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Author(s): Helene J. Kantor

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SYRO-PALESTINIAN IVORIES¹

HELENE J. KANTOR

SINCE Homer celebrated the artistic skill of the Phoenicians the western world has looked to the coastal areas of Syria and Palestine as centers of applied art. We now know that many crafts flourished there not only in the Phoenician period (*ca.* ninth to fifth centuries B.C.) but also in the preceding Canaanite era, particularly in the sixteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. when great Syrian and Palestinian cities were centers for the international trade and politics of the Late Bronze period.² From the Amuq plain in the north to Gaza in the south this area was a crossroads exposed to influences on all sides. No great national style of art comparable to those of the primordial centers of Egypt and Mesopotamia was developed here, but instead hybrid decorative traditions, whose

individuality and evolution are sometimes hard to trace. The few large-scale art works known, widely scattered over time and space, yield no coherent story; only objects of applied art are present in sufficient numbers to give some indication of the development of Syro-Palestinian art. In fact, these areas specialized precisely in the production of such objects, rather than in the creation of monumental art. In the many city-states of Syria and Palestine craftsmen vied in making luxurious furniture and ornaments for princely and merchant clients, but there were no workshop traditions that had been called upon for centuries to commemorate the power and life of imperial kingdoms.

Two main groups of objects are of primary importance in the study of Syro-Palestinian art, the glyptic and the ivories. Metal work was certainly an equally important craft, but too few of its products are preserved to make it as informative as the others. Even of glyptic and ivory there is little before the seventeenth century B.C. In the Early and Middle Bronze periods, approximately contemporary with the Old and Middle Kingdoms in Egypt, only sporadic decorated small objects are known. Not until the final phase of Middle Bronze (II B; *ca.* 1750–1600 B.C.), the Hyksos period, do cylinder seals begin to be made abundantly in Syria or Palestine; in the glyptic we can find the beginnings of a coherent Canaanite art. It developed in a time of considerable local independence for Syria and Palestine. With the extinction of the Twelfth Dynasty Egypt's power had waned until Asiatics were even able to dominate Lower and Middle Egypt. Thus,

¹A review article concerned with Christiane Decamps de Mertzzenfeld, *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens et apparentés découverts dans le proche-orient*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954, Text and Album, pp. xii + 187 + 135 pls., 5500 francs; and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, Vol. III, Dietrich Opitz and Anton Moortgat, *Die Bildwerke*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1955. Pp. vii + 125 + 15 figs. + 160 pls. DM 220.

While preparing this article and its illustrations I have received constant encouragement from P. Delougaz and have had the benefit of discussing problems involved in the stratification of Tell Atchana with H. G. Güterbock and H. and M. Tadmor.

²I follow here the convenient terminology of Albright ("The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," P. W. Long, ed., *Studies presented to Leland Stowe*, p. 11), using "Canaanite" to apply to the West Semitic inhabitants of Syria and Palestine in the third and second millennia B.C. and "Phoenician" for the descendants of the same people living in southern Syria and in colonies abroad in the first millennium B.C.

The information concerning the political maneuvering of great and small powers given by the Amarna letters is now receiving very important supplements from palace archives at Ras Shamra (cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Ugarit und die Hethiter nach dem in Süd-Archiv des Palasts 1953 entdeckten Keilschrifttexten" *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XVII [1954–55], 93–99).

the historical conditions in this period of Canaanite expansion provide an understandable setting for the emergence of Canaanite art as a separate entity. Cultural influences from Egypt and Mesopotamia met and mingled in the Canaanite city-states. For example, though the early Syrian cylinder seals imitated closely the style and motives of Old Babylonian glyptic, they take on an entirely new character by the admixture of Egyptian elements and hybrid Canaanite monsters.³

The mixed Canaanite art so preluded flourished in the Late Bronze period when Syro-Palestinian cities, albeit pawns of the Egyptian, Mitannian, and Hittite kingdoms, maintained their importance and opulence by balancing one great power against another and by becoming in some cases great international emporia. Cylinder seals were important manufactures, but the wide scope of Canaanite art in the Late Bronze period is perhaps even more clearly demonstrated by the carved ivories. They are of unsurpassed importance for the study of Canaanite art and its continuation in the first millennium, as was demonstrated some years ago by R. D. Barnett.⁴ It is now an appropriate time to survey again some of the problems involved, in view of the recent publication of two books, one wholly concerned with ivories and the other less completely or obviously but equally intimately connected with the subject of Syro-Palestinian ivory working.

I

The first book is Christiane Decamps de Mertzenfeld's *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens et apparentés découverts*

³ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 252-58 and "Notes on the Cretan Griffin," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXVII (1936-37), 106-22.

⁴ "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (=PEF), 1939, pp. 4-19.

dans le proche-orient. In an album 1271 ivory or bone carvings are arranged geographically, proceeding from southern Palestinian sites northward and eastward to Mesopotamian ones; pieces of unknown provenience and addenda follow at the end. Though a mass of materials from many separate publications are collected within two covers, the ivories remain in haphazard array, the geographical lumps obscuring chronological and stylistic relationships. Unfortunately, the text does little to clarify the situation. There is a descriptive catalogue, with useful short summaries of the archeology and history of sites yielding ivories, and an introductory discussion. The term *phénicien* is used in the widest possible sense, to cover Syro-Palestinian ivories of all schools and ages up to the Greek period. This extensive material is subdivided only into works of the second and first millennia, which are then discussed according to generalized categories (*bâtons magiques*, deities, personages, scenes, isolated animals, etc.; cf. pp. 4-52 and charts, pp. 3, 33). However, such divisions are meaningless when they cut across unrelated chronological or stylistic groups, bringing together objects of diverse style.⁵ No systematic stylistic analysis to rearrange the ivories in some meaningful historical or cultural sequence is offered. Aside from not adding clarification of its own to the problem of distinguishing stylistic groups of ivories, the book gives up one important advance made by Barnett. He has shown that Syro-Palestinian ivories of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. are not a single group but include two strains: (1) the Phoenician ivories proper, typical for southern Syrian cities and strongly ad-

⁵ Take, for example, the category of *bâtons magiques* under which are included a purely Egyptian wand of a type most frequent in the Middle Kingdom and thirteenth century Canaanite tusks with female heads (pp. 5-6).

mixed with Egyptian characters, and (2) the North Syrian ivories typical for the mixed "Late Hittite" and Aramaic states of northern and inner Syria.⁶ This distinction of Barnett's, a basic first step to understanding the development of Syro-Palestinian ivory carving in the first millennium B.C. is discarded by Mme. Mertzenfeld. Consideration of the presence of "Hathor" locks on both Phoenician and North Syrian ivories leads her to abandon Barnett's distinction in a few sentences (p. 5; cf. also p. 51) which mirror a type of confusion that has unfortunately nullified much of the devoted labor expended on this book. Thus, no distinctions are drawn between what are merely motives adopted in many different schools of western Asiatic art and the individualized stylistic characters by which these schools may be distinguished. Comparisons are made indiscriminately between works of different date as if chronological discrepancies could be ignored with impunity.⁷ It is for these reasons that the general discussion of the ivories, despite some suggestive remarks, does not contribute significantly to our understanding of the problems involved.

The book may be summed up as a compendium of material which, as long as it is used as a guide leading back to the original publications, will be found highly useful by those first surveying Syro-Palestinian ivories or by those temporarily stranded without a large library.⁸ Such readers will find most of the Syro-Pales-

tinian ivories discovered in the Near East before 1953 illustrated, chiefly by

* Some comments on individual points are here appended in the hope that they may be useful to those consulting the book.

P. 4: "A Megiddo on a trouvé plusieurs défenses d'éléphants et un squelette complet." I can find no reference to the discovery of elephant tusks in any of the Megiddo publications, and presume that the "plain," i.e. undecorated, pieces of ivory mentioned by Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939; henceforth cited as Megiddo), p. 9, have been interpreted as tusks. The species of the complete animal skeleton found in the Treasury is not mentioned by Loud, but it certainly was not an elephant's skeleton; such a circumstance would not have been passed over in silence.

P. 4: Megiddo 186 = Decamps de Mertzenfeld (henceforth D. de M.) 291 is a tusk ending in a female head which is described as "de style plus rude." Actually, this piece is delicately and firmly carved, comparable in quality to Megiddo 194, even though this is not clear in the published photographs.

P. 5: The Lachish tusk carved in female form and ending in a hand-shaped spoon is not a "*bâton magique*," but a container for ointment or perfume paralleled by at least one other Canaanite example (The Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo II* [Chicago, 1948], Pl. 202) and by less ornate Egyptian tusks or horns (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* [London, 1927], p. 37, Pl. XXXIII, 17; Petrie and J. H. Walker, *Qurneh* [London, 1909], Pl. XXV), and frequently represented in New Kingdom paintings and reliefs. The nature of these objects has been convincingly demonstrated by Schäfer, Davies, and Starkey (cf. O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish II: The Fosse Temple* [London, 1949], pp. 59-60), and there is no need to term them *bâtons magiques*.

P. 8: It should be noted that the openwork plaques with Bes from Megiddo (D. de M. 314) belong to the thirteenth century ivory hoard but are cited together with a fragmentary tusk having Beses in relief from Megiddo VI A (probably late eleventh century). If actually contemporary with that stratum, the latter becomes of particular importance as a piece partly filling the gap between Late Bronze ivories and those of the first millennium. The different dates of the find spots of the Megiddo Bes ivories is not indicated by Mme. Decamps de Mertzenfeld, who throughout fails to mention the strata or loci in which ivories were found.

P. 19: The views of Loud and Dussaud that Megiddo 44 (= D. de M. 348) is a Phoenician copy of a Hittite work are followed. However, this conclusion now seems unacceptable. Dussaud (*L'art phénicien du II^e millénaire* [Paris, 1949], p. 104) cites two features as proof of the plaque's Syrian origin: (1) the costume of the deities wearing a conical crown; however, such dress was occasionally rendered by the Hittites as on a stamp seal in the Ashmolean (Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* [Oxford, 1920], Pl. VII, 196 b) and on an impression of the seal of Inti-Teshub of Carchemish, great grandson of Šuppiluliuma (*Syria*, XXXI [1954], Pl. VI, 1); (2) the use of scattered rosettes as filling; this occurs on the famous Hittite signet ring and on a steatite bulla in the Ashmolean (Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pls. VII, 195; X, 313). The com-

⁶ PEF, 1939, pp. 13-15. "The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians," *Iraq*, II (1935), 181-82, 194-96.

⁷ P. 20: The lion on a plaque from a Megiddo tomb assigned to Stratum XIV (Middle Bronze II A) is likened to those on a box from the palace treasury (Late Bronze II). P. 22: the pinnate leaved tree on one of the Megiddo gaming boards of the thirteenth century is compared to plants on materials of the early third millennium from Susa. P. 36: a ninth century Phoenician ivory from Nimrud (No. 986) is compared with an Egyptian First Dynasty plaque from Abydos (ca. 3000 B.C.).

sketches, the result of much work. Useful as they are, the drawings do not reflect the

style of the originals with clarity and occasionally motives may be misrepresented.⁹

pletely Hittite character of the iconography and details of the plaque provide overwhelming evidence for its origin. It is hardly necessary to point out that the major features of the plaque's iconography parallel such reliefs as those of the sanctuary at Yazili Kaya and the fountain shrine at Iftatun Pinar. Less noticeable are smaller, but equally significant details: (1) the five "leaved" plant as on an orthostat from Alaça Huyuk (Bossert, *Altanatolien* [Berlin, 1942], p. 117, No. 521) and a small ivory from Tell Atchana (*Antiquaries Journal*, XIX [1939], Pl. XIV, 4); (2) the sphinx with lion's head at throat, a detail inaccurately rendered as a mere protuberance in the drawings, Megiddo, Pl. II, and thus like the sphinx and the griffins on the Ashmolean signet ring and Atchana plaque already cited; (3) the thin curving wings of the sphinx and sun disk as on the Ashmolean signet ring, Yazili Kaya reliefs, and royal seal impressions (Bossert, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59; Güterbock, *Stiegel aus Bogazköy* II [Berlin, 1942], p. 65, 1-4); and (4) the lobes on the hind-quarters of the bulls as on deer and bulls of Alaça Huyuk orthostats and the bulls of seal impressions (Bossert, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 117-19; Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 88, No. 45). Both Megiddo plaque 44 and the small fragmentary one from Atchana are purely Hittite.

P. 20: A single fragment of a cylindrical piece of ivory from Megiddo (D. de M. 392) is described and drawn as two plaques.

Pp. 20, 160, 167: Dussaud's opinion that a wooden pyxis lid from Saqqara (D. de M. 1112) is Phoenician is followed. It is possible, however, to consider this piece purely Mycenaean, as I have indicated elsewhere (*The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* [Bloomington, 1947], p. 97). Good Aegean parallels can be cited for its plant motives, which Dussaud considers to be typically Phoenician.

P. 22: The Tell ed-Duweir pyxis is cited (D. de M. 17), but the ivory actually described is one from Megiddo (D. de M. 315).

Pp. 22, 121: The Atchana Hittite plaque is first described as having a bird pecking flowers in two of its three preserved triangles, but later each triangle is said to be filled with a winged griffin fighting a quadruped. Although the motives are difficult to see in the photographs published (cf. *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX [1939], Pl. XII, d; *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 17, 1938, p. 505; Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh* [Oxford, 1955], Pl. LXXVII, AT/8/204) it is certain that the complete triangle has a griffin with its prey and two plant filling motives; the second a griffin whose prey, if any, is unclear; the third and most incomplete triangle a crouching quadruped ringed by plants and safely removed from what may be traces of a griffin's beak. The sketch, Pl. LXXV, 807, is incorrect in most respects.

Pp. 28, 33: There is some confusion in connection with the date and character of the inlays from Assur in the form of trees, gods with flowing vases, and winged bulls (D. de M. 1059). The trees are discussed together with plant motives of the second millennium (p. 28), where they are said to be unique among Phoenician ivories and presumably Assyrian, but the gods and "palmettes," i.e. the trees, are dated to the eighth century B.C. in the chart on p. 33. Actually,

these inlays belong to the thirteenth century B.C. and form an outstanding Middle Assyrian work, so that it is confusing to include them in a corpus of Syro-Palestinian ivories (cf. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur* [Leipzig, 1938], p. 117; Conrad Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur* [Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Vol. 66; Berlin, 1955], pp. 30-31, Pls. 25-26).

Pp. 29, 156-57: Two cylindrical ivory pieces from Megiddo (D. de M. 410-11 = Megiddo 123-24) should be termed globets only with a query as they are open at both ends and their use is uncertain.

Pp. 55: The Lachish ivories should not be dated to the end of the Hyksos period as they were found in Sanctuary III, which belongs to Late Bronze II.

Pp. 76-77: The dates for the Beth-Shan levels given in the original publication are followed; however, it is now accepted that these must be revised downward (cf. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [Harmondsworth, 1949], pp. 98, 104, 120; Kathleen Kenyon in *Antiquity*, XXIV [1950], 198).

Pp. 79-80: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago excavated Megiddo, not for two seasons (1935-37), but for eleven (1925-37).

P. 140: Since Tell Halaf is the type site for the Halaf period, it seems unusual to have its prehistoric pottery identified as "related" to the pottery of Sakje Geuzi. More misleading, however, is the statement that the ninth century city at Tell Halaf, with its sculptures and the buildings of Kapara, belongs to the Mitannian period (i.e. sixteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C.). Cf. Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf II: Die Bauwerke* (by Naumann et al., [Berlin, 1950]) and III: *Die Bildwerke* (by Opitz and Moortgat [Berlin, 1955]) and Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 175.

P. 159: D. de M. 1062 (cf. her Pl. CXVIII), an ointment spoon supported by two standing figures from Ur (U 303) cannot on stylistic grounds be considered an ancient oriental work. It may perhaps be Parthian; in any case it was found on the Persian pavement of the temple E-nun-makh (cf. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur* [London, 1954], p. 245).

Pp. 162, 168: There are two ivories numbered 1121. That on Pl. CXXIX is a small head from Senjirli, probably Phoenician; that on Pl. CXXXIII is a scabbard chape of the Achaemenid period and unconnected with Syro-Palestinian art (cf. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* [London, 1941], pp. 265-66, Fig. 367 and Pl. LXXXIV; Schmidt, *Persepolis I* [Chicago, 1953], Pl. 65).

⁹ Pl. LXXXI, 333 (= Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo II*, Pl. 202) is an ivory tusk ending in a woman's head, drawn as an indistinct torso, and an oval spoon, drawn here as a head. Encircling the tusk are three, not two, gold bands engraved with a guilloche. This tusk from Megiddo is remarkably close to one represented in the tomb of Sebekhotep at Thebes which likewise has yellow crossbands, one even with a guilloche pattern (Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* [Chicago, 1936], Vol. II, Pl. XLII or Tufnell, et al., *Lachish II*, Pl. XV, below).

Pl. XXXI, 351 (Megiddo 37), here indistinctly

There are some plates of photographs, including those of North Syrian ivories in the Metropolitan Museum of Art here published more fully than elsewhere.¹⁰

Since the Syro-Palestinian ivories remain undivided in the book just reviewed, a brief sketch of their possible classification and development is offered herewith. The first step is to distinguish between different chronological groups. It is immediately clear that for the periods antecedent to the fourteenth century B.C. only isolated ivory and bone carvings are known. The earliest example seems to be a knife handle found in the sanctuary at Ai, which dates to the first part of the Early Bronze III period, a period beginning approximately at the same time as the Fourth Dynasty in Egypt.¹¹ The handle is decorated by excised whirligigs, an Egyptian motive occurring in the First Dynasty, either as a matting pattern painted on tomb corridors or niches¹² or

incised on ivories.¹³ The whirligig network disappears as an important pattern after the Third Dynasty.¹⁴ Thus, the knife handle, like the alabaster bowls of Second and Third Dynasty type also from Ai, seems to be somewhat earlier in origin than the temple in which it was eventually deposited. The appearance of an Egyptian pattern so early in Palestine is consonant with the economic links between Egypt and the Asiatic coast proved to be already highly developed in Early Bronze III by the imported timber, resin, and Syro-Palestinian pottery found in the Nile Valley.¹⁵ The whirligig pattern of the Ai handle already presages the Egyptian cultural influence which was to affect Syria and Palestine so powerfully in later periods.

¹¹ J. Marquet-Krause, *Les fouilles de 'Ay (Et-Tell) 1933-35* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, "Bibliothèque archéologique et historique," Vol. XLV [Paris, 1949]), Pl. LIV, 1533 (sanctuary A); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 18-19. Carvings of the periods before Early Bronze, such as the important pieces discovered at Tell Abu Matar near Beersheba (*Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. V [1955], Pl. 22, A, B), are not included in this survey.

¹² W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* (Cairo, 1949), Pl. 50, 3 (Saqqara, Tomb 3121). *Illustrated London News*, May 15, 1954, p. 805, Fig. 9, left.

¹³ Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, Vol. II (London, 1901), Pl. XXXIV, 94-99 (Tomb of Djer). The edges of the Ai handle seem to be decorated by either the "tail" or, more probably, an antithetical zigzag pattern (Marquet-Krause, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXVI, 1533). Both are typical Egyptian patterns first occurring in the same contexts as the whirligigs, but continuing in use throughout Egyptian history.

¹⁴ It occurs on the painted corridor of Hesire in the Third Dynasty (J. E. Quibell, "Excavations at Saqqara [1911-12]": *The Tomb of Hesy* [Cairo, 1913], Pls. VI, VIII, IX, XXI), but not on the elaborate false doors of the Old Kingdom (N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah*, Part I [London, 1900], Pls. XX, XXA; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re* ["Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft," Vol. VII, Leipzig, 1907], Pl. XXIV [mastaba of Djed-em-ankh]).

¹⁵ G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, Vol II: *The Tomb of Hehperhes, the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 62-65, 73-76; Figs. 95-98; Pls. 51-53. R. W. Ehrich, ed., *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology* (Chicago, 1954), pp. 9, 30.

sketched, is covered by a tricurved arch network (cf. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* Pl. XXV, D). On p. 90 this plaque is described as a "small fragment of the same motive" as on D. de M. 350 (Megiddo 36); however, the latter shows the horses of a chariot with a lion below.

Pl. XXXVI, 343-46 (Megiddo 159-62). A valiant effort has been made in drawing these bars to bring out more details of the badly abraded carvings than are shown in Loud's original publication. However, a comparison of both sets of drawings with the originals in the Oriental Institute Museum shows that those of Loud's publication are the more trustworthy. As an example note that in D. de M. 343 the foot of the crater set within a vase stand is misunderstood although it is clear in the original publication.

Pl. LXXV, 807. The drawing of the Atchana Hittite plaque is inaccurate; cf. n. 8 above under "Pp. 22, 121."

Pl. CXIX, 1057. One Assur ivory inlay described and drawn as a lion is clearly a bull, as shown by its head, hooves, and tail (cf. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, p. 117; Pl. 54).

¹⁰ Pls. CXXV, CXXVIII, 1081-1111; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXXI (1936), 221-22; XXXII (1937), 88-90; Barnett's discussion in *PEF*, 1939, pp. 8-9. One of these ivories has recently been illustrated by Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Pl. 167, A and tentatively dated to the first millennium. They form an enigmatic and strangely isolated group, as yet not satisfactorily connected with other ivories.

In the Early Bronze period, aside from the Ai handle, there are known only two other elaborate ivory carvings, bull heads in the round from Jericho and Khirbet Kerak possessing a generalized resemblance to Mesopotamian bull heads of the Early Dynastic period.¹⁶ Not until considerably later, in Middle Bronze II, do we have another carved ivory from Palestine, the fragmentary plaque from Megiddo with a lion pulling down an ibex.¹⁷ It is an accomplished but as yet isolated work without visible Egyptian or other affinities. In Syria the pairs of outcurving papyrus stems from a royal tomb at Byblos (Decamps de Mertzfeld, 710) represent a purely Egyptian design, and may themselves be Egyptian, adornments for some imported object of cabinetry work;¹⁸ the motive was to reappear in later Canaanite pieces.

Only in Middle Bronze II B, the Hyksos period, do we begin to have sufficient materials to form a corpus of Syro-Palestinian decorative work. From el Jisr in southern Palestine come bone carvings,

human figures and animals, rather stiff and ungainly, yet firmly cut.¹⁹ Egyptian influence is clearly at work in the shape and costume of the men. In their stiff awkwardness the el Jisr carvings are allied to figures decorating a golden dagger scabbard from Byblos, an object which probably belongs to this same period.²⁰ The rather numerous bone carvings of the Hyksos period, box inlays with geometric and plant patterns, snakes and birds, the latter sometimes reminiscent of the el Jisr birds, are too simple to give scope for stylistic analysis.²¹ The el Jisr carvings and the Byblos dagger, however, provide the most elaborate representations that we have so far met and suggest that the late Middle Bronze period may have been the formative period for the decorative *Mischkunst* of Syria and Palestine. That this was really the case can be established by means of the cylinder seals of this period; in the First Syrian group Canaanite originality begins to be displayed in the filling motives, at first assuming only modest places between the Old Babylonian themes, and is in full sway on seals of the succeeding Second Syrian group.²²

¹⁶ *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. XIX (1932), Pl. 20a or J. and J. B. E. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (London, 1948), Pl. XIV, below. The Khirbet Kerak head is still unpublished.

¹⁷ D. de M. Pl. XXXIX, 392 = Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo II*, Pl. 204, 1 (Stratum XIV). The wand from Megiddo (D. de M. 306) is an object of Egyptian apotropaic religion and should not be included with Canaanite carvings.

¹⁸ In Egypt the twinned papyrus motive appears in the First Dynasty on the Narmer palette and in the serekh on the stela of Djnet. Thereafter it occurs normally in the patterns derived from niched brickwork, as on sarcophagi, elaborate false doors, and stelae. It was used in *à jour* cabinetry work; cf. representations of a vase stand, litters, and windows (The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, Vol. I [Chicago, 1938], Pls. 86, 87 [Sixth Dynasty]; A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. V [London, 1953], Pl. XXXI [Pepi-ankh-Heny, the Black; Sixth Dynasty]; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. I [Leipzig, 1914], Pl. 405 [Saqqara, Tomb of Ipi; Sixth Dynasty]; P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, Part I: *The Tomb of Tehuti-hetep* [London, 1893], Pl. XXIX, 4 [Twelfth Dynasty]; Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* [New York, 1955], Pls. 10, 11 [Meket-Re models, Eleventh Dynasty]).

¹⁹ *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. XII (1945), Pl. XIV.

²⁰ Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 138, Fig. 60; Dussaud, *L'art phénicien du II^e millénaire*, p. 38, Fig. 5 and n. 2; Joseph Oughourlian, editor, *Liban* (UNESCO 1948, Beirut), p. 28 (photograph).

²¹ The Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo II*, Pls. 192-95. *Illustrated London News*, October 3, 1953, p. 522, Fig. 10.

²² Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 252 ff. The publication of the cylinder seals from Ras Shamra will, it is to be hoped, throw much light on the details of this development. In the meantime the situation at Alalakh is now clear. Before Level VII there occur only a few sporadic cylinder seals. The earliest body of glyptic appears in Level VII and is Syrian in type. In evaluating this important material two main issues arise: the dating of Level VII, which is closely linked with that of Levels VI and V, and the character of the seals themselves.

Fundamental to the solution of the first problem is Landsberger's demonstration that (1) the tablets of Alalakh VII do not belong to the generation of Yarim-lim I of Yamkhad, the contemporary of

Canaanite inventiveness peopled the seals with mixed creatures, female sphinxes, griffins, and griffin demons, two of which were to be of cardinal importance in later

Near Eastern and Greek iconography. Nevertheless, some seals of this period are predominantly Mesopotamian in their main motives, involving deities, and in

Hammurabi of Babylon, but cover some five generations of the dynasty of Aleppo, all subsequent to Hammurabi, and that (2) the destruction of Alalakh VII is linked with the destruction of Aleppo by Murshilish I, in the course of the same campaign that ended the First Dynasty of Babylon (cf. "Assyrische Königsliste und dunkles Zeitalter," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, VIII [1954], 31-73, 106-133). Accordingly, the historical position of Alalakh VII is well established. In addition, there is good archeological evidence equating Alalakh VII-V with Palestine and Syria, and, in the case of Levels VI-V, with northern Mesopotamia.

These synchronisms are indicated by the following features:

- 1) Squat jar with ridged neck: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXVIII, Type 100 (surviving from IX-VII); *Hama*, Pl. XX, 3.
- 2) Trumpet-necked jar: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXIX, Type 106b (continued from VII); *Hama*, Pl. XX, 6; *Megiddo* II, Pl. 54, 19.
- 3) Grey flask: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXII, Type 45 (one previous occurrence in VIII); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 51, 2 (cf. also *ibid.*, Pl. 26, 12 [XII] and *Ugaritica* II, p. 242, Fig. 102, 1 [Ras Shamra II]).
- 4) Trefoil-mouthed pitcher: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXV, Type 67b (continued from VII); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 50, 27.

ca. 1600		
Middle Bronze II B	Atchana VII	Tablets of Atchana VII: synchronous with some five generations at Aleppo and at Babylon approximately from Samsuiluna to Samsu-ditana.
Second Intermediate Period (Hyksos)	Hama H (in part) Ras Shamra II, 2 Megiddo XII-X	
	Probably Atchana IX-VIII	
ca. 1780		

The archeological evidence for these synchronisms is as follows:

- 1) Carinated bag-shaped bottle with ring base and narrow neck: L. Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949* (Oxford, 1955), Pls. XCIX, d; CXXII, Type 139 (first appearance); The Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo* II, Pl. 42, 6 (Stratum X; similar); C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II (Paris, 1949), 169, Fig. 66, 1 (Ras Shamra II); Pl. XL (in Tell el Yahudiyeh ware; II, 2).
- 2) Trumpet-necked jar with ring base: *Alalakh*, Pls. XCIX, e; CXIX, Type 106b (first appearance); *Ugaritica* II, 241, Fig. 101, 15; 255, Fig. 108, 6; *Megiddo* II, Pl. 44, 9 (Stratum X).
- 3) Squat jar with ridged neck: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXVIII, Type 100 (appears to be characteristic for Alalakh VII-IV); *Ugaritica* II, p. 241, Fig. 101, 9, 12; *Megiddo* II, Pl. 14, 28 (Stratum XIV and perhaps contemporary with the Atchana IX-VIII examples).
- 4) Trefoil-mouthed pitcher: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXV, Type 67b (first appearance); *Megiddo* II, Pls. 25, 4, 5 (S. XII); 33, 27 (S. XI).
- 5) Ovoid black juglet of Palestinian type: H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabsnernes Selskab., *Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, III, 1; København, 1940), Pl. XVI, 4; see *Megiddo* II, Pls. 24, 32, 41 (Strata XII-X).
- 6) Sherds of black incised Tell el Yahudiyeh ware: *Hama*, p. 56.

- 5) Squat trefoil-mouthed pitcher: *Alalakh*, Pl. CXV, Type 67a (first appearance); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 50, 24 (also common in S. XI-X).
- 6) Sharply carinated bowl with ring base: *Alalakh*, Pl. CX, Type 24 (only occurrence); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 53, 17 (closest parallel but not identical).
- 7) Ajjul ware: *Alalakh*, Pls. XCIV, b; XCV, ATP/4/64; XCVI, d; *Megiddo* II, Pls. 51, 6-8; 53, 1, 2.
- 8) Vessel painted with designs of Palestinian types: *Alalakh*, Pl. LXXXVI, ATP/39/06; cf. *Megiddo*, II, Pls. 48, 4; 49, 1, 13; 56, 10, 11.
- 9) Cypriote Base Ring and White Slip wares: *Alalakh*, pp. 316, 387; *Hama*, p. 68.
- 10) Late types of Khabur ware: *Alalakh*, Pl. LXXXVII, a; *Museum Journal*, Vol. XXIII (1932-33), Pl. LX, 4-6.
- 11) Transitional Khabur-Mitannian ware: *Alalakh*, Pls. XCIII, l, r; XCIV, a, h; XCV, all except bottom right; XCVII, p. *Museum Journal*, Vol. XXIII, Pl. LXIII; *Iraq*, Vol. IX (1947), Pls. LXXXVII, 1, 5; LXXXVIII, 5-9, 11, 12.
- 12) Light-on-dark Mitannian ware beginning at end of Stratum V: *Alalakh*, Pl. CVII, e; *Hama*, Pl. XX, 5.

Incomplete and summary though this presentation of the archeological evidence is, it yet indicates the relative chronology of Alalakh VII-V and their importance as links between Palestine and Egypt on the one hand and Mesopotamia on the other. The approxi-

Late Bronze I (ca. 1600-1500)	Atchana VI-V Hama G Megiddo IX	Early Mitannian Period (before Saushshatar)
Early Eighteenth Dynasty (before Tuthmosis III)		Billa III (in part) Brak, Site HH, Levels 3-2.

their smooth modeling. With the exception of a few rare thirteenth century pieces, no Syro-Palestinian ivories are so unmistakably molded by Mesopotamian prototypes as were the cylinder seals. This is natural, as the cylinder seals were a class of object originating in Mesopotamia; in contrast some of the early Palestinian ivory and bone carvings show that the lineage of Canaanite ivory carving was in part, at least, Egyptian.

mate absolute dates which can be given on the basis of Egyptian chronology to the archeological features cited here fit in with Sidney Smith's dates for the First Dynasty of Babylon.

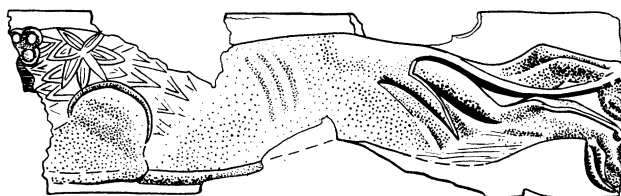
With the position of Alalakh VII-V fixed, we can turn to the second main issue at stake, namely the character of the seals of these levels. Mitannian glyptic dominates Levels VI and V, which correlates well with the appearance in them of transitional Khabur-Mitannian pottery; the rise of Mitannian power at Alalakh is thus marked by archeological features. The tablets of Level VII bear seal impressions; those published in preliminary reports have aroused considerable discussion. Already in 1940 Sidney Smith described and collected parallels for the dominant type: vertical lines of inscription balanced by a confrontation scene with two or three figures (*Alalakh and Chronology* [London, 1940], pp. 13-14). These impressions have also been discussed by U. Moortgat-Correns in an article kindly called to my attention by H. G. Güterbock ("Neue Anhaltspunkte zur zeitlichen Ordnung syrischer Glyptik," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, LI [1955], 88-101). Her main point is that the glyptic of VII belongs to the Second Syrian group since it has features—costumes, crowns, and the like—considered by Frankfort typical of that class, but that chronologically the glyptic of VII belongs to the period of Hammurabi of Babylon, that is to the period which stimulated the development of the First Syrian class according to Frankfort's analysis. Therefore she concludes that there is no validity to Frankfort's description of the historical development of Syrian glyptic. Instead of a First Syrian class, closely dependent upon Old Babylonian prototypes, developing into a Second Syrian class in which the Old Babylonian framework is shattered or obscured by Syrian elements, she sees only contemporary groups typical of local centers. Although in a note prefixed to her article after its completion she referred briefly to the historical conclusions reached by Landsberger but not yet published, she still maintained that the existence of several rulers named Yarim-lim does not affect her conclusions. It is superfluous to deal in detail with her arguments, since the historical and archeological circumstances already cited do not bear out her conclusions and since the evidence quoted to support her speculation concerning local centers (mainly one seal presumed to be from Carchemish; cf. *JNES*, XIII [1954], 110 and nn. 32, 33), is insufficient. Only a few points of interest may be briefly noted. One of the seal impres-

Not until the heyday of Canaanite art in the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. do we have a mass of carved ivories of exceedingly diverse character. A meaningful order can be brought out of their chaos by classifying them according to the various foreign influences they betray. By that means can be revealed not only the sources of Canaanite inspiration, but also the extent of Canaanite individuality. These ivories cover a very wide stylistic range, with sufficient examples existing to form a continuous series so that occasionally there may be unavoidable arbitrariness in assigning border-line

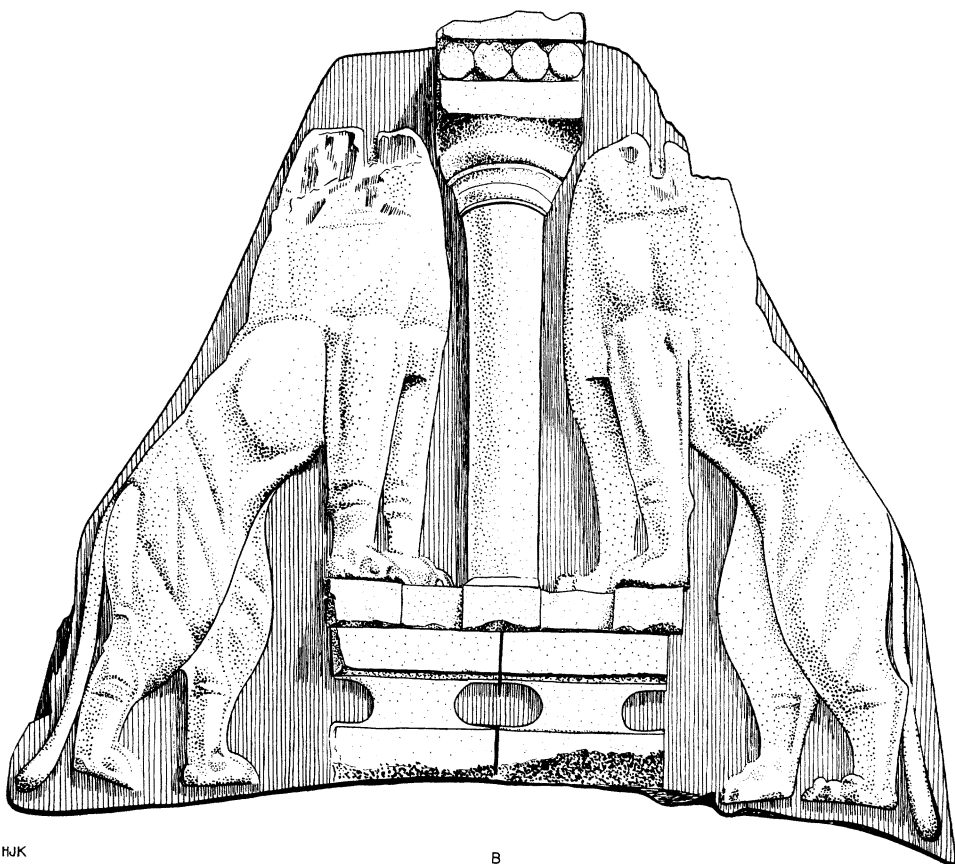
sions in question is that of Niqmi-epuh of Yamkhad and it occurs, along with similar seal designs, on a tablet of the reign of Ammitakum of Alalakh (identified for me by Dr. H. Tadmor; cf. *Alalakh*, Pl. LX, 12 A right; cf. Pl. LXVII, 145; D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [London, 1953], No. 7). Thus it is conceivable that the inscription-confrontation seal type is not as early as the beginning of Level VII. In addition to such compositions, other typical examples of the Second Syrian group occur in VII (*Alalakh*, Pls. LX, 9, 12 A, left, 14; LXI, 17, 18 [19, a Mitannian cylinder, is perhaps out of place], LXVII, 147, 149); the level also contained two examples of the First Syrian group (*ibid.*, LX, 8; LXVII, 151). The evidence from Alalakh indicates that during the seventeenth century the Second Syrian class was in existence, which fits exactly with the date originally suggested by Frankfort for the beginning of the class (*Cylinder Seals*, Chronological Index following p. 328). The occurrence of a Second Syrian cylinder seal in Stratum XII at Megiddo is corroborative evidence (*Megiddo* II, Pl. 160, 3).

So far there has not been published any material which invalidates Frankfort's reconstruction of the development of Syrian glyptic, a reconstruction which brought order and meaning into an unwieldy mass of material. The only modification as yet necessary in his original scheme is that entailed by the lowering of the date of Hammurabi of Babylon. The date for the beginning of the First Syrian class must be lowered accordingly. It looks as if such seals were made during a rather short time in the earlier part of Middle Bronze II B (one example occurs in a typical MB II B tomb group; cf. P. E. Guiges, "Lébé'a, Kafer-Garra, Qrayé: nécropoles de la région sidonienne," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, II [1938], 49, Fig. 73), and soon developed into the Second Syrian class.

To sum up, the glyptic from Alalakh VII can now be added to the other evidence which supports the view that Canaanite art, as a clearly recognizable and coherent school of craftsmanship, came into being in the final stage of the Middle Bronze period, the phase contemporary with the late First Dynasty of Babylon and the Second Intermediate Period of Egypt.



A

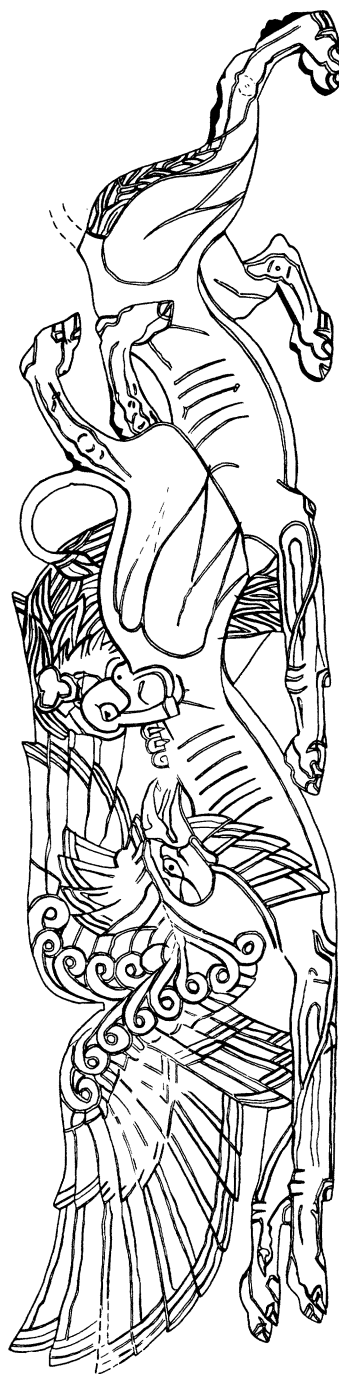


B

FIG. 1.—Carvings from Mycenae



A



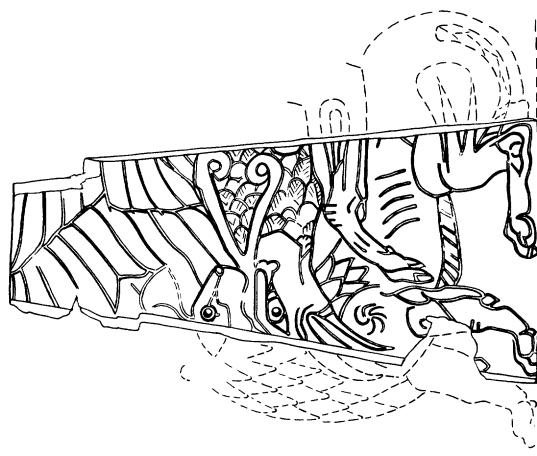
B

HUK

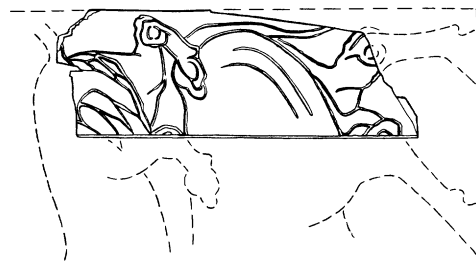
FIG. 2.—Ivories from Delos (scale 4:5)



A



C



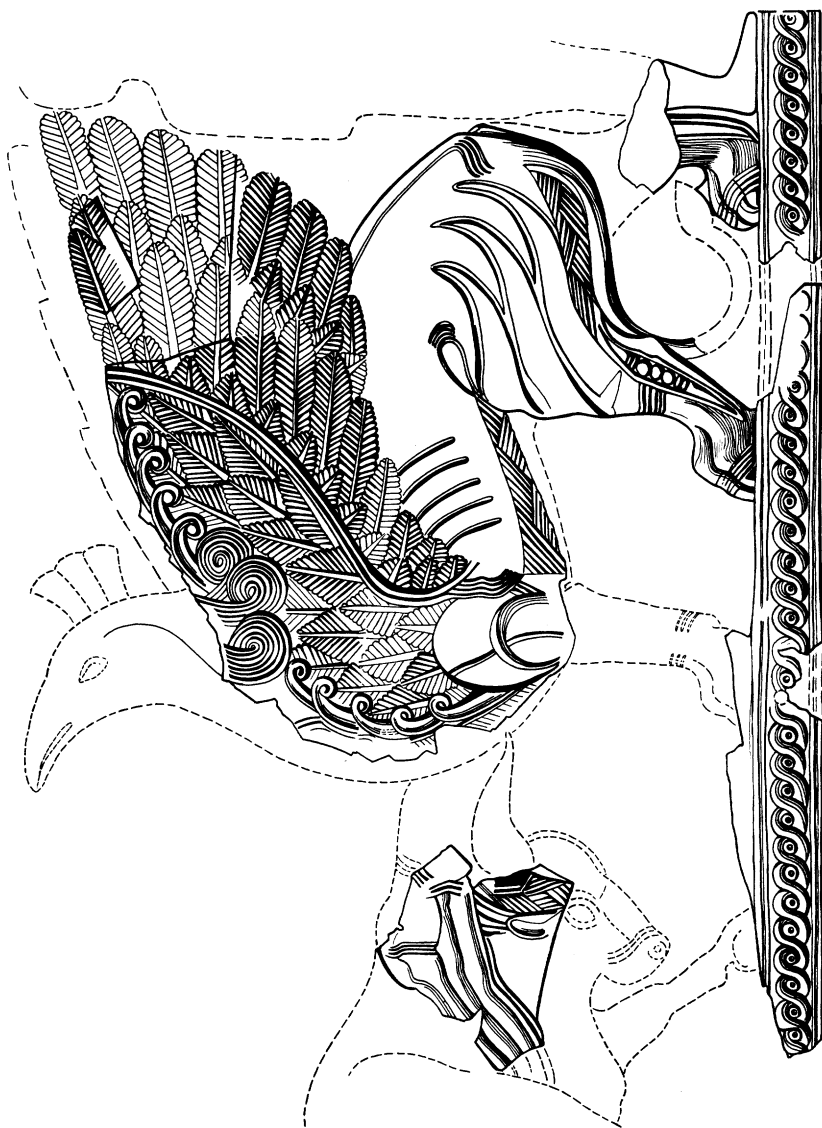
D

FIG. 3.—Ivories from Megiddo (scale 1:1; drawn from originals)

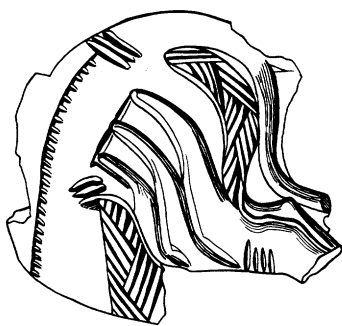


FIG. 4.—North Syrian ivories (scale 1:1)

HUK



A



HJK

B

FIG. 5.—Orthostat from Tell Halaf

cases to one or the other group. At one extreme are ivories closely dependent upon Egyptian prototypes. In the center are the Canaanite ivories proper, those which do not resemble *closely* any foreign prototypes although frequently strong Egyptian influences have been assimilated. Next comes a hybrid group combining oriental and Mycenaean characters. At the second extreme are ivories almost completely Mycenaean in type; in fact most of the pieces forming this Mycenaeanizing group may be actual imports

which do not yet happen to be exactly paralleled among the finds from the Greek mainland. Most of the Canaanite ivories can be classified within these four groups. However, there is also a very small class of ivories with designs of Middle Assyrian style. Two ivories of purely Hittite style, one from Atchana and one from Megiddo,²³ must have been imported from Anatolia and are not included in the following chart of Canaanite ivories.

CLASSIFICATION OF CANAANITE IVORIES OF THE LATE BRONZE PERIOD²⁴

<i>Egyptianizing</i>	Official themes	Ras Shamra bed ²⁵
	Genre scenes	Ras Shamra bed ²⁶ Tell Fara box (D. de M. 1)
	Religious motives	Megiddo 25, 26 (D. de M. 316, 314; Anubis, Bes) Megiddo 24 (D. de M. 313; winged genius; borderline) Megiddo 169-72 (D. de M. 417-20; Djed; twinned papyrus)
	Plants	Megiddo 27-30 (D. de M. 395-99; formal bouquets) Lachish 16, 17 (D. de M. 28, 29; ointment dish lids)
	Ointment spoons with swimming girls	Megiddo 176-79 (D. de M. 298-300)
<i>Canaanite proper</i>	Battles and feasts	Megiddo 2, 36 (hunt?), 159-62 (D. de M. 342, 350, 344-36) Ras Shamra pyxis (D. de M. 752)
	Genre scenes	Megiddo 125 (D. de M. 305; four-sided bar)
	Long-robed men	Fakhariyah 40-44 Byblos stone mold ²⁷ Helmiyah tusk ²⁸
		Megiddo 12 (D. de M. 347)

²³ *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XIX (1939), Pl. XIV, 4 (AT/8/204) = D. de M. 804). Megiddo 44 = D. de M. 348. Cf. above, n. 8 under "P. 19."

²⁴ Ivories from Megiddo, Fakhariyah, and Delos are identified by the numbers assigned to them in their original publications (G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* [Chicago, 1939]; C. W. McEwan et al., *Excavations at Tell Fakhariyah* [In preparation]; H. Gallet de Santerre and J. Tréheux, "Rapport sur le dépôt égéen et géométrique de l'Artémision à Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* [henceforth *BCH*], LXXI-LXXII [1947-48], 148-254, Pls.

XIX-XLVI). The numbers in parentheses are those of Mme. Decamps de Mertenfeld. Extensive bibliographies of ivories are given by Barnett in *PEF*, 1939, pp. 4-19 and by Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux.

²⁵ *Syria*, Vol. XXXI (1954), Pls. VIII, X. Cf. also *Illustrated London News*, March 27, 1954, pp. 489 f.

²⁶ *Syria*, Vol. XXXI, Pl. IX.

²⁷ M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Vol. I (Paris, 1937-39), Pl. CVII, 1148.

²⁸ *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLVIII (1938), 250-52, Figs. 6, 10. *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, Vol. XXVIII (1945-46), Pl. III.

Plaques with women	Megiddo 173, 174 (D. de M. 295, 296)
Tusks carved as women	Megiddo VIII hoard ²⁹ (D. de M. 333) Megiddo 186 (D. de M. 291) Lachish 1 (D. de M. 11, 12) Helmiyah ²⁸
Naked women: in relief or the round	Megiddo 175 (D. de M. 297) Ras Shamra tusk ³⁰
Female heads	Megiddo 190-96 (D. de M. 284-90) Lachish 2, 3, 5 (D. de M. 13-15) Fakhariyah 48-49
Griffin demons	Fakhariyah 53-62
Winged sun disks	Fakhariyah 50-52
Kneeling ruminants	Megiddo 39, 40, 54 (D. de M. 355-56, 352) Fakhariyah 35-39
Plants	Megiddo 14, 116, 165-67, 223 (D. de M. 402, 400, 405-7, 456) Fakhariyah 16-33 Delos 26 Ras Shamra bed and stand ³¹ Medinet Gurob wooden bowl ³²
<i>Hybrid Canaanite-Mycenaean</i>	
Incised animal combats	Megiddo 4-7, 16-19, (D. de M. 320, 321, 349, 393, 330, 390, 334)
Animal combats in relief	Byblos, Tomb of Ahiiram (D. de M. 704) Egypt, Louvre fragments ³³ Enkomi mirror handle and plaque (D. de M. 791, 799)
Hunting scenes	Enkomi gaming board (D. de M. 788) Enkomi and Kouklia ³⁴ mirror handles
Pinnate foliage	Megiddo combs 110, 113 (D. de M. 360, 358) Megiddo gaming boards 220, 225 (D. de M. 377, 391) Helmiyah (?) vase ³⁵ Egypt, Louvre fragments ³³ Egypt, Matmar fragment ³⁶ Enkomi gaming board end (D. de M. 788, d)
Drooping palm	Megiddo 15, 226 (D. de M. 404, 353) Detail of Tell Fara box (D. de M. 1)

²⁹ The Megiddo Expedition, *Megiddo II*, Pl. 202.

³⁰ *Syria*, XXXI, 62, Fig. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, 2.

³² E. Chassinat, "Une tombe inviolée de la XVIII^e Dynastie découverte aux environs de Médinet el-Gorab dans le Fayoum," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, I (1901), 225-32 and three plates.

³³ R. Dussaud, "Ivoire d'époque mycénienne

provenant d'Égypte," *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* (Paris, 1932), I, 341-47 and accompanying plate.

³⁴ *Illustrated London News*, May 2, 1953, p. 710, Fig. 4.

³⁵ *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, Vol. XXVIII (1945-46), Pl. V.

³⁶ G. Brunton, *Matmar (British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt 1929-31)* (London, 1948), Pl. XLVII, 16.

<i>Extreme</i>	Potnia theron	Minet el Beida pyxis lid (D. de M. 767)
<i>Mycenaeizing (the majority probably im- ported pieces)</i>	Animal combats	Megiddo comb 107 (D. de M. 389)
	Griffins	Megiddo 32-35 (D. de M. 324-27)
	Sacral ivy	Megiddo 41-42 (D. de M. 408, 409)
	Tricurved arch frieze	Megiddo 262, 263
	Tricurved arch network	Megiddo 37 (D. de M. 351) Troy ³⁷
	Recurved ribbon	Atchana (D. de M. 814)
<i>Middle Assyrian</i>	Ribbon and plant designs	Megiddo 60, 123, 124 (D. de M. 412, 410, 411) Enkomi (D. de M. 794)

The Egyptianizing ivories provide relatively few problems; they continue the tendency to adopt Egyptian traits already seen in the Ai knife handle and the objects of Egyptian type from the royal tombs of Byblos. Both the djed columns and the twinned papyrus of the Megiddo hoard represent motives known in Syria and Palestine since the Middle Bronze period. The highly stylized floral motives characteristic for New Kingdom decorative art are copied slavishly on the Lachish ointment-dish lids, but on other ivories have been so transformed that such pieces must be placed within the normal Canaanite class. Elaborate scenes could be borrowed from Egypt, as on the Tell Fara box showing swamp and banquet scenes, where, in addition to the themes and composition, details of dress and furniture are also Egyptian: a certain general vivacity as well as the faces and hair of some figures are Canaanite. Ultimately such scenes can be traced in Egypt back to the tomb walls, but in the New Kingdom genre scenes also appear on works of applied art; the scenes on gold and silver vessels from Tell Basta illustrate one type of Egyptian small object that could have been a prototype for the Canaanites.³⁸

In contrast to the genre scenes of the

Tell Fara box are motives on the recently discovered ivory plaques from a bedstead in the palace at Ras Shamra. There among the Egyptian themes imitated are the official ones of royal temple reliefs: the king smites a kneeling enemy or is nursed by a goddess, while the refined modeling and the use of delicately rippled strands of hair reflect unmistakably the gracious relief style typical for the reign of Amenhotep III and exemplified at Thebes in the tombs of Khaemhat, Ramose, and Kharruef. Yet even in these determinedly Egyptianizing plaques of Ras Shamra, the Canaanite craftsman's hand is evident. The costumes of the victorious "king" or of an embracing pair are not correctly Egyptian; the goddess, her face in front view instead of the normal Egyptian profile and wearing a Hittite emblem between her horns, suckles two lads. This arrangement may have been due to the exigencies of composition; in any case it is a misuse of the Egyptian motive, which stressed the unique relationship of an individual king to a goddess, as complete as the sacrilegious Canaanite change of the royal Egyptian male sphinx into a female creature. Despite such modifications, these new Ras Shamra plaques are still marked-

³⁷ C. W. Blegen, J. L. Caskey, and M. Rawson, *Troy*, Vol. III, *The Sixth Settlement* (Princeton, 1953), Pl. 304, 35-508.

³⁸ M. G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien*, Vol. II (Cairo, 1907), Pls. XLIV, 2; XLVIII. Edgar, "Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Vol. XXV (1925), Pl. I, 1.

ly Egyptianizing, particularly if compared, for instance, with the battle and feast reliefs from Megiddo where, despite Egyptianizing details and stimulation, the total effect is un-Egyptian.

Rather more complicated problems are provided by the Canaanite ivories with Mycenaean connections, partly because there are serious gaps in our knowledge of mainland Greek ivories. The early stages of the school are not yet well known. The earliest elaborate Mycenaean ivory carving, the Late Helladic III A pyxis from Athens with lions hunting deer,³⁹ differs rather decidedly in style from thirteenth century work. The extent to which the ivories of mainland Greece were influenced by the east is uncertain. Such influence seems rare in the material now available, the most significant example being the woman from Mycenae from whose hands two almost completely destroyed rampant animals seize foliage.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the complete scope of the mainland repertory is uncertain. For example, some Megiddo plaques show the sacral ivy motive in so purely Mycenaean a form that they could be considered imports save that such friezes have not yet occurred in Greece on ivory. But perhaps the most difficult problems of all are those cases in which Mycenaean and Canaanite features are so blended that it is hardly possible to tell whether we have a Mycenaean ivory with borrowed Canaanite features or the reverse. Outstanding examples are certain intimately related plaques from Megiddo and Delos.

At Delos below the Hellenistic Artemision was found a deposit of small objects of the Mycenaean and Geometric periods.⁴¹ Most outstanding are ivories dated by their stylistic affinities to the thir-

teenth century B.C. Not all the pieces represent the same style, however. Two fragments with palmette foliage are clearly part of a normal Canaanite plant akin to those on Megiddo and Fakhariyah ivories, but another plaque unexpectedly bears cornflowers, an almost exclusively Egyptian motive.⁴² In contrast, the Delos plaque with a helmeted warrior looks completely Mycenaean, though hitherto only ivory warrior heads have been found on the mainland of Greece.⁴³ Likewise Mycenaean in appearance are plaques with animal conflicts: in relief narrow friezes of predators and their victims, now paralleled by fragments from Mycenae,⁴⁴ and in incision a fleeing griffin seized by a lion (Fig. 2, B). The latter is a masterpiece whose Aegean spirit and character are manifest in the passionate vigour and movement of the animals, in the patterning of the griffin's wings and crest, in the lion's trefoil ear.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the plaque is closely linked with ivories from the Megiddo hoard which have always seemed probable Mycenaean imports. On a comb with animals in relief (Megiddo 107), the forepaw with which the lion seizes the ibex is shown in front view, curving around the victim's back, as on the Delos plaque. The rectangular griffin plaques from Megiddo (Fig. 3, A) are delicately modeled in re-

³⁹ *BCH*, LXXI-LXXII, 148-53, Pls. XIX, XXII, 243-54.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, 5 A, B (= No. 26), 2 (= No. 15). The latter looks like a conflation of two normal Egyptian motives, papyrus stems alternating with spiky foliage as on vessels from Tell Basta (cf. n. 38 above and also E. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries* [Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1927)], Pl. CV), and cornflower clumps as known at el Amarna (Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I [London, 1923], Pl. XXXVI, 3).

⁴¹ *BCH*, Vol. LXXI-LXXII, Pl. XXV (= No. 1).

⁴² *Ibid.*, Pls. XXVI (= No. 2), XXVII, 1 (= No. 3), 3 (= No. 5). Cf. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. XLIX (1954), Pl. 33, c (Mycenae, House of Shields).

⁴³ For details cf. Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-78.

³⁹ *Illustrated London News*, July 22, 1939, p. 163, Fig. 16 (Chamber tomb on the Areopagos; Late Helladic III A).

⁴⁰ Kantor, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Pl. XXII, F.

lief, but all details—the outlines, crest, wings, mighty forelegs with diagonal tendon ended by short lines—are exactly the same as those of the incised griffin from Delos. Thus far, the evidence could be interpreted simply, the Mycenaeans made ivories, not only in relief but also in the incised technique of the Delos lion and griffin plaque. However, a second plaque from Delos of exactly the same style has one feature as typically oriental as it is completely un-Mycenaean, the whorl of hair on the shoulder of the lion (Fig. 2, A). This, though based on an observable hair whorl of young lions, was an ornamental detail of rendering developed in Egypt and then exported to western Asia in the New Kingdom.⁴⁶ It has not hitherto been exemplified on any purely Mycenaean carving, but in contrast is normal on Canaanite works, large and small. In particular, it occurs on small incised plaques, some very fragmentary, from Megiddo. One shows a man struggling with a rampant bestarred lion (Fig. 3, B); others the combats of lions, griffins, and bulls (Fig. 3, C, D). Before the discovery of the incised Delos plaques it would hardly have occurred to anyone to connect these Megiddo pieces with the Mycenaean tradition. But now it is evident that the Delos pieces form a link between the purely Mycenaean griffins of Megiddo carved in relief and the seemingly purely Canaanite incised plaques. The lions on the latter, like the Delos lion, have tufted manes, a braided band of hair on the belly and hindquarter, while the Delos lion has an oriental hair star. There is an unbroken series beginning with the Mycenaean griffins in relief (Fig. 3, A), continuing with the incised Delos (Fig. 2) and Megiddo animal combat plaques (Fig. 3, B–D), and ending with apparently purely oriental plaques showing male griffins with ibexes (Megiddo 4, 5). In the lion and bull plaque

from Delos we may tentatively assume that a Mycenaean borrowed an oriental feature, but in the incised plaques from Megiddo Mycenaean and Canaanite features are intimately blended, presumably by Canaanite craftsmen.⁴⁷

The griffin and animal combat plaques just discussed are not the only series exemplifying the combination of Mycenaean and Canaanite features. Another such group consists of the ivories with pinnate foliage. These vary widely in quality, execution, and closeness to the Mycenaean tradition but are all characterized by the silhouetting of animal groups against pinnate foliage, frequently growing from a trunk. Such foliage, unparalleled in the Near East, is derived from Aegean representations of olive trees; the cattle on one of the Vaphio cups appear in such a setting.⁴⁸ The motive of the olive tree was obviously a typical Aegean one. It originated in works of major art. On the mainland there survives from the Treasury of Atreus (Late Helladic III B) the fragment of a sculptured slab with bull leaping in front of an olive,⁴⁹ while in Crete Middle Minoan III A painted plaster reliefs from Knossos show bull-grappling scenes among olives.⁵⁰ The derivation of the pinnate foliage on eastern ivories from Mycenaean prototypes is

⁴⁶ JNES, VI (1947), 250–74; VII (1948), 52; IX (1950), 53–56, Pl. II.

⁴⁷ The blending in them is greater than in the Minet el Beida goddess, for example, who is regarded by some as a Mycenaean work (cf. Dussaud, *L'art phénicien du II^e millénaire*, pp. 84–87. However, if we assume that she was not imported from the mainland, then it is evident that her maker imitated Mycenaean prototypes as closely as he could (cf. Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.).

⁴⁸ A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, III (London, 1930), 179, Fig. 123; 184, Fig. 127.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, Fig. 133; 197, Fig. 135. Cf. F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculptures in the British Museum. I, Prehellenic and Early Greek Sculpture* (London, 1928), 14 ff.

⁵⁰ Evans, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 167–72, 189, Figs. 106, 107, 110, 113 (Loggia of passage of Northern Entrance).

particularly clear in the relief of two bulls resting beneath the shade of an olive on one end of the Enkomi gaming board. The whole scene, the motives as well as the details of their rendering, is Aegean.⁵¹

The Enkomi gaming board is but one of a number of ivories from Cyprus consisting of a mixture of Mycenaean and Canaanite features,⁵² while occasional pieces are almost purely Mycenaean.⁵³ A similar range in style is shown by the stamped gold plaques from the island. Though many have purely Mycenaean motives, some are primarily Canaanite.⁵⁴ Cyprus, with its intimate links with Mycenaean traders must have been one of the most important centers for the meeting of Canaanite and Mycenaean traditions. In fact, the hybrid Mycenaean-Canaanite ivories from Enkomi are slightly later than their compeers, belonging early in the twelfth century, about the time that the Mycenaean *koine* broke up under the stress of Dorian and Sea People migrations. Despite the turmoil of the period, Mycenaeanizing Canaanite works continued to be produced.

After the wealth of ivories in the Late Bronze period comes a sudden gap of about three centuries (*ca.* 1200–900 B.C.) in which no ivories are known. These are the centuries which saw the destruction of the great Canaanite entrepôts along the coastline of western Asia and the weakening or abandonment of inland Canaanite centers. Aside from the catastrophic passage of the Sea Peoples, there were also

the incursions of Semitic Hebrews and Aramaeans. Not until this ferment had developed into the relatively stable conditions of the ninth century do we again find ivories, at Samaria, Hama, Arslan Tash, Khorsabad, and Nimrud. The problem of the relationship of these later groups with those of the second millennium is of predominant importance. Some of the ivories from Assyrian sites, as well as those from Armenia (Toprak-kale) and Kurdistan (Ziwiye) are outside our scope here as they belong almost completely within the Mesopotamian orbit. But great numbers of the ivories found in Assyrian palaces were not indigenous; together with those from western sites they form, as Barnett has distinguished, two schools, Phoenician and North Syrian, related to the ivories of the second millennium. Of these, the Phoenician clearly continues the normal Canaanite tradition although the absorption of a great deal of contemporary Egyptian influence frequently makes Phoenician works as narrowly imitative as the most extreme Egyptianizing ivories of the second millennium. The North Syrian, like the Phoenician school, also has roots going back to thirteenth century Canaanite works, as we shall see in the following section.

II

The second book to be reviewed here presents materials whose direct dependence upon the development of western Asiatic ivories may not at first sight be completely clear. The long awaited final publication of the sculptures found at Tell Halaf now appeared after many vicissitudes, the worst being the tragic destruction of many of the sculptures in 1943, deserves high praise. The book has a noble format, being well printed with wide margins on glossy paper. The 160 excellent collotype plates render well sculptures of

⁵¹ Compare now the couchant bulls on a signet ring from Kouklia (*Illustrated London News*, May 2, 1953, p. 711, Fig. 6). Details of the bulls on the Tell Fara box and also the drooping leaves of its palm tree betray Mycenaean influence.

⁵² Cf. Barnett in *PEF*, 1939, pp. 10–11; Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f.

⁵³ A. S. Murray *et al.*, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900), Pl. II, 1339, 1340.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Pls. VI, 523, 525, 519; VII, 518, 473, 517 (Canaanite). C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* (Paris, 1952), Pl. XXIV (Canaanite).

which many are so badly worn and pitted as to be very difficult to reproduce; only occasionally does one wish for some additional photographs or drawings of details.⁵⁵ The text is in two parts, a detailed descriptive catalogue written by D. Opitz and edited by Moortgat (pp. 35–125) follows an informative discussion of the historical position of the sculptures by Moortgat (pp. 3–31).

After summarizing the various discrepant dates proposed for the Tell Halaf sculptures since their discovery, Moortgat clearly presents the now indisputable evidence for placing them in the ninth century B.C. There are two main groups, the works coeval with the four pre-Kapara levels (*Altbauperiode*) and those of the Kapara level.

Kapara group as it is the most block-like, while other statues in the round from the site become increasingly better modeled. Likewise, the small orthostats are of an extreme crudeness which has been surmounted in the large orthostats and the reliefs between the legs of the caryatid animals of the Hilani portico. Although the features pointed out by Moortgat are indisputable, they probably result from increased skill of the sculptors in the rendering of form and details rather than a genuine stylistic evolution. Thus various of the refinements in the reliefs of the Kapara period are due only to the more adequate copying of elements already fully developed in the pre-Kapara period. Moortgat himself points out that the patterning of animals' bodies is the same in

PRE-KAPARA GROUP

Dated by provenience (cremation burials):

1. Carved limestone tripod bowl (pp. 9–11, Figs. 4–9);
2. Large and small seated female statues (Pls. 1–9).

Dated by comparisons with 1–2 and small objects from the cremation and Hilani terrace burials:

3. Small orthostats re-used in the Hilani of Kapara (Pls. 10–102);
4. Basalt slab with architectual relief found re-used in the Kapara Hilani (pp. 14–15, Figs. 13–14).

KAPARA GROUP

Dated by provenience (made for the Hilani of Kapara or related structures):

1. Large orthostats, Hilani portico (Pls. 103–9);
2. Caryatid animals and deities, Hilani portico (Pls. 102–35);
3. Female sphinx jamb sculptures, Hilani, first door (Pls. 110–15, 119a);
4. Griffin jamb sculptures and orthostats, Hilani, second door (Pls. 116–18);
5. Large bird on column capital, Hilani terrace (Pls. 136–39);
6. Scorpion bird-man jamb sculptures, citadel gate (Pls. 141–45).

Dated by stylistic similarities to 1–5 above:

7. Heads of male sphinxes (Pls. 156–57);
8. Statues of seated couple and standing man, “cult room,” southern city (Pls. 146–49).

In discussing the Tell Halaf sculptures Moortgat lays stress on their organic development. He considers the large seated female figure the earliest work of the pre-

both periods, but in demonstrating the “stylistic” development in the Kapara group he stresses, among other features, the curving tufts of lions' manes as opposed to the straight hatched triangles of a pre-Kapara orthostat (Pl. 43, *b*). However, curving tufts already occur in very

⁵⁵ Pls. 32 (furniture: unclear in description also); 40, *b*; 66, *a*; 68, *b*; 97; 101; 101; 116 (piece destroyed); 125; 129; in text, pp. 9–11, Figs. 4–9; pp. 14–15, Figs. 13, 14.

clumsy fashion on the mane of a lion on another small orthostat (Pl. 46, *a*) and on North Syrian ivories of the type already known in Tell Halaf in the pre-Kapara period.

In analyzing the affinities of the sculptures Moortgat points out how closely related many are to Syro-Phoenician ivories, particularly those of the North Syrian school of Barnett, and indicates that two traditions powerfully influenced the workmen of Tell Halaf, the western and the Assyrian, the latter contributing many themes to the repertory.

In addition to Moortgat's discussion of the Tell Halaf sculptures, they and other North Syrian works have recently been illuminatingly discussed by Frankfort, who vividly brings out their character, *ad hoc* works produced when local princes attempted to imitate the glory of Assyrian palaces with the means at their disposal.⁵⁶

Clearly, then, the Tell Halaf sculptures were formed by a mixture of influences. Frankfort and Moortgat have clarified the role of Assyrian art. Moreover, Barnett and now Moortgat point out that the same style characterizing the sculptures on a large scale also recurs on small objects, ivories, and metal work. In fact, such similarities were an important means by which Barnett localized the North Syrian school of ivories and they provide dating evidence for Moortgat. No less significant are the connections between the Tell Halaf sculptures and certain ivories of the Late Bronze period established by these features.

It is impossible to overemphasize the disparity in quality between the animal style at Tell Halaf and the orthostats with genii or human figures. The latter, which include those imitating Assyrian scenes, are strikingly clumsy and primitive in

execution and conception. In contrast, the majority of the individual animal figures, even those on the clumsiest of the small orthostats show a well-defined ornamental rendering of details: tufted manes, braided hair on belly and hindquarters, hatched dorsal border, cross-lines on the front of legs, and incised ribs (Fig. 5). If the human figures and compositions are formless, the patterning of the animals is unhesitating throughout. It is the same pattern that appears on North Syrian ivories from Hama (Fig. 4, *A*), Tell Halaf itself (Fig. 4, *B*), and Nimrud, and on a pottery mold from Senjirli.⁵⁷ In perfection of craftsmanship the ivories surpass the sculptures, suggesting that the stonecutters at Tell Halaf, when suddenly called upon to produce large-scale sculptures, had at hand a well-established tradition for the representation of animals, but for more elaborate compositions had to eke out their own clumsy inventions with "Late Hittite" themes or reminiscences of Assyrian reliefs. The possibility that the North Syrian ivory carvings of applied art were the primary works from which the animal style of the stone reliefs at Tell Halaf was borrowed becomes a certainty when it is realized that this animal style originated on ivory carvings of the second millennium. In fact, as already indicated by Barnett, the North Syrian school of ivory carving is a direct descendant of the hybrid Mycenaeanizing Canaanite ivories of the thirteenth to early twelfth century B.C.⁵⁸

This is demonstrated by the recurrence of pinnate foliage on North Syrian ivories,⁵⁹ by the similarity of the kilted

⁵⁷ Felix von Luschan and W. Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde von Sindschirli* ("Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli," Vol. V [Berlin, 1943]), Pls. 9, *i*; 10, *a*.

⁵⁸ *PEF*, 1939, pp. 13-14; *Iraq*, II, p. 196.

⁵⁹ *PEF*, 1939, Pl. IX, 2. *Iraq*, Vol. II, Pls. XXV, 1 and pp. 190-91, Fig. 3; XXVI, 2. *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), 475, Fig. 13.

⁵⁶ Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pp. 175 ff.

heroes combating griffins on ninth century pyxides and on Cypriote mirror handles pointed out by Barnett,⁶⁰ and by the animal style, perhaps the most striking feature of all. When details of the animals on the Delos and Mycenaeanizing Megiddo plaques are compared with those of the North Syrian ivories and the Tell Halaf orthostats the patterning is seen to be well nigh identical despite the passage of three centuries without any known links (Figs. 2-5). In addition to the many features already mentioned, the peculiar flame-shaped markings of the hindquarters so prominent in the North Syrian style of the first millennium can be explained by this genealogy.⁶¹ Homologous markings occur on the hindquarters of animals on the Enkomi mirror handles, on one of the Louvre fragments of ivory found in Egypt, on the Megiddo and Delos incised plaques, and are actually nothing but the translation into an engraved technique of musculature as rendered in Mycenaean relief and clearly visible on the hindquarters of lions from Mycenae, both great and small (Fig. 1), and on the imported Mycenaean griffin plaques from Megiddo (Fig. 3, A).⁶² Unlikely though it may seem to find in local and clumsy Syrian reliefs of the ninth century the continuation of features of Mycenaean sculpture, centuries older and

now quite extinct, this is yet the case. The intimate mixture of Canaanite and Mycenaean decorative art, which can be so clearly traced in the ivories of the thirteenth century, had a vitality enabling it to survive the collapse of the Mycenaean *koine* and the succeeding dark centuries. This Mycenaeanizing branch of Canaanite crafts, reappearing in the first millennium as the North Syrian school of decorative art, gave to the reliefs of Tell Halaf the only stylistic coherence that they possess.

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SOURCES OF THE FIGURES

FIG. 1.—CARVINGS FROM MYCENAE

- A. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. XLIX (1954), Pl. 33, c. Scale 1:1.
- B. *Die Antike*, Vol. XI (1935), Pl. 19.

FIG. 2.—IVORIES FROM DELOS (Scale 4:5)

- A. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. LXXI-LXXII (1947-48), Pl. XXXI.
- B. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIX.

FIG. 3.—IVORIES FROM MEGIDDO (Scale 1:1; drawn from originals)

- A. Oriental Institute A22212 (G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Pl. 9, 32).
- B. A22332 (*ibid.*, Pl. 5, 6).
- C. A22322 (*ibid.*, Pl. 5, 7).
- D. A22335 (*ibid.*, Pl. 6, 19).

FIG. 4.—NORTH SYRIAN IVORIES (Scale 1:1)

- A. P. J. Riis, *Hama Samlingen* (Nationalmuseets Gule Bøger, København, 1943), p. 27, Fig. 16.
- B. Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, Vol. III, Dietrich Opitz and Anton Moortgat, *Die Bildwerke*, p. 12, Fig. 10.

FIG. 5.—ORTHOSTAT FROM TELL HALAF *Ibid.*, Pl. 106.

⁶⁰ PEF, 1939, p. 14. *Iraq*, II, 189-90.

⁶¹ Barnett pointed out that these "flames" occur at Tell Halaf and on North Syrian and Enkomi ivories (*Iraq*, II, 195 f.). Mme. Decamps de Mertzfeld notes that they occur at Tell Halaf and on ivories from Egypt, Megiddo, Nimrud, and Hama without realizing the significance of this outstanding stylistic character (*op. cit.*, pp. 19, 21).

⁶² *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. XLIX (1954), Pl. 38, c, is a plaque from Mycenae with confronted sphinxes on which the flame-shaped muscles are much more linear than on Fig. 1, A.