypriote design.(6) Becks case is rather weak, and is discussed more fully on page 96.

In seals IF-Beth Shan 5 and 6 the spiral has become a stylized tree. In the former, two "trees" are separated by two scrolls while the latter has a "spiral tree" standing beside a more conventional nine branched Mitannian tree. There are no direct parallels for these "trees", but it may be suggested that they are derived from connected spirals, especially as the design occurs with a standard tree. The short lines which link the "connected spirals" seems to have become a trunk, and the lines of spirals no longer appear to run in alternate directions.

The use of the "connected spiral" as a method of limiting scenes is preserved in IF-Beth Shan 6, since one has a "sacred tree" and a panel to mark the end of the scene. It is possible to contend that these two unique seals are the products of one workshop, indeed one artist, as both are from Beth Shan, level VII.

G-combination

The other four Late Bronze Age seals of geometric/linear design are of mixed motifs. The first, IG-Hazor 1 is composed of two registers, the lower containing a running

spiral, while the upper contains vertical lines suspended from the top and bottom of the register, set interspatially. The line motif appears to have no parallels, it may be a simple space filling device. Is this an indicator of local production, that is to say the lack of imagination indicates local art?(see chapter 4)

The upper register of IG-Beth Shan 1 (plate 2) contains a running spiral, while the lower contains a net motif. The net motif is quite common (see Alalakh 84, Ashmolean 951, etc.). The net may be seen as a hunting or fishing motif, but in this context it may be little more than a space filler (see below section IIBb p. 33).

The use of geometric/linear motifs to portray vegetal designs can again be seen in IG-Beth Shan 2. Rough vertical lines are crossed or criss-crossed by lines at an angle of approximately 45 degrees. This may indicate a star border next to a tree motif. The highly stylized tree may in fact be nothing more than a mass of lines, but then what significance would the seal have?

The star border or "grill pattern" as it has been called by Edith Porada is a frequently occurring motif.(7) See Nuzi 35-37, Ashmolean 233, Parker 100. However it is to be noted that this motif is relatively rare at Nuzi, where four

examples are found: 35a, 35b, 36 and 37, while it seems to be popular in Palestine, where four examples are found in a sample one fifth the size of that from Nuzi (Porada has published 1011 sealings in AASOR XXIV).

If this relatively simple design is common outside an area of direct Hurrian influence (note only one example from Alalakh-105), it may suggest a diffusion of style. Against this possibility, we have the common net motif which Porada notes (Nuzi p. 16) as often being found in her Group II.(8) The popularity of the simple net motif at Nuzi might then suggest that the popularity of the star border outside of known areas of direct Hurrian influence may be the product of cultural preference, as opposed to inferior artistic ability.

The last of our geometric/linear seals (IG-Gezer 1) is of a simple design. Three parallel lines separate two registers, the lower containing St. Andrew's crosses (note Nuzi 132). The upper register contains a simplified herringbone motif, which may in fact be fish. The crosses may represent a net motif, which is often found with fish (see below).

II-Animals

The role of animals in glyptic art is an diverse one. The line between representational art and "religious" art is a vague one. What, if anything, separates the trees of life and ibex motif from the ibex alone? It may be suggested that the animals are just that, animals, representations of nature. The presence of animals (birds, deer, fish) with a net motif may reflect a hunting motif.(9) The net was one of the weapons selected by Marduk, as he went forth to do battle with Tiamat.(10) This theory may be re-enforced by the presence of a human figure in a scene of this type (see Parker 100). Such scenes would reflect a very down to earth, realistic genre.

Perhaps the simplest arrangement of animals is the "file". In the case of a seal, a single animal is repeated when the seal is rolled, and thus a file is formed. For this reason the designation IIA is used for a mixed group of animals or a group of the same type of animal in different postures. Single animals, also in twos, can be found under IIC (see below p. 36).

A-alone or in groups

IIA-Tell Abu Hawam 1 (plate 2) has a complex motif of griffins and scorpions. The seal, though not well balanced, should be compared with Corpus 1042-1046, 1050-1057. The motifs are similar, as are the engraving styles, but it is to be noted that the seals of Corpus are of the "Elaborate" style, while our seal has been classed as "depleted" by Pirhiya Beck.(11) Other seals of this type are IIA-Megiddo 2, Tell el-Ajjul 1.(12)

It may also be possible to include IIA-Megiddo 1 in the above group of finely cut seals, though it is possible that it is not a Mitannian seal. IIA-Megiddo 1 appears in any case to be of above average quality. The stance of the lion should perhaps be compared to the lion of Corpus 945, a seal of the "Second Syrian Group". The arrangement of the animals does not appear to have an exact parallel, perhaps suggesting that the seal is a local product.

IIA-Beth Shan 1 is an unusual line of leaping antelope, and is considered by Beck to be Mitannian.(13) The stance of the animals should be compared with that of the "bull-men" in Frankfort's "Third Syrian Group".(14) The seal is in all likelihood local and its closest parallel may be IVCa-Hazor 1, though men are wrestling with the animals in the Hazor seal.

Two seals remain in category IIA (IIA-Tell el-Hesi 1, Gezer 1). The seal from Tell el-Hesi may be another attempt to copy finely engraved "Elaborate" seals, as discussed above. The Gezer seal is much more unusual, showing an eagle with its wings spread. The eagle motif can be traced back to the Uruk period (15), but it does not appear to have been used widely, except as a secondary motif (see Nuzi 18).

B-with geometric and/or linear motifs

a-herringbone

In IIBa-Beth Shan 1 a seated deer is set on end beside a double herringbone or chevron border. This deer corresponds to those discussed in IIC, showing little detail (Porada's Group II). IIBa-Beth Shan 3 is of this design, but the border is composed of a single chevron, not a double.

The fish of IIC can be seen in combination with a herringbone motif. A vertical register of fish similar in style and arrangement to those of IIC-Hazor 3 can be seen in IIBa-Beth Shan 2. The fish are flat showing little body detail. The panels of herringbone are used as simple vegetal designs similar to IG-Beth Shan 2.

The fish of IIBa-Hazor 1 show more detail than those of IIC-Hazor 3, and IIBa-Beth Shan 2. They are plump and molded, like those of Alalakh 118, but once again the Palestinian seal seems to be of a better quality. The Palestinian fish are more regular in shape and more evenly spaced. The herringbone design closely resembles Diyala 164, a Jamdat Nasr seal from Khafajah. This similarity testifies to the age of the simple motif.

b-net/cross hatched

The net motif as discussed above (see IG, p. 28) can now be seen with animals, re-enforcing the idea that it is a hunting motif. IIBb-Beth Shan 1(plate 3) pairs fish with the net motif. These fish can be compared to those of IIBa-Hazor 1.

Two seals, IIBb-Beth Shan 2 (plate 3), and IIBb-Beth Shan 3, show birds in combination with a net motif. IIBb-Beth Shan 2 can be compared to Nuzi 172. Nuzi 172 is another member of Porada's Group II and our seal conforms to the type, showing little body detail. The birds are raised and their bodies are little more than lines. (compare Corpus 1052, 1062, and Newell 293)

A rampant winged griffin with a crested head faces a net panel in IIBb-Tell Abu Hawam 1 (plate 3). It is suggested that in this case the net panel represents the door of a shrine.(16) This may suggest that the occurrence of animals with a human by a net panel may not be a hunting scene as discussed above (pp. 28, 33), but a sacrifice scene, the net being a stylized wall or door.

IIBb-Beth Shan 4 is interesting as it shows kneeling antelope kicking up their hind legs. The antelope's position is characteristic of early Assyrian seals.(17) This seal may be compared to Ur vol. II 202, 204.

e-geometric figures

The first seal to be discussed in this category (IIBe-Hazor 1) is rather awkward and indistinct. A deer faces a winged creature and above the deer are three lines. The scene seems to lack balance and purpose and has no precise parallels, though the deer resembles the one in IIC-Hazor 1.

In IIBe-Beth Shan 1, two deer stand regardant beside a star border, as discussed above in connection with IG-Beth Shan 2. A variation of the star border can be seen in IIBe Beth Shan 2. In this seal one antelope stands regardant

beside an eight pointed star. Compare the antelope to those of IIC-Tell Mevorakh 1. The star is more substantial than those of a border motif. It has a central core which clearly gives the impression of a radiating sun or star.

The standard star border can be seen in IIBe-Beth Shan 3, with two seated antelope, set on end (see IIC-Hazor 1, etc.). These deer are set head to head, giving the scene balance, as opposed to a file motif. The file offers a feeling of continuity and movement, in contrast to the stationary quality of a balanced scene.

f-spiral

In IIBf-Tell Abu Hawam 1, we see a connected spiral with two seated deer set on end. The deer are of the usual type (see IIC, p. 37), with one small exception. The second deer's antlers are more elaborate than the other's, having a second branch. This may be an interesting added detail or an omission.

An elaborate running spiral motif is teamed with a file of birds in IIBf-Beth Shan 1. Compare this seal with IIC-Beth Shan 5. The former seal is quite similar to IIBf-Megiddo 1. The running spiral is simpler and the birds look up, as opposed to down, but otherwise the motif is the same.

Three more seals from Hazor (IIBf-Hazor 1, 2, 3) show files of fish, now combined with variations of the running spiral. Once again the fish are well defined and for the most part well spaced. This can also be said for IIBf-Beth Shan 2, 3, 4, though the spiral of IIBf-Beth Shan 3 does lack regularity.

The last seal of this category, IIBf-Beth Shan 5, shows a group of seated antelope set on end above a scroll or spiral pattern. The composition of this seal is similar to that of IIBf-Beth Shan 1.

C-file

The first seal to be considered, IIC-Beth Shan 7 (plate 3), is divided vertically into two sections, each containing a winged sphinx, both wearing a rolled turban, which is a common Mitannian style. The sphinx is a frequent Syrian motif. They are often seen in antithetical groups, usually a secondary motif in early Syrian glyptic.(18) Such antithetical groups become the main scene in Mitannian and later Syrian glyptic.(19) The presence of the sphinx demonstrates the Mitannian love of the imaginary, and interest in the non-human world.(20)

It is difficult to find a parallel for IIC-Beth Shan 7, though Ashmolean 910 should be noted for the stance of the sphinx. The sphinxes stand erect with both wings visible, while most sphinxes are seated. Perhaps the closest parallel, in style as well as motif, is IIC-Beth Shan 8. This seal shows a sphinx with only one wing shown and a raised tail added together with two stags, their bodies combined, and set on end. These two seals from level VII at Beth Shan may be the product of one workshop, though one, IIC-Beth Shan 7, is of faience, while the other is of steatite.

The motif of seated deer set on end is common (21); six seals of this type survive from Palestinian sites. One of these seals, IIC-Hazor 4, may not be a schematic depiction of deer (compare Alalakh 113), but the worn seal may show a line of snakes, see Kenna 13, thought to be unfinished. The deer tend to be "line drawings" giving no indication of body detail. This factor led Edith Porada to include such a seal (Nuzi 87) in her Group II (see note 10). These seals can also be compared to Ashmolean 944 and Hogarth 234.

Six seals---IIC-Hazor 1 (plate 4), IIC-Hazor 4, IIC-Lachish 1, IIC-Megiddo 1, and IIC-Beth Shan 3, 9---display the characteristic of Porada's Group II (see note

10). The only noticeable features of the deer tend to be the eyes and the nostrils, which are little more than drill holes. This type of design, where only a few enlarged elements are used, usually placed side by side in a register, sometimes with plant or geometric motifs, is a good example of Kantor's depleted class.(22) Most of the Late Bronze Age seals from Palestine with animal motifs belong to the depleted class of seals.

The next group of four seals---IIC-Beth Shan 2 (plate 3), IIC-Gezer 1 (plate 4), IIC-Tell el-Hesi 1, IIC-Tell Mevorakh 1 (plate 5)---shows "file" in the traditional sense. Horned animals (stags or ibex) stand regardant in a continuous line. Once again the bodies of the animals lack detail, the Beth Shan seal shows molding, suggesting the haunches of the animal . Compare Nuzi 60 to IIC-Tell Mevorakh 1 and the others to Ashmolean 942.

The use of an antithetical motif can be seen in IIC-Beth Shan 1. Two stags face each other regardant while a third stag, also regardant stands in a separate register. Again we see a lack of detail, the stags closely resemble those of IIC-Gezer 1, and IIC-Tell el-Hesi 1.

In the next group of seals---IIC-Hazor 3, IIC-Megiddo 2, IIC-Beth Shan 4---we see the field divided into two

each register containing a file of animals. In the case of IIC-Hazor 3 and IIC-Beth Shan 4, a row of deer, set on end, noses to the ground (see above, pp. 37-38), appear with a line(s) of fish. The fish motif can be seen at Nuzi (81-84), but once again the Palestinian seals seem to possess a crispness of line that the Nuzi seals lack. Alalakh 118 shows two lines of plump, but irregularly shaped fish. The fish are not spaced evenly, as they are in the Palestinian seals. Perhaps a closer parallel is Ashmolean 951 or even Corpus 1066 especially in regard to IIC-Hazor 3, which tends to be more schematic in design. (Note also Kenna 6)

The lower register of IIC-Megiddo 2 does not contain deer, as do those of the other two seals mentioned above, but a line of grazing bulls. The bulls are not rendered in any detail, the haunches being shown as circles from which spindly legs extend. They appear to have no parallel.

The fish motif appears again in IIC-Beth Shan 5. A central register of fish is flanked on either side by a file of birds. The birds appear to be wading birds with long legs and beaks (see Nuzi 71, Alalakh 89). Similar birds can be seen in IIC-Gezer 2 (plate 4), IIC-Beth Shan 6, IIC-Megiddo 3.

The combination of fish and deer can again be seen in IIC-Hazor 2 (plate 5) where two deer face each other regardant beside a vertical line of fish. These fish have a more definite outline than those of IIC-Hazor 3; the fish of Hazor 3 are little more than lines, but they lack the molded quality of the Nuzi (71) and Alalakh (89) seals.

E-with sacred tree(s)

Probably the most common motif in Palestinian glyptic art is the "sacred tree". In the Late Bronze Age the most common type of tree used in glyptic art was the "bouquet-tree".(23) The tree usually has five, seven, or nine branches, seven being the most common.

The "bouquet tree" is believed to have developed from a First Babylonian Dynasty emblem, the lion-club.(24) Porada traces the development of the tree in her Nuzi Group XVII.

The lion-club was associated with a number of deities, Ishtar in particular. The lion-club was portrayed as a mace-head flanked by curved blades, set upon a pole or staff. The blades which rendered the club useless as a weapon, began to develop into depals or stamens (see Nuzi 91, 92). Eventually the deity held a floral emblem (Nuzi 623), as he would once have held the lion-club.(25)

branched tree, as is usual, but the scene is bordered at the top by a connected spiral motif and at the bottom by a very fine herringbone/vegetal motif.

A line of two deer stands by a five branched tree in IIE-Beth Shan 1. The deer lack detail, which appears to have been the norm. The scene lacks balance perhaps suggesting a lapse, or lessening in the Mitannian desire for balance. Similar to IIE-Beth Shan 1 (plate 5) is IIE-Balatah 1, where a file of birds (see IIC-Gezer 2) stand before a five branched tree; there is a running spiral motif across the top of the scene. Yet a third version of an unsymmetrical tree with animals is IIE-Tell Abu Hawam 2, where a vertical row of birds faces a tree.(27)

IIE-Beth Shan 3 is a very complicated seal with animals scattered across the field. The engraving may be of the style often considered to be Palestinian (28), i.e. very fine and angular. An equally confused seal is IIE-Lachish 1 (plate 5). Nougayrol wishes to date this seal to the end of Iron I (29), though Parker lists the seal (Parker 107) as coming from pit 176-Temple III. These two seals could be an attempt to imitate such elaborate designs as Ashmolean 916 or 918.

IIE-Gezer 2 (plate 5) gives us an example of a creature rare in glyptic art, a pig.(30) The significance of a pig is difficult to determine, and to complicate the matter the seal is dated only by the pottery with which it was found.

Another seal from Gezer, IIE-Gezer 3, poses an interesting problem; does it depict a zodiac motif? This was suggested by Macalister, but discounted by Nougayrol, who felt that the most that could be said is that the motif might later have developed into a representation of the zodiac. (31) There is no good parallel.

G-with a sun-disc or standard

The regardant stag can also be seen with winged sun-discs (a vertical row of three) in IIG-Hazor 1 (plate 6). This motif can be seen on a fourteenth century tablet from Assur. See ZA 18, fig. 92. The winged sun-disc is not usually portrayed in this manner, though Ashmolean 946 should be noted. The more standard portrayal can be seen in IIG-Lachish 1, where the sun-disc is set upon a pole. This may be a solely Mitannian theme. The Vendantic texts mention a pillar supporting heaven, but it is felt that in Western Art it represents the earth, not the heavens.(31) It may be that the pole is related to the Northern Syrian "Asherah" ritual or that it has its roots in Egyptian

monuments. A third possibility is that it developed from the Mesopotamian sun-standard.(32)

Another seal to be considered in this group is IIG-Beth Shan 1, where two deer face a sun-disc atop a standard; behind the deer is a tree. The tree is considered to be conifer, which would suggest a date earlier than level VI-Seti I.(34) No exact parallel is available, but Beck suggests Nuzi 56. Note also IIG-Lachish 2 (plate 6), where two antelope face a bouquet tree and beyond is a standard surmounted by a globe.

It is to be noted that the winged sun-disc appears only once on a "Common Style" seal at Nuzi (92), while it occurs frequently on "Elaborate Style" seals. Porada notes that the sun-disc is usually found at Nuzi in association with symbols related to the heavens and the sun. Humans are never seen grasping the standard, only supplicant goddesses, genii, bull-men, nude bearded heros or demons (see Nuzi 718, 719).(38) This raises the question of the role of the deer. It may have been a symbol of the heavens or the sun, or the winged sun-disc may simply have lost its heavenly associations in Palestine.

IV-Humans and/or deities

A-alone or in groups

This category might better be termed "human file", as it deals entirely with lines of humans. Six seals---IVA-Shiqmona 1, IVA-Lachish 1 (plate 6), IVA-Megiddo 1, IVA-Beth Shan 1, 2, 3---show men, usually nude, standing side by side. The men's stance varies from seal to seal, but is consistent within a scene. This type of seal has been interpreted as troops marching into battle or as a ritual dance.(35) The battle scene can be ruled out for two reasons. The first reason is that the men are rarely armed (see Nuzi 462, IVA-Megiddo 1 and IVA-Beth Shan 1 for armed men) and the second is the stance of the men. The men can be seen to have their arm(s) around their neighbours shoulders. This does not suggest a battle, but a dance is possible. See IVA-Beth Shan 3, IVA-Megiddo 1.

The ritual dance may be a war dance, which would explain the occasional occurrence of weapons and the fact that in some seals the dancers are dressed as warriors. See Nuzi 391 and IVA-Shiqmona 1. This motif may be a Syrian one, taken over by the Mitannians (36), though the motif may have developed contemporaneously, as no "ritual dance" seals can be found in the First Syrian group.

One rather unusual seal which must be considered with "ritual dance" seals is IVCC-Lachish 1 (plate 8). This seal shows four armed men in long draperies with three prancing antelope. The antelope may represent an animal dance, which Porada discusses in connection with seals showing leaping animals (Nuzi 526 etc.).(37) Such seals bring to mind IIA-Beth Shan 1 (see above, p. 31) and also Alalakh 104, where the animals are crouching. Note also IVCa-Beth Shan 2 where three men stand in a line, like the dancers, beside a stag.

B-with geometric and/or linear motifs

e-geometric figures

Two seals from Tell el-Ajjul (IIBe-Tell el-Ajjul 1, 2) are quite typical of the Cypriote style. The dagger motif is often seen in the seals of the "Common" Cypriote style. Seals of the "Common" Cypriote style tend to be poorly engraved, with angular figures (see Corpus 1075, 1076).

C-with animals

a-alone or in a group

Perhaps the most interesting of the seals in this category is IVCa-Lachish 1. It shows the Egyptian god, Bes, flanked by two vultures. Buchanan compares this seal to Ashmolean 1011, as they both are Levantine seals, showing Egyptian motifs, cut in the same manner.(38) The same type of engraving can be seen in IVCa-Shiqmona 1, though whether or not the motif can be considered Egyptian is questionable. The seal might best be compared to the Cypriote seal Ashmolean 961.

IVCa-Hazor 1 and 2 (plate 7) show rearing animals struggling with humans (see IIA-Beth Shan 1, p. 31). As discussed above (see IVA) animals walking on their hind feet may indicate a type of animal dance. The third seal from Hazor is of poor quality in both execution and design. Human(s) appear to chase horned quadrupeds across the field in a design that shows little balance. It is difficult to consider this seal Mitannian, though it is without a doubt local. The style of engraving appears to be local, but the motif is not a Mitannian one. The motif may be Cypriote, as it bears some resemblance to those seals where animals cross the scene transversely.

IVCa-Tell Abu Hawam 2 suggests Syrian influence by the way it is engraved. The engraving style resembles that of Corpus 970, a seal of the Second Syrian Group. The seal can

be most closely compared to Ur Excavations, vol. III, #324, and a seal from Ras Shamra published in Syria XII, pl. III.

IVCa-Lachish 2 (plate 7) suggests a relationship between glyptic art and the designs found on pottery. Barbra Parker notes that the ostriches of this seal resemble those on pottery, standing beside a palm-tree (see Lachish II, pl. LX no. 2, 3).(39) Beck notes that the two ostriches appear in a panel, which further re-enforces a relationship with pottery designs. Beck compares this seal to those where animals face a net panel. See IIBb-Beth Shan 2, 3 which suggest that the net motif represents a divider between metopes on pottery.(40)

A good example of Mitannian style engraving is IVCa-Akko 1. In this seal one can see features common to the Mitannian style: a rounded cap, hair merely a vertical line terminated by a drilling, the face a triangle with two lines for a mouth.(41)

The main scene of IVCa-Akko 1 shows a figure in a short garment, holding a scimitar. This figure can be compared to figures from Nuzi who hold a scimitar, but always wear a long garment (see Nuzi 120, 140, 649-660). Porada suggests that the figure with a scimitar takes the place of the Old Babylonian "god with a mace" opposite an attendant

goddess.(42) This seal may represent a transition between the Old Babylonian and Mitannian styles, but it might also be an archaism.

The secondary motif of IVCa-Akko 1 shows a lion attacking a crouching antelope (see Nuzi 590, 650, etc.). The lion is attacked by a hero with a sword. This scene is the primary motif of IVCa-Tell el-Ajjul 1. Porada suggests that this type of motif is a revival of contest scenes.(43)

IVCa-Beth Shan 1 is similar to the two seals just discussed. In the case of the seal from Beth Shan a winged griffin attacks a bull, as a human figure in a long garment holds out his hands. The human figure may be the hero of the contest motif, even though no weapon is apparent.

IVCa-Balata 1 is in all likelihood a Cypriote seal. The angular style of engraving suggests Cypriote origins, but as the seal is worn, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions. It should be noted that the seal is of basalt, which is uncommon.

Another angularly cut seal is IVCa-Beth Shan 2 (plate 6). The figures are stiff and unnatural, similar to some Cypriote seals. This seal should however be considered Palestinian because of the style of engraving.

Two diorite seals with similar motifs are IVCa-Gezer 1 (plate 7) and IVCa-Tell el-Hesi 1. Both seals show quadrupeds crossing the scene transversely. Nougayrol suggests that the concept of animals crossing the field of a seal transversely is Cypriote, following Syro-Hittite glyptic.(44)

The final seal of this group comes from Tell Abu Hawam, IVCa-Tell Abu Hawam 1. The seal is of note because it is of glass (see Chapter 1, p. 6). The seal was found in pieces and has been restored, but it is difficult to read.

b-geometric and/or linear motifs

The bulk of the seals of this class---IVCb-Beth Shan 1, 2, 3; IVCb-Lachish 1 (plate 8); IVCb-Lachish 2 (plate 8); IVCb-Lachish 3, 4, and IVCb-Tell el-Ajjul 1---belong to a style already discussed. The style features humans and/or animals with net or vegetal design panels. These panels have been discussed above, they may be hunting motifs, sanctuary motifs or they may reflect the metopes of painted Late Bronze Age pottery. Related to this group is IVCb-Beth Shan 5 (plate 7). This seal shows a kneeling man with two deer, which are set on end beneath a star border.

The idea that net panels represent metopes as seen on pottery may be re-enforced by IVCb-Lachish 4. The seal is bordered top and bottom by a net motif. The scene is split into two horizontal registers, the upper containing a standard flanked by two figures in long robes, a kneeling figure and a fourth figure that raises a sword. The lower register shows a figure standing beside a star and two winged griffins, one on either side of a standard. Once again we see the "standard" motif, which is related to the winged sun-disc (see above, p. 43).

IVCb-Gezer 1 is a rather awkward piece. It shows no balance of form or motif. Nougayrol considers this seal to be without parallel, suggesting a date solely by the context in which it was found.(45)

Yet another Cypriote seal may be IVCb-Megiddo 1. The angular nature of the figures suggests that the seal is from Cyprus. Barbra Parker suggests that this seal be compared to one published in AJA, LII, p. 195 by Edith Porada.(46) The daggers of IVCb-Beth Shan 4 and IVCb-Lachish 5 (plate 8) indicate that these two seals are also from Cyprus. The engraving of these seals is also very angular, but they are more realistic than those of IVCb-Megiddo 1. The heads of the figures of the Megiddo and Lachish seals are small and indistinct, while the seal from Beth Shan shows more detail.

IVCb-Tell el-Ajjul 2, a seal from the so-called "Governor's Tomb", is unusual because of the central figure: a female wearing a flounced skirt of striated material, standing full faced, with her hands at her side. The female figure can be compared to Corpus 976E, 978E and De Clercq 297. One should also note the combination of debased hieroglyphs (ankh, arm of balance) and traditional Syrian/Mitannian motifs, such as a seated ibex, and a quilloche.

c-file

IVCc-Beth Shan 1 shows two lines of fish and a row of heads wearing turbans. The fish are similar to those from Hazor discussed above (see IIC). The turbaned heads should be compared to those of Parker 115, another seal from Beth Shan, but from Iron Age levels (level V).

IVCc-Lachish 2 (plate 8) is notable because of the style of the griffin's wings. The feathery treatment of the wings suggests Mitannian influence. See Nuzi, pl. XXXVIII; Ward 203.(47) With the griffin are a bull, a scorpion and a human wearing a horned headdress. The seal in style of engraving and in motif can be compared to IIA-Tell Abu Hawam 1 and Corpus 1004.

e-with sacred tree

Two Cypriote seals are members of this large and varied group. The one IVCe-Hazor 1 shows the Cypriote trait of having animals crossing the field transversely. When one examines the style of engraving of IVCe-Tell Abu Hawam 1, the seal is unmistakably Cypriote. The figures are angular and while they are modelled, the modelling is sharp, not rounded (compare with Kenna 114).

IVCe-Beth Shan 5 is a contest motif of Mitannian style, but with no parallel at Nuzi. The bouquet tree is of the standard Mitannian style and the figures wrestling with antelope may be compared to those of IVCa-Hazor 1, 2. (48)

IVCe-Tell el-Ajjul 1 is broken, only the top half of the seal survives. The seal seems to show two deer, a human figure and a bouquet tree. The fragmentary nature of the seal limits what may be said about the design.

Perhaps the most interesting of the IVCe seals is IVCe-Beth Shan 13 (plate 9). This seal is similar to the seals discussed below, where figures stand beside a tree, but in this case the tree is a ribbon volute tree, not a bouquet tree. The tree is flanked by two salient antelope

or goats, and two human figures, possibly half goat, who face each other with their hands raised. The stance of the humans and goats may be compared to Eisen 171, a Kiruk style seal. The human figures remind one of the supplicant goddesses of Old Babylonian seals.

The remainder of the seals in this category can be divided into two groups; one where a figure holds a tree or branch---IVCe-Tell Abu Hawam 2; IVCe-Beth Shan 1, 2 (plate 9); IVCE-Beth Shan 3, 6, 11, 12; IVCe-Tell es-Safy 1; IVCe-Gezer 3---and the second where figures stand beside a tree---IVCe-Beth Shan 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; IVCe-Beth Shemesh 1; IVCe-Gezer 1, 2; IVCe-Hazor 2; IVCe-Lachish 1, 2; IVCe-Megiddo 1, 2.

IVCe-Beth Shan 2 is related to a group of seals which have already been discussed. The seal shows an antelope on a net panel. The "tree" is little more than an extension of the net panel. For a full discussion of the net panel, see above, section IIBb.

In five seals---IVCe-Beth Shan 1, 2, 6; IVCe-Gezer 3; IVCe-Tell el-Hesi 1---a nude figure kneels holding a tree (see Nuzi 223-242); a sixth seal, IVCe-Beth Shan 11, shows a single figure standing with a tree (see Nuzi 224). Porada suggests that the posture of the figures, ascending or

semi-kneeling, indicates that the figures are dancers. The ancillary motifs of this type of Mitannian seal are usually a pair of animals with a spiral, though Porada notes that horned rampant animals became more common at Nuzi as time went on.(49) The seals from Palestine appear to be of simpler design than those from Nuzi, though the quality of the work seems equal.

In a seal from Tell es-Safy we can see a tree being held by two figures (see Nuzi 243-263). Porada suggests that the "dances" were for rain-making or plant growing. She notes a mold from Mari (see Syria XVIII, 1937 pl. XII:2) showing a folk dance where four figures each hold a vase from which a plant grows.(50) This type of motif can be seen in IVCe-Beth Shan 12. The seal is of the engraving style usually considered to be Palestinian (see above, p. 42). It is interesting to note that two seals with the same motif rendered in two different styles have come from the same level at Beth Shan (level IX).

IVCe-Tell Abu Hawam 2 is an unusual seal. It is engraved with a fine line, as are a number of seals from Tell Abu Hawam that have already been discussed (IIA-Tell Abu Hawam 1, etc.). The seal appears to be without parallel.

Edith Porada's Group III (Nuzi 88-214) is made up of sealings showing a bouquet tree with one to three figures in long draperies. This Group III corresponds nicely to our second group of IVCe seals. The major difference between the sealings from Nuzi and our Palestinian seals appears to be in the ancilliary motifs. The ancilliary motifs of the Palestinian seals tend to be larger, occupying a larger share of the field, than those from Nuzi (note the depleted class of seal discussed above, p. 16). The Palestinian motifs, usually griffins, antelope, bulls or rampant lions, are not usually bound or confined by spirals or guilloches, as are the Nuzi motifs. The griffins or antelope, etc. are rendered as if they are the main focus of the scene.

f-half man, half animal

IVCf-Akko 1 (plate 10) is an exceptionally fine gold capped seal of the Syro- Mitannian style. The field is divided into two horizontal registers by a line of concentric circles (see IF, p. 24). The lower register shows a rarity in Palestinian glyptic, a ribbon volute tree. The tree is flanked by two ibex and a pair of griffins. The tree and ibex remind one of the seal of a king of Hanigalbat found on a letter to the Hittite king at Boghazkóy.(51) In the upper register a griffin attacks a bull and beside them stands a winged genie, which is often associated with

Assyrian art. They seem to have been an Assyrian creation.(52) This seal is probably imported, as the quality of the work is excellent.

IVCf-Tell el-Ajjul 1 (plate 9) is another possibly imported seal. It is possible that, though the motifs are a mixture of Babylonian and Syrian styles, the seal is really Cypriote. The goat-fish of Ea is considered unusual without water, but Parker suggests that the deity is "Baal of the Springs" from the Ras Shamra texts or a weather god.(53) The feature of the seal which suggests a Cypriote origin for the seal is the griffin with a tail.(54)

g-winged sun-disc/standard

The sun-disc and standard have been discussed above under category IIG. Four seals---IVCg-Megiddo 1; IVCg-Beth Shan 1 (plate 9); IVCg-Hazor 1; IVCg-Gezer 1---utilize sun-disc or standard motif, and they are slightly more complicated than those discussed above.

The seal from Beth Shan is similar to IVCe-Beth Shan 2 (see above, p. 53), but the net has been replaced by a scroll design. This may indicate a definite relationship between glyptic art and painted pottery, as a hunting or sacrifice motif in this case is ruled out. The standard is an extension of the scroll's frame.

In IVCg-Megiddo 1 the standard is used as if it is a bouquet tree. The standard is flanked by two figures with an ancilliary motif of a lion above a connected spiral (see Nuzi 319). Parker suggests that the standard is in fact a cyprus tree.(55) IVCg-Hazor 1 is a second seal where a standard takes the place of a bouquet tree. A figure kneels beside the standard suggesting a dancer beside an "asherah".

The last seal of this group, IVCg-Gezer 1, is difficult to date. Nougayrol suggests that the scene is centered around an "asherah". He also notes the similarity between this seal and the scene suggested by Ward 162, derived from the artistic cycle of Gilgamesh.(55)

E-with sacred trees

a-alone

The majority of the seals of this type can be compared to the seals of IVCe. That is to say most of the IVEa seals show a figure holding a tree or branch or a figure(s) standing beside a tree. There are two seals which show a figure holding a tree. The first, IVEa-Lachish 2, shows a figure holding a tree which grows out of a net panel. Compare to IVCe-Beth Shan 2 above, p. 53.

IVEa-Megiddo 1 shows a kneeling man wearing a Mitannian style cap holding a seven branched bouquet tree. Behind the man is a connected spiral and the limits of the scene are defined by a star border. This is a more complex rendering of the "folk dance" discussed above.

IVEa-Beth Shan 1 is a simple seal. An almost stick-like figure faces a bouquet tree and beside it is a standard (for discussion of standards see IIG and IVCg, pp. 43, 56, 57). The engraving style suggests a local origin. A small, poorly balanced seal is IVEa-Gezer 1. This is another example of the stiff but fine lined "Palestinian" engraving style.

IVEa-Tell el-Hesi 1 shows three figures raising clubs facing a five branched tree. The club may be related to the lion-club, from which the bouquet tree developed. This would tend to imply that the three figures are deities, as only gods are seen with a lion-club.

IVEa-Shiqmona 1 shows a tree flanked by praying figures. Again we see the tree as a central motif, perhaps indicating a fertility rite, as discussed above in section IVCe.

There are two Cypriote seals in this category, IVEa-Tell el-Ajjul 1 (plate 10) and 2 (plate 10). Once again we see angular, featureless figures with the common dagger motif. The tree is highly stylized, bearing no resemblance to a bouquet or ribbon-volute tree.

In IVEa-Lachish 3 we see a highly stylized spiral tree (see IF-Beth Shan 6, p. 27). The spiral tree is set in a panel. In a second panel is a striding figure who brandishes a club and carries a shield. The motif may be compared to IVEa-Lachish 1, where a striding god holds an axe and carries a shield.

F-presentation scenes

This category is very subjective. It might better read "complex" scenes. The seals usually show figures which are unmistakably deities.

IVF-Tell es-Safy 1 (plate 11) is Egyptian in nature. Nougayrol suggests that the seal is a copy of an Egyptian original.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The seal shows the god Toth and the feather of Maat.

The sole representation of a structure in this corpus of seals is IVF- Hazor 2 (plate 11). The seal is schematic in

style, the human figures being little more than stick figures. The scene contains a figure standing between a tree and a hat-like "temple". A second figure appears to exit from the other side of the "temple". There is no parallel for this seal.

IVF-Tell Artal 1 is almost identical to a seal from Ugarit (see Ugariticica IV, fig. 84). The Ugaritic seal lacks the seated animal and some of the clothing detail found in the Palestinian seal. In style this seal is similar to IVEa-Beth Shan 1. Beck suggests that this seal reflects a "drinking scene", where two participants drink from tubes. Nuzi 18 is a "drinking scene", but the two figures grasp a standard as they drink.(57)

Two seals, IVF-Gezer 2 and IVF-Beth Pelet 1 (plate 11), appear to show altars. The seal from Beth Pelet is a very simple line drawing, a style which resembles that of some Cypriote seals. The quality of the seal is poor, the altar might in fact be a squat tree or bush. The Gezer seal is of better quality than the seal from Beth Pelet, but it is broken. Only the bottom half of the seal remains, showing an altar flanked by two figures, a standard and two more figures, these in long robes. The break obscures most of the pertinent features, such as the nature of the offerings and the type of standard.

IVF-Gezer 1 shows four figures in Hittite dress, a long tunic and a short over skirt. The deity is in the classic posture of the sun god. Nougayrol identifies the deity as the weather god Teshub, pointing to the presence of a bucranium, often seen with Teshub.(58)

IVF-Beth Shemesh 1 (plate 11) is an incomplete seal, as space has been left for an inscription. The scene shows a weather god holding a fork of lightening, standing upon the back of a miniature bull, faced by a suppliant. This scene is a traditional Old Babylonian theme (see Corpus 1011).

A theme common to First Dynasty of Babylon seals can be seen on IVF-Beth Shan 1. A striding figure in a short tunic holds his hands to his chest, while facing a goddess who wears flounced draperies. Parker suggests that the deities initially represented were Martu, an Amorite deity, and Shala, the consort of Adad.(59)

Another seal showing Babylonian influence is IVF-Megiddo 1. The striding god resembles representations of the sun god Shamash on Babylonian seals.(60)

Porada suggests that seated figures who hold trees are probably deities (see Nuzi 215-222, 340, 341). This motif

can be seen in IVF-Beth Shan 2. The arrangement of the seal is typically Mitannian. We have a human with a tree and an ancillary motif, a deer set over a spiral. The size and position of the ancillary motif suggests that the seal is of the depleted class. Similar to this seal is IVF-Hazor 1, but the ancillary motif is a regardant deer, which faces a ladder motif. This is another seal of the depleted class.

IVF-Gezer 3 is another broken seal. The break in the seal obscures most of the figures costumes, which if preserved might suggest the seal's origins. However, the ancillary motif is quite clear. The size of the ancillary motif suggests that the seal is of the Mitannian depleted class.

Two seals from Akko suggest that cylinder seals were being imported at Akko. IVF-Akko 1 (plate 10) shows a striding god, possibly Reshef or even the Egyptian pharaoh. The horned animal suggests Cypriote influence, as horned animals in connection with demons or worshippers can be seen in Cypriote glyptic art. The Cypriote connection is re-enforced by the suggestion that the figure opposite the deity has the head of a goat. A goat-headed deity is known from Cypriote glyptic (see Corpus 1072). The vertical composition of the seal suggests that the engraver may have been trained in the Levant.(61)

The second seal from Akko, IVF-Akko 2, shows Egyptian influence. The seated deity cannot be identified, though Hathor is sometimes shown with a sistrum, as can be seen on this seal. The head of the deity does not suggest Hathor, which makes Beck think that the seal was not made by an Egyptian. The female figure with gifts can be seen in Egyptian wall painting. (62)

The last four seals of this category---IVF-Hazor 3, 4, IVF-Megiddo 2, IVF-Lachish 2---all contain winged sun-discs (see above, pp. 43, 56, 57). The two seals from Hazor are extremely complex presentation scenes. IVF-Hazor 4 shows Old Babylonian motifs arranged in a Mitannian style. The figure in flounced draperies, standing behind a seated deity is reminiscent of seals of the Second Syrian Group (see Corpus 947). The seated deity beneath a sun-disc is similar to Corpus 910E, a seal of the First Syrian Group. The ancillary motifs are similar to Mitannian motifs, but probably demonstrate a common tradition rather than Mitannian influence. An exact parallel to the ancillary motifs may be seen in Eisen 143, yet another seal of the Second Syrian Group. This seal may best be considered Syrian, rather than Mitannian.

IVF-Hazor 3 is difficult to read. Two armed men wearing pointed (not Mitannian) headdresses flank a sun-disc. A third figure in a rounded cap with a plume holds a staff. The ancillary motif, a grazing bull over a spiral is large, suggesting the seal is a member of the Mitannian depleted class. However, the mixture of Mitannian and other styles may indicate that the seal should be placed in Frankfort's Third Syrian Group. The Third Syrian Group is rather a mixed class, containing seals of mixed styles.

The two remaining seals of this class, IVF-Lachish 1 and IVF-Megiddo 2, are quite similar. In each case two figures flank a winged sun-disc. The seal from Lachish shows a deity with an acolyte. The deity appears to hold the leash of his animal attribute (lion?); this is probably a development from the Old Babylonian seal where the deity rides upon his animal attribute. Above the lion(?) is a quilloche and two seated antelope. The seal from Megiddo shows two praying figures and a lion between two quilloches.

V-Inscriptions

A-hieroglyphs

a-genuine

VAA-Tell Abu Hawam 1 is a very unusual seal. The seal show a cartouche (Neb. Maat. Ra.) with the throne name of Amenhotep III. This is unusual, not only because the seal was found in Palestine, but because seals were rare in Egypt. The cartouche is rendered very simply, using only a small part of the seal. It is likely that this seal was made in Palestine, reflecting Egyptian influence at Tell Abu Hawam.

b-debased

Hieroglyphs appear to be used as decorative motifs in VAb-Tell el-Ajjul 1. This is suggested by Nougayrol (63), though the design appears to be of two plants and a snake.

d-with geometric and/or linear

The first two registers of the five registers of VAd-Gezer 1 were translated by Petrie as reading "the keeper of the horses, beloved of Set, Ara, endowed with eternal life". The other three registers are basically ornamental. Nougayrol suggests that the seal is Syrian.(64)

f-with sacred tree

Once again we see a seal where hieroglyphs are used as decorative motifs. VAF-Lachish 1 uses hieroglyphs in one panel, while the second panel contains a fine spiral tree (see IF-Beth Shan 6, p. 27). The use of hieroglyphs as a decorative motif may suggest that the seal comes from an environment where hieroglyphs are common, but not necessarily understood. This would be the case in Palestine.

g-presentation scenes

This seal, VAg-Bethel 1 (plate 12), may not technically be a presentation scene, but two deities flank an inscription which reads "'-s-t-(a)-r-t". The deities are undoubtedly Astarte and Baal. Parker suggests that the placement of the two deities is a variation of the Babylonian style where figures face an inscription. The seal is cut as a scarab would be, a square edged incision to a flat plane.(65)

Perhaps the seal that says the most about Palestinian glyptic art is VAg-Beth Shan 1 (plate 12). Frankfort places this seal in his Third Syrian Group. The Third Syrian Group refers to seals that are late enough that they are not influenced by a major centre of art. Frankfort refers in particular to the void created by the fall of the Mitannian Empire. The Hittites had no art of their "own",

and there was little Mycenaean influence; only Egypt remained. This seal from Beth Shan is an excellent example of Egyptian influence, as the theme of the pharaoh practising with bow and arrow was introduced by Amenhotep II.(66)

Here we have a seal that is of high quality and obviously foreign in design. The question is: Is VAg-Beth Shan 1 an imported seal? Nougayrol believes that the seal is a commemorative piece, made in honour of a victory of Ramses II (his name Ra. Wesr. Maat appears on the seal) and more specifically, that it was made in Egypt.(67) If one considers that the use of cylinder seals in Egypt was rare from the Middle Kingdom on, it is likely that the seal was made locally. This would suggest that the state of glyptic art at Beth Shan was higher than one might have expected.

B-cuneiform

g-with presentation scenes

There are four seals with cuneiform inscriptions in our corpus. All four seals conform to the Old Babylonian style where two figures face the inscription. VBg-Megiddo 1 (plate 12) seems to be of Old Babylonian/Mitannian style. The three deer suggest Mitannian influence. The inscription cannot be read.

VBg-Megiddo 2 reads "O Marduk(?), great lord, merciful god, chief of heaven and earth ... (proper name ?)". Marduk is assumed from the scimitar the deity carries (see Ward 534). The seal resembles some from Nuzi (957), except that the figures are bearded. The inscription was written by someone ill-versed in cuneiform.(68)

VBg-Beth Shan 1 may be an imported seal. Nougayrol notes that it shows no trace of Syrian influence. The theme is a common Babylonian one, and shows little variation from the Babylonian seals. The inscription "Manum, the baru priest, servant of Ea" suggests that the seal has its origins in Mesopotamia.(69)

Our final seal VBg-Ashdod 1 uses the inscription formula "X son of Y, servant of Z", where Z is a deity or ruler. The inscription reads "Iliabnum, son of Billulum, servant of Ishum". This seal is of the Old Babylonian style and may be compared to VBg-Beth Shan 1 (see also Eisen 66, Corpus 558-567). The positioning of the inscription, as the focus of the composition represents a link between Old Babylonian seals and early Kassite seals, where the inscription dominates the seal.(70)

This has been an attempt to discuss the artistic nature of the Late Bronze Age cylinder seals from Palestine. In the past such studies (for example Iraq XI) have dealt only with those seals for which photographs have been published.

(1) It is possible to contend that the nature of most seals with inscriptions is religious, but the importance of an inscription merits a separate treatment.

(2) Henri Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (London: MacMillan and Co., 1934), p. 240.

(3) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 153.

(4) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 240.

(5) Also known as 1046 of W. H. Ward's Cylinders and Other Ancient Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York: 1909.

(6) Sara Ben-Arieh and Gershon Edelstein, "Akko-Tombs Near the Persian Garden," Atiqot 12 (1977), 68.

(7) Edith Porada, "Seal Impressions of Nuzi," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XXIV (1944-1945), p. 15.

(8) Group II: plain outlines of human and animal figures, without body detail.

(9) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 276.

(10) Barbra Parker, "Cylinder Seals of Palestine," Iraq XI (1949), p. 45.

(11) Ben-Arieh and Edelstein, op. cit., p. 73.

(12) It is possibly an "Elaborate Style" seal, though the drawing may be misleading.

(13) Pirhiya Beck, "Problems in the Glyptic Art of Palestine," (Diss. Columbia University, 1967), p. 133.

(14) Frankfort, op. cit., pl. XLV #1.

(15) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 29.

(16) Parker, op. cit., p. 23.

(17) Parker, op. cit., p. 35.

(18) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 255.

(19) Porada, op. cit., p. 115.

(20)Porada, op. cit., p. 11.

(21)It is difficult to accurately type the deer which occur on cylinder seals. Nougayrol recognizes six kinds of deer, but this text will recognize only three types: deer or antelope, a general term; ibex with long curved horns; stags, large antlered deer.

(22)C. McEwan, H. Kantor, et al., Soundings at Tell Fakariyah (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications LXXIX, 1958), p. 83.

(23)Porada, op. cit., p. 108.

(24)Called "bouquet" by Porada because of its resemblance to a stylized bouquet.

(25)Porada, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

(26)Porada suggests that these Nuzi seals are the products of one workshop. Porada, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

(27)This seal is badly damaged, and part of the motif may be obscured.

(28)Briggs Buchanan, Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum vol. 1-Cylinder Seals (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 183.

(29)J. Nougayrol, Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres en Palestine au cours de fouilles regulieres (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), seal LV.

(30)Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 17.

(31)Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 35.

(32)Frankfort, op. cit., p. 275.

(33)Porada, op. cit., p. 114.

(34)Beck, op. cit., p. 90.

(35)Porada, op. cit., p. 117.

(36)Porada, op. cit., p. 104.

(37)Porada, op. cit., p. 120.

(38)Buchanan, op. cit., p. 200.

(39)Parker, op. cit., p. 22.

- (40) Beck, op. cit., p. 81.
- (41) Ben-Arieh and Edelstein, op. cit., p. 65.
- (42) Porada, op. cit., p. 49.
- (43) Porada, op. cit., p. 51.
- (44) Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 14.
- (45) Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 19.
- (46) Parker, op. cit., p. 33.
- (47) Parker, op. cit., p. 33.
- (48) Beck, op. cit., pp. 82, 113.
- (49) Porada, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
- (50) Porada, op. cit., p. 23.
- (51) Frankfort, op. cit. p. 274.
- (52) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 198.
- (53) Parker, op. cit., p. 9.
- (54) Edith Porada, "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age," American Journal of Archaeology, vol. LII (1948), 178-198.
- (55) Parker, op. cit., p. 25.
- (56) Nougayrol, op. cit., seal CXXXVI.
- (57) Beck, op. cit., p. 112.
- (58) Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 42.
- (59) Parker, op. cit., p. 9.
- (60) Parker, op. cit., p. 30.
- (61) Ben-Arieh and Edelstein, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
- (62) Ben-Arieh and Edelstein, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- (63) Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 68.
- (64) Nougayrol, op. cit., p. 64.
- (65) Parker, op. cit., p. 40.

(66) Frankfort, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

(67) Nougayrol, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

(68) P. L. O. Guy and R. M. Engberg, Megiddo Tombs OIP XXXIII, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 182.

(69) Nougayrol, op. cit. p. 52.

(70) M. Dothan and D. N. Freedman, "Ashdod I-
First Season of Excavation," Atiqot 7 (1969),
198-199.

Chapter III-Cultural and Economic Influences on Palestine

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a concise bridge between the seals we have discussed in chapter II and the conclusions we shall discuss in chapter IV. In order to appreciate the cultural forces acting upon Palestine we must set our corpus of seals against an historical background. Theoretically the cultural and/or political forces acting upon Palestine should have influenced the art of Palestine. The effects of foreign cultures on Palestine were stronger than one might expect, due to the area's geographic location. Palestine was a land bridge that connected Mesopotamia to Egypt and Egypt to Anatolia. The almost constant movement of major forces (cultural or political) through the area made it difficult for Palestine to develop an independent culture of her own; she was caught between the forces that surrounded her.

Egypt

After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the rulers of Egypt began to expand the borders of Egypt southward.(1) Amenhotep I (1550-1528 BCE) began the subjugation and colonization of Nubia. To the north Thutmose I led an

expedition that crossed the Euphrates into the heartland of the Mitannian Empire.(2)

The account of Thutmose I's (1528-1510 BCE) campaign into Asia comes from the tomb of a captain of a Nile vessel. The record tells of a three year siege at Sharuhen in southern Palestine.(3) After the city fell, the Pharaoh turned south to destroy Nubian nomads. The raid into Nubia was followed by a second campaign into Asia. It was during this campaign that Egyptian forces crossed the Euphrates.(4)

Here we see the start of Egyptian influence in Palestine during the Late Bronze Age. We have evidence that Egypt was exercising control over at least southern Palestine. This is suggested by the siege at Sharuhen. It is possible that by this time the city states of Palestine were vassals of Egypt. The Palestinian cities may not have been under direct Egyptian rule; that is to say the rulers were in all likelihood their own appointed by the pharaoh, but not Egyptian. This may be confirmed by a punitive raid made by Thutmose II.(5) If the cities of Palestine were under direct Egyptian control, an Egyptian garrison in each city might be assumed, making revolt difficult.

Egyptian influence in Palestine began to wane during the reign of Hatshepsut. The queen maintained a policy of peace

that did not change until her step-son Thutmose III (1468-1436 BCE) reached adulthood.(6) Thutmose III was without a doubt one of the greatest military leaders of ancient times.

The first of Thutmose III's campaigns took place in about 1468 BCE. He would lead expeditions into Asia almost every year for the first twenty years of his reign.(7) The so-called "Annals" of Thutmose III's military campaigns can be found on the walls of the temple of Karnak.(8)

The account of the battle of Megiddo gives us a great deal of information concerning the Egyptian presence in Palestine. There was an Egyptian garrison at Sharhen and Gaza was probably the site of another garrison as it was known as "That-Which-the-Ruler-Seized". It appears that Megiddo, probably a vassal of Egypt, had been seized by the forces of Kadesh.(9) It may be suggested that the Pharaoh was reclaiming Egyptian "territory". One must wonder if this was a traditional claim, perhaps stemming from the campaign of Thutmose I or if Hatshepsut had managed to maintain control over Palestine without an obvious display of force.

The archaeological remains from Megiddo confirm the Egyptian account of the battle. The ceramic evidence

suggests that the level IX city was destroyed sometime after 1500 BCE. The level VIII city was founded c. 1400 BCE, after a period of abandonment.(10) This would fit in well with the account from Karnak.(11)

Thutmose III's main rival appears to have been the king of Mitanni. During his eighth (c. 1457 BCE) campaign the Pharaoh crossed the Euphrates, as Thutmose I had once done, and defeated the forces of the king of Mitanni. An account of the battle is given on the Napata stela.(12) The large number of Egyptian campaigns in Asia suggests that Syro-Palestine was the battle ground between two expansionist powers, namely Egypt and Mitanni. The Mitannians were extending their influence southward, while the Egyptians were attempting to hold the territory that had been claimed by Thutmose I. The Mitannians may well have been the cause of the revolts in Syro-Palestine, seeking to weaken Egypt.

Amenhotep II (1436-1413 BCE), the son of Thutmose III, tried to emulate his father's military accomplishments. Two stelae (from years seven and nine of the Pharaoh's reign) tell of campaigns into Syria. The account of the campaign of year seven includes one very interesting point, the pharaoh captured a messenger of the "prince of Nahrin" (Mitanni) in the Plain of Sharon.(13) This suggests direct Mitannian influence in central Palestine.

Thutmoses IV (1413-1405 BCE) did not campaign in Palestine. His son Amenhotep III (1405-1363 BCE) did, but his military accomplishments were overshadowed by his diplomatic dealings. The Amarna Letters reveal that Amenhotep III contracted political marriages (see EA 1, 17, 24, 29) with princesses from Mitanni and Babylon.(14) These marriages might have brought about a political climate that would have been conducive to the intermingling of Egyptian and Mitannian influences in Palestine.

The Amarna Letters give us a view of political chaos in Palestine. There were revolts, treachery and raiders, but little aid from Egypt. At the end of his reign Amenhotep III was too old and sick to exercise much authority and he was succeeded by Akhenaton (1367-1350 BCE), who was interested only in religion.(15)

If we examine even one of the Amarna Letters (for example EA, 234) we may find a number of interesting facts. EA 234 is a letter from Zatatna (an Indo-Aryan name), prince of Akko to Akhenaton, which tells of the treachery of the Egyptian official Shuta. Of the four personal names used in the letter only one, Shuta, is not Indo-Aryan.(16) A number of the Amarna Letters (EA 106, 280, 286, 287, 288, etc.) speak of a Hurrian ruler at Jerusalem. The Hurrian prince,

Abdu-Hepa, was one of the most powerful rulers in Palestine. Here we have evidence of both Indo-Aryan and Hurrian rulers in Palestine.(17)

The end of Late Bronze Age IIA in Palestine can be dated to the period of internal Egyptian weakness, which began with the Amarna period. The major sites in Palestine (Hazor, Megiddo, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim, Bethel, etc.) were destroyed at this time, by the raiders (the often discussed Hap/biru and others) mentioned in the Amarna Letters. Egypt in her weakened state offered no help to her vassals.

Egyptian domination of Palestine was restored during the reign of Seti I (c. 1318-1301 BCE). A stela from Beth Shan suggests a revolt at Beth Shan, and from that time on Beth Shan would be the site of an Egyptian garrison.(18) The city's position on the inland trade routes made it valuable to the Egyptians.

The Mitannian Empire had fallen to a new power in the north, the Hittites. The border between the Hittite and Egyptian spheres of influence seems to have been somewhere south of Kadesh. It was at Kadesh that the Egyptian army under the command of Ramses II (1290-1224 BCE) was defeated by the Hittites. The battle of Kadesh was the culmination

of years of struggle with the Hittites, who like the Mitannians may have fostered revolt in Palestine. Peace was established between the two powers and the pact was sealed by a political marriage between Ramses II and the daughter of Khattushilis, the Hittite king (c. 1269 BCE).(19)

Merneptah (1224-1214 BCE), the son and successor of Ramses II is known mainly for his battle against the "Sea People". A discussion of the "Sea People" is out of place here, since their invasion marked the end of the period we are discussing, not a force of change within the Late Bronze Age. It may be sufficient to say that the invasion of the "Sea People" reduced the power of Egypt substantially and saw the destruction of such Palestinian sites as Megiddo and Beth Shan.

Mitanni

The kingdom of Mitanni was based on the political dominance of a group of Indo-Aryan migrants over a group of earlier immigrants, the Hurrians, who were neither Indo-Aryan nor Semitic. O'Callaghan suggests that the relationship between the Indo-Aryans and the Hurrians was a symbiotic one. He points out that in the sixteenth century Hurrian kings bore Indo-Aryan names and members of the

Mitannian royal family bore Hurrian names. Hurrian presence was established on the Upper Euphrates and the Upper Tigris by the end of the Akkadian period. During the Second Millennium the movement of Hurrians into Syria was large enough that by 1800 BCE the majority of the population of Alalakh was Hurrian.(20) We have already seen that in the Late Bronze Age some of the princes of Palestine bore Hurrian names, suggesting that Hurrians made up a portion of the population of Palestine.

The formation of the Mitannian Empire is linked with an influx of Indo-Aryans from the north-east (c. 1660 BCE). It is assumed that a military class imposed rule on the Hurrian natives. The military class may be considered the Mitanni "proper". The Indo-Aryan invaders may have dominated the Hurrians politically, but the Hurrians had already spread into Syria and continued to be influential across the Middle East.(21)

Most of the population of Mitanni was Hurrian (see Gen. 36: 20-30- Horites). The Hurrian language is related to Urartian, which was spoken in the first millennium BCE, in what is now Armenia. The Hurrian populace was ruled by an Indo-Aryan "warrior class", the marianu.(21)

Our knowledge of Mitanni comes mainly from texts found at Mari, Ras Shamra, el-Amarna and Boghazköy. The texts from Mari date from about 1750 BCE. There are religious texts in Hurrian and Hurrian names are common. At Tell el-Amarna an especially long letter from King Tushratta (1385-1360 BCE) to Amenhotep III was found. The letter is five hundred lines in length and deals with Tushratta's conflict with the king of Hurri.(22) The use of Hurri may indicate a dynastic conflict or another state founded by the Hurrians. In any case an alliance between the king of Hurri and the Hittite king, Suppilulumas led to the destruction of the Mitannian Empire about 1365 BCE.

Another Mitannian document of interest comes from Boghazköy. The four tablets are an elaborate work dealing with the training of horses by Kikkuli of Mitanni. The text is not only a fascinating technical work, but a rare example of the Indo-Aryan language of the ruling class. Most texts dealing with Mitanni are in Akkadian, the lingua franca, or Hurrian.(23)

The end of Mitannian power came about 1360 BCE, when king Tushratta was murdered by one of his sons. The kingdom collapsed under pressure from the Hittites and dynastic conflict. The heir to the throne, Mattiwaza, was forced to flee, eventually gaining asylum at the Hittite court.(24)

The confusion in Mitanni allowed Ashur-uballit I (1365-1330 BCE) of Assyria to throw off Mitannian domination and to ensure the collapse of the Mitannian Empire (c. 1500-1350 BCE).

The Mitannian Empire may have been short-lived, but it had a major effect on the Near East. Hurrian civilization stretched from northern Iraq and such sites as Nuzi, to southern Palestine. The Empire was powerful enough to cause concern in Egypt when Egypt was at her zenith. The Mitanni effectively controlled Assyria. This once great state was reduced to vassal status until the Hittites defeated the Mitanni.

We have already seen that Mitannian seals were the common denominators of glyptic art across all of the Near East. Perhaps the Hurrian people were as wide spread as their art. If this were true, as the Old Testament and Tell el-Amarna evidence suggests (see above, p. 81), it would explain the presence of Mitannian seals across such a wide geographic area.

Mesopotamia

From approximately 1592 to 1162 BCE, a Kassite Dynasty ruled at Babylon. A series of weak rulers who followed the death of Hammurabi encountered difficulties with the Kassites. Abi-eshah (1711-1684 BCE) encouraged the settling of Kassites at Babylon to lessen the possibility of invasion. The weakening of Babylon eventually led to the sack of Babylon by Mursilis I (c. 1620-1590 BCE), the king of Hatti. It is likely that the Hittite withdrawal from Babylon allowed the Kassite king, Agum II (1602-1585 BCE), to assume the throne on Babylon.(25)

The Kassites were Indo-Aryan, like the rulers of Mitanni. The languages of the two are different, but both groups worshipped Indo-European deities. The Kassite language may have been related to Elamite.(26)

The Kassites do not appear to have been expansionists. Perhaps the task of stabilizing Babylon precluded the effort needed to fight the Mitanni and the Hittites. There is no question that the Kassite kings were influential, as the Pharaoh Akhenaton married a daughter of Burnaburiash II (1375-1347 BCE). In the Amarna Letters the kings address each other as "brother" and exchange elaborate gifts.(27)

Amenhotep III contracted two political marriages with Kassite princesses, marrying a sister and a daughter of Kadashman-Enlil (1279-1265 BCE).

The Kassites appear to have maintained a neutral position in respect to their neighbours. When Mattiwaza of Mitanni sought refuge at Babylon, he was turned away.(28) This may reflect an inward focus of attention. The Kassite kings had become Babylonian. They adopted the writing, the culture and the religion of Babylon. They were conquering new territory without leaving Babylon. This inward focus meant that the Kassites left few impressions on their neighbours. For example neither Kassite cylinder seals nor their motifs became popular outside of Mesopotamia, while Old Babylonian themes (in glyptic art) were still popular in the Late Bronze Age.(see IVF-Beth Shan 1, p. 61)

Only when Mitanni fell did Assyria gain power under Ashur-uballit. The power of the Assyrians grew until the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta could boast that he had captured the Kassite ruler Kashtiliash. Three Assyrian puppet rulers sat on the throne of Babylon, but it was the Elamites, not the Assyrians, who drove the Kassites from Babylon.(29)

The Assyrians were to influence Palestine through art. The modeled style of Assyrian glyptic art can occasionally be seen reflected in Palestinian glyptic. While Assyrian cultural influence was felt in Palestine, it seems that the Hittites and Egyptians were too strong to allow the Assyrians to exercise military influence in Palestine until a later period.

Hittites

Like the Mitannians, the Hittite nobles were not native to the area. The Hittites were Indo-Europeans (the Mitannians Indo-Aryan).⁽³⁰⁾ They too had brought their own language with them and continued to use it, using but not adopting the lingua franca of the day, Akkadian.⁽³¹⁾

The internal conflict which prevented the Hittite king from capitalizing on the sack of Babylon was not resolved until c. 1525 BCE. The dynastic conflict was settled when the throne was seized by Telipinus, the husband of a Hittite princess. Telipinus established a system of succession, to prevent further dynastic squabbles. His other great accomplishment was to give his kingdom defensible borders.⁽³²⁾

The reign of Telipinus was followed by a period of fifty years of which we know very little. The next king we know of was Tudhaliyas I (1450-1420 BCE). The ascent of Tudhaliyas to the throne marked the beginning of a new dynasty. With the new dynasty, we see for the first time members of the royal family with Hurrian names.(33)

Tudhaliyas was an expansionist. The first obstacle he faced was the kingdom of Mitanni. Tudhaliyas was helped by the expansionist policies of another king, Thutmoses III. The pharaoh fought the Mitannians, pushing them back, thus rendering a major Hittite attack on Mitanni unnecessary. Even the death of Thutmoses III helped the Hittite king. When the pharaoh died, Egypt lost her hold on Syria and the Hittites stepped in to fill the vacuum. The Mitannians were not prepared to allow Syria to fall into the hands of the Hittites. They allied themselves with the Egyptians through diplomatic marriages (see above, p. 80).(34)

The Hittites did not secure Syria until Suppiluliumas (1375-1334 BCE) was able to sack Wassukkanni, the Mitannian capital (c. 1360 BCE). The weakness of Egypt and the rise of Assyria combined to give Suppiluliumas a victory over Mitanni. In 1286/5 BCE the army of Muwatallis (1306-1285 BCE) defeated the Egyptian army at Kadesh. After this point relations between the two powers improved. In 1269 BCE

during the reign of Hattusilis III (1275-1250 BCE), the brother of Muwatallis, a treaty guaranteeing peace and security in the Levant was concluded. Thirteen years later Ramses II married a Hittite princess.(35)

The archives of Ugarit tell us of the last days of the Hittite empire. Both Cyprus and Hatti were suffering from famine and needed ships to transport grain to relieve famine. Cyprus eventually fell to the Sea People, and the once friendly island became the base for an invasion attempt. The Hittites were victorious under Suppiluliamas II, but like the Cypriotes, they too would fall.(36)

There are a number of references to the Hittites in the Old Testament. They are described as a tribe dwelling in the hill country of Palestine when the Israelites entered Canaan (see Numbers 13: 29). The Hittites sold Abraham the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23) and Esau's wives were Hittites (Gen. 26: 34, 36: 1-3).(37) Who were these Hittites? The biblical writers may use "Hittite" to refer to any native of northern Syria or Anatolia, possibly Hurrians in general. It is unlikely that these references point to a "Hittite state" in Palestine, but to immigrants living peacefully in Palestine. A population shift southward may be reflected by the biblical texts. The entry of the Sea People into the land of Hatti may have forced a movement of the conquered

peoples southward. The displaced Hittites might well have been forced to settle in the marginal areas of Palestine, such as the hill country.

Cyprus

Cyprus, or Alasiya as it was called, was a centre for trade. The pottery which the Cypriotes exported to Palestine affords us a medium for comparison between sites. The presence or absence of "white slip", "base ring", or "buchero" wares in their various forms allow us to compare strata from different sites. The style of the pottery itself aids in the dating of a stratum. Imported pottery should not be considered a rare find, as the volume of imports was large.

Trade between Cyprus and Syro-Palestine began as early as Middle Bronze IIA. Middle Bronze Age Cypriote pottery has been found in MB IIB/C levels at Hazor, Lachish and Megiddo. Trade between Cyprus and Syro-Palestine continued from Middle Bronze II into the Late Bronze Age, possibly increasing in Late Bronze IA.(38)

The campaigns of Thutmoses III do not appear to have disrupted Cypro-Palestinian trade. The Amarna Age saw an increase in the importation of Cypriote wares into Palestine

and presumably other forms of "art" as well. Trade continued until Seti I and Ramses II began to campaign in Palestine.(39)

At most sites in Palestine, the use of cylinder seals ended with the Bronze Age. Canaanite cities such as Beth Shan and Megiddo, where Canaanite culture survived on into the Iron Age, continued to make cylinder seals, but by about 1000 BCE the cylinder seal had disappeared from Palestine. A few seals from the Persian period have been found, but they are undoubtedly imported from Mesopotamia, where the cylinder seal was still used.

We have now seen a brief overview of Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. Palestine was a conduit for trade and the movement of troops. The outside political influences focused on Palestine had a significant effect on the culture of Palestine. Political dominance by a foreign power may have led to the adoption of the customs of the foreign power, while native traditions were left to stagnate.

END NOTES-CHAPTER III

(1)It has been suggested that the subjugation of Palestine was a reaction against the Hyksos remaining in Palestine, rather than a desire to expand the boundaries of Egypt. James M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: a Reassessment," BASOR 241 (1981), 2.

(2)Sir Alan Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, (London: Oxford University Press, reprint 1978), p. 182.

(3)Sharuhén is now usually identified with Tell el-Ajjul, though in the past it was thought to be Tell el-Farah (South).

(4)James B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 233-234.

(5)Gardiner, op. cit., p. 182.

(6)The reign of Hatshepsut is usually considered to have been a peaceful one. However, Redford (History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, Near and Middle East Series 3, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 60-64.) suggests that there is evidence of at least two campaigns in Syro-Palestine. One of the campaigns may be alluded to in the "Annals of Thutmose III", when Gaza is called "That-Which-the-Ruler-Seized".

(7)This excludes the time Hatshepsut ruled.

(8)Pritchard, op. cit., p. 234.

(9)Pritchard, op. cit., p. 235.

(10)G. E. Wright, ed. Essays in Honour of W. F. Albright The Bible and the Ancient Near East, (London: East Roulledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 95.

(11)It is suggested that "no obvious destruction level" can be assigned to the early fifteenth century BCE. This is supported by textual sources, as the actual destruction of the city is not mentioned. Weinstein, op. cit., p. 11.

(12)Gardiner, op. cit., p. 194.

(13)Pritchard, op. cit. pp. 247-254.

(14)Gardiner, op. cit., p. 208.

(15)Gardiner, op. cit., p. 230.

(16)Pritchard, op. cit., p. 483.

(17)For a more complete discussion of this subject, see R. T. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim Analecta Orientalia 26, (Rome: Ponifical Biblical Institute, 1947).

(18)Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

(19)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, pp. 220-229.

(20)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, p. 38.

(21)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, p. 38.

(22)O. Gurney, The Hittites (Markham Ont.: Penguin Books, reprinted 1981), pp. 125-126.

(23)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

(24)Sabatino Moscati, The Face of the Ancient Orient (Gardern City, New York: Anchor Books, Doublday and Co. Inc., 1962), p. 199.

(25)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, p. 26.

(26)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, pp. 438-439.

(27)Roux, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

(28)Moscati, op. cit., p. 199.

(29)Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 2 pt. 1, p. 714.

(30)Indo-Aryan is usually used to refer to the Asiatic members of the family of Indo-European languages. Some (not this author) use Indo-Aryan as the equal of Indo-European or Indo-Germanic.

(31)Moscati, op. cit., pp. 163-164.

(32)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

(33)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

(34)Gurney, op. cit., p. 27.

(35)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

(36)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

(37)Gurney, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

(38) Barry M. Gittlen, "The Cultural and Chronological Implications of Cypro-Palestinian Trade in the Late Bronze Age," BASOR 241 (1981), 49-50.

(39) Gittlen, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

Chapter IV-The Cylinder Seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine

Having examined our seals from an artistic point of view (Chapter II) and having discussed the cultural forces at work in Palestine during the Late Bronze Age (Chapter III), we must now attempt to fit the two together. What can the seals tell us about life in Palestine?

They can, in fact, tell us many things. The cylinder seal may demonstrate the life, the environment or the religious beliefs of the owner, as portrayed by the artist. The seal was a personal possession which demonstrated the owner's feelings. A seal could demonstrate the religious convictions of a person, such as VBg-Beth Shan 1, which proclaims that its owner was a "servant of Ea". A seal may demonstrate the political leanings of its owner, such as must have been the case with the owner of VAg-Beth Shan 1, who purchased a seal celebrating the victory of Ramses II.

The catalogue included with this text (Appendix II), probably the only complete corpus of Late Bronze Age Cylinder seals from Palestine, can be used for a multitude of purposes. It would, for example, be very useful for a study of the religious motifs present in Palestine at that time. However this text will not concentrate on the motifs

of the seals, but will use the seals as indicators of cultural influence. In particular we will concentrate upon the seal as an indicator of the role of the Hurrians in Palestine. We will discuss Cyprus as an example of the influence of a trading power, Egypt as a political power and Mesopotamia as an example of religious continuity, as a comparative means of establishing the Hurrian role in Palestine.

The cylinder seals come from the rarified atmosphere of the temple or the homes of the wealthy. The seals do not reflect the everyday life of the average man, but the thoughts of the artist, and to some extent the tastes of his clients. In choosing to use the cylinder seal as an indicator of cultural influence we put ourselves at the mercy of the artist. It is likely that the artist viewed his work in one of two ways: 1) as an expression of the times, a representation of the world around him or 2) as a tradition, stretching over the centuries, uniting him with the glyptic artists of the past. It is with these two points that we should begin our examination of glyptic art as an indicator of cultural influence.

CYPRUS-the influence of trade

It is perhaps most logical that the Cypriotes would influence art through trade. The large amounts of Cypriote pottery (see above pp. 88-89) which made its way to Palestine influenced the pottery and the glyptic art of Palestine. Base ring and white slip wares had their local imitations and glyptic artists began to use the decorative motifs of bichrome ware for their seals. We noted in Chapter II that IVCa-Lachish 2 (page 47) reflects the metope designs of pottery. IVCa-Lachish 2 is simply one of about twenty seals that feature the metope motif.(2) This type of decorations can be seen on both imported and locally made pottery.

Perhaps the most intriguing facet of Cypriote influence on Palestinian glyptic art is the possibility that the Cypriotes were acting as middle men in the trading of seals (see above p. 26). Beck in discussing four seals from Akko (our IVcf-Akko 1, IVF-Akko 1, 2 and IVCa-Akko 1), notes that three of the seals have gold caps, quite common on Cypriote seals. She believes that the large amount of Cypriote material found with the seals from tombs suggests that the seals were imported from Mitanni, by way of Cyprus.(3) It is this author's contention that seals are rarely imported or exported, save by an individual (see below p. 98) and

that the one Cypriote seal (4) served as a pattern for craftsmen who added the gold caps to the locally made seals. The other two seals cannot definitely be said to be from "Mitanni" rather than from a workshop producing seals of the Mitannian style, undoubtedly in Palestine. In IVCf-Akko 1 Beck notes that the four-winged nude goddess without arms is not a common Mitannian feature though such a figure can be seen in profile on Nuzi 731.(5) Rather than being "Mitannian" the seal reflects a number of traditions (Old Babylonian Akkadian and local). IVCa-Akko 1 cannot be termed "Mitannian" either, as it marks a transition between Old Babylonian and Mitannian motifs.

The idea that Cyprus served as a middle man in the trade of seals, adding gold caps to plain Mitannian seals is further weakened by the existence of only one other gold capped LB seal in Palestine. IF-Megiddo 3 has gold caps, and it is made of lapis lazuli, suggesting that if any seal is an import, it is this one. If gold capped seals were a common export of Cyprus, one would expect more than four seals to have survived. It may be argued that the gold caps were stolen from the seals, but some indication that the seal had been capped should remain. It is more than likely that one of the craftsmen at Akko had spent some time in Cyprus, or that the "Cypriote" seal from Akko (IVF-Akko 1) served as a pattern for the local artists.(6)

As Cyprus was a major trading power, it would, theoretically, not be unreasonable to assume that Cypriote seals, or more commonly Cypriote influenced seals, would be spread across as wide a geographic area as Cypriote pottery. In support of this assumption we have Cypriote seals from Tell el-Ajjul, Tell el-Hesi, Akko, and Tell Abu Hawam.

The geographic spread of the seals is wide, but appears to be concentrated near the coast with five "Cypriote" seals from Tell el-Ajjul. This can be explained with ease. The coastal cities would be distribution points. Cypriote artists would arrive at coastal ports, or local artists would travel between Palestine and Cyprus. A high concentration of Cypriote goods entering Palestine at the coast would probably have made Cypriote influenced art more prevalent at coastal sites, due to stronger influence and a desire for other "Cypriote" items. The number of Cypriote influenced seals would decrease as one moved inland, as would the concentration of Cypriote pottery, unless the site was a large one on a major trade route. This can be seen when we examine the number of Cypriote influenced seals found in Palestine. Only sixteen or seventeen of them show Cypriote influence. This is a small percentage, in contrast to the large amounts of Cypriote pottery found in Palestine. The concentration of the "Cypriote" seals near the coast

suggests that the opportunity for direct contact with Cyprus or Cypriotes, possibly Cypriote traders living in Palaestian ports, was necessary for the production of Cypriote style seals.

MESOPOTAMIA-religious influence

It might be reasonable to assume that with a Kassite dynasty ruling in Babylon and Assyria under Mitannian control, that little artistic influence would reach Palestine from Mesopotamia. This might have been so except for the religious continuity across the Near East. One seal from Beth Shan (VBg-Beth Shan 1) indicates contact between Palestine and Mesopotamia in the Late Bronze Age. The seal comes from level VII. The seal's inscription, "Manum, the baru priest, servant of Ea" indicates that the seal was the property of a priest of Ea, quite possibly a foreigner who had brought the seal with him to Palestine. In one seal we have the traditions of the past and the religion of the present.(7)

EGYPT-the influence of a political power

The influence of Egypt on Palestine is unquestionable. The occupation of a number of southern sites (Gaza, etc.) by Egyptian forces insured the exposure of Palestinian artists to Egyptian motifs (see above p. 75). The artists would focus on various aspects of Egyptian life, such as the religion, the Pharaoh or even writing. The artist would use Egyptian concepts when designing a seal. One must remember that cylinder seals were not used in Egypt after the end of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1750 BCE-see above p. 6). It is unlikely that Egyptian craftsmen would make seals for export to small foreign market such as Palestine. The Egyptian officials in Palestine may have adopted the use of the cylinder seal when dealing with the people of Palestine, but the large number of scarabs found in Palestine attests to the fact that the scarab was used in Palestine.

The use of hieroglyphs as purely decorative motifs can be seen in VAb-Tell el-Ajjul 1 and VAf-Lachish 1. It appears that the local artists used the hieroglyphs without understanding them, perhaps not realizing that the signs were a means of communication. Along with these two seals we have some where the hieroglyphs have their original functions.(8) VAa-Tell Abu Hawam 1 and VAg-Beth Shan 1 are the most notable members of the group, as they display cartouches (Amenhotep III, and Ramses II).

The use of cartouches on cylinder seals is unexpected. We have the use of the "official" name of the Pharaoh on a foreign seal. It is probable that these seals (VAa-Tell Abu Hawam 1 and VAg-Beth Shan 1) were made in Palestine at the request of an Egyptian official or perhaps as a gift to an Egyptian official. A native of Palestine would have little use for such a seal unless giving it as a gift.

It is suggested by Weinstein that there is no evidence of Egyptian activity at Tell Abu Hawam until the reign of Ramses II. Weinstein believes that this is indicated by the lack of Egyptian artifacts in level V (1400-1200 BCE). The initial publication of the site (QDAP vol. IV 1, 2) is vague as to whether our seal (VAa-Tell Abu Hawam 1) was found in the first (a) or second (b) phase of level V.(9)

The date for stratum V has been adjusted twice. Mazar suggests c. 1300- 1180 BCE for stratum V (10). Anati divides level V into three phases (a, b, c). Anati equates his Vb and c to Va and b of the initial publication (QDAP IV 1, 2). He dates Vb to the thirteenth century and Vc to the late thirteenth-early twelfth centuries.(11) In any case a seal from the reign of Amenhotep III (1405-1363 BCE) is out of place, an object saved from another time.

The existence of VAa-Tell Abu Hawam 1 bearing a cartouche and nothing but a cartouche is rare if not unique, but for it to be found in a level that produced few scarabs (no nineteenth dynasty scarabs were found) is indeed odd. Hamilton (QDAP vol. IV 1,2) lists no Egyptian pottery among the ceramic finds. The published pottery reveals Late Helladic IIIA 2 ware indicating that the city or fishing village had been founded by the Amarna period (beginning c. 1363 BCE).(12) This may mean that VAa-Tell Abu Hawam 1 was produced locally. The seal may be one slim piece of evidence suggesting an Egyptian presence at Tell Abu Hawam before the reign of Ramses II.(13) It is however impossible to reconstruct Tell Abu Hawam in the reign of Amenhotep III with one cylinder seal, a few scarabs and some pottery from the Aegean. On the surface the finds suggests a small settlement that attracted traders. This conclusion is re-enforced by the presence of one Cypriote influenced seal, IVCe-Tell Abu Hawam 1, which was found in the stratum V remains.(14)

VAg-Beth Shan 1 comes from a site with an history entirely different from that of Tell Abu Hawam. Beth Shan was a large, well established city on the inland trade route, and it maintained contact with Egypt. An Egyptian garrison was placed there during the reign of Seti I (1318-1301 BCE).(15)

Our seal from the Ramses III temple (VAg-Beth Shan 1) may be a piece commemorating a victory of Ramses II, whose cartouche it bears, commissioned by a servant or officer of the Pharaoh (Egyptian or a native of Beth Shan). The seal is in keeping with the temple setting in which it was found, as an offering or gift of thanksgiving.

In VAg-Beth Shan 1 we see the merging of Egyptian and Palestinian art. The theme is entirely Egyptian, the Pharaoh, his god and the vanquished foe, but the seal is Palestinian. Frankfort deals with this seal when discussing the over-powering influence of Egypt on the seals of his Third Syrian Group. Frankfort believes that after recovering from the Amarna period that Egypt became the major force of artistic influence in the Late Bronze Age. This could not have happened without the fall of the Mitannian Empire (c. 1360 BCE).(16)

HURRIAN

If we are considering glyptic art as representing the artist's surroundings or artistic tradition, we face a problem when dealing with Mitannian seals. Some seals are "realistic", though others show much earlier religious

motives, but in the end the seals display a memory of the earlier glories of Mitannian glyptic art.

Mitannian seals make up approximately 75 per cent of the Late Bronze Age seals from Palestine. Early in the Late Bronze Age the seals reflect the religious traditions that were portrayed in the seals of the Old Babylonian Period. The contest scenes of IVCa-Hazor 1, and 2 (see above p. 47) reflect an earlier tradition, as does IVF-Beth Shan 1, with Martu and Shala (see above p. 62). These seals are an expression of tradition and stability, which are reflected in the balance of the seals. Each motif balances another and each space is filled, and yet the scene is not crowded. The Mitannian seals of Palestine resemble those of Nuzi and Alalakh in Late Bronze I, but towards the end of the fourteenth century differences began to appear.

With the Amarna Period came a lessening of Egyptian influence in Palestine and the loss of one source of artistic influence. At the same time the Mitannian Empire was crumbling and the Assyrians and Hittites were gaining power. The Mitannian Empire was gone but Mitannian style seals were still being produced in Syria and Palestine. The earlier Mitannian cylinder seal reflected tradition and artistic continuity. After 1360 BCE the seals began to change. The seals became less complex, less balanced and

more open. These characteristics led Helen Kantor to name the Mitannian seals which were produced after 1360 BCE the "depleted class".

Kantor describes depleted seals as lacking free field composition and the representational motifs as being set side by side or replaced by geometrical or vegetal motifs (see above pp. 25, 28). Kantor's main point when discussing depleted seals is that few depleted sealings survive from Nuzi, and those that do are from the last two of the four Nuzi generations.⁽¹⁷⁾ In doing this Kantor ignores Nuzi 23-87 (Group II). These seals have net panels, star borders, files of animals alone or with spirals or net motifs, and we see seated stags set on end. These seals date to the second Nuzi generation (the first dates to c. 1450 BCE). This would suggest the existence of depleted seals or the immediate ancestor of depleted seals, prior to the fall of the Mitannian Empire.

If we assume that depleted seals were being used at Nuzi at the time of the fall of the Mitannian Empire, how does Nuzi compare with Palestine? Of the over thirty depleted seals nine come from Beth Shan, ranging from levels X to VII. A seal from level X would date to before 1400 BCE, possible in light of the evidence from Nuzi. IIC-Beth Shan 1 from level X could be compared to Nuzi 58, where the file of

animals is confined by a spirral border on the bottom. At this point we should also mention the parallel between Nuzi 87 and IIBf-Tell Abu Hawam 1. Four seals from Tell Abu Hawam (IIBf 1, IIBb 1, IIE 1, 2) are from the problematic level V, and could possibly date to c. 1360 BCE. We should also note IIBf-Beth Shan 4, from level Xb. The presence of depleted seals in Palestine that could be dated to a time before 1360 BCE suggests that the artistic traditions of Nuzi and theory would be in direct opposition to Beck who believes that depleted seals are Syrian/Palestinian in motif and not related to Mitannian seals (see below p. 105).

In discussing the seals of Beth Shan, Kantor makes use of Kenyon's revisions of the excavator's (Rowe) chronology. Kenyon dates level VIII to 1350-1300 BCE rather than 1447-1411 BCE. Level VII would then date to the years 1300-1150 BCE.(18) It should be noted that seals were often kept for years, and that the level a seal is found in may not accurately reflect the seal's age. VAg-Beth Shan 1 was found in the Ramses III temple, which Kenyon dates as 1000-850 BCE.

Kantor states that depleted seals are rare before the thirteenth century.(19) In doing so she acknowledges the existence of earlier depleted seals. In considering this point Beck notes that Kantor tends to date seals with the

latest elements of the level as if the seals were pottery. By doing this she ignores the fact that seals were often kept for long periods of time.(20) If depleted seal were indeed present in Palestine before the fall of the Mitannian Empire they may be derived from the Mitannian motifs.

In her dissertation Beck has examined Kantor's theory that the depleted seals are derived from the true Mitannian seals. Beck claims that the differences are caused not by time, but by geographic factors. Beck states that the sphinx, birds in a row and fish are derived from Anatolian seals, specifically from Kultepe. In doing this she disregards the birds in a row and fish of Porada's Group II.(21)

In light of the evidence it is more logical to consider the depleted class of seal to be a near relation to a "plain" type of seal found at Nuzi, just before the fall of the Mitannian Empire. The seals of Group II may be considered depleted, but some have slightly more detail, than those with the same motif found in Palestine. It would seem that Kantor's contention that the seals were a lesser form of Mitannian glyptic art is correct, despite the fact that she has ignored evidence from Nuzi. The depleted class of seal is indeed derived from Mitannian glyptic and not a reflection of Anatolian or even Syrian motifs.

Beck has studied the technical aspects of the seals and notes that no two seals are identical, though similarities between seals, even from different sites can be seen.(22) This should not be surprising. A small workshop would undoubtedly lack a copyist, relying instead solely on artists who would seek to improve their work.

The seal cutting techniques (see above pp. 7-11) used suggest a number of work shops were producing seals in Palestine.(23) This is contrary to Frankfort's theory, as he saw the seals as the products of one centre where faience objects were made.(24) One site of seal manufacture is possible, but only of the blank seals. One site of engraving would be unlikely, as a personal item such as a seal would not be sold randomly. The material may have been cheap, but a seal had personal value.

We now come to the question of why were there Mitannian seals in Palestine after the fall of the Mitannian Empire? The Empire's influence should have been what kept Mitannian glyptic alive in Palestine, but seemingly it was not. Was local art non-existent and the depleted seals merely memories of the past?

In answering the first question we may be answering the second too. Nuzi, northern Syria, and Palestine have something in common; Hurrians. The population of Nuzi was predominately Hurrian, as was that of Alalakh in northern Syria. The Tell el-Amarna texts reflect a Hurrian ruling element in Palestine. If it is a Hurrian element that kept Mitannian glyptic alive, did the Hurrians make up a large part of the population of Palestine; had they been inhabitants of Palestine for some time or were most of the Hurrians new arrivals?

The Amarna Letters indicate that Palestine had Indo-Aryan and Hurrian rulers in the Late Bronze Age. The close relationship between the two peoples makes it difficult to determine if an Indo-Aryan name indicates that an individual was indeed Indo-Aryan. At Nuzi, close relatives bore Hurrian and Indo-Aryan names. Members of the Mitannian royal family had Hurrian names, such as Pudu-Hepa, the queen of Khattusilis III.(25)

The Septuagint preserves a tradition of Hurrians living at Shechem (Gen. 34: 2) and at Gibeon (Jos. 9: 7). Interestingly enough texts dating from about 1400 BCE show that at least two Indo-Aryans, Swardata and Birasena, were living at Shechem. The Hurrians and Indo-Aryans appear to have developed into a cohesive unit, with both Indo-Aryan and Hurrian rulers.(26)

The Old Testament (Gen. 36: 20-30) names the Horites or Hurrians as the original inhabitants of Edom, indicating a tradition of a large Hurrian populace across the Jordan, but Deuteronomy 2: 12, 22 tells of the destruction of the Horites by the descendants of Esau. The Old Testament may suggest that no Hurrian were present in Palestine, but in the lists of peoples displaced by the Israelites, the Hittites appear (Ex. 3: 8. 17; Deut. 7: 1, 20: 17; Jos. 9; etc.). It is suggested by Forber that the biblical reference to Hittites in the hill country of Palestine is reflected by a Hittite text. The text states that Hatti suffered a great plague, c. 1330 BCE, lasting twenty years. The Weather-god of Hatti took men to Egypt and made a treaty with the Egyptians. The treaty was broken by the Egyptians. The Hittite army attacked the Egyptians and was successful.(27) Egypt in this case could easily be Palestine, Egyptian territory, being anything south of Kadesh. Gurney suggests that the biblical Hittites were Indo-Europeans/Hittites isolated when northern Palestine and Syria were occupied by Semitic and Hurrian peoples at the end of the third millennium.(28)

Perhaps the Hittites (see above p. 85), a northern people, reflect a population base that shifted southward from Anatolia and northern Syria. The Israelites entering

Palestine would identify northerners with the Hittite Empire in the north. The northerners could then in fact be displaced Hurrians, fleeing southward after the fall of Mitanni. This would give Palestine a large Hurrian population. The existence of Hurrian princes in Palestine would make the country an ideal refuge for displaced Hurrians. The displaced peoples may make up some of the "raiders" to whom we attribute the destruction of some LBIIA sites.

The presence of Mitannian seals in Palestine cannot be explained by trade or the influence of traders. Cypriote trade goods were wide spread, but still only seventeen Cypriote influenced seals have been found, while at least twice as many depleted seals have been found in Palestine. An argument from sheer numbers is weak, but few other Mitannian articles have been found. In particular no imported Mitannian pottery has been found. Nuzi ware, the pottery usually associated with Mitanni, has not been found south of Alalakh.

If the large quantities of depleted seals in Palestine cannot be accounted for by trade, perhaps the influence of a major power is responsible. This is impossible, as the depleted seals date to about the time of or after the fall of the Mitannian Empire. Mitanni was no longer a great

political power, and could not influence Palestine as she once had done.

The religious influence of Mesopotamia is best seen in the Old Babylonian motifs used in the Mitannian seals. The fall of the Mitannian Empire may have lessened the amount of Mesopotamian influence visible in the seals. The depleted seals are plainer, relying heavily on realistic art such as animals, rather than the more elaborate religious scenes. Mesopotamian influence seems to be confined to the occasional seal. The fall of Mitanni and the rise of Assyria should be reflected by the seals, but Assyrian seals are not found in Palestine until the Iron Age, and then only rarely.

The presence of large quantities of Mitannian seals in Palestine, the existence of which cannot be accounted for by trade, a political power or religious influence, may be explained by a Hurrian population base in Palestine. The Hurrians developed quite independantly of their Indo-Aryan over-lords (see above p. 80), spreading over Iran and Syria. It now seems likely that the Hurrians moved into Palestine. The Hurrians were certainly present in Palestine before the fall of Mitanni, as demonstrated by the Amarna texts, and may have moved into Palestine in larger numbers after the fall of Mitanni (see above pp. 107-108). The Hurrians would

then be the element of the population of Mitanni which produced the seals, as the seals are found after the fall of Mitanni. It is likely that the Indo-Aryan Mitannians adopted the art of the Hurrians. The spread of so-called Mitannian seals across the Middle East was no doubt due to the Hurrians and not the ruling class. The designation "Mitannian" for these seals is very misleading, and should be Hurrian, as the seals were produced by the Hurrian element of the population and continued to be produced after the defeat of the Mitannians.

After 1360 BCE the depleted class of seal was being produced in Syria and Palestine. Except for the occasional Egyptian or Cypriote style seal, only depleted seals were being produced in Palestine. There is no evidence of "local" glyptic art in Palestine, unless one considers the Hurrian seals to be "local". That Hurrian art in fact represents local Palestinian art is an inescapable conclusion. No evidence of "local" art has been found. The tendency to brand glyptic art of poor quality "local" (see above p. 28) has given rise to the idea that the Mitannian, or more correctly Hurrian, seals are imports, not locally produced, but as proven above the Hurrian seals are not imported, and must therefore be locally produced.

In summary the presence of Hurrian cylinder seals in Palestine, especially ones produced after 1360 BCE, in large amounts indicates that the Hurrians made up a large portion of the population of Palestine. This is demonstrated by the large number of Hurrian and Indo-Aryan rulers in Palestine mentioned in the Amarna Letters. The rulers were many, Abdu-Hepa of Jerusalem, Biridiya of Megiddo, Yamibandan and Purdaya of Ta'anach, Zatatna of Akko, and Widya of Ascalon to name just a few. The Hurrians must be considered to be inhabitants of Palestine, as we have proven that such a large group of seals cannot have been produced by the influence of trade, religion, or military occupation.

END NOTES-Chapter IV

- (1) Henri Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (London: MacMillan and Co., 1939), p. 4.
- (2) The metope designs would include net panels, vegetal motifs, star borders, and spirals set in panels.
- (3) Sara Ben-Arieh and Gershon Edelstein, "Akko Tombs Near the Persian Garden," Atiqot 12 (1977), 68.
- (4) No seal termed Cypriote found in Palestine can be proven to have come from Cyprus, even gold capped seals. Cypriote influenced would be a more correct term.
- (5) Ben-Arieh and Edelstein, op. cit., p. 64.
- (6) Travel of artists between artistic communities would be likely when one considers the similarities in motif between seals from different sites. A cylinder seal would have been too personal an object to have had mass appeal as an export object.
- (7) J. Nougayrol, Cylindres sceaux et empreintes de cylindres en Palestine au cours de fouilles regulieres (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), seal CV.
- (8) This can be seen in the use of unintelligible Akkadian, possibly VBg-Megiddo 1, also in Mesopotamia. Artists were not necessarily literate.
- (9) J. M. Weinstein, "Was Tell Abu Hawam a 19th Dynasty Egyptian Naval Base?," BASOR vol. 236, 44.
- (10) B. Mazar, "The Strata of Tell Abu Hawam, Bay of Acre," BASOR vol. 124, 24.
- (11) E. Anati, "Notes and News-Tell Abu Hawam," IEJ 13 (1963), 142.
- (12) Weinstein, op. cit., p. 44.
- (13) Ramses II may have destroyed Tell Abu Hawam during his campaigns of c. 1276-1270 BCE.
- (14) One seal is a very small percentage of slightly over two hundred Late Bronze Age seals, but only sixteen of two hundred show Cypriote influence.
- (15) Dame Kathleen M. Kenyon, Archaeology of the Holy Land (New York: Praeger Pub., 1971), p. 219

(16) Frankfort, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

(17) C. McEwan, H. Kantor, et. al., Soundings at Tell Fakariyah (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, LXXIX, 1958), p. 83.

(18) Dame Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations in Palestine," Antiquity vol. 24 (1950), 197.

(19) McEwan, Kantor, et. al., op. cit., p. 83.

(20) Pirhiya Beck, "Problems in the Glyptic Art of Palestine," (Diss. Columbia University, 1967), p. 72.

(21) Beck, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

(22) Beck, op. cit., p. 114.

(23) Beck, op. cit., p. 114.

(24) Frankfort, op. cit., p. 280.

(25) R. T. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim. (Rome: Analecta Orientalia 26, 1948), p. 65.

(26) O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 65.

(27) E. O. Forber, "The Hittites in Palestine," PEQ LXIX, 191.

(28) O. Gurney, The Hittites (Markham Ont.: Penguin Books, reprinted 1981), p. 63.

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APPENDIX I-Typology

This code was developed by the author, based on the one used by Ben-Tor in his work Cylinder Seals of Third Millennium from Palestine. Ben-Tor's system has been expanded and made more specific, in order to deal more effectively with a corpus of complex seals.

I-geometric and/or linear-A-herringbone
B-net/crosshatched
C-wavy lines
D-ladder
E-geometric figures
F-spirals
G-combination

II-animals-A-alone or in a group
B-with geometric and/or linear-a-herringbone
b-net/cross-hatched
c-wavy lines
d-ladder
e-geometric figures
f-spirals
g-combination

C-file
D-tete beche
E-with sacred tree
F-half man, half animal
G-with sun disc/standard

III-structure-A-alone
B-with geometric and/or linear-a-herringbone
b-net/cross hatched
c-wavy lines
d-ladder
e-geometric figures
f-spirals
g-combination

C-with animal(s)-a-alone or in a group
b-with geometric and/or linear
c-file
d-tete beche
e-with sacred tree
f-half man, half animal
g-with sun disc/standard

IV-humans and/or deities-A-alone or in groups

B-with geometric or linear-a-herringbone
 b-net/cross
 hatched
 c-wavy lines
 d-ladder
 e-geometric
 figures
 f-spirals
 g-combination

C-with animals-a-alone or in a group
 b-with geometric and/or
 linear
 c-file
 d-tete beche
 e-with sacred tree
 f-half man, half animal
 g-with sun disc

D-with structure-a-alone
 b-with geometric and/or
 linear
 c-with animal(s)

E-with sacred tree-a-alone
 b-with structure

F-presentation scene

V-inscriptions-A-hieroglyphs-a-genuine
 b-debased
 c-possible forgery
 d-with geometric and/or linear
 e-with animals
 f-with sacred tree
 g-with presentation scene

reiform-a-genuine
 b-debased
 c-possible forgery
 d-with geometric and/or linear
 e-with animals
 f-with sacred tree
 g-with presentation scene

C-cuneiform and hieroglyphs

TYPOLOGY-explanation

IA-herringbone

IB-net/cross-hatching

IC-wavy lines

ID-ladder

IE-circles, triangles, rhomboids and other polygonal shapes,
as well as line combinations not already specified.

IF-spiral-plain and running

IG-combination of the above

IIA-any creature, real or mythical

IIB-as per IA-IG

IIC-animals following one after the other

IID-animals arranged 'head to tail'

IIE-sacred tree-any tree or branch, and some plant motifs
(those not geometrically derived).

IIF-half man, half animal

IIG-sun-disc

IIIA-a structure alone-building or hut, not an altar.

IIIB-geometric and/or linear-as per IA-IG

IIIC-with animals-as per IIA-G

IVA-humans and/or deities

IVB-with geometric and/or linear-as per IA-IG

IVC-with animals-as per IIA-IIG

IVD-with structure-as per IIIA-IIIC

IVE-with tree-as per IIE-a-alone
b-with structure-as per IIIA

IVF-presentation scene-more correctly an elaborate scene with

a deity being worshipped by his followers, as well as the traditional concept of a presentation scene.

VAa-genuine hieroglyphic inscription

VAb-debased-meaningless

VAc-possible forgery

VAd-hieroglyphic inscription with geometric and/or linear-as per IA-IG

VAe-hieroglyphic inscription with animals-as per IIA-IIG

VAf-hieroglyphic inscription with sacred tree-as per IIE

VAg-hieroglyphic inscription with presentation scene-as per IVf

VB-as per VA substituting cuneiform for hieroglyphics

VC-cuneiform and hieroglyphs-two inscriptions on the same seal

TPOLOGY-explanation

general-the code is intended to display the most common elements and combination of elements found in the glyptic art of Palestine. This is the approach used by Ben-Tor and Nougayrol in their works on the subject, but it is in contrast with the work of Barbara Parker who preferred to see the seals grouped by the origin of their style. The origin of the style of the seal is often difficult to determine and tends to be too subjective. All codes may be to some extent subjective, but coding by content of the scene tends to be more objective. Theoretically each general category is less important than the one which follows and therefore becomes a sub-category of the one that follows. Some very common motifs never occur alone, and therefore are always sub-categories (trees).

geometric and/or linear-probably the most common motifs, but often used for background decoration and therefore not always worthy of mention.

animals-not quite as common as geometric designs, but they tend to take precedence over an accompanying geometric design. The positions animals are most commonly found in are the file and the tete beche, though animals are often found with their heads turned, which may be worthy of note. Half men, half animals are unusual, as are sun-discs, and these two motifs must definitely be noted.

structure-unusual and should be noted, but as they are often found in presentation scenes perhaps 'structure' should only be a sub-category.

humans and/or deities-here the inter-play of gods and man can be seen in art, but it is not always possible to distinguish the two, just as it is difficult to tell an ordinary man from a hero. Quite probably IVEb should

be IVDe; this would be easy to change. The presentation scene is a very subjective category, and possibly some way to subdivide it should be found.

inscriptions-as inscriptional evidence is often studied separately this category was necessary. The sub-categories allow an idea of the artistic content of the seal. Category VC is very rare, and sub-categories are possible, but probably not necessary.

APPENDIX II-Late Bronze Age Cylinder Seals

IB

Beth Shan 1-cross hatched; incised.
 -Ramses III-Rm 1010
 -alabaster
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 2.

Beth Shan 2-cross hatched
 -Amenhotep III-Rm 1068
 -faience, green glaze
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 14.

Beth Shan 3-cross hatched
 -Amenhotep III-Rm 1068
 -faience, green glaze
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 15.

Beth Shan 4-net pattern.
 -Ramses III-Rm 1068
 -glass
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 16.

Beth Shan 5-net pattern with plain border.
 -Ramses III-Rm 151
 -stone
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXIX 16.

Beth Shan 6-net pattern, double border.
 -late Ramses-Rm 1135
 -alabaster
 -publication: 4Temples pl. XXXIX 19.

IF

Beth Shan 1-two lines of scroll pattern running to the left and
 to the right alternately; the pattern is divided
 by two parallel lines.
 -level VII-Amenhotep III

- faience-traces of blue glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-109
- publicaations: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 11; Parker 60.

- Beth Shan 2-broken-spiral.
- level VII-Amenhotep III Rm 1068
 - light green faience
 - publication: 4Temples pl. XL 10.

- Beth Shan 3-running scroll patterns arranged vertically and between them are vertical lines.
- level VII or VIII
 - white paste
 - Palestine Museum J.950
 - publications: 4Temples pl. XXXIX 20; Parker 57.

- Beth Shan 4-four lines of scroll design running to the left and to the right alternately.
- level VII
 - faience, green glaze
 - University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-113
 - publications: 4Temples pl. XL 15; Parker 65.

- Beth Shan 5-a plant motif derived from a stylized palm and beside it two scrolls divided by a line.
- level VII
 - faience, traces of green glaze
 - University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-119
 - publications: 4Temples pl. XL 1; Parker 81.

- Beth Shan 6-stylized palm beside another plant motif.
- faience, blue glaze
 - level VII
 - University Museum Philadelphia 29-104-131
 - publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVI 9; Parker 84.

- Gezer 1-two rows of reduced quilloche separated by a vertical line and in turn separated from another spiral by two parallel lines.
- Second Semitic Period-LB
 - green enamel
 - 25 by 4 mm
 - publications: Gezer II pl. CCXIV 16; Nougayrol VI.

- Megiddo 1-three lines divide the field into two registers containing spirals

- Sch. W.
- reg. no. 5510
- green-glazed faience
- publication: Megiddo I pl. 66 7.

Megiddo 2-two lines of scroll patterns running in opposite directions

- tomb 877A.1 c.1400-1200
- faience
- Palestine Museum 34.1556
- publications: Megiddo Tombs pl. 182; Parker 87.

Megiddo 3-design of lotus flowers between scroll borders

- reg. no. b.702
- Oriental Institute, Chicago
- lapis lazuli with gold caps
- stratum VIII- 1500-1350
- publications: Megiddo II pl. 160 7; Parker 12.

IG

Beth Shan 1-the field is divided into two registers, the lower containing a spiral design; the upper a net motif.

- level VII
- white faience with traces of green glaze
- Palestine Museum J. 916
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 5; Parker 62.

Beth Shan 2-rough vertical bands of cross hatching, a six pointed star pattern, and diagonal lines.

- Level VII
- faience, light green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-134
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 14; Parker 145.

Gezer 1-the field is divided into two registers by three parallel lines. The upper register contains a herringbone motif, while the lower register contains crosses.

- Second Semitic Period LB
- faience, green glaze
- Palestine Museum J. 469
- publications: Gezer I pl. CCIII; Nougayrol VIII; Parker 138.

Hazor 1-the field is divided into two registers by three lines. The upper register contains vertical lines suspended from the top and bottom of the register set interspatially. The lower register contains a running spiral.

- area H, locus 2113, stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXII 5.

IIA

Tell Abu Hawam 1-a goat is followed by a winged griffin with a curly plume. Behind is a scorpion and below the goat is an object; possibly a bucranium.

- level V
- steatite
- Palestine Museum 34.177
- publications: QDAP IV 1, 2, #413; Nougayrol XXV; Parker 153.

Tell el-Ajjul 1-an ibex and two goats run with two winged creatures, at least one of which has horns.

- group 361-cemetery-Thutmoses III/Amenhotep III
- green glass
- 32 by 40 mm
- publication: Gaza IV p. 4, pl. IV 127.

Beth Shan 1-a lion attacks a goat, which leaps away, its head turned back to face the lion. Above is a line of prostrate antelopes.

- level VII
- faience, traces of brown glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-104
- publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 12; Parker 67.

Gezer 1-an eagle with its wings spread, hovers above a goat. Between the goat and the eagle is a circle.

- Second Semitic Period LB
- paste
- 19 by 26 mm
- publications: Gezer II p. 345, pl. CXXXIIa 48; Nougayrol XXXV

Tell el-Hesi 1-worn-an antelope followed by a griffin advances

toward a third animal, which faces the other two.

- sub-city IV
- diorite
- Palestine Exploration Fund
- publications: Bliss p. 72; Parker 140; Nougayrol CXXI.

Megiddo 1-a lion attacks an ibex and a bovine head and a jackal are in the field above and there is a fleur de lis beneath the lion

- locus 883-LB
- reg. no. M35566
- shale
- publication: Megiddo I pl. 66, 5.

Megiddo 2-a winged beast faces left, and beneath it facing to the right is a goat. To the right of the goat is a seated bull and above the bull is a large human hand and a crested griffin's head.

- tomb 877, LBI-LBII, 1350-1150
- serpentine
- Palestine Museum 34.1617
- publications: Megiddo Tombs pl. 182; Parker 163

IIBa

Beth Shan 1-seated stag - the design is bounded by a double chevron pattern

- level VIII
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum 29-104-110
- publication: Parker 53.

Beth Shan 2-four fish, one above the other, beside a chevron border

- level VII-Amenhotep III
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-107
- publications: 4 Temples pl. XXXVIII 14; Parker 144.

Beth Shan 3-a row of seated stags set on end. Above is a chevron border.

- level VII
- Faience, traces of green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-108
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 20; Parker 76.

Hazor 1-the field is divided into two registers by three lines.

The upper register contains a herringbone motif, while
the lower register contains fish swimming to the right.

-area H locus 2113 stratum 1a

-faience

-publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXII 4.

IIBb

Tell Abu Hawam 1-A winged griffin with crested head stands with
one leg raised against a double cross-hatched
panel.

-level V 1400-1200

-blue faience

-Palestine Museum 34.614

-publications: QDAP vol. IV 1, 2, 410; Parker 96.

Beth Shan 1-the field is divided into three registers, the
lower two containing fish and the upper a net
motif.

-level VII

-faience, green glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia, 19-104-128

-publications: 4Temples XXXVII 6; Parker 63.

Beth Shan 2-a row of birds with a net above

-level IX, Thutmose III

-faience, with white glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-140

-publications: Nougayrol XXVII; Parker 46.

Beth Shan 3-a rough design which seemingly is a procession of
birds strutting with their wings raised. Above is
a hatched border.

-level IX-Thutmose III

-faience, with light green glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-139

-publication: Parker 137.

Beth Shan 4-three antelope kneel and kick up their hind legs.

Above and below are hatched borders.

-level VI, Seti I

-dark blue paste

- Palestine Museum J.1012
- publication: Parker 160.

IIBe

Beth Shan 1-two antelope stand front to front, their heads turned away and between their necks is a short vertical line. Beside them is a star pattern.

- level IX-from court of Thutmose III-temple
- blue faience
- Palestine Museum I.3807
- publications: Nougayrol LII; Parker 44.

Beth Shan 2-an antelope standing with its head turned, beside a large eight pointed star.

- level VII-Amenhotop III
- faience, trace of green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-114
- publication: Parker 88.

Beth Shan 3-two seated stags set on end, their heads together and their noses to the ground. A star pattern bounds the design.

- level VIII
- faience with green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-11
- publications: 4Temples pl XXXIX 21; Parker 50.

Hazor 1-an antelope stands beneath three horizontal lines. Beside it is a winged creature.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- field no. H 169/2
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 2.

IIBf

Tell Abu Hawam-1-an antelope and a stag set on end. Above is a double scroll pattern

- level V, 1400-1200
- faience, pale blue
- Palestine Museum 34.146

-publications: QDAP vol. 1.2 p.63 406; Nougayrol XXVI; Parker 98.

Beth Shan 1-a procession of birds with their heads turned back.
Above is a spiral design.

-level VIII
-faience, green glaze
-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-123
-publications: 4Temples XXXIX 23; Parker 56.

Beth Shan 2-two registers-one contains fish, the other spirals.

-level VII
-faience, green glaze
-University Museum, Philadelphia
-publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 3; Parker 64.

Beth Shan 3-two lines of fish and below a spiral motif

-level VII
-faience, blue-green glaze
-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-135
-publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 2; Parker 70.

Beth Shan 4-the field is divided into three registers. The
upper and lower registers contains a procession of
fish swimming to the left. The central register
contains a scroll design.

-level Xb c.1750-1500
-faience, light green glaze
-University Museum, Philadelphia 32-15-387
-publication: Parker 31.

Beth Shan 5-a row of antelope set on end and above is a scroll
design.

-level VII
-faience, green glaze
-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-132
-publication: Parker 71.

Hazor 1-three lines divide the field into two registers, the
upper with running spirals and the lower with three
rows of fish swimming to the left.

-area H locus 2123 stratum Ia
-faience
-publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXX 1.

Hazor 2-the field is divided into three registers by four lines.
The upper and lower registers contain fish swimming to

the right, while the central register contains a running spiral design.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXII 3.

Hazor 3-the field is divided into three registers by four lines. The upper and lower registers contain fish swimming to the right, while the central register contains a running spiral design.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXII 2.

Megiddo 1-the field is divided into two registers by three lines. The upper register contains a row of heron-like birds with their beaks raised, facing to the left. The lower register contains a running spiral motif.

- strata VIII-V sq. N12-stables
- reg. no. dl
- faience
- publication: Megiddo II p. 147 pl. 161 18.

IIC

Beth Shan 1-the field is divided by three vertical lines. In the first register two stags stand rump to rump and in the second stands a single stag.

- level Xa or b
- faience
- Palestine Museum 32.50
- publication: Parker 40

Beth Shan 2-continuous design of antelope standing with their heads turned back, and before each one is a short vertical line.

- level VII
- faience, turquoise green
- University Museum J.920
- publications: 4Temples XL 7; Parker 85.

Beth Shan 3-a design of seated stags set on end.

- level VII
- light green faience
- University Museum, Philadelphia 20-104-112
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 16; Parker 73.

Beth Shan 4-the field is divided into two registers. In the lower there are two seated stags set on end, their noses to the ground. In the upper register there is a line of fish.

- level IX
- green faience
- Palestine Museum
- publication: Parker 42.

Beth Shan 5-a continuous design in three registers, the upper and lower containing standing birds. The central register contains fish.

- level VII
- light green glass paste with yellow surface
- Palestine Museum J.949
- publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 8; Parker 72.

Beth Shan 6-a procession of birds

- level VII
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-106
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 2; Parker 69.

Beth Shan 7-design partitioned by two vertical lines, in each section stands a winged sphinx, wearing a turban.

- level VII
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-101
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 8; Parker 77.

Beth Shan 8-two seated stags set on end, noses to the ground their legs have been omitted and the bodies combined into one. Beside them stands a winged sphinx wearing a turban, its tail raised.

- level VII
- steatite, traces of brown glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-48
- publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVIII 8; Parker 75.

Beth Shan 9-a row of antelope standing regardant.

- level VIII
- dark blue faience
- Palestine Museum J. 1035
- publication: Parker 54.

Gezer 1-a row of stags with their heads turned.

- stratum 13
- reg. no. DA 74-40 II.1.492 436
- faience
- publication: Dever-Gezer II pl. 40 7, p. 50.

Gezer 2-a row of birds.

- stratum 12
- reg. no. DA 74-40 II.1.498 437
- faience
- publlication: Dever-Gezer II pl. 40 14 p.52

Hazor 1-a line of seated deer set on their noses.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a H 151/5
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 7.

Hazor 2-two deer stand tail to tail, their heads turned to face each other, parallel lines connecting their necks.

Beside the deer is a vertical register of four fish.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a H 169/1
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 4.

Hazor 3-a row of antelope set on end and above two rows of fish.

- Area B locus 3305 - LBII
- faience
- field no. B5081
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 6, pl. CC 18.

Hazor 4-snakes

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- faience
- field no. H 151/2
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 1.

Tell el-Hesi 1-three antelope stand in a row with their heads turned. The end of an other wise continuous design is marked by a short line.

- city IV or later
- paste with blue glaze
- Palestine Exploration Fund
- publications: Bliss p. 79 129; Parker 110; Nougayrol XXIV.

Lachish 1-a row of seated antelope, set on end.

- locus E.III
- faience
- field no. 2728
- publication: Lachish II pl. XXXIIIA 49.

Megiddo 1-seated stags set on end, nose to ground

- stratum VII c. 1300-1200 locus N-2048
- faience
- reg. no. a.10
- Oriental Institute, Chicago.
- publications: Megiddo II pl. 161 13; Parker 92.

Megiddo 2-the field is divided into two registers, the upper containing two lines of fish. The lower register contains a line of grazing bulls.

- stratum VII locus 2148 ca.1350-1150
- reg. no. a.235
- Palestine Museum 36.1896
- faience, green glaze
- publications: Megiddo II pl. 161 12; Parker 97.

Megiddo 3-a procession of large birds

- tomb 877 Ramses II
- green faience
- Palestine Museum 34.1612
- publications: Megiddo Tombs pl. 182; Parker 116.

Tell Mevorakh 1- a procession of ibex, their heads turned.

- LBI sanctuary-with Thutmose III scarab
- Mitannian
- publication: Ency. p. 870; IEJ vol. 26, 1976 p. 49.

IIE

Tell Abu Hawam 1-two antelope stand front to front, their heads turned, beside a seven branched tree and across the stem are two parallel lines.

- level V ca. 1400-1200
- blue faience
- Palestine Museum 34.147
- publications: QDAP IV 1,2 407; Nougayrol ; Parker 101.

Tell Abu Hawam 2-broken- in the centre is a tree with seven branches which end in globes. The stem of

the tree is crossed by two lines. To the left are three birds arranged one above the other. The motif to the right of the tree is obscured.

- level V ca. 1400-1200
- blue faience
- Palestine Museum 34.203
- publications: QDAP vol. IV 1,2 p.63 408; Nougayrol LIX; Parker 99.

Balata 1-procession of large birds stand before a sacral branch which is adorned with five globules. Above is a scroll border.

- Haus der Blinden-LB
- whitestone
- Palestine Museum I.742
- publication: Parker 111.

Beth Shan 1-two antelope, seemingly in motion have their heads turned. Beside them is a five branched tree, its stem crossed by parallel lines.

- level VII
- faience, light green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-131
- publications: 4Temples pl. XL 12; Parker 83.

Beth Shan 2-two antelope stand front to front, heads turned, beside a tree. Between the animals' heads are two parallel lines that go up to the top of the seal.

- level VII
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-104
- publication: Parker 79.

Beth Shan 3-rough-a number of animals are scattered about the field. To the right are two antelope beside a tree and to the right and below is a seated antelope and above it two lions seated face to face. There may be an antelope between the lions and possibly a bird above the lion on the right.

- level VI-VII Amenhotep III - Seti I
- dark grey stone
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-93

-publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVIII 8; Parker 62.

Beth Shan 4-an antelope with its head turned back stands beside a tree adorned with nine globes. Across the trunk of the tree are two parallel lines. Beyond the tree is a scroll pattern.

-level IX Thutmoses III

-faience, green glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-138

-publications: Nougayrol LVI; Parker 49.

Beth Shan 5-two antelope face each other regardant and between them is a tree with five branches. The end of the scene is marked by a vertical line, crossed by two parallel lines.

-level VIII

-faience, light green glaze

-Palestine Museum J. 921

-publication: 4Temples pl. XXXIX 22; Parker 52.

Gezer 1-a stag standing beside a seven branched tree.

-4th Semitic Period-Iron

-clay

-Palestine Museum J.465

-publications: Gezer III pl. CCIIa 12; Nougayrol LVII; Parker 117.

Gezer 2-a spiral motif above which are two parallel lines and upon these lines stands a pig. Beside this group is a stylized palm.

-2nd Semitic Period-LB

-paste

-17 X 30 mm

-publications: Gezer II p.345 pl. CXXVIIa 49; Nougayrol XXXIV.

Gezer 3-very confused scene containing at least two goats, a crocodile, a fish, a stylized palm, a standard, a crescent, a scorpion and a rosette.

-found in Amarna debris

-imprinted on unfired clay

-14 X 31 mm

-publicatiion: Gezer II p. 347; Nougayrol LLXXVIII.

Hazor 1-the field is divided into three registers. The upper contains two rows of running spirals separated by a line. The lower register contains a herringbone design which is split by a line. The central register

contains a five branched tree, whose branches end in globes. The tree is flanked by two deer whose heads are turned away.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXX 4.

Lachish 1-two antelope are seated on either side of a tree and beside them is a winged griffin, with a crested head. Above the griffin is a scorpion which breaks through a concentric circle pattern, that runs about the top of the seal.

- Temple III pit 176
- haematite
- Wellcome Marston Expedition 2728
- publications: Parker 107; Nougayrol LV.

Megiddo 1-two deer stand tail to tail, their heads turned to face each other. Beside the deer is a seven branched tree, its branches ending in globes. The trunk of the tree is crossed by two parallel lines.

- stratum VIIA locus 18118
- reg. no. M5861
- faience
- publication: Megiddo II p. 155 pl. 161 16.

IIG

Beth Shan 1-two antelope with their heads raised stand beside a standard surmounted by a sun-disc. Beyond is a tree. Below the animals is a scroll border.

- level VI Seti I
- steatite
- Palestine Museum 32.16
- publications: Iron Age Beth Shan fig. 100, 1; Parker 112.

Hazor 1-a deer standing with its head turned back to face a vertical row of three winged sun-discs.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXXI 3, H 169/3.

-Lachish 1-an antelope and a stag beside a standard

which is surmounted by a winged disc.

The shaft combines a sun-disc and a tree.

- Temple III pit 176
- faience, green glaze
- Wellcome Marston Expedition 2729
- publication: Parker 102.

Lachish 2-two antelope stand flanking a seven branched tree. The stem of the tree is crossed by parallel lines. Beyond is a standard surmounted by a smaller and a greater globe. The upright is crossed by two parallel lines.

- Temple III group 181
- faience
- Palestine Museum 34.7691
- publications: Parker 105; Nougayrol LIV.

Tell Ta'anach-two deer stand beside a bouquet tree.

- Iron Age levels
- faience
- publication: Sellin.p. 102.

I VA

Beth Shan 1-a row of nude men stand facing to the front, with their heads in profile, holding one hand to their chests. The second hand appears to be placed on the shoulders of the neighbour.

- level VII
- faience, traces of green glaze
- publication: Parker 74.

Beth Shan 2-roughly cut representing a line of nude men.

- level VII- Amenhotep III
- faience, turquoise green
- Palestine Museum J.917
- publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 10; Parker 93.

Beth Shan 3-broken- procession of men, each with his arms on the shoulders of the next, heads in profile.

- Amenhotep III - Rm 1068
- white faience
- publication: 4Temples pl. XL 11.

Lachish 1-a line of nude men, facing front, stand
with one arm raised.

-tomb 4004

-diorite

-Palestine Museum 38.54

-publications: Lachish IV pl. 34 165; Parker 150.

Megiddo 1-a row of nude men stand frontally, with only their
heads in profile, wear turbans and belts. They
stand with one hand on their chests and the other
on the shoulder of the next man.

-tomb 1145 - LBI 1500-1350

-white faience

-Palestine Museum 34.2396

-publications: Megiddo Tombs pl. 52 p. 182; Parker 32.

Shiqmona 1-lines of soldiers facing to the left, hands at
their sides.

-LB

-faience

-publication: IEJ 27 (1977) p.167, pl. 22:D.

IVBe

Tell el-Ajjul 1-two figures stand, each having one arm
raised and beside them are two gigantic
daggers. Beyond them is a plant and a large
dagger.

-city level II

-haematite

-London Institute of Archaeology

-publications: Parker 134; Nougayrol CXV.

Tell el-Ajjul 2-three figures with bird-like
heads, two of which stand with both
arms raised. In the field are two
daggers.

-LB

-black steatite or diorite

-16 x 16 mm.

-Palestine Museum 38.666

-publications: Parker 141; Nougayrol CXIV;
Gaza I p. 7, pl. XIII 35.

IVCa

Tell Abu Hawam 1-two nude men wearing turbans and belts stand on one leg with arms linked and between them is a circle. Beyond is a winged figure facing frontwards, holding something in each hand - probably animals.

-level V

-glass

-Palestine Museum 34.641

-publications: QDAP vol. IV 1, 2, 411; Parker 155.

Tell Abu Hawam 2-two nude figures holding staffs are preceded by a bull with its head lowered. The first figure holds a scimitar. Above the bull is an eagle with outstretched wings, a fish and a star.

-level V

-steatite

-Palestine Museum 34.151

-publications: QDAP IVI, 2 412; Nougayrol CXXII; Parker 154.

Tell el-Ajjul 1-two lions attack a humped bull and above them is an eagle with outstretched wings. To the right is a figure with a curved stick who appears to be ready to attack the lions.

-LB

-haematite

-Palestine Museum J.1014

-publications: Gaza IV p.5; Nougayrol CXXIII; Parker 148.

Akko 1-a figure wearing a short bordered garment holding a scimitar in his right hand faces a figure wearing a long robe. A bird above its right hand. A small figure wearing a short tunic with a sword attacks a lion. The lion attacks a crouching antelope. Above the lion there may be a griffin and a crouching animal- the seal is cracked.

-no. 214

-tomb A2

-faience with gold caps

-ht. 20 mm with cap, diam. 8 mm

publication: Atiqot 12 pl. XXI 2, XI: 11 p.64-5.

Balata 1-a figure stands with its arms outstretched and beneath its left arm is a globe. To the right is an antelope and beyond is a bucranium.

-Haus der Blinden - LB

- basalt
- Palestine Museum I.744
- publication: Parker 158.

Beth Shan 1-a figure in a long garment appears to stretch out his hands. A bull advances toward the figure. A winged griffin with a crested head mounts the hindquarters of the bull. The griffin turns his head away.

- level VII - Amenhotep III
- faience, blue
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-122
- publications: Parker 147; 4Temples pl. XXXVIII 14.

Beth Shan 2-three nude men wearing turbans and belts stand full faced. Two of the men have one hand on their chests and the other on the shoulder of their neighbour. The third has both hands on his chest. Beside them is a stag.

- level VII
- faience, blue glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-97
- publications: 4Temples XL 18; Parker 66.

Gezer 1-two quadrupeds pass transversally through the field beside a man armed with a club.

- 4th Semitic Period-Iron
- diorite
- 38 X 54 mm
- publications: Gezer II p. 346 pl. CCXIV 1; Nougayrol XL

Hazor 1-two men struggle with a rearing antelope. Both wear rounded cups. One appears naked but for a belt, while the other wears long flounced draperies which open to the knee.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- field no. H 125/3
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCIX 3.

Hazor 2-very worn figure(s) struggling with a rearing antelope.

- area H locus 2113 stratum 1a
- field no. H 151/4
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCIX 4.

Hazor 3-humans chasing horned quadruped.

- area H locus 2113, stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXI 1.

Tell el-Hesi 1-two figures stand with a forked object between them. Beyond are a lion and a bull passing transversely across the scene.

- sub-city IV
- diorite
- Palestine Exploration Fund
- publications: Bliss p.79. 129; Parker 130; Nougayrol XLI.

Lachish 1-the figure of Bes stands with legs apart and arms akimbo. The figure has a curly tail and a plumed headdress. Surrounding the figures are four protecting vultures.

- Temple Pit 176
- white glazed steatite
- Wellcome Marston Expedition 320
- publication: Parker 27.

Lachish 2-a figure wearing a long garment and a turban stands holding two spears. Beyond the figure stand two ostriches. (?)

- Temple III RM F no. 4168
- steatite
- Wellcome-Marston Expedition 4168
- publication: Parker 91; Lachish XXXIIIA 42.

Shiqmona 1-a man appears to hold the tails of two rampant lions
- one on either side

- LB
- publications: IEJ 27 (1977) p.167, pl. 22: C; also another "mythological seal" mentioned in the same article.

IVCb

Tell el-Ajjul 1-three birds stand beneath a net motif and beside them is a human figure.

- found with 18th dynasty pottery
- paste
- 20 X 25 mm
- publications: Gaza IV p.5 pl. IX 356; Nougayrol XLVII.

Tell el-Ajjul 2-a female figure wearing a flounced skirt of striated material stands full face with her hands at her sides. Beside her are two attendants wearing belted dresses with fringed hems standing with hands raised in devotion. Between the two attendants are a debased ankh and an arm of balance. Beside the figure is a seated ibex and an eagle with outstretched wings; the two creatures are separated by a spiral.

- governor's tomb 18-19th dynasties
- haematite
- Palestine Museum 33.1699
- publications: Gaza III pl. VIII 7; Parker 14; Naugayrol LXXXX.

Beth Shan 1-a figure wearing a short tunic and a turban stands with its hands clasped to its chest behind a quadruped. Above are two horizontal lines with tress pattern and a star pattern, which mark the end of the scene.

- level IX
- white paste
- Palestine Museum I.3808
- publication: Parker 43.

Beth Shan 2-a stag apparently moving set in a panel with cross-hatching above. A standing figure wears a turban and long drapery.

- level IX, 14th century
- light blue paste
- Palestine Museum J.1016
- publication: Parker 39.

Beth Shan 3-a figure wearing a pointed cap and long draperies stands facing a foliated design in a panel. To the right stands a stag.

- level VII - Amenhotep III
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-125
- publications: 4Temples XL 13; Parker 80.

Beth Shan 4-two lions rampant, fact to face and between them is a St. Andrew's cross or a dagger. The lions place their forepaws on some object represented by a cross and two horizontal lines. Beside the lion stands a figure in a conical headdress and carrying an axe and other weapons.

- level VII - Amenhotep III
- glazed steatite

-Palestine Museum J.951
 -publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVIII 15; Parker 142.

Beth Shan 5-a nude figure wearing a turban and a belt kneels on one knee, with one hand raised before his face, in devotion beside two antelope set on end. The antelope are beneath a star panel.

-level VII
 -white faience, traces of glaze
 -Palestine Museum J. 918
 -publications: 4Temples pl. XL 8; Parker 58.

Gezer 1-a horse stands beside a human. Above the back of the horse is a St. Andrew's cross. On the other side of the human is a quadruped.

-2nd Semitic tomb 252-LB
 -paste
 -20 X 40 mm
 -publications: Gezer II p. 45 pl. CCXXXVII 47; Nougayrol XXXVIII.

Lachish 1-a figure stands with its hands clasped to its chest. Beside the figure is an antelope set upon a cross-hatched border. Beside the antelope is a foliated design; diagonal lines radiating from a central rib.

-Temple I Rm D
 -field no. 5317
 -composition
 -Palestine Museum 36.1615
 -publications: Parker 104; Lachish II XXXIIIA 40.

Lachish 2-a nude man wearing a turban and a belt stands full-face with his hands on his chest. The man breaks through a crossed-line design along the bottom of the scene. A similar design runs up beside the man. The border encloses an antelope which stands with its head turned.

-Temple pit 146 - period two
 -steatite
 -Wellcome-Marston Expedition 2568
 -publications: Parker 100; Lachish II, XXXIIIA 41.

Lachish 3-two large birds sit above a net design. Two vertical lines separate this design from a figure which stands holding two uprights.

-Temple III
 -paste
 -Palestine Museum 34.7692

-publication: Parker 106.

Lachish 4-two registers are framed above and below by cross-hatching. Left to right in the upper register are two long robed figures grasping a standard between them. Next is a figure in a knee length garment facing to the left, with one arm raised while the other is extended between two oblique crosses. A third figure wearing a long robe stands facing frontwards grasping a sword or staff in one hand and raising a staff or mace in the other. In the lower register is a star held by a figure in a knee length garment. The rest of the field is filled by a standard placed on a hill or stand and flanked by two seated winged antelope.

-publication: Lachish IV pl. 38 323.

Lachish 5-a figure stands with both arms raised beside an immense dagger. Beyond are a bull and an antelope passing transversely across the scene.

-tomb 4004

-diorite

-Palestine Museum 38.56

-publications: Lachish IV 163; Parker 149.

Megiddo 1-a figure with one arm upraised is standing beside an antelope or bull which is passing transversely through the scene. In the field are four globes and a crescent.

-tomb 1100 LBI 1500-1350

-serpentine

-Palestine Museum 34.2196

-publication: Parker 148.

IVCc

Beth Shan 1-two lines of fish and a row of heads wearing turbans.

-level VII

-faience, trace of light green glaze

-University Museum 29-104-124

-publications: 4Temples pl. XI 4; Parker 82.

Lachish 1-a procession of three prancing antelope is followed by four identical figures wearing

pointed caps and striated draperies. The figures have their hands raised in devotion. The figures are interspaced by concentric circles above and clublike symbols below. A chevron border runs around the top of the scene.

- Temple III, pit 176
- limestone or steatite
- Wellcome Marston Expedition 2727
- publications: Parker 103; Nougayrol CVI.

Lachish 2-a nude figure wearing a horned headdress passes in procession with a bull and a winged griffin. Above the bull is a scorpion.

- tomb 4004
- steatite
- Palestine Museum 38.56
- publications: Lachish IV pl. 34, 165; Parker 151.

IVCe

Tell Abu Hawam 1-a nude figure with his arms at his sides stands behind a bucranium, there is a globe between the horns. Above is a V-shaped object and the symbol for a copper ingot. Before the figure is an antelope head, two more ingot symbols, two concentric circles and a tree. Beside the tree is an unidentifiable object.

- level V
- steatite
- Palestine Museum 34.186
- publications: QDAP IV 1, 2 415; Nougayrol LXXVI; Parker 152.

Tell Abu Hawam 2-a man in a short tunic represented by criss-cross lines stands holding a branch in one hand and a curved stick in the other. Behind is a shorter figure holding a weapon. Above is a short line and a scorpion. Beyond the taller figure is a person standing on a quadruped and before it there seems to be a wheel with four spokes.

- level V
- steatite
- Palestine Museum 34.160
- publications: QDAP IV 1, 2 414; Nougayrol LXXXI; Parker 156.

Tell el-Ajjul 1-only the top of the seal remains - head of
two deer and possibly a tree - and a person.

-tomb 361 - Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III

-paste

-14 X 45 mm - fragment

-publications: Gaza II pl. IV 128; Nougayrol LXVII.

Beth Shan 1-a nude figure wearing a turban and a belt
and kneels on one knee holding a five branched
plant. The branches end in globes and the
plant's stem is crossed by three intersecting
lines. There are two stags seated rump to
rump, their heads turned to face each other.
Beneath the stags is a spiral motif.

-level IX Thutmose III

-light blue paste

-Palestine Museum I.3805

-publication: Parker 38.

Beth Shan 2-a figure wearing a turban and a belt stands holding
a tree or branch. Beyond is an antelope set in a
panel decorated with cross-hatching.

-level IX

-faience, white glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-127.

-publication: Parker 41.

Beth Shan 3-a figure in a round cap or turban kneels
holding a branch. Beside him is a prostrate
antelope framed by scrolls.

-level IX

-Palestine Museum J.1041

-publication: Parker 47.

Beth Shan 4-two figures wearing turbans and fringed draperies
stand beside a branch with five globules indicating
fruit or foliage. Beyond two antelope are seated
front to front with their heads turned away.
Between their horns are five globes.

-level IX

-white paste

-Palestine Museum J.1015

-publication: Parker 45.

Beth Shan 5-two figures wearing long skirts which are open
down the front stand back to back beside a
seven branched tree. The trunk is crossed by
two short lines. Each of the figures struggles

with a goat.

- level IX Thutmose III
- white faience
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-137
- publication: Parker 48.

Beth Shan 6-a figure wearing a turban kneels holding a five branched tree. The stem is crossed by two short parallel lines and the branches end in globes. Beyond are two prancing antelope with a staff between them.

- level VIII pre-Amenhotep III
- dark blue paste
- Palestine Museum J.1023
- publication: Parker 51.

Beth Shan 7-two figures wearing turbans and fringed draperies stand on either side of a tree with five branches that end in globes. Beside the figures are two lions with crossed forepaws, between the lions is a seated stag.

- level VII
- faience, traces of brown glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-106
- publication: 4Temples pl. XXXVIII 13.

Beth Shan 8-two figures in long draperies stand beside a tree with five branches, its stem crossed by three parallel lines. Beside them is a winged sphinx in a turban and above it is a seated stag set on end. A second figure is defaced by a break.

- level VII
- faience, light green glaze
- Palestine Museum J.919
- publications: 4Temples XL 6; Parker 90.

Beth Shan 9-a sacred tree with five branches ending in globules. Three intersecting lines and further down two parallel lines cross the trunk. On one side of the tree stands a large nosed figure and on the other side stand two stags front to front, their heads turned.

- level VI, Seti I
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-129
- publications: Iron Age Beth Shan fig. 100 4; Parker 115.

Beth Shan 10-a tree with five branches ending in globules

with three intersecting lines and further down two parallel lines crossing the stem. On one side of the tree stands a large nosed figure and on the other side stands two stags front to front, heads turned.

- level VI, Seti I
- faience, green glaze
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-129
- publications: Iron Age Beth Shan fig. 100, 3; Parker 114.

Beth Shan 11-a figure wearing a turban and a long skirt which is open down the front, stands holding a branch with five globes. Across the stem of the branch are three crossed lines. Beyond the figure are two bulls seated rump to rump, their tails up-raised and crossed. Below the bulls is a spiral motif and above them a complex spiral and crossed line design.

- level VI
- steatite
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-115
- publications: 4Temples pl. XXXVII 7; Parker 61.

Beth Shan 12-two figures wearing turbans and garments indicated by diagonal hatching along the legs up to the shoulder stand holding branches, before them is and a plant.

- and a plant.
- level IX - Thutmose III
- blackstone
- Palestine Museum 32.51
- publication: Parker 136.

Beth Shan 13-two goats salient and back to back stand beside a ribbon-volute. There are two humans or half-goats.

- level VIII
- dark blue faience
- University Museum, Philadelphia 29-104-96
- publication: Parker 55.

Beth Shemesh 1-a figure wearing long draperies and a rounded headdress with streamers (?) stands beside a five branched tree. The stem of the tree is crossed by two parallel lines and the branch ends in globes. On the other side of the tree is an antelope with its head turned. Behind the figure is a vertical panel with chevron motifs.

-Front Temple LB/Iron I

-paste, blue glaze

-publications: Beth Shemesh pl. 107 p. 97; Nougayrol LX.

Gezer 1-two figures, one wearing a turban and the other the horned headdress of a god, stand beside a five branched tree. The stem of the tree is crossed by three intersecting lines. Beyond are two bulls seated rump to rump with their upraised tails crossed. Beneath the bulls is a spiral motif.

-2nd Semitic Period-LB

-white paste, traces of green glaze

-Palestine Museum J.474

-publications: Gezer II pl. CCXIV; Parker 94; Nougayrol LXIX.

Gezer 2-a large nosed figure wearing a long robe and a turban stands beside a five branched tree, the branches of which end in globes. Across the stem of the tree are two parallel lines. On the far side is a winged sphinx wearing a turban.

-2nd Semitic Period, 1800-1400

-faience, green glaze

-Palestine Museum J.468

-publications: Gezer II pl. CCXVI; Parker 34.

Gezer 3-a nude figure wearing a turban and a belt kneels holding a branch with seven globes. Beside the figure, two bulls are seated, with their tails raised and crossed. Below the bulls is a spiral motif.

-2nd Semitic Period-LB

-found with Amenhotep III scarab

-light yellow paste with white paste

-Palestine Museum J.4371

-publications: Gezer II pl. CCII; Parker 59; Nougayrol LXV.

Hazor 1-a running figure holds a quadruped by its long tail.

The figure and its catch are flanked by two other quadrupeds, one horned, crossing the field transversely.

There is also a tree.

-publication: Hazor II pl. LLXXVI ll.

Hazor 2-a figure stands before a five branched tree. The branches of the tree end in globes and the tree's stem is crossed by a number of lines. On the right side of the tree stands a deer, its head turned away from the tree toward a ladder motif.

- Area H, locus 2113, stratum 1a
- faience
- publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXX 2.

Tell el-Hesi 1-a man wearing a turban kneels on one knee before a five branched tree. The tree's branches end in globe. On the other side of the tree is a regardant deer.

- sub-city IV
- paste, blue glaze
- publication: Bliss pp. 72, 127.

Lachish 1-a figure wearing a long garment stands with hands clasped to its chest. To the right is a deity wearing a turban and draperies which are open down the front and holding a scimitar. Between the god the figure is a five branched tree, the branches of which end in globes. Beside the deity are two seated antelope with their heads turned toward the tree and above the antelope is a spiral design. Above the spiral design are two seated bulls with their heads turned and tails raised.

- publication: Parker 183.

Lachish 2-a figure wearing a turban and fringed draperies stands with its hands to its chest before a five branched tree. The stem of the tree is crossed by three lines. Beyond are two seated antelope with their heads turned and seemingly long tails held erect and below is a spiral design.

- Wellcome-Marston Expedition
- steatite
- publication: Parker 184.

Megiddo 1-a figure in flounced draperies stands before a five branched tree, the stem of which is crossed by three parallel lines. Beside them is a pair of antelope seated front to front, their heads turned away, their forelegs are omitted. There is a scroll design above the antelope.

- stratum VII c. 1350-1150, locus w-2087
- steatite
- reg. no. 2087, Chicago Oriental Institute
- publications: Megiddo II pl. 161 11; Parker 95.

Megiddo 2-two bearded figures wearing turbans and fringed draperies stand beside a three branched tree, beside which stand two stags.

- stratum IX, c. 1550-1480
- reg. no. b.134, Oriental Institute, Chicago
- steatite
- publications: Megiddo II pl. 160 9; Parker 36.

Tell es-Safy-two deities or priests wearing turbans and long robes hold a seven branched tree, the branches of which end in globes. The base of the tree is bulbous with radiating lines. Beside the figure is a spiral design and above the spiral are two antelope set on end, head to head.

- stratum ?
- 29 X 34 mm
- publication: Nougayrol LXVIII; Bliss and Macalister 1898/1900 p.158, pl. 83.

IVCf

Tell el-Ajjul-a striding god wearing a short tunic and a pointed cap, with his hair in a pigtail holds what may be a goat-fish, by the tail. With the other hand he grasps the tail of a rampant griffin. The griffin is threatening a small nude man crouching before it. Behind the nude figure kneels a winged genie with a lion's tail, it wears an unusual headdress. Behind is a human head.

- 18th-19th dynasties
- 17 X 25 mm
- haematite
- Palestine Museum 35.0411
- publications: Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S. 60; Nougayrol CXI; Parker 13; Gaza IV p. 4, pl. XII 1.

Akko 1-divided into two register by a spiral/concentric circle motif. The upper contains four nude winged goddesses facing a nude hero who subdues a bull. On the left two lions attack a bull. In the lower, two antelope flank a stylized tree, behind each antelope stands a winged griffin, which lifts one forepaw above the back of the antelope.

- tomb B3
- no. 111
- ht. 28.5 mm, diam. 12 mm
- haematite, with gold caps
- publication: Atiqot 12 pp. 63-64, pl. VIII:13, XXI:1.

IVCg

Beth Shan 1-a figure wearing a turban, long draperies edged with stitching stands before a standard surmounted by a star. Beyond is an antelope enclosed on two sides by a scroll border.

-level IX

-steatite

-Palestine Museum J.1045

-publication: Parker 35.

Gezer 1-a standard is the focal point of the scene. On either side there is a rearing antelope that struggles with a human.

-2nd Semitic period; tomb 252-LB

-paste

-31 X 53 mm

-publication: Gezer II p.345 pl. CXXXVII 50; Nougayrol LXX.

Hazor 1-an antelope feeds below a spiral design, . In front of the animal is a winged sun-disc and behind a kneeling figure.

-field no. H 173/2

-area H, locus 2113, stratum 1a

-faience

-publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXX 1.

Megiddo 1-two figures in turbans and fringed draperies stand beside a stand and beside this group is a seated lion and above is a scroll pattern.

-tomb 912B c.1350-1150, LBII

-faience

-Palestine Museum 34.1984

-publications: Megiddo Tombs p. 182; Parker 108.

IVEa

Tell el-Ajjul 1-two figures stand with one arm raised and on one side of them is a large dagger or a spear stuck in the ground. On the left side of the dagger is a figure with both arms raised. On

the right side of the first two figures is a tree with spirals at its base.

-19 X 32 mm

-publication: Gaza IV p.5 pl. XII 5; Nougayrol CXVI.

Tell el-Ajjul 2-a figure with its arms raised stands beside a large dagger and some trees or bushes.

-20 x 30 mm

-publication: Gaza IV p. 5, pl. XII 6; Nougayrol CXVII.

Beth Shan 1-a human figure stands beside a seven-branched tree.

The stem of the tree is crossed by lines. Beyond is a standard with a circle, probably a sun-disc flanked by sloping lines. The shaft of the standard has two parallel lines across it. Between the tree and the standard is a triangle and in the center of it is a boss.

-level VIII - Amenhotep III

-faience, traces of green glaze

-publications: 4Temples pl. XL 19; Parker 146.

Gezer 1-three small figures stand beside a nine branched tree.

The central figure raises its arm and the figure on the right wears a pointed hat.

-3rd Semitic Period-Iron

-calspar

-20 X 30 mm

-publications: Gezer II p.345, pl. CCXIV 5; Nougayrol LXXIII.

Tell el-Hesi 1-three figures in a row, heads in profile and between the heads are two clubs. Beside the figures is a five-branched tree, the trunk of which is crossed by two lines.

-top of city IV, c. 1300.

-paste, blue glaze

-Palestine Exploration Fund

-publications: Bliss p.79 128; Parker 109; Nougayrol LXXVI.

Lachish 1-to the left is a figure of the god Resheph holding an axe in his left hand and a shield in his right.

He is wearing a kilt and a conical crown. In front of the god is a small tree and behind him is a quiver. To the right is a large tree, the branches of which end in globes.

-Rm. CaE - XVIII dynasty

-Palestine Museum, 34.3123

-faience, dark brown glaze

-publications: Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S.57.

Lachish 2-a figure in a long garment stands holding a stiff tree.

A net is stretched between the tree and a post.

-Wellcome-Marston Expedition

-faience, blue glaze

-publication: Parker 181.

Lachish 3-a striding figure in a short tunic and a conical headdress brandishes a club and carries a shield. In the field is a plant and a club. In a panel is a tree motif, the branches of which terminate in globes.

-Rm E, Temple III

-faience

-Palestine Museum, 2969

-publications: Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S.57; Parker 25; Lachish pl. XXXIIIA 47.

Megiddo 1-a man wearing a turban kneels on one knee holding a seven branched tree. The tree's branches end in globes and the trunk appears to be crossed by at least one line. Behind the man is a vertically running scroll pattern separated by a broken line. The scene is bordered by a star pattern.

-stratum VIIA, locus E-1826

-reg. no. M5993

-faience

-publication: Megiddo II p.155, pl.161 15.

Shiqmona 1-praying figures on either side of the tree

-LB

-publication: IEJ 25(1975), p.259.

IVF

Akko 1-a striding god dressed in a short kilt, wearing a crown with horns brandishes a curved weapon in his left hand, and the hind legs of a horned animal in his right. Opposite him stands a figure touching the curved weapon with his hand while holding a sword(?) in his right. Behind the deity is a pigtailed figure who touches a sword at his side with his right hand, holding a second sword in his left. The swords(?) are crossed. Between the two figures are two superimposed bull's heads and a circle with a dot in the centre over a short horizontal stroke.

There is a rosette between the legs of the deity.

- haematite, goldcaps
- ht. 19 mm; diam. 7.5 mm
- no. 497 - tomb B3
- publication: Atiqot 12, p.66-7, pls. VIII: 14 and XXI:3.

Akko 2-badly damaged-a striding god in a short kilt, wearing a crown brandishes a sword in his right hand and the hind leg of a horned animal. Opposite is a female figure in a mid-length dress wearing a headdress, in her right hand is a long-stemmed chalice with vertical objects and a sceptre(?). Behind her is a long stem topped by a flower. On the right is a seated deity on a low backed chair, holding a sistrum in her hand. The deity's head is obscured, perhaps an animal's. A sun-disc is on her head.

- white paste
- no. 435, tomb B3
- ht. 21 mm; diam. 10 mm
- publication: Atiqot 12, p. 68-9, pl. VIII: 15 and XXI:4.

Tell Artal 1-two striding figures face a seated figure. Behind seated deity there is a standard or a tree, and a seated animal.

- publication: Zori pl. 17:2.

Beth Pelet 1-three figures in short skirts stand beside an altar with votive offerings. One of the figures may be wearing a horned headdress.

- cemetery XIX-XX dynasty
- 22 X 35mm
- haematite
- publication: Beth Pelet II, pl. LIII: 213; Nougayrol CI.

Beth Shan 1-a striding figure wears a turban and a short tunic, the ends of which hang down between his legs. He appears to hold his hands to his chest. Before the figure stands a goddess wearing a flounced garment. The seal is bordered by a scroll pattern and the rest of the field is covered by a design of lotus buds.

- level IX - Thutmose III
- lapis lazuli
- University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-14
- publication: Rowe PEQ 1929 p.82; Nougayrol LXXXII; Parker 11.

Beth Shan 2-a figure seated on a chair holding a tree with five branches. The group breaks through a double line which divides the rest of the design into two registers.

In the top register is a seated antelope on end and in the lower register is a double scroll design.

-level VII

-faience, blue glaze

-University Museum, Philadelphia, 29-104-102

-publications: 4Temples pl. XL: 17; Parker 78.

Beth Shemesh 1-a weather god wearing a multiple horned head-dress and carrying a lightening fork, stands with one foot on the back of a miniature bull, which is seated before him. Facing the deity is a goddess(?) in an attitude of devotion. In the field between the figures is a crescent, a small vase and a fly. Space has been left for an inscription.

-level IV, in a pot 1005 - LB II - 1450-1200

-haematite or lapis lazuli

-21 X 34 mm

-Palestine Museum I.5925

-publications: Ain Shems p. 21; Parker 2; Nougayrol LXXXIII.

Gezer 1-two figures wearing embroidered robes and round caps stand facing a striding god who wears a kilt of striated material that falls open to the waist, and a horned headdress. The one figure carries a short staff while the other holds a scimitar. The god holds a knife and an animal headed staff and he places his leading foot upon a small platform. Behind the deity is a figure wearing a round cap and a long robe that opens to the waist to reveal a short skirt, carrying a large jar in one hand.

-3rd Semitic Period-Iron

-steatite

-publication: Gezer II fig. 464.

Gezer 2-broken-two figures in kilts flank an altar. One figure carries a staff, while the second carries an unidentifiable object. The figures stand beside a standard. Beyond the standard are two figures in long robes. A break obscures the top of the seal.

-tomb 252, 2nd Semitic Period-LB

-haematite

-frag. 18 X 48 mm

-publications: Gezer I, p. 398; II p. 344 pl. CXX: 21;
Nougayrol LXXXIX.

Gezer 3-badly broken - a figure with an offering stands in front of a seated deity. Behind the

figure is a quadruped set over a spiral motif.

-2nd Semitic Period-LB

-stone

-frag 30 X 70 mm

-publications: Gezer II p. 345 pl. CCXIV: 6; Nougayrol LXXXIV

Hazor 1-a deity in a conical headdress is seated upon a throne beside a five branched tree. One of his hands is extended toward the tree. The tree's trunk is crossed by two parallel lines and its branches end in globes. On the right side of the tree stands a deer with its head turned away to face a ladder motif.

-area H, locus 2113, stratum 1a

-faience

-publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXX: 3.

Hazor 2-a stick figure stands between a tree and a structure. A second figure may be exiting from the other side of the structure.

-locus 6235, stratum 1b

-steatite

-publications: Hazor II pl. CXXVII: 24.

Hazor 3-two figures are shown from the waist up. The figure on the left has long hair and wears a pointed headdress. The figure carries a staff and a dagger in one hand, while raising a mace with the other. The second figure seems to have a horned headdress and also appears to be armed. The two figures flank a winged sun-disc. Behind the first figure is a grazing bull with a trace of a spiral motif beneath it. Behind the second figure is another figure shown from the waist up. This figure wears a high rounded headdress with a plume and may carry a tassled staff.

-area H, locus 2123, stratum 1b

-haematite

-field no. H444

-publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCXIX: 1.

Hazor 4-a deity wearing a rounded turban sits with his hands raised in acknowledgement of devotion. He is approached by a figure carrying a sceptre. The figure wears a round turban and a short kilt. Between the deity and the figure is a winged sun-disc. Behind the deity stands an adoring figure wearing flounced draperies and seemingly some sort of head-dress. Beyond are rampant griffins and beneath them are four figures in short skirts and caps.

-area H, locus 2113, stratum 1a

-field no. H 116

-haematite
 -publication: Hazor III-IV pl. CCCXIX: 2.

Lachish 1-a figure wearing long draperies and a turban stands with its hands raised in devotion before a standard which is probably a winged sun-disc. On the far side of the standard is a deity wearing fringed draperies, which are open down the front. The deity holds a scimitar and the leash of a seated lion. Above the lion is a spiral motif and above the spiral there are two seated antelopes on end.

-tomb - 19th dynasty
 -steatite
 -Wellcome-Marston Expedition 3045
 -publications: Parker 113; Lachish XXXIIIA 45.

Megiddo 1-a devotee wearing a turban and a long skirt of striated material stands before a striding god who holds a knife. To the right of the devotee are two more figures, the first holds his hands to his chest while the second is stretched out behind him. In the field is an arm of balance, a star and two globular symbols.

-stratum VIII, 1475-1350
 -lapis lazuli
 -reg. no. 3100
 -Oriental Institute, Chicago
 -publications: Megiddo II pl. 160: 8; Parker 135.

Mediddo 2-very difficult to read-two figures wearing long robes and conical caps stand facing each other with their hands raised in devotion. There appears to be a winged sun-disc and possibly a bull's head between them. The right hand figure is in front of a crouching lion which is set between two spiral patterns. The lion's tail curls over his back.

-locus E-1831, stratum VIIB
 -reg. no. M6053
 -steatite
 -publication: Megiddo II pl. 56; pl. 161: 10.

Tell es-Safy 1-a falcon-headed figure raises its hand over a uraeus while a second falcon-headed figure (Toth?) holds a Maat symbol. Behind the second figure is a club-like object.

-18th dynasty
 -glazed composition
 -Palestine Museum J.467
 -publications: Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S.56; Noygayrol CXXXVI;
Parker 23; Exc. in Palestine 1898/1900 p.158, pl. 83.

VAa

Tell Abu Hawam 1-a cartouche- Neb.Maat.Ra, Amenhotep III
 -level V, 1400-1230
 -30 X 34 mm
 -calcspars
 -Palestine Museum 34.344
 -publications: QDAP vol. IV 1,2; Parker 26; Nougayrol CXXXII.

VAb

Tell el-Ajjul 1-two plants with what may be a snake.
 -19th dynasty
 -15 X 19 mm, fragment
 -black stone
 -gov. tomb, c.1350-1200
 -Palestine Museum, 33.1701
 -publications: Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S.65; Nougayrol CXXXVII;
Parker 159; Gaza III p.5, pl. VIII: 8.

VAd

Gezer 1-the field is bordered by spirals and then divided into registers, containing a hieroglyphic inscription.
 -basalt
 -tomb 29-3rd Semitic Period-Iron
 -publications: Gezer II p. 312, fig. 163; Nougayrol CXXX.

VAf

Lachish 1-hieroglyphic signs arranged transversely. Beyond a vertical line is a tree, its branches ending in globes. The tree stands on a triangular base on either side of which are diagonal appendages.
 -pit 136, temple III
 -faience

- field no. 809
- Palestine Museum 33.1690
- publications: Parker 24; Lachish XXXIIIA: 53;

VAg

Bethel 1-a god and goddess stand holding spears, which form a frame for a hieroglyphic inscription. The god wears a horned headdress and carries a scimitar, while the goddess wears an unusual headdress, possibly made of plumes as well as the usual streamers. Inscription reads Astarte.

- from ancient dump MB-Iron - frit.
- Palestine Museum 35.4442
- publications: AASOR 39 p.86; Parker 180; Nougayrol CXII;
Rowe Cat. of Scarabs S.60(A).

Beth Shan 1-a Pharaoh stands shooting at a target. He wears a long kilt, the blue crown with uraeus attached and from his shoulders hang two tassles. Above there is a cartouche which reads "Ra-Wesr-Maat"(Ramses II). Behind the pharaoh is a lotus and a protecting vulture. Tied to the back of the shaft of the target are two bearded captives in Syrian dress. The target appears to rest on a fork-like base, it is pierced by three arrows. Above the target are three half circles, the outer rims of which are adorned by rays. The captives are surrounded by four clumps of conventionalized plants. This takes place before a god who holds the choposh and an ankh in his lowered hand. The god wears a false beard, short tunic and the white crown with attached streamers, and gazelle-like horns.

- Ramses III temple
- serpentine
- Palestine Museum J.911
- publications: Cat. of Scarabs S.61; 4 Temples pl. XXXVIII: 3;
Parker 30; Nougayrol CXXIX.

VBg

Ashdod 1-two figures wearing flounced robes stand facing a three lined inscription, hands raised in devotion.

(i)-li-ab-num (DUMU b)i-il-lu-lum (IR) isum.

- area G, locus 4007, stratum 4-5, MB II-LB I, intrusion into Iron II
- reddish-brown jasper with blue grey striation
- ht. 32 mm; diam. 15 mm
- publication: Atiqot 7.

Beth Shan 1-two goddesses wearing multi-horned headdresses and flounced draperies stand in devotion beside a three line inscription: ma-an-um MAS SU-BU-UB

- level VII - Amenhotep III
- haematite
- Palestine Museum J.1014
- publication: Topography and History p. 23, pl. 34: 3;
Parker 1; Nougayrol CV.

Megiddo 1-a bearded deity stands facing an inscription which is marred by a break. The deity wears a horned headdress and there are three seated deer between the deity and the inscription. The upper and lower deer face the deity. The inscription is unintelligible.

- stratum IX, locus 5029
- reg. no. dl13
- faience
- publication: Megiddo Tombs p. 182; pl. 160, 6.

Megiddo 2-two bearded figures wearing turbans and fringed robes stand facing an inscription. The foremost figure holds a scimitar and a goat or antelope leaps toward a god (Marduk), who turns his head away. The inscription reads "Marduk(?), great lord, merciful god, chief of heaven and earth... (proper name)..."

- tomb 217A - LB I
- Palestine Museum I.348
- publications: Megiddo Tombs p. 182; Parker 3.

Other

Tel Sera -two LB seals

- publication: IEJ Vol. 24 (1974), p.265.

APPENDIX III-Glossary

Base ring ware-imported from Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. The ware is thin, buff in colour and grey slipped. The pottery was usually decorated with relief designs in LBI and with oblique lines of white paint in LBII.

Bucchero ware-imported from Cyprus towards the end of Late Bronze Age and into the twelfth century. The ware is characterized by a chocolate brown slip on thin walled buff vessels.

Common style-a term used by Edith Porada to define certain types of Mitannian seals. The seals tended to be of faience or steatite and were found across the Middle East; there was little local variation in style. This style of seal began to develop as early as 1700 BCE.

Depleted class-Helene Kantor's term for the Mitannian style seals produced after the fall of the Mitannian Empire (c. 1360 BCE). The seals tended to focus on one scene, enlarging what traditionally might have been an ancilliary motif.

Elaborate style-Porada's second Mitannian seal type. It refers to the better quality seals produced between 1500 and 1350 BCE.

Faience-glass paste, used for jewellery and small art objects.

First Syrian Group-Henri Frankfort's term for Syrian (also Palestinian) seals from 2000 until 1700 BCE. Babylonian motifs were widely used.

globules or globes-when associated with sacred trees, they may represent fruit.

glyptic-a term used to define cylinder seal art. It refers to designs made by cuts or marks in stone.

granulee-a French term used in the making of jewellery and similar crafts. It refers to small globules of metal, usually gold, used as a raised decoration.

guilloche-an elaborate twist motif derived from a spiral. It most closely resembles a piece of twisted rope.

rampant-an heraldic term from the Norman French, which refers to an animal standing on its hindlegs, the forelegs can each be seen clearly and are raised.

regardant-an heraldic term (Norman French), which refers to an animal (sometimes a person) that turns its head to view what is behind it.

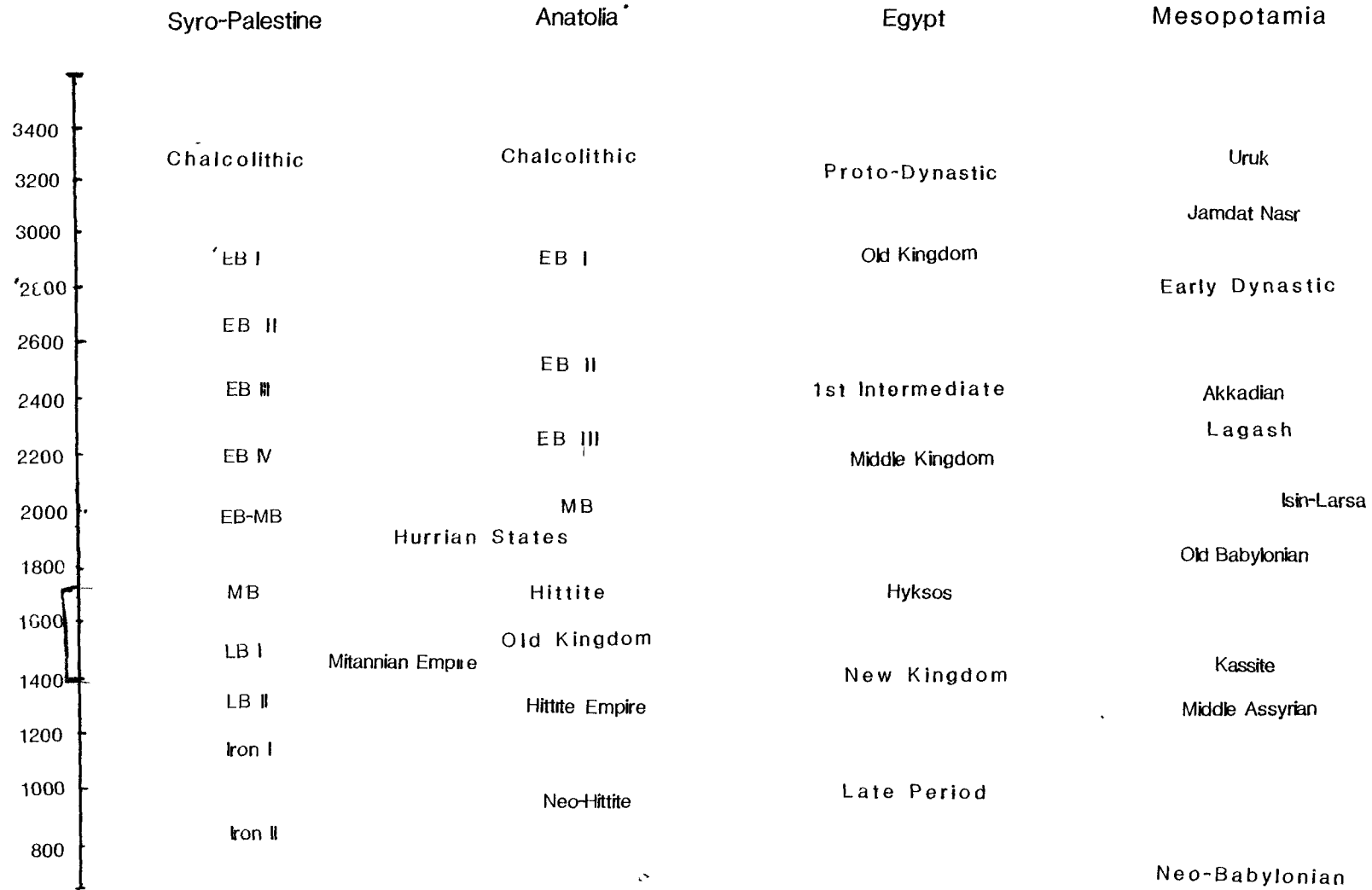
salient-an heraldic term (Norman French), which refers to an animal standing on its hindlegs with its forelegs raised, but the forelegs appear as one.

Second Syrian Group-Frankfort's designation for Syrian seals dating from 1700 BCE until 1350 BCE. The themes are deteriorated Babylonian ones, or local.

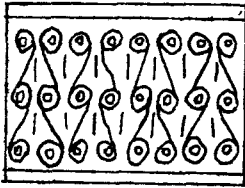
Third Syrian Group-Frankfort's designation for Syrian seals dating between 1350 and 1200 BCE. The seals show Egypt influence.

White slip ware-a molded ware imported from Cyprus. The buff or pink clay was covered with a white slip, which was then painted with ladder-like motifs, in chocolate brown.

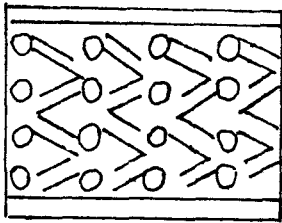
Near Eastern Chronology



IF



Beth Shan 3

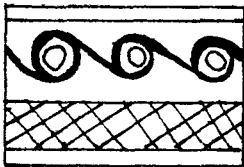


Beth Shan 4



Gezer 1

IG



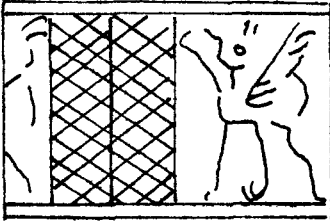
Beth Shan 1

IIA

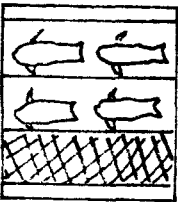


Tell Abu Hawam 1

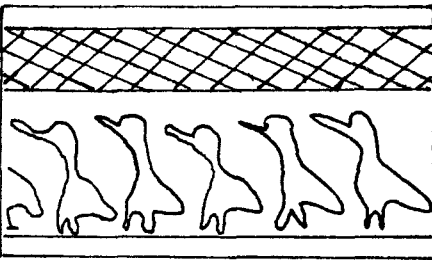
IIBb



Tell Abu Hawam 1

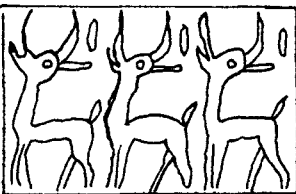


Beth Shan 1

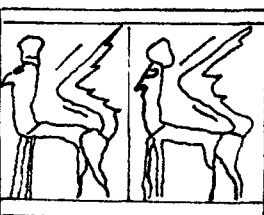


Beth Shan 2

IIC



Beth Shan 2



Beth Shan 7

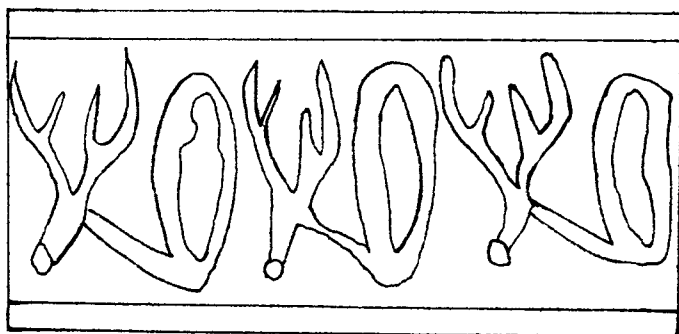
IIC



Gezer 1

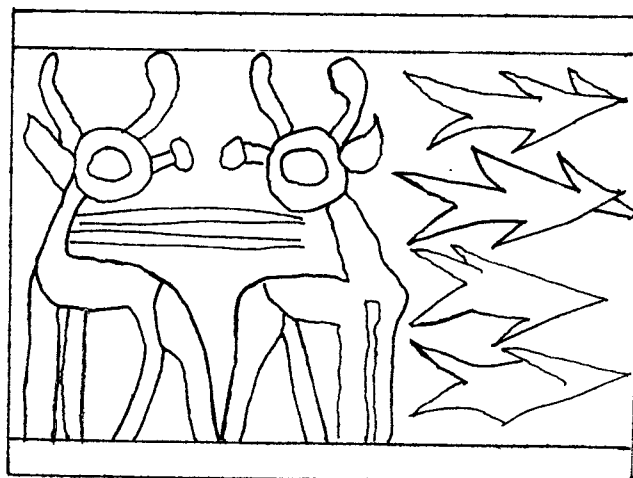


Gezer 2



Hazor 1

2:1



Hazor 2

2:1

IIC

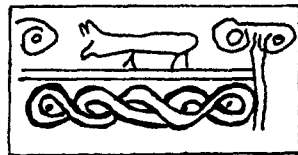


Tell Mevorakh 1

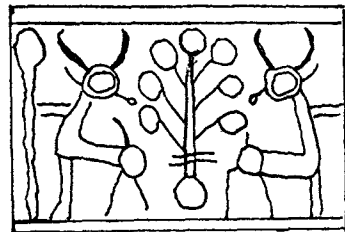
IIE



Beth Shan 1

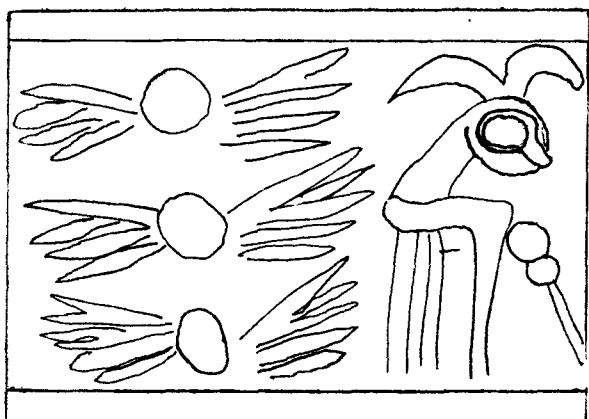


Gezer 2



Lachish 1

iiG



Hazor 1

2:1



Lachish 1

IVA



Lachish 1

IVCa



Beth Shan 2

IVCa



Gezer 1



Hazor 2

2:1



Lachish 2

IVCb

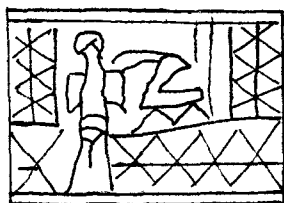


Beth Shan 5

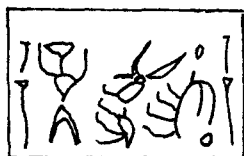
IVCb



Lachish 1

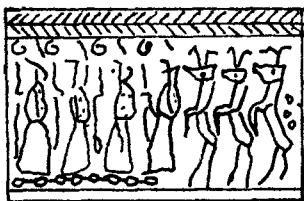


Lachish 2



Lachish 5

IVCc

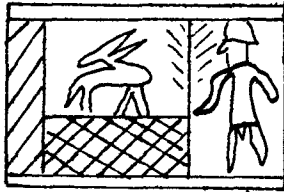


Lachish 1



Lachish 2

IVCe



Beth Shan 2

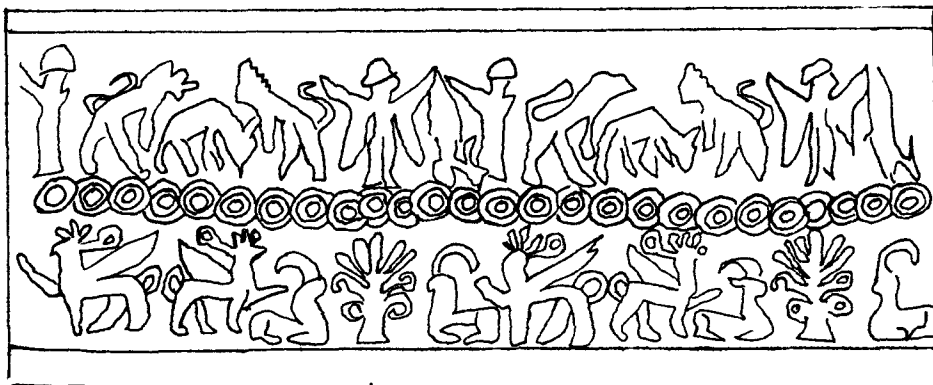


Beth Shan 13

IVCf



Tell el-Ajjul 1



Akko 1

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IVCg

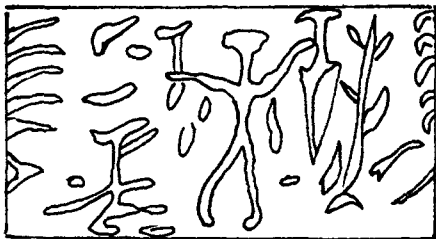


Beth Shan 1

IVEa



Tell el-Ajjul 1



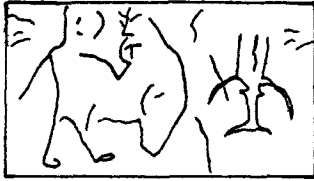
Tell el-Ajjul 2

IVF



Akko 1

IVF



Beth Pelet 1



Beth Shemesh 1



Hazor 2

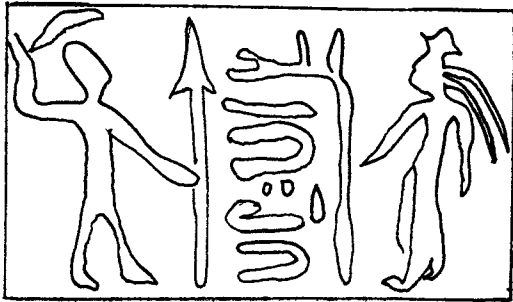


Lachish 1

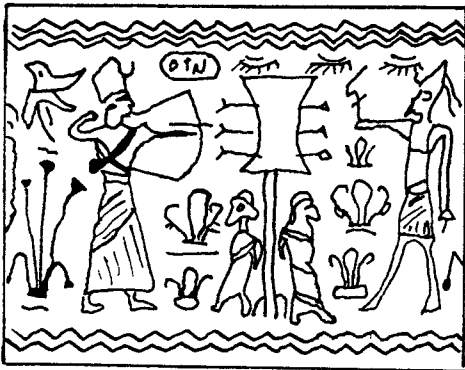


Tell es-Safy 1

VAg



Bethel 1



Beth Shan 1

VBg



Megiddo 1