

CHAPTER XIII

"CANAAANITE" ARTS AND CRAFTS BEFORE THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

The task now before us is that of ascertaining the nature of the plant designs current in Syria and Palestine, the lands through which ran land routes to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, and along the coasts of which sailed the commercial fleets from the Aegean area and the Nile, as well as the imposing navy of Egypt. It is singularly unfortunate, both from the standpoint of the limited problem under consideration here and of the general history of the ancient Near East, that the development of the cultures and crafts of these "Canaanite" communities cannot be followed in detail. Although in many poorer and inland sections the people led simple peasant or semi-nomad existences, in the prosperous ports and important urban centers there existed much more elaborate modes of life. These had developed into the most striking hybrid cultures yet known in the Near East by the latter part of the second millennium, the period when the city states of the Palestinian-Syrian littoral had become pawns in the bitter contest between the Egyptian and Hittite empires. However, despite the amount of excavation recently carried out in these areas, neither the number, extent or individual characteristics of the various cultural groupings that once existed have yet been defined.¹ Although the general character of the "Canaanite" *Mischkultur* is clear and there is a good deal of information concerning individual sites, the existence of great gaps becomes embarrassingly evident if interest is concentrated on the more elaborate products of applied art, rather than on pottery or other objects of everyday life. Much of the time a few isolated examples must serve in the absence of large series of materials. Under such circumstances, it is possible only to sketch in some of the main lines of development followed by an analysis of the plant ornament of the coastal areas, in the

¹ CS, pp. 257, 261.

hope that future discoveries will fill in the abundant detail necessary, both for the correction of mistakes and for the production of a well rounded picture.

TWELFTH DYNASTY BYBLOS

Egyptian relations with southern Syria, and especially with the great port of Byblos, are as ancient as the beginning of historical times in Egypt.² Even then the Nile dwellers were already importing commodities such as olive oil and Lebanon timber. Byblos has long been recognized as one of the chief entrepots for such commerce during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but it is only recently that the existence of firmer links between Middle Kingdom Egypt and her Asiatic neighbors has been demonstrated. Evidence such as the statues of Egyptian officials or princesses at Megiddo, Qatna, and Ras Shamra, and the appearance of Egyptian deities on seals of the period indicate direct Egyptian rule during the peak of the Twelfth Dynasty.³ It is in keeping with the political and economic situation that the only plant ornament found in Syria during the earlier half of the second millennium is Egyptianizing in character. Among the burial goods of the Byblos rulers, who were client kings to the great pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, are a few objects sent as gifts from Egypt. In addition, Montet has shown that a much larger class consists of local imitations of Egyptian prototypes.⁴ The conscientious attempt to copy Egyptian themes and style as closely as possible has been rather successful, even though the awkwardness of the native craftsmen is strongly betrayed in hieroglyphs and other details. It is on some of these objects that plant elements, completely Egyptian in character, were used, normally as minor parts of the design. Fragments of bronze papyriform mirror handles, one worked in niello technique, were found in the tombs of

² Pierre Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), pp. 270ff.

³ Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940), pp. 13-15. C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I* (Paris, 1930), pp. 20 ff. CS, p. 252 f. John Wilson, "The Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Megiddo," *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), pp. 225-236.

⁴ Montet, *op. cit.*, pp. 291ff.

Abi-shemu, contemporary with Amenemhet III, and of his son, Ib-shemu-abi, a contemporary of Amenemhet IV.⁵ The design of a pectoral belonging to Ib-shemu-abi is bordered at the sides by *Nymphaea* columns with buds tied to the shafts.⁶ It is a direct imitation of such Egyptian pectorals as that of Sesostris III. The oval pendant of Ib-shemu-abi bears four-rayed rosettes, examples of the simple geometric quatrefoil so common in Egypt.⁷ Eight-rayed rosettes like Figs. IV. 20-21 adorn the rivet heads of falchions from Tombs I and II.⁸ The most interesting of the Egyptian ornaments copied at Byblos is the *Nymphaea* rosette applied to the cover of a spouted, silver pot⁹ and the ivory fragments of several twinned papyrus groups.¹⁰ The former, a normal type with circular center, is a valuable indication that such patterns must have been much more widespread in Middle Kingdom Egypt than is indicated by the sparse number of examples that we have been able to cite. The appearance of the twinned papyrus fragments suggests that this motive must have been used in Egypt on objects of daily use much more commonly than is shown by its occurrence on the pot stand of Mereruka or the litter of Ipi. If the application of the twinned papyrus had been limited mainly to the contexts in which it usually occurs on the Nile, false doors painted or carved on tomb and coffin walls, it would be hard to explain its recurrence at Byblos. There the ivory pieces were probably inlaid, or otherwise fastened, to some article of furniture.

Aside from the Byblos material, there is, at present, available only one other source which could possibly provide examples of Syrian plant ornament belonging to approximately this same period. Frankfort's differentiation of three main sphragistic groups produced in Syria during the second millennium enables the utilization of the

⁵ *Ibid.* Pls. XCII, 616; XCIII, 616; CV, 696-70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XCIV, 617 (Tomb II).

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XCVIII, 618 (Shemu-abi; Tomb II; Amenemhet IV) Cf. Chapter IV, n. 1.

⁸ Montet, op. cit., Pl. (Abishemu; Tomb I; Amenemhet III).

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. CXII, 747 (Tomb II).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. CVI, 727 (Tomb II).

evidence of the cylinder seals. Although the First Syrian group of seals which, on the basis of the new low date of Hammurabi,¹¹ must now be assigned a date of approximately 1500 B. C.,¹² was cut under the predominant influence of Hammurabi's dynasty, the individuality of the Syrian craftsmen was revealed in subsidiary and filling motives.¹³ On such seals, hybrid plant ornaments are conspicuous by their absence,¹⁴ and the only vegetal motives used are palm trees,¹⁵ or a simple pinnate stem.¹⁶ Accordingly, it is clear that, in the light of the material available at present, there is no evidence whatsoever for the existence of any original floral designs along the Syro-Palestinian littoral earlier than the appearance and development of the South-flower hybrids in New Kingdom Egypt.¹⁷

PLANT DESIGNS ON SEALS OF THE SECOND SYRIAN GROUP

During the approximate chronological span of 1700-1350, from the fall of the Hyksos to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, the native seal cutters of the coastal areas were especially active.

The cylinders of the Second Syrian group, despite the manifold foreign characters discernible in them, mark the highest peak of independence and productivity reached by

¹¹ For date of Hammurabi, *cf.* Sidney Smith, *op. cit.* and W. F. Albright, "A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia," *BASOR* 88 (1942), pp. 28-33.

¹² This is Frankfort's amended date.

¹³ *Cf.* CS, p. 253 ff.

¹⁴ CS, p. 255.

¹⁵ CS, Pl. XLI, f, h.

¹⁶ CS, Pl. XLI, o.

¹⁷ In *Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1937), pp. 81-82, Montet indicates as primordial versions or approximations to the "palmette," certain designs used on some scarabs found at Byblos, which he places before the Middle Kingdom and on the pseudo-Egyptian gold pectorals contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty (*Ibid.* p. 168). The main design of these pectorals consists of vultures with outspread wings. These birds grasp, as is normal in Egypt, circular cartouches, from which the Syrian workers have caused long cords to spring. They end in the presumptive proto-palmettes. These, however, are but a combination of fragments of misunderstood Egyptian motives; a palm capital is conflated with the Isis girdle emblem. There is absolutely no connection with the degraded floral motive used in a Twentieth Dynasty painting of a shield, from the tomb of Ramses III. (The Byblos scarabs are pictured in Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Pl. LXV, 451-460, 463, 466, and for Montet's comparison of the shield and the presumptive proto-palmettes, see *Reliques*, p. 78).

Syrian glyptic.¹⁸ In contrast to earlier seals, compound plant patterns of varied types occupy a prominent place in the repertoire (Figs. XIII.1-4).

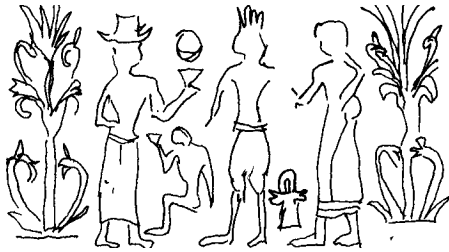


Fig. XIII.1

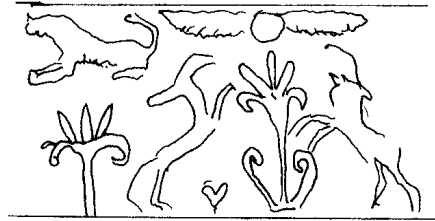


Fig. XIII.2

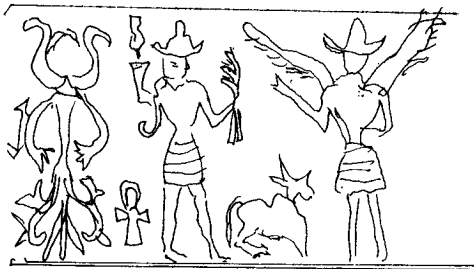


Fig. XIII.3



Fig. XIII.4

The simple palm does not seem to have been used as an independent motive, as in the First Syrian group, but its knobby trunk, with or without foliage occurs in a hybrid symbolic design, the component parts of which Frankfort thinks were originally combined in Mitanni.¹⁹ There a North Syrian ashera, or "sacred tree" motive, could have been confused with the Indo-Iranian atlantid column, that supported the winged sky symbol, originally derived from Egypt. In addition to these three factors, a fourth one, the Mesopotamian sun standard supported by two bullmen, was sometimes superimposed upon the already heterogeneous symbol, both in Mitannian glyptic and in the Second

¹⁸ CS, pp.260-262.

¹⁹ CS, pp. 275-278; PI XLIII, i (with foliage), e (without foliage).

Syrian seal of Fig. XIII.5.²⁰ With one hand the bullmen grasp the knobby palm trunk, but none of the elements just cited explains why they hold in the other hand curved tendrils springing from the base of the tree.



Fig. XIII.5

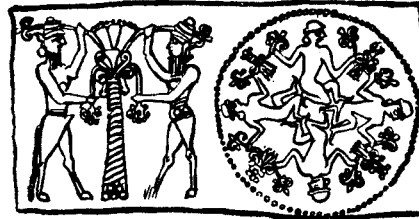


Fig. XIII.6



Fig. XIII.7

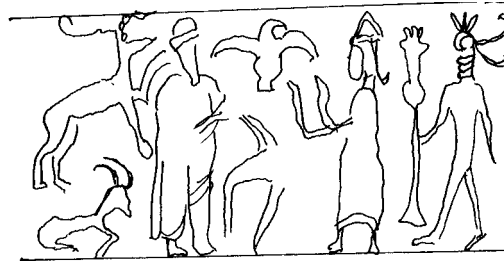


Fig. XIII.8

Still another, a fifth motive must have played a role in producing this eclectic design. The resemblance of the tripartite blooms tipping the ends of the tendrils to the Egyptian South-flower suggests strongly that this feature should be explained as a reminiscence of the Egyptian unification symbol, a design known in Palestine and Syria, chiefly through the medium of scarabs.

Three other cylinders possess plant motives closely related to that of Fig. XIII.5. Its nearest parallel is found on a seal from Ras Shamra, Fig. XIII.2.²¹ Although there the winged sun disc still appears, its connection with the hybrid plant below is obscured by the

²⁰ Cf. Frankfort's discussion in CS, p. 277. For a parallel to the vertically designed composition of Fig. XIII.5, cf. Ward-Morgan, p. 225. Here a knobby trunk supporting a winged sun disc is flanked by two figures in Syrian costume.

²¹ The attribution of Fig. XIII.2 to the Second Syrian group is certain since it is closely related to Figs. XIII.1, XIII.3, XIII.5 which are all typical of this class of cylinders.

introduction of two rampant, heraldic ruminants.²² Besides having become the center of a new kind of compositional unit, the plant itself is different. It no longer possesses the arboreal character of Fig.XIII.5, but is a long stalked palmette. The South-flower perianth with spiral ends is sharply cut, and is topped by three lanceolate leaves. From the base spring the two tendrils, ending in circular curls instead of the South-flowers of Fig.XIII.5. There is no way to prove conclusively that Fig.XIII.2 is a derivative of forms such as Fig. XIII.5. It is possible only to argue that the *raison d'être* of these tendrils can be explained if they are considered as Syrian transformations of the twining plants of the unification symbol, which have become arbitrary meaningless growths by the omission of the bull men who substitute for the original Nile gods. For this reason we may tentatively conclude that Fig. XIII.5 is a more original type than Fig.XIII.2; however, we cannot rule out completely the possibility that a plant form with arbitrarily developed basal tendrils may have existed first and accidentally suggested to some seal cutter an identification with attributes of the unification symbol.

The main plant motive of Fig.XIII.2 does not correspond to any individual Egyptian motive. Nevertheless, it can be termed a simple lobeless palmette, possessed of a normal South-flower perianth and made anomalous only by the presence of the basal withes and the tall stalk, which is far longer than is customary in Egypt. The Egyptian relations of the smaller plant of Fig.XIII.2 are less explicit. It, too, may be a South-flower hybrid, but the perianth is much less clear, and appears to be surmounted by a pair of lateral leaves as well as the central triple group. The plant may be more akin to the short-stemmed, semi-naturalistic "palms" that occur occasionally on seals of this group.²³

Hybrid plant designs with inturning basal tendrils formed a definitely developed class of Second Syrian motives, as is shown by the existence of two additional examples

²² For other examples showing the separation of the sun disc and its support Cf. CS, p. 277 and Figs. 54, 59.

²³ Cf. CS, Pl. XLIV, b. Newell, 452 is probably Second Syrian in date, especially in view of the griffin and hare.

among the limited materials preserved. Fig.XIII.1, a seal without provenience now in the British Museum, is marked by very strong Second Syrian characteristics. A god clothed in a Syrian gown holds a cup above which appears the moon crescent and sun disc. On his head he wears the distinctive, squarish headdress with projecting horns that occurs on a number of Second Syrian seals.²⁴ Facing him is a more enigmatic figure, clad in a short kilt (?) and with arms held stiffly at his sides. Behind him, a woman, or goddess (?), wearing a robe with prominent fringes, holds up one hand, possibly in adoration. She is marked as a distinct personage by the heavy lock of hair falling over her forehead and reappears on several other seals.²⁵ Although not limited to this phase, the squatting monkey originally derived from cylinders of the First Dynasty of Babylon is known to occur now.²⁶ The *ankh* symbol was an extremely common Second Syrian filling motive.²⁷ Even disregarding the characteristic plant hybrid, there can be no doubt as to the affinities of the British Museum seal.

In Fig.XIII.1 all connection between the hybrid vegetal motive and the winged sun disc has vanished. The plant is used as an independent, apparently purely decorative, design. It is more elaborate than Fig. XIII.2. The most striking change is the addition of a prominent Egyptian volute, having long pointed "drops" projecting from the upper side. The crown is formed by five pointed leaves growing on a long, very unEgyptian stalk. The incurving basal tendrils end in three-pronged flowers, which, like those of Fig.XIII.5, are almost certainly Syrian versions of the South-flower. The same blooms project from the space between the large South-flower perianth and the volute. Another minor addition are small leaves on either side of the basal shoots. The plant of Fig. XIII.3 conforms closely to the pattern of the British Museum cylinder, but is more compact and lacks the

²⁴ CS, p. 269; Pl. XLIV, h, g, j, n.

²⁵ Ward-Morgan, 241 (=CS, Pl. XLIV, h). Newell, 321.

²⁶ Cf. Fig.XIII.33; CS, p. 270, fig. 85. An example of the motive in the round was found at Ischali (H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region*, OIP 60 [Chicago, 1943] Pl. LXXIV; CS, p. 146 and n. 2).

²⁷ CS, Pls. XLII, d, g; XLIV, h, l, m. Brett 86.
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minor subsidiary details of Fig. XIII.1. The vertical ribbing of the stalk, and the multiple prongs of the flowers tipping the basal tendrils are noteworthy. They are possibly intended to be *Nymphaeas*. The three top leaves spring directly from the volute without the interposition of any long stalk. A large monkey, related to the other Second Syrian simians, is posed, as though starting to climb, on one side of the hybrid, which is not connected with any of the other motives. In fact, this seal is unusual in the placing of the vegetal pattern upside down in relation to the main design, showing a weather god holding the leash of a couchant bull and facing a winged deity. The remaining space is filled by an *ankh* and by a round disc equipped with curling locks, placed adjacent to the plant hybrid, and like it, upside down. Despite the absence of any indication of the features, this is the same Hathor head that appears on other Second Syrian seals.²⁸

Aside from Fig.XIII.5, another seal belonging to this class appears to betray the influence of the unification symbol (Fig.XIII.6). The adherence of this cylinder to the Second Syrian group is clearly demonstrated by that half of the design showing four kneeling men enclosed within a circular border. In their hands they grasp vegetal sprays connected with broad-stemmed South-flower perianths supporting two leaves. Although the figures are juxtaposed, not actually entwined, the composition of a circular wheel is a very individual trait, occurring on a carefully cut Second Syrian seal.²⁹ The remainder of Fig.XIII.6 is filled by bull men, wearing the horned crowns of divinity, flanking a central

²⁸ Cf. CS, Pls. XLII, 1; XLIV, n. Frankfort derives it ultimately from the male head found on First Dynasty of Babylon seals (CS, pp. 265f.). The Hathor heads found on "Canaanite" pendants from Tell el Ajjul (F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* IV (London, 1931-1952), Pl. XIII, top; XIV, 8, 9) and Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, "Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra," *Syria*, XVIII, [1937] Pl. XXIX, 1) are undoubtedly related. De Clercq 281 *bis* is extremely interesting. There the Hathor head is surrounded by an oval border and the seal cutter may have intended to represent the complete pendant. The Hathor head of Fig.XIII.3 has been considered as part of the vegetal motive, despite the clear separation of the two designs on the seal (H.Danthine, *Le palmier dattier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne* [Paris, 1937]). The only evidence in favor of such a view is a Second Syrian seal in the Walters Art Gallery, showing a variant of the sky symbol supported by an artificial tree (Fig. XIII.29). Although this sun disc is superficially somewhat like the motive of Fig.XIII.3, if the latter design is looked at upside down, any connection between it and the plant hybrid is ruled out by the fact that the winged disc of Fig.XIII.29 is placed at the top of the plant, while the presumptive addition to Fig.XIII.3 is at the base of the floral motive.

tree and holding palmette-tipped streamers which spring from its hybrid top. Fig.XIII.5 has already provided an example of a plant emblem accompanied by two attendant bullmen, but on Fig.XIII.6 they play the role of the Nile gods knotting together the heraldic plants of Egypt in an even clearer manner.

The combination and transformation of borrowed motives characteristic for Syria is exemplified, not only by this whole group, but also by the details of the central plant motive. The tall trunk is derived from arboreal motives such as Fig.XIII.5, but ends in a compound top consisting of the same main elements as the crown of Fig.XIII.3 - a South-flower perianth, Egyptian volute, and palmette leaves. However, the pendant drops of the perianth and prominent central lobe of the volute bring the design of the Metropolitan seal closer to such Egyptian types as CL 69 and CL 78.³⁰ The combination of such an Egyptianizing motive with a woody tree trunk is an important development, for in this manner Asiatic craftsmen were to produce a number of new designs.

The fundamental pattern of South-flower perianth, volute, and crowning leaves of Fig.XIII.6 occurs on another Second Syrian seal, not as the foliage of a woody trunk, rooted in the ground, but as the top of a long stave carried by a griffin (Fig.XIII.7). This cylinder cannot be separated from another in the Bibliotheque nationale, which also shows a griffin holding a standard (Fig.XIII.8). Unfortunately Fig.XIII.8 has been so badly worn that the details, possibly vegetal, at the top of the staff cannot be determined. The relative place of these two seals in the development of Syrian glyptic is demonstrated by a number of characters which are still closely dependent on Mesopotamian prototypes. On both there appears a turbaned, long-robed god, holding in one hand a scimitar, and bending the other arm approximately at right angles. Such a deity was well known in First Babylonian work, where he generally appears with a mace in his left hand, or as a

²⁹ Cf. CS, p. 264f. and n. 2 and Pl. XLII, m (=Newell, 354) for a discussion of the motive of entwined figures. Another second Syrian example, lacking a circular border, is known (CS, Pl. XLIII, n).

“conqueror god.”³¹ Equally Babylonian is the interceding goddess of Fig. XIII.8.³² She is absent on Fig. XIII.7 which shows instead the Mesopotamian bull man supporting a sun standard.³³ The hand of the Syrian craftsman is betrayed by the knobbed stave of the standard and the small wings flanking the sun disc. Nevertheless, Mesopotamian models are followed on these seals with a fidelity sufficient to assign them to the earlier phases of Second Syrian glyptic.

To this Babylonian heritage were added a number of subsidiary Syrian motives, the various ruminants, the griffin with one paw raised, and the bird.³⁴ Fig. XIII.7 also bears a more remarkable product of Syrian *Mischkunst*, a group consisting of a small kneeling man aiming a spear at a large, standing winged monster, combining the fore-quarters and head of a carnivorous animal with the hind quarters of a bull. Although the First Babylonian monsters with lion heads, hind legs of birds of prey, and usually with wings,³⁵ recur on Second Syrian seals,³⁶ they are not very similar to the beast of Fig. XIII.7. A first Syrian seal offers a somewhat better analogy, a figure which apparently has a leonine head and mane, jointed bull-like hindlegs, together with wings of the same general pattern.³⁷ The strangest feature of this beast is, however, the fact that it holds between its outstretched arms a South-flower hybrid possessing a forked stem, but

³⁰ In the place of attachment and downward curve of the lower pair of stems, Fig. XIII.6 resembles analogous details of CL 120, although otherwise this Egyptian hybrid is very different. CL +no = number in the Topographical Check List of South-flower Hybrids in Chapter VII.

³¹ CS, Pls. XXIX, i; XXVII, l (in these the god holds nothing in the bent arm and wears a long robe); XXVII, f, i, m (god with mace and short robed, cf. p. 168); XXVIII, a (“conqueror god,” also short-robed).

³² CS, Pls. XXVI, i, j; XXVII a, b, d, f, g, i.

³³ CS, Pls. XXVII, k (one bull man); XXVIII, g (pair of bull men); cf. p. 171, nn. 3-6 for other references.

³⁴ The gazelles and griffin of Fig. XIII.8 show affinity with the fauna of Mitannian seals; however, this cylinder shows practically no signs of the drill hole technique that was being especially favored in the popular seals of Mitanni and which left some traces on Fig. XIII.7. There, the linear plumes of the griffins of Fig. XIII.8 have degenerated into a series of drill holes, and some of the details of the bull are also indicated in the same manner.

³⁵ CS, Pls. XXVII, g; XXVIII, c; XXIX, m.

³⁶ BN 444, 452.

³⁷ BN 425 = CS, Pl. XLI, h.

otherwise similar to that tipping the griffin's staff. It is hardly profitable to speculate whether this group possessed any meaning or how the plant hybrid came to be associated with the monster. It remains a much more mysterious design than the griffin with the flora staff. In that case the eclecticism of the Syrian seal cutter can be followed as he used an old Babylonian theme, but substituted for the bull man the autochthonous Syrian griffin, and for the sun disc, the floral compound of Egyptian affinities.³⁸

A seal bought by Hogarth in the southern Carchemish plain, at Tell Ghaneim, and now in the British Museum (Fig.XIII.4), bears a well-known Mesopotamian figure, a mountain god holding two stalks of vegetation over his shoulders.³⁹ The shape into which these plants are cast, a long stem topped by a South-flower perianth with three small projecting leaves, is the only anomalous feature of the otherwise normal Asiatic figure.⁴⁰ The palmettes tipping the tendrils of the plant of Fig.XIII.6 are almost identical and form a strong link between the two seals. Like Fig.XIII.5, where South-flower tendrils were added to the tree trunk, this British Museum cylinder is an excellent illustration of the superposition of a single detail of ultimate Egyptian derivation on an oriental motive.

The Second Syrian vegetal repertoire was not limited to designs showing marked relationship to Egyptian South-flower hybrids. There appear, in addition, flowers belonging to Egyptian varieties but strangely changed by Syrian craftsmen. The South-flower has already appeared in Figs.XIII.1-7 as parts of hybrid designs. On Fig.XIII.9⁴¹ a figure dressed in Babylonian costume carries a staff ending in a South flower, and

³⁸ Cf. Ch. XIV, pp. 543ff. for the discussion of closely related Mitannian seals.

³⁹ D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals, With Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection* (Oxford, 1920), p. 69, Fig. 71. Cf. CS, p. 277 and n. 1 for a discussion of this seal. Frankfort classes it as Second Syrian and also points out its relationship with Mitannian glyptic.

⁴⁰ Hogarth spoke of the figure as "holding lily wands in the Egyptian manner. These lilies are so familiar as Aegean motive and so unlike anything known to me in Syrian or Mesopotamian art that combined with the spiral, they lead me to suggest Cyprus or some other Aegean land as the source of this cylinder" (Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 68). He also referred to its possible comparison with a late statue from Carchemish.

⁴¹ This seal is listed as Second Syrian by Frankfort (CS, p. 272, n. 7). Newell, 311.

provides another example of the combination of disparate elements derived from the East and the South.

The waterlily is the most probable prototype for the campanulate, many petaled flowers which appear on two seals of somewhat uncertain position.



Fig. XIII.9

Fig. XIII.10

In Fig.XIII.10 such blooms top branches with opposite leaves held by kneeling men, who also brandish spears. Although this seal has been classified as First Syrian,⁴² its assignation to the succeeding group seems more probable. It does show some features - squatting monkeys,⁴³ Egyptianizing vultures,⁴⁴ and water gods⁴⁵ - which are common to both classes. However, the best parallels for the sphinx treading on uraei are found on Second Syrian seals.⁴⁶ In addition, some examples of kneeling, aggressive men appear in the repertoire of this class.⁴⁷ On the other cylinder similar flowers tip the shoots of an irregularly branched vegetal filling motive; they also appear at the ends of long stems held by an enigmatic nude, squatting figure (Fig.XIII.11).

⁴² Moore, Pl. XIII, 134

⁴³ Cf. CS, PL. XLI, a and Newell, 340 for First Syrian examples.

⁴⁴ Cf. CS, Pl. XLI, i (=Newell, 301) versus CS, Pl.XLIV, m; Newell, 317, Fig.XIII.9. It is probably misleading to place any reliance on the numbers of examples known from the two classes, since Second Syrian seals are much more numerous than First Syrian ones.

⁴⁵ Cf. CS, Pl. XLI, b versus Pl. XLIV, l, m; Newell, 299. None of these are close analogies to Fig.XIII.10. The First Syrian seal figures kneel, nor are any of these examples equipped with two faces.

⁴⁶ CS, Pl. XLII, g, j; Brett, 88.

⁴⁷ Newell, 344, 346.

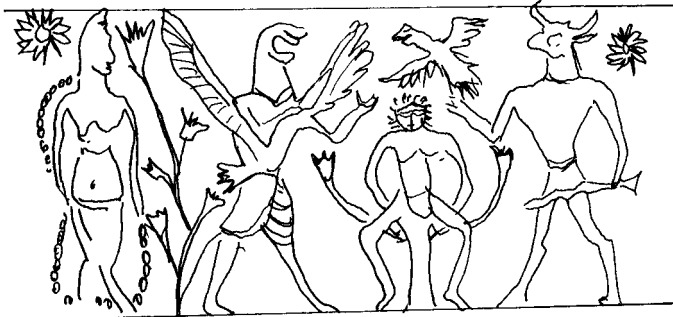


Fig. XIII.11



Fig. XIII.12

Good parallels for the main figures are lacking, but this seal has neither the derivative First Dynasty of Babylon elements characteristic of First Syrian seals nor the rococo imagination and disintegrated character of the Third Syrian group. The same kind of flower occurs on an unfortunately broken cylinder in Berlin, said to come from Palestine (Fig.XIII.12). The central motive consists of two rampant ibex flanking a hybrid plant of which there remain two long lateral, Nymphaea-tipped branches and parts of palm-like horizontal leaves. A smaller plant was formed by incurving tendrils flanking a central waterlily stem. The affinity of this design with the basal branching types of Figs. XIII.1-3, XIII.5, places the Berlin cylinder definitely within the limits of the Second Syrian phase. This certain attribution heightens the probability that Figs.XIII.10 and XIII.11, having comparable fringed flowers, also belong to the same group.

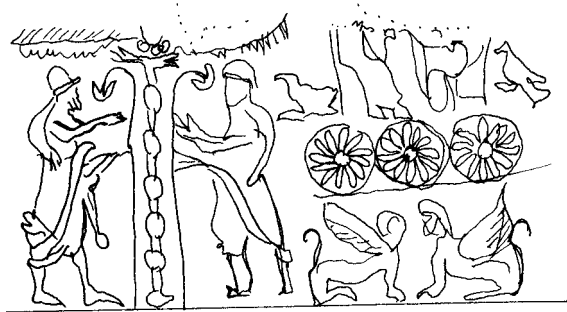


Fig. XIII.13

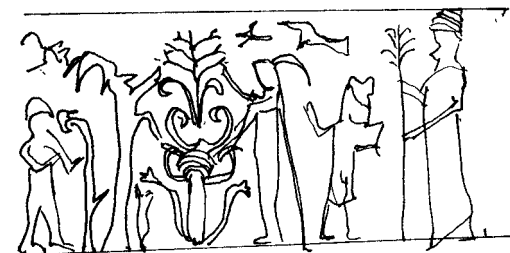


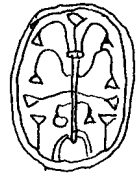
Fig. XIII.14

Papyrus inflorescences were used in a number of ways on Second Syrian seals. Single umbels tip the incurving ends of staves on Figs. XIII.13 and XIII.14. Although the heads

have been reduced to a thick crescent, relationship to Egyptian forms may be traced through the intermediary of a cylinder seal of the Hyksos Period (Fig.XIII.15), where its narrow panel is filled by four pairs of papyrus inflorescences fastened to a central stalk in a down and upcurving arrangement definitely derivable from the Egyptian unification symbol.



Figs. XIII.15



XIII.16



XIII.17



XIII.18



Figs XIII.19



XIII.20



XIII.21



XIII.22



XIII.23



XIII.24

A series of scarabs from Tell el Ajjul illustrate the various ways in which this motive could disintegrate (Figs XIII.16-22). Fig.XIII.23 is particularly significant for it is more directly comparable to the Hyksos and Second Syrian seals than any of the other scarabs.

The thick semicircular rims of the heads are emphasized in Fig.XIII.15, and the Second Syrian forms must have developed easily by the suppression of the inner parts of the papyri, a process which is not quite complete in Fig.XIII.25, where the two umbels tipping the staff held by one kneeling figure are very reminiscent of Fig.XIII.15.

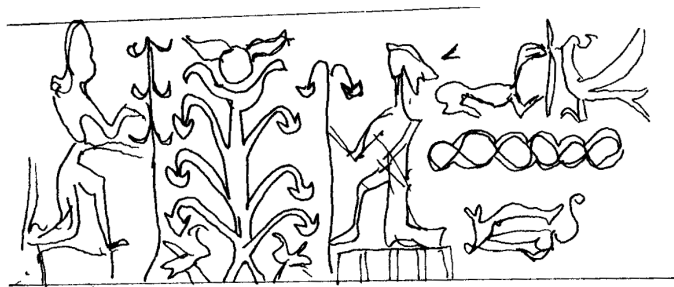


Fig. XIII.25



Fig. XIII.26

Two pairs of downcurving papyri appear as filling motives below galloping horses on Fig.XIII.26. This is a characteristic example of a group of Second Syrian seals bearing chariotry motives. Of two good specimens in the Bibliothèque nationale, one is a particularly close parallel for Fig.XIII.26 for it also shows a bent-over charioteer and an attacking figure stepping up to the chariot and brandishing a weapon.⁴⁸ In the shape of the umbels the papyri of Fig.XIII.26 are very similar to those of Fig.XIII.25, but the pairing of the stems must be derived from the twinned papyrus motive, which we know to have been in use in Twelfth Dynasty Byblos,⁴⁹ and is to recur again at Megiddo during the Nineteenth or early Twentieth Dynasty (Fig. XVII.16). This seal serves as the only link between the two groups of ivories, and may well be a token of a far more widespread use in Syria of the twinned papyrus motive than is indicated by our present data.

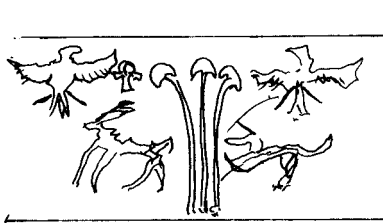


Fig. XIII.27

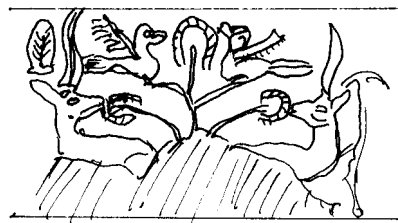


Fig. XIII.28

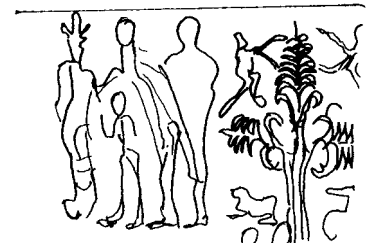


Fig. XIII.29

Papyrus was used more naturally in a damaged seal, now in the Bibliothèque nationale (Fig.XIII.27), where there grew three long flowering stems, inserted among ibex, an *ankh*, and a vulture. A more firmly established integrated triple group appears as the central motive around which are grouped gazelles and birds (Fig.XIII.28).⁵⁰ Despite the simplicity of this symmetrical composition it should possibly be considered a definite pattern that recurs in Fig.XIII.29, carried out by means of tree-like hybrids. Each of three trunks ends in a South-flower perianth supporting a diminishing series of horizontal leaves.

⁴⁸ BN, 479, 480.

⁴⁹ Montet, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVI, 727.

⁵⁰ The quadrupeds assume the same pose as the ibex of a First Syrian seal (CS, Pl. XLI, f).

The Second Syrian seal cutters also used papyrus in more elaborate compositions. Six stems with downcurving heads sprout from the remarkable support of the winged sun disc on Fig.XIII.25. Aside from its unique saucer-like top, this vegetal motive is unusual for its split base. The only parallel is the small hybrid of Fig.XIII.7, which is different in all other respects. Semicircular papyrus heads tip the basal shoots of one of the hybrids on Fig.XIII.12, and are used in much the same way in the very elaborate floral motive of Fig.XIII.14. It shows little relationship to any of the other Second Syrian seals, and represents a much greater disintegration of elements than any of the other examples discussed here. It is possible to find the traces of a South-flower perianth and possibly volutes in some of the curling spiraliform lines, but these elements have lost all substance and become linear abstractions. The top appears to be formed of stems ending in what may be South-flowers. The same blooms tip the basal shoots, which spring from a thick, columnar element, not directly connected with the upper part of the hybrid.

The aspect of this plant casts into relief the fidelity with which most of the other Second Syrian hybrid designs render Egyptian hybrid units. There can be no doubt, both in view of the eclectic character of this whole glyptic movement, and of the demonstrated indigenous nature of the Egyptian South-flowers and volutes, that such elements were derived from the Nile land. In addition, the temporal range which must be assigned to this earliest-known group of Asiatic vegetal motives corroborates the conclusion that the hybrid plants of Asia were dependent on Egypt. Even though exact dates cannot be assigned to individual seals, Frankfort places the rise of the entire class after the Hyksos migrations through the Mediterranean littoral, roughly contemporaneous with the latter part of the Second Intermediate period. This means that the hybrid design of Aqhor was coeval with the earlier Second Syrian seals. Although Fig. XIII.7 retains some first Babylon characteristics suggestive of an earlier date, this is overbalanced by the general resemblance

the hybrid crown bears to some volute palmettes from Tell el Amarna.⁵¹ Other types from the same site have already been used as parallels for the hybrid crown of Fig.XIII.6. There also exists more conclusive evidence that the Second Syrian hybrid designs were probably produced in the later phases of this style. Frankfort has pointed out that a seal related to Fig.XIII.3 was found in an Amenhotep III layer at Beth Shan.⁵² Moreover, both Figs.XIII.3 and XIII.1 share one small but distinctive character, the placement of drops on the upper side of the volutes, with the Medinet Gurob bowl (Fig XII.27), dated around the reign of Ankhaten. The reappearance of the lady with falling forelock on a Third Syrian seal,⁵³ may be cited as still another grain of evidence indicating that Fig.XIII.1 and the related seals should be dated towards the end of the Second Syrian phase.

EARLY THIRD SYRIAN SEALS AND THE RAS SHAMRA BOWL

The plant hybrids of the Second Syrian seals are succeeded by another small group of compound ornaments occurring on cylinders assigned by Frankfort to the Third Syrian group, a class that ranged approximately from Akhenaten to the Twentieth Dynasty.⁵⁴ However, the close affinities with designs of the preceding class shown by some hybrids of the Third Syrian class, indicate that these examples must belong to its earliest phase. Three were found at Ras Shamra, and one of these, Fig.XIII.30, offers striking parallels to some South-flower hybrids already discussed. The composition consists of two ruminants rearing up on each side of a large compound plant. The tails of the animals are grasped by

⁵¹ Cf. CL 65-66. At present, volute palmettes do not occur in Egypt before Akhenaten. However, it should be remembered that the Egyptian sequence is by no means complete, and the absence of such designs from earlier reigns may be accidental.

⁵² CS, p. 269 and n. 5.

⁵³ CS, Pl. XLV, d.

⁵⁴ CS, p. 288.

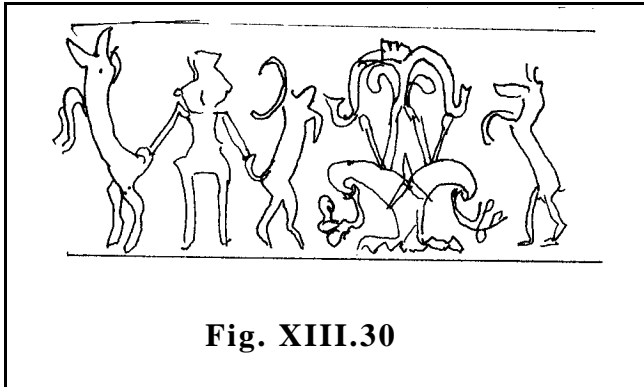


Fig. XIII.30

a strange Bes-like figure, facing frontally. The lower South-flower of the plant grows from a very broad, wavy "root-stock," and is connected with the smaller, upper perianth by a large, sharp triangular lobe. A hypertrophied clump of foliage

completes the design.

Although the absence of volutes differentiates this plant from the majority of the Second Syrian hybrids (cf., however, Fig.XIII.2), striking similarities connect it with the vegetal motive of the Medinet Gurob bowl (Fig. XII.27). In both, the upper South-flower rests on a triangular support, which sprouts from "inside" the perianth on the seal, but is undivided from the drooping "petals" on the bowl. Triangular sheathing bracts appear on the South-flowers of both designs. The only analogy for the unusually emphasized base of the Medinet Gurob bowl is that of Fig.XIII.30. However, it is the shoots emerging from the corners of the South-flower perianth or volutes respectively which prove most definitely the dependence of the bowl hybrid on that of the seal. On the bowl these shoots are meaningless projections, but on the Ras Shamra seal they bear buds, and are thus endowed with a vegetal nature consonant with that of the other components of the design. The striking community of characters exhibited by the two hybrids far outweighs such divergencies as the presence of volutes on the bowl and drooping tendrils on the seal. Even the foliage crown of Fig.XIII.30, although much reduced in comparison to that of the bowl, is essentially the same.

The relationship existent between these motives establishes two important points. When discussing the Medinet Gurob bowl, its probable provenience was not known, despite its evident unEgyptian character. Now, in view of the discovery of a close parallel at Ras Shamra, it appears that the bowl must have been imported from some North Syrian

coastal town; if not from Ugarit itself, then from some site where craftsmen were working within the limits of the same decorative traditions as those prevailing at Ras Shamra. In the second place, the unusual location of drops on the upper sides of volutes connects the Second Syrian seals of Figs.XIII.1 and XIII.3 with the Medinet Gurob bowl so that these seals which may have been cut approximately during the reign of Amenhotep III become a connecting link to the Third Syrian Fig. XIII.30, which must, like the bowl, be placed during the reign of Akhenaten. In fact, all of these designs appear to belong together, in an intermediate phase bridging the transition from the Second to the Third periods of Syrian glyptic.

Out of all the products of the skillful "Canaanite" workmen, only cylinder seals have survived in sufficient quantity to enable the differentiation of the main stylistic groups of the second millennium. The development of other classes of objects may have corresponded, at least to a certain extent, with the sphragistic series. The carved wooden bowl from Medinet Gurob, for example, can be equated with the end of the Second Syrian stage by comparison with Fig.XIII.30. Likewise, the position of one of the famous gold vessels from Ras Shamra can be, in its turn, fixed by the connections between some of its designs and the hybrids of Fig.XIII.31 and Fig.XII.27.



Fig XIII.31

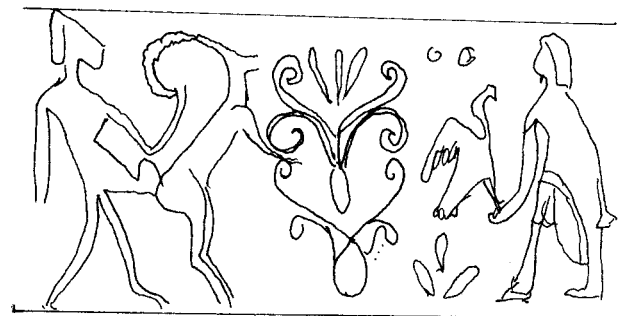


Fig. XIII.32

However, the status of this object as a Syrian product contemporary with the end of the Eighteenth dynasty can also be established independently of the floral motives.⁵⁵

The hemispherical bowl in question, Fig. XIII.33, was cached, together with a straight-sided gold basin, 48 cm. below the surface of the ground in a spot where a large wall and other "constructions" had discouraged illegal diggers. No precise indications of date can be gleaned from the circumstances of discovery. Burials of the type found in the upper part of Stratum II, roughly contemporary with the Twelfth dynasty, were found around 1.50 m. deep. The gold vessels themselves must belong to the first stratum, which has a fairly long range extending through the Fifteenth and Fourteenth centuries.⁵⁶



Fig. XIII.33

⁵⁵ Schaeffer dates the vessels for stylistic reasons to the Fourteenth century, and especially to the first half (Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra" *Syria* XV [1934], p. 130).

⁵⁶ Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, 123-124.

The basin is decorated in an independent, indigenous style,⁵⁷ the self-contained nature of which contrasts markedly with the Egyptianizing decoration of the bowl. The general technique and many of the details of the animal style and of the vegetal filling motives find their closest parallels among the *Beigaben* of Tutankhamun and related Egyptian objects. The manner in which these features are combined with others of more indigenous character affords a valuable insight into the syncretistic nature of the "Canaanite" crafts.

The general technique of the metal work, a combination of repoussé executed with little feeling for plastic values and incised details, is like that used on the gold dagger scabbard of Tutankhamun. On both, the ribs of most of the animals are indicated by vertical lines. Tails and outer edges of bellies and backs are emphasized by hatching.⁵⁸ The lions of both objects have manes treated in the same manner and bear on their shoulders circular ornaments formed by short torsional lines.

In the composition of its animal groups, the Ras Shamra bowl does not display many coincidences with the Egyptian animal style. An ibex and bull in the outermost

⁵⁷ Two registers in raised relief decorate the inside (Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 127, Fig. 10; Pl. XVI). The main band shows an animated chariot hunt; the small central register is filled by four gravely walking goats (?). The only strong trace of foreign influence is the flying gallop of the dogs and ibex which is comparable to poses appearing on some cylinder seals belonging to the Second Syrian group. The violence of movement is most pronounced on a seal now in the Ashmolean (CS, Pl. XLIV, b), but similar animation is also found elsewhere (CS, Pl. XLII, l, h; XLIV, a. BN, 463. Ward-Morgan, 227. Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen* I (Berlin, 1900), Pl. IV, 44 (Cyprus, now in Berlin). Dussaud states that the flying gallop on this vessel is a sign of strong Mycenaean influence (Dussaud, "Cultes cananéen aux sources du Jourdain," *Syria*, XVII [1936] p. 189).

⁵⁸ A similar style had already appeared in the griffin on the axe of Ahmose, where the niello technique of Syrian origin was also used (cf. Ch. X, p. 417). It is possible that, in addition to the niello working, the technique of repoussé supplemented by incision originally developed in Syria. Unfortunately neither area has preserved a series of metalwork sufficiently large to settle the question. An unpublished sword, contemporaneous with the Middle Kingdom, found by Dunand at Byblos, is said to be ornamented by animal figures and would be of the highest interest in this connection. In Egypt metal objects with representative decoration are extremely rare. The axe of Ahmose is succeeded by a fine metal bowl presented by Tuthmosis III to the officer, Djehuty (Louvre, N. 713). It is ornamented by scenes of cattle among the papyrus swamps, and executed in a different technique. Much more attention was paid to modelling and details are not indicated by linear incisions. It is, in fact, somewhat reminiscent of the Ras Shamra basin with a hunting scene. Much the same method was used on another bowl with a pastoral scene dating to the Amarna period (Reference not given). Here, the papyrus umbels are, of necessity, indicated by means of linear incisions, but otherwise the plastic qualities are stressed. It is followed by the Tutankhamun dagger scabbard, marking the reappearance of the repoussé with incision. In the succeeding Dynasty some metal vessels are decorated in a simplified manner, marked by a great diminution in the amount of repoussé used. Despite the uncertainty as to the ultimate source of this

register are attacked by lions and fall with their forelegs bent. Similar collapsing poses were common in Egypt.⁵⁹ The manner in which a lion sprawls across the back of the bull is paralleled on the stone ointment jar of Tutankhamun.⁶⁰

Like the male sphinx of the Medinet Gurob bowl, the one in the outermost register of Fig.XIII.33 betrays definitely Egyptianizing features such as a Nemes headcloth and flaps on the hindquarters. The sphinx's companion, a winged lion with a bull's horn, is, to our knowledge, a monster not elsewhere paralleled. One detail, however, the tail curling between the hind legs, is not only found in Egypt,⁶¹ but also appears occasionally in Syrian animals.⁶² Although a southern origin might be suggested by the relative frequency of Egyptian examples, their scarcity in Syria may be an accident of preservation. Moreover the use of the tail between the hind legs in Cretan compositions adapted to rigid space restrictions⁶³ shows that it is not a distinct motive. It could be developed independently. Its presence on the Ras Shamra bowl, therefore, is not a definite indication of Egyptian connections as are other details of the animal figures.

Schaeffer has pointed out that the vegetation filling the interstices of the outside register is like that on the Tutankhamun cosmetic jar already cited; he assumes that these plants are characteristically Syrian.⁶⁴ This view cannot be upheld, however, in the face of

particular method of working, it without doubt forms a strong connecting link between the Tutankhamun scabbard and the Ras Shamra bowl.

⁵⁹ Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI E(MacGregor box); Fig.XII.16 and 17: front, panel 10, 12; back, panel 5, 6.

⁶⁰ *Tomb Tut II*, Pl. LI.

⁶¹ Cf. Ch. XII, p. 491 and nn. 45, 46, 47.

⁶² Newell, 315 (standing griffin); cf. also Newell, 358 (with two standing lions; this is apparently a Mitannian seal).

⁶³ PM IV, 526, Fig. 472 (Arkhanes; MM II). The following are LM I B-LM II unless otherwise noted. PM IV, 584, Fig. 573, 574 (figures holding two lions; adaptation of oriental model). PM IV, 624, Fig. 611 (two griffins); 524, Fig. 471 (East Crete; no later than LM I B; dog); Pl. LV, c (lion holding prey), d (lions and stag), f (lion and sheep), l (contorted lion); p. 559, Fig. 522, a, b (maned lions suckling young); 581, Fig. 568 (dog); 583, Fig. 571 (Athens?); cf. also p. 560, Figs. 524 and 525 showing cows with tails between their hind legs. Animals in this pose on a haematite cylinder from the Harbor town of Knossos cannot be cited as examples since there is such a strong possibility of Asiatic influence (PM IV, 498, Fig. 437; cf. also the cylinder from Astrakous; *ibid.*, 426, Fig. 351).

⁶⁴ Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. ??.

evidence from Egypt. Such plants, consisting of long, oppositely-leaved stems ending in a rounded lobe are used on a number of Egyptian objects that belong to the end of the Eighteenth and the earlier part of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁶⁵ These plants are late examples of an old indigenous series which has been described by Keimer. Surprisingly enough, in view of the context of desert animals among which this vegetation was often placed in the New Kingdom, Keimer has shown that its natural prototype was none other than a species of pondweed, *Potamogeton lucens* L.⁶⁶ In the Old and Middle Kingdoms it appears in its natural habitat, being found in marsh scenes, usually filling the space between the water line and upward-curving boat ends. It is among the designs decorating the Middle Kingdom faience hippopotami. In addition, the foliate motives filling Twelfth Dynasty figure-8 patterns may actually be segments of *Potamogeton* stems (cf. Figs V.31-33). The plant continued in use during the New Kingdom, still being found most prominently in representative contexts. Keimer has pointed out that the seed was now shown for the first time in the tomb of Puimre, where it consists of a rounded red lobe at the end of the stem.⁶⁷ Another pictorial example showing fruiting stems comes from Ken-Amun's tomb,⁶⁸ and it was this form which was adopted in applied art, often as a filling for desert scenes. It could also serve as a textile design as on the kilt of a Keftian,⁶⁹ as a minor filling motive on a decorated boat hull,⁷⁰ and very commonly as nondescript oppositely-leaved sprays on faience bowls.⁷¹ The presence of *Potamogeton* shoots on the Ras Shamra bowl is thus a

⁶⁵ Kantor A&O XXI E. Cf. also *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), Pl. XXVI, a. Fig. XII.20.

⁶⁶ Keimer, "Le *Potamogeton lucens* L. dans l'Égypte ancienne," REA, I (1925/27), 182-197. Keimer, "Nouvelles Recherches au sujet de *Potamogeton lucens* L.," REA, II (1928/29), 210-215; 226-230.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 212-213; Figs. 3-6.

⁶⁸ N. de G. Davies *et al*, *Metropolitan Museum of art, Publications of the Egyptian Expedition* (New York, 1930-1943), Vol V. *Ken-Amun* I, Pl. LXI, A (Qurna 93, Amenhotep II; Pillar 2, w. side; fishing in pond).

⁶⁹ N. de G. Davies *et al*, *op. cit.* Vol. XI, Pl. III.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. V. *Ken-Amun* I, Pls. XLII, LXVIII.

⁷¹ Keimer, *op. cit.*, p. 227ff..

further indication of the strong imprint of Egyptian traditions on the workshops of Ras Shamra.

In addition to the *Potamogeton*, small rosettes are ubiquitous filling motives on the bowl. Exactly the same use of rosettes was made on Tutankamun's tunic (Fig.XII.16) and in some later Egyptian works (CL 117, CL 119). The ultimate origin of this feature is not as clear as in the case of the pond weeds. Definite proof of its Asiatic character cannot be given, but such an origin is likely in view of the occasional use of filling rosettes on Second and Third Syrian seals,⁷² and their frequent occurrence in this role on the Mitannian branch of Syrian glyptic.⁷³ If this is true, the use of the filling rosettes on Tutankhamun's tunic would then be an example of Asiatic influence in Egypt, as stated by Davies.⁷⁴ In any case, this character constitutes a further link between the crafts of that country and the Ras Shamra bowl. Moreover, the close parallelism between its Egyptianizing features and details of objects from Tutankhamun's tomb, proves it to be contemporary with the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the period that saw the beginning of the Third Syrian group of seals.

The maker of the bowl drew, not only on Egyptian models, but also from the repertoire of the seal cutters. Although coincidence in details is precluded by differences in technique, some of the motives of the goldsmith are clearly allied to those used in seals. The bald-headed, seated griffin of the outermost register, who remains indifferent to the attack of a lion, is a monster well known on Second Syrian seals, where it is shown in similar sitting poses.⁷⁵ The details of the head and wings of a standing Second Syrian

⁷² CS, Pls. XLII, j; XLIV, b; XLV, I. Fig.XIII.31.

⁷³ Fig.XIII.9. Figs.XIV.8, XIV.18, XIV.22; CS, Pl. XLIII, I, 1.

⁷⁴ Davies and Crowfoot, "The Tunic of Tutankamun," *JEA* XXVII (1941), p 127f.

⁷⁵ The animals on Moore, 162 and Brett, 97 raise one forepaw in opposition to other beasts. Cf. Newell, 307, 308, 316. Frankfort considers Newell, 334 pre-Fourteenth Century in date (CS, p. 264, n. 1). Such seated griffins are an old indigenous motive; Newell, 298 is a First Syrian example. Lions and sphinxes are often shown in the same sitting pose on Second Syrian seals. The addition of a circular pendant to the Ras Shamra griffin is noteworthy, for despite the Syrian origin of such jewelry, they were represented only in Egypt with the single exception of the Mari painting (cf. Ch. XII, p. 481). However, the absence of Syrian paintings may explain this lack.

griffin are very similar to attributes of the bowl griffin.⁷⁶ One of the plant hybrids of the middle register of the bowl is flanked by two bulls, charging towards each other with lowered heads. Similar bulls were rather characteristic for Second Syrian seals. The one in the Newell collection already cited in connection with the interlocked human wheel, also shows two bulls locked in combat.⁷⁷ Elsewhere lions succumb to the onslaught of goring steers.⁷⁸ Charging bulls are shown in a free flying gallop on a seal in the Ashmolean;⁷⁹ a single animal is cut in a more stilted, but still vigorous style on a cylinder from Ras Shamra itself.⁸⁰ However, the bulls on the bowl find their closest parallel on a seal dated by Frankfort to the reign of Akhenaten, at the end of the Second Syrian style.⁸¹ On it is cut an animal with the same prominent, bulging shoulder and lowered head as on the bowl. In addition to providing a connection with sphragistic work, this seal also supplies some corroboratory evidence that the bowl is contemporary with the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

In addition to the *Potamogeton* and rosette fillings linked with Egypt, two other elements were also used for this purpose. A series of pomegranates are suspended from the upper edge of the middle register. Similar friezes, executed in the round were normal decorations applied by the metal workers, as is shown by a metal mold and a bronze tripod from that site.⁸² The other fillings, point ovals dispersed around the sphinx in the outer register, do not find parallels among the objects yet published from Ugarit. Analogies can be found in the rhombs which were among the commonest filling motives of Kassite

⁷⁶ Newell, 315. For another clear example of a bald-headed griffin cf. Moore, 138.

⁷⁷ Newell, 345 = CS, Pl XLII, m.

⁷⁸ CS, Pls. XLII, l; XLIV, g.

⁷⁹ CS, Pl. XLIV, b.

⁸⁰ *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art, II* (Paris, 1936-), 86, fig. 102.

⁸¹ CS, p. 268; Pl. XLII, n = Newell, 297.

⁸² C. Schaeffer (ed.), *Ugaritica: Etudes relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra* (Paris, 1939), I, 43, Fig. 32. A. Procope-Walter, "Le prototype local des animaux galopants dans l'art de l'Asie antérieure," *Syria*, X (1929), Pl. IX, l.

seals,⁸³ and which were handed down through Middle Assyrian times⁸⁴ to Late Assyrian glyptic.⁸⁵ However, until the existence of this filling in Syrian seals is demonstrated, we cannot claim that the ovals of the bowl are ultimately dependent on the Kassite usage.

Such then is the environment in which the plant hybrid types of the Ras Shamra bowl are placed. Like the other features, the vegetal designs reveal both Egyptianizing tendencies and indigenous variations.

The hybrids of the two outer registers cannot be assigned to any Egyptian category, in contrast to Fig.XIII.34. In the middle band the plant is formed by two tiers of South flowers combined with volutes, topped by three pointed leaves (Fig.XIII.35).

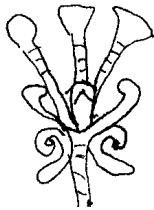


Fig. XIII.34



Fig. XIII.35

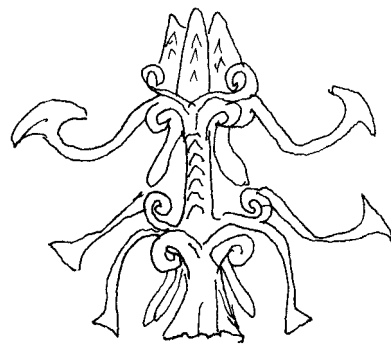


Fig. XIII.36

The largest hybrid of the bowl, appearing on the outermost register, although designed on the same essential formula, is elaborated by the addition of tendrils and the marked elongation of the stem supporting the second tier (Fig.XIII.36). Figs.XIII.35 and XIII.34 cannot be considered direction imitations of an Egyptian prototype as is the smallest hybrid of the bowl. Fig. XIII.35 is formed from the same elements as the Egyptian volute palmette: but in that series double tiered forms are lacking. Such a composition was used in other Egyptian hybrids, although more often the tiers are irregularly constituted and mixed with subsidiary foliage (CL 91, CL 105, CL 110) instead of containing both a

⁸³ CS, p. 181; Pl. XXX, 1 (=Weber, 459; VA 3869), m.

⁸⁴ Weber, 351 (VA t99582; Assur).

⁸⁵ Weber, 353.

South-flower and a volute as in CL 89 and CL 93 and the two larger Ras Shamra forms. These are clearly "Canaanite" variations on Egyptian themes and find their closest parallels among non-Egyptian products.

A comparison of the plant designs of the gold bowl with those of the open work bronze pot stand of CL 95 shows clearly that the "Canaanite" workmen, who, unlike the Egyptians, were not familiar with the natural sheathing leaves, emphasized the middle triangular bract, even allowing it to usurp the position of the stem in Fig.XIII.35, and of the South-flower lobe in Fig.XIII.30. These changes are excellent examples of the freedom of composition resulting from ignorance of the naturalistic prototypes of the elements borrowed from the Nile.

Other close connections between the largest hybrid of the Ras Shamra bowl and that of Fig.XIII.30 are the papyrus-tipped streamers dependent from the upper side of the South-flower perianths and, on the bowl, of one pair of volutes. Lack of material precludes the discovery of the complete history of this trait. However, it cannot be dissociated from the palmette or South-flower tipped tendrils attached to hybrids on the Second Syrian seal of Fig.XIII.6 and on the tunic of Tutankhamun (Fig. XII.16). It may ultimately be a disintegration product of the unification symbol. Fig.XIII.30 has in addition to the long papyriform-tipped shoots, short tendrils with small South-flowers⁸⁶ hanging from the lower side of the large perianth. In position and outward curvature, these are reminiscent of the rosette-tipped stems projecting from the hybrid on the chariot of Yuua (CL 115). It is evident that in both Egypt and Asia the addition of streamers was a well recognized means of producing South-flower hybrids elaborated in accordance with the increasingly rococo taste of the later Eighteenth Dynasty.

In addition to the bowl, Third Syrian seals from Ras Shamra are decorated by two-tiered hybrids. Fig.XIII.32 was found before the beginning of the legitimate excavations at

⁸⁶ Engberg has referred to these as possible Madonna lilies, more characteristic of Crete than Egypt (OIP, XXVI, 41). This is an example of the confusion possible between Madonna lilies and Egyptian South-flowers which we have tried to clarify in Chapter X, pp. 430ff.

the site. An ibex jumps up on one side of the plant; a man behind the beast may be attempting to seize it by its knobby horns. The absence of an animal on the other side of the vegetation is surprising, but reminiscent of the asymmetrical scarab designs of Egypt (CL 91; Fig. XII.12). The composition is completed by a man holding a bird, and by simple filling motives, two dots and a clump of three leaves. The plant motive of this seal has been reduced to bare essentials; even a basal stem or root is lacking and the most noteworthy feature is the preservation of the lower volute's lobe. The only other Syrian designs retaining this lobe are Fig.XIII.6 and Fig.XIII.34.

The other seal from Ras Shamra, Fig.XIII.31, is decorated by an even greater miscellany of motives; a male figure holds a long staff topped by a human head; the vegetal motive is flanked by two small animals showing affinities with the popular Mitannian style; on the other side of the seal a winged sun disc and a lion are separated by a guilloche from the human bust below. Two rosettes, a scorpion, and a small plant serve as filling motives. The floral design has been molded into a more unified plant than on Fig.XIII.32, since both South-flowers have stalks, and that of the lower bloom is lengthened into a trunk with slightly splayed base. The second South Flower has a deeply cut, V-shaped perianth, but the most disturbing character of Fig.XIII.31 is the wavy stem sprouting three small South-flowers which crowns the whole product.⁸⁷

Fig.XIII.37, a seal from the De Clercq collection, bears a two-tiered hybrid whose similarity to the two Ras Shamra seals just discussed is sufficient to date it, also, to the Third Syrian phase. The human figure holds long-stemmed flowers, probably *Nymphaeas*, and wears an ankle-length robe marked with horizontal hatching. No good parallels exist, but a somewhat similar costume occurs on a seal from Ras Shamra.⁸⁸ The

⁸⁷ For discussion of this character, cf. Chapter XVI, pp. 680f.

⁸⁸ *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art II* (Paris, 1936-), p. 86, fig. 102. A motive used on gold "Canaanite" pendants show flowering stalks, but they are always held by a nude goddess with frontal features and Hathor locks (Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra", *Syria X* [1929], Pl. LIV, Fig. 2 [Ras Shamra]). This motive occurs commonly on clay plaques (Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, III, Pls. CCXX, 12, 20, 22; CCXXI, 3, 10).

most distinctive deviation of the plant on this seal from the forms already discussed is the insertion of subsidiary elements, either a lobe or a flowering stem, between the South-flower and volute of each tier.

The only analogous "Canaanite" example is the Second Syrian Fig. XIII.1, where a stemless flower appears in this angle. In Egypt subsidiary leaves were commonly added as elaborations, and more infrequently flowering stems appear (CL 110-112; [here *mimusops* fruits tip the stems]; CL 123). Like Fig. XIII.31, the De Clercq hybrid has a basal stem



Fig. XIII.37

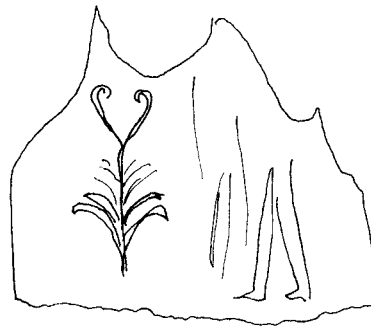


Fig. XIII.38

and drops, pendant from the lower perianth, but its crown of triple leaves is much more enlarged in proportion to the enclosing volutes than in Fig. XIII.31. Although the hybrid of the last mentioned seal has become quite linear, it is surpassed in this respect by Fig. XIII.37. Such a linear quality is also characteristic for another plant design, badly preserved on a fragmentary sealing found in level F at Hama (Fig. XIII.38). The details of this hybrid cannot be deciphered, but it seems to contain a South-flower perianth near the base, and a volute, possibly with lobe, at the top. It may possibly be a further example of a two-tiered Third Syrian pattern.

CONCLUSIONS

The hybrids of Figs. XIII.31, XIII.32 and XIII.37 are clearly related to Figs. XIII.35 and XIII.36, but they do not possess a sufficient number of detailed likenesses to prove them contemporary with these patterns. The two Ugarit seals cannot be later than the

end of LB II, the period when occupation ceased at that site, and Fig. XIII.37 is limited by the range of the Third Syrian style, which ended around 1200 B. C. Thus it is possible that these three cylinders may have been parallel to the Nineteenth Dynasty; they do not necessarily belong to the end of the Eighteenth. More definite is the chronological position of the earliest Third Syrian type hybrids, those on the Medinet Gurob and Ras Shamra bowls, and of the seal, Fig.XIII.30, which are definitely contemporary with the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Medinet Gurob bowl is also a connecting link between these hybrid designs and those on seals which we have seen probably date close to the end of the Second Syrian phase. However, despite the fact that these objects were all made within a fairly short range of time, the two groups are distinguished by the absence of two-tiered forms among the Second Syrian repertoire, and by the fact that on seals of this class the hybrid vegetal elements usually play a rather incidental role, being combined with other motives such as bull men (Fig.XIII.5), topping a griffin's standard (Fig.XIII.6), or serving as filling motives (Figs. XIII.1 and XIII.2). Despite the addition of flanking animals, Fig.XIII.3 is still connected with the complex motive of the winged sun disc and its support. It is only the prominent hybrids, accompanied by rearing ibex in Figs. XIII.12 and XIII.14 which approximate to the role played by such elements in the Third Syrian style. There the plant compounds have been advanced to major elements in the compositions, as is shown by their increase in size. They extend the full height of the register.⁸⁹ In most cases they have acquired animal attendants and have become the central axes of the designs (Figs. XIII.30, XIII.31, XIII.32, XIII.33 and Fig. XII.27). Although such distinctions between the Second and Third Syrian hybrids can be drawn on the basis of the small number of examples known, it is highly desirable to test the validity of these generalizations by the discovery of further specimens. Conclusive statements cannot be made with the support only of the material available at present.

⁸⁹ The vegetal motives of Fig.XIII.1 are placed above the ground line on which the human figures stand, and are clearly frames for the latter. This is not true for Fig.XIII.37, where the hybrid appears equivalent in interest to the single human form.

Lack of sufficient evidence also involves us in a further difficulty; it precludes detailed geographical localization of the "Canaanite" designs, and the differentiation of possible local trends. In this connection only one definite statement can be made. The gold bowl and the three related Third Syrian seals are all from Ras Shamra. Moreover, the same site has yielded the Second Syrian seal, Fig.XIII.2, and a Third Syrian seal closely related to Fig.XIII.1.⁹⁰ It is clear that the North Syrian coastal city of Ugarit must have been a center for the development of the "Canaanite" designs discussed in this chapter. However, the extent of the area in which such forms were produced is unknown. Of the other seals discussed, Fig.XIII.29 was bought in Beirut, and Fig. XIII.12 is said to come from Palestine, but only Fig. XIII.38 from Hama, has a definite provenience. Since seals of the Second Syrian class have been found in the Amuq valley,⁹¹ they must have a range from that area in the north at least as far south as Hama.

One of the most important questions is the extent to which Palestine and the Phoenician cities of its coast line shared in the production of such designs. During the Hyksos period and in the later Nineteenth Dynasty, Palestine developed recognizable glyptic styles, characterized by abased Egyptianizing features,⁹² but there is at present no evidence proving whether it shared in the development of the Second and Third Syrian styles during the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties, or whether there existed a southern "Phoenician" tradition opposed to that of the north. At present we possess only one pertinent item, a small triangular bronze plaque, said to come from Tyre (Fig.XIII.39).⁹³ It provides space for but a limited number of motives, which are clearly akin to the Egyptianizing traits of the Ras Shamra bowl, and to Tutankhamun's dagger sheath. In style and execution the plaque is comparable to those objects, and the animal

⁹⁰ Cf. p. 509 and n. 25.

⁹¹ Unpublished seals excavated by the Syrian expedition of the Oriental Institute.

⁹² CS, pp. 258, 288f.

⁹³ Perrot-Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, II (London, 1885), 374, Fig. 289 = Longperier, *Musée Napoléon III*, Pl. XXXI, 4. The outer rim is perforated by a number of small holes, apparently to fasten it to some larger object. It has been termed a pectoral.

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groups of the top register are even more Egyptian in character than those of the Ras Shamra bowl. In the middle of the plaque the quarrel of a lion and griffin over a slaughtered Dorcas gazelle is an example of a theme common on Asiatic objects,⁹⁴ but which also appears on the tunic of Tutankhamun. The usual filling motives are found; a pointed oval is tucked away in one of the lower corners. The addition of short stems to the rosettes

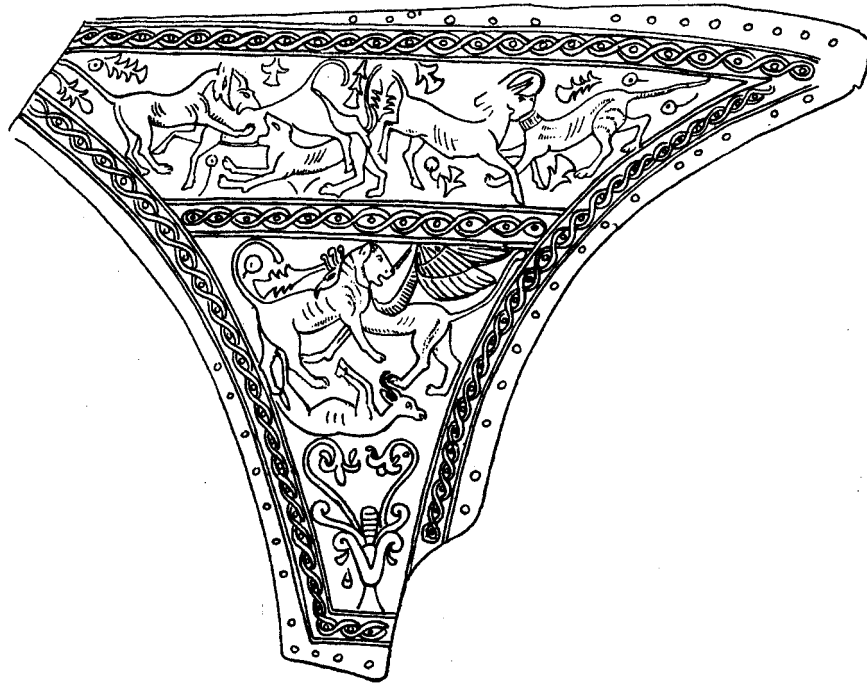


Fig. XIII.39

shows that they were, like the accompanying *Potamogeton* stems, considered as vegetal elements. In contrast to the pond weeds of the Ras Shamra bowl, those on the Tyre plaque end not in rounded lobes, but in papyrus heads, a variation that was also borrowed from Egypt.⁹⁵

The narrow space at the base of Fig.XIII.39 is filled by a South-flower design simpler than the majority of Third Syrian hybrids, and of an Egyptianizing character matched only by the smallest plant of the Ras Shamra bowl (Fig.XIII.34). A lobed perianth with pendant drops supports an Egyptian volute; from the axils between its sides

⁹⁴ Fig. XIV.32.

⁹⁵ Kantor A&O, Pl. XXI C, D (Leiden ointment box). *Tomb Tut I*, Pl. LXII (Ostrich hunt fan).
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and the lobe they surround, spring two recurving tendrils, ending in small South-flowers. The shape of the individual elements is completely Egyptian, but the design as a whole does not have an exact Egyptian parallel. It does appear to be a compact variation, however, of the attenuated hybrid fitted into one corner of panel 11 on the front of the Tutankhamun tunic (Fig.XII.16). On the Tyre plaque there was room only for the first tier and the crowning tendrils of the embroidered motive. The curving of one of the South-flower shoots on the textile is suggestive of the graceful lines adopted by these elements in Fig.XIII.39. Moreover, in both designs the apex of the volute is hidden by the lobe of the main South-flower. Thus the predominance of Egyptian models is reflected as clearly by the hybrid design as by the other character of the plaque. Assuming that it actually is of Tyrian manufacture, this dependence on Egyptian traditions suggests the possibility that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the Phoenician littoral was following the fashions of Egyptian artifacts as closely as had the craftsmen of Middle Kingdom Byblos, and that it may have constituted a southern "Canaanite" school distinct from the northern "Canaanite" tradition which produced the hybrids discussed in this chapter. Such a dichotomy between the northern and southern Mediterranean coast of Asia would correspond to the general political and cultural history of these areas. Egyptian control over Palestine was always firmer than her hold in the north. However, attractive though such a division may appear, we have no right to go further than an indication of the possibility of divergent traditions. The Tyrian provenience of the plaque is not certain; even if it was made there, the Phoenician workshops may have been, at the same time, producing objects less slavishly dependent on Egyptian prototypes.⁹⁶ The presence or absence of such a dichotomy is a problem which can only be solved by the discovery of new materials which can clarify the nature of the pre-Nineteenth Dynasty crafts of the Phoenician cities. At present, in the

⁹⁶ Barnett has referred to this question in connection with the Medinet Gurob bowl. He says that until the fifteenth century the coastal provinces of Syria and Phoenicia did not produce works of art differentiated from each other. The Medinet Gurob bowl, as one of the earliest examples of these Asiatic crafts, could have been made in Byblos, Sidon, or in Phoenicia, despite the fact that Barnett sees in it some influence from "Syro-Hittite" seals (Barnett, *op.cit.* PEF, 1939, pp. 6-7).

absence of pertinent materials from Palestine, we cannot decide whether hybrids of the types exemplified by the illustrations of seals in this chapter flourished only in Syria, in the north, or were also used in the south.

Fortunately, even the small amount of material collected here is sufficient to prove that during the Eighteenth Dynasty "Canaanite" craftsmen who worked with plant forms were impelled by inspiration from Egypt. The details of the manner by which Egyptian influence reached the coasts of Asia are not known. We have seen that certain designs were probably carried by scarabs, which were spread all over the Near East. It is easy to imagine how other Egyptian objects, decorated in accordance with the workshops of that country, were carried to Syria in the wake of the campaigns of the conqueror pharaohs, and in the course of the active trade that is excellently exemplified by the finds at Ugarit and its port town. Once the "Canaanite" workman began to use the Egyptian vegetal designs, he transformed and recombined them, as he did the other foreign ingredients which, together, formed his syncretistic repertoire. It is possible to distinguish three provisional groups of Second Syrian plant designs which resulted from this process.

Simplest is the diverse category of non-hybrid designs, involving only a single species of plant (Figs. XIII.9-11, XIII.13, XIII.25-28). Egyptian papyrus or *Nymphaea* inflorescences are the commonest subjects; the appearance of a South-flower or palm is more rare. In the cases of the flowering staves (Figs. XIII.9-10, XIII.13-14), the motives appear more as representative items rather than as decorative designs. On other seals the plant elements may be joined in a rambling haphazard manner (Fig. XIII.11), arranged in triple groups (Figs. XIII.27-29), or combined in more complicated patterns based ultimately on elements derived from the unification symbol (Figs. XIII.5 and XIII.25). At present the Third Syrian seals display only a few simple motives which appear to be successors to this class.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Cf. Ch. XVII, pp. 743f.

The second class consists of those hybrid designs formed of the same elements as the Egyptian compounds, and constituting the most prominent and well defined plant patterns found on the Second Syrian seals. (Figs.XIII.1-3, XIII.6-7). These link up directly with the Third Syrian designs of Figs.XIII.30-32, XIII.37, XIII.34-36, XII.27.

A third division must be created to accommodate the design of Fig.XIII.14, which though using some disintegrated Egyptian elements represents an independent and fantastic imaginative effort on the part of the "Canaanite" seal cutter. Fig.XIII.12, too, appears to exemplify the existence of disintegrated Egyptian elements combined without reference to the Egyptian prototypes which left such a strong imprint on Figs. XIII.1-3, XIII.7-8.

It is the hybrid designs of the second and major category of Syrian glyptic which are most important for the story of plant ornament. They are not only representatives of the first foreign school arising on the basis of the Egyptian South-flower hybrids, but also contain the germ of much future development. Their dependence on Egypt is revealed, not only by the obvious fact that they are constructed out of the basic Egyptian units whose origins were traced in Section I, but by the relative poverty of the "Canaanite" repertory in contrast to that of Egypt. All the Second Syrian hybrids consist ultimately of a single South-flower and volute tier, topped by three or more leaves. Their diverse appearance results from the different settings in which they are placed, and the variation of subsidiary details such as trailing tendrils, or lobes. Likewise, the Third Syrian patterns, with the exception of the very Egyptianizing designs of Fig.XIII.34 and XIII.39, all possess a two-tiered structure, distinguished only by incidental modifications affecting details. The only major change in either the Second or Third Syrian hybrids is the omission of the volutes, resulting in the formation of incomplete tiers (Figs.XIII.3 and XIII.30), but there are no major variations corresponding to the Egyptian multiplication of tiers or the use of a number of crowning motives in addition to the palmette foliage.⁹⁸ This strict limitation of

⁹⁸ Here, too, the Egyptianizing Figs. XIII.34 and XIII.33 are exceptions.

patterns betrays clearly that the "Canaanite" workmen were relying on imported models for their initial and basic inspiration.

Having adopted elements of an outside tradition, the "Canaanites" were not devoid of originality in adapting them to their needs, and in modifying the forms of the foreign motives. This is apparent in the development of disintegrated hybrids such as Figs.XIII.12 and XIII.14 which illustrate the possibility of capricious change, resulting in a rococo degeneration of designs, which had no further issue. In addition, unlike Egypt where there was little variation in the forms of the fundamental units, in "Canaanite" work certain arbitrary changes were sometimes made. There is, for example, the prolongation of the upper South-flower of Fig.XIII.36 into a long stem. More striking is the elevation of the triangular sheathing leaf of the South-flower into an important constituent of Figs.XIII.30 and XIII.35. Certain other tendencies may be observed. A triple group of crowning leaves was evidently favored, occurring in three out of five Second Syrian seals, and in five out of seven Third Syrian hybrids. In later times far reaching metamorphoses were to result from the trends which enlarged the volutes at the expense of the South flowers (Figs.XIII.31-32, XIII.34-36, XII.27) and flattened the volutes (Medinet Gurob bowl; Figs.XIII.35-36 and possibly XIII.37).

The influence of Egyptian hybrids on "Canaanite" workshops is certain, but the possibility of a reaction of Asiatic versions on late Eighteenth Dynasty floral designs remains an obscure problem. The presence of a bowl such as Fig.XII.27 in Egypt is absolute proof that objects bearing plant designs transformed in Asia were imports. Although the necessary setting for the exertion of Asiatic influence did exist, possible Canaanizing features are extremely rare among Egyptian hybrids. The flattened volutes of CL 114 and CL 106, the triangular leaf serving as a stem for the plant in panel 2 of the back of the Tutankhamun tunic (Fig.XII.16) and especially the enlarged volutes of CL 66-68, CL 79, CL 84 and CL 111 are inconclusive; they remain quite insufficient to prove definite Asiatic influence. Even if they were susceptible of such an interpretation, a minor

reaction of that kind would be of little importance in contrast to the cardinal fact that the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty not only brought the hybrid plants, whose roots reached back into the Old Kingdom, to full bloom in Egypt itself, but also saw their successful transplantation to an alien soil.

SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

- XIII.1: BMQ, I (1926/27), PL. LIV, a.
XIII.2: Syria, XVI (1935), Pl. XXXV, 2nd column from left, bottom seal (Ras Shamra)
XIII.3: Brett, 94 = CS, Pl. XLIV, 1.
XIII.4: Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 68, Fig. 71 (BM 102686; bought Tell Ghanei 1908).
XIII.5: CS, Pl. XLII, k.
XIII.6: BMMA, XX (1925), 83, Fig. 11 = Ward, 706.
XIII.7: Weber, 255 = C. Lajard, *Cultes de Mithra*. Heth. II.
XIII.8: BN, 446.
XIII.9: Newell, 311.
XIII.10: Moore, 134.
XIII.11: Newell, 329.
XIII.12: VAR, Pl. LXV, 544; VA 2956; bought; said to be from Palestine.
XIII.13: Moore, 153.
XIII.14: Brett, 98.
XIII.15: CS, Pl. XLI, p.
XIII.16: Petrie, *Gaza* IV, Pl. VII, 160.

- XIII.17: *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 158.
- XIII.18: *Ibid.*, IV, Pl. V, 13.
- XIII.19: *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 27.
- XIII.20: *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 122.
- XIII.21: *Ibid.*, Pl. IX, 359.
- XIII.22: *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 408.
- XIII.23: *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 425.
- XIII.24: *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 188.
- XIII.25: Iraq, VI (1939), Pl. VI, 48; Walters Art Gallery 42:411.
- XIII.26: Ward, 981 (Seal belonging to Mr. Schlumberger).
- XIII.27: BN, 486.
- XIII.28: Brett, 103.
- XIII.29: Danthine, Pl. CXCVII, 1137; Ashmolean 1921.1190; bought Beirut.
- XIII.30: Syria, XVI (1935), Pl. XXXV, 1st column left, third from top = CS, Pl. XLV, k
(Ras Shamra)
- XIII.31: CS, Pl. XLV, n. (Ras Shamra)
- XIII.32: *Babylonica*, XI (1929-30), Pl. IV, 6 (Ras Shamra).
- XIII.33: Syria XV (1934), Pl. XV, 2; gold bowl; Ras Shamra.
- XIII.34: Detail of XIII.33, hybrid of innermost register.
- XIII.35: Detail of XIII.33, hybrid of middle register.
- XIII.36: Detail of XIII.33, hybrid of outermost register.
- XIII.37: De Clerq, I, Pl. IV, 39.
- XIII.38: H. Ingholt, "Rapport preliminaire sur les campagne des fouilles de Hama," K,
Danske videnskaabernes selskab., *Archaeologiskkunsthistorike Meddelser*, Pl. XXIV, 6
(broken haematite seal; Hama F).
- XIII.39: Perrot, *History of Art in Phoenicia* II, p. 374, Fig. 289.

