

**Syro-Palestinian Stamp Seals
from the Persian Period (538-332 B.C.)**

An Analysis of their Iconographic Motifs and Inscriptions

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Martin J. Klingent

Signature

23. 11. 1992

Date

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AION	Annali dell'istituto orientali di Napoli
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
APEF	Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
BaghM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BN	Biblische Notizen
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
EI	Eretz Israel
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
ISBE	International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
LAAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph
NMES	Near and Middle Eastern Studies
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RB	Revue Biblique
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplementum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

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ABSTRACT

In the course of this M.A. thesis, 65 stamp seals (conoids, scaraboids, signet rings and scarabs) have been collected, described, and analyzed. They stem from legal archaeological excavations in Syro-Palestine, and have been found in strata and contexts which can clearly be ascribed to the Persian period.

Methodological questions were addressed, including the following: historical outline of the Persian period, geographical limitations of the study, archaeological considerations, and the iconographic and epigraphic aspects of the study.

For the description process, a computerized system was developed, by means of which the seals could be described on three levels: general description, element description, modification description. In this way, a uniform way of handling the data was achieved. The description procedure is reflected in the form of a catalogue.

In order to facilitate the analysis, the seal corpus was organized in three, at times overlapping, classes: iconographic seals, epigraphic seals, and hieroglyphic seals. The different classes were then analyzed according to their peculiarities, e.g. geographical distribution, iconographic motif groups, palaeography, onomastica, etc.

It was shown that the corpus of stamp seals from the Persian period consists of a wide variety of objects in terms of form and content, and could by no means be characterized as being homogenous. A certain relationship between geographical origin, form, and content of the seal could be established.

OPSOMMING

In die bestek van hierdie magistertesis is 65 stempelseëls (konoïdes, skaraboïdes, seëlringe en skarabeë) versamel, beskryf en ontleed. Dit kom uit wettige argeologiese opgrawings in Siro-Palestina en word gevind in strata en kontekste wat met sekerheid aan die Persiese tyd toegeskryf kan word.

Metodologiese vraagstukke wat aangespreek is, is die volgende: geskiedkundige oorsig van die Persiese tydperk, geografiese afbakening van die studie, argeologiese oorwegings, en die ikonografiese en epigrafiese aspekte van die studie.

'n Rekenaarsisteem is vir die beskrywingsproses ontwikkel wat die beskrywing van die stempelseëls op drie vlakke weergee: algemene beskrywing, beskrywing van elemente en beskrywing van wysigings. Op hierdie manier is die inligting eenvormig hanteer. Die beskrywingsprosedure word in die vorm van 'n katalogus weergegee.

Om die ontleding te vergemaklik, is die stempelseëlkorpus in drie (soms oorvleuelende) klasse verdeel: ikonografiese seëls, epigrafiese seëls, en hiëroglief-seëls. Die verskillende klasse is dan volgens hulle individuele kenmerke ontleed, bv., geografiese verspreiding, ikonografiese motiefgroeperings, paleografie, naamkunde, ens.

Daar is angetoon dat die stempelseëlkorpus van die Persiese tydperk uit 'n groot verskeidenheid voorwerpe bestaan wat vorm en inhoud betref en glad nie as gelyksoortig beskryf kan word nie. 'n Besliste verwantskap tussen geografiese oorsprong, vorm, en ikonografiese inhoud van die seël is vasgestel.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Persian period lasted from 538-332 B.C. and its house of rulers exercised dominion over the Ancient Near East for about two centuries, during which time a number of significant changes were instituted with far-reaching consequences for the civilizations of the Levant. At its height under the Achaemenid rule in the sixth/fifth centuries B.C. the Persian empire encompassed, and more important, united a vast area, including territories of modern Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Russia, Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Yamauchi, 1990:19).

Palestine during the Persian period, was part of the satrapy *Abar Nahara*, falling under the administration of the governor of the province of Judah. The land of the Bible saw the returning exiles and a complex process of re-integration of the Jewish people into the country took place. The country that once had been theirs, was now inhabited by a colourful variety of peoples, each with their unique historical and cultural contributions. This situation of adaptation and identification is of particular interest to the student of Ancient Near Eastern cultures, and in particular of the Israelite/Jewish culture. Moreover, the mechanisms of this intricate process have not been explained to a satisfactory degree.

A further stimulating factor for the present study is the relative insufficiency of knowledge concerning the history of the province of Judah during the Persian period. The religious historical aspect especially seems to require attention.

1.1. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

This study focuses on miniature art as the main communicator of iconographic evidence from Palestine, in particular, on stamp seals.¹ This body of archaeological artifacts, originating from legal excavations from the Syro-Palestine region, chronologically falling within the time limits of the Persian period, has been neglected to a large extent up to now.

1.2. AIMS OF THE STUDY

During the course of the present study, the following objectives are to be accomplished:

(1) To outline the historical development of the region of Syro-Palestine during the Persian period, and to acquaint the reader with the problem areas pertaining to the history of the Jewish people under Persian rule.

(2) To discuss methodological issues that appear to be of relevance to the study of the seal corpus, e.g. the archaeological considerations, the iconographic and epigraphic aspect, the *status quo* of glyptic research, etc.

(3) To assemble from the various archaeological publications a body of stamp seals from the Persian period where the extent of the corpus has to be understood as being representative and not comprehensive.

(4) To introduce and test a system of description, adapted from a computerized iconographic database that has been developed for the storage of iconographic sources such as seals and other objects of miniature art.

¹ I.e. conical stamp seals, stamp seals of various shapes, scarabs, scaraboids, and signet rings.

(5) To describe the objects adequately and to integrate them into the general corpus of seals from the Ancient Near East. An estimated number of 5000 seals from various catalogues and publications were taken as comparative material.

(6) To analyze and identify the seals according to their geographic and stratigraphic distribution, their iconographic motifs and motif groups, and the various aspects of their inscriptions.

2. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

A significant aspect of any study is the development and application of an appropriate methodology for the research which, in the case of the present study, corresponds to the process of collecting, describing, and analyzing the sources, i.e. the stamp seals. It therefore seems appropriate to devote some space to methodological questions, in order to set out the theoretical parameters of this study.¹

These parameters fall into five categories:

- (1) Historical period under question
- (2) Geographical limitations
- (3) Archaeological considerations
- (4) Sources
- (5) Limitations of research

It is of vital importance to keep these parameters in mind throughout the study, especially with regard to general deductions made on the basis of the evidence presented, but also to prevent a possible and sometimes inviting over-simplification of the subject under discussion.

¹ Methodological questions include also the wider scope of an outline of the historical development of the Persian period, since it constitutes the background for the chronological limitations of the study.

2.1. HISTORICAL PERIOD

It seems to be of some importance to present a historical introduction to the time period under discussion, i.e. the Persian Period or the Achaemenid Period,² referring to the name of the house of its rulers,³ dating from 539 to 333/2 B.C., having the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus II (the Great) and Alexander's defeat of the Persian armies at Issus as its chronological markers.⁴ The chronological order of the Achaemenid kings of concern for this study, is as follows:

Cyrus II	(559-530 B.C.)
Cambyses	(530-522 B.C.)
Darius I	(522-486 B.C.)
Xerxes I	(486-465 B.C.)
Artaxerxes I	(465-424 B.C.)
Darius II	(424/3-405/4 B.C.)
Artaxerxes II	(405/4-359/8 B.C.)
Artaxerxes III	(359/8-338/7 B.C.)
Arses	(338/7-336 B.C.)
Darius III	(336-330 B.C.) ⁵

² Although, generally, both terms are indiscriminately used by modern scholarship, hereafter, this time period will be referred to as the Persian Period, since the length of Achaemenid rule does not coincide altogether with the time span of the Persian Period.

³ The Achaemenid line can be traced back to one Achaemenes (Hakhamanish) who must be dated around 700 B.C. The early chronology of the Achaemenids is not without problems, since Darius I declares in the Behistun inscription that he was the ninth person in its family exercising kingship. For a solution of the problem, see Young (1988a:24-28) and Cook (1983:8-10).

⁴ According to the Babylonian Chronicles, Babylon was conquered without any bloodshed on the 12th of October 539 B.C. by the Persian general Gobryas (*Ugbaru*); Cyrus II only entered the city on the 27th of October (Wiseman, 1956:66ff., Pl. 5, 14). The end of the Persian empire can be attached to the battle of Issus when Alexander the Great defeated Darius III in 333/32 B.C.

⁵ All dates have been taken from Miller and Hayes (1986:452f.). Not included in this list are the following kings whose kingship was only transitory and rather short-lived: Bardiya (522 B.C.), Xerxes II (424 B.C.), Sogdianos (424 B.C.).

The history of the Persian Period and its rule as a world power emerges with the personality of possibly its greatest king, Cyrus II (the Great).⁶ His way up to the victory over the Babylonian empire is marked by a Median-Persian family background (for a contrary opinion, see Hinz, 1976:90), the accession to the Persian throne in 559 B.C., the conquest of Media between 554 and 550 B.C., the defeat of the Lydian empire under Croesus in 547 B.C., and the consolidation of his eastern empire between 546 and 540 B.C. (Yamauchi, 1990:79-85; see also Klingbeil, 1987:8-13).

The rise of the Persian empire has generally been understood as a turning point in world history, indicating the end of the metal ages, and entering into the realm of political world empires with a complex administration, having attached the ambiente of modern political structures with their tolerant people-orientated style.⁷

Since the present writer does not attempt a contribution towards Persian historiography, a historical outline of the period under question must suffice. The history of the Persian empire as a whole and especially the historical events of the satrapy *Abar Nahara*⁸, the region roughly of Syro-Palestine, will be considered.

⁶ For historical sources on the person of Cyrus II (the Great), one can call on three short inscriptions from Pasargadae, the Nabonidus Chronicles, the famous Cyrus Cylinder, and the Greek historians Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Xenophon (Yamauchi, 1990:78). Numerous biblical references furthermore enhance our knowledge of this king: 2 Chron 36:22-23; Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-5; Isa 41:2-3, 25-26; 44:28; 45:1, 13; Dan 1:21; 6:28; 10:1 (Yamauchi, 72ff.). The historical value of these passages is not viewed unambiguously, since the focus of the biblical writer was not historiography.

⁷ Young mentions three possible reasons for the historical significance of the Persian empire: (1) The Iranian plateau was unified, destroying the old balance of power between Mesopotamia and Egypt, (2) "the Achaemenid empire achieved a greater quantitative and qualitative unification of the Near East than had any previous multinational polity", and (3) "Near Eastern and European cultures were drawn into close contact" resulting in the synthetical emergence of Hellenism (Young, 1988a:3f.). Donner, however, warns against an idealizing of the tolerant policy of the Achaemenid kings: "Es handelt sich bei den Persern selbstverständlich nicht um Toleranz im Sinne des philosophischen Relativismus oder aus Achtung vor dem Gewissen der anderen oder als soziale Tugend" (1986:394).

⁸ "Although the Persians called this area Athura (Assyria), the official title on Semitic documents of the satrapy consisting of Palestine and Syria was 'Beyond the River'. This is reflected in Post-exilic biblical sources, both in Hebrew and Aramaic. Coins issued at Tarsus by a satrap of the fourth century B.C. include both the 'Beyond the River and Cilicia', and the Gadates Inscription renders the title in Greek 'Beyond the Euphrates' (Rainey, 1968-71:51). Henceforth we will refer to the satrapy by its official semitic name, i.e. *Abar Nahara*.

2.1.1. Historical Outline of the Persian Empire

The *Quellenlage* [situation of sources] for the reconstruction of the history of the Persian Empire as a whole is in a sufficient state, although one always has to bear in mind the tendentious character of ancient historiography, a phenomenon also demonstrated in the two most important and extend sources, i.e. the Old Persian inscriptions and Herodotus (Young, 1988:5).⁹

The beginning of the Persian Empire is related to the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., when Cyrus II (the Great) entered the already taken city, celebrated as a liberator, rather than a conqueror. The Cyrus cylinder, though doubtless composed from a propagandistic angle, reports the event in length (Pritchard, 1958:206ff.). Notable and hitherto virtually unknown is the almost mild treatment that the conquered people underwent during his rule:

In contrast to the Assyrians and Babylonians, however, who had based their rule on large-scale deportations and a reign of fear, Cyrus from the outset adopted a much more lenient policy, which included resettling exiles in their homelands, reconstructing their temples, and in general presenting himself to the conquered as a liberator (Stern, 1984:70).

In the context of this policy, the return of the exiled Jews - amongst other people - to their homeland, was issued in 538 B.C. (see below under 2.1.2.), including the decree for the restoration of the Jerusalem temple.¹⁰ During the remaining years of his reign, Cyrus II (the Great) engaged in the consolidation of his empire in the East, where he is reported to have died in a campaign against the Massagetaes, near the Aral sea in 530 B.C. [Herodotus 1.205].

⁹ Young warns against a too deliberate use of these sources, since they were designed to communicate history in a selected and edited way, e.g. the Behistun inscription of Darius I conveyed what Darius I wanted his readers to believe, and Herodotus [*Histories*], without whom the subject of Persian history would hardly exist, nevertheless, wrote from a Greek point of view. Additional sources are: "archaeological data; Elamite documents from Susa and Persepolis"; "Aramaic materials, such as found at Persepolis"; "Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cuneiform documents" (Young, 1988a:4f.); Biblical writings, e.g. Ezra and Nehemiah; and other Greek historians, e.g. Xenophon's *Anabasis*. For a bibliography on source material, see Donner (1986:391).

¹⁰ The authenticity of the Cyrus edict as found in Ezra 1:1-4 [Hebrew] and 6:3-5 [Aramaic] has been established on the basis of the Cyrus cylinder and the Persian policy towards the Jewish community at Elephantine in the fifth century (Ackroyd, 1984:138). For an opposing point of view, see In der Smitten (1972-74:171).

Cambyses II succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Cyrus II (the Great) in 530 B.C.¹¹, and his main contribution lies in the conquest of Egypt¹² and its annexation into the Persian empire after the victory at Pelusium in the Nile delta in 525 B.C. With this, the traditional balance of power of the Ancient Near East between Mesopotamia and Egypt was upset. Cambyses died 522 B.C. on his way back to Persia after having received some unpleasant news about a revolt in his homeland.¹³

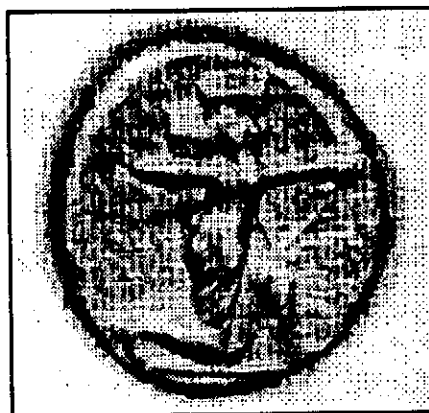


Figure 1: The daric gold coin

After the death of Cambyses, the Persian empire was shaken by a series of revolts in the struggle for the succession of the throne, out of which Darius I (522-486 B.C.), another Achaemenid, emerged as the most powerful candidate. His main achievements - besides the 'normal' amount of warfare that was indispensable for ancient rulers¹⁴ - were in the field of the administration of the vast empire: he initially organized Persia into 23 Satrapies, although Herodotus mentions only 20 of them.¹⁵ [*Histories* 3.89]

¹¹ "Although Cambyses began his rule in 530 B.C., his accession year, his first official regnal year began in the spring of 529 according to the postdating system used by the Persians" (Yamauchi, 1990:93).

¹² The Egyptian kingdom was under the rule of the 26th dynasty, the Saite line, and faced a political isolation towards the end of the sixth century, caused by the rapid conquests of the Persian empire (Yamauchi, 1990:96f.).

¹³ The historical sources about Cambyses display a certain ambiguity: Herodotus describes him as a 'madman' who desecrated Egyptian religious objects (Young, 1988a:47), whereas Egyptian contemporary pro-Persian sources develop a rather positive portrait of the king (Yamauchi, 1990:109-124).

¹⁴ Darius ventured into parts of India and Europe: "In 512 B.C.E. he crossed the Bosphorus and conquered Thrace and, according to Herodotus, he also engaged the Scythians in battle at the mouth of the Danube." Of significance for the subsequent history of the Persian empire was the confrontation with Greece in 499 B.C. when the Greek cities of Anatolia and Cyprus rebelled, climaxing in the defeat at the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. (Stern, 1984a:71).

¹⁵ "Nach der Stabilisierung der Verhältnisse ging Dareios etwa zwischen 518 und 514 an die Neuordnung und innere Durchgliederung des Reiches. Er revidierte die Einteilung in Großraumverwaltungseinheiten, sog. Satrapien (von pers. *xšatrapavan* = Satrap, Schirmer der Herrschaft'). Das Gesamtgebiet wurde in 23 Satrapien gegliedert; die Anzahl änderte sich bereits unter Dareios I. selbst und später öfter" (Donner, 1986:397f.). Sources for the policy of Darius are the Behistun inscription and the inscription of Naqsh-e Rostam.

Darius developed a complex taxation system, and the beginning of the minting of coins is ascribed to his reign - the famous gold *daric* with images of the hunting king on its surface. (Fig. 1)

A rather beautiful witness to this typical Persian royal iconography can be found in the image of the so called Darius seal found in Egypt. (Fig. 2) Darius I died at Persepolis in 486 B.C. leaving a stable and thoroughly organized vast empire behind.¹⁶

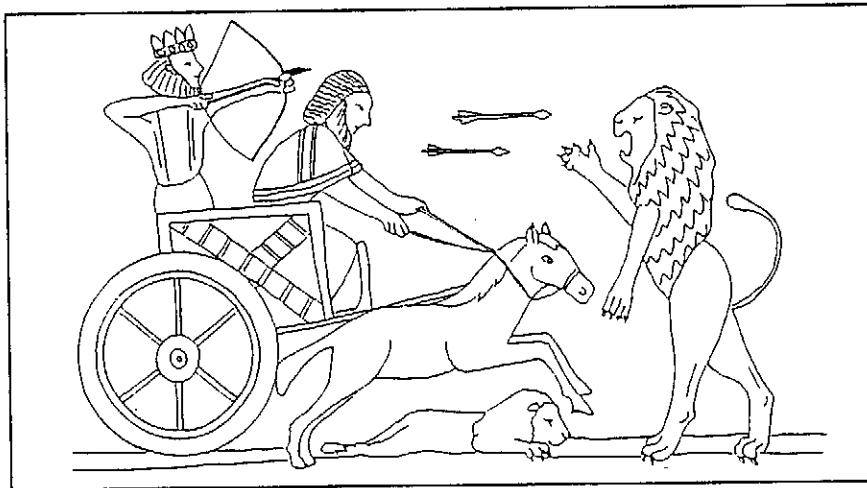


Figure 2: Darius' seal

With Xerxes I another king succeeded in the line of the Achaemenid kings. His reign was characterized by a series of conflicts: In Egypt in 486/85 B.C., a revolt headed by Khabasha, broke out which was crushed by Xerxes I in 483 B.C., "only with difficulty and after heavy fighting" (Stern, 1984:73). Another friction occurred at the same time in Babylon in which the satrap of Babylonia and Abar Nahara, Zopyrus, was killed - Xerxes suppressed this rebellion as well.¹⁷ In the west, Xerxes suffered a serious defeat

¹⁶ Darius I has to be seen as the actual consolidator of the Persian empire, molding the conquered regions into a single administrative structure. Says Koch: "In den Anfängen kam es um 520, als Dareios I. die Regierung ergriff, fast überall im Reich zu Aufständen, die es an den Rand des Zusammenbruchs brachten. Doch nachdem der erste Dareios seine Herrschaft gefestigt hatte, blieben, aufs ganze gesehen, selbst unter schwachen Nachfolgern die Reichseinheit gewahrt und die Völkermassen untertänig." (1984:49) Koch continues with an interesting investigation into the reasons for the stability of the Persian empire, drawing on the content of the royal inscriptions of Darius I, and the iconographic data of the palace reliefs at Persepolis. As a result it was found that Zoroastrian world-views were expressed in the political concept of Darius I (1984:108f.).

¹⁷ Although Xerxes induced some harsh measures in response to these revolts, he most probably did not alter the overall outline of the Persian policy towards its subjects (Young, 1988b:103).

from the Greek armies at the battles of Salamis and Mycale in 480 B.C., resulting in the expulsion of the Persian forces from the Aegean.

In 465 B.C. Artaxerxes I¹⁸ ascended the throne in a rather blood-stained fashion (Yamauchi, 1990:248), and continued the struggle against revolts in the far away corners of his kingdom.¹⁹

With the death of Artaxerxes I in 424 B.C., the Persian empire was thrown into a temporary struggle for the succession of the throne which was decided when Darius II became ruler in 423 B.C. Again, revolts broke out in the western part of the empire and in Egypt.²⁰

Artaxerxes II enjoyed a comparatively long term (405/4-359/58 B.C.), but his reign marks the turning point in the history of the Persian empire. "During the reign of Artaxerxes II, the process of disintegration of the Persian empire began" (Stern 1988:74). Egypt fought off Persian rule for some 60 years, and ventured further into the coastal regions of Syro-Palestine.²¹ In addition to external aggressions, internal strife increased,²² and in 358 B.C. the throne was succeeded by Artaxerxes III.

Artaxerxes III once more restored Egypt to the Persian empire in 343 B.C., after crushing a rebellion of the Phoenician towns.²³

¹⁸ The reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.) sets the background for the biblical books of Ezra, and Nehemiah (Yamauchi, 1990:253-278).

¹⁹ A revolt in Egypt in 461/60 B.C. could only be suppressed after a long campaign under the leadership of Megabyzus, satrap of Abar Nahara in 455 B.C. (Stern, 1984a:73).

²⁰ The uprisings in Egypt have been connected to the letters written by Jewish mercenaries in the Persian-Jewish garrison at Elephantine (Cowley, 1923:108-122).

²¹ Egypt, for a short time, extended its influence as far as Tyre and Sidon, as some inscriptions from Acco and Sidon reveal (Stern, 1984a:75f.).

²² "From 366 to 360 B.C.E. the whole of the Persian Empire was endangered by what is generally known as the 'revolt of the satraps'" (Stern, 1984a:76).

²³ There is no evidence that the Palestinian towns also took part in this uprising (Stern, 1984a:77).

The remaining two Achaemenid kings, Artaxerxes IV and Darius III, followed in rapid succession, and in 333/2 at the famous battles of Granykos, Issus, and Gaugamela, the vast Persian empire fell to Alexander the Great.

2.1.2. Historical Outline of Abar Nahara

It is appropriate to start this section with a quotation from Albright which still seems to be of relevance: "The Persian period is still one of the most obscure in the history of the Hebrew people" (1934:20). Statements, similar to this one seem still to be pertaining to the historical study of Syro-Palestine during the Persian period, especially with regard to the fourth century B.C.²⁴

When Cyrus II (the Great) conquered Babylon, he appointed Gobryas as governor of Babylonia and Abar Nahara (Rainey, 1968-71:52), whereby both regions were combined in one entity.²⁵ The lenient policy of the Persian emperor towards his subjects became evident in the famous Cyrus edict, initializing the return of the exiled Jews under Sheshbazzar²⁶ to Jerusalem. Similar procedures were employed towards other

²⁴ E.g.: "The period of Persian rule in Palestine and Syria was a time of far reaching developments in Judaism. Unfortunately, the sources pertaining to this important stage in biblical history are very meager, especially for the fourth century B.C." (Rainey, 1968-71:51). "Mit noch größerem Recht als von dem 5. kann man von dem 4. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert als einem dunklen Zeitalter in der Geschichte Palästinas sprechen" (Kaiser, 1972:197). "Although the Persian period is a relatively late one from the archaeological standpoint, it is one of the most obscure eras in Palestine and its history is practically unknown" (Stern, 1982:xv). "Die Jahrzehnte zwischen der Einweihung des zweiten Tempels (515) und der Vollendung der Restauration in Jerusalem und Juda (nach 450) können mit demselben Recht 'dunkel' genannt werden wie das 'dunkle Jahrhundert' vor dem Auftreten Alexanders des Großen" (Donner, 1986:416). "What is clear to all students of the early Persian period, however, is that a high degree of uncertainty is imposed upon the territory of Yehud and the satrapy of Beyond the River immediately following the governorship of Elnathan" (Meyers, 1987:510).

²⁵ Rainey presents convincing arguments for the identification of Abar Nahara (semitic title) with the satrapy of Assyria (Persian title), referring to the list of territories in the inscriptions from the reign of Darius I: "In all of these rosters the province "Beyond the River" is called Assyria, not only in the Persian editions but in the Elamite, Akkadian and Egyptian as well. Nevertheless, the various texts cited above, including administrative tablets in Akkadian, coins inscribed in Aramaic, and the Greek and south Arabian texts, all demonstrate quite clearly that the official Semitic title was "Beyond the River" in accordance with the biblical usage" (Rainey, 1968-71:54). Stern on the other hand opts for the possibility that "in the days of Darius I the Abar Nahara satrapy was still included in the larger unit of "Babylon" (Stern, 1984a:78).

²⁶ The problem of the exact amount of returning Jews to Jerusalem under Sheshbazzar and later on under Zerubbabel, and the date for the lists of returnees as found in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 has been discussed by Schottroff who follows Galling (Schottroff, 1982:49-51; see also Galling, 1964:89-108).

nationalities or religious parties.²⁷ The region that initially constituted the satrapy, encompassed Babylonia, Syro-Palestine, Phoenicia, and possibly Cyprus. However, it underwent some drastic changes throughout the Persian period.²⁸ In 520 B.C. with the stabilization of Persian rule under Darius I, Ushtannu is recorded to have been governor of the satrapy Babylonia and Abar Nahara, and the completion of the temple structure in Jerusalem - including the adversities connected with that - fell under his governorship (Rainey, 1968-71:56).

The main change in the history of Abar Nahara took place during the reign of Xerxes I, when Babylonia rebelled in 482 B.C., and Abar Nahara, as an outcome of the conflict, was separated from Babylonia and existed henceforth as a satrapy in its own right.²⁹ The mission of Ezra, the scribe, as an official of the Persian king in 458 B.C. to Jerusalem reflects the internal affairs of Abar Nahara in the time of Artaxerxes I.

As to the internal organization of Abar Nahara, it can be established that the satrapy was sub-divided into smaller political units which can be referred to as provinces or *medinoth* (Stern, 1984:79). The provinces of Judah and Samaria are well attested in biblical and extra-biblical sources.³⁰ However, with regard to the date from which the

²⁷ "Der Gunsterweis für den HIMMELSGOTT VON JERUSALEM, DAS IN JUDA LIEGT (Esr 1,2f) ist durchaus keine Ausnahme, sondern eine Folge der toleranten Politik des Kyros, die sich im Falle der von Nabunid vernachlässigten Mardukpriesterschaft von Babylon als eine politische Notwendigkeit ergab und die Begünstigung anderer Priesterschaften in Nordiran, der Poseidonpriesterschaft von Kleinasien und anderer mehr lediglich nach sich zog" (In der Smitten, 1972-74:169).

²⁸ For a discussion of the geographical and historical variations and possible borders of the satrapy, see Rainey (1968-71:54-72).

²⁹ "As a result [of the Babylonian revolt], Beyond the River was separated from Mesopotamia and became an independent administrative unit in that same year. Megabyzus [see note 18] was ultimately appointed satrap sometime prior to 456 B.C.E., and was later involved in another rebellion on the eve of Nehemiah's mission in 445 B.C.E." (Meyers, 1987:511). Herodotus refers to Abar Nahara as independent, describing its extent ("...the whole of Phoenicia and that part of Syria which is called Palestine, and Cyprus") and tax status (3.91).

³⁰ As proof for the existence of these two units, the biblical titles ascribed to Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel can be adduced; furthermore the Elephantine letters, the *Yehud* stamp impressions found at various sites, and the bulla found at Wadi ed-Daliyeh with the title of Sanballat, the Samaritan governor (Stern, 1984a:79f.).

province of Judah existed as a political unit, there remains some uncertainty, because of the scarce historical sources.³¹

The internal affairs of this province were qualified by the continuous tension between Judah and the province of Samaria (Bright, 1981:365, 377), especially with regard to the completion of the temple reconstruction in 515 B.C., but also later during the middle of the fifth century while Ezra³² and Nehemiah were labouring in Judah. It is interesting to note that the relationship of the Jews towards the Persian administration, however, seems to have remained stable throughout the Persian period (Frye, 1984:114).

The historical situation of the Jews in Palestine during the remaining part of the Persian period is described aptly by Miller and Hayes:

We know practically nothing about the history of the Jewish community between Ezra-Nehemiah and the conquest of Alexander the Great. What effect the Persian-Egyptian wars, the revolt of the satraps, the Phoenician rebellion initiated by Tennes, and the Persian reconquest of Egypt may have had on the Jerusalem community remains unknown (1986:474).

After having reviewed the major historical outlines of the Persian period, we note the sufficiency of documentary material for the history of the Persian empire as a whole, whereas the historical sources for Syro-Palestine as a comparatively small unit of the

³¹ According to Stern, most probably a time around the middle of the fifth century has to be considered, taking into consideration the results of recent archaeological findings, especially the inscribed and uninscribed stamp impressions found at various sites: "However, from 515 to 445 B.C.E., that is from the first return to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, there are no written sources testifying to the existence of an independent state in the region. ... There is nothing in the archaeological finds from the first part of the Persian period which distinguishes Judah from the other 'provinces' of Palestine or the other parts of the Persian empire. ... The situation, however, is completely different for the second part of the period, from the end of the fifth century B.C.E. onwards. At this time there is a sudden appearance of large numbers of seal impressions of various types, all of them bearing the inscription *Yehud*, the Aramaic name of Judah" (Stern, 1984a:82f.). Aharoni, among other authors, takes the *terminus a quo* for the existence of Judah as an autonomous province much earlier, i.e. with the Cyrus edict: "Cyrus in his first year as emperor (538 B.C.) reacted favourably to the requests of the Babylonian exiles and permitted their return to the land of Judah. The royal decree defined both the political and religious autonomy of Judah as well as arranging for the temple to be reconstructed" (Aharoni, 1979:413). This is also based on the succession of governors (תִּשְׁבָּתַי) of which we find record in various biblical books (Ezra 5:14; 3:2; Neh 12:1; Hag 1:1; *et al.*) and in the Elephantine Papyri. For a critical philological treatment, though not quite convincing (see esp. note 23 of the article) of the term תִּשְׁבָּתַי see McEvenue who concludes "that biblical *peha* suggests something different from satraps and governor" (McEvenue, 1981:363).

³² Margalith views the mission of Ezra, and its unreserved support by the Persian government as a political move to uphold the balance of power within the context of the conflict between Persia and the Attic-Delic League 460-448 B.C.: "From the point of view of the Persian king a strong pro-Persian Judea was a major threat to the Greek coastal lifeline, and as long as the Greeks dominated the coast and Egypt, he supported a strong Judean province headed by a Judean-Persian official and peopled by a pro-Persian population, most of whose families were hostages in Babylon and Persia" (1986:111).

Persian empire, are rather scarce. Moreover, information about the religious-historical and the sociological conditions of the Jewish people after the Exile and their surrounding neighbours, is virtually lacking, except for the short time period covered by the biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. However, we can presume a certain level of interaction between the small world of the Jewish community and the vast world of the Persian empire. In order to understand this period correctly, the histories have to be understood as an interactive unit, and not as isolated entities. Against this background, the study of the seals is undertaken, having as its focus not as much the context of historiography, but rather an appropriate understanding of the visual sources that constitute the main part of the study.

2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATIONS

If one attempts to discuss the geography of Syro-Palestine, it soon becomes apparent that there is a great measure of variance with regard to the borders and limitations of that region,³³ and that its geography has to be understood foremost as historically dependent.³⁴ Syro-Palestine during the time of the Ancient Near East was the land bridge between Mesopotamia and Egypt, or the southern part of the fertile crescent, and that is the most significant geographical factor from which it could derive its importance. These two powers were also the determinants for the northern and southern borders of Palestine, providing the region at times with the status of a buffer zone between the empires. On the west and the east, Syro-Palestine was naturally limited by the Mediterranean sea and the Syro-Arabian desert, a situation which made the region

³³ In contrast to the geography of Egypt, where one encounters a certain unity and continuity, caused by the relative geographical isolation of the country, and the Nile valley as the central fertile area.

³⁴ "The history of any land and people is influenced to a considerable degree by their geographical environment. This includes not only the natural features such as climate, soil, topography, etc., but also the geopolitical relationships with neighbouring areas. This is especially true for Palestine, a small and relatively poor country, which derives its main importance from its unique centralized location at a juncture of continents and a crossroads for the nations" (Aharoni, 1979:3).

appreciated as a thoroughfare for the armies, traders and travellers coming along the routes from north and south.³⁵

During the Persian period, Palestine belonged to the satrapy Abar Nahara,³⁶ whereas Herodotus in the middle of the fifth century describes its geographical dimensions as following:

... from the town of Poseideion ... on the border between Cilicia and Syria, as far as Egypt - omitting Arabian territory, which was free from tax, came 350 talents. This province contains the whole of Phoenicia and that part of Syria which is called Palestine, and Cyprus (III, 91; Herodotus cited by Rainey, 1968-71:58).

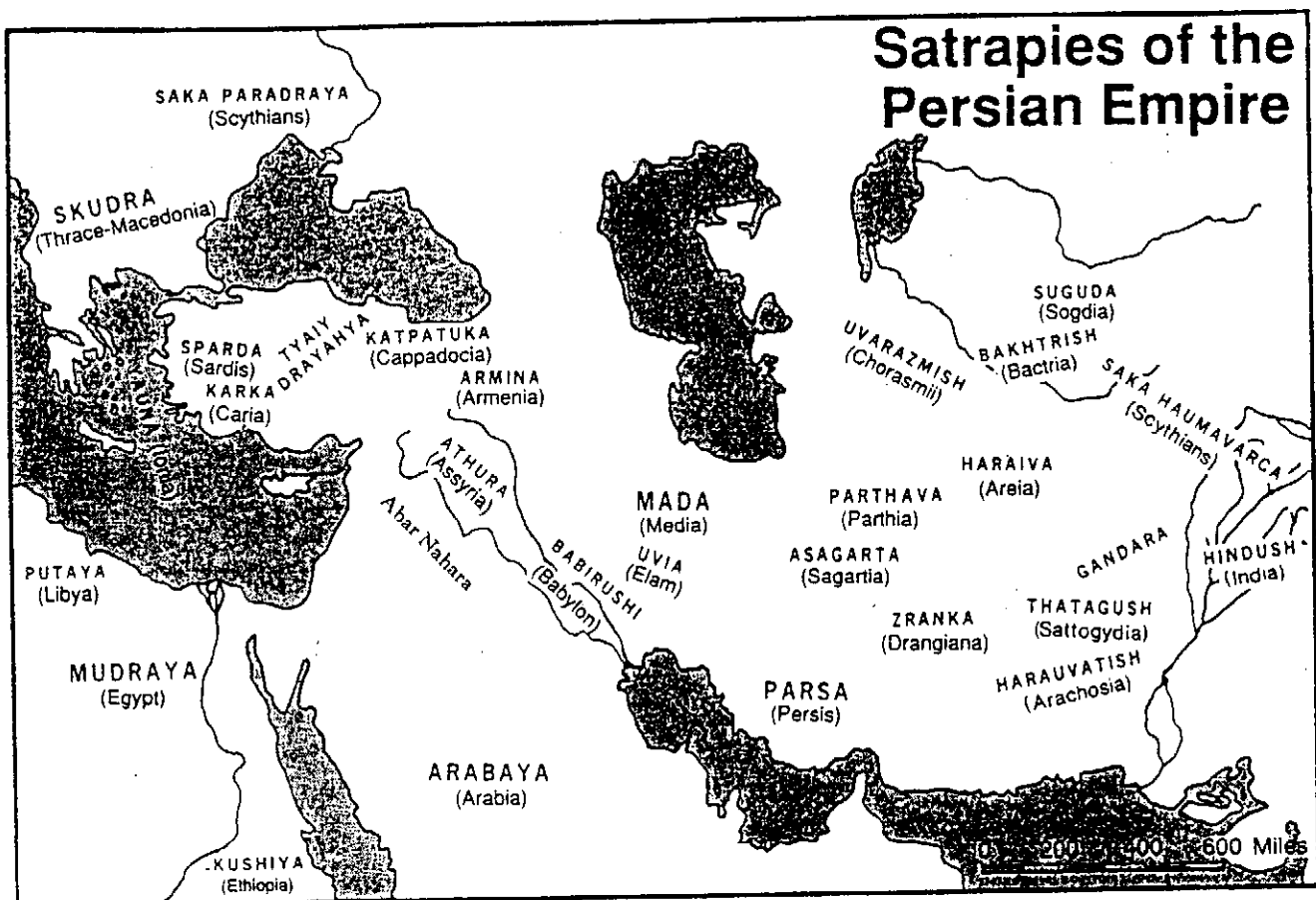


Figure 3: The satrapy Abar Nahara within the Persian empire

³⁵ The two main highways were 'The King's Highway', east of the river Jordan, leading along the Transjordan range (Aharoni, 1979:45-57), and 'The Way of the Sea' (*Via Maris*) leading from Acco inland to the east towards Capernaum, and not through the coastal plain, as has been convincingly shown by Beltzer (1991:73).

³⁶ "As a general rule the Persian authorities evidently accepted the administrative division in the respective parts of their empire as they found it, i.e. as it had been established in the Assyrian and Babylonian periods" (Aharoni, 1979:411). For the historio-political development of the satrapy Abar Nahara, see under 2.1.2.

The region of concern for the present study falls within Abar Nahara, and can be designated as the land of the Bible, or Palestine. However, the geographical term Palestine³⁷ is not so easily defined, since the sources are silent about the historical and the geographical situation of that region beyond the coastal line. Our most reliable and extensively used source, Herodotus, is rather limited in describing the geographical outlines, since he only gives indication of the coastal line of the region.³⁸

On the basis of the assumption that the Persian administration did not alter the geographical boundaries of the political units employed by the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires,³⁹ the region of Palestine during the Persian period would entail the whole or parts of the following provinces: Moab, Idumaea, Ashdod, Judah Ammon, Samaria, Gilead, Megiddo, Dor, Acco, Hauran, and Karnaim.⁴⁰ The limitations have been drawn under the following considerations:

(1) Although Palestine during the Persian period was a land of many different geo-political and cultural units,⁴¹ there was nevertheless an overriding administrative

³⁷ The term Palestine (παλαιστίνη) in a broader sense was first used by Herodotus (III, 91), and Aharoni comments: "This is the earliest evidence of the use of the term Palestine as a general designation for the whole country; formerly it had only stood for Philistia, the Philistine territory in the limited sense. The Greek and Hellenistic writers first came in touch with the coastal regions of Syria and Palestine; therefore, they extended the range of the terms that they encountered there to include the whole of the country" (Aharoni, 1979:412).

³⁸ "... Herodotus was only giving the extent of the coastline belonging to the fifth satrapy. He is describing the province "Beyond the River" from the standpoint of one who had travelled by sea along its Mediterranean shoreline. He furnishes no information that would help to determine the extent of this satrapy's inland territories" (Rainey, 1968-71:60).

³⁹ "It is the general consensus that the Persians did not alter the internal administrative form of Palestine which was created at the time of the Babylonian and Assyrian rule" (Stern, 1982:238).

⁴⁰ The lists of provinces, given by different scholars, disagree slightly. Aharoni gives the following list, based on the biblical evidence: "... we have evidence for four provinces that bordered on Judah: Samaria in the north, Ammon-Gilead in the east, Arabia-Idumaea in the south and Ashdod in the west." To that list, he furthermore adds the Assyrian and Babylonian provinces of Megiddo, whereas the coastal towns south of Acco were Tyrian or Sidonia colonies, i.e. Haifa, Crocodilonpolis, Ashkelon, Adaroth, Dor, and Joppa (Aharoni, 1979:415f.). Stern presents the following list of provinces, based on the same evidence, i.e. biblical and the preceding administrations: Megiddo, Dor, Samaria, Hauran (Transjordan), Karnaim (Transjordan), Gilead (Transjordan), Judah, Ashdod, Idumaea, Ammon, Moab, Gaza and Negev under Arabian rule (Stern, 1982:238). Says Weippert: "Die Gesamtzahl palästinischer Provinzen ist unbekannt; inschriftlich bezeugt sind nur Samaria, Juda, Asdod und Gaza" (1988:687).

⁴¹ "... Palestine is characterized by great variations in topography. Only short distances apart we find areas that differ from one another in nearly every respect, e.g. the mountainous, rain-swept Galilee and the tropical Jordan Valley, the fertile Transjordanian highland over against the barren Negev and the wild Judean desert. The mountain slopes are steep, comprising natural divisions between the different regions. Therefore, it is no surprise that in the various periods of its history the population of each region

structure, superimposed by the central Persian government,⁴² leading to some kind of a homogeneous structure in Palestine which should not be disrupted by geographical segmentation of that area in the perspective of the sources for this study.

(2) The somewhat ambiguous situation of the Phoenician coastal cities,⁴³ and their integration into the Palestinian geographical unit, will be accounted for by the fact that material from Phoenician cities north of Acco will also be regarded as primary objects.⁴⁴

3) The limitations of the area under question also correspond to the results of archaeological excavations of Persian sites, and their local distribution (see under 2.3.).⁴⁵ Therefore, the limitations of the area from which the material for this study has been collected, will be drawn as follows: the western border will be naturally constituted by

was often quite different from that of the next, both in density as well as in social and ethnic composition. This situation was never conducive to national or political unity" (Aharoni, 1979:42).

⁴² The administrative reform of Darius I (see above) introduced a well organized governmental structure, including common taxation, monetary, and postal system (Donner, 1986:398), yet always exacted from the perspective of a central organization and governmental philosophy, to which all subjected nations had to conform (Koch, 1984:60-62). The use of *Reichsaramäisch* as the official language was another uniting factor. Frei who discusses the communication between the different levels of the Persian administration, concludes: "Wir sehen, dass es institutionalisierte Uebergangsstellen vom lokalen System zum zentralen, über welche sich ein Zusammenspiel der beiden herbeiführen liess, das den Untertanen Rechtssicherheit verschaffte und der Zentrale eine Kontrolle ermöglichte, so dass in einem gewissen Umfang die Interessen beider gewahrt wurden" (Frei, 1984:26).

⁴³ There are basically two positions on the status of the Phoenician cities in the Persian period, presented by Stern and Avi-Yonah. Stern assumes that the Phoenicians were as much under Persian administrative rule, as were all the other *medinot* of Palestine, whereas Avi-Yonah seems to understand the Phoenician cities in terms of a 'free commercial city' under a kind of independent self rule (1966:ch. 1). See also Rainey: "Important cities such as Tyre and Sidon probably continued to enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy" (1968-71:52). There seems to be a certain difference in the political status of Phoenicia and inner Palestine - which, of course, could also only be the result of historiography, since the coastal plain, and not the inland, was the primary focus for all the political movements and the record of the historians - for which a convincing solution has to be found yet.

⁴⁴ This consideration is also in view of the fact that the Phoenician craft was highly influential in the manufacture of seals which is reflected in the iconography of the objects. The glyptic of the Persian period cannot be sufficiently understood, if the Phoenician evidence remains unconsidered: "The Phoenicians were undoubtedly the unrivalled masters of their craft, and initially the Israelites seem indeed to have acquired Phoenician seals and to have added their names on them. But in the course of time they seem to have learned the craft of engraving, and reached a high standard of craftsmanship matching that of their Phoenician masters" (Avigad, 1988:16). Cf. also Galling's important work where he classifies the seals according to the workshop in which they were manufactured (Galling, 1941:121-202).

⁴⁵ From the archaeological evidence, the inclusion of the area north of Achzib, seems to be legitimate, although with a certain amount of caution: "In Syria and Phoenicia important remains from this period [Persian period] were found at Byblos and Sidon, but because of the method of excavation it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the strata of the Persian period at these sites" (Stern, 1982:xix). However, the Persian sites and finds from this period in Phoenicia and Syria are less numerous than the sites of the central Palestine region.

the Mediterranean; in the north from Sidon towards inland, crossing the Lebanon mountain range into Syria, then moving south, entering the eastern side of the Jordan valley, continuing through Transjordan on the western side of Philadelphia down to the height of the southern tip of the Dead Sea, then moving west towards the Mediterranean. From hereafter we will refer to this territory as Syro-Palestine.⁴⁶

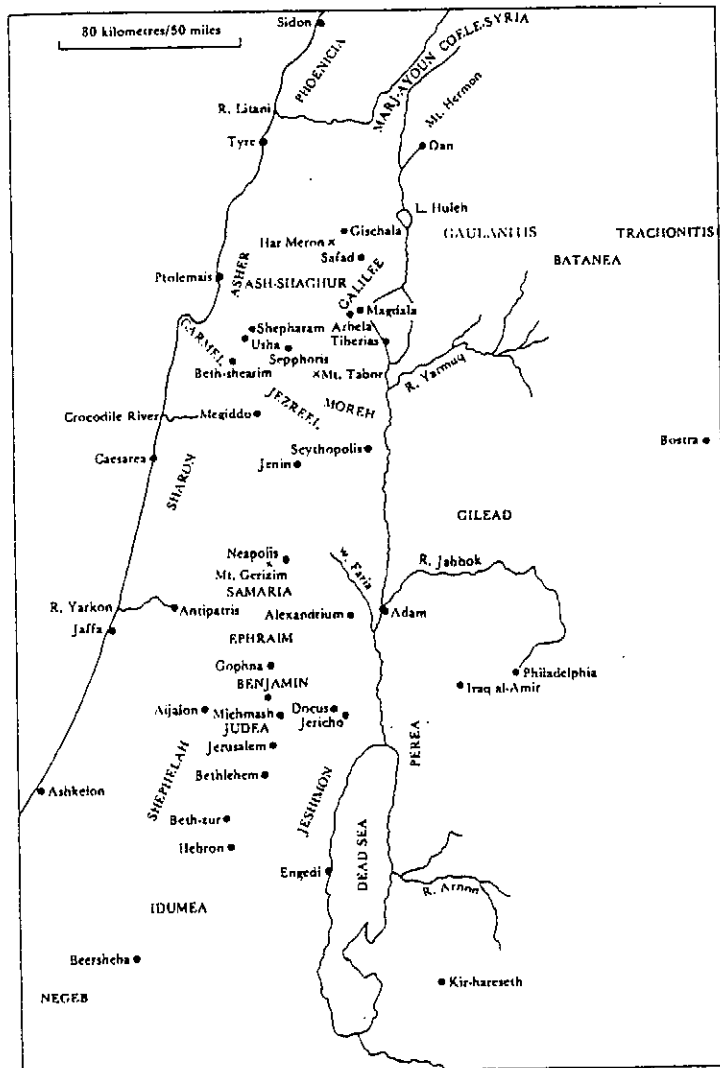


Figure 4: Syro-Palestine: geographical limitations

⁴⁶ A map showing the geographical distribution of the sources can be found on p. 49, fig. 11.

2.3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The archaeology of Palestine in the Persian period has been characterized by a number of complicating factors which have been sufficiently summarized by Weippert:

Bis vor kurzem gehörte die babylonisch-persische Zeit zu den dunklen Epochen der Archäologie Palästinas, deren Abgrenzung sowohl von der Eisenzeit wie der hellenistischen Zeit schwer fiel. Das hatte zwei Hauptursachen: 1. An mehreren Orten (z.B. Megiddo, *Tell Gemme*, *Tell el-Hesi*, Jericho, *Tell Der 'Alla*, *Tell el-Mazar*, *Busera*, *Tawilan* und *Tell el-Hlefe*) endete die Bebauung in der babylonisch-persischen Zeit. Da die obersten Schichten eines Tells naturgemäß der Erosion in besonderem Maße ausgesetzt sind, wurden viele Gebäudereste zerstört, wenn nicht sogar gänzlich abgetragen. 2. Wo die Besiedlung in hellenistischer Zeit weiterging (z.B. Samaria, Sichem, Jerusalem, Asdod und Askalon), hat oft die massive und monumentale Bauweise frühere Gebäudereste beseitigt. Beides führte dazu, daß man bei Grabungen zwar vielerorts nacheisenzeitliche Kleinfunde entdeckte; jedoch nicht in architektonisch eindeutig abgegrenzten und damit von jüngeren Schichten unterscheidbaren Kontext (Weippert, 1988:697).⁴⁷

It becomes apparent that the main problem lies in a correct stratigraphic classification of the sites presumingly dating from the Persian period. A valuable and indispensable contribution towards clarifying the complicated situation has been made by E. Stern with his monograph *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.*, originally published in 1973 [Hebrew], bringing together the archaeological evidence of the Persian period with the attempt to systematize it adequately.⁴⁸

The archaeological excavations of the last two decades, however, have shed some light on the question of the Persian stratigraphy.

It is only recently, thanks to excavations of the 1970s, that abundant finds of the Persian period have been made, largely in clear stratigraphic or homogeneous contexts (at Hazor, Shikmona, Tel Megadim, Engedi, to mention but a few). These discoveries also make possible a new

⁴⁷ Stern makes the same observations: "... on many of the local mounds, the Persian levels are the uppermost or the latest on the site; in other tells these levels are found beneath massive Hellenistic and Roman structures. So the Persian remains have suffered, either from exposure or from later building activities" (Stern, 1984b:90).

⁴⁸ The English translation was published in 1982, and has since then become a kind of a textbook for the study of the material culture of this time period. Weippert, for example, follows Stern's structure and classifications to a large extent (cf. Weippert, 1988:698, 703).

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examination and classification of the material found previously (Stern, 1984b:90).⁴⁹

From this archaeological situation some methodological considerations arise:

(1) Since the stratigraphic context is of vital importance for the dating of the objects under question, the first observation that has to be made, is, that archaeologically, the Iron Age (Iron IIC - stratum V) ends in 586 B.C. (Weippert, 1988:687), and stratum IV is usually assigned to both the Babylonian **and** Persian period (Lance, 1981:98). This leaves us with an obscure margin of 47/8 years range for which there is no independent archaeological dating scheme available,⁵⁰ leading to the question of how to treat material which falls archaeologically within that time period. Therefore, as a methodological device, seals that can be positively identified from the archaeological evidence **and** on account of their contents, i.e. on either iconographic or epigraphical grounds, as belonging to the time after 586 B.C., but prior to 538 B.C., will be treated as primary objects, belonging to the corpus of seals from the Persian period. Those that cannot be positively identified, will not be taken into consideration.

⁴⁹ Cf. for example the rather clear stratigraphy of building 234 found at En-Gedi, assigned to stratum IV, which is the stratum of the Persian period (Mazar/Dunayevsky, 1967:134).

⁵⁰ With regard to the time period between 586 and 539 B.C., the change from the Iron Age to the Persian period, and the exilic period in Palestine, Weippert writes: "Dieser Befund [i.e. the difficult stratigraphy of the Persian period] schien der in Teilen des Alten Testaments vertretenen Sicht zu entsprechen, daß das Land nach der babylonischen Eroberung verwüstet und weitgehend entvölkert zurückgeblieben sei ... Das Leben, so meinte man, habe sich vornehmlich in dörflichem Rahmen fortgesetzt und erst durch Rückwanderungen aus dem Exil allmählich wieder einen Aufschwung genommen. Freilich zeichnete sich schon in den Sechziger Jahren ab, daß die babylonischen Zerstörungen an Orten nördlich von Jerusalem vorbeigegangen waren (*Tell en-Nasbe, el-Gib*, Bethel und *Tell el-Fu*), und inzwischen weiß man auch, daß bedingt durch das erst später erfolgte babylonische Vordringen im Ostjordanland eisenzeitliche Traditionen sich hier länger behaupteten und der Übergang in die persische Zeit gleitend geschah. Damit verwischte sich freilich die Zäsur zwischen der eisenzeitlichen und der babylonisch-persischen Kultur, nachdem früher nur die Grenzziehung zwischen der Eisenzeit und der babylonisch-persischen Zeit Mühen bereitet hat" (1988:697f.).

(2) Another methodological consideration which arises from the stratigraphy of the Persian period, is the problem of the origin of a certain seal. *A priori*, seals from legal excavations that have been published, are the subject of this study. However, accounting for the at times dubious stratigraphy, and for the various (and sometimes rather wonderful) ways in which a specific seal finds entrance into a publication or museum, seals with an archaeologically traceable⁵¹ background will also be taken into consideration.⁵²

(3) To conclude this section, reference should be made to the state of archaeology during the Persian period as

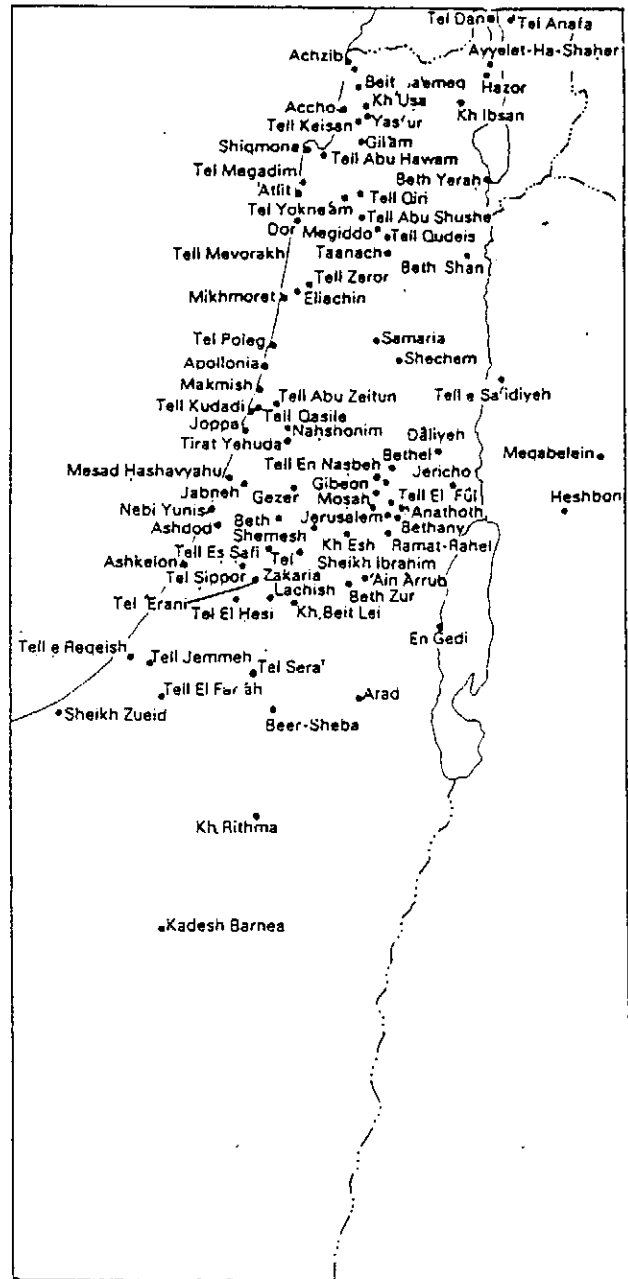


Figure 5: Map of excavated sites from the Persian period

⁵¹ With 'traceable', which can be a rather broad term, I would refer to surface finds, where there is some degree of certainty as to the origin of the object. As an example the two seals from the post-exilic archive, published by Avigad - who is in no doubt about their authenticity - may be taken: "Unfortunately, we have been informed of nothing concerning the site of discovery and its circumstances, but only that the bullae were found in the Jerusalem region, hidden in a pottery vessel. Regrettably, they were sold to a Jerusalem antiquities dealer without the jar, and thus a prime means of dating the find was lost. The two seals were brought to the dealer separately by the same person, described as an Arab villager. One of the seals (No. 14) was brought several days after the bullae and the other (No. 13), several weeks later. It is common for such finds to be separated so as to obtain a much higher profit. However, the seals may not have been found within the same vessel as the bullae, but separately after further search on the same site" (Avigad, 1976:10-13).

⁵² A more detailed methodological discussion of the material that is of relevance for this study, will follow under 2.4.

a whole,⁵³ especially with regard to our main concern, i.e. the material culture of that period.

A study of the material culture of Palestine reveals that the country was already divided into two regions at the beginning of the period: on the one hand the mountainous area of Judea and Transjordan (and to a lesser extent also Samaria) and on the other, Galilee and the coastal area. The border between these two cultural areas is at times very sharp - almost like a border dividing two countries. Without an understanding of this division of Palestine it is almost impossible to understand the material development of the culture of the period (Stern, 1984:112).

2.4. SOURCES

The study of Syro-Palestine glyptic⁵⁴ has been a matter of interest for some time already, since in the realm of miniature art,⁵⁵ seals have been found to enhance our understanding of the Ancient Near East in a significant way. Exactly what this enhancement of understanding entails, if it lies on a historical or a non-historical level, will be discussed below. It may suffice to say that the seal, the archaeological artifact,

⁵³ See Stern for a summary of the development of the archaeology of the Persian period (Stern, 1982:xvii-xix).

⁵⁴ The study of seals became imperative, because they constitute a major part of the finds, discovered at archaeological excavations. Keel makes a rather enthusiastic calculation: "*Petrie* hat in seinen Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell el-Ajjul in den Jahren 1930-1934 über 1000 Siegel gefunden (Ancient Gaza IV 4). Bei den Ausgrabungen von 1932-1938 in Lachisch fand *J. L. Starkey* 451 Siegel in Schichten der späten Mittleren Bronzezeit und in solchen der Spätbronzezeit und 173 Siegel in solchen der Eisenzeit. Wenn diese Zahlen auch zeigen, daß Siegel in der Bronzezeit in größerer Zahl im Umlauf waren als in der Eisenzeit, so haben sie in der letzteren doch keineswegs gefehlt ... Wenn man die Siegelfunde aus den regulären Grabungen und das, was aus Raubgrabungen in die Museen und Privatsammlungen gekommen ist, zusammenrechnen könnte (die Privatsammlungen sind praktisch ausnahmslos nicht publiziert) und würde, dürfte man auf weit über 10 000, ja vielleicht auf mehrere 10 000 Stück kommen" (Keel, 1977:93, n.160).

⁵⁵ For the meaning of miniature art in Palestine, see Schroer's study "In Israel gab es Bilder", where she shows that there was indeed a large amount of miniature art in Israel/Judah, although few examples of monumental art (1987). Avigad, in writing about the iconography of Hebrew seals, maintains the following: "In the main, the Israelites remained an iconic nation. However, it is evident that, notwithstanding the prohibition, they did not always abstain from using figurative art" (1988:15). Seals are portrayed as the outstanding medium of miniature art in Palestine by Keel: "Entschieden häufiger als alle bisher genannten Bildträger hat man in Palästina/Israel aber Siegel und Amulette gefunden" (1985a:20).

bridges the enormous time gap between modern research of the land of the Bible and the actual subject of that research.⁵⁶

The earliest attempts to systematize the abundant material, and to use it from a historical point of view, goes back to the 19th century (Lemaire, 1988a:222).⁵⁷ The first complex catalogue was that of Diringer, published in 1934, still a valuable source for re-publications. If one reviews the development of glyptic research from these beginnings to the present day, it becomes rather evident that the study of seals has been undertaken from a predominantly epigraphical aspect,⁵⁸ reflecting the development of epigraphic research as a whole. All major publications have been the contributions of known

⁵⁶ Avigad's rather personal expression of his response to deciphering the seal impression of Baruch Ben-Neriah, the scribe of the biblical prophet Jeremiah, may be representative of that phenomenon: "... I cannot refrain from expressing my own feelings when handling and deciphering these two bullae for the first time. One has the feeling of personal contact with persons who figure prominently in the dramatic events in which the giant figure of Jeremiah and his faithful follower Baruch were involved at a most critical time preceding the downfall of Judah" (Avigad, 1979:118). Lemaire, in his short, but bibliographically resourceful article, formulates it in a more pragmatic way: "... ces sceaux nous mettent directement en relation avec des personnages du passé ils nous donnent une sorte de carte d'identité abrégée" (1988a:221).

⁵⁷ With the growing interest in epigraphy, the importance of the glyptic evidence came into focus; cf. the publications of De Vogüé (1868:432-450), Levy (1869), Clermont-Ganneau (1883:8/1:123-159, 506-510; 8/2:304-305), and Lidzbarski (1898; 1902:11, 275-277; 1915:67-68, 279).

⁵⁸ Lemaire summarizes the development until 1978 as following: "En 1951, S. Moscati, dans *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950* (Roma, 1951) y ajoutait 44 nouveaux exemplaires, tandis que le petit livre de A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals* (London, 1950) en rassemblait un cinquantaine, inédits ou déjà publiés. La multiplication des découvertes archéologiques et des publications d'inédits à partir des années 50' conduisit F. Vattioni à présenter, en trois articles, un catalogue provisoire de 452 sceaux ou empreintes hébraïques auxquels il ajoutait 178 sceaux araméens et 104 sceaux phéniciens. ... Cependant, dès 1952, après un certain nombre de publications de sceaux provenant du pays ammonite, N. Avigad avait attiré l'attention des épigraphistes sur certains caractères particuliers des sceaux ammonites tandis que, dès 1966, J. Naveh soulignait les principales caractéristiques des écritures moabite et édomite, puis, plus récemment, à titre d'hypothèse de travail, celles de l'écriture philistine. Le caractère particulier des sceaux ammonites était ensuite repris par la plupart des épigraphistes, en particulier par G. Garbini et P. Bordreuil et, depuis les années 70, la distinction des sceaux ammonites, moabites et édomites des sceaux hébreux est une distinction classique utilisée dans toutes les publications importantes de sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits, en particulier dans le catalogue des sceaux du musée d'Israël de R. Hestrin et M. Dayagi-Mendels. En 1978, la publication de la thèse de L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* représentait un premier essai de classification et de datation systématique des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits; l'auteur distingue 110 sceaux araméens, 46 sceaux ammonites, 162 sceaux hébreux, 9 sceaux moabites, 8 sceaux édomites et 20 sceaux phéniciens" (Lemaire, 1988a:222f.; cf. Moscati, 1951; Reifenberg, 1950; Vattioni, 1969:357-388; Vattioni, 1971a:447-454; Vattioni, 1971b:48-87; Vattioni, 1978:227-254; Vattioni, 1981:177-193; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels, 1979; Herr, 1978). Since 1978, numerous former unpublished seals have been published in a series of articles and monographs (Lemaire, 1988a:228f., n. 50). Concerning a corpus of north-west semitic inscribed seals, Keel is quoting from a letter of A. Lemaire from 27. February 1985: "Pour le projet du nouveau Corpus de sceaux nord-ouest sémitique, ce n'est pas moi qui en suis responsable mais Pierre Bordreuil... Quant au Corpus lui-même, incluant tous les sceaux nord-ouest sémitique connus, il ne paraîtra pas avant deux ou trois ans. Il est possible que, entre-temps, paraisse le catalogue du Prof. Nahman Avigad, qui ne prétendra pas à l'exhaustivité" As for this forthcoming publication, one still waits in eager anticipation (Keel, 1985a:23, n. 80).

epigraphists, whereas the role of paleographical dating and the integration of the inscriptions into the corpus of semitic languages⁵⁹ and the classification thereof have played a predominant role.⁶⁰ This has been repeatedly pointed out by scholars like O. Keel from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, *et al.*,⁶¹ who emphasize the significance of the iconographic aspect of glyptic research. In appraising the symposium on "Ancient Seals and the Bible", of which the proceedings were edited and published by Gorelick and Williams-Forte in 1983, Keel observes:

Wie sehr die Beschäftigung mit der Glyptik bis heute von literarischen und epigraphischen Gesichtspunkten beherrscht wird, zeigt auch ein vor kurzem erschienener Sammelband zum Thema "*Ancient Seals and the Bible*", den L. Gorelick und E. Williams-Forte herausgegeben haben. Von den sechs Beiträgen behandeln zwei literarische (Siegel und Siegeln in den biblischen Texten) und zwei epigraphische Probleme; einer beschäftigt sich mit der Frage der Herstellungstechniken, und nur ein einziger setzt sich mit einem ikonographischen Thema auseinander, dies zudem ausschliesslich anhand altsyrischer Glyptik, die von der Bibel doch etwas weit weg ist (1985a:23f.).⁶²

Lemaire also acknowledges, though somewhat hesitantly, the increasing importance of iconography for the study of seals, whereas, at the same time, he emphasizes his concern for a cautious use of it in glyptic research. However, one cannot refrain from getting the

⁵⁹ As an example, the classification of the Ammonite language by Israel on the basis of seal inscriptions, may be taken (1987:141-146).

⁶⁰ Especially, in following the interesting series of recent publications by Lemaire and Bordreuil in *Semitica* and *Syria* in which former unpublished seals from collections and museums are published, one easily detects the emphasis on epigraphical aspects, which is, of course, natural and understandable to a certain extent, since paleography and onomastics, in the case of an unknown origin, seem to offer the only reliable means of integrating the seal chronologically. As an example *par excellence*, Lemaire's introduction to one of his articles, written in 1985, may be taken: "La sigillographie nord-ouest sémitique a accompli d'énormes progrès durant ces trente dernières années: beaucoup de nouveaux sceaux inscrits ont été publiés et un effort de clarification a été fait dans leur classification, en particulier dans le rattachement de certains sceaux à l'épigraphie ammonite et moabite d'après leur paléographie et leur onomastique." Lemaire describes the focus of glyptic as the classification of the seals on the basis of "paléographie" and "onomastique" (1985a:29).

⁶¹ Already in 1941, Galling expressed his discontent with the exclusive epigraphical study of the seal material: "Soweit man sich bisher mit diesen Siegeln beschäftigt hat, geschah es fast ausschließlich unter epigraphischem Gesichtspunkt" (1941:121).

⁶² This is not to depreciate the value of this publication, as shown in Gorelick's introductory remarks to his article: "To our knowledge, this symposium is the first on seals and the Bible. E. Williams-Forte, Andrew Ackerman and I believe that the subject has been neglected. One reason for the neglect is that it cuts across scholarly disciplines. For this reason, we have tried to emphasize the interdisciplinary character of the subject: papers are presented from different viewpoints: philology, art history, epigraphy and technology." In stating correctly that glyptic involves a variety of disciplines, one can however detect an oversimplification of the matter, in characterizing iconography as part of art history (1983:1).

impression that, in his view, epigraphical considerations would always be primary in this process, and iconography would be secondary, almost as a supplementary discipline.

En effet, l'iconographie semble généralement plus révélatrice de la personnalité du graveur que de celle du propriétaire et, de fait, elle était souvent gravée avant la vente, le nom du propriétaire étant ajouté lors de l'achat.⁶³ Même en tenant compte de cette réserve, il est clair que l'étude iconographique, aussi bien des sceaux inscrits que non-inscrits, devrait être fructueuse bien que ce soit un domaine difficile et relativement peu exploré car son interprétation est souvent délicate (Lemaire, 1988a:224).

It becomes evident that there is a demand for a systematic classification of the seal material which would account for all glyptic aspects. However, before a discussion on the various aspects of glyptic studies can be entered, some general comments should be made about the nature of the objects, the terminology used in describing the material, and the *status quo* of research with regard to the region of Syro-Palestine.

2.4.1. Seals and their Usage in Syro-Palestine

Seals can generally be organized under two main groups, i.e. cylinder seals⁶⁴ and stamp seals,⁶⁵ whereas especially the latter group is of concern for the present study, since it constitutes the majority of the seals found in archaeological excavations in Syro-Palestine.⁶⁶ Stamp seals, provenant in this region, can be sub-divided according to their form into three other forms:⁶⁷ the conoid stamp seal,⁶⁸ the scarab,⁶⁹ and the scaraboid or oval stamp seal to which also the group of signet rings belongs.⁷⁰

⁶³ The problem of the relationship between inscription and motif on a seal will be discussed under 2.4.1.

⁶⁴ Publications that have dealt with the whole corpus of cylinder seals as a whole, are: Nougayrol (1939), Parker (1949:1-43). Since then, the amount of new finds has significantly increased, and more recent publications on a larger scale are still outstanding. Cf. also the catalogue in vol. 1 of Digard's comprehensive work in which he reproduces about 4000 cylinder seals from all over the Ancient Near East (1975:II:5).

⁶⁵ For the corpus of stamp seals, there have not been attempts to catalogue the mass of material: "Es gibt keinerlei systematische Erfassung dieses Materials. Gelegentlich wird als Ersatz für eine solche systematische Darstellung auf A. Rowe 'A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum' hingewiesen" (Keel, 1985a:24; cf. Rowe, 1936).

⁶⁶ "Die Rollsiegel [his emphasis] sind viel seltener als die Stempelsiegel. Sie dürften etwas [sic] 4-5 % der in Palästina/Israel bei legalen Grabungen gefundenen Siegel darstellen" (Keel, 1985a:20).

⁶⁷ Buchanan has developed a system for the terminology of stamp seals that entails about 40 different terms, a differentiation which is technically correct, but of little use for the description of the seals

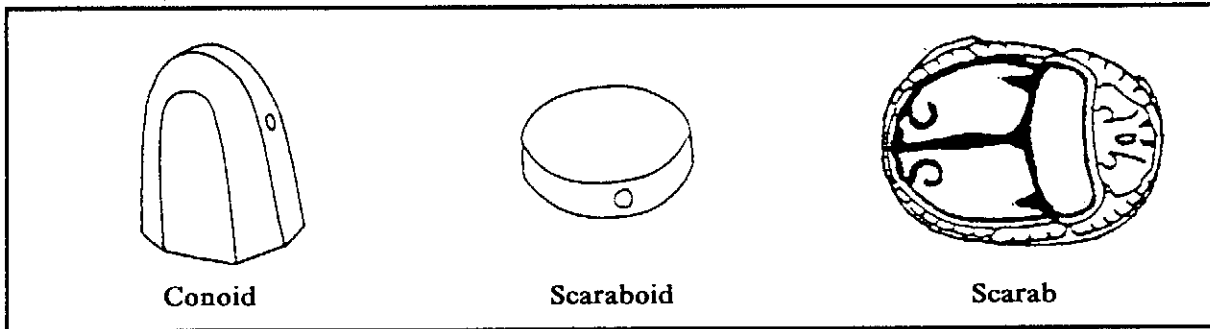


Figure 6: Different seal types

The material used for the manufacture⁷¹ of the seals are usually soft semi-precious stones, predominantly chalcedony, steatite, agate, jasper, and carneole. Seals that fall under one of the above mentioned categories, are the object of the present study. The corpus of seal impressions and bullae, stemming from the Persian period, have been purposely excluded at this stage.⁷² In spite of the contribution these seal impressions and

in the context of the present study, especially not with regard to the time period and provenance of the seals (Buchanan, 1985:xi-xviii).

⁶⁸ "Das Kegelsiegel, auch Konoid genannt, ist ein sich nach oben verjüngender Stein, der zumeist oben eine Durchbohrung für eine Tragschnur besitzt und dessen untere ovale, achteckige oder seltener runde Fläche das Siegelbild enthält. Die Form des Kegelsiegels ist mit dem Ende des 8. Jrs. auch in dem uns beschäftigenden Gebiet von Assyrien her bekannt geworden" (Galling, 1941:125).

⁶⁹ "Unter einem Skarabäus versteht man ein ovales Siegel, dessen Unterseite glatt ist und das Bild trägt und dessen Oberseite die Form des Sonnenkäfers (*ateuchus sacer*) nachbildet. Der Skarabäus wurde in Syrien und Palästina in zahlreichen Exemplaren eingeführt und auch nachgeahmt" (Galling, 1941:125; cf. also Rowe, 1936; Staehelin and Hornung, 1976).

⁷⁰ "Der Stein ist ein unten gewöhnlich glattes, oben meist flach gewölbtes Oval mit niedrigem Seitenrand... Auf der flachen Unterseite wird das Spiegelbild eingraviert. Nur in vereinzelt Fällen hat man auch die Oberseite zu Gravierungen benutzt. ... Je nachdem, ob das Siegel an einer Schnur oder in einer Ringfassung getragen wurde, findet man eine Durchbohrung oder einen glatten Seitenrand. Das ovale Stempelsiegel ist in dem genannten Gebiet [Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia] die vorherrschende Siegelform; nicht weniger als vier Fünftel aller Stempelsiegel gehören diesem Typus an" (Galling, 1941:126).

⁷¹ For the manufacture of the seals, see Gwinnett and Gorelick's interesting article in which they discuss the different drill techniques (1983:44-49).

⁷² This is a rather important methodological consideration which deserves some closer investigation: The corpus of seal impressions and bullae is certainly not a negligible factor of the material culture of the Persian period, and a calculation, based on Stern's excellent summary of the evidence, resulted in the number of circa 358 seal impressions and bullae that could be dated to the Persian period (some of them identical, of course), and which are of more or less certain origin. Seal impressions and bullae from the Persian period fall generally into two groups: private and official seal impressions: the first one does not represent a significant factor, and the second one can be divided into two groups as well: epigraphic and unepigraphic impressions, whereas the former one represents the vast majority. For the latter group, one can mention the animal seal impressions in the Achaemenid style, representing typical motifs of the Persian period, which have been identified by Stern as belonging to officials of the Persian administration in the earlier Persian period, before Judah became a province in its own right (1971:16). Cf. also the new evidence he adduces in 1982 (209-213). For the group of inscribed seal impressions, we can mention the predominant *Yebud* group, written in both Hebrew and Aramaic form, abbreviated or full, furthermore the *Mosah* stamps, the *yršlm* stamps. In addition to these main groups we find individual

bullae have made towards our understanding of the Persian period, they are not taken into account as primary sources on the basis of several considerations:

(1) The focus of the study is not a reiteration of the discussion on the chronology of the Persian period, a task, already undertaken by more able scholars (e.g. Stern, 1982:204).

(2) A sound methodology for the description of seals is to be developed and applied, not for seal impressions and bullae which only present a sometimes obscure image of the original seal.

(3) Subjects relating to the seal impressions and bullae, will nevertheless be touched on to a certain extent by a number of inscribed seals which have been found.

Inscribed and non-inscribed, or epigraphic and iconographic seals, and those of a mixed composition will be studied, whereas the relationship between inscription and motif on seals of mixed classification, has to be established correctly. Galling has developed a simple rule of thumb which nevertheless is relevant:

Neben einer Neubestellung wird man mit der Möglichkeit rechnen müssen, daß der Steinschneider das Siegel bis auf die Unterschrift bereits fertig hatte. So war dem Besteller, der eine Anzahl von Siegeln auf Lager vorfand, die Wahl des Siegels erleichtert. In diesem Falle bedurfte es nur noch der "nachträglichen" Beschriftung des Siegels. Sie kann überall dort mit Sicherheit angenommen werden, wo die Beschriftung im Mißverhältnis zum Bilde steht, also den Raum des unteren Segments überschneidet oder zwischen das Bild "gequetscht" wurde (Galling, 1941:127).⁷³

examples of monogram stamps and impressions in rosette form. The situation of the *Yehud* stamps has been widely discussed (Albright, 1957; Cross, 1969a; Avigad, 1974; Stern, 1982:204; *et al.*), and it seems reasonable to follow Stern's conclusion until new evidence is being brought forth: "Our proposed sequence of the seal impressions of the province of Judah is as follows: End of the sixth and the fifth century B.C. - stamps bearing animal figures and the legends *Mosah* and *b'* (?). End of the fifth and the fourth century B.C. (down to Alexander's conquest) - Aramaic *Yehud* stamps, monogram stamps, and the seals of 'Shelomith the maidservant' and 'Ashanyahu servant of the King' (?). Third and second centuries B.C. - Hebrew *Yehud* stamps (of type C) and *yršlm* stamps" (1982:213).

⁷³ Inscription and motif have to be conceived as a unit, though certainly not in the sense of the one interpreting the other, but nevertheless creating an identity between the owner of the seal and the imagery he or she chose. Welten's note with regard to that matter seems therefore too general: "Zahlreiche Beispiele zeigen, daß die Inschrift erst nach dem Bildmotiv eingraviert und bisweilen nur mit Mühe eingefügt werden konnte... Dies legt es nahe, daß Bild- und Inschriftenteil getrennt zu behandeln" (1977:300).

Studies that have dealt with both the epigraphic and iconographic aspect of glyptic, are scarce, and can basically be limited to three:

(1) The earliest publication on a larger scale that also took iconographic aspects into consideration, is Galling's *Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina* (1941), which is still an important piece of research in the field of glyptic studies. However, besides the accumulation of newly discovered material since 1941, there are certain limitations of this important work. Galling describes the focus of his article as follows: "Unsere Arbeit ist darauf gerichtet, die beschrifteten Siegel archäologisch zu interpretieren und von da aus eine Antwort auf die Fragen nach der Datierung und Werkstatt zu gewinnen" (1941:122). The main criterium for the selection of seals for his study is still the existence of an inscription, purely iconographic pieces are left out.⁷⁴

(2) The second work is E. Stern's originally in 1973 published *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.* (1982), in which the author systematically brings together the archaeological evidence for the time of Persian rule in Syro-Palestine. Though absolutely indispensable for the present research, the focus of Stern's adapted dissertation lies on the archaeological side, i.e. the classification of different seal styles and the chronological integration of the evidence,⁷⁵ and not as much on the iconographic and epigraphic description of the material. However, his findings, will be implemented as a working hypothesis.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ "...K. Galling ... wollte mit seiner Arbeit, wie der Untertitel ausdrücklich sagt, einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der phönizischen Kunst, nicht zur semitischen Epigraphik leisten. Aber Auswahlkriterium blieb auch für ihn die Beschriftung, so dass auch ikonographisch hoch interessante Stücke, wenn eine Inschrift fehlte, unberücksichtigt blieben" (Keel, 1985a:22).

⁷⁵ See above, footnote 70.

⁷⁶ "The seals and impressions from the Persian period found in Palestine fall into two major groups: (a) private seals and (b) official seals connected with the administration of the provinces of Judea and Samaria. (a) In the first group, distinction must be made between seals imported from various sources (Babylon, Persia, Egypt and Greece) and the local seals in mixed style, generally imitating one of the four imported seal types in form or motif" (Stern, 1984b:107). For group (b) see above, footnote 70.

(3) The third integrative study of seals is a number of publications coming forth within the context of a project by O. Keel of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel*.⁷⁷ Keel describes the objectives of the project as following: "Im Rahmen dieses Projekts hoffen wir in ca. 3 [sic - i.e. from 1985 onwards] Jahren einen Katalog aller erreichbaren Stempelsiegel dieser Kategorie aus Cisjordanien von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Eisenzeit (586 v.Chr.) veröffentlichen zu können" (Keel, 1985a:8). The criteria for the selection of the material is the traceability of its origin and its geographical provenance.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, Keel does not extend his project into the Persian period,⁷⁹ and if one reviews the articles, published within the series until now, one realizes a predominant iconographic interpretation of the material.

It becomes apparent that a study of seals from the Persian period in Syro-Palestine that integrates both the iconographic and epigraphic aspect, is a desideratum.

2.4.2. Iconographic Aspect of the Study

Before a discussion on the iconographic aspect of the study can be attempted, it is important to understand the terminology involved. Iconography is "die inhaltliche Beschreibung von Bildern, indem man deren einzelne Motive und ihre Kompositionen in ihrem geschichtlichen Werden untersucht" (Keel, 1985b:143, n. 1). Iconography has to be set in contrast to 'iconology' which goes beyond the description of a motif and the analysis of its developmental history, in interpreting a certain motif or similar, though varying motifs, from their mind-historical (*geistesgeschichtlich*) or religious-historical

⁷⁷ So far, three volumes with a variety of articles have appeared: Keel and Schroer (1985), Keel, Keel-Leu, and Schroer (1989), and Keel, Shuval and Uehlinger (1990).

⁷⁸ "Ziel des Projektes ist ein Katalog der Stempelsiegel, die bei legalen Ausgrabungen oder als Oberflächenfunde mit bekannter Herkunft in Palästina/Israel gefunden worden sind. Geographisch umfaßt das Projekt das Gebiet zwischen der Jordansenke im Osten, dem Mittelmeer im Westen, der libanesischen Grenze im Norden und Elat im Süden" (Keel, 1990a:136).

⁷⁹ Interestingly, in 1990, Keel sets the time limits of the project differently to the ones of 1985: "Zeitlich erstreckt es [the project] vom Neolithicum (7. Jt. v. Chr.) bis ans Ende der Eisen- bzw. die Anfänge der Perser-Zeit (6./5. Jh. v. Chr.)" (1990a:136). However, there has nothing been published yet with regard to the (beginning of) the Persian period, except for the recently publication by Keel-Leu (1991) which includes a number of seals from the Persian period, though with uncertain origin.

(*religionsgeschichtlich*) meaning.⁸⁰ E. Panofsky has developed a theoretical-methodological interpretation scheme in which he establishes the three steps for the understanding and interpretation of a motif:

(1) Pre-iconographic description, based on the practical experience of the describer who employs his knowledge of style-history; aimed at the primary subject.

(2) Iconographic analysis, based on the knowledge of literary sources for the means of comparison, focus on type-history; aimed at the secondary or conventional subject.

(3) Iconological analysis, i.e. interpretation, based on synthetic intuition and a wide knowledge of the history of cultural symptoms and symbols; aimed at the establishing of meaning, i.e. interpretation (1957:223). Keel has adapted this scheme, though not without critical evaluation,⁸¹ especially with regard to its relationship to the field of biblical exegesis,⁸² whereas he advocates an individuality of both text and picture, and not the use of the picture as a mere illustration to the text (Keel, 1990a:130f.).

As for the present study, the emphasis lies not on the iconological aspect, but rather on the first two steps, whereas the distinction between the pre-iconographic description and

⁸⁰ There has been the introduction of a new term in the field, 'Iconic' which is "die Analyse eines Bildes im Hinblick auf die ihm ganz spezifisch eigenen Aussagemöglichkeiten" (Keel, 1985b:143, n. 1).

⁸¹ "Wie die Lektüre der von E. Kaemmerling herausgegebenen Aufsatzsammlung "Ikonographie und Ikonologie. Theorien, Entwicklung, Probleme" zeigt, ist die ikonographisch-ikonologische Arbeit in diesem Jahrhundert weitgehend vom Interpretationsschema E. Panofskys bestimmt worden. Dieses Schema verletzt - bei aller Differenziertheit - eine Grundregel jeder Komparatistik, insofern es seinen Gegenstand, das Bild, verläßt und bei zeitgenössischen Texten Verstehenshilfe sucht, noch ehe das Bild und dessen Tradition im eigenen Recht voll zur Geltung gekommen sind" (Keel, 1990a:127-130).

⁸² Iconography is a relatively new discipline for the realm of biblical studies, and has been distinctly furthered by O. Keel of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He ascribes his and the general growing interest in iconographic studies to the development of nineteenth century dialectic theology which created a theological atmosphere, in which motifs of the Ancient Near East could be set into relationship to the biblical text (Keel, 1990b:17f.). Some critical overtones can be heard by M. Görg who warns against an over-enthusiastic usage of iconography for biblical exegesis: "Die Begeisterung über eine angebliche Illustration kann den Text unter der Hand zum Vehikel oder Büttel eines ikonographischen Urteils machen und ihn damit seiner Eigentlichkeit berauben. ... Denn es darf kein Zweifel sein, daß das Bildwort seine primäre Position im Textzusammenhang bewahren muß. Der 'biblische Ikonograph' darf sich niemals von einer methodisch-kritischen Bestandsaufnahme und Auswertung von Beobachtungen am Textmaterial dispensieren wollen" (Görg, 1985:174).

the iconographic analysis appears at times rather difficult, if not impractical, since even the descriptive process is determined by the associative knowledge of the describer. Therefore, a scheme for the iconographic aspect of the study of the seals from the Persian period could be visualized in this way:

Iconographic Aspect

	Pre-Iconographic Description	Iconographic Analysis
Objective	Identification and understanding of the object	Identification and understanding of the object within the context of other objects
Methodology	Description	Comparison
Equipment	Practical experience Knowledge of Style history Object Quality	Intra-object comparison Inter-object comparison Literary comparison
Result	Identification of elements of object on different levels (general and modification)	Identification of object on different levels (theme)

Figure 7: Panofsky/Keel's iconographic interpretation-scheme adapted to our study

It becomes evident that the pre-iconographic description is the main concern of our study, in order to gain a thorough understanding of the material, although the iconographic analysis will be naturally integrated during the processing of the material (see below under 2.5.).

In the debate between text and picture, another question becomes obvious: what is the consequential value of the iconographic aspect of the study of seals? A central objective of Keel's project is the writing of a "Beitrag zur Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte" (Keel, 1990a:141). Therefore, the significance of iconographic studies lies in the realm of the imagery and idea world, allowing the researcher to gain a more detailed perspective on

the development of the religious thought and religious history of a certain period,⁸³ in our case the much neglected development of religious thought during the Persian period. However, a contribution in this field lies beyond the scope of this study which is designed to serve as a fundament for such an interpretative work.

2.4.3. Epigraphic Aspect of the Study

The study of epigraphy in general, is considered as an auxiliary discipline to the field of historical studies, whereas the distinction between paleography and epigraphy⁸⁴ is not applied as rigidly to the field of West Semitic epigraphy as it is in classical epigraphy, and both terms can overlap in their meaning (Naveh, 1982:6). The primary focus of epigraphy is the analysis - i.e. deciphering and translation - and evaluation of ancient inscriptions of any kind, according to the historical information⁸⁵ embedded in them, whereas the diachronical integration and the description of the evolutionary development of a specific script (Naveh, 1970:4), and its comparative status to different contemporary scripts is the most evident outcome.⁸⁶

For the present study, it has to be kept in mind that non-alphabetical languages or scripts do not form a part of West Semitic epigraphy (Cross, 1959:523), therefore, in the

⁸³ Which also may shed some light on our understanding of the biblical books written in this time period. Cf. Keel's interesting study on the Yahweh visions of *Isa* 6, *Ez* 1 and 10, and *Zech* 4 from a glyptic viewpoint (1977).

⁸⁴ Classical studies differentiate between the two terms: "...while epigraphy denotes the study of inscriptions inscribed on hard surfaces, paleography deals with manuscripts written in ink" (Naveh, 1982:5).

⁸⁵ "Language and writing, the prime means of cultural expression, reflect individual and collective cultures. Ancient inscriptions and manuscripts are historical documents, and both epigraphy and palaeography are auxiliaries to history. Historians look to epigraphers and palaeographers not only for a rendition of these texts, but also, for the dating of written historical records" (Naveh, 1982:2). This rather idealistic understanding of the historicity of the epigraphical evidence, results from the fact that ancient inscriptions did not undergo such a complex transmission history which we have to face with other ancient documents, especially with the Bible, and can therefore be adduced to establish the chronology of the non-epigraphic written record. However, even with regard to the epigraphic evidence, one has to keep the purpose of its composition in mind, e.g. propaganda.

⁸⁶ This would refer to the field of comparative palaeography, as Naveh defines the objectives and possible outcomes of epigraphy and palaeography: "Whereas the dating of an undated inscription is based on typologic-diachronic factors, the synchronization of contemporaneous, related scripts may reflect the respective cultures of peoples and societies which developed in different geopolitical circumstances" (Naveh, 1982:6).

case of a hieroglyphic or cuneiform text as part of the composition of a seal, there will not be an epigraphical treatment of these inscriptions, though a translation will be provided.

Since the epigraphy of seals constitutes a special branch of West Semitic epigraphy, its peculiarities and limitations should be mentioned. L. G. Herr, with his doctoral dissertation *The Scripts of Ancient North West Semitic Seals*, has provided the groundwork for glyptic epigraphy, and - with consideration of his limitations⁸⁷ - his paleographical tables and dating of several seals will be taken as the point of departure for the epigraphic aspect of this study.

The type of script that naturally has to be expected on the hard surface of a seal, is the lapidary, predominantly in formal, but to a lesser degree also in the cursive⁸⁸ style, while we even find a certain level of influence of the cursive on the lapidary, from which it originally developed (Naveh, 1982:8).⁸⁹ The script found on seals, has a number of peculiarities that are sufficiently summarized by Herr:

The script of most seals was engraved or incised into some kind of hard stone, often semi-precious. But because each letter was incised backwards, the engraver needed to approach his writing with a degree of care not necessary on other types of inscriptions. It would thus stand to reason that the letter forms should be in the formal hand, and that cursive elements

⁸⁷ Israel in a review article of 1986, presents a valuable critique to Herr's work, suggesting a number of corrigenda which are, however, mostly based on publications, dated after Herr published his dissertation. Her main criticism entails the following: "As far as the strictly paleographical aspect of the work is concerned, it must be said in honour of the author, that the drawings of the seals and paleographic tables are, as one would expect from a pupil of F. M. Cross, quite accurate. The bibliography, on the other hand, constitutes one of the weakest parts of the book. Two points in particular must be noted: the non-quotation of the catalogue of Aramaic seals by F. Vattioni, and the number of Phoenician seals, totally insufficient, collected by the author. In the same way, a more accurate bibliographical research would have allowed the author to consider a larger number of seals, some of which, instead, appear only in the appendices 'A' and 'B'" (71). It is as much interesting to note that Herr's study has found entrance as a standard work into almost every recent seal publication, a fact that either has to be ascribed to the lack of another adequate work, or to the quality of Herr's study (e.g. Lemaire, 1986:305; Elayi, 1990:101).

⁸⁸ Naveh distinguishes between three cursive sub-styles in the palaeographical development: "... (a) extreme cursive - that of the cultured person; (b) formal cursive - that of the professional scribe; and (c) vulgar cursive - that of persons of limited schooling" (1970a:6). As to the influence of the cursive on the formal, he writes: "From the eighth century onwards the sway of the cursive style was so strong that even stone inscriptions and seals were engraved in cursive letters which emphasized the shading, a natural by-product of pen-and-ink writing. To be sure, the Hebrew inscriptions are mainly in formal cursive" (1970b:279f.).

⁸⁹ Naveh emphasizes repeatedly that this process is to be understood in evolutionary terms, where "older, more conservative forms, were continuously influenced by newer, freer forms" (1982:8).

which may appear are present because, for that particular engraver, cursive forms have entered into his formal script. Further, because the engraving process took many strokes of the tool to make just one "stroke" on a letter, the letter forms are highly premeditated with a minimum of handwriting idiosyncrasies (1978:2).

The Semitic Languages represented by the scripts, have been the subject of numerous studies which are methodologically based on typological paleography,⁹⁰ resulting in the identification of the national scripts: the main three scripts, i.e. Phoenician, Hebrew and Aramaic, and their Transjordanian offshoots,⁹¹ the Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite scripts (Herr, 1980:21-34). These national scripts constitute the languages, one is liable to encounter on seals dating from the Persian period, Aramaic being the foremost, since it constituted the *lingua franca* of the Persian empire.⁹²

A significant limitation of the epigraphic aspect of our study, is the length of the inscriptions found on seals, most of the times amounting to only a proper name, so that it becomes reasonable that only certain facets of epigraphic research can be employed in the study of the seals, namely paleography, morphology and a historical analysis of the epigraphic evidence. As for the paleography of the seals, the occurring letters of the seal inscription will be examined with regard to diagnostic letters, i.e. letters, that can typologically be identified as belonging to a certain phase of a specific national script in accordance to the tables provided by Herr.⁹³ The morphological description will be restricted due to the length and nature of the inscriptions.⁹⁴ Finally, the seal inscriptions

⁹⁰ For a bibliographical overview, cf. Lemaire (1988a:222f.).

⁹¹ Herr views Ammonite as deriving from the Aramaic national script in the 8th century, whereas Moabite and Edomite developed via a South Transjordan script during the 7th century from the South Palestinian script, from which also Hebrew evolved at the end of the 9th century (Herr, 1980:32).

⁹² Especially the first three, and Ammonite to a lesser degree, since Moabite and Edomite "probably did not last much longer than the early 6th century" (Herr, 1980:33).

⁹³ Herr remarks on the limitations of seal inscriptions with respect to their chronological dating value: "Even though several very diagnostic letters may occur on a single seal, the inscriptions are still too short for us to be able to say that the date we have given is 'chronologically' correct. Indeed, the dating procedure is often pegged on the basis of one letter only, and thus must be seen as a 'typological date,' that is, a date based on the typology and interplay of the diagnostic letter(s) involved" (1978:4).

⁹⁴ Most of the seal inscriptions consist of either a single proper name, or a construct chain of a noun plus proper name, so that a thorough morphological analysis becomes superfluous. For more details, see under 2.5.

will be analyzed with regard to any obvious or allusive historical information contained in them.

It becomes evident that the epigraphic aspect of the thesis is more likely to be directed at the historical side of the study of the seals. However, one has to warn against an oversimplification of the matter in terms of understanding the epigraphical aspect as exclusively historical, and the iconographic aspect as exclusively focused on art historical or religious imagery matters. Epigraphy and iconography are rather to be understood as complementary in the field of glyptic,⁹⁵ since neither of them developed within a purely historical or religious vacuum, and the inclusion of both aspects in one thesis is designed to create a certain balance which is felt to be missing in some of the publications, that treat one aspect to the exclusion of the other. The intended more holistic approach to the study of stamp seals in the Persian period, can therefore be visualized as follows:

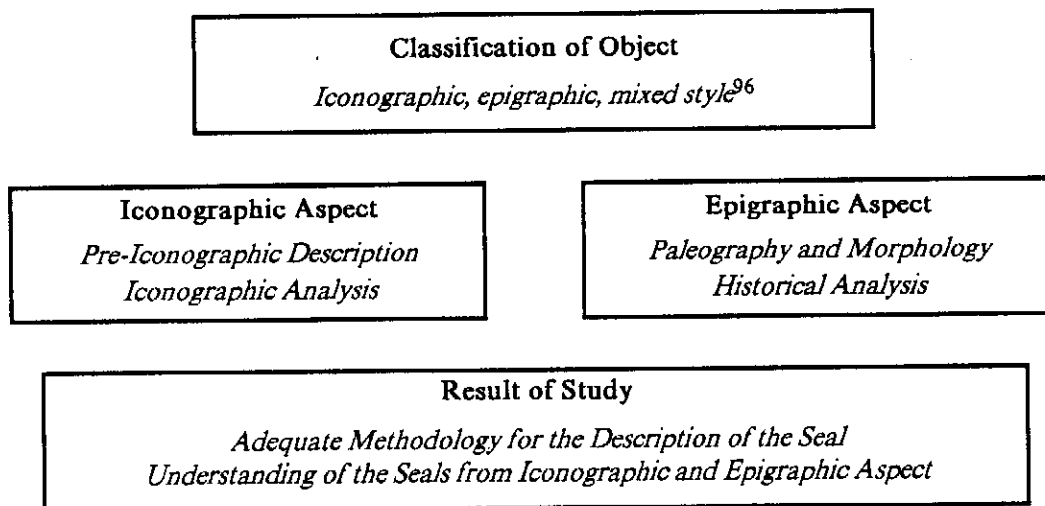


Figure 8: Integrated methodology of the study of seals from the Persian period

⁹⁵ Another aspect of glyptic would be the study of onomastics which has been utilized in the identification of national scripts, but by no means exhaustively, especially with regard to the religious history. Cf. the excellent articles by Herr and Younker in connection with the find of the Ammonite seal impression at Tell el-Umeiri, both from an onomastic (Herr, 1985:169-172), and iconographic (Younker, 1985:173-180) viewpoint. Cf. also Coogan (1973:183-191; 1974:6ff.).

⁹⁶ Is the inscription a later addition or is it contemporaneous with the motif? (see above under 2.4.1.)

2.5. DESCRIPTION PROCEDURE

It is one of the proposed aims of this study to develop a description procedure that would ensure a uniform handling of the glyptic data. Therefore, it is important to introduce the system of description that was employed for the classification and cataloguing of the 65 seals that have been collected and researched for the present study.

The underlying principle of the description process is the attempt to isolate the individual elements of a given seal incision, and to treat each element according to the role it plays in the whole composition. Elements can be of iconographic, epigraphic and hieroglyphic nature. In order to respond to the specific character of the different elements accordingly, different templates were prepared: for the iconographic element, an element description template, whereafter the element was further subdivided into a group of element modifications which would facilitate the specific description of that particular element. The epigraphic and hieroglyphic (to a smaller extent, since hieroglyphic inscriptions do not fall under the category of Semitic epigraphy) elements were dealt with in a similar way, allowing for the different character of the element, addressing epigraphical issues such as palaeography, morphology, onomastica, historical content of the inscription, etc.

The description process is based on and adapted from a computer database that was especially developed for the storage of iconographic material, called ICONBASE.⁹⁷ A description of the program and its underlying principles can be found in Appendix C. The templates employed for the catalogue are adapted from that iconographic database and reflect the structure of the program, whereas it is important to note that the format

⁹⁷ ICONBASE was programmed by the present writer together with Jürg Egger under the auspices of the Department of Semitic Languages and Cultures at the University of Stellenbosch.

of the catalogue is simplified and adjusted to the more specific requirements of a written thesis.⁹⁸

Each catalogue entry is described on three levels:

General Information	General data of concern for the understanding of the seal; especially archaeological information pertaining to the origin and date of the object.
Element Description and/or Inscription Analysis	The individual iconographic elements are described and subdivided according to their modifications; inscriptions are translated and analyzed.
Parallels	Comparative data is given, whereas the iconographic image as a whole serves as a point of comparison, not the individual elements. Similar inscriptions are noted.

Figure 9: Three levels of seal description

Before each level will be dealt with separately, some general considerations pertaining to the description of a seal, have to be mentioned:

(1) The seals are normally described from the original and not from the impression. Only in the case of epigraphic seals, where the inscription has been incised in reverse, the seal will be described from the impression. The line drawings, presented in the catalogue, are of the original, except for the above mentioned case.

(2) The direction of the description proceeds from the right bottom corner' of the seal anti-clockwise, spiralling to the center of the seal. The inscription of an epigraphic seal will be read from the top right.

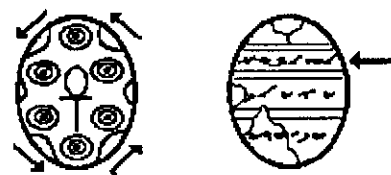


Figure 10: Direction of seal description

⁹⁸ The sometimes repetitive character of the catalogue is an actual reflection of the attempt to develop a uniform description process.

(3) The description of a seal is primarily undertaken from a phenomenological point of view, although it has to be kept in mind that every descriptive endeavor implies a certain interpretative element, based on the associative resources of the respective researcher.

In the following section the different templates, which were employed in the catalogue, are going to be presented according to the sequence of the seal description. Underneath the line where the respective data is going to be placed, some explanatory remarks are supplied. Self-explanatory rubrics will not be commented on.

Catalogue No. X (Sample)

General

Country:

Modern name of the country

Place:

Modern name of archaeological site

Type:

Seal type (conical stamp seal, saraboid, scarab, signet ring)

Material:

Colour:

Dimensions mm: X Y Z

The dimensions are given according to the mathematic axis, whereas the seal base is the point of reference, of which X is the horizontal, Y the vertical, and Z the dimensional axis.

Origin:

Excavation or surface find⁹⁹

Area:

Stratum:

Floor:

Locus:

Field No.:

Cemetery:

Tomb No.:

Archaeological Dating:

The archaeological dating corresponds to the stratum in which the seal has been found, whereas the date should fall within the Persian period, or the time indicated under 2.3. In cases, where the stratum is named Persian, the extent of the Persian period is given. In older excavation reports, where a Persian stratum had not emerged as a distinct entity, the inclusive dates of the respective stratum is given.

Object Dating:

The date provided under this column refers to the time span in which the seal is assumed to have been manufactured, whereas the dating is based on typological, palaeographic,

Line drawing of seal

⁹⁹ Except for **Catalogue Nos. 3 and 4** all seals stem from legal excavations, which was one of the methodological criteria of the study.

and comparative considerations. The object dating may differ considerably from the archaeological dating,¹⁰⁰ although in most cases, the time period in which a seal was produced coincides with the archaeological stratum in which it has been found (Keel, 1990c:254f.).

Classification:

Iconographic, Epigraphic, and/or Hieroglyphic

Object Location:

Present location of object (museum, private collection, etc.)

Inventory No.:

Museum/collection inventory no.

Original Publication:

First publication of seal.

Drawing Bibliography:

Here the bibliographical source for the line drawing, provided in the catalogue, is given. When there was no line drawing available, it has been provided by the author of the present study or by Bogdan Scur,¹⁰¹ indicated by the abbreviation 'mgk'.

Description:

A short descriptive paragraph of the seal image is provided; peculiarities are mentioned, at times accompanied by brief interpretative suggestions.

Elements

Element No. X

Element Domain:

At this stage of the description process, the individual elements of the seal image are isolated in order to describe and classify them separately. The element domain indicates the main group the iconographic element has to be attributed to. This system of classifying the elements according to domains and subdomains has been adapted from the linguistic model, developed and applied in a Greek-English lexicon by Louw and Nida (1989). As a key for the element domains and subdomains, Appendix A should be consulted during the review of the catalogue.

Subdomain 1:

The concept of the various subdomains is to proceed from a general to a more specific level. The respective category expressed in the subdomain is also specified in Appendix A.¹⁰² An element may not have to be subdivided into the total amount of four subdomains, in which case only the relevant subdomains will be filled in.

Subdomain 2:

See above.

Subdomain 3:

See above.

Subdomain 4:

See above.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Catalogue No. 51.

¹⁰¹ To whom I owe a note of appreciation for his artwork.

¹⁰² As an example the figure found on the seal from Catalogue No. 42 may be taken: **Element Domain:** figure, **Subdomain 1:** male, **Subdomain 2:** god, **Subdomain 3:** Herakles.

Modification No. X**Modification Domain:**

The specific element is then described according to its modifications, during which a similar procedure as for the element description is executed, whereas the key for the modification domains and its subdomains can be referred to in Appendix B.

Subdomain 1:

The modification subdomain is employed to describe a modification in a more specific way.

Subdomain 2:

See above.

Subdomain 3:

See above.

Subdomain 4:

See above.

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription:

The inscription is given, written in Hebrew characters.

Translation:

A translation is provided; unknown names are transliterated.

Inscription Origin:

Indication is given as to the originality of the inscription, i.e. if the inscription has been added subsequently to the image.¹⁰³

Language:

Identification of the national script and language (Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, Ammonite, Egyptian Hieroglyphs, etc.)

Palaeographical Dating:

The palaeographical dating is accomplished by the comparison of the various letter shapes with palaeographic tables from the time periods concerning this study. The dates are indicated in time spans, usually subdividing a century into four 25-years divisions. The end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century B.C. would therefore be expressed as 425-375 B.C.

<i>Word No. X</i>

Word:

The individual word is given in Hebrew characters.

Root:**Prefix:****Suffix:****Preposition:****State:****Gender:****Number:****Onomasticon:****Onomasticon Origin:**

A country of origin for the onomasticon is indicated.

Title:**Geographical Term:****Administrative Term:****Number:****Measurements Commodity:**

¹⁰³ Cf. Catalogue No. 37.

At the end of the description process, a list of parallels is presented, and the bibliographical references are provided. The parallels are normally chosen with regard to the full image and not in perspective of a specific element.

2.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The methodology of a study is sound only when its limitations are taken into consideration. Therefore it seems to be of some importance to indicate the various limitations which have been encountered during the present study.

(1) In an ideal situation, the glyptic researcher is able to view the objects he is studying directly. In a less ideal situation, there is an availability of good quality photographs of the seals, which are to be examined. As a third degree down the line of object acquaintance is the line drawing, which has usually been fabricated from a photograph. This was the situation that unfortunately had to be met by the present author, since the photos were not readily available, and if so, they often were of such poor quality that they had to be discarded for serious research. Another factor was the inclusion of photographic material in a written thesis, which on a Masters level seems to be out of proportion. Therefore we resorted to line drawings, which in some instances had to be drawn by the author himself and other capable artists,¹⁰⁴ implying the realization that every line drawing bears already an interpretative element.

(2) The other and probably most important limitation of the project was the availability of publications here in South Africa, that is, the non-availability of the sources. Although the attempt was undertaken - successfully to an extent - to communicate with universities in other countries, in order to receive some of the most important publications through private channels. From the bibliographical research it became

¹⁰⁴ The present author takes all the credit for any possible misinterpretation of a seal on account of the line drawing reproduced in the catalogue.

apparent that a substantial number of seals could not be included in the present study, because of lack of availability, although it appears that the overall picture of the study of stamp seals from the Persian period would not have been altered dramatically.¹⁰⁵ On account of these facts, one has to regard the catalogue of seals from the Persian period as being representative and not comprehensive.

Bearing these limitations in mind, the results of the study should be evaluated realistically, though the results of the research may well be able to present a balanced impression of the glyptic evidence from Syro-Palestine, dated to the Persian period.

¹⁰⁵ A selected list of seal publications that were not available includes the following: Albright (1954), Crowfoot and Fitzgerald (1929), Elgavish (1968), Kelso (1968), Lemaire (1988b), Macalister (1926) Macalister (1912a; 1912b), Saller (1957), Sellers (1933), and Boardman (1970b). We were able to obtain the relevant chapters and plates of Harvard excavations at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, and Dyon:1924), but the photocopies of the plates were of no use and the stratigraphical information lacking, so that we finally had to discard the material. From the description, one conoid seems to be of particular interest, which has been ascribed to the Persian period, showing the worshipper-before-altar/symbol motif with the emblem of Ahura Mazda above it. It is apparently a Persian adaptation of the original Neo-Babylonian motif.

3. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The results of the present study were reached via the description process, which is reflected in the processing and accumulation of the data in the form of a catalogue. Each individual seal was subjected to the identical description procedure, aiming at a uniform analysis format of an otherwise varied and multifaceted body of objects. It has been the intention to arrive at some satisfactory results for the student who is interested in the corpus of stamp seals from Persian times. In this context it is important to realize that the term 'results' should not be confused with 'interpretation', since it was not the scope of this thesis to interpret the iconographic and epigraphic material on a large scale and to integrate it into more complex historical and religio-historical issues. The results, however, will shed some light on these questions, hopefully providing the base for further discussion.

The corpus of Persian stamp seals as presented in this study, consists of 65 different seals from various sites in modern Israel (including the occupied territories), Lebanon, and Jordan. This number cannot be considered as being comprehensive, but our bibliographical calculations allow for a figure of ca. 80-85% of the total number of seals dating from the Persian period, that would fall within the methodological limits of this thesis.¹

The results of the study fall into three different categories:

¹ See under 2.5. for the limitations of the study.

- (1) Geographic distribution
- (2) Stratigraphic distribution
- (3) Glyptic analysis

3.1. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The 65 stamp seals originated from 20 different archaeological sites, covering an area, roughly corresponding to the dimensions or part of the modern countries of Lebanon in the north, Jordan in the east, and Israel in the south and west. In the following table, which summarizes the significant features of the seals in connection with their geographic distribution, the order is from north to south.

Country	Place	Cat. No.	Type	Content
Lebanon	Kamid el-Loz	53	Scarab	<i>Bes</i> holding two lions
Lebanon	Kamid el-Loz	54	Signet ring	Two stars, four captives
Lebanon	Kamid el-Loz	55	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Lebanon	Sarepta	52	Scarab	Inscription: עשר צרפת ע 12
Israel	Tell Keisan	15	Scaraboid	'Herr der Tiere'
Israel	Tell Abu Hawam	26	Scarab	Sphinx and symbols
Israel	Tell Abu-Hawam	27	Scarab	<i>Herakles</i> and uraeus
Israel	Tell Abu-Hawam	28	Scarab	Rosette and uraei
Israel	'Atlit	32	Scarab	<i>Isis</i> suckling <i>Horus</i> in the papyrus marshes
Israel	'Atlit	33	Scarab	'Herr der Tiere' and hieroglyphs: <i>nb</i>
Israel	'Atlit	34	Scarab	<i>Isis</i> suckling <i>Horus</i>

Israel	'Atlit	35	Scarab	Smiting <i>Herakles</i>
Israel	'Atlit	36	Scarab	Hunting <i>Herakles</i> with bow and arrow
Israel	'Atlit	37	Scarab	Smiting <i>Herakles</i> and Inscription: עוהם
Israel	'Atlit	38	Scarab	Nude male dancer
Israel	'Atlit	39	Scarab	Hieroglyphs: <i>R^c P-t3m</i>
Israel	'Atlit	40	Scarab	<i>Isis</i> suckling <i>Horus</i>
Israel	'Atlit	41	Scarab	Smiting <i>Herakles</i>
Israel	'Atlit	42	Scarab	Smiting <i>Herakles</i>
Israel	'Atlit	43	Scarab	Figure, lotus flower and hieroglyphs: <i>nfr</i>
Israel	'Atlit	44	Scarab	<i>Bes</i> holding two lions
Israel	'Atlit	45	Scarab	<i>Re</i> and <i>was</i> scepter
Israel	'Atlit	46	Scarab	Hieroglyphs: <i>Sbn-Hor</i>
Israel	'Atlit	47	Scarab	Hieroglyphs: <i>Ipt-Mn</i>
Israel	'Atlit	48	Scarab	Hieroglyphs: <i>Hr-mn</i>
Israel	'Atlit	49	Scarab	Hieroglyphs: <i>Hr-mn</i>
Israel	'Atlit	50	Scaraboid	Protective vulture and hieroglyphs: <i>spdt</i>
Israel	Tel Dor	8	Conical stamp seal	Sphinx and symbols
Israel	Tel Dor	9	Scaraboid	Chariot scene and 'Herr der Tiere'
Israel	Megiddo	57	Scarab	Three captives
Israel	Megiddo	58	Scaraboid	Geometric design and <i>ankh</i> emblem

Israel	Megiddo	59	Scarab	Hawk and two uraei
Israel	Megiddo	60	Scarab	Three-stemmed lotus flower and uraei
Israel	Megiddo	61	Scaraboid	Winged quadruped (sphinx)
Israel	Megiddo	62	Scarab	Geometric design
Israel	Megiddo	63	Scaraboid	Four-winged goddess (<i>Anath</i>)
Israel	Megiddo	64	Scarab	Hawk and two unintelligible signs
Israel	Megiddo	65	Scarab	Two scorpions
Israel	Samaria	5	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	Samaria	6	Conical stamp seal	'Herr der Tiere'
Israel	Samaria	7	Conical stamp seal	'Herr der Tiere'
Israel	Tell Qasile	10	Square stamp seal	Figure on chariot (?), and inscription: עשנידו עבר המלך
Jordan	Tell el-Mazar	17	Scaraboid	Ornamentation and inscription: לחמישה בת שמה
Jordan	Tell el-Mazar	18	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Jordan	Tell el-Mazar	19	Conical stamp seal	Head of bull, lion, and mountain goat, mounted on a wheel
Jordan	Tell el-Mazar	20	Scaraboid ²	Ostrich
Jordan	Tell el-Mazar	21	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol and inscription: לחמל שמה
Israel	Wadi ed-Dāliyeh	11	Scarab	Goddess (<i>Anath</i>), hawk, lotus flower, fire altar, <i>ankh</i> and <i>nfr</i> emblems

² The seal is in the unusual and in our collection unique form of a duck-shaped amulet, which falls under the category of the scaraboid.

Jordan	Meqabelein	25	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Jordan	Umm Udheinah	51	Scaraboid	Inscription: לפלי בן מאש המוכר
Israel	Gibeon	13	Signet ring	Two facing quadrupeds
Israel	Gibeon	14	Signet ring	Inscription: למרחשמן
Israel	Jerusalem	3	Conical stamp seal	Inscription: יהד
Israel	Jerusalem	4	Scaraboid	Inscription: לשלמיה אמה אלנתן פת..
Israel	Jerusalem	16	Signet ring	Winged antelope
Israel	Tell eš-Šafi	22	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	Tell eš-Šafi	23	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	Tell eš-Šafi	24	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	Tell el-Hesi	12	Scaraboid	Hieroglyphs: <i>Mn[t]w nb pt</i> <i>Imn-R^C nb t3wy</i>
Israel	En-Gedi	1	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	En-Gedi	2	Conical stamp seal	Worshipper before altar/symbol
Israel	Tell el-Far'ah	56	Conical stamp seal	Four-winged goddess (<i>Anath</i>)
Israel	Tel Michal	29	Conical stamp seal	Winged quadruped (sphinx)
Israel	Tel Michal	30	Scaraboid	<i>Dagon</i> as a merman
Israel	Tel Michal	31	Signet ring	Female worshipper before fire altar

Figure 11: Table of geographic distribution of seals according to type and content

As one evaluates the evidence of the geographic distribution of the seals, a number of peculiarities become apparent. The majority of objects originated from sites in the

northern part of the area under question, drawing the dividing line south of Samaria; the ratio is 41:24, which equals 63% of the corpus. Seals found along the coastal line of Syro-Palestine, amount to 26 (40%), the sites being limited to the northern part.³ In this part one would expect the greatest extent of Phoenician influence, a presupposition which finds its support in the iconography of the seals stemming from these sites.⁴ The preferred seal type found in the northern part of our region, is the scarab and the scaraboid; 35 out of 41 (~ 85%) seals are of the scarab or scaraboid type. Only the objects from further inland, namely Kamid el-Loz and Samaria,⁵ are of a different type. The Phoenician manufacturers, being influenced by Egyptian and western (Greek) motifs and forms, obviously preferred this type of seal, whereas it continued to be the prevailing seal shape in subsequent glyptic. This tendency was not restricted only to northern Palestine, but also to the Persian empire as a whole (Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:67).

As one moves further to the south, the geographic situation of the seal distribution changes. The predominant shape here is the conical stamp seal: out of the 24 seals from the southern part of our region, we have 13 (~ 54%)⁶ conical stamp seals,⁷ 6 (~ 25%) scaraboids, 4 (~ 17%) signet rings, and only 1 (~ 4%) scarab. In the light of the above mentioned development, this figure would point to the fact that central Palestine continued to use the traditional eastern seal shapes.⁸

³ The sites are Sarepta, Tell Keisan, Tell Abu Hawam, 'Atlit, and Tel Dor.

⁴ The example *par excellence* can be found in the 19 seals from 'Atlit that display the typical mixed style of Phoenician iconography, creating a distinct type in its own right; cf. especially our **Catalogue Nos. 32, 34, 35, 36, 40.**

⁵ And one conical stamp seal from Tel Dor.

⁶ I.e. of the total amount of seals coming from the southern part of our area.

⁷ The stamp seal from Meqabelein being of an unusual square shape.

⁸ The conoid especially is of Neo-Babylonian origin, but was also used by the Achaemenid administration.

The significant amount of seven seals from Jordan, points to the fact that recent archaeological excavations are continuing to fill the alleged gap of settlement in Eastern Palestine during the Persian period.

The geographic distribution of the seals presented in this study supports the above mentioned statement by Stern (cf. 2.3.) concerning the material culture of Syro-Palestine during the Persian period. There was a distinct cultural north-south border, whereas the Phoenicians were the responsible factor for the cultural development in the northern and coastal region. Central and Eastern Palestine seem to have been more inclined, to either develop their own cultural traditions,⁹ or follow the Israelite tradition.

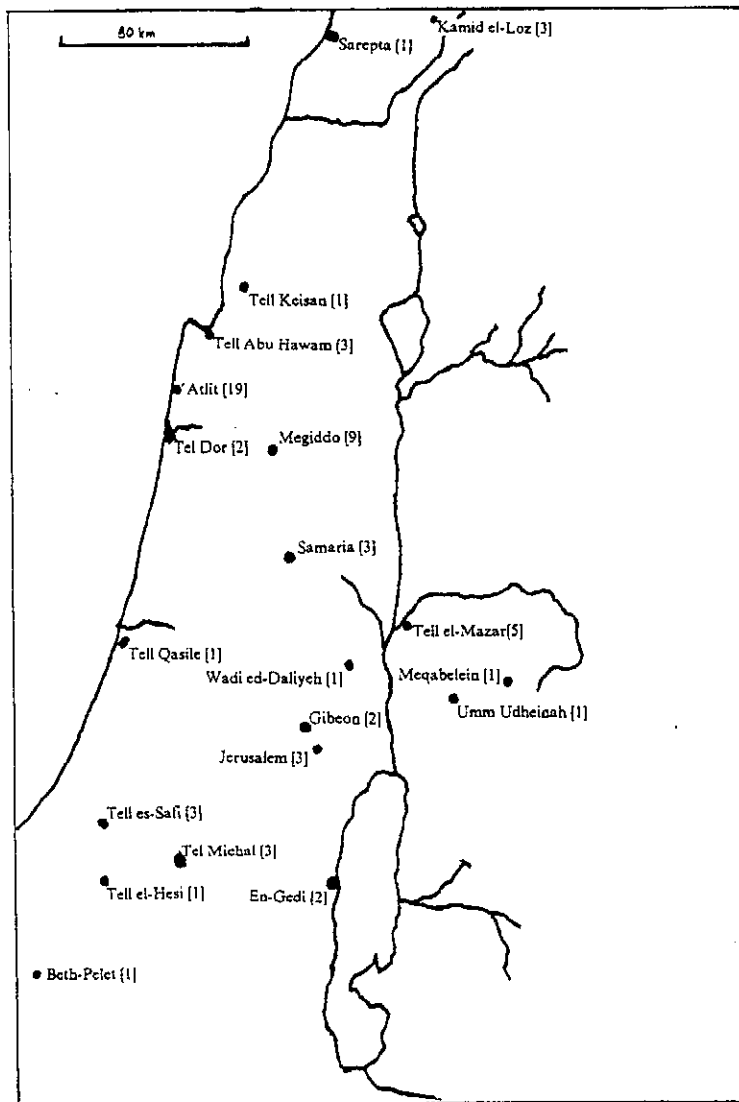


Figure 12: Geographic distribution of seals with amount of respective seal finds

⁹ See for example the seals from Tell el-Mazar, exhibiting Arabic influences.

3.2. STRATIGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

As was mentioned above under 2.3. the stratigraphy of the Persian period presents a number of problems, since a comprehensive knowledge of the Persian stratum and substrata has only been developed distinctly within the last 25 years.¹⁰ The material of this study falls into three stratigraphic categories:

- (1) Seals with clear stratigraphic context
- (2) Seals with unclear stratigraphic context¹¹
- (3) Surface finds

	Clear stratigraphy	Unclear stratigraphy	Surface finds
Catalogue No.	1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65	5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 56	3, 4, 15
Total	53	9	3

Figure 13: Stratigraphic distribution with amount of respective seal finds

¹⁰ The Persian stratum had been established since the excavations of Tell Abu Hawam and 'Atlit in the 1930s, but the distinction of a Persian stratum with an earlier and later phase, became only apparent through the excavations at Hazor and Wadi ed Dâliyah and their subsequent publications in the early 1970s (Stern, 1982:xvii-xix).

¹¹ This category includes finds from excavations, where the objects have been stratified carelessly or suspiciously broad on account of the excavation technique (especially applicable to the old excavations). Furthermore seals, where the stratum consists of a larger time period than the Persian period (e.g. **Catalogue No. 5**). Also seals from graves, where the tomb stratigraphy has been disturbed or destroyed subsequently by grave looters, fall under this category. Seals stemming from burials with a clear stratigraphic context, will be included under the first category.

The majority of the seals of this study are of well stratified origin, namely 53 (~ 82%); the number of seals with an unclear stratigraphic record is 9 (~ 14%); there were 3 (~ 4%) seals from surface finds, one of them being identified as Persian on account of the motif (**Catalogue No. 15**), the other two on palaeographical and content grounds (**Catalogue Nos. 3 and 4**).¹²

During the study repeatedly the question arose, how to treat objects, which fall archaeologically¹³ into the Persian time period, but which exhibit characteristics in form and content that identify them as belonging positively into one of the preceding periods? The group from Megiddo especially (**Catalogue Nos. 57-65**) displayed features that would qualify them as being of pre-Persian origin.¹⁴ The question is, whether these seals can be classified as being Persian proper. If one considers the general nature and purpose of the seal, one arrives at the conclusion that it was an object of considerable value, sometimes being transferred from generation to generation, and thus penetrating the artificially created limits of time periods (Keel, 1990c:254). Seals from the Persian periods have thus to be understood as being seals in use during this time period, whereas the fact that a certain seal was still in use during the Persian period may be proportional to its continuing popularity and importance.¹⁵

¹² **Catalogue Nos. 3 and 4** are the only two seals included in this study that do not come from any legal excavation. According to the methodological criteria set out in this study, both should have been excluded from this corpus of stamp seals from the Persian period. They were, however, taken into account, since their origin has been established to some degree and their publication was thoroughly undertaken. Furthermore, their value for the study of the Persian from an epigraphic point of view is considerable, since it sheds important light on the administrative structure of the Persian period in Palestine.

¹³ I.e. they are well stratified.

¹⁴ An outstanding example is **Catalogue No. 62**.

¹⁵ This is in accordance with the archaeological criteria of this study. If one would take the object identification as point of departure, it would limit the corpus of objects to seals bearing only Persian iconographic motifs, that is, motifs whose origin fall within the time limits of the Persian period. But in order to determine, what Persian is and what not, what was in vogue during the Persian period and what not, the archaeological approach seems to be preferable, since motif classification seems not to be without problems.

Nevertheless, as a rule of thumb, it can be established that the manufacture of a certain seal normally is synchronical to the stratum in which it was found, so that the majority of our seals found in Persian strata also originated in the Persian period.¹⁶

3.3. GLYPHIC ANALYSIS

The seal corpus presented in this study, can be divided further into three subgroups.

- (1) Iconographic seals
- (2) Epigraphic seals
- (3) Hieroglyphic seals

These groups overlap at times, e.g. when a seal is classified as iconographic **and** epigraphic or hieroglyphic, i.e. when it has an image plus an inscription. In such a case the seal will appear under both categories.

	Iconographic Seals	Epigraphic Seals	Hieroglyphic Seals
Catalogue No.	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65	3, 4, 10, 14, 17, 21, 37, 51, 52	11, 12, 33, 39, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50
Total	56	9	10

Figure 14: Seal classification

¹⁶ Keel confirms: "Il semble qu'on puisse, avec une certitude suffisante, établir le principe qu'un sceau-amulette, découvert dans un contexte stratigraphique donné, est normalement dans le niveau ou à proximité du niveau correspondant à l'époque où il a été fabriqué" (1990c:254f.).

The overwhelming majority of the seals are iconographic, whereas epigraphic and hieroglyphic seals¹⁷ seem to be evenly frequent.¹⁸ This is the more startling, since there have been numerous finds of epigraphic seal impressions, dating from the Persian period. Nevertheless, only a few seals have materialized in legal excavations, from which these impressions were made.¹⁹

3.3.1. Iconographic Seals

The iconographic seals present a broad variety of motifs that are influenced by one or more of the prevalent glyptic traditions. The main traditions were the *Egyptian*, the *Babylonian*, the *Persian*, and the *Greek*. All four traditions are well represented in our seal corpus, although it is at times difficult to trace the origin of a certain motif back to a single tradition, leading to the assumption that there was a local tradition in Syro-Palestine that united the various traditions into a mixed style, of which the Phoenician manufactured seals are a strong evidence (e.g. **Catalogue Nos. 8, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33**).²⁰

In the following discussion of the iconographic results of the study, the seals have been grouped according to the iconographic motifs and scenes which have been incised on the seal base.

¹⁷ This threefold classification appeared to be the most useful in categorizing the seal corpus. **Iconographic seals** are seals with images found on their base; **epigraphic seals** have been inscribed with a North West Semitic alphabetic inscription, whereas hieroglyphs do not fall under epigraphy, thus constituting the class of **hieroglyphic seals**.

¹⁸ In this case the numbers do not give the correct impression, since under the hieroglyphic seals group, seals have been included, on which sometimes only one hieroglyphic sign appears, which may only be a filling device (cf. **Catalogue Nos. 11 and 33**).

¹⁹ E.g. **Catalogue No. 3**.

²⁰ Stern classifies the private seals and seal impressions from the Persian period into imported and locally made seals. It is however, in the opinion of the present writer, very difficult, to determine if a seal with a traditional Babylonian motif was made locally or imported, since the locally made product may not always exhibit the peculiarities, which Stern ascribes to the local style. It is rather advisable to classify the seals according to iconographic motif groups, though acknowledging the individual origin/origins of the particular image.

3.3.1.1. Worshipper before altar/symbol

This iconographic motif is represented by **Catalogue Nos. 1, 2, 5, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, and 55**, and with that it constitutes the largest group of seals with a common iconographic theme among our catalogue of stamp seals from the Persian period. All seals from this group have been found at sites located further inland, and in the southern part of the region under question, with Samaria being the most northern place of origin, except for the seal from Kamid el-Loz.²¹

All the objects of this group are conical stamp seals, whereas the seal base usually is octagonal in shape, being the preferred seal shape in Mesopotamia and the regions falling under its cultural and political influence, from Neo-Assyrian times onwards.²² **Catalogue Nos. 2, 5, 23, 25, and 55** exhibit the closest affinities to each other. The images are usually worked in the Neo-Babylonian drill technique, rendering the motif at times in a rather schematic manner. The worshipper is depicted from a side view, facing either to the right or to the left, with raised arms and hands in an adoring position. In earlier interpretations, the figure was usually explained as being a Neo-Babylonian priest (Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41), but in more recent publications (e.g. Keel-Leu, 1991:123), it is identified in more general terms as a worshipper. The figure is usually wearing a long dress, whereas only the seal from Tell es-Şafi (**Catalogue No. 21**) gives some further indications, as to what this dress may have looked like. It seems to be a robe-like long garment, held together around the waste by a large belt or scarf. The head of the figure is normally covered by a cap, although it is sometimes rather difficult to differentiate between headdress and head itself (e.g. **Catalogue Nos. 2, 5, 23**). There is some indication of a beard and the hair going down to the shoulders. On the Babylonian Kudurru-reliefs a figure of that appearance often represents the king as well as a normal person, leading to the assumption that we may be confronted by a certain ritual dress,

²¹ The seals have been found at En-Gedi, Samaria, Tell el-Mazar, Tell es-Şafi, Meqabelein, Tel Michal, and Kamid el-Loz.

²² **Catalogue No. 31** is an exception in regard to that characteristic, being of a scaraboid shape, inserted in a silver signet ring.

obligatory for the performance of worship. However, the tendency on our seals to render the image in a schematic way, leaves some uncertainties as to the final identity of the figure. It is nevertheless correct to interpret it as a worshipper, representing the class of worshippers, and with that perhaps being indicative of the religious disposition of the seal owner.

The object of adoration is in the majority of examples an altar on which the symbols of *Marduk*, the *marru* spade, and *Nabû*, the *qan tuppi* double stylus (Seidl, 1989:121-125), are positioned (**Catalogue Nos. 2, 5, 23, 25, 55**). On **Catalogue No. 5** there is an additional object, which could, on the grounds of comparative material, be interpreted as the *mušhuššu* dragon,²³ also symbolical for the two gods. Accompanying objects on these images are different celestial bodies that denote the cosmic dimension of the scene represented, but also adding the emblems of other gods, whereas it is important to note that not every appearance of a celestial body automatically denotes the respective god.²⁴

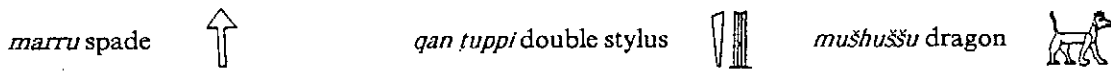


Figure 15: Attributes of Marduk and Nabû

Besides the characteristic symbols of *Marduk* and *Nabû*, there are also other symbols to be found in the worshipper scene: on **Catalogue No. 1** we are confronted with two interesting symbols to the left of the figure, of which the top one can be identified with the winged sundisk, symbolic for the sun god *Šamaš*, god of justice (Horsnell, 1988:86). The winged sundisk with the tail is already allusive to the depiction of the Persian god *Ahura Mazda* (Galling, 1941:151, Pl. 7:81-82),²⁵ but is a common glyptic symbol for the sun god in Mesopotamia since Assyrian times. Below the winged sundisk is a representation of a tree, symbol for life on earth. The combination of the two symbols

²³ The *mušhuššu* usually consists of a snake-like head, a body covered with scales, a raised tail, lion paws for the front legs, and bird's claws for the hind legs.

²⁴ The star on **Catalogue Nos. 2, 23, and 55** points to the goddess *Ištar*, the crescent on **Catalogue Nos. 21 and 25** are symbolic for the god *Sin*.

²⁵ There have been doubts as to the identification of the winged sundisk with *Ahura Mazda*, although this deity seems to be prominent in Achaemenid mythology (Yamauchi, 1988:126f.).

denotes the totality of heaven and earth. **Catalogue No. 21** shows the worshipper in front of a cultic stand with a lamp on top, the lamp pointing to the Babylonian god of fire *Nusku*. The origin of that seal in Jordan shows that the Babylonian imagery was also well represented east of Palestine during the Persian period.

Catalogue No. 31 has also been included under the worshipper before altar/symbol motif, although the composition of the image found on this signet ring designates it as stemming from a different iconographic tradition than the remainder of the group. The seal shows a woman seated on a stool in front of a fire altar or incense burner, with her right hand raised in an adoration gesture. Her hair is tied behind her head in a chignon, probably indicating that she is an old woman. Form and content of the seal suggest a Greco-Persian origin of the image, which would point to a Phoenician place of manufacture for that signet ring (Culican, 1969:61, Fig. 3).

An interesting sub-group within this motif group is formed by the **Catalogue Nos. 18, 22, and 24**. On **Catalogue No. 22** the similarity to the worshipper before altar/symbol motif is still discernible, although the posture of the figure is not the usual one, but rather depicted from a front view. The line above the diagonal cross pattern is reminiscent of the Phoenician exergue, symbolical for the celestial terrain (cf. **Catalogue No. 6**). The objects right of the figure can still be interpreted as the double stylus and the spade - though with some hesitancy. Altogether, the whole image seems to exhibit a somewhat simplifying character in comparison to the normal depiction of the motif, introducing additional elements.

On **Catalogue Nos. 18 and 24** this tendency has been taken a step further, rendering the whole image in such a schematic form that it appears to be a simple geometric design, a seemingly arbitrary assemblage of various lines, nevertheless forming a distinct geometric pattern. As such it has been interpreted by the excavators of the seals.²⁶

²⁶ In describing our **Catalogue No. 18**, Yassine comments: "The base shows criss-cross lines. They make no sense, nor represent any such known motif. ... The design might indicate the attempt of a local engraver to produce a motif, which failed" (1982:190, No. 202).

Against such a simplistic interpretation would speak the fact that the seal was in such a satisfactory state that it provided occasion, to be a sufficient burial gift for a deceased person. Furthermore, a number of seals with identical geometric designs have surfaced in numerous excavations, leaving the assumption that the seal is a failure of a glyptic artist in question. From the Late Bronze Age, but especially from the Early Iron Age there are finds with seemingly indistinct geometric patterns, and from Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals we can establish the tendency to reduce complex images to the level of geometric line patterns. The three seals from Tell es-Şafi (**Catalogue Nos. 22-24**), therefore, represent three different stages of the same motif, whereas from the stratigraphic context it would seem permissible, to assume that this development took place synchronical, i.e. all three stages were in use during the same period, perhaps the more schematic one being a mass product.

The worshipper-before altar/symbol motif is well represented among the corpus of seals from the Persian period, demonstrating that this originally Neo-Babylonian motif continued to be in vogue long into the Persian period. A terminus ad quem for the iconography of this group cannot be established before the end of the fifth century B.C. Since the geographical distribution of the motif is restricted to the Syro-Palestinian hill country, the '*Hinterland*', it is probable that the returning exiles sustained this motif in the region.

At Tell Keisan, another interesting example, a cylinder seal, of the geometric design has been found, from its stratigraphic context belonging to the Iron Age IIC, dated from 800 to 587 B.C. It belongs to the group of Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian specimens, and shows "un archet, un palmier, une montagne avec un animal grim pant" (Keel, 1990c:167).

3.3.1.2. '*Herr der Tiere*'

This motif is the common denominator for our **Catalogue Nos. 6, 7, 9, 15, 33, 44, and 53**. The preferred form of this group of seals is the scarab and the scaraboid, although

there is also one conoid (**Catalogue No. 7**). All of them have been found at sites in the northern part of our region, predominantly from the Phoenician coast.²⁷

The 'Herr der Tiere' [master-of-animals] motif is the most popular iconographic motif of the Persian period,²⁸ whereas our group shows that it was depicted with some variation in style and content. The motif is part of the Achaemenid royal iconography, whereas the appearance of an official imperial iconography is first to be observed with the Persian empire²⁹ (Root, 1979).

Our **Catalogue No. 7** seems to be closest to the standard of the 'Herr der Tiere' motif. It is a glass conoid from Samaria, depicting the royal hero, dressed in long robe, possibly the Median *kandys*, which opens in the front, wearing a flat cap instead of the Persian *kidaris* crown. He is portrayed in the mixed view, with his head turning to the right, though his legs and feet are depicted from a side perspective.



Figure 16: 'Herr der Tiere' motif

With outstretched arms he is grasping the horns of two caprides that are raised on their hind legs, with their heads turned away from the royal hero. This glass seal belonged to the Achaemenid mass ware, which was produced for a wide distribution. The glass seals

²⁷ The seals come from Samaria, Tel Dor, Tell Keisan, 'Atlit, and Kamid el-Loz.

²⁸ The 'Herr der Tiere' motif is certainly much older than the Persian period, being a widely distributed theme of Ancient Near Eastern iconography (cf. Keel, 1972:49f.; 1977:194, 196, 204, 216, 220, 230, 246). It denotes the dominion of man over the forces of nature, symbolized by the often mythological animals (cf. Gen 1:26-28). During the Persian period, however, this motif was so predominant and widely promoted that it can be considered as the leading characteristic of Persian iconography.

²⁹ There have certainly been iconographic traditions that can be ascribed to a specific empire, but the Achaemenid royal iconography has been the official iconography of the Persian empire on a hitherto unknown scale.

were manufactured from molds, going back to an engraved prototype, a fact that explains the sometimes inferior quality of the image.³⁰

Catalogue No. 6, a stamp seal (conoid?) from Samaria, falls into the same category, however, with additional development of the scene, probably derived from the detectable Phoenician influence. Although the seal has been broken off at the top of the seal base, unfortunately at a crucial place, the basic imagery is quite clear. A definite Phoenician element is the exergue at the bottom of the picture, most probably representing the mountainous dwelling of the gods, or the celestial terrain, and with that indicating a cosmic dimension of the scene depicted. The royal hero is visible up to the waist, wearing a diagonally cross patterned skirt that opens in front. It is not possible, to determine the identity of the animals, but the visible wing of the animal to the left of the figure, suggests some mythological creature, e.g. a winged lion or griffin. On seals with a pure Achaemenid royal iconography, the animals are usually portrayed as *in natura*, while the mythologization of the animal is suggestive of Phoenician influences. The same consideration applies to our **Catalogue No. 15**, a scaraboid from Tell Keisan, where the royal hero is grasping the horn of a griffin or a winged bull, both animals of Persian mythology. Although the bottom part of the seal base has been broken off, the whole scene is visible to a satisfactory degree, and Phoenician traits are discernable as well, explicable from the geographic origin of the seal. In contrast to the pure Achaemenid style, the royal hero is facing only one animal, holding a dagger or a short sword with his other hand, a motif that has been particularly popular during the reign of Xerxes I (486-476 B.C.). The royal hero is wearing the Persian *kidaris* crown with five points (cf. Hinz, 1979:57f., Fig. 10, 18), and he has a long beard, a hairdress, which was reserved in Persia for the king or the crown-prince. However, the dress worn by the figure is not the

³⁰ There is an astonishingly close parallel to this seal, stemming from an unknown site in Northern Syria or Phoenicia (Keel-Leu, 1991:136, No. 167). It is identical to our **Catalogue No. 7** in shape and content, showing the same scene, except for the fact that the royal hero is facing to the left, and the animals are worked in a more detailed way. This parallel confirms the supposition that we have in front of us two specimens of an Achaemenid mass ware with wide distribution.

common Median *kandys*,³¹ but a sort of a short tunic, for which no close parallels have been identified. The empty space above the scene is filled with the crescent.

The 'Herr der Tiere' motif was initially interpreted as depicting the Persian king, and in instances the attempt was undertaken, to identify the image with a particular king, e.g. Darius I. Since it is the general character of Ancient Near East iconography, to rather communicate certain themes in the form of an abstraction and idealization, than to portray specific historical situations or persons in an authentic manner,³² it becomes obvious that the figure of the 'Herr der Tiere' motif does not represent a specific king, but rather the superiority of the king and the royal hero over the natural forces, represented by the animals. Keeping this universal intention of the Achaemenid royal iconography in mind, the iconographic motif of the 'Herr der Tiere' has a definite apotropaic character, where the king is epitomizing symbolically the role of the good forces and with that, probably the role of the Persian god *Ahura Mazda*, against the evil ones.³³ In order to convey this meaning on a large scale, the 'Herr der Tiere' motif was featured as the most popular image on Persian glyptic mass ware.

An increasing amount of Phoenician influence is exhibited by **Catalogue Nos. 9** and **33**. **Catalogue No. 9** is a blue glass scaraboid from Tel Dor, combining two popular Achaemenid iconographic motifs in one image, with that designating the seal as being of Phoenician origin.³⁴ On the seal base a chariot scene is depicted, with one horse

³¹ Keel describes the Median *kandys* as a "longue robe dont les extrémités supérieures s'ouvrent en manches relevées jusqu'à l'épaule; elle est retroussée à la taille et plissée à la hauteur des jambes" (Keel, 1990c:232). Similar garments, though not worked in such a detailed way, are found in **Catalogue Nos. 6** and **7**.

³² There are seemingly exceptions to that principle, e.g. the seal of Darius, found in Egypt. (Fig. 2) But even there, we are dealing with an idealized form of representation.

³³ Comments Barnett: "There is considerable reason to believe that at Persepolis or on Persian seals, where we see the figure of the Persian king heroically engaged in single combat with a lion or mythical monster, he is carrying out symbolically the rôle [sic] or mission of his master Ahuramazda, much in the same way as the Assyrian king appears to slay lions on behalf of and as the vicar of, his god Ninurta" (1969:419).

³⁴ Unfortunately, the quality of the photograph in the respective publication was very bad, so that the privately made line drawing has its weaknesses.

apparently galloping to the right. In the chariot there are two figures, the right one is the charioteer; he is wearing a hat and besides holding the reins of the horse, he has possibly a short sword in his hands. On the back of the chariot, another figure is depicted, wearing a feathered hat, facing the back of the chariot, grasping the hind legs of an indistinguishable animal. Since the quality of the seal and the image is outstanding, various interpretations have come forth in regard to its owner. The most probable seems to be that the seal was the possession of the representative of the king of the city of Sidon, under whose rule the city of Dor was during that time period. The two figures in the chariot, could therefore be identified with the king of Sidon steering the chariot, and the king of Persia in the back, acting out the 'Herr der Tiere' motif. However, one has to be cautious with such a specific interpretation (see above).³⁵

Catalogue No. 33 is a scarab from 'Atlit, depicting the 'Herr der Tiere' motif in a rougher manner. The rope border is typical Phoenician, although Egyptian hieroglyphs have been added as well, unless the object under the scene represents the exergue, and the object in between the animal and the figure is a sundisk, which would be surprising, since there is a winged sundisk located above the scene.

Our **Catalogue Nos. 44** and **53** are almost identical in the representation of the image. Both are scarabs, the one stemming from 'Atlit, the other one from Kamid el-Loz. However, on these two scarabs, we find a significant variant of the 'Herr der Tiere' motif. The figure struggling with the two animals, the typical lion in this case, is the originally Egyptian god *Bes*, the protector in childbirth, which found its way into the Levant via the Phoenician coastline. Culican points out that the original Egyptian *Bes*, was identified in Phoenicia with *Eshmun*, the god of healing, who was worshipped at Sidon and Berytus (1969:93-96). It is interesting to note that the Persian 'Herr der Tiere' motif was ascribed to a god, leaving the question open, if the 'Herr der Tiere' motif had some divine connotations that could indicate a certain degree of divination of the

³⁵ For other interpretations cf. the catalogue.

Persian king, although the mixed style of Phoenician glyptic fused numerous characteristics from various iconographic traditions, and the emphasis of the scene is more on the god *Bes* than on the Achaemenid 'Herr der Tiere' motif, especially, since this motif was not exclusively limited to the Achaemenid royal iconography. The combination of *Bes* and the 'Herr der Tiere' motif certainly suggests, that *Bes* was "cast in a cosmic role" (Culican, 1969:93), which is substantiated by the celestial bodies and the exergue that are part of the scenes depicted on the two seals under discussion.

3.3.1.3. Herakles

Scenes that portray the Greek god *Herakles*, can be found on **Catalogue Nos. 27, 35, 36, 37, 41, and 42**. Except for the crystal scarab from Tell Abu Hawam (**Catalogue No. 27**), they have all been unearthed at the 'Atlit tombs, and are of the scarab shape.

A sub-group is constituted by the **Catalogue Nos. 35, 41, and 42**, which show the most typical *Herakles* motif. All three scenes are surrounded by a rope border, affirming the Phoenician origin of the artwork, although **Catalogue Nos. 35 and 42** are worked in a considerably more detailed way than **Catalogue No. 41**. The center of the scenes on **Catalogue Nos. 35 and 42** are occupied by a naked person in a passant posture, grasping the hind leg of a lion with its one hand,³⁶ and holding a club above its head with its other hand, ready to strike. The figure is wearing a beard and a lion-skin, apparently attached to its neck or to its head. The lion is turned upside down, its head is twisted upwards, and its tail is unnaturally curled upwards. Behind the back of *Herakles* there is a dog in a running position, vertically inserted along the seal border, seemingly not belonging to the action portrayed. The individual components of the image are equally distributed, producing a well balanced scene. On **Catalogue No. 41** the additional element of a standing line can be recognized, which could also be a simplified version of the Phoenician exergue. The identification of the figure with *Herakles* on this

³⁶ Note the affinity to the 'Herr der Tiere' motif.

seal can only be on account of the similarity to **Catalogue Nos. 41 and 42**, since the quality of the artwork is considerably lower.

The depiction of *Herakles*, a Greek motif, on a Phoenician seal shows once more the mixed character of the Phoenician iconographic repertoire, which is an appropriate reflection of the general syncretistic tendencies in Phoenician religion during the Persian period. Characteristic of this phenomenon is the identification of a god from one iconographic tradition with a god from a different one.



Figure 17: *Herakles*

If one considers the posture and action of *Herakles* on the seals, the affinity to the representation of the Phoenician god *Melqart*, the *Baal* of Sidon, becomes rather apparent: *Herakles* seemingly was the Greek adaptation of that Phoenician deity. This is confirmed by a bilingual inscription found at Malta (Rachel Levy, 1934:47). Various attempts to identify *Melqart-Baal-Herakles* with the Canaanite *Reshef*, cannot be substantiated sufficiently, since the representations and the attributes of the different gods are too far apart. According to Rachel Levy, a Mesopotamian origin for the iconography of *Melqart-Baal-Herakles* seems to exist.³⁷ The dog in a running or fleeing position, depicted behind the back of *Herakles*, is a further point of identification, since it is equivalent to the "iconographic tradition of the 'dog of Baal'" (Culican, 1969:88), which goes back to the 2nd millennium B.C.

The **Catalogue No. 37** adds another element to the iconography of *Herakles*. The scarab from 'Atlit, which is also inscribed with the name of the seal owner, shows *Herakles* in the same passant posture with the club raised above its head. The lion-skin

³⁷ On the grounds of literary and iconographic sources, Rachel Levy tries to establish a link between the Babylonian *Marduk* and *Herakles*. The connecting part would be the name *Sandas*, under which *Herakles* was known in Lydia: "The identification is direct, therefore, at the western end, and the link *Marduk-Sandas-Herakles* holds firm" (Rachel Levy, 1934:52).

in form of the lion's paws is clearly visibly hanging from its shoulders, but instead of grasping the hind legs of a lion with its other hand, it is holding a bow. With that two normally separated motifs are combined in one scene (Galling, 1941:155).

On **Catalogue No. 36** the iconography of *Herakles* with the bow is depicted, whereas this specimen is of some interest, since it portrays the Greek god in a rather unusual posture. The scarab has a rope border, and shows *Herakles* in a kneeling position, holding the bow in front of him, the other hand is raised above its head, as if it would be holding the club. From its waist, a quiver is protruding backwards. Its particular significance is derived from the fact that the closest parallel can be found on the numismatic evidence of the Persian period, namely the darics from the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. (Fig. 1).³⁸ They depict the Persian king in the same kneeling position with the bow in its hand, an allusion to the Achaemenid iconography of the hunting king (Fig. 2). The identification of the Persian king and *Herakles* shows the degree of divination that was ascribed to the Persian rulers by their Phoenician subjects. Whether the Persians themselves conformed to this view of the Achaemenid kingship, stands open to discussion. From the palace at Persepolis we find some evidence, suggesting that Cyrus accepted an identification of himself with foreign deities, although he never seems to have made such a claim for himself (Barnett, 1969:420).

Up to this point all the specimen portraying the *Herakles* motif, can be categorized as belonging under the Phoenician group of Greco-Persian seals, which incorporate Greek as well as Persian Achaemenid iconographic themes in their images. The last seal of this motif group, however, our **Catalogue No. 27**, a scarab from Tell Abu Hawam, displays some distinct Egyptian features. On the seal base, there is a naked male figure in a passant posture, wearing a beard and a headdress that seems to be of Egyptian origin, although it is not possible, to identify it more specifically, since the seal has been broken off at that point. On account of the beard and the general character of the figure, it

³⁸ The scarab from 'Atlit is dated stratigraphically also to the second half of the Persian period, i.e. from 450-332 B.C., which coincides with the date of the coins.

seems to be safe, to identify him as *Herakles*. It is extending its right arm to the front, apparently holding a round object with its hand, which has been identified as a sundisk.³⁹ In front of the god there is a raised uraeus, almost touching the sundisk with its head. The protective symbolism of the Egyptian uraeus, and the cosmic dimension contributed by the sundisk, indicate that we are indeed dealing with a god, namely the Greek *Herakles*, adapted by the Phoenician class of Greco-Egyptian seals. Whether there was any further identification of the Greek motif with Egyptian iconography, it cannot be determined by our seal.

3.3.1.4. *Isis suckling Horus*

Again this motif is only represented at 'Atlit, here **Catalogue Nos. 32, 34, and 40**, all three specimens being the scarab type. The motif is derived from Egyptian iconography, although each of the scarabs displays Phoenician features, and none can be assigned to a definite Egyptian origin.

Catalogue No. 32 shows *Isis* suckling *Horus* in the papyrus marshes, whereas they both stand on the diagonal cross patterned exergue, denoting in Phoenician iconography the celestial terrain. She seems to be wearing a long patterned dress, and the horned crown with the sundisk. The standing position of the two gods is unusual for this scene, while **Catalogue Nos. 34 and 40** portray *Isis* sitting with *Horus* on her lap.⁴⁰



Figure 18: *Isis suckling Horus*

She is seated on an Egyptian throne, wearing the vulture headdress and the sundisk on her head. *Isis* is wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the scene is resting

³⁹ This identification is not certain altogether, but would fit in with the general intention of the scene depicted.

⁴⁰ Since the two scarabs are almost identical in the representation of the scene, it is not necessary to describe them here individually, although **Catalogue No. 40** has been worked less carefully.

on an exergue. Up to this point, the scene is in strict keeping with Egyptian iconography, however, the object, located to the left of the two gods, seems iconographically misplaced in this context. The object is reminiscent of the Babylonian fire altar or incense burner, symbolizing the Babylonian fire god *Nusku*.⁴¹ Culican interprets this Egypto-Babylonian iconographic phenomenon, brought about by the Phoenician glyptic, in terms of the question: did the Persian dominance in Phoenicia revitalize the religious exchange and syncretism of the Syro-Palestinian northern coastline with Egypt (1969:61)? The iconographic evidence of the seals certainly points toward it.

3.3.1.5. Other Gods and Figures

Since the material of our seal corpus does not allow for further clearly defined homogenous motif groups, it will be necessary, to broaden the limits of a motif group. The 'Other Gods and Figures' motif group will include anthropomorphic representations that can be identified according to their various attributes, either as gods, or as human figures.⁴²

There are nine seals that fall into this category, our **Catalogue Nos. 10, 11, 12, 30, 38, 43, 45, 56, and 63**, stemming from various sites.

Catalogue No. 10, an unusual square stamp seal from Tell Qasile, shows the image of a figure surrounded by a rather crudely engraved inscription (see below under 3.3.2.). It is obviously a male figure in a standing position, holding a hawk or a falcon with its outstretched arm. From comparative material and the seal photograph, it appears to be permissible, to identify a chariot in which the man is standing.⁴³

⁴¹ Culican presents two excellent parallels (see catalogue).

⁴² In instances where an object is symbolically representative (like the incense burner for the Babylonian fire god *Nusku*), it will not appear under this motif group, but under the class, to which the object is ascribed to.

⁴³ This would be in tune with a motif appearing on the *Yehud* coins from the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. The figure may represent the Persian king according to the Achaemenid royal iconography in a hunting scene with a hawk/falcon on his arm. This suspicion is substantiated by the accompanying inscription, which will concern us later.

Catalogue No. 38 has been found at 'Atlit, and it depicts an anthropomorphic figure, which we cannot identify as a god. The scarab shows a nude male figure, depicted in the side view, in an uncommon position, with the right leg lifted up as in climbing a ladder, whereas one arm is pointing downwards and the other upwards. The head is turned downwards. The posture is reminiscent of a dancing position, and that might have been the depiction of a Greek mythological dance.

The remaining seals of this group picture various gods and goddesses, prominent in the Syro-Palestine region.⁴⁴

A well stratified scarab from the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh, our **Catalogue No. 11**, is an accumulation of iconographic motifs, whose origin has to be sought in Egyptian iconography, although the individual components have been assembled in such a fashion that one rightly suspects a Phoenician influence. The central figure is a female goddess, dressed in Egyptian fashion, holding the *ankh* emblem with her left hand, and a lotus flower with her right hand. From these attributes, it seems to be possible, to identify her with *Anath* or *Astarte*.⁴⁵ The remainder of the elements of the scene are inserted in such a way that they appear to have been used as filling devices, though enhanced in significance by their iconographic meaning.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ In the description we leave out **Catalogue No. 43**, on which a person, sitting in front of hieroglyphic signs and insignia, is depicted. Since the seal base is broken off, only the right half of the seal is still visible, so that it is impossible, to identify the seated person. The seal will, however, be mentioned under 3.3.3.

⁴⁵ Edwards tries to show that on a relief from a private collection in England, *Anath* is equated with *Astarte* and *Qudshu*, thus merged into a triune deity in Egypt. The image, however, shows only *Qudshu*, whereas the names of *Astarte* and *Anath* are only incantations. In Canaan, only *Anath* and *Astarte* are predominantly mentioned. Originally both were daughters of *Re*, whereas the "two goddesses [*Anath* and *Astarte*] are also closely connected in Canaanite mythology, in which both are characterized as goddesses of war" (1955:51). However, the identification of *Anath* and *Astarte* seems not to be without problems, since they exhibit different traits and attributes in Phoenician iconography (Harden, 1962:83, 87f.).

⁴⁶ Consult the catalogue for a listing of these additional elements.

Our next sample, **Catalogue No. 12**, a scaraboid from Tell el-Hesi, which has been inscribed on both sides with hieroglyphs, possibly portrays the Egyptian falcon-headed⁴⁷ war god *Monthu*, the primary god of Theben, in a rather schematic way. Above its head is the sundisk, representative of *Amun-Re*. The iconographic image of the god is supplemented by the hieroglyphic inscription.

Another god, *Dagon*, the god of wheat (Moscati, 1968:37), is represented in **Catalogue No. 30**. It is depicted as a merman, holding a dolphin in its one hand, and a flower-wreath in its other. The maritime portrayal of the god, explains its identification with the Greek *Poseidon* (Harden, 1962:86f.). This object belongs to a group of Greco-Phoenician seals.

A seal, for which an Egyptian origin could easily be postulated, is another scarab from 'Atlit, our **Catalogue No. 45**, showing a male deity, which could be identified with the Egyptian solar deity *Re* or any other falcon-headed deity (see above). The depiction is traditional, since it displays the god in combination with the expected *ankh* emblem and *was* scepter, both divine attributes. The presence of this scarab in Egyptian style shows the various influences, the Phoenician coast underwent during the latter part of the Persian period, especially the wars between the Egyptians and Persians.⁴⁸

The last two seals of this motif group, **Catalogue Nos. 56** and **63** portray the same iconographic theme, thus forming a sub-group in their own right. Although they differ in origin and type,⁴⁹ they show the identical motif, i.e. the four-winged female⁵⁰ deity, a

⁴⁷ From the image alone, it would also be permissible to identify the figure with *Horus* or *Re*. The identification of the figure with *Monthu* is only on account of the accompanying hieroglyphic inscription.

⁴⁸ Johns assumes that the cemetery at 'Atlit was used in the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. by Greek mercenaries, who were involved in the Perso-Egyptian wars, which would also account for the abundance of Greek iconographic motifs found on seals from this site in comparison to other sites. All the '*Herakles*' seals come from 'Atlit, except for **Catalogue No. 27**, stemming from Tell Abu Hawam (cf. Johns, 1933).

⁴⁹ **Catalogue No. 56** is a conical stamp seal from Tell el-Far'ah (Beth Pelet), whereas **Catalogue No. 63**, a scaraboid, comes from Megiddo.

⁵⁰ The seal from Megiddo is rather worn and indistinct as to determine the sex of the deity, since the upper half of the body is almost missing. Nevertheless, from comparative material, and from the outline of the figure's body at Tell el-Far'ah, we are confronted with the four-winged goddess.

common image in Ancient Near Eastern iconography since the 14th century B.C. The four wings seem to indicate that we are dealing with a goddess of the highest authority (Keel, 1977:204). An interesting and supportive fact in this regard is, that this deity on seals is usually depicted alone without any further attributes or involved in other complex scenes, which increases her significance (see under *Parallels* in the catalogue). Four wings have been attributed to various gods, including *Bes* and also *Baal*, whereas the wings symbolize dominion over the natural forces, ability and swiftness in a flying movement, relationship with the natural elements of wind and storm.⁵¹ As to the identification of the four-winged goddess on our two specimens, there is enough evidence, to associate her with *Anath*, who must have occupied an important position in Syro-Palestine, since the attributes of a high celestial deity have been ascribed to her. Whether the four-winged goddess is corresponding to the creatures from Ezek 1:5f. or not, is beyond the scope of the present study.

3.3.1.6. Animals

This rather large group is represented by **Catalogue Nos. 8, 13, 16, 19, 20, 26, 29, 47, 59, 60, 61, 64, and 65**. Animal iconography played a rather significant role in Ancient Near Eastern iconography, especially in the Achaemenid royal iconography, reflected by the thirteen seals of our corpus which fall under this category. Animals were depicted either in their natural appearance, or mythologically enhanced, e.g. in attaching wings to their backs, or blending various parts of different animals into one, the so-called '*Mischwesen*' which have also been included under this motif group. Naturally, the animal symbolizes a certain abstract entity,⁵² pointing beyond the phenomenological

⁵¹ Keel comments: "Während in Ägypten die Flügel vorzugsweise dazu dienen, irgend eine Größe schützend zu überschatten, sind sie in Vorderasien ein Hinweis auf Herrschaft ..., auf die Fähigkeit zu fliegen ..., auf Beziehungen zu Wind ... und Sturm" (1977:216).

⁵² E.g. the uraeus symbolizes general protection, whereas the full content of the symbolism and the development of the uraeus iconography may be much more intricate, than 'protection' as an abstract entity is able to express.

aspect of the image, whereas it is not always possible to interpret the symbolism adequately without over-interpreting it.

Accordingly, the order of presentation will be animals in their natural state, followed by the mythologically enhanced creatures and creations.

Catalogue Nos. 13, 20, 59, 64, and 65 depict animals as *in natura*, i.e. without any mythological features attached to them. **Catalogue No. 13**, a signet ring from Gibeon, can be ascribed to the Achaemenid style, the ring probably being of Phoenician origin. It shows two, possibly horned, quadrupeds facing each other, whereas the identification of the animals is rather difficult on account of the incision technique. Above the scene is a crescent. The image might illustrate a fighting scene, if one is able to detect the horns of the animals. The scene might demonstrate the cosmic struggle of the elements, which is however a rather tentative suggestion, since the quality of the image does not allow for a more distinct qualification of the iconography. A more peaceful scene is depicted on **Catalogue No. 20**, a duck shaped amulet⁵³ from Tell el-Mazar in Jordan. It shows a rather schematic portrayal of a large bird, which we are able to identify as an ostrich. Interestingly, the image of the ostrich points us to Arabia, where the ostrich was highly esteemed by the Bedouins of the Arabian desert. This is demonstrated by its frequent appearance as a motif of rock art (Knauf, 1984:23). The seals from Tell el-Mazar, which exhibit Arabic influence witness to the fact that this ethnic group was present in Eastern Palestine during the Persian period, which is a contribution to the filling of the postulated 'settlement gap' in Eastern Palestine/Jordan during the Persian period.

Catalogue Nos. 59 and 60, two scarabs from Megiddo, show two corresponding motifs with slight variations. In the center of the image is a bird, most probably a hawk, flanked by two protective uraei or signs.⁵⁴ In Mesopotamian iconography the hawk-like bird would represent the Babylonian god *Ninurta* (Seidl, 1957-71:487), but the

⁵³ A rather unusual shape for a stamp seal, normally used for stone weights.

⁵⁴ The signs or objects appear on **Catalogue No. 59**, and unfortunately are not legible or identifiable.

combination with the protective uraei suggest an Egyptian iconographic background, possibly referring to a falcon-headed deity⁵⁵ or the protective Egyptian vulture.

On **Catalogue No. 65**, which is another scarab from Megiddo, two scorpions are portrayed. They are positioned in opposite directions, whereas the design seems to be on account of the seal space, which had to be filled by the engraver. The scorpion was a common iconographic motif in Syro-Palestine, symbolizing the Syrian goddess *Astarte*, which was connected with fertility. The scorpion represents the process of recreation and birth, and the origin of this iconographic theme in Mesopotamia, can be traced back to the 3rd millennium B.C. (Keel and Schroer, 1985:26ff., 103-111, 215f.).

The most prominent iconographic motif from the group of mythological animals in our corpus, is the sphinx. It appears in our **Catalogue Nos. 8, 26, 29, and 61**. The original Egyptian motif of the sphinx is usually depicted with a lion's body and a human head, whereas our instances all have the additional element of wings attached to the back of the animal.⁵⁶ **Catalogue No. 8**, a conical stamp seal from Tel Dor, shows the sphinx in a sitting position with an Assyrian type human head in front of an object, which can tentatively be identified with the Achaemenid fire altar in a degenerated form. The wings are curved upwards, showing the Phoenician influence on the artwork. Above the fire altar a crescent and a sundisk are discernable. The sphinx seems to be in a guarding posture, protecting the symbols of the gods. **Catalogue No. 26**, a scarab from 'Atlit, shows the sphinx in a standing position, with raised wings, in front of an object, which we have identified as the iconographic motif of the 'sacred tree'. The sphinx is standing on a line pattern, symbolizing terrestrial terrain, whereas the star and the sundisk above the sphinx provide the scene with the celestial aspect, thus creating a cosmic dimension.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Monthu*, *Khonsu*, but also *Horus* and *Re* were falcon-headed. For lack of further attributes, a more specific identification is not possible.

⁵⁶ Keel connects the sphinx of Ancient Near Eastern iconography with the Cherubim of the Old Testament, an identification whose validity is beyond the scope of this study (Keel, 1977:192).

⁵⁷ Unfortunately the seal base has been chipped off right where the head of the sphinx is to be expected, so that we cannot recognize its identity.

Catalogue Nos. 29 and **61** are unfortunately very schematic in their presentation of the sphinxes, whereas the conical stamp seal from Tel Michal is worked in the Neo-Babylonian drill technique, thus rendering the details in the recognizable crude manner.⁵⁸ A similar situation is met with the scaraboid from Megiddo (**Catalogue No. 61**), which shows the sphinx in front of a degenerated *ankh* emblem, although the seal is badly worn, a fact that does not contribute to the clarity of the scene. The form of the head of the sphinx would allow for the interpretation of it wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, which is a common variation on the iconographic motif of the sphinx.⁵⁹

Another prominent mythological animal in Ancient Near Eastern iconography, which has also been interpreted as a model for biblical imagery, is the uraeus. **Catalogue Nos. 28** and **60** show the uraeus in interesting combinations, demonstrating its protective significance and apotropaic symbolism. **Catalogue No. 28**, a scarab from Tell Abu-Hawam, portrays four uraei, attached to a rosette with four petals, while the lower body of the uraeus is creating a loop, the upper of the body is bending back towards the loop, so that the head of the uraeus is almost touching the loop. Another scarab from Megiddo, **Catalogue No. 60**, depicts two uraei flanking a three-stemmed lotus flower. Obviously, here the imagery conveys a protective significance as well. The iconography of the uraeus is of Egyptian origin, where the image of the cobra was used as a protective sign on the headdresses of various gods (e.g. *Hathor* and *Horus*), and Pharaohs, whereas the quantity of uraei displayed seemed to be proportional to the protection granted (Keel, 1977:86, Fig. 41-43). Uraei in the protective posture, i.e. flanking an object or figure, also appear with two or even four wings. In Syro-Palestine, the uraeus has been one of the most popular motifs since the end of the Middle Bronze Age.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Even to identify the animal as a sphinx, seems to be beyond certainty.

⁵⁹ One has to mention the fact that it is the winged griffin, and not the winged sphinx, in Phoenician iconography that is usually depicted as wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (Galling, 1941:128-130).

⁶⁰ Keel summarizes the most prominent evidences with an emphasis on the eighth/seventh centuries B.C., where there is a group of inscribed Hebrew seals with the motif of a four-winged uraeus on

The two last seals of this motif group, are representative of the Achaemenid royal style. **Catalogue No. 16**, a signet ring from Jerusalem, shows a winged quadruped, supposedly an antelope in a passant position, whereas **Catalogue No. 19**, a conical stamp seal from Tell el-Mazar, communicates the Persian view of the interaction between the natural forces. Three important animals of Achaemenid mythology, namely a winged lion, a winged mountain goat, and a winged bull, are mounted around a wheel.⁶¹ Only the head and the wings are visible, whereas the wings of the bull are reminiscent of the ear of a corn. The two animals, the lion and the bull represent the contrast between summer and winter, so that the whole image might be indicative of the annual cycle of nature.

3.3.1.7. Varia

The last four iconographic seals⁶² depict images that could not be easily classified among the above categories.

Catalogue Nos. 54, a signet ring from Kamid el-Loz, and **Catalogue No. 57**, a scarab from Megiddo, shows a similar motif. The former divides the rectangular seal base via a roped border line into two sections, the upper one shows the common iconographic motifs of two stars. In the bottom section a group of four men has been incised in a rather schematic way. The group appears to be forming a line of men walking behind each other. The seal from Megiddo adheres to the same schematic depiction of, in this case, three figures in a passant position, while the figures seem to be joined together at

it, which seems to be a peculiar Palestinian variation of the Egyptian motif (Keel, 1977:92-110). He furthermore identifies the שרפים of Isa 6:2 with the uraeus of Ancient Near Eastern iconography: "Angesichts der intensiven Verehrung der Serafim im ausgehenden 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. erklärt es sich, daß Jesaja Serafim sieht und sie erwähnt, ohne sie zu beschreiben" (Keel, 1977:110). It may be important to note that Isaiah emphatically subordinates the שרפים under Yahweh.

⁶¹ Or a sundisk, although the depiction of the round object with its inner circle would favour the interpretation of it being a wheel.

⁶² **Catalogue No. 17** has also been classified as being iconographic, although it only shows an inscription separated by ornamental patterns, which have been identified by the excavator as representing two eyes and a nose (?). The ambiguous character of this interpretation did not seem to warrant a more detailed treatment of the iconographic aspect of the seal.

their hands. A similar signet from 'Atlit shows the same group of men in a more detailed way, adding the clarifying detail, that the men are chained to each other. These seals may portray the deportation of captives, a fate frequently suffered in the Ancient Near East.⁶³

Catalogue Nos. 58 and 62 fall under the category of seals with geometric designs. The scaraboid from Megiddo depicts six concentric circles, arranged around the Egyptian *ankh* emblem. **Catalogue No. 62**, a scarab also from Megiddo, shows a rather simple geometric hatch design, i.e. three horizontal lines, crossed by five vertical lines. Both seals exhibit iconographic features that seem to designate them as being considerably older - a date in the Hyksos period would be permissible without any problems - than the stratum in which they were found, unless we are confronted with late imitations of early motifs.⁶⁴ Geometric designs on seals in general point to the triumph of the forces of life over the chaos, well symbolized by the *ankh* emblem surrounded by concentric circles.

3.3.2. Epigraphic Seals

This integral part of the study is represented by nine seals, i.e. **Catalogue Nos. 3, 4, 10, 14, 17, 21, 37, 51, and 52**. Surprisingly, among a total number of 65 seals, the group of nine epigraphic seals does not constitute an outstanding variable, although its significance is enhanced by the fact that the inscriptions are able to contribute to the historical understanding of the Persian period. In order to facilitate the review of the analysis of the group of epigraphic seals, a summary with the most important features of the inscriptions is presented in the graph below.

⁶³ The general policy of the Persian overlords, however, was the reinstatement of the exiled people to their respective home countries.

⁶⁴ The group of seals from Megiddo (**Catalogue Nos. 57-65**) as a whole gives the impression of featuring iconographic motifs that could be dated to a more archaic period. Nevertheless, as they have been unearthed in a Persian stratum, they formed part of the seal corpus of this study.

Cat. No.	Inscription	Translation	Language	Date B.C.
3	יהוד	<i>Judah</i>	Aramaic	525-475
4	לשלמית אמת אלנתן פת..	(Belonging) to <i>Shelomith</i> maidservant of <i>Elnathan</i> the governor	Aramaic	525-475
10	עשניהו עבד המלך	' <i>Ashanyahu</i> , servant of the King	Hebrew	500-300
14	למרחשמן	(Belonging) to <i>Meratsheman</i>	Aramaic	550-450
17	לחמיושא בת שמט	(Belonging) to <i>hmyws'</i> , the daughter of <i>šmt</i>	Ammonite	700-500
21	להמל שחה / דדה	(Belonging) to <i>hml</i> , (son of) <i>štt</i> (or <i>Dadah</i>)	Ammonite	600-500
37	עותם	' <i>wtm</i> (<i>Awitam</i>)	Phoenician	500-400
51	לפלטי בן מאש המזכר	(Belonging) to <i>Palti</i> , (the son of) <i>Ma'os'</i> , the Mazkir	Ammonite	ca. 700
52	עשר צרפת ע 12	Ten(th), Sarepta, (the) 12th (year of)'	Phoenician	425-350

Figure 19: Characteristic features of epigraphic seals

3.3.2.1. Palaeographic results

From Fig. 12 it becomes obvious that the palaeographical dating of the seals is not without problems, ranging from 700 to 300 B.C., assigning rather long time spans to the individual seals with regard to the origination of their scripts.⁶⁵ The limitations of palaeographical dating become especially apparent with **Catalogue No. 4**, where the script would point to the seventh century B.C., although the correspondence of the seal to other seals from the Post-Exilic Archive, and the terminology found on it, designates the seal as clearly belonging to the Persian period (cf. catalogue). There are however other instances, where the palaeographical dating corresponds closely to the archaeological context in which the seal has been found, e.g. **Catalogue No. 37**, a seal

⁶⁵ As a point of comparison for the palaeography of the seals, we resorted to the tables provided by Herr (1978; 1980), Naveh (1982), and Aufrecht (1989), whereas the tables for the fifth century are especially fragmentary, since there is a lack of comparative epigraphic material.

of a certain עוהם - whereas the *mem* and the *ayin* obviously display the characteristics of the Phoenician script in the fifth century.⁶⁶

Another peculiarity, which can be anticipated from the rather short nature of the seal inscriptions, is the question of the national script, and its determination, which is often undertaken on account of the onomastic evidence and the vocabulary involved. However, taking into consideration that during the Persian period a bilingual society developed (Naveh, 1982:114), this factor is not always indicative. This is demonstrated by **Catalogue No. 10**, which has been written in the Hebrew national script, although it can be dated well into the Persian period, when Aramaic was the official language.⁶⁷ It is evident that at the same time, Hebrew was increasingly used as a written, formal language, an anachronism, perhaps promoted by the returning Jews from Babylon.

The three seals from Jordan, **Catalogue Nos. 17, 21, and 51**, show the characteristics of the Ammonite script between 700 and 500 B.C.⁶⁸ The question of the Ammonite script being a national script (Cross, 1969a),⁶⁹ or just Aramaic written in Ammonite style (Naveh, 1982) is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, we note that the script on our Ammonite seals cannot be dated later than the end of the sixth century, since the Ammonite script, of whatever nature it may have been, "was replaced by the Aramaic script of the Persian chancelleries" (Aufrecht, 1989:xxii) at the beginning of the Persian period.

⁶⁶ Another example is our **Catalogue No. 14**, a signet ring from Gibeon, where the form of the *mem* and the *resh* are corresponding to the letter form of the Aramaic script in the late sixth/early fifth century B.C.

⁶⁷ See also the inscribed seals from Tell el-Mazar, our **Catalogue Nos. 17 and 21**, on which possibly Arabic onomastica occur, although they have been written in Ammonite script.

⁶⁸ For more details on the palaeography of these three seals, cf. the catalogue.

⁶⁹ Other adherents to this view are Herr, Hackett, Jackson, who generally follow Cross. The statement by Herr can be taken as representative of this view: "The Ammonite script probably broke off from the Aramaic tradition around 734 B.C. and saw its own development until the mid 6th century, when Ammonite inscriptions reverted to the Aramaic script" (Herr, 1980:32).

The Aramaic script found on our seals, i.e. on **Catalogue Nos. 3, 4, and 14**, is that of the lapidary style, which tends to imitate the cursive forms of the Aramaic script in the fifth and fourth century B.C., while only *alef*, *zayin* and *yod* preserve their older forms (Naveh, 1970:52). Since **Catalogue No. 4** from the Post-Exilic Archive displays palaeographical features of the 7th century B.C., as mentioned above, it is not indicative of this development, and the signet ring from Gibeon does not have these key-letters as part of its inscription, so that it is impossible for us to verify Naveh's statement, although the *shin* of the signet ring is very close to the cursive Aramaic script, and the *yod* on the second seal from the Post-Exilic Archive indeed seems to be of the archaic type, which would point to a date for the seal at the end of the sixth/beginning of fifth century B.C.⁷⁰

The two Phoenician seals, **Catalogue Nos. 37 and 52**, exhibit more distinct palaeographic characteristics that designate their script as Phoenician of the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. A similar development as for the Aramaic script can be followed in the Phoenician script, namely, the gradual assimilation of the lapidary to the cursive element (the *shin* of **Catalogue No. 52**) and the retaining of some archaic lapidary characters (possibly the *waw* of **Catalogue No. 37**).

The general impression we have gained from the palaeographic data on our seals, is, that palaeography can only assist as a tool in determining the date of the seal, whereas a synthesis of the archaeological, palaeographic, onomastic, and iconographic data, would ideally lead to a complex understanding and integration of the seal into its respective historical context.

⁷⁰ As Naveh has pointed out, the evidence for the Aramaic lapidary script of the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. is rather meagre, whereas the inscriptions are of very short nature, leading to the fact that "it is therefore difficult to reconstruct the development of the Aramaic lapidary script accurately" (1970:53).

3.3.2.2. *Onomastica*

A total number of 13 onomastica can be found on the epigraphic seals of this seal corpus. They will be presented in alphabetical order.

אלנתן **Catalogue No. 4:** The theophoric name ('God has given') is attested in the Bible five times in books, whose context can be ascribed to the Persian period (see catalogue). Extrabiblically, it can be found six times on Hebrew seals and numerous times on Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions, e.g. at Lachish and Arad, also twice in the *Murašū* documents (Fowler, 1988:352; Coogan, 1976:12f.). The correspondence to the bulla of 'Elnathan, the governor', also found among the Post-Exilic Archive, confirms the historicity of this person. *Elnathan*, as a governor of Persian Judah has to be dated between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, i.e. towards the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. Most probably he succeeded Zerubbabel as governor during the reign of Darius I.⁷¹

לגג **Catalogue No. 21:** The alternative reading of the patronym would point to the Hebrew root לגג, and could be translated as 'laggard' (Brown, Driver and Briggs, 1962:186). As it could also be read as ל'ג, it would point to two Aramaic seals on which this name has been found (Galling, 1941:No. 115; Lemaire 1983:No. 13). The name is also attested on Aramaic inscriptions from Assur, where it is used as a hypocoristic⁷² (Lipiński, 1975:96).

המל **Catalogue No. 21:** Otherwise unknown, Knauf suggests an Arabic origin of the onomasticon, where it appears among Safaite and classical Arabic

⁷¹ Avigad's list of Judean governors and the evidence supporting them may be presented here: "Sheshbazzar, 'governor (*phh*)' (Ezra 5:14); 'prince of Judah' (Ezra 1:8), ca. 538 BCE. Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, 'governor of Judah (*phh yhwddh*)' (Haggai 1:1, 14), 515 BCE. Elnathan, 'governor (*phw*)' (bulla and seal), late 6th century BCE. Yeho'ezer, 'governor (*phw*)' (jar-impresion), early 5th century BCE. Aḥzai, 'governor (*phw*)' (jar-impresion), early 5th century BCE. Nehemiah, son of Hacaliah, 'the governor (*hphh*)' (Neh 5:14; 12:26), 445-433 BCE" (Avigad, 1976:35).

⁷² Another hypothesis applies a theophoric character to ל'ג (Lipiński, 1975:102).

onomastica (Knauf, 1984:24; Harding, 1971:202). The apparent wrong reading (see catalogue), on which Knauf's etymology is based, seems to question these deductions.

- חמיושא** **Catalogue No. 17:** According to Knauf, the first element of this feminine name can be traced back to the root חמי 'to protect' as in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, the dialect of el-Amarna, and Arabic (cf. Stark, 1971:89). The second element could be the theophoric element in accordance with the Arabic *wāsā*, 'to help'. The Arabic origin of this onomasticon seems to be likely (Knauf, 1984:24f.).
- מאש** **Catalogue No. 51:** This patronym can also be found on a Hebrew seal (Bordreuil, 1975:107-118), questioning the specific Ammonite character of the onomasticon in general. Otherwise the name is unknown.
- מרחשמן** **Catalogue No. 14:** The onomasticon is a composita, consisting of the element מרה , which, understood as a feminine singular constructus of מרה would mean 'lady of', and the name שמן, which we found only attested among the Aramaic onomastica from Egypt, namely among the names of uncertain origin, meaning either, in accordance with the equivalent Hebrew root, 'oil, fat', or pointing to the Egyptian 'son/daughter of Min', which seems to be less probable (Kornfeld, 1978:125). The preceding element מרה has been found - also in composita - among the Punic inscriptions (Benz, 1972:143, 355), the Palmyrene inscriptions (Stark, 1971:37, 97), and the inscriptions from Hatra (Abbadi, 1983:126f.). The notion that was expressed in the catalogue, that מרה may represent a title rather than a name, needs to await further substantiation, since the usage of such a title is not known at this stage. The *Shelomith* seal, however, contributes to an increasing

awareness of the significance of the role women played in society during the Persian period.⁷³

- ד **Catalogue No. 52:** From comparative material it becomes apparent that the *ayin* is the abbreviated form of an onomasticon, a hypocoristicon. Most probably it is pointing to the Tyrian king עומלך 'the king is strong', who reigned from 347 to 332 B.C. at the Phoenician coast. The number 12 following the *ayin* would therefore refer to the twelfth year of his reign, i.e. 335 B.C.⁷⁴ As an onomasticon, the name is well attested among Punic and Phoenician inscriptions (Benz, 1972:165ff.).
- עוהם **Catalogue No. 37:** In its present form, the name is unknown among the Semitic onomastica, which would lead to the question, if the reading is correct, or if we have indeed a new name in front of us. There is an עוהן found in the Palmyrene inscriptions, meaning 'helper', whereas the final nun is a suffix (Stark, 1971:105). The Arabic 'atā 'to be proud, go beyond bounds' seems also possible (Fowler, 1988:151).
- עשנידו **Catalogue No. 10:** The name is probably derived from the root עש 'to lend aid, come to help', with the addition of the first person singular verbal suffix, rendering the name as 'the Lord has helped me', parallel to עשנאל (Vattioni, 1969:369, No. 88; Fowler, 1988:354).
- פלטי **Catalogue No. 51:** The onomasticon is generally well attested in west-Semitic, Elephantine, and Ammonite inscriptions (Zayadine, 1985:156; Kornfeld, 1978:68; Fowler, 1988:357), but also in the biblical tradition (Num

⁷³ Abbadi, referring to Habib, argues against the usage of מרה as a title: "Habibs Deutung, Sumer 29, 1973, S. 159, Nr. 31, MRT nicht als Namensbestandteil, sondern als einen Titel (as-sayyida 'Herrin') zu sehen, setzt eine Verwendungsweise von Titeln voraus, die kaum annehmbar ist" (1983:127). On what grounds the use of מרה as a title is not acceptable, is not submitted by Abbadi.

⁷⁴ Teixidor, on the other hand, understood the *ayin* as an abbreviation of the Sidonian king עבראמן who reigned about 400 B.C. (1975:97-104). Greenfield's comparison of four palaeographically very close Phoenician city seals, however, substantiates the above mentioned option significantly (1985:132).

13:9; 1 Sam 25:44). The Hebrew root פלט 'bring to safety' seems to be the underlying meaning, whereas our form seems to be a hypocoristicon for פלטיאל 'El has delivered'.

שלמיה **Catalogue No. 4:** The feminine onomasticon is well attested in the biblical tradition (Lev 24:11; 1 Chr 3:19), although it is also used as a masculine proper name (1 Chr 23:9.18; 2 Chr 11:20; Ezra 8:10).⁷⁵ Extrabiblically, only the forms שלמה and שלמי are attested (e.g. Benz, 1972:181; Kornfeld, 1978:73; Stark, 1971:51f., 114). It possibly is a theophoric onomasticon. There seems sufficient correspondence between the biblical tradition and our seal inscription, to identify שלמיה on our seal with the daughter of Zerubbabel from 1 Chr 3:19.

שמט **Catalogue No. 17:** The patronym of the seal is otherwise unknown, and a reference to the classical Arabic personal name *šmt* (as-Simt) has to suffice (Knauf, 1984:25).

שחת **Catalogue No. 21:** The first reading of that seal is comparable to the old North Arabic *st*. But one does not have to go that far, since the Hebrew root שחת could be a "geminate biform" (Aufrecht, 1989:288) of the root שיה 'to appoint'. With that, evidence against an Arabic origin of this seal is accumulating.

The onomastica found on our seals as a whole correspond in their origin to the area in which they have been located.

⁷⁵ Noth understands the name as the feminine form of שלמי, implying that all the instances in which the name is used for a man are textual errors (1966:165).

3.3.2.3. *Varia epigraphica*

- בן בן is the most frequent title⁷⁶ found on seal inscriptions, usually pointing to a father-son relationship. Often the form has been omitted on inscriptions, especially on those of short character like seals (cf. e.g. our **Catalogue No. 51**), so that it automatically has to be substituted by the reader. בן can refer to the direct father-son relationship, but also to a wider context of meaning (see below under בַּת). The expression is normally used to establish a certain status on account of the person's stand to which the inscription refers as 'son of'.
- בַּת This title is found on our **Catalogue No. 17**, the private stamp seal from Tell el-Mazar, where it denotes the relationship between the owner and the patronym of the inscription. It is the feminine equivalent to בן. Usually בַּת indicates the relational bond between the two or more onomastica found on a seal, in most cases between father and daughter, although it is important to note that it can also have a more inclusive connotation, i.e. 'daughter' as belonging to the same tribe or clan, or having more than one generation between 'father' and 'daughter' (Jean and Hoftijzer, 1965:37). The role of women in the post-exilic society in Syro-Palestine/Transjordan still has to be clarified sufficiently, but the fact that they were owners of private and official seals (see **Catalogue No. 4**), may enhance our understanding of their significance in society.
- המזכר The title is found on the seal from Umm Udheinah, **Catalogue No. 51**. The office of the מזכר is attested nine times in the biblical tradition, whereas the office seems to have been instituted in Israel during David's reign, lasting up until the exile. As to the nature of the office, different

⁷⁶ The term 'title' may not apply fully to the father-son relationship indicated by the expression, but in terms of seal syntax it has the position of a title within the construct chain, and being-the-son-of signalled a certain status.

suggestions have been brought forth: Franz Delitzsch already understood it as the office of the national annalist who had to keep the annals of the kingdom, "and incorporate them in the connected history of the nation" (Delitzsch, 1986:8). More recently, taking the *hiphil* form of the term into account, the notion has been made that the מִזְכָּר was a royal herald (de Vaux, 1958:202f.), comparable to the Akkadian *nagiru* (Zayadine, 1985:158). The LXX translates the term with ὑπομνηματγράφος 'recorder', although this may have been under the influence of the Ptolemaic administration. It is interesting to note that the Ammonite kingdom of the seventh century employed this office, as this official seal from Jordan shows.

עבד המלך The 'servant of the king' is another common title found on official seals, especially on those stemming from the First Temple period, usually referring to government officials. עבד המלך apparently continued to be in use during the Persian period, although in our instance it can be attributed to the Phoenician coast and only secondarily to the Jewish people.⁷⁷ The unusual square stamp seal from Tell Qasile, our **Catalogue No. 10**, certainly belongs to the class of official seals of the Persian administration, which is furthermore substantiated by the fact that the language of the inscription is Hebrew, whereas the question has to be raised to which king the inscription is referring. It could be either the Persian king or the king of Sidon, to whose territory Tell Qasile belonged during the Persian period (Stern, 1982:207).

אֵנַת The exact meaning of אֵנַת, which has been found in **Catalogue No. 4**, is not certain: does it express a wife/concubine-relationship between the owner of the seal and *Elnathan*, the governor, or is this term used to

⁷⁷ Cf. 'Tobiah the Ammonite servant' of Neh 2:10. See also Hestrin's discussion of this official title (1983:51).

denote an administrative office, held by a female official? The term is found on two Ammonite seals from the 7th century B.C. (Avigad, 1946:125-132; Reifenberg, 1950:No. 36), although there the **אִמָּה** is only connected to personal names, not allowing an identification of these individuals. A Hebrew tomb-inscription in Jerusalem mentions that a high royal official was buried together with his **אִמָּה**, indicating that the **אִמָּה** might have been a designation for the wife of this official (Avigad, 1953:137-152). The biblical usage of **אִמָּה** refers to a maidservant who could under certain circumstances attain a socially important role in the household close to the status of a legal wife (Gesenius, 1962:46). **אִמָּה** as a designation of an administrative office would correspond to the usage of **עֹבֵד** as the masculine counterpart, a line followed by Albright (1954:134), Avigad (1976:13) - with some reservations however -, and later on Stern (1982:207). Meyers goes even further in identifying *Shelomith* with the daughter of Zerubbabel from 1 Chr 3:19, and combining the two possible meanings of the term, concluding that "Shelomith's exceptional administrative responsibilities resulted from her marital connections to the office of governor" (Meyers, 1985:35). In order to decide the matter conclusively, one still has to await further epigraphic evidence for the exact meaning of **אִמָּה**, acknowledging however, the importance she must have assumed in her community.

פְּחוּא This administrative term, also coming from the inscription found in our **Catalogue No. 4**, is the standard designation for the official governor of the Persian administration of the province of Judah, one of the various provinces of the satrapy *Abar Nahara*.⁷⁸ The **פְּחוּא** was responsible for the tax revenue, returned to the Persian government, most probably introduced during the administrative reforms of Darius I. On the basis,

⁷⁸ For a chronological integration of that governor, cf. the notes on **אֵלְנָתָן** under 3.3.2.2.

that the *Shelomith* of our seal is identical with the daughter of Zerubbabel, Meyers argues that *Elnathan* married into the old royal line, in order to provide a "visible sign of the continuity of the Davidic family" (1985:37) in a time of uncertainty and confrontation with the newly emerging political aspect of the high priest office.

יְהוּד **Catalogue No. 3** has the geographical term יְהוּד inscribed, pointing to the province of Judah during the Persian period. This conoid is the first original seal, from which a type of the *Yehud* seal-impressions have been made. It seems to be appropriate, to outline the development of the יְהוּד seal impressions. This class has been found especially on jar-handles, both in the Hebrew and Aramaic script, both in *plene* and *defective* writing, attached to a personal name or to the administrative term פְּחוּזָא in different designs. Stern has divided this class into five types with sub-types, of which our seal would belong to group D.⁷⁹ The chronology and relative sequence of these impressions have been the subject of an ongoing scholarly debate, whereas it becomes increasingly evident that, according to Stern, the Aramaic stamps can be assigned to the end of the fifth century down to the fourth century B.C., whereas our particular seal would fall in the beginning of that period. For an excellent summary of the opinions, see Stern (1982:202-213). Avigad, however, employs a slightly higher chronology for the seal, in dating it to the time span between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, i.e. the end of the sixth and the first half of the fifth century, drawing on the historical (though meager during this period) and the biblical evidence (Neh 5:15). In our opinion, Avigad's chronology presents some soundness in explaining the historical gap between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (Avigad, 1972:32-36). As to the use of the יְהוּד

⁷⁹ Group A: יְהוּד + personal name + פְּחוּזָא, Group B: יְהוּד alone, Group C: יְהוּד or יְהוּ in a circle + monogram, Group D: יְהוּד in a single line, Group E: הָ alone, Group F: הָ alone (Stern, 1982:202).

stamps, there are a number of interpretations: (1) the stamp of the tax collector; (2) the stamp of the temple treasurer; (3) the stamp of the High Priest; and (4) the stamp of the potter who made the vessel. Option (1) seems to be the most convincing in the opinion of the present writer in giving a satisfying explanation of the amount of impressions; additionally, it would also correspond to the heavy taxation system, described in Neh 5:1.

צרפת This geographic term, found on the inscription in **Catalogue No. 52** established the identification of modern Sarafand, with the biblical city of Sarepta or Zarephath, known from 1 Ki 17:9f. Sarepta belonged to the political realm of Sidon in the ninth century B.C. After being conquered by Sennacherib, it was subsequently turned into an Assyrian province, now falling under the control of the king of Tyre. This remained the political situation until the fourth century B.C., as we are informed by Pseudo-Scylax (Greenfield, 1985:131).

עשר The figure is part of the inscription in **Catalogue No. 52**. Teixidor in his original publication of the seal suggested that **עשר** could possibly refer to a council of ten, comparable to the 'committees of ten' at Carthage, Palmyra and Tiberias. There is, however, no indication that an institution like that was in office in Phoenicia during the Persian period. Another suggestion was made by Bordreuil, who published a similar seal bought at the antiquities market in Beirut (Bordreuil, 1977:177-184). According to him **עשר** would have designated the tithe, similar to the Hebrew verbal stem **עשר** 'to tithe', although as a noun it would be morphologically unusual. This tithe would have been a kind of tax collected in the regions of Tyre and Sidon. Greenfield summarizes: "The **עשר** of the Phoenician seals would then reflect a practice by which the king of Tyre collected a tithe from the area under his control" (1985:134).

3.3.3. Hieroglyphic Seals

This last seal class of our catalogue is constituted by a group of ten seals, of which only six have to be considered as exclusively hieroglyphic, i.e. seals on which only hieroglyphs have been incised on the seal base. On the four remaining seals, the hieroglyphs have been used as a designer's filling device, nevertheless adding to the overall meaning of the image, and forming an integral part of the seal engraving (e.g. **Catalogue No. 11**). It is interesting to note that the majority of the hieroglyphic seals stem from 'Atlit, and only two (**Catalogue Nos. 11** from Wadi ed-Dâliyeh, and **12** from Tell el-Hesi) have been found at other sites. The predominant seal shape is, as expected, the scarab.⁸⁰

In the following table the seals will be listed, providing the hieroglyphic inscription and its translation. In cases where the hieroglyphs have assumed the character of an insignium, the respective insignium will be mentioned without a translation.

Cat. No.	Hieroglyphic Inscription	Translation
11	<i>nfr(2x), c_{nh}, tr</i> ⁸¹	good, life
12	<i>Mn[<i>l</i>]w nb pt</i> <i>Imn-R^c nb t3wy</i>	<i>Monthu</i> , Lord of Heaven <i>Amun-Re</i> , Lord of the two Lands
33	<i>nb</i>	Lord/all
39	<i>R^c P-t3m</i>	<i>Re Pe-Tjam (Psammetichus)</i>
43	<i>(rnpt)-nfr</i>	A happy year
46	<i>Šbn-Hr</i>	<i>Sheben-Horus</i>
47	<i>Ipt-Mn</i>	<i>Ipet-men</i> (How steadfast is <i>Ipt</i>) ⁸²
48	<i>c_{nh}(2x), Hr-mn</i>	<i>Horus-men</i>

⁸⁰ Except for **Catalogue Nos. 12, 48, and 50**, which are of the scaraboid form.

⁸¹ The hieroglyphs obviously have been used to fill the remaining spaces on the seal base.

⁸² The name could be a masculine proper name, or an epithet of the hippopotamus goddess *Ipt* (Johns, 1933:55).

49	<i>Hr-mn</i>	<i>Horus-men</i>
50	<i>špdt</i>	<i>Sothis or Sirius</i>

Figure 20: Hieroglyphic seals with translation

The names appearing on the seals are all of the late period, *Horus-men* (or *Her-men*) being a masculine proper name of the Saite period (664-525 B.C.), and *Ipet-men* carrying a theophoric element of the hippopotamus goddess *Ipet*. Another theophoric name is the feminine proper name *Sheben-Horus*, probably meaning 'she who is joined to *Horus*', while the two illegible lines on each side of the name probably point to the father and mother of the seal owner. The cryptic form of the royal name found on **Catalogue No. 39** '*Psammetichus*' leaves the question open, as to which pharaoh of the XXVIth dynasty reference has been made. From the archaeological dating of the scarab, Psammetichus III (526-525 B.C.) would be the closest, although the other two pharaohs bearing the same name cannot be excluded.⁸³

Another divinity mentioned is *Isis*, to whom allusion is made on the hieroglyphic inscription of **Catalogue No. 50** by referring to *Sirius* or *Sothis*, the star of *Isis*. *Monthu*, the war god, and *Amon-Re*, the sun god, are found on the seal from Tell el-Hesi **Catalogue No. 12**, where they are accompanied by two epithets, which are usually employed for royal names (Rowe, 1933:319). The epithet from **Catalogue No. 43** could possibly be a New Years wish, if the reading of the incomplete seal base is correct.

In general, the hieroglyphic inscriptions of this group of seals point strongly to the late Saite period, indicating the presence of an Egyptian population at 'Atlit and the other sites, whereas it is conceivable that these people were Egyptian military personnel.

⁸³ Psammetichus I (664-609 B.C.) and Psammetichus II (594-588 B.C.) are the other proponents. Rowe assumes Psammetichus I to be the point of reference for the hieroglyphic inscriptions. (1933:80)

4. CONCLUSION

In the course of the present study, a corpus of 65 scarabs, scaraboids, stamp seals, and signet rings has been assembled. These objects originate from legal excavations in Syro-Palestine, being stratigraphically identified as belonging to the time frame of the Persian period (538-332 B.C.). The dating of the seals presented difficulties at times, since the strata of the Persian period have been neglected to some degree until recently.

It appeared that the corpus of seals from the Persian period can by no means be called a homogeneous group, and variety in form, style, design, and content seems to be the general theme. Nevertheless, it was possible to differentiate between certain types of seals. Our main classification divided the corpus into **Iconographic Seals**, **Epigraphic Seals**, and **Hieroglyphic Seals**, a division that proved to be the most efficient way of handling the analysis of the seals. Furthermore, we were able to establish sub-groups within these groups of iconographic seals.

With regard to the iconographic seals, one can observe a reciprocal relationship between the **form** and the **content** of the objects, e.g. the worshipper before altar/symbol motif - our largest sub-group - always appears on conical stamp seals, while scarabs prefer Egyptian or Egyptianizing motifs. The geographical distribution of the seals presents interesting peculiarities, with the northern coastal plain of the region under question yielding the majority of the corpus. Seals from this area exhibit a strong Phoenician influence, combining various iconographic traditions and merging them into a new one

which can rightfully be called Phoenician. Motifs of a specific tradition, e.g. the Egyptian Isis suckling Horus motif, are combined with elements of a different origin, e.g. the Babylonian fire altar. This tendency towards fusion of different iconographic traditions may reflect the historical situation of the northern coastal region of Syro-Palestine which enjoyed a degree of independence from the Persian administration. This factor opened the area to cultural influences from east and west, furthered by the cosmopolitan character of the Phoenician city states.¹

In the central region of Syro-Palestine, i.e. south of Samaria, a more 'conservative' glyptic is found. Form and content preserve the various iconographic traditions without merging them, and the motifs are usually presented in a more 'pure' and original fashion. The majority of the iconographic motifs have an eastern or Mesopotamian origin. As an example the worshipper before altar/symbol motif can be taken which continues a Neo-Babylonian tradition for a considerable time into the Persian period.

On the eastern border of our region, in Transjordan, Arabic influences are detectable which could point to the increasing presence of this ethnic factor in Syro-Palestine, although the evidence is not totally unambiguous.

If one endeavors to determine the relative importance of the various iconographic traditions that have been found on the seals of our corpus, one has to recognize the leading role of the northern coastal region for the development of Ancient Near Eastern iconography, thus setting the direction of iconographic development. Here the identification, merging and transition of various motifs took place, e.g. gods of different iconographic traditions were attributed with the same iconographic characteristics.

Although one can portray the iconographic results of our study as multi-faceted, one must nevertheless acknowledge one iconographic tradition that was able to penetrate the whole region effectively, namely the Achaemenid royal style, as seen best in the 'Herr

¹ It is an interesting fact that scarabs from an earlier period, i.e. Iron Age I, which have been excavated in this region, do not exhibit the same characteristic, but rather preserve more 'pure' iconographic traditions. This information is deduced from personal communication with Jürg Egger who studied scarabs from the Iron Age I for his M.A. thesis.

der Tiere' motif. Although produced as a mass ware and widely distributed, these seals and their importance as official tokens for the Persian administration cannot be underestimated.

The epigraphic seals of our corpus, though relatively small in number, constituted another important aspect of the study. The onomastica, titles, administrative and geographical terms, found on the seal inscriptions, were the most important aspects of this group of seals, shedding some light on historical questions relevant to the Persian period.

The study of seals from the Persian period has been an interesting challenge, considering the historical obscurity and scholarly uncertainty pertaining to this period. Although this work can only be considered as ground work and further integration of the now available data is essential, the present author hopes that there has been some 'shedding of light'.

5. CATALOGUE

The catalogue of stamp seals from the Persian period consists of 65 entries. It is important to note that the descriptive part of the catalogue represents an integral part of the study itself. Although the way of description may at times appear to be repetitive and not easy to review, it nevertheless reflects the primary dialogue between the describer and the object.

Notes on a larger scale have been omitted. However, a number of footnotes have been added, where they could enhance the understanding of the respective seal. The archaeological notes are of particular importance, since they may indicate the correlation of object and time period.

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: hat²

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: straight sideways

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: straight down

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: tree

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: coat
Subdomain 2: striped

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: straight sideways

² The point on top of the figure's head seems to indicate a hat (cf. e.g. Catalogue No. 21).

<i>Parallels</i>

Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19

Keel and Uehlinger, 1990:53f., Fig. 27

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 156

Keel-Leu, 1991:130, Fig. 158

Keel-Leu, 1991:130, Fig. 159

Keel-Leu, 1991:130, Fig. 160

Keel-Leu, 1991:131, Fig. 164

Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: two-horned cap

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: coat
Subdomain 2: plain

Element No. 2

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

Element No. 3

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: double stylus

Element No. 4

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Element No. 5

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: altar

Parallels

Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:2

Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19

Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:73, Fig. 26:6

Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155

Lankester-Harding, 1950:46, Pl. 15:9

Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4

Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

<i>Word No. 1</i>

Word: יָדָה
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: absolutus
Gender: masculine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title:
Geographical Term: יָדָה
Administrative Term: יָדָה ⁴
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

<i>Parallels</i>

Aharoni, 1962:Fig. 8-9, 22, Pls. 8-9, 30-31
 Aharoni, 1964:Fig. 37, Pls. 18-21
 Avigad, 1972:3f., Fig. 1
 Avigad, 1972:4, Fig. 2
 Macalister and Duncan, 1926:188-190, Fig. 202-205
 Mazar, 1964:125, Pl. 27
 McCown, 1947:164-165, Fig. 28
 Sellin and Watzinger, 1913:158, 188, Pl. 42

⁴ The term is referring to the geographical unit of the province of Judah under Persian rule. For a detailed discussion of its bearing on the *Yehud* impressions, see under 3.3.2.3.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

Element No. 3

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

Element No. 4

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2

Element No. 5

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

Element No. 6

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 3

Inscription

Inscription: ..שלמית אמת אלנתן פח.

Translation: (Belonging) to *Shelomith* maidservant of *Elnathan ph.* (the governor)

Inscription Origin: original

Language: Aramaic

Palaeographical Dating: 525-475 B.C.

Word No. 1

Word: לשלמית
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition: ל
State: proper name
Gender: feminine
Number:

Onomasticon: שלמית
Onomasticon Origin: Israel⁶
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 2

Word: אמת
Root: אמת
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: constructus
Gender: feminine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title: אמת⁷
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 3

Word: אלנתן
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: אלנתן
Onomasticon Origin: Israel⁸
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

⁶ Used in the Bible as a feminine name (Lev 24:11; 1 Chr 3:19), as well as a masculine name (1 Chr 23:9, 18; 2 Chr 11:20; Ezra 8:10) (Gesenius, 1962:838). The onomasticon fits well into the timeframe of the Persian period.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of this title, which apparently was the feminine equivalent of עבר see under 3.3.2.3.

⁸ The theophoric proper name is found in the Bible five times: 2 Ki 24:8; Jer 26:22; 36:12, 25; Ezr 8:16 (Gesenius, 1962:43), fitting the chronological frame of the Persian period. *Elnathan* as governor of Persian Judah has to be assigned to the late 6th century B.C. (Avigad, 1972:35), filling the gap between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah on the basis of extra-biblical evidence. Besides the seal of *Shelomith* there is also a bulla of *Elnathan*, the governor, found among the remains of the post-exilic archive (Avigad, 1972:5-7, Fig. 5).

Word No. 4

Word: פחוא⁹
Root: פחה
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: absolutus
Gender: masculine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title: פחוא¹⁰
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term: פחוא
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

Aharoni, 1962:38-41, Fig. 8-9, 22, Pls. 8-9, 30-31
 Avigad, 1946:125-132
 Avigad, 1972:5-7, Fig. 5
 Reifenberg, 1950:no. 36

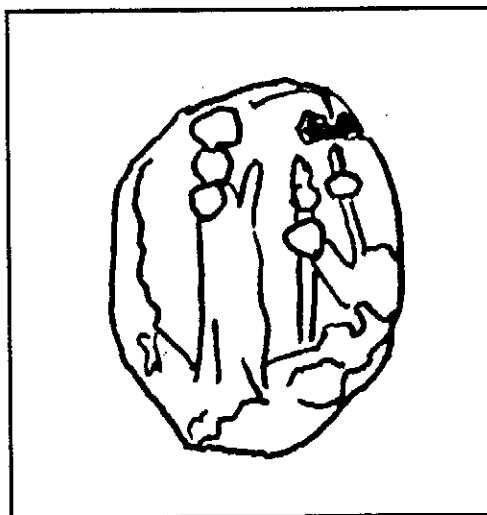
⁹ The unusual form is explained by Avigad as a "local Aramaic form of Hebrew *hphh*" (Avigad, 1972:6).

¹⁰ The reconstruction of the reading פחוא is based on the certain reading of bulla no. 5 of the post-exilic archive. The controversy between the reading פחוא (engl. governor) and פחור (engl. potter) on a number of seals and seal impressions, as suggested by Cross (1969:24ff.), has been convincingly solved through the appearance of the *Shelomith* seal. This title was the standard term of office for the provincial governors of the Persian satrapy *Abar Nahara*. Cf. Dan 3:2-3; 6:8; Ezr 5:14; Haggai 1:1, 14; Neh 5:14; 12:26 and also the Bagohi of the Elephantine papyri (Cowley, 1923:no. 30:1).

Catalogue No. 5

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Samaria
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: agate
Colour: yellow
Dimensions mm: X 13 Y 17 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: Qc 1581
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 650-550 B.C.¹¹
Object Dating: 600-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19a+b
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The seal is worked in the drill style and the surface is quite worn. The worshipper (priest) is facing to the right, adoring two spades, resting on a standing line (altar) as the symbols of Marduk.¹² There is an indistinguishable object reaching into the picture from the right side, apparently holding on to the left spade. From comparative material it could be possible to identify this object as a bad representation of the *mušhuššu* dragon, lying on an altar, with the emblems of Marduk coming out of its back.¹³ It is however impossible to verify this interpretation without doubt, exceeding the descriptive process by far, entering the realm of speculation.

<i>Elements</i>

¹¹ The dating of the seal is not without problems. It was found with the ivories on the site of the royal quarters, the Hellenistic fort and the Augusteum successively. Since the ground had been disturbed to a large degree, the objects from this area are of various dates. Crowfoot dates the seal "as late as the sixth [century B.C.]" (1957:2).

¹² For the twofold appearance of the same symbol, see Keel-Leu 1991:129, Fig. 155.

¹³ See e.g. Keel, 1990c:238f., Pl. 9:24; also Keel-Leu, 1991:127-129, Fig. 152, 157.

Element No. 1

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: standing line

Element No. 2

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Element No. 3

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard

Modification No. 5:**Modification Domain:** dress**Subdomain 1:** coat**Subdomain 2:** plain

<i>Parallels</i>

Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:2

Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:73, Fig. 26:6

Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155

Lankester-Harding, 1950:46, Pl. 15:9

Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1

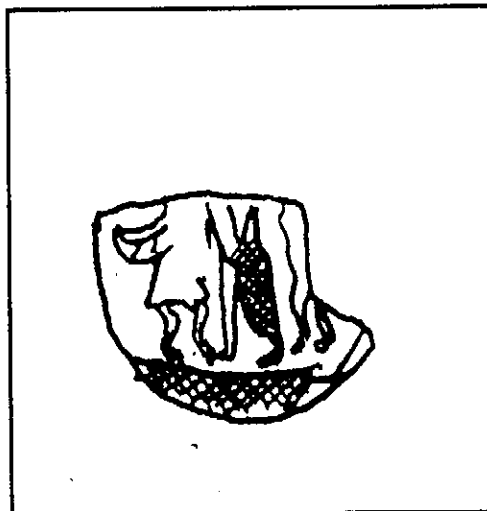
Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4

Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

Catalogue No. 6

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Samaria
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: stone
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 17 Y 22(?) Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: Zd 357
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332¹⁴
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:22
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The top part of the seal base has been broken off, so that one cannot identify the type of animal, but the wing of the left animal points to some kind of a mythical animal. The formation of the elements points to the Achaemenid motif of the 'Herr der Tiere' [master-of-animals], the most popular image of the Persian period. The dress of the human figure is the Assyrian-style long skirt, open in the front (cf. Keel-Leu, 1991:134).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: diagonal cross pattern
Subdomain 2: celestial terrain¹⁵

¹⁴ The seal was found near a tree growing in the field west of the site of the Israelite gate, so that a more accurate archaeological dating is not possible (Crowfoot, 1957:xiv).

¹⁵ Culican observes correctly, that the exergue serves a more important task than just being a filling device, wondering, "if the hatched exergue does not in fact denote 'celestial terrain', the mountainous dwelling of the gods, indicating that the scene represented is cosmic or celestial" (1969:55).

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Sudomain 1: raised - hind legs

Element No. 3

Element Domain: figure

Subdomain 1: male

Subdomain 2: 'Herr der Tiere'

Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt
Subdomain 2: patterned
Subdomain 3: front open

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Parallels

Boardman, 1988:37, Fig. 35a

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:68, Pl. 15:450

Crowfoot, 1957:88, no. 26, Fig. 92:80

Galling, 1941:163, Fig. 157

Galling, 1941:163, Fig. 158

Galling, 1941:164, Fig. 163

Keel-Leu, 1991:136, Fig. 167

Keel-Leu, 1991:137, Fig. 168

Lemaire, 1985:36, Fig. 4

Pope, 1930:Pl. 123:C

Pope, 1930:Pl. 123:M

Catalogue No. 7

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Samaria
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: glass
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 15 Y 15 Z 11
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: Qy 2
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 650-332 B.C.¹⁶
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Crowfoot, 1957:88, Fig. 92:80
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This glass conoid from Samaria shows the 'Herr der Tiere' motif in its usual depiction with the royal hero holding two raised animals by their horns. Since the seal has obviously been made from a mold, it suggests the idea, that we are dealing with a mass product. Therefore, this motif of Achaemenid iconography was widely distributed.¹⁷

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped

¹⁶ See Catalogue No. 6.

¹⁷ "Die im Glasgussverfahren hergestellten und als Massenware bestimmten Siegel gehen auf mehr oder weniger sorgfältig modellierte Originale zurück" (Keel-Leu, 1991:134f.).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: 'Herr der Tiere'
Subdomain 3: Persian king
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headdress
Subdomain 1: cap

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 3: horn type 3

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: horizontal
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: horizontal
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: robe¹⁸
Subdomain 2: plain

¹⁸ The royal hero is wearing the long dress of the Assyrian tradition (Keel-Leu, 1991:134), though his headdress seems to be of Persian origin.

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 3: horn type 3

<i>Parallels</i>

Boardman, 1988:37, Fig. 35a

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:68, Pl. 15:450

Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:22

Galling, 1941:163, Fig. 157

Galling, 1941:163, Fig. 158

Galling, 1941:164, Fig. 163

Keel-Leu, 1991:136, Fig. 167

Keel-Leu, 1991:137, Fig. 168

Lemaire, 1985:36, Fig. 4

Pope, 1930:Pl. 123:C

Pope, 1930:Pl. 123:M

Catalogue No. 8

General

Country: Israel
Place: Tel Dor
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: glass
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: A **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:** L-1219
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Stern, 1984-85:213-216, Fig. 1
Drawing Bibliography: mgk¹⁹



Description: The conical stamp seal is in good condition, depicting a motif of the Phoenician repertoire, the sitting sphinx in front of a cultic object, uniting various styles on one seal.²⁰

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: Achaemenid fire altar²¹

¹⁹ Mention must be of the fact, that the photo published in JANES (Stern, 1984-85), was of a poor quality, so that the line drawing represented some difficulties which in turn might influence the interpretation of the motif.

²⁰ According to Stern's interpretation, "we thus have before us the standard sphinx of Canaanite-Phoenician glyptics, with the addition of several foreign elements" (1984-85:214). One of these foreign elements is the addition of an Assyrian type human head.

²¹ If our interpretation is correct, this would be a very schematic depiction of the Achaemenid fire altar, a motif common in Achaemenid glyptic. Stern discusses the chronological degeneration of that motif from a detailed representation on a stone relief in the palace of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) (Hinz, 1979:59, 76) down to a seal impression found at Ramat Rahel (Aharoni, 1964:45). The motif-combination on the seal under question here would correspond to the fire altar interpretation, although it cannot be verified conclusively.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Element No. 3

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: felin
Subdomain 2: sphinx²²
Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting
Subdomain 2: protecting

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: hat

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved downwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Parallels

Aharoni, 1964:45

Harden, 1962:Pls. 46-47, 68

Legrain, 1951:Pl. 40:759

²² The winged sphinx as a symbol of protection for the godhead or a cult object is a widely circulated iconographic motif (Keel, 1977:15-35), whereas the sphinx is usually composed of the winged body of a lion with a human head. The human head on our seal is clearly of Assyrian origin.

Legrain, 1951:Pl. 41:779-780

Moscatti, 1968:101, Fig. 20

Moscatti, 1968:106, Fig. 24

Olmstead, 1959:Pl. 30

Schmidt, 1957:Pls. 10:33, 69:F

Catalogue No. 9

General

Country: Israel
Place: Tel Dor
Type: scaraboid
Material: glass
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: surface find
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating:
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location: Department of Antiquities, Israel
Inventory No.: 5174
Original Publication: Stern, 1984-85:213-216, Fig. 2
Drawing Bibliography: mgk²³



Description: This seal, coming from the Phoenician coastline, depicts two prominent themes of Persian iconography, combining them in one scene, namely the chariot with charioteer and king on the back, combined with the 'Herr der Tiere' motif. Its closest parallel can be found on Sidonian city coins.²⁴

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: horse
Subdomain 3: side view

²³ The same consideration as for the line drawing of **Catalogue No. 8** are applicable here.

²⁴ Stern interprets these coins as private seal impressions of the Persian officials in charge of the various provinces in the satrapy, whereas our seal could possibly be the possession of the representative of the king of Sidon in the city of Dor (Stern, 1984-85:216).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant
Subdomain 2: gallop

Element No. 2

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: sword

Element No. 3

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: charioteer
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 4: human

Element No. 5

Element Domain: vehicle
Subdomain 1: chariot

Element No. 6

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: king²⁵
Subdomain 3: 'Herr der Tiere'

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: reins

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: hat

²⁵ Seyrig supplies an interesting interpretation of second figure on comparable seals and Sidonian coins, according to which it does not represent the Persian king, but rather the chief deity of Sidon, Baal Eshmun (Seyrig, 1959:52ff.). However, the affinity of the scene to the common Persian 'Herr der Tiere' motif is too close to see the Sidonian god grasping the hind legs of an animal.

Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: feathered hat

Element No. 7

Element Domain: animal

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - front legs

Element No. 8

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: standing line

Parallels

Boardman, 1988:59, Fig. 65

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:76, Pl. 17:521²⁶

Harden, 1962:Pl. 109:b

Stern, 1982:219, Fig. 367

²⁶ Buchanan classified this seal under the 'Greco-Levantine' category, a term which lacks some further qualification, as Moorey acknowledges (1988:76).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: short
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Element No. 3

Element Domain: vehicle
Subdomain 1: chariot²⁷

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: bird
Subdomain 2: hawk²⁸

Element No. 5

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2 and 3

Inscription

Inscription: עשניהו עבד המלך

Translation: 'Ashanyahu, servant of the King

Inscription Origin: original

²⁷ In comparing the line drawing with the original photograph, two horizontal lines between the object in front of the figure and the figure itself become apparent, which could be interpreted as the rough outline of a chariot, especially with regard to the "strange" sketching of the supposed legs of the figure. This interpretation would be in accordance with the appearance of the motif on the *Yehud* coins (Reifenberg, 1947:Pl. 1). The overall condition of the seal, however, encourages some hesitancy with regard to that conclusion.

²⁸ Although it is not quite distinguishable, the bird appears to be a hawk or a falcon, and not an owl.

Language: Hebrew²⁹
 Palaeographical Dating: 500-300 B.C.³⁰

Word No. 1

Word: עשנידור³¹
 Root:
 Prefix:
 Suffix:
 Preposition:
 State: proper name
 Gender: masculine
 Number:

Onomasticon: עשנידור
 Onomasticon Origin: Israel³²
 Title:
 Geographical Term:
 Administrative Term:
 Number:
 Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 2

Word: עבד
 Root: עבד
 Prefix:
 Suffix:
 Preposition:
 State: constructus
 Gender: masculine
 Number: singular

Onomasticon:
 Onomasticon Origin:
 Title: עבד³³
 Geographical Term:
 Administrative Term:
 Number:
 Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 3

²⁹ The appearance of Hebrew on a rather late seal is not a surprising fact, since the Jews used both languages and scripts during the Persian period (Naveh, 1982:114-116).

³⁰ Mazar dates the seal towards the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C. (Mazar, 1951:212). The *Yehud* coins, however, which present the closest parallel to our inscription, came in vogue during the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. Palaeographically one cannot determine a more specific date within that time frame, since the letters are worked rather crudely. Nevertheless, they appear to be later than the end of the sixth century (cf. Herr, 1978:Fig. 46-53).

³¹ The first letter is not quite distinguishable, but there is no reason to not accept Mazar's reading.

³² The name has the theophoric element ידו.

³³ The title 'servant' for government officials was still in use during the Persian period, but more common during the First Temple period (Hestrin, 1983:51). Cf. e.g. 'Tobiah, the Ammonite servant' (cf. Neh 2:10).

Word: המלך
Root: מלך
Prefix: ה
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: absolutus
Gender: masculine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title: מלך³⁴
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

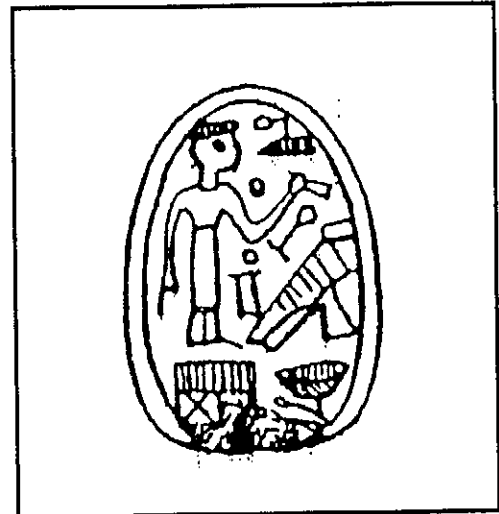
Diringer, 1934:244f., Pl. 22:1
 Stern, 1982:224f.
 Reifenberg, 1947:Pl. 1
 Diringer, 1934:170f., Pl. 19:9

³⁴ Though the wording on our seal is familiar for seals of the First Temple period, this seal provides evidence that the title continued to be in use during the Persian period. Mazar points out, that 'king' would refer to the Persian king, but there is also the possibility that it may refer to the king of Sidon, under whose rule the province of Dor was at that time. According to Stern, "Tell Qasile in this period belonged to the territory of the kings of Sidon...." (1982:207).

Catalogue No. 11

General

Country: Israel
Place: Wadi ed-Dāliyeh
Type: scarab
Material:
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 8.5 Y 12.5 Z 4.5
Origin: excavation
Area: I.3 **Stratum:** cave I
Floor: **Locus:** I.3.2
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 375-335 B.C.³⁵
Object Dating: 375-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lapp and Lapp, 1974:14, 59f., Pls. 36:11, 81, 100
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: Despite the fact that the individual elements of the image on this scarab are of Egyptian origin, the composition and execution of the work suggest a Phoenician manufacturer. The seal shows a female goddess surrounded by an assemblage of various cultic and symbolic objects.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: plain

Element No. 2

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: flower
Subdomain 2: Lotus

³⁵ The cave in the Wadi ed-Dāliyeh was presumably used by the inhabitants of Samaria who fled to it after they had rebelled against Alexander's governor in 331 B.C. The documents found in the cave are dated from 375-335 B.C.

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: bird
Subdomain 2: hawk³⁶
Subdomain 4: side view

Element No. 4

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: incense altar³⁷

Element No. 5

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *nfr* emblem

Element No. 6

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: flower
Subdomain 2: lotus³⁸

Element No. 7

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs³⁹

Element No. 8

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: female

³⁶ The hawk seems strangely misplaced, as if extending beyond the borderline of the image.

³⁷ The object between the hawk and the goddess seems to be a schematized depiction of an incense altar.

³⁸ It is not altogether clear, what kind of object the goddess is holding; the tradition of the image suggests it to be a lotus flower.

³⁹ Cross identifies the signs in front of the goddess as degraded hieroglyphs: *nfr* and possibly *gr*. They are obviously used to fill the remaining empty space of the image, a widely spread practice.

Subdomain 2: goddess
 Subdomain 3: Anath (?)
 Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: Hathor crown⁴⁰

Element No. 9

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *ankh* emblem

Element No. 10

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: pedestal

Parallels

No close parallels could be located

⁴⁰ I.e. the abacus of the Hathor capital.

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long (?)
Subdomain 4: human

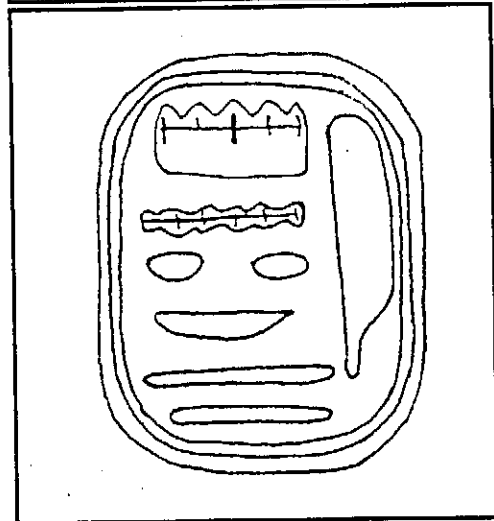
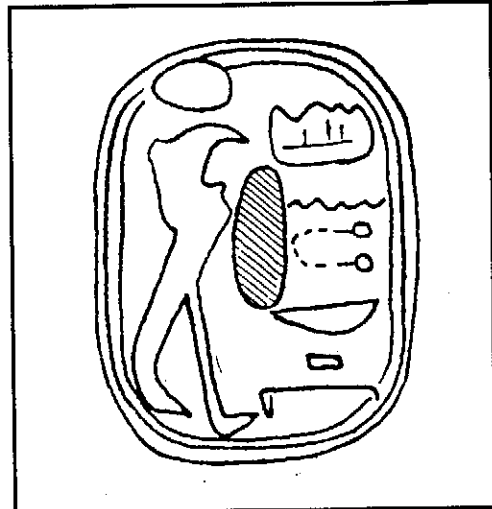
Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt

Catalogue No. 12

General

Country: Israel
Place: Tell el-Hesi
Type: scaraboid
Material:
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 8.5 Y 11.5 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: 5A **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:** 012
Field No.: III
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: 5A.012
Archaeological Dating: 400-332 B.C.
Object Dating:⁴¹
Classification: iconographic/hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Coogan, 1975:37-46
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scaraboid is inscribed with hieroglyphs on two sides. Both sides will be treated as individual elements. The iconography is rather schematic and seems merely to serve as an illustration of the hieroglyphic inscription.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

⁴¹ From the content of the seal an accurate dating is not possible, although the worship of *Monthu* and *Amun-Re* was predominant during the New Kingdom.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sundisk

Element No. 3

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Monthu⁴²
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 4: falcon

Element No. 4

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

Inscription 1

Inscription: *Mn[t]w nb pt*
Translation: *Monthu*, Lord of Heaven
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Inscription 2

Inscription: *Imn-RC nb t3wy*
Translation: *Amun-Re*, Lord of the two Lands
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

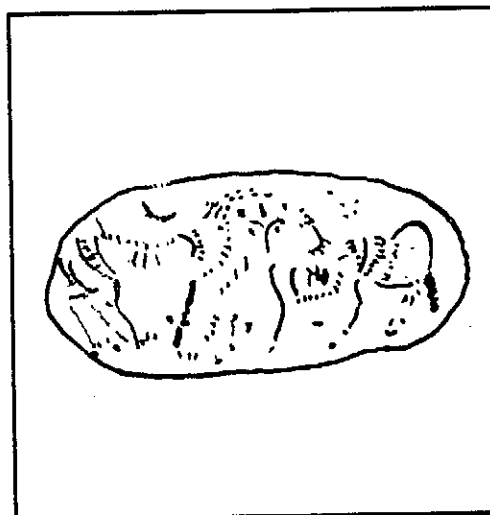
Petrie, 1928:Pl. 19:32, 33

⁴² The identification of the rather schematic figure is on the basis of the hieroglyphs written next to it, that identify it as the war god *Monthu*.

Catalogue No. 13

General

Country: Israel
Place: Gibeon
Type: signet ring
Material: gold
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: 17 **Stratum:**⁴³
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 600-500 B.C.
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Pritchard, 1962:116, Fig.77, 78
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: This golden signet ring is worked in a fine, but schematic manner, so that one cannot establish the identity of the two animals, that are facing each other, beyond question.⁴⁴ Stern describes this motif as belonging to the Achaemenid style, the ring being a Phoenician product (1982:199).

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 3: side view

⁴³ Although Pritchard ascribes this signet ring to the Persian period, he gives no clear stratigraphic evidence for this period, but rather describes it as belonging archaeologically to the Iron Age. As for the circumstances of the find, Pritchard records: "A perfectly preserved signet ring of 18-carat gold, weighing 17.2 grams, was found by a workman ... in 1959 as he cleaned the dirt from a stump of the city wall, which had been destroyed in the sixth century...." (Pritchard, 1962:116).

⁴⁴ One could interpret the animals as horses or antelopes, or both, or even a mythological animal would be possible (a horned horse on the right?).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent⁴⁵

<i>Parallels</i>

Johns, 1933:Pl. 37:713⁴⁶

Pope, 1930:Pl. 124:S

Hinz, 1976:138, Pl. 18

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:68, Pl. 15:453

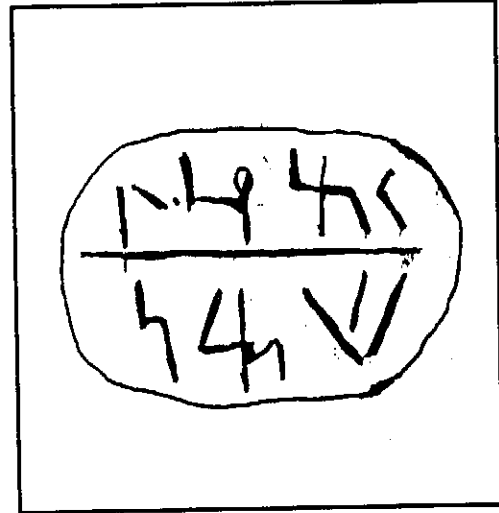
⁴⁵ It is not altogether clear if the object above the left animal represents a crescent, or whether it is part of the design style.

⁴⁶ This parallel pertains to the form of the seal.

Catalogue No. 14

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Gibeon
Type: signet ring
Material: silver
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**⁴⁷
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 600-500 B.C.
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: epigraphic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Pritchard, 1962:116, Fig.79
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The signet ring has not been designed for sealing documents, since its inscription has been incised in the positive form, not in the reverse. It is therefore not a seal in the narrow sense, but can be classified as an amulet with a private name.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: separator

⁴⁷ The same stratigraphic considerations as for **Catalogue No. 13** apply in this case. Pritchard gives very little evidence as to the origin of the signet ring: "In the 1959 season a silver ring appeared...." (1962:116).

Element No. 3

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2

Inscription

Inscription: למרתשמן⁴⁸
Translation: (Belonging) to *Meratsheman*
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Aramaic
Palaeographical Dating: 550-450 B.C.⁴⁹

Word No. 1

Word: למרתשמן
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition: ל
State: proper name
Gender: feminine
Number:

Onomasticon: מרתשמן
Onomasticon Origin: Israel
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

Cross, 1963:115
 Herr, 1978:14, Fig. 16:8
 Herr, 1978:31, Fig. 19:53
 Herr, 1978:35, Fig. 19:65
 Herr, 1978:38, Fig. 20:74

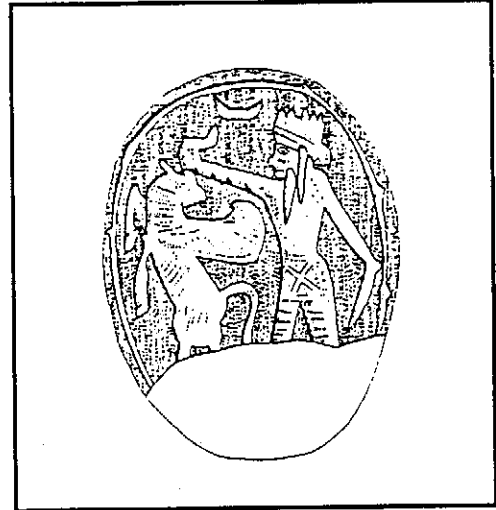
⁴⁸ Another reading appears to be possible: למרת שמן - "(Belonging) to the Lady of *Sheman*", taking the separation of the inscription through the dividing line into account. If this could be substantiated, a whole series of questions arise, similar to the questions pertaining to the *Shelomith* seal (Catalogue No. 4): What kind of a relationship exists between the owner of the seal and *Sheman*? What kind of a status does the title 'Lady' denote, similar to אמה as found on the *Shelomith* seal? Could the seal be the property of an official figure in the Persian administration? Against these suppositions, however, speaks the fact, that the patronym on seals is frequently divided into two lines (cf. e.g. Herr, 1978:18, Fig. 17:18). Further investigation has to clarify the matter.

⁴⁹ Especially the form of the *mem* and the *resh* is characteristic for the second part of the sixth century B.C. (cf. Herr, 1978:Fig. 30, 32).

Catalogue No. 15

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell Keisan
Type: scaraboid
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 19.5 Y 24.1 Z 9.2
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** surface
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating:
Object Dating: 538-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Briend and Humbert, 1980
Drawing Bibliography: Keel, 1990c:231



Description: The bottom part of the seal has been chipped off. Otherwise, the scaraboid represents a good example of the apotropaic 'Herr der Tiere' motif, whereas the animal portrays the chaotic powers of nature, subjected by the Persian king or royal hero.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: dagger

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: king
Subdomain 3: royal hero/'Herr der Tiere'
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: *Kidaris* crown

Element No. 3

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: griffin
Subdomain 3: mixed view

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: backwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long⁵⁰
Subdomain 3: beard⁵¹
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: tunic
Subdomain 2: patterned⁵²

⁵⁰ The hair appears to be drawn together in the neck.

⁵¹ Comments Keel: "Il porte la barbe longue qui, en Perse, est réservée au roi et au prince héritier" (1990c:232).

⁵² Since the seal is broken at the bottom, it is not quite distinguishable, if the dress is a longer skirt or the Persian *kandys*. The pattern does not seem to be the usual striped type that the Persian king is usually wearing (cf. Keel-Leu, 1991:138, Fig. 171).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs
Subdomain 2: defending

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved backwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 3: horn type 4
Subdomain 4: griffin

<i>Parallels</i>

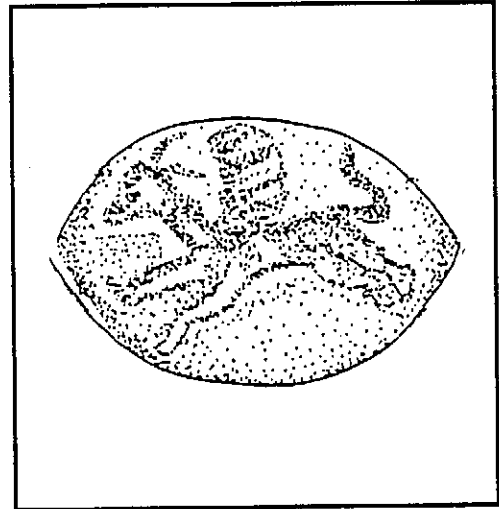
Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:Pl. 15:454
 Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:Pl. 15:455
 Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:Pl. 15:456
 Hinz, 1976:136, Pl. 18
 Hinz, 1976:205, Pl. 34
 Hinz, 1979:63, Pl. 20
 Keel-Leu, 1991:138, Fig. 171
 Pope, 1930:Pl. 123:G⁵³
 Schmitt, 1957:4-8, Pl. 4:7, 5:9

⁵³ Here we find the same posture of the animal held by the hero. It also appears to be the same mythological creature.

Catalogue No. 16

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Jerusalem
Type: signet ring
Material:
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Barkay, 1984:105
Drawing Bibliography: Weippert, 1988:716, Fig. 5.9



Description: The signet ring is a fine work in the Achaemenid style, depicting a running (fleeing?) antelope with wings. Signet rings came into vogue during the beginning of the Persian period, following examples from the western part of the empire (Weippert, 1988:714; Stern, 1982:199).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: antelope
Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 5:**Modification Domain:** head**Subdomain 1:** straight**Subdomain 3:** horn type 4

<i>Parallels</i>

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:Pl. 15:445

Keel, 1990c:247, no. 32

Keel-Leu, 1991:119, Fig. 140

McCown, 1947:154f., Fig. 35

McCown, 1947:296, Pl. 55:64

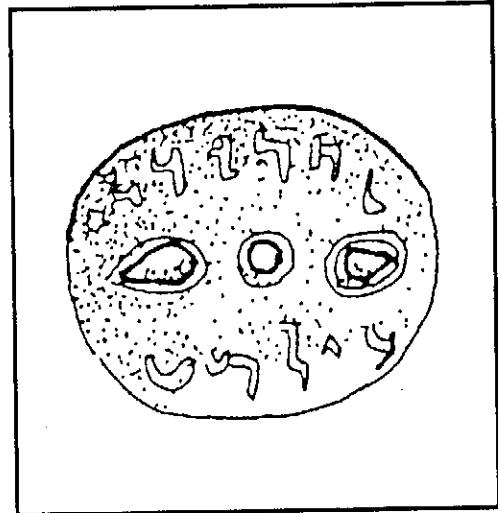
Pope, 1930:Pl. 124:G

Pope, 1930:Pl. 124:S

Catalogue No. 17

General

Country: Jordan
Place: Tell el-Mazar
Type: scaraboid
Material: lapis lazuli
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 15.5 Y 12.5 Z 9.5
Origin: excavation
Area: A **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:** Burial 33
Field No.: Square D6
Cemetery: A
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 500-400 B.C.
Object Dating: 700-600 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/epigraphic
Object Location: Amman, University Museum
Inventory No.: 165
Original Publication: Yassine and Bordreuil, 1982:193, No. 2; Bordreuil and Gubel, 1983:338, Fig. 2
Drawing Bibliography: Weippert, 1988:716, Fig. 5.9



Description: This seal was apparently the personal property of a woman,⁵⁴ bearing an Arabic name. The decorative elements that divide the upper from the lower part of the inscription have been interpreted by the original excavator as: "a representation of two eyes, and in between, a nose" (Yassine, 1982:191), which seems to be somewhat speculative in our consideration, although it could be reminiscent of the Bes face frequently found on vessels from the Persian period (Blakely and Horton, 1986:111-119).

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

⁵⁴ Although it was found next to a male skeleton.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: ornament
Subdomain 1: double elliptical pattern

Element No. 3

Element Domain: ornament
Subdomain 1: double circle pattern

Element No. 4

Element Domain: ornament
Subdomain 1: triple elliptical pattern

Element No. 5

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2

Inscription

Inscription: לחמישה בת שמש

Translation: (Belonging) to *hmyws'*, the daughter of *šmt*

Inscription Origin: original

Language: Ammonite

Palaeographical Dating: 700-500 B.C.⁵⁵

Word No. 1

Word: לחמישה

Root:

Prefix:

Suffix:

Preposition: ל

State: proper name

Gender: feminine

Number:

Onomasticon: לחמישה

Onomasticon Origin: Arabic⁵⁶

Title:

Geographical Term:

Administrative Term:

Number:

Measurements Commodity:

⁵⁵ Bordreuil gives the following comment on the palaeography of the seal: "le *m* de la première ligne et le *w* pourraient trouver des parallèles au 7^e siècle, tandis que les *s*, le *b*, le *t*, le second *m* et le *t* sont plausibles au 6^e [sic] siècle et au 5^e siècle" (Yassine and Bordreuil, 1982:193). The palaeography of this seal also suggests a higher date than the archaeological context. Herr (personal communication) dates the seal in the "first half of the 7th century B.C." (Aufrecht, 1989:290).

Word No. 2

Word: בַּת
Root: בַּת
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: constructus
Gender: feminine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title: בַּת
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 3

Word: שִׁמְט
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: שִׁמְט
Onomasticon Origin: Arabic⁵⁷
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

Aharoni, 1967:71

⁵⁶ Knauf informs us that the closest parallels to this theophoric name can be found in old South-Arabic, whereas **בַּת** is the predicative, and **שִׁמְט** is the theophoric element (1984:25).

⁵⁷ "Zum Vaternamen ist der klassisch-arabische Personennamen as-Simt anzuführen" (Knauf, 1984:25).

<i>Parallels</i>

Bliss and Macalister, 1900:41, Fig. 16:3

Keel, 1990c:167f.

Lambert, 1966:75-76

Subdomain 2: winged lion⁶¹

Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: right front leg

Subdomain 1: up

Subdomain 2: straight

Subdomain 3: up

Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left wing

Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal

Subdomain 1: quadruped

Subdomain 2: winged mountain goat

Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: left wing

Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head

Subdomain 1: straight

Subdomain 3: horn type 2

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal

Subdomain 1: quadruped

Subdomain 2: winged bull⁶²

Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: left wing⁶³

Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head

Subdomain 1: straight

Subdomain 3: horn type 4

⁶¹ An interesting parallel can be found on the Darius seal, found in Egypt, on which a lion attacks Darius with his right front leg raised and his mouth open exactly in the same posture as found on our seal (Boardman, 1988:59, Fig. 65; see our Fig. 2).

⁶² A bull in the side view is usually depicted with the horns pointing forwards, whereas a griffin has two horns pointing forwards and backwards (Pope, 1930:Pl. 77:A, B).

⁶³ It is not altogether clear, if the object is a wing - for which the location would speak - or if it is an ear of a grain, for which the pattern would speak.

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: vehicle
Subdomain 1: wheel⁶⁴

<i>Parallels</i>

Delaporte, 1920-23:Pl. 121:4d

Legrain, 1925:No. 869ff.

Pope, 1930:Pl. 124:K⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The design of the object under question seems to designate it as a wheel, and not as a sundisk.

⁶⁵ This seal from the British Museum provides an excellent parallel to our sample.

Modification No. 1:**Modification Domain:** posture
Subdomain 1: passant***Modification No. 2:*****Modification Domain:** left wing
Subdomain 1: straight up***Modification No. 3:*****Modification Domain:** right wing
Subdomain 1: straight up

<i>Parallels</i>

Wiseman, 1958:95

Catalogue No. 21

General

Country: Jordan
Place: Tell el-Mazar
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: agate
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 13 Y 18 Z 22
Origin: excavation
Area: A **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:** Burial 7
Field No.: Square D6
Cemetery: A
Tomb No.: 7
Archaeological Dating: 500-400 B.C.
Object Dating: 600-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/epigraphic
Object Location: Amman, University Museum
Inventory No.: 164
Original Publication: Bordreuil and Gubel, 1983:335-341; Bordreuil and Gubel, 1983:337, Fig. 1
Drawing Bibliography: Weippert, 1988:716, Fig. 5.9



Description: The worshipper stands in front of a cult object, in this case a lamp on top of a lampstand, which belongs to Neo-Babylonian imagery. Porada identifies the god symbolized by the lamp as the fire god Nusku (1948:98).⁶⁸ The seal, coming from Trans Jordan, belonged to an individual, possibly bearing an Arabic name.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2

Element No. 2

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: lampstand

⁶⁸ Keel presents an interesting discussion on the iconography of the lamp in connection with the vision of Zechariah 4 (1977:274-320).

Element No. 3

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: lamp

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: praying

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: praying

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: hat

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt
Subdomain 2: patterned
Subdomain 3: belt

Element No. 6

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

Inscription

Inscription: (or דדה) שחח להמל
Translation: (Belonging) to *hml*, (son of) *štt* (or *Dadah*)
Inscription Origin: later
Language: Ammonite
Palaeographical Dating: 600-500 B.C.⁶⁹

Word No. 1

Word: להמל
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition: המל
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: המל
Onomasticon Origin: Arabic⁷⁰
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 2

Word: דדה / שחח⁷¹
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: דדה / שחח
Onomasticon Origin: Arabic⁷²/Israel
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

⁶⁹ Yassine and Bordreuil (1982:193). Aufrecht mentions a personal communication by Herr, in which he observes, that "the *he* in the first word is the Aramaic form ... or, if Ammonite, is inscribed backwards" (1989:288). Since the archaeological context suggests an Ammonite origin for this seal, the palaeography points to a date in the sixth century B.C., a slightly higher date than the archaeological date.

⁷⁰ המל appears among Safaite and classical Arabic onomastica (Harding, 1971:202). Knauf traces the etymology of המל back to old North-Arabic **hm'*, whereas the *alif* disappears in classical Arabic (1984:24). Aufrecht, however, comments, that "this is dubious, since the equivalence of Ammonite *he* and North Arabic *het* seems to be unattested elsewhere" (1989:288). Interestingly, Knauf reads חמל instead of המל, as it appears on the seal, which might contribute to the fact that he identifies the onomasticon as Arabic.

⁷¹ There are two possible readings of this word.

⁷² This would come from the North Arabic *st* (Harding, 1971:310). The meaning may be something like 'he appointed'. As for the other possible reading דדה 'laggard': since the name could also be

<i>Parallels</i>

Delaporte, 1910:no. 566
 Delaporte, 1910:no. 567
 Delaporte, 1910:no. 568
 Delaporte, 1920-23:Pl. 92A.767
 Galling, 1941:No. 115
 Giveon and Lemaire, 1985:28, Fig. 2⁷³
 Lemaire, 1983:No. 13
 Porada, 1948:no. 795
 Porada, 1948:no. 796
 Porada, 1948:no. 798

read '77, there are two Aramaic seals on which this name is found (Galling, 1941:No. 115; Lemaire, 1983:No. 13).

⁷³ The authors describe the object in front of the god as a "plante aux larges feuilles comportant, au sommet, une grande fleur de section triangulaire" (Giveon and Lemaire, 1985:28), whereas the image of this seal shows more similarity with the lamp stand and lamp on our seal than with some plant with a big flower on top. The development of the lamp motif and its iconographic significance is aptly summarized by Seidl (1989:128-130).

Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: standing line

Element No. 3

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: double stylus

Element No. 4

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: altar

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: front view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

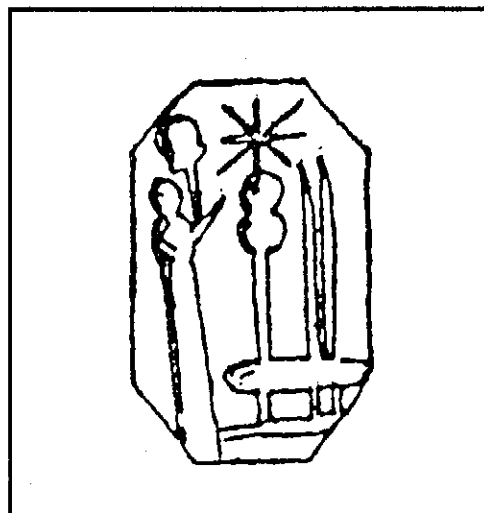
Parallels

- Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19
 Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:73, Fig. 26:6
 Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152
 Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153
 Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154
 Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155
 Lankester-Harding, 1950:46, Pl. 15:9
 Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1
 Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4
 Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

Catalogue No. 23

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell es-Safi
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: stone
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 11.5 Y 13 Z 23
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** "Jewish"⁷⁵
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 525-400 B.C.
Object Dating: 600-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:2
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This in form and content typical Neo-Babylonian stamp seal with an octagonal base, is another indicator, that the worshipper-before-symbol/altar motif continued to be in use during the Persian period.⁷⁶

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: altar

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: double stylus

⁷⁵ See Catalogue No. 22 for stratigraphical details.

⁷⁶ Originally the seal was interpreted as a priest standing before the sacred tree (Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41). The original line drawing is not very accurate, especially in the presentation of the worshipper's head and the spade.

Element No. 3

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: coat
Subdomain 2: plain

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Parallels

Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19

Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:73, Fig. 26:6

Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155

Lankester-Harding, 1950:46, Pl. 15:9

Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1

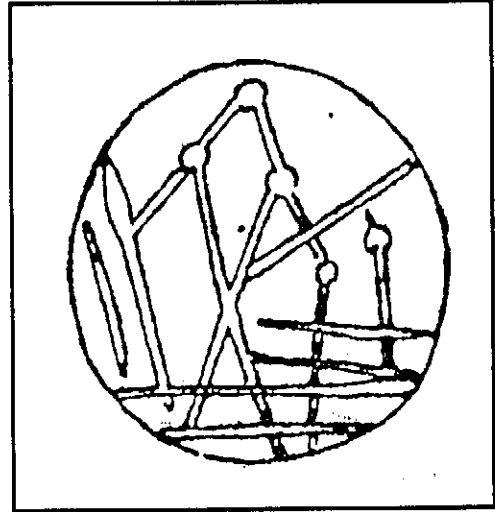
Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4

Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

Catalogue No. 24

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell es-Safi
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: stone
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 17.5 Y 18 Z 25
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** "Jewish"⁷⁷
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 525-400 B.C.
Object Dating: 600-400
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:3
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The same considerations as for **Catalogue No. 18** apply in the interpretation of this seal, whereas the lines sketch the worshipper before an object/symbol motif. The Marduk spade seems to be clearly distinguishable on the right of the engraved area.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: ornament
Subdomain 1: geometric line pattern⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See **Catalogue No. 22** for stratigraphical details.

⁷⁸ Cf. **Catalogue No. 18**.

Parallels

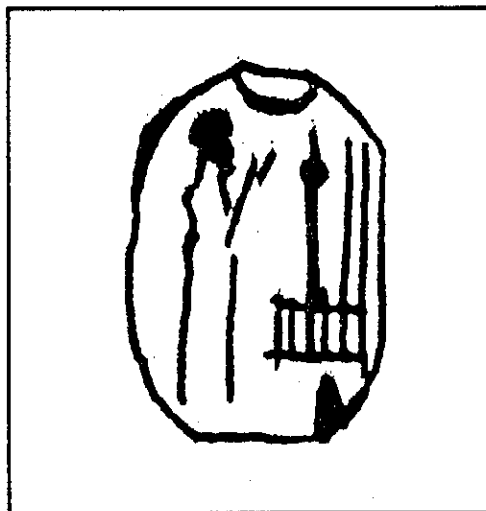
Keel, 1990c:167f.

Yassine, 1984:105

Catalogue No. 25

<i>General</i>

Country: Jordan
Place: Meqabelein
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: chalcedony
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 8.7 Y 13.2 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery: Meqabelein Tomb
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 575-525 B.C.⁷⁹
Object Dating: 700-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lankester-Harding, 1950:44-48, Pl. 15:9
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The seal, worked in the schematic Neo-Babylonian drill technique, has a piece chipped off in the right bottom corner. Besides that, it is a fine piece of work, following the normal Neo-Babylonian motif, adding the detail of the worshipper's (priest's) hand raised in prayer, though only allusively depicted.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: altar

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: double stylus

⁷⁹ Lankester-Harding dates the seal to the "seventh-early sixth centuries B.C." (1950:44), whereas Stern opts for a later date, namely the "mid-sixth century B.C." (1982:46).

Element No. 3

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: praying

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: coat
Subdomain 2: plain

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Parallels

Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:2
 Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19
 Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:73, Fig. 26:6
 Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152
 Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153

Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155

Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1

Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4

Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

Catalogue No. 26

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell Abu-Hawam
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: E, D 6 **Stratum:** II⁸⁰
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: 2
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 525-375 B.C.⁸¹
Object Dating: 525-375 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hamilton, 1934:18, no. 47
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This scarab is a good example of Phoenician workmanship, influenced by Egyptian iconography. The perforation of the scarab has been bored through the seal base, destroying part of the image.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: diagonal stripe pattern
Subdomain 2: celestial terrain⁸²

⁸⁰ In his first Interim Report, Hamilton assigned stratum II to the "fourth-fifth century" (Hamilton, 1933:79).

⁸¹ Hamilton originally dated the upper phase of stratum II - i.e. where the scarab was found - from 569-525 B.C. (Hamilton, 1934:66). A closer examination of the pottery, especially the Attic pottery, on which the dating was based, revealed however, that the date of this phase must be corrected to a later time span (Stern, 1982:11-13).

⁸² Culican mentions the exergue and its symbolism as one of the general characteristics of Phoenician seals (1969:54f.).

Element No. 2

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: tree⁸³

Element No. 3

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

Element No. 5

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: sphinx⁸⁴
Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: straight up

⁸³ The object in front of the animal is not clearly distinguishable. The position of the sphinx seems to indicate, that it is under the protection of the sphinx. From comparative material, we could deduce that we are dealing with the motif of the 'sacred tree', common on objects from the Late Bronze Age onwards (Keel, 1977:18).

⁸⁴ Since the head of the animal is missing due to the destruction of the seal base, it is not possible to determine, if the animal depicts a sphinx or a griffin. The form of the body would point to the former option.

<i>Parallels</i>

Galling, 1941:134, no. 149

Keel, 1990c:208-210

Lemaire, 1986:318f.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ This parallel represents a winged sphinx, accompanied by an Ammonite onomasticon, standing in front of an object which is described by Lemaire as a "sceptre à tête schématique en forme de fleur à trois pétales ou de grenade" (1986:319).

Catalogue No. 27

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell Abu-Hawam
Type: scarab
Material: crystal
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: E 4 **Stratum:** II⁸⁶
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 525-375 B.C.
Object Dating: 525-375 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hamilton, 1934:18, no. 48
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The top and bottom of the seal base has been broken off. This seal combines Egyptian and Greek motifs in one image in accord with the Phoenician glyptic tradition: the god Herakles and the protective uraeus seem to form a unity via the sun disk. The scarab belongs to the class of Greco-Phoenician seals (Culican, 1969:51).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: ladder

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god

⁸⁶ For stratigraphic details, see Catalogue No. 26.

Subdomain 3: Herakles⁸⁷
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Element No. 3

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk⁸⁸

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: backwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

⁸⁷ Hamilton identifies the figure with Herakles, probably on account of the beard worn by the naked man. The presence of an uraeus furthermore seems to indicate, that a god is depicted on the seal, although the uraeus also appears in connection with the pharaoh. (Hamilton, 1934:18).

⁸⁸ The round object held by the figure above the head of the uraeus cannot be identified without some uncertainty. It appears to be a sun disk.

Parallels

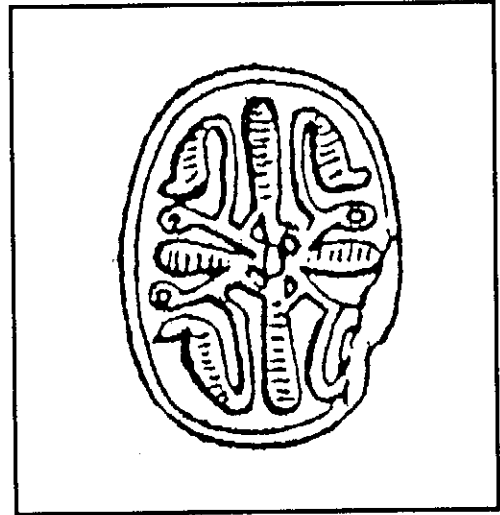
Johns, 1933:79, no. 629

Keel, 1977:90f., Fig. 50

Catalogue No. 28

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tell Abu-Hawam
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour: grey
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area: E 5 **Stratum:** II⁸⁹
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: 3
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 525-375 B.C.
Object Dating: 525-375 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hamilton, 1934:18, no. 49
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The image of the rosette with the four uraei attached to it, is clearly of Egyptian origin, and has a apotropaic meaning. The motif is especially popular among scarabs from Early Iron Age contexts.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus⁹⁰

<i>Element No. 2</i>

⁸⁹ For stratigraphic details, see Catalogue No. 26.

⁹⁰ The top part of the bottom right uraeus has been chipped off. The original Egyptian motif of the protecting cobra (cf. Keel, 1972:243) came via Phoenicia to the Syro-Palestinian realm, and was used to symbolize protection from disastrous elements and powers.

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus

Element No. 4

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus

Element No. 5

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: rosette⁹¹

Parallels

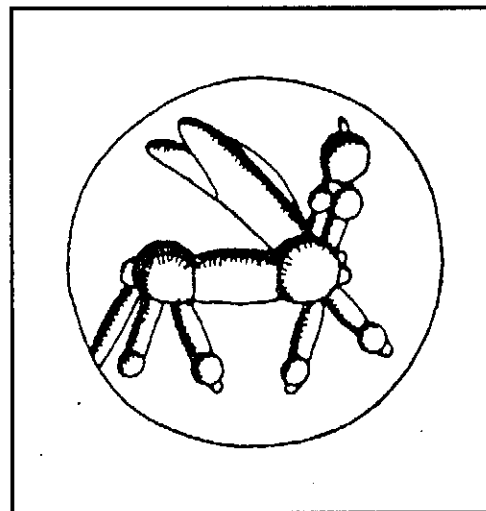
Hamilton, 1933:18, Fig. 49
 Hornung and Staeheling, 1976:258f., No. 338
 Keel, 1990c:245, no. 28
 Keel, 1990e:352-353, Fig. 41
 Keel, 1990e:352-353, Fig. 42
 Loud et al., 1948:Pl. 152:169
 Matouk, 1977:408
 Petrie, 1930:Pl. 12:130
 Starkey and Harding, 1932:Pl. 48:23
 Starkey and Harding, 1932:Pl. 55:314

⁹¹ The geometric structure of the rosette with the four petals seems to be more than just artistic design and of some significance to the iconographic meaning of the seal. Keel comments, that a geometric pattern symbolizes "l'ordre rétabli, le chaos banni, et cela signifie pour l'Orient Ancien le triomphe des forces de la vie" (1990c:170).

Catalogue No. 29

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tel Michal
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: quartz
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 14 Y 14 Z 20
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** VIII/VI
Floor: **Locus:** 221
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating:
Object Dating: 600-400 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Barak and Amoraï-Stark, 1989:333-335, Fig. 28.1:2, Pl. 73:2
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The seal is another example of the drill technique of the Neo-Babylonian style, reaching into the Persian period, depicting an image which would be more at home in Achaemenid animal iconography, an indication of the influence of the Neo-Babylonian technique on Achaemenid glyptic.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: winged sphinx⁹²
Subdomain 3: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: straight down

⁹² The animal could also be a winged bull, a winged lion or a griffin, due to the schematic representation of the image. Bull and griffin are less probable, since there is no indication of a horn.

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: straight backwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 4: human (?)⁹³

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: straight backwards

<i>Parallels</i>

Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 157

Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1⁹⁴

Woolley, 1962:Pl. 30:489u

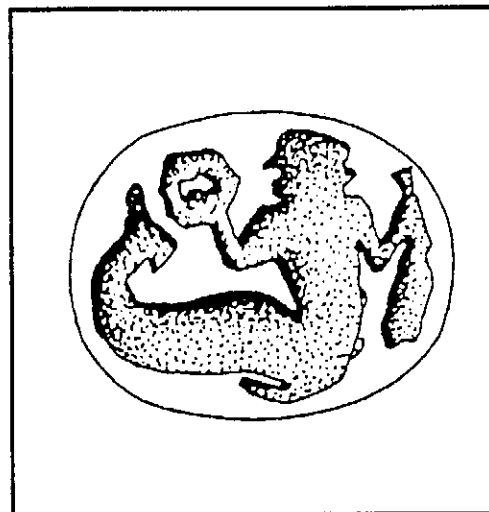
⁹³ If one takes the two smaller globules as eyes composing the head, then it would be possible to understand the bigger globule on top as some kind of headgear.

⁹⁴ The parallel is with regard to the style and technique of the seal, not as much as to the contents.

Catalogue No. 30

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Tel Michal
Type: scaraboid
Material: glass
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 18 Y 12 Z 8.7
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** XI/VI
Floor: **Locus:** 1872
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating:
Object Dating: 425-375 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Barak and Amoraï-Stark, 1989:333-335, Fig. 28.1:3, Pl. 73:3
Drawing Bibliography: ibid.



Description: The material, form and incision technique designate this seal clearly as belonging to the Greco-Phoenician class, whereas the motif and design are of Greek origin. The seafaring Phoenicians certainly esteemed this maritime motif highly.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: dolphin⁹⁵

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: merman⁹⁶

⁹⁵ The interpretation of the element as a dolphin is tentative, and based on the fact, that the motifs appear together on a group of coins (merman and dolphin on the reverse sides of the coin) from the Phoenician city of Arvad (Moscati, 1968:79, Fig. 28).

⁹⁶ The figure is half man, half fish, and can be designated as a Triton (Barak and Amoraï-Stark, 1989:335).

Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Dagon⁹⁷
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned⁹⁸
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: flower-wreath

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: hat

⁹⁷ The fish-tailed deity is usually understood as representing the god Dagon (Harden, 1962:83, 86; Stern, 1982:219).

⁹⁸ Barak and Amoraï-Stark describe the merman's head as being turned towards his tail, whereas the seal impression and the comparative material make it obvious, that the head is turned into the other direction.

<i>Parallels</i>

Galling, 1941:155, Fig. 110

Harden, 1962:Pl. 108:h

Moscatti, 1968:79, Fig. 28

Vollenweider, 1966:118, Pl. 77:7

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting
Subdomain 2: worshipping

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: head¹⁰⁰
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: chignon
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: pointing

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: dress¹⁰¹
Subdomain 1: robe
Subdomain 2: striped

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: stool¹⁰²

<i>Parallels</i>

Boardman, 1970a:No. 753
 Boardman, 1970a:No. 990
 Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:486
 Culican, 1969:60f., Fig. 3
 Dalton, 1964:Pl. 16:103
 Keel-Leu, 1991:114f., Fig. 133
 Keel-Leu, 1991:115, Fig. 134

¹⁰⁰ Barak and Amorai-Stark furthermore detect a small diadem or modius protruding from the woman's forehead, an earring, and a large pin on each shoulder, which we were not able to distinguish on the line drawing, neither on the photograph (1989:335f.).

¹⁰¹ The dress seems to cover only the left shoulder.

¹⁰² The stool does not resemble the Egyptian slope-back throne, and is rather simple in its depiction, so that one is hesitant to speak of a throne. Cf. an identical stool on a Sidonian coin from 320 B.C. (Lemaire, 1985b:37f., Fig. 5).

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: papyrus¹⁰⁵

Element No. 3

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyph

Element No. 4

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: child
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Horus
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: sun disk¹⁰⁷

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: short¹⁰⁶
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: short skirt
Subdomain 2: patterned

¹⁰⁵ The image is encircled by papyri plants, representing the papyrus marshes, according to Johns, the papyrus marshes of Buto (1933:62).

¹⁰⁶ According to the photograph in Rowe's catalogue, there is a lock of hair on the side of the head.

¹⁰⁷ It is not altogether clear whether the sun disk is the headgear, or a separate element.

<i>Element No. 5</i>

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *nekheh* flagellum

<i>Element No. 6</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: female
Subdomain 2: goddess
Subdomain 3: Isis
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: suckling

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: horned sun disk

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: long¹⁰⁸
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: robe
Subdomain 2: patterned

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription: *nb*
Translation: Lord
Inscription Origin: original

¹⁰⁸ The hair appears to be a wig.

Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

Johns, 1933:67, Fig. 24

Johns, 1933:81, Fig. 52

Rowe, 1936:230, Pl. 25:SO. 56

Rowe, 1936:272, Pl. 30:A. 23

Rowe, 1936:272, Pl. 30:A. 24

Rowe, 1936:272f., Pl. 31:A. 25

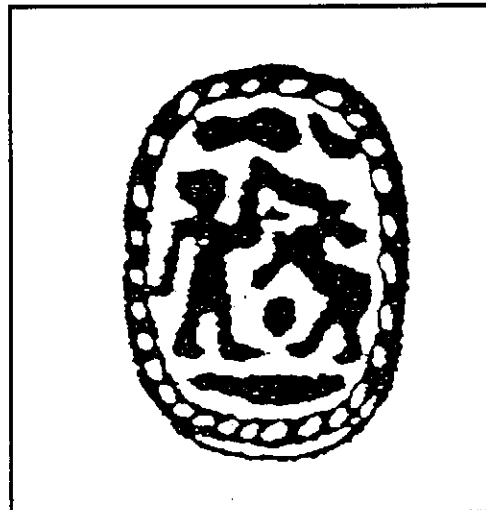
Rowe, 1936:273, Pl. 31:A. 26

Stern, 1982:199f., Fig. 324

Catalogue No. 33

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour: yellow
Dimensions mm: X 11.5 Y 15 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 7
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁰⁹
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:63, Fig. 21
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This scarab is not altogether of Egyptian origin, and exhibits some Phoenician elements in design (e.g. the 'rope' border) and workmanship, as well as in the choice of the iconographic motifs. The composition reminds one of the Achaemenid motif of the 'Herr der Tiere', where the hero is grasping the horns (or hind legs) of a raised animal in the same way as found on this seal.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

¹⁰⁹ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: ibex¹¹⁰
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs
Subdomain 2: defending

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 3: horn type 1

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: left wing
Subdomain 1: curved sidewards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: curved sidewards

<i>Element No. 5</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: 'Herr der Tiere'
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sidewards

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sidewards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

¹¹⁰ It is certainly a horned animal, perhaps also a wild goat (Rowe, Johns).

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: short skirt
Subdomain 2: plain

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription: *nb*
Translation: Lord
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

<i>Parallels</i>

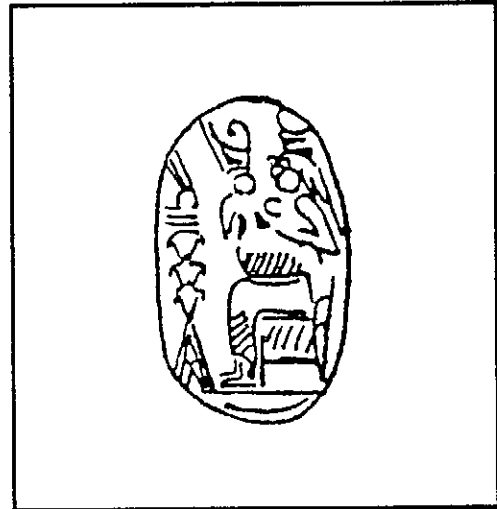
Walters, 1926:No. 233
Walters, 1926:No. 303
Ward, 1910:No. 840
Keel, 1990:231, No. 21¹¹¹

¹¹¹ For other comparative material on the 'Herr der Tiere' motif, see Catalogue Nos. 6, 9, and

Catalogue No. 34

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: paste
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 8 Y 14 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 12
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹¹²
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:67, Fig. 24
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scarab is of an Egyptian-Babylonian mixed form, and therefore has to be ascribed to the class of the Phoenician compound style which was in vogue during the Persian period.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: plain

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: throne¹¹³

¹¹² For stratigraphical details, see **Catalogue No. 32.**

¹¹³ The form of the throne suggests Egyptian origin.

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: figure

Subdomain 1: female

Subdomain 2: goddess

Subdomain 3: Isis

Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture

Subdomain 1: sitting

Subdomain 2: suckling

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head

Subdomain 1: down

Subdomain 2: long

Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: dress

Subdomain 1: long skirt

Subdomain 2: plain

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: figure

Subdomain 1: child

Subdomain 2: god

Subdomain 3: Horus

Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture

Subdomain 1: sitting

Subdomain 2: sucking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: headgear

Subdomain 1: crown of Upper and Lower Egypt

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm

Subdomain 1: down

Subdomain 2: bent

Subdomain 3: up

Subdomain 4: back

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: headgear

Subdomain 1: vulture headdress¹¹⁴ and sun disk

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm

Subdomain 1: down

Subdomain 2: straight

Subdomain 3: down

Subdomain 4: sidwards

¹¹⁴ "Her head-dress suggests the vulture head-dress...." (Johns, 1933:67).

<i>Element No. 5</i>

Element Domain: cult object
Subdomain 1: fire altar¹¹⁵

<i>Parallels</i>

Culican, 1969:58, Pl. 2:B, C

Culican, 1969:59, Fig. 3

Johns, 1933:62, Fig. 18

Johns, 1933:81, Fig. 52

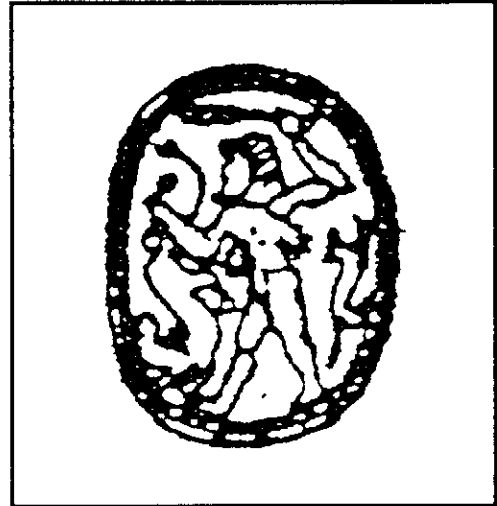
Johns, 1933:104, Fig. 94a

¹¹⁵ The element seems to be reminiscent of a Babylonian fire altar or incense burner, symbolising the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian god Nusku. Culican discusses two excellent parallels (1969:59f., Pl. 2:B, Fig. 3).

Catalogue No. 35

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 10.5 Y 14 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 20
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹¹⁶
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:70f., Fig. 30
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The supposedly Greek imagery on this scarab has its roots in oriental iconography, and finds its predecessors in close parallels depicting the Phoenician god *Melqart*,¹¹⁷ the *Baal* of Tyre¹¹⁸ (Moscatti 1968:34f.). *Herakles* was the Greek adaptation of that Phoenician deity. Our seal belongs to the Greco-Phoenician class, displaying the transmitting influence of glyptic art on the religious imagery during the Persian period.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

¹¹⁶ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹¹⁷ For a detailed summary of *Melqart* representations of Phoenician seals, and the iconography of this Phoenician god, see Culican, 1960-61:41-54.

¹¹⁸ Another indicator for the identification of *Melqart-Baal* and *Herakles*, is the dog appearing on the right border of the scarab, seemingly suspended in midair in a fleeing position. Comments Culican on the dog on our 'Atlit seal: "The iconographic tradition of the 'dog of Baal' appears to go back to the 2nd millennium ... and is represented on Phoenician bowls aiding the lion-slaying hero" (1969:88).

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Herakles
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: lion-skin¹¹⁹

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: dog

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: straight down

¹¹⁹ The lion-skin seems to be attached to its head.

Element No. 4

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: club

Element No. 5

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - front legs

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned

Parallels

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:479

Galling, 1941:155, Pl. 8:110a

Johns, 1933:71, Fig. 31

Johns, 1933:85, Fig. 59

Johns, 1933:86, Fig. 62

Keel-Leu, 1991:91, Fig. 108

Richter, 1956:6, No. 22, Pl. 4:22

Richter, 1965:9, No. 31, Pl. 5:31

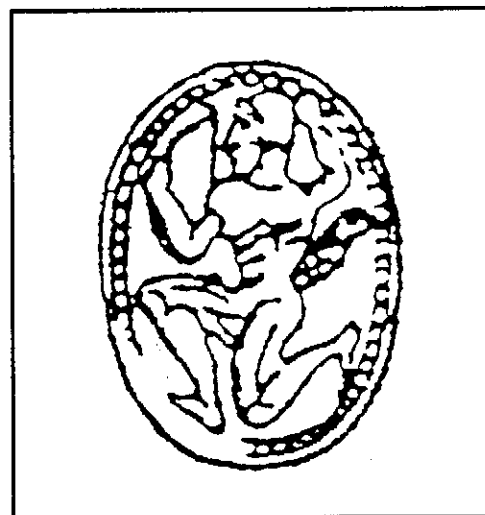
De Ridder, 1911:558, No. 2781, Pl. 18:2781

Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969:No. 145

Catalogue No. 36

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 13 Y 16.5 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 20
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹²⁰
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:71., Fig. 31
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The closest parallel for the image on this scarab can be found on the Daric coins (darics)¹²¹ from the fifth/fourth centuries B.C., on which the Persian king is depicted stereotypical in an almost identical position with minor variations. One can therefore ascribe this scarab to the Phoenician class of Greco-Persian seals in employing the Achaemenian motif of the hunting king,¹²² and adapting it to a Greek figure.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

¹²⁰ For stratigraphical details, see **Catalogue No. 32**.

¹²¹ There is also mention of the daric in the biblical record, which presents evidence for the circulation of that currency in Palestine during the Persian period: 1 Chr 29:7; Ezra 8:27.

¹²² The hunting king is one of the favourite motifs of Achaemenian iconography and plentiful evidence exists.

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Herakles
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: kneeling
Subdomain 2: shooting

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: clenching

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: short¹²³
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: quiver

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: bow

¹²³ Johns calls the hairstyle: "archaic locks" (1933:71).

<i>Parallels</i>

Furtwängler, 1910:Pl. 8:38

Johns, 1933:75, Fig. 41

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:A

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:B

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:C

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:D

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:E

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:F

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:G

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:H

Pope, 1930:Pl. 125:J

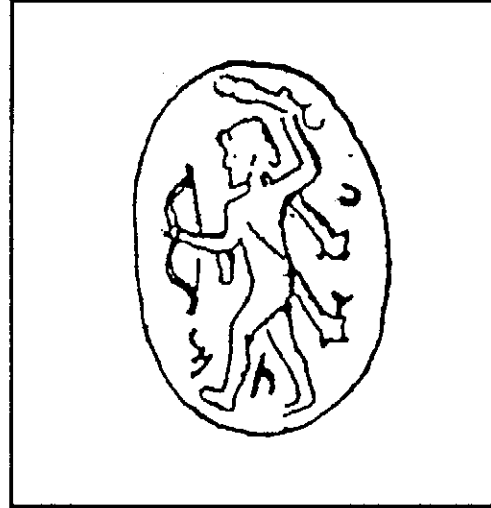
Stern, 1982:227, Fig. 376

Walters, 1926:No. 499

Catalogue No. 37

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: carnelian
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 12 Y 16 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 21
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹²⁴
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/epigraphic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:75., Fig. 41
Drawing Bibliography: Galling, 1941:155, 189, Pl. 8:110a



Description: This seal, inscribed with the name of its owner, also belongs to the group of Phoenician seals, that employ popular Greek motifs, attaching Persian details to it.¹²⁵ *Herakles* is wearing a lion-skin, of which two legs are visible. The Phoenician inscription points to the origin of this seal, and to its use as a personal seal, transferring the iconography of a local deity to the Greek *Herakles*.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Herakles
Subdomain 4: mixed view

¹²⁴ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹²⁵ Comments Galling: "Der Bildtypus ist eine Kombination von 'Herakles mit dem Bogen' und 'Herakles mit der Keule', zwei aus der archaisch-griechischen Glyptik bekannten Motiven" (1941:155).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: lion-skin

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: club

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: bow

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: horizontal
Subdomain 4: forward

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: backwards

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription: עוהם¹²⁶
Translation: 'wtm (Awitam)
Inscription Origin: secondary
Language: Phoenician
Palaeographical Dating: 500-400 B.C.¹²⁷

<i>Word No. 1</i>

Word: עוהם
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: עוהם
Onomasticon Origin: Phoenicia
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

<i>Parallels</i>

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:479
 De Ridder, 1911:558, No. 2781, Pl. 18:2781
 Furtwängler, 1910:Pl. 8:38
 Johns, 1933:71, Fig. 31
 Johns, 1933:85, Fig. 59
 Johns, 1933:86, Fig. 62
 Keel, 1990:231, No. 21
 Keel-Leu, 1991:91, Fig. 108
 Richter, 1956:6, No. 22, Pl. 4:22
 Richter, 1965:9, No. 31, Pl. 5:31
 Stern, 1982:227, Fig. 376
 Walters, 1926:No. 233
 Walters, 1926:No. 303
 Walters, 1926:No. 499

¹²⁶ The reading provided by Galling leaves some uncertainties with regard to the second letter. A comparison with Herr's tables reveals, that our reading *waw* is the most probable (Herr, 1978:Fig. 84), although its form would be rather archaic and not in tune with the archaeological date of the seal. Therefore, the uncertainty of the *waw* has to remain, and our reading should be understood as being tentative (cf. Naveh, 1982:94, Fig. 84).

¹²⁷ Especially the *mem* and the *ayin* speak for a date during the fifth century B.C., which would be in tune with the archaeological dating.

Ward, 1910:No. 840

Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969:No. 145

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 4: human

Parallels

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:480

Catalogue No. 39

General

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: paste
Colour: yellow
Dimensions mm: X 24 Y 18 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 21b
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹²⁹
Object Dating: 663-525 B.C.¹³⁰
Classification: hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:80, Fig. 50
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: Hieroglyphic inscription, pointing to the Saite Pharaoh 'Psemthek', belonging to the XXVIth dynasty. The seal has been chipped off at the bottom of the base.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: plain

Element No. 2

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

¹²⁹ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹³⁰ Rowe assigns the scarab to Psemthek I who reigned in the second half of the seventh century B.C. (1936:210).

Inscription

Inscription: *R^c P-f3m*
Translation: *Rā Pe-Tham*¹³¹
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

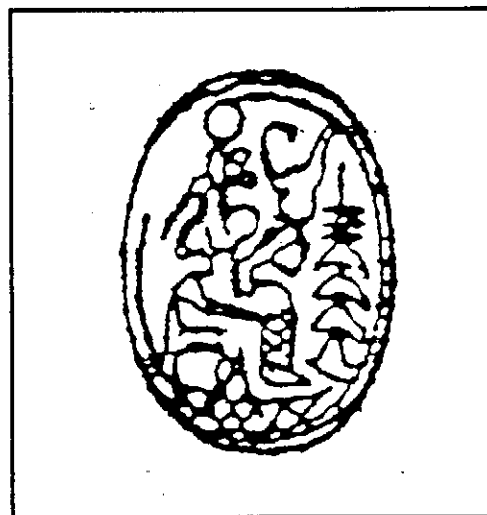
Rowe, 1936:209f., No. 893

¹³¹ The last syllable of the inscription is an epithet of *Horus of Edfu*, this in turn is part of the name of the Saite Pharaohs. So the actual translation for which the hieroglyphs stand, would be the name of one of the Saite Pharaohs '*Fsemthek*', belonging to the XXVIth dynasty, which reigned between 663 and 525 B.C. (Johns, 1933:80).

Catalogue No. 40

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 10.5 Y 16 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 21b
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹³²
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:81, Fig. 52
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: Here we find another example of the *Isis* suckling *Horus* motif with the addition of non-Egyptian influences, especially the fire altar on the right side of the seal base. The workmanship is less skilled than the comparative samples.¹³³

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: diagonal cross pattern
Subdomain 2: celestial terrain

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: cult object

¹³² For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹³³ Catalogue Nos. 32 and 34.

Subdomain 1: fire altar¹³⁴

Element No. 3

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: child
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Horus
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting
Subdomain 2: sucking

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: crown of Upper and Lower Egypt

Element No. 4

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: female
Subdomain 2: goddess
Subdomain 3: Isis
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting
Subdomain 2: suckling

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: vertical
Subdomain 4: backwards

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: vulture headdress and sun disk¹³⁵

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt
Subdomain 2: patterned

¹³⁴ See Catalogue No. 34.

¹³⁵ From the similarity of the motifs, it is possible to identify the headgear as the same vulture headdress, crowned by the sun disk, as in Catalogue No. 34, although in a rather schematic execution.

Element No. 5

Element Domain: furniture
Subdomain 1: throne

Parallels

Culican, 1969:58, Pl. 2:B, C

Culican, 1969:59, Fig. 3

Johns, 1933:62, Fig. 18

Johns, 1933:67, Fig. 24

Johns, 1933:104, Fig. 94a

Catalogue No. 41

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 10 Y 14 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 23
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹³⁶
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:85, Fig. 59
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: Though the workmanship of the seal is rather crude, the imagery is in accordance with the other scarabs of the Greco-Phoenician class found at 'Atlit.¹³⁷

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: standline

¹³⁶ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹³⁷ Cf. especially Catalogue No. 35.

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - front legs

Element No. 4

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: club

Element No. 5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Herakles
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Element No. 6

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: dog

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: backwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: down

<i>Parallels</i>

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:479

De Ridder, 1911:558, No. 2781, Pl. 18:2781

Galling, 1941:155, Pl. 8:110a

Johns, 1933:63, Fig. 21

Johns, 1933:71, Fig. 30

Johns, 1933:75, Fig. 41

Johns, 1933:86, Fig. 62

Keel-Leu, 1991:91, Fig. 108

Richter, 1956:6, No. 22, Pl. 4:22

Richter, 1965:9, No. 31, Pl. 5:31

Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969:No. 145

Subdomain 4: mixed view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headgear
Subdomain 1: lion-skin¹³⁹

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: dog

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Element No. 4

Element Domain: weapon
Subdomain 1: club

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

¹³⁹ See Catalogue No. 35.

<i>Element No. 5</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - front legs

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned

<i>Parallels</i>

Buchanan and Moorey, 1988:73, Pl. 16:479

De Ridder, 1911:558, No. 2781, Pl. 18:2781

Galling, 1941:155, Pl. 8:110a

Johns, 1933:63, Fig. 21

Johns, 1933:71, Fig. 30

Johns, 1933:75, Fig. 41

Johns, 1933:85, Fig. 59

Keel-Leu, 1991:91, Fig. 108

Richter, 1956:6, No. 22, Pl. 4:22

Richter, 1965:9, No. 31, Pl. 5:31

Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969:No. 145

Element No. 2

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *nfr* emblem

Element No. 3

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male (?)
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: sitting

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: bent
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Inscription

Inscription: (*rnpt*)-*nfr*¹⁴²
Translation: A happy year
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

Newberry, 1908:Pl. 21:2
 Newberry, 1908:Pl. 25:1
 Newberry, 1908:Pl. 25:12

¹⁴² The combination of the *nfr* sign and the lotus flower could possibly be a corrupted form of the given hieroglyphic inscription, otherwise the translation would only be 'beauty' or the like (Johns, 1933:88; Rowe, 1936:213).

Catalogue No. 44

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 12.5 Y 16Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 24
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁴³
Object Dating: 500-300 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:99, Fig. 85
Drawing Bibliography: Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:84, Fig. 30:2



Description: The scarab belongs to the group of Egyptian-Babylonian/Persian style, depicting the original Egyptian motif of the Egyptian god Bes, a common iconographic motif throughout the Mediterranean, especially during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.¹⁴⁴ The composition of Bes struggling with two lions, is clearly removed from the Egyptian initial iconography, and thus represents the Phoenician line of development of the Bes iconography, including also the Achaemenid feature of the 'Herr der Tiere' motif.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ For stratigraphical details, see **Catalogue No. 32**.

¹⁴⁴ Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:85f. Similar seals and scarabs are known from Kamid el-Loz (Catalogue No. 53), Tharros, Tamassos, Carthage, Sardinia, Corneto-Tarquiniia, and Ibiza. During the Persian period Bes was also used as a popular motif on vessels (Blakely and Horton, 1986:111-119).

¹⁴⁵ On the Phoenician line of the iconography of Bes, see Culican, who suggests, that "the iconography of Bes-Eshmun in his parallel role to Baal entered into the Greek iconography of the skin-clad Herakles" (1969:93-98).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: diagonal cross pattern
Subdomain 2: celestial terrain

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

<i>Element No. 5</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

<i>Element No. 6</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Bes/'Herr der Tiere'
Subdomain 4: front view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headdress
Subdomain 1: feathered crown

<i>Element No. 7</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

<i>Element No. 8</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

<i>Element No. 9</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 3: beard

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Modification No. 3:**Modification Domain:** head
Subdomain 1: turned

<i>Parallels</i>

Furtwängler, 1900:II:34, No. 19

Furtwängler, 1900:II:34, No. 24

Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:72, 84, Fig. 30:1

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2767

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2772

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2776

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2778

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 540

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 541

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 549

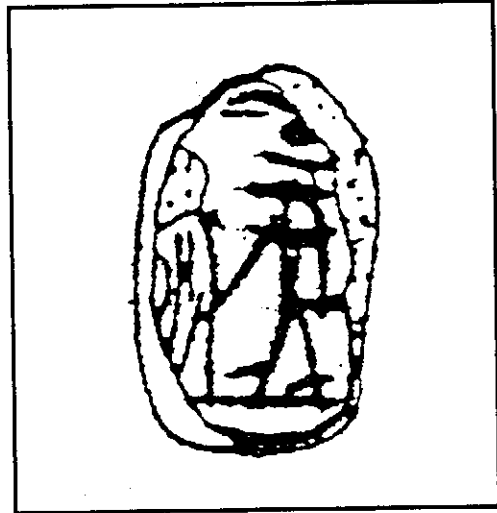
Vercoutter, 1945:No. 552

Walters, 1926:No. 368

Catalogue No. 45

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: carnelian
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 10.5 Y 12 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 24
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁴⁶
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:99f., Fig. 86
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scarab has been chipped off along the outer borders of the seal base. The depiction of the solar deity is traditional Egyptian, although it is done in a rather rough way. This scarab must be assigned to the class of objects found at 'Atlit, that have their origin in a Egyptian manufacture.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: standing line

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god

¹⁴⁶ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

Subdomain 3: Re¹⁴⁷
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: holding

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headdress
Subdomain 1: uraeus/sun disk

Element No. 3

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *ankh* emblem¹⁴⁸

Element No. 4

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *was* sceptre

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: vertical

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 4: falcon

¹⁴⁷ The normal depiction of Re is a falcon-headed figure with the *ankh* emblem and the *was* scepter.

¹⁴⁸ Rowe is able to identify this element as the *ankh* emblem, although this deduction appears to be more on account of comparative material (see below under *Parallels*), as on the actual photograph of the scarab.

<i>Parallels</i>

Walters, 1926:No. 275

Rowe, 1936:No. 270

Rowe, 1936:No. 566

Rowe, 1936:No. 270

Rowe, 1936:No. 662

Rowe, 1936:No. 664

Rowe, 1936:No. 666

Rowe, 1936:No. 700

Rowe, 1936:No. 706

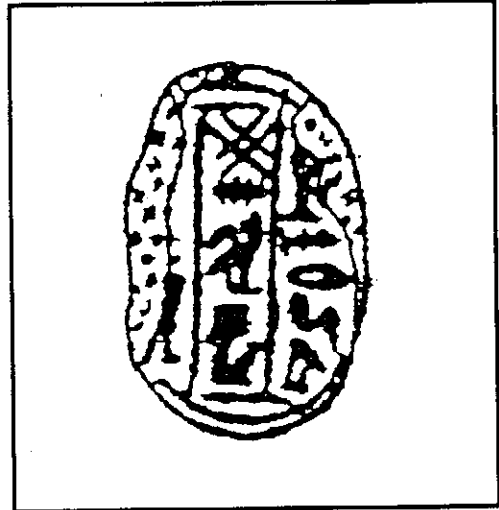
Rowe, 1936:No. 707¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ *Et al.*

Catalogue No. 46

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour: brown
Dimensions mm: X 7 Y 11 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 20
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁵⁰
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:71, Fig. 32
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scarab base is broken on the right and left side, leaving only the middle line of text legible. According to the patronym, the seal appears to be the private possession of a female Egyptian, buried at 'Atlit.¹⁵¹

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹⁵¹ Perhaps the wife of an Egyptian soldier stationed at 'Atlit.

¹⁵² There are three vertical lines of hieroglyphs, of which only the third one is legible. The other two lines also seem to have been proper names. Rowe observes: "Perhaps the central name is that of the owner of the scarab, the one on the right her father's name, and the one on the left her mother's...." (1936:213).

Inscription

Inscription: *Sbn-Hor*

Translation: Sheben-Horus¹⁵³

Inscription Origin: original

Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

Lieblein, 1871-92:II:No. 2411

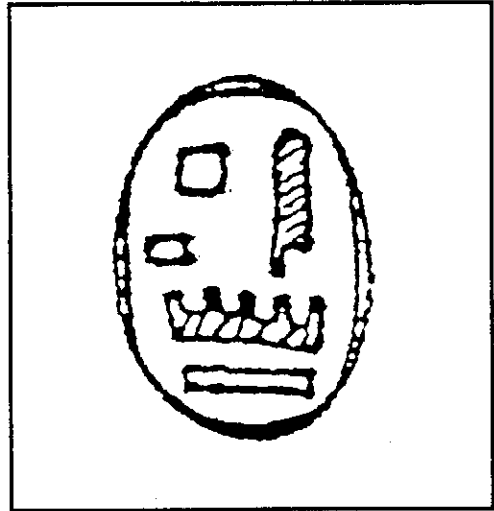
Lieblein, 1871-92:II:No. 2488

¹⁵³ Rowe informs us, that *Sheben-Horus* is a feminine proper name of the late period, with *Sheben* possibly meaning 'she who is joined to' (1936:213).

Catalogue No. 47

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: paste
Colour: yellow
Dimensions mm: X 7 Y 9 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 21
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁵⁴
Object Dating: 400-332 B.C.
Classification: hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:75, Fig. 42
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This scarab, mounted in a swivel band-setting, is inscribed with a personal name which includes a divine element, i.e. that of the hippopotamus goddess *Thoeris*.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription: *Ipt-Mn*
Translation: *Ipet-men*¹⁵⁵
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

¹⁵⁴ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹⁵⁵ Rowe understands the hieroglyphs as a proper masculine name, whereas Johns translates: 'How steadfast is *Ipt*, the hippopotamus goddess' (Johns, 1933:75).

Parallels

Lieblein, 1871-92:III:1016, No. 2186

Catalogue No. 48

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scaraboid
Material: paste
Colour: yellow
Dimensions mm: X 9 Y 13 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 21b
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁵⁶
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:82, Fig. 54
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scaraboid bears the hieroglyphic inscription of a personal name of the Saite period.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: separator

<i>Element No. 3</i>

¹⁵⁶ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

Element No. 4

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *ankh* emblem

Element No. 5

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *ankh* emblem

Inscription

Inscription: *Hr-mn*
Translation: *Horus-men*¹⁵⁷
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

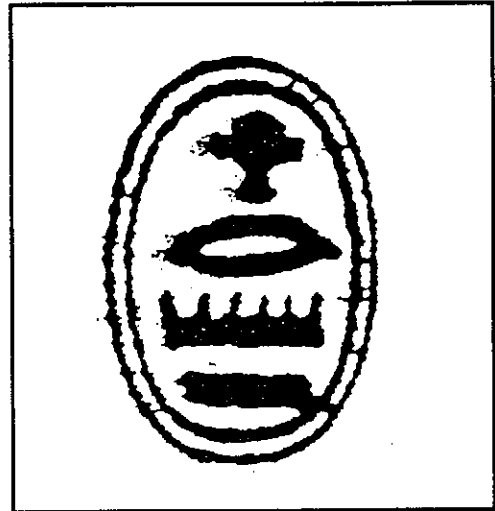
Lieblein, 1871-92:I:371, No. 1137

¹⁵⁷ Or *Her-men*, a proper name of the Saite period.

Catalogue No. 49

General

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 6 Y 8 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 23
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁵⁸
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:86, Fig. 63
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The scaraboid bears the hieroglyphic inscription of a personal name of the Saite period.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: plain

Element No. 2

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

Inscription

Inscription: *Hr-mn*

¹⁵⁸ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

Translation: *Horus-men*¹⁵⁹
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

<i>Parallels</i>

Lieblein, 1871-92:I:371, No. 1137

¹⁵⁹ Or *Her-men*, a proper name of the Saite period.

Catalogue No. 50

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: 'Atlit
Type: scaraboid
Material: paste
Colour: greenish-yellow
Dimensions mm: X 12 Y 8.5 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: L 23b
Archaeological Dating: 500-352 B.C.¹⁶⁰
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/hieroglyphs
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Johns, 1933:91f., Fig. 69
Drawing Bibliography: ibid.



Description: The scaraboid bears a hieroglyphic inscription which is an allusion to the mother goddess *Isis*, accompanied by the common iconographic element of the protecting uraeus, possibly wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 32.

¹⁶¹ Rowe is able to distinguish the white crown of Upper Egypt on the head of the determinative uraeus (1936:230).

Inscription

Inscription: *špdt*

Translation: *Sothis* or *Sirius*¹⁶²

Inscription Origin: original

Language: Egyptian hieroglyphs

Parallels

Walters, 1926:No. 1408

Rowe, 1936:245, Pl. 27:S. 38

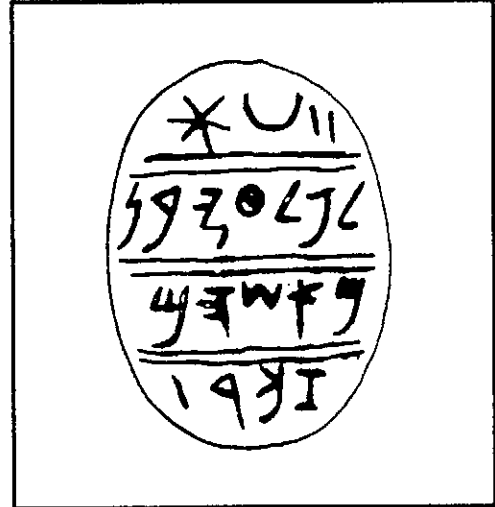
Rowe, 1936:245f., Pl. 27:S. 39

¹⁶² The dog-star *Sothis* or *Sirius* is attributed to the goddess *Isis*.

Catalogue No. 51

<i>General</i>

Country: Jordan
Place: Umm Udheinah
Type: scaraboid
Material: marble
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 16 Y 22 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.: 1608
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁶³
Object Dating: 725-675 B.C.
Classification: iconographic/epigraphic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Zayadine, 1985:155-158, Fig. 13
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This seal is a good example of an object falling archaeologically under the parameters of this present study, but which has to be dated palaeographically earlier than the Persian period. The obvious question, if this seal was still of some importance in the administration of the earlier Ammonite territory - though not longer used by its original owner - is beyond the scope of the present study.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 3

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: line

¹⁶³ The seal was found among other objects in an undisturbed tomb at Umm Udheinah. All the other objects date from the Persian period (Zayadine, 1985:156).

Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

Element No. 3

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 2

Element No.

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

Element No. 5

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: line 1

Element No. 6

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: separator

Element No. 7

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: crescent

Element No. 8

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ The crescent and the star are common iconographic motifs and stand for celestial deities. Younker discusses the seal impression found at Tell el-Umeiri, which is dated around 600 B.C. (Herr, 1985:170), and bears also the crescent as a motif. He comes to the conclusion, that the Ammonite god *Milkom* was an astral deity. As support for this he adduces Zeph 1:5 (Younker, 1985:178f.).

<i>Inscription</i>

Inscription: לפלטי בן מאש המזכר

Translation: (Belonging) to *Palti*, (the son of) *Ma'oš*, the Mazkir

Inscription Origin: original

Language: Ammonite¹⁶⁵

Palaeographical Dating: 700 B.C.

<i>Word No. 1</i>

Word: לפלטי

Root:

Prefix:

Suffix:

Preposition: ל

State: proper name

Gender: masculine

Number:

Onomasticon: פלטי

Onomasticon Origin: Ammonite¹⁶⁶

Title:

Geographical Term:

Administrative Term:

Number:

Measurements Commodity:

<i>Word No. 2</i>

Word: בן

Root: בן

Prefix:

Suffix:

Preposition:

State: constructus

Gender: masculine

Number: singular

Onomasticon:

Onomasticon Origin:

Title: בן¹⁶⁷

Geographical Term:

Administrative Term:

Number:

Measurements Commodity:

<i>Word No. 3</i>

Word: מאש

Root:

Prefix:

Suffix:

Preposition:

State: proper name

Gender: masculine

Number:

Onomasticon: מאש

Onomasticon Origin: Ammonite¹⁶⁸

Title:

Geographical Term:

Administrative Term:

Number:

Measurements Commodity:

¹⁶⁵ Some of the letters exhibit characteristics that are not particularly Ammonite (e.g. the round form of the *taw* and the appendix at the bottom of the *yod*), but the usage of בן instead of בר and the archaeological context strongly support an Ammonite origin of the inscription.

¹⁶⁶ "Palti est un nom propre bien attesté dans l'onomastique ouest-sémitique et spécialement ammonite..." (Zayadine, 1985:156). Cf. Bordreuil who mentions the name *Adonypelet* and *kmšplt* (1973:189-190).

¹⁶⁷ בן is not a title in the strict sense of the term, but has the position of a title in terms of seal syntax, and a certain status pertains to the word, though mainly based on family relations.

Word No. 4

Word: המזכר ¹⁶⁹
Root:
Prefix: ה
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: absolutus
Gender: masculine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title: מזכר ¹⁷⁰
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term: מזכר
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

Bordreuil, 1973:189-190
 Bordreuil, 1975:107-118, Fig. 1
 Gallig, 1941:No. 110
 Gallig, 1941:No. 39
 Gallig, 1941:No. 45
 Gallig, 1941:No. 79
 Gallig, 1941:No. 82
 Gallig, 1941:No. 126
 Keel, 1990c:248f.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Bordreuil mentions a Hebrew seal with exactly the same patronym, although Zayadine suggests that this seal is palaeographically very close to the one from Umm Udheinah, pointing to an Ammonite origin instead of a Hebrew one (1975:107-118).

¹⁶⁹ The word is a defective form of the *hiphil* participle, probably used as a proper noun.

¹⁷⁰ This office in the royal court of Israel is mentioned nine times in the Bible. It seems to have been instituted during the reign of David, reaching down to the exile. The function of this office is not clear altogether, and the *hiphil* form suggests, that it was some kind of a royal herald, corresponding to the Akkadian *nagiru*.

¹⁷¹ *Et al.*

Catalogue No. 52

<i>General</i>

Country: Lebanon
Place: Sarepta
Type: scarab
Material: stone
Colour: greenish-brown
Dimensions mm: X 19 Y 15 Z 6
Origin: excavation
Area: II **Stratum:** 2d¹⁷²

Floor: **Locus:**

Field No.: D-5

Cemetery:

Tomb No.:

Archaeological Dating:

Object Dating: 425-375 B.C.

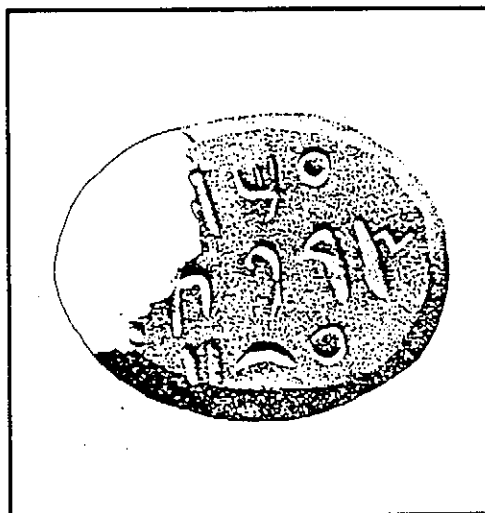
Classification: epigraphic

Object Location:

Inventory No.:

Original Publication: Teixidor, 1975:97-104

Drawing Bibliography: Greenfield, 1985:129-134, Fig. 1:A



Description: The top right part of the seal¹⁷³ has been damaged, so that the third letter of the first line is not legible anymore, but can be reconstructed with some certainty by means of comparison with the seal published by Bordreuil (see below). The seal is an interesting witness to fiscal policies during the latter part of the Achaemenid rule in Phoenicia.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription

Subdomain 1: line 1-3

¹⁷² The stratigraphy of sounding X, from which the seal stems, is not yet completed, and thus a satisfactory archaeological dating could not be given at this stage. It suffices to say, that level 2d is well in the Persian period (Pritchard, 1975:5).

¹⁷³ On our drawing it is the the top left part, since it is the impression of the seal.

Inscription

Inscription: עשר צרפת ע 12
Translation: Ten(th), Sarepta, (the) 12th (year of) '
Inscription Origin: original
Language: Phoenician
Palaeographical Dating: 425-350 B.C.¹⁷⁴

Word No. 1

Word: עשר
Root: עשר
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: absolutus
Gender: masculine
Number: singular

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term: עשר ¹⁷⁵
Number: 10
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 2

Word: צרפת
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: locus
Gender: feminine
Number:

Onomasticon:
Onomasticon Origin:
Title:
Geographical Term: צרפת ¹⁷⁶
Administrative Term:
Number:
Measurements Commodity:

Word No. 3

¹⁷⁴ Greenfield is citing Naveh from a private communication: "Their script is the formal (or lapidary) Phoenician script used for engraving in stone which gradually absorbed cursive influences. Judging mainly from the form of the *shin*, the right bar of which is drawn down and leftwards (a cursive trait), the script cannot be earlier than the very end of the fifth century B.C.E. It was used well into the fourth century and even a date in the third century cannot be excluded" (1985:130f.).

¹⁷⁵ עשר on its own is used in Phoenician as a cardinal number, in connection with other numbers as an ordinal number. It is found in the Phoenician inscription of *Esmun'azar*, King of Sidon (Jean and Hoftijzer, 1965:223). From comparative material, it seems evident, that the number is referring to some kind of a taxation system. For a more detailed discussion, see under 3.3.2.3.

¹⁷⁶ The discovery of the seal at modern Sarafand established the identity of that site with ancient Sarepta or Zarephath, known from 1 Ki 17:9.10.

Word: 12 ע
Root:
Prefix:
Suffix:
Preposition:
State: proper name
Gender: masculine
Number:

Onomasticon: ע ¹⁷⁷
Onomasticon Origin: Phoenician
Title:
Geographical Term:
Administrative Term:
Number: 12
Measurements Commodity:

Parallels

Greenfield, 1985:129-134, Fig. 1:B
 Greenfield, 1985:129-134, Fig. 1:C
 Greenfield, 1985:129-134, Fig. 1:D

¹⁷⁷ Teixidor identified the ע as an abbreviation for the Sidonian king עבראמן who reigned about 400 B.C. '12' would mean the twelfth year of that particular king. Greenfield, however, understands the ע as an abbreviation for the Tyrian king עזמלך (347-332 B.C.), basing his assumption on the comparison of four Phoenician city seals which seem to form a chronologically homogenous group (1985:132). The palaeography of these four seals is indeed rather uniform.

Catalogue No. 53***General***

Country: Lebanon
Place: Kamid el-Loz
Type: scarab
Material: jasper
Colour: green
Dimensions mm: X 12 Y 15 Z 7.5
Origin: excavation
Area:
Floor:
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: IG 13:2
Archaeological Dating: 500-400 B.C.¹⁷⁸
Object Dating: 500-300 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:72, 84-88, Fig. 30:1
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: This scarab from the Lebanon valley represents an interestingly close parallel to our Catalogue No. 44 from 'Atlit. The depiction, material and workmanship show the same line of iconographic tradition, again a mixture of different styles and iconographic themes.

Elements***Element No. 1***

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: plain

Element No. 2

¹⁷⁸ For the purpose of dating of the tomb, similar sites are taken into consideration, e.g. Deve Hüyük (Woolley 1914-16:115-129), Gezer (Macalister, 1912a:289f.), Tell el-Far'ah (Petrie, 1930:11ff., Pl. 44-46), and especially Atlit (Johns, 1933:41-104). After comparing the objects of all these tomb groups with the finds at Kamid el-Loz, Kuschke comes to the following conclusion: "So werden wir mit der chronologischen Einordnung des Grabes IG13:2 innerhalb des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bleiben müssen, und zwar erscheint ein Datum um die Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts oder bald danach als das angemessenste" (Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:88).

Element Domain: exergue
Subdomain 1: diagonal cross pattern
Subdomain 2: celestial terrain

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

Element No. 4

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

Element No. 5

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

Element No. 6

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: god
Subdomain 3: Bes/'Herr der Tiere'
Subdomain 4: front view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: attacking

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: horizontal
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right hand
Subdomain 1: grasping

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: headdress
Subdomain 1: feathered crown

<i>Element No. 7</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: sun disk

<i>Element No. 8</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

<i>Element No. 9</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: lion

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised - hind legs

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: horizontal
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: horizontal
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: tail
Subdomain 1: curved upwards

<i>Parallels</i>

Furtwängler, 1900:II:34, No. 19

Furtwängler, 1900:II:34, No. 24

Johns, 1933:99, Fig. 85

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2767

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2772

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2776

De Ridder, 1911:No. 2778

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 540

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 541

Vercoutter, 1945:No. 549

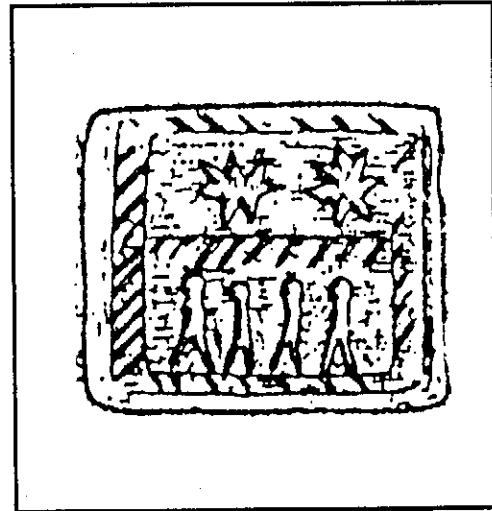
Vercoutter, 1945:No. 552

Walters, 1926:No. 368

Catalogue No. 54

General

Country: Lebanon
Place: Kamid el-Loz
Type: signet ring
Material: silver
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 14 Y 12 Z 1.5
Origin: excavation
Area:
Floor:
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: IG 13:2
Archaeological Dating: 500-400 B.C.¹⁷⁹
Object Dating: 450-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:71f., 83f., Fig. 28:2
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: The imagery found on this signet ring belongs to an iconographic tradition, that has its roots in Hurritic glyptic.¹⁸⁰ It is an interesting fact, that this object together with our **Catalogue No. 53**, coming from the same tomb, finds its closest parallels in two almost identical objects from 'Atlit, both also found together in the same tomb there. This shows some correlation between the iconographic tradition of the Phoenician coast and the Lebanon valley.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope

¹⁷⁹ For stratigraphic details see **Catalogue No. 53**.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. the parallel cylinder-seal from Nuzi (Starr, 1939:444f., Pl. 119:F-H).

Element No. 2-5

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: captive
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: passant

Element No. 6

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: rope¹⁸¹

Element No. 7-8

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

Parallels

Gjerstad et al., 1935:758, 812, 818, Pl. 246:10

Johns, 1933:81, Fig. 11, Pl. 25:651¹⁸²

Lamon and Shipton, 1939:113, Pl. 67:21

Parker, 1949:13, Pl. 5:32

Parker, 1949:20, Pl. 11:74

Parker, 1949:22, Pl. 15:93

Parker, 1949:34, Pl. 23:154

Porada, 1948:144f., Pl. 158:1037-1039

Porada, 1948:147, Pl. 161:1065

Starr, 1939:444f., Pl. 119:F-H

¹⁸¹ This is a border between the two registers of the seal base.

¹⁸² This signet ring is very close in terms of form, material and design to the one from Kamid el-Loz. The five persons are bound together, so that one arrives at the interpretation of them being captives, marching into exile.

Catalogue No. 55

<i>General</i>

Country: Lebanon
Place: Kamid el-Loz
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: amethyst
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X Y Z
Origin: excavation
Area:
Floor: **Stratum:**
Field No.: **Locus:**
Cemetery:
Tomb No.: IG 13:3
Archaeological Dating: 575-500 B.C.¹⁸³
Object Dating: 650-500 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:66f., Fig. 26:6
Drawing Bibliography: *ibid.*



Description: On this seal one finds the typical Neo-Babylonian worshipper/priest-before-a-symbol motif. The drawing leaves the question open, if the object on the double standing line (altar), is the repeatedly found spade of *Marduk* - for which the horizontal line towards the thicker top of the object would speak - or if it functions as a stick on which the star is positioned. One cannot determine with certainty, if there is a connection between the object and the star. The form of the object would support it as being the *muru* of *Marduk*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ For lack of stratigraphical evidence the tombs are dated according to the objects found in them, a fact, that in turn leaves some uncertainties with regard to the date of the seal, since it itself is the criteria for the date of the tomb. There are however a number of seals of that type that have been found in a stratigraphically more certain context, e. g. at Ur (Woolley, 1962:68ff.). Comments Hachmann: "Auf solche Weise käme man dazu, das Grab IG₁₃:3 ins 6. vorchr. Jahrhundert zu datieren, eher in die Mitte oder die letzte Hälfte als in dessen Anfang" (Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:67).

¹⁸⁴ If one compares this seal with a seal, described by Keel-Leu, which shows a stick holding up a star, one can see a clear difference (Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 156).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: single
Subdomain 2: standing line

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: worshipper
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing
Subdomain 2: worshipper

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt
Subdomain 2: striped

<i>Element No. 3</i>

Element Domain: celestial body
Subdomain 1: star

<i>Element No. 4</i>

Element Domain: tool
Subdomain 1: spade

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: up
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: up
Subdomain 4: forwards

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: neck-long
Subdomain 3: beard
Subdomain 4: human

Element No. 5

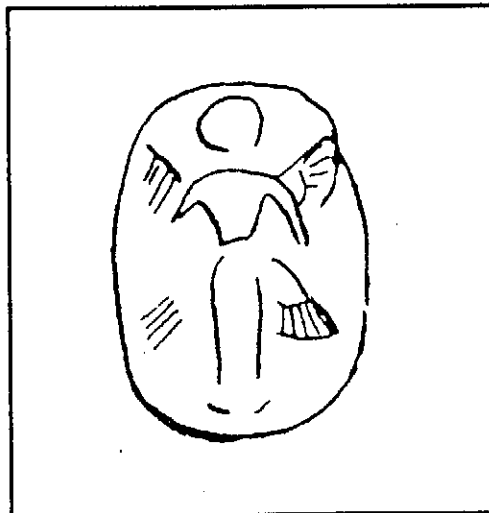
Element Domain: line
Subdomain 1: double
Subdomain 2: standing line

Parallels

Bliss and Macalister, 1902:41, Fig. 16:2
Crowfoot, 1957:87, Pl. 15:19
Keel-Leu, 1991:127, Fig. 152
Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 153
Keel-Leu, 1991:128, Fig. 154
Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 155
Keel-Leu, 1991:129, Fig. 156
Keel-Leu, 1991:131, Fig. 164
Mazar and Dunayevsky, 1967:139, Pl. 31:1
Mazar et al., 1966:38-39, Fig. 4
Wimmer, 1987:171f., Fig. 9

Catalogue No. 56**General**

Country: Israel
Place: Tell el-Far'ah (Beth Pelet)
Type: conical stamp seal
Material: lime
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 18 Y 25 Z
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:**
Floor: **Locus:**
Field No.:
Cemetery: 700 (west)
Tomb No.: 752
Archaeological Dating: 538-450 B.C.¹⁸⁵
Object Dating: 650-500 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Petrie, 1930:15, Pl. 48:566
Drawing Bibliography: Keel, 1977:199, Fig. 144



Description: The motif of the four-winged female deity is common in Ancient Near East iconography since the 14th century B.C. (Pritchard, 1969:Fig. 829). Although this seal is not conclusive with regard to the sex of the deity, the comparative material (see under *Parallels*) points to the motif of the winged goddess.

Elements**Element No. 1**

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: female
Subdomain 2: goddess¹⁸⁶
Subdomain 4: mixed view

¹⁸⁵ Petrie's chronology of the tomb group seems to be too high (8/7th centuries B.C.), especially if one takes the metal finds into considerations (e.g. tomb 650), which can be dated on comparative grounds to the end of the sixth down through the fifth century B.C. (cf. Stern, 1982:75f.). Due to the lack of a clear stratigraphy, the archaeological dating can only be understood as being tentative.

¹⁸⁶ Keel discusses the iconography of the winged deity, identifying the figure as a goddess (Keel, 1977:196, Fig. 144).

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: left wing 1
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: down

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: right wing 1
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: down

Modification No. 9:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left arm
Subdomain 1: down
Subdomain 2: straight
Subdomain 3: down
Subdomain 4: sideways

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long (?)

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: left wing 2
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

Modification No. 8:

Modification Domain: right wing 2
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

<i>Parallels</i>

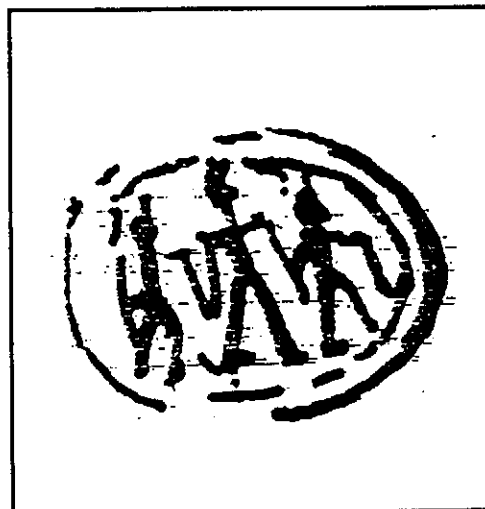
- Delaporte, 1910:No. 612
 Delaporte, 1910:No. 613
 Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 7:89
 Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 7:90
 Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 12:179
 Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 12:180
 Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:91
 Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:93
 Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:94
 Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 12:92
 Keel-Leu, 1991:86, No. 102
 Lamon and Shipton, 1939:Pl. 67:27
 Lidzbarski, 1902:No. 136

Catalogue No. 57

General

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scarab
Material: stone
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 13 Y 10 Z 7.5
Origin: excavation
Area:
Floor:
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁸⁷
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:113, Pl. 67:21
Drawing Bibliography: mgk¹⁸⁸

Stratum: I
Locus: 1030



Description: The scarab is worked in a schematic style, rendering the figures in a sketchy way. The figures seem to be joined together on their hands, suggesting the interpretation of a walking group of captives being chained to each other. This is furthermore confirmed by the *Parallels*, especially our **Catalogue No. 54** and furthermore a signet ring from 'Atlit.

Elements

Element No. 1-3

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: male
Subdomain 2: captive
Subdomain 4: side view

¹⁸⁷ Originally, on account of Middle Iron Age pottery forms, the excavators dated stratum I from 600-350 B.C. (Lamon and Shipton, 1939:91). Stern, reconsidering the stratigraphical data, however, comes to the following conclusion: "An examination of the few loci which were more clearly stratified reveals that the date of the beginning of stratum I should be restricted to the Persian period" (1982:8).

¹⁸⁸ The line drawings of the seals from Megiddo were done by Bogdan Scur, to whom I owe a special thanks for his artwork.

Modification No. 1:**Modification Domain:** posture**Subdomain 1:** passant

<i>Parallels</i>

Hachmann and Kuschke, 1966:71f., 83f., Fig. 28:2

Johns, 1933:81, Fig. 11, Pl. 25:651

Parker, 1949:13, Pl. 5:32

Parker, 1949:20, Pl. 11:74

Parker, 1949:22, Pl. 15:93

Parker, 1949:34, Pl. 23:154

Porada, 1948:144f., Pl. 158:1037-1039

Porada, 1948:147, Pl. 161:1065

Starr, 1939:444f., Pl. 119:F-H

Catalogue No. 58

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scaraboid
Material: steatite
Colour:

Dimensions mm: X 18 Y 24 Z 6.5

Origin: excavation

Area:

Stratum: I

Floor:

Locus: N 13

Field No.:

Cemetery:

Tomb No.:

Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁸⁹

Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.

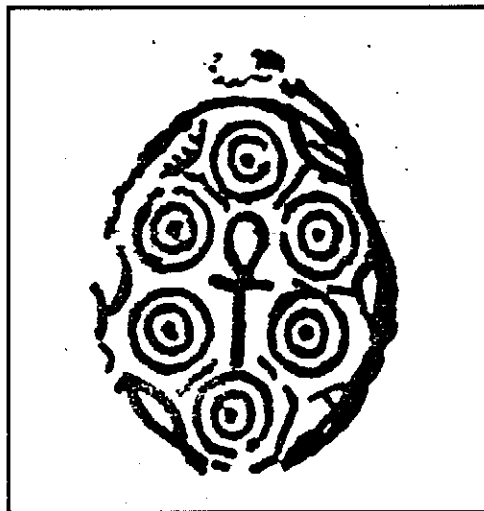
Classification: iconographic

Object Location:

Inventory No.:

Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:111, Pl. 67:22

Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The geometric design, i.e. six concentric circles surrounding the *ankh* emblem of this scaraboid, has its origin in the Hyksos period. It was, however, continued to be in use during the Iron Age. The geometric pattern may represent the victory over the nature forces, more precisely the victory of life, as represented by the *ankh* emblem in the center of the image.¹⁹⁰

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1-6</i>

Element Domain: ornament
Subdomain 1: concentric circles

¹⁸⁹ See Catalogue No. 57.

¹⁹⁰ Hornung and Staehlin (1976:166) interpreted the concentric circles as reminiscent of the sun disk, whereas Keel observes correctly: "Mais quand nous avons plusieurs cercles ce décor représente probablement, comme tous les décors géométriques, l'ordre rétabli, le chaos banni, et cela signifie pour l'Orient Ancien le triomphe des forces de la vie" (1990c:170).

<i>Element No. 7</i>

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *ankh* emblem

<i>Parallels</i>

Keel, 1990c:168, No. 3, Pl. 6:3

Rowe, 1936:95, Pl. 10:382

Rowe, 1936:95, Pl. 10:383

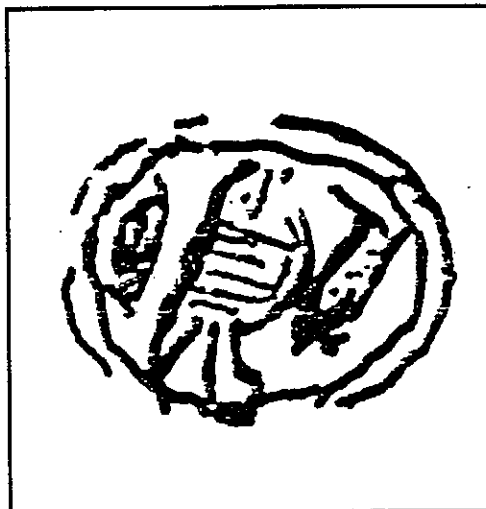
Rowe, 1936:95, Pl. 10:386

Tufnell, 1984:300-303, Pls. 21-22

Catalogue No. 59

General

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 18 Y 13.5 Z 8
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** I
Floor: **Locus:** P 10
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁹¹
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:111, Pl. 67:23
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The hawk, flanked by two raised uraei, is a common motif of Egyptian iconography (Tufnell, 1984:332f., Pl. 37:2541-2560),¹⁹² imitated by the Phoenician seal-manufacturer, and introduced into the region of Syro-Palestine.

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised
Subdomain 2: protecting

¹⁹¹ See Catalogue No. 57.

¹⁹² Tufnell presents 20 examples of a hawk (or hawks) being flanked by two uraei. It would be too cumbersome to reproduce each reference here individually.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: bird
Subdomain 2: hawk
Subdomain 4: mixed view

Element No. 3

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised
Subdomain 2: protecting

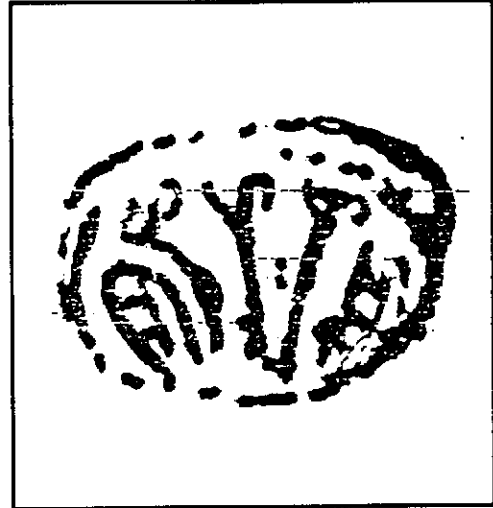
Parallels

Hamilton, 1934:28, Fig. 149
 Keel-Leu, 1991:85, Fig. 101
 Lamon and Shipton, 1939:114, Pl. 67:27
 Rowe, 1936:49, Pl. 5:185
 Rowe, 1936:85, Pl. 9:337
 Rowe, 1936:86, Pl. 9:338
 Rowe, 1936:142, Pl. 15:593
 Rowe, 1936:142, Pl. 15:594
 Rowe, 1936:179, Pl. 19:747
 Rowe, 1936:193, Pl. 21:815
 Rowe, 1936:198, Pl. 21:840

Catalogue No. 60

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scarab
Material: stone
Colour: blue
Dimensions mm: X 14 Y 9.5 Z 7
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** I
Floor: **Locus:** 617
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁹³
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:112, Pl. 67:24
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: Although the motif of the lotus flower is commonly used in Egyptian and Phoenician iconography, normally being the emblem of Upper Egypt (e.g. Rowe, 1936:No. 717), but also designating fertility (Keel, 1972:144, 172), we were not able to locate a close parallel to the image found on this scarab. The combination of the three-stemmed lotus flower, protected on each side by the uraei seems to be somewhat exceptional.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: border
Subdomain 1: plain

¹⁹³ See Catalogue No. 57.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised
Subdomain 2: protecting

Element No. 2-4

Element Domain: plant
Subdomain 1: flower
Subdomain 2: Lotus

Element No. 5

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: snake
Subdomain 2: uraeus
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: raised
Subdomain 2: protecting

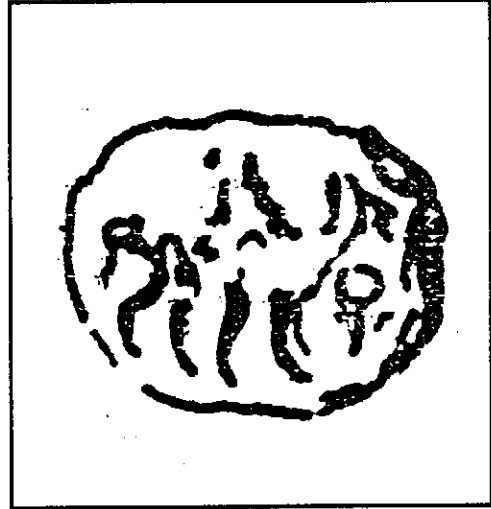
Parallels

No close parallels could be located

Catalogue No. 61

General

Country: Israel
 Place: Megiddo
 Type: scaraboid
 Material: stone
 Colour: blue
 Dimensions mm: X 16 Y 13 Z 6
 Origin: excavation
 Area: Stratum: I
 Floor: Locus: 666
 Field No.:
 Cemetery:
 Tomb No.:
 Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁹⁴
 Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
 Classification: iconographic
 Object Location:
 Inventory No.:
 Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:112, Pl. 67:25
 Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: This scaraboid is worked in a rather rough manner, resulting in a degree of uncertainty pertaining to the correct description of the image. The idea of the quadruped being a winged sphinx seems to be favourable. The elongated head of the animal could very well depict the head of the sphinx or the griffin, wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The combination with the *ankh* emblem would furthermore support this understanding. The image is, however, too crudely modelled in order to be positive about its correct description. The iconography of this seal certainly displays some Phoenician features (Galling, 1941:128-130).

Elements

Element No. 1

Element Domain: insignium
 Subdomain 1: *anhk* emblem

¹⁹⁴ See Catalogue No. 57.

<i>Element No. 2</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: quadruped
Subdomain 2: winged sphinx/griffin
Subdomain 4: side view

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: right wing
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: left wing¹⁹⁵
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

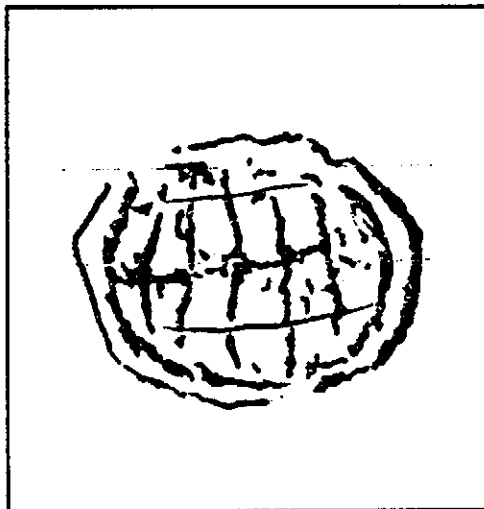
<i>Parallels</i>

Galling, 1941:128f., Pl. 5:1
 Galling, 1941:128f., Pl. 5:2
 Galling, 1941:128f., Pl. 12:3
 Galling, 1941:128f., Pl. 12:5
 Rowe, 1936:264, Pl. 29:S 103

¹⁹⁵ The photograph of the seal gives the impression, that there are wings attached to the back of the quadruped, although it cannot be ascertained beyond doubt. A winged quadruped before the *ankh* emblem would be in harmony with similar images (see under *Parallels*). One has to mention the fact that the photographs have only been taken from the *impression* of the seal.

Catalogue No. 62

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel**Place:** Megiddo**Type:** scarab**Material:** clay**Colour:****Dimensions mm:** X 21 Y 16 Z 10**Origin:** excavation**Area:****Stratum:** I**Floor:****Locus:** 1045**Field No.:****Cemetery:****Tomb No.:****Archaeological Dating:** 538-332 B.C.¹⁹⁶**Object Dating:** 1250-1000 B.C.¹⁹⁷**Classification:** iconographic**Object Location:****Inventory No.:****Original Publication:** Lamon and Shipton, 1939:113, Pl. 67:26**Drawing Bibliography:** mgk

Description: The pottery scarab is decorated with a hatched design, i.e. three horizontal lines, crossed by five vertical lines. We are either confronted with an imitation of a much earlier design, namely an Early Iron Age design (Keel, 1990e:380f.), or an early object, which found its way somehow into stratum I at Megiddo.

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: ornament**Subdomain 1:** linear pattern

¹⁹⁶ For stratigraphical details, see Catalogue No. 57.

¹⁹⁷ This dating has to be understood with some precaution. The design of the scaraboid would perfectly fit this time frame, but it has to be seriously questioned, how such an object could survive and end up in a Persian stratum at Megiddo, that is, if the stratigraphy of the excavation is acceptable. Or did the seal-manufacturer imitate such an archaic design?

<i>Parallels</i>

Albright, 1938:Pl. 33:5-6

Bliss and Macalister, 1902:40, Fig. 15

Brandl, 1986-87:167, Fig. 1:3, Pl. 20:3

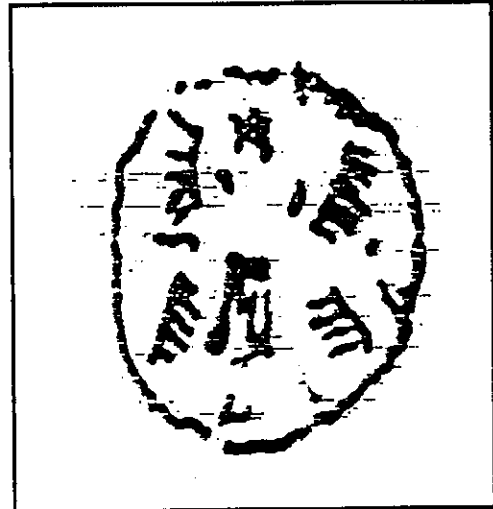
Lamon and Shipton, 1939:Pl. 71:75

McCown, 1947:149, 296, Pl. 55:1

Catalogue No. 63

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scaraboid
Material: lime
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 12 Y 14 Z 9.5
Origin: excavation
Area:
Floor:
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.¹⁹⁸
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:114, Pl. 67:27
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: This scarab is very close to a conical stamp seal from Beth Pelet, our Catalogue No. 56. The four-winged deity seems to enjoy a certain peculiarity, since it is always depicted individually without any composita. The identification of this deity has not yet been sufficiently solved.¹⁹⁹

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: figure
Subdomain 1: female (?)
Subdomain 2: goddess²⁰⁰
Subdomain 4: mixed view

¹⁹⁸ See Catalogue No. 57.

¹⁹⁹ Perhaps *Anath*?

²⁰⁰ Keel discusses the iconography of the winged deity, identifying the figure as a goddess (Keel, 1977:196, Fig. 144). On this scarab, however, it is not distinguishable, if the figure is male or female, since the upper part of the body is almost disappearing.

Modification No. 1:

Modification Domain: posture
Subdomain 1: standing

Modification No. 3:

Modification Domain: left wing 1
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: down

Modification No. 5:

Modification Domain: right wing 1
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: down

Modification No. 7:

Modification Domain: dress
Subdomain 1: long skirt

Modification No. 2:

Modification Domain: head
Subdomain 1: turned
Subdomain 2: neck-long (?)

Modification No. 4:

Modification Domain: left wing 2
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

Modification No. 6:

Modification Domain: right wing 2
Subdomain 1: straight
Subdomain 2: up

<i>Parallels</i>

Delaporte, 1910:No. 612

Delaporte, 1910:No. 613

Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 7:89

Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 7:90

Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 12:179

Galling, 1941:152, Pl. 12:180

Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:91

Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:93

Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 7:94

Galling, 1941:152f., Pl. 12:92

Keel-Leu, 1991:86, No. 102

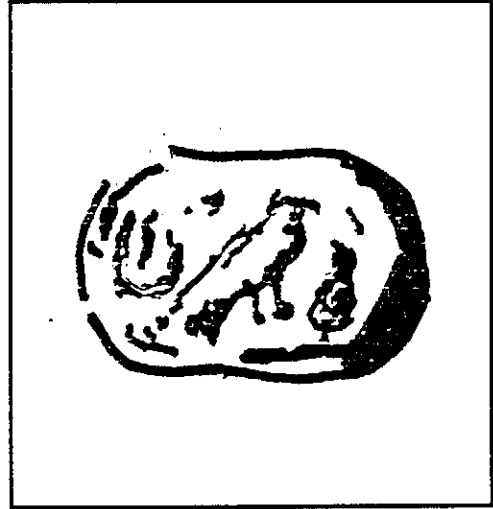
Lidzbarski, 1902:No. 136

Petrie, 1930:15, Pl. 48:566

Catalogue No. 64

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scarab
Material: steatite
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 18.5 Y 12 Z 7
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** I
Floor: **Locus:** R 13
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.²⁰¹
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:111, Pl. 72:6
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: Due to the fact that the scarab is worn, it is not possible to identify the two signs to the left and right of the hawk. The hawk usually appears in composition with one or two uraeus/uraei, with insignia, or with hieroglyphs²⁰² or combinations of all three (see under *Parallels*).

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: inscription
Subdomain 1: hieroglyphs²⁰³

²⁰¹ See Catalogue No. 57.

²⁰² Especially with *Mꜣt* 'truth'.

²⁰³ The sign to the right of the animal is illegible.

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1: bird
Subdomain 2: hawk
Subdomain 4: side view

Element No. 3

Element Domain: insignium
Subdomain 1: *nfr* emblem²⁰⁴

Parallels

Hamilton, 1934:28, Fig. 149
 Keel-Leu, 1991:85, Fig. 101
 Lamon and Shipton, 1939:111, Pl. 67:23
 Rowe, 1936:85, Pl. 9:337
 Rowe, 1936:86, Pl. 9:338
 Rowe, 1936:142, Pl. 15:593
 Rowe, 1936:142, Pl. 15:594
 Rowe, 1936:179, Pl. 19:747
 Rowe, 1936:193, Pl. 21:815
 Rowe, 1936:198, Pl. 21:840²⁰⁵

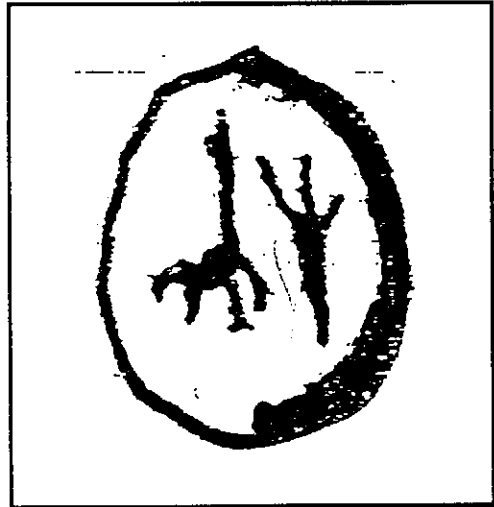
²⁰⁴ It is difficult, to identify the sign to the left of the hawk. It could be a corrupted form of the *nfr* emblem, meaning 'beauty' or the like.

²⁰⁵ Since the two signs accompanying the hawk, are not altogether clear, it was not possible to locate exact parallels. The given parallels have the hawk flanked by two insignia or hieroglyphs as criteria.

Catalogue No. 65

<i>General</i>

Country: Israel
Place: Megiddo
Type: scarab
Material: sandstone
Colour:
Dimensions mm: X 9 Y 13 Z 7
Origin: excavation
Area: **Stratum:** I
Floor: **Locus:** R 13
Field No.:
Cemetery:
Tomb No.:
Archaeological Dating: 538-332 B.C.²⁰⁶
Object Dating: 538-332 B.C.
Classification: iconographic
Object Location:
Inventory No.:
Original Publication: Lamon and Shipton, 1939:111, Pl. 72:8
Drawing Bibliography: mgk



Description: The iconography of the scarab is old and goes back to the third millennium B.C. It often appears in connection with a horse and a dove (Keel, 1990c:213f.), symbolizing the Syrian goddess *Astarte*. The scorpion embodies fertility and the process of recreation and birth.²⁰⁷

<i>Elements</i>

<i>Element No. 1</i>

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1:
Subdomain 2: scorpion
Subdomain 4: front view

²⁰⁶ See Catalogue No. 57.

²⁰⁷ Comments Keel: "Dès le milieu du III^e millénaire, le scorpion est en Mésopotamie lié à l'acte de procréation et à la naissance. On le trouve aussi en Syrie dans ce contexte. Dès le derniers tiers du II^e millénaire, il est associé à Ishhara, dont les origines sont à chercher en Syrie orientale, et qui est souvent identifiée à Ishtar-Astarté. Sur des cachets coniques de la Palestine du Fer IB-IIA, on trouve le scorpion souvent associé avec une femelle (chèvre, ibex) allaitant un petit" (1990c:215).

Element No. 2

Element Domain: animal
Subdomain 1:
Subdomain 2: scorpion
Subdomain 4: front view

Parallels

Elgavish, 1977:Pl. 9:b
Ibrahim, 1983:48, Fig. 5a
James, 1966:Fig. 108:11
Keel-Leu, 1991:54, No. 64
Loud et al., 1948:Pl. 162:11
Rowe, 1940:Pl. 36:12

APPENDIX A

ELEMENT DOMAINS AND SUBDOMAINS

Element Domain: animal

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Animal type	bird, feline, etc.
2	Specification	ibis, lion, etc.
4	Perspective	front view, side view, mixed view

Element Domain: border

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Border type	ladder, rope, plain, etc.

Element Domain: building

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Building type	temple, house, etc.

Element Domain: celestial body

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Celestial body type	star, disk, crescent, etc.

Element Domain: cult object

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Objects specially designed for the usage in worship	altar, sistrum, incense burner, etc.

Element Domain: exergue

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Exergue pattern Cf. Culican (1969:55)	diagonal cross pattern, etc.
2	Exergue symbolism	celestial terrain, terrestrial terrain

Element Domain: figure

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Gender	male, female, child
2	Function	warrior, priest, servant, etc.
3	God	Isis, Marduk, Anath, etc.
4	Perspective	front view, side view, mixed view

Element Domain: furniture

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Furniture type	table, throne, chair, etc.

Element Domain: harness

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Horse equipment	reins, saddle

Element Domain: inscription

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Inscription type	hieroglyphs, line 1, line 2, etc.

Element Domain: insignium

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Object to which a certain symbolism or status pertains	scepter, ankh, rod, etc.

Element Domain: line

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Line type	double line, single line, etc.
2	Specification	standing line, separator

Element Domain: ornament

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Tufnell's ornament classes (1984, 258-263)	cross pattern, etc.

Element Domain: plant

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Plant type	tree, flower
2	Specification	papyrus, lotus, etc.

Element Domain: terrestrial body

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Terrestrial body type	mountain, hill, lake, river, etc.

Element Domain: tools

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Tools type	scales, sickle, double stylus, spade, etc.

Element Domain: vehicle

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Means of transportation	bark, chariot, etc.

Element Domain: vessel

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Vessel type	bowl, jug, etc.

Element Domain: weapon

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Weapon type	bow, sword, arrow, etc.

APPENDIX B

MODIFICATION DOMAINS AND SUBDOMAINS

Modification Domain: posture

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Lower and upper body in an upright fixed position Bottom makes contact with something for the purpose of resting Knee(s) make(s) contact with ground Any act of walking, running, jumping, etc. Upper body bent from a standing position Main part of body in horizontal position	standing, raised - hind legs, raised - front legs sitting kneeling passant bowing lying, couchant
2	Function of posture	attacking, worshipping

Modification Domain: right arm

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Vertical direction of the upper arm	down, up, horizontal
2	Elbow joint flexion/extension	straight, bent
3	Vertical direction of the forearm	down, up, horizontal
4	Shoulder joint flexion/extension	forwards, sideways, backwards, vertical

Modification Domain: left arm

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Vertical direction of the upper arm	down, up, horizontal
2	Elbow joint flexion/extension	straight, bent
3	Vertical direction of the forearm	down, up, horizontal
4	Shoulder joint flexion/extension	forwards, sideways, backwards, vertical

Modification Domain: right hand
--

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Joined to an object Index finger into a certain direction Contact with something Gesture towards another person Adoration gesture	holding pointing touching greeting praying

Modification Domain: left hand

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Joined to an object Index finger into a certain direction Contact with something Gesture towards another person Adoration gesture	holding pointing touching greeting praying

Modification Domain: right leg

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Vertical direction of the upper leg	down, up, horizontal
2	Knee joint flexion/extension	straight, bent
3	Vertical direction of the lower leg	down, up, horizontal
4	Hip joint flexion/extension	forwards, sideways, backwards, vertical

Modification Domain: left leg

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Vertical direction of the upper leg	down, up, horizontal
2	Knee joint flexion/extension	straight, bent
3	Vertical direction of the lower leg	down, up, horizontal
4	Hip joint flexion/extension	forwards, sideways, backwards, vertical

Modification Domain: head

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Direction of head	straight, turned, up, down
2	Hairdress not longer than ears Hairdress not longer than neck Hairdress longer than shoulder Hairdress done up	short neck-long long chignon
3	Beard / horn type Horn: long straight Horn: long bent Horn: short straight Horn: short bent	beard horntype 1 horntype 2 horntype 3 horntype 4
4	Head type	human, falcon etc.

Modification Domain: headgear

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Headgear type	head-band, feathers

Modification Domain: tail

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Tail direction	straight down, straight up, curved, curved backwards

Modification Domain: dress

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Garment from hip to knee Garment from hip to feet Garment from shoulder to knee Garment from shoulder to feet Other garments	short skirt long skirt tunic robe, coat lion skin
2	No decoration Simple line decoration Sophisticated decoration	plain striped patterned
3	Added dress ornamentation	tassle, belt

Modification Domain: right wing
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Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Wing nature	straight, curved
2	Wing direction	sideways, up, down

Modification Domain: left wing

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	Wing nature	straight, curved
2	Wing direction	sideways, up, down

Modification Domain: cross pattern

Subdomain	Definition	Descriptive terms
1	rosette pattern	rosette pattern 1, etc.
2	interlocking suppl. cross pattern	suppl. cross pattern 1, etc.

APPENDIX C

DEVELOPMENT OF A PICTORICAL DATABASE FOR ICONOGRAPHIC RESEARCH: ICONBASE

The following is the adapted form of a paper read at the 1991 South African Society for Semitics congress in Pretoria, South Africa. It was delivered by Jürg Egger and the present writer, who worked together on the program and presented a demonstration version of ICONBASE in the course of the paper. The running version of the database consisted of the following functions: 'Add a Record', 'Search', 'Statistics', 'Browse', 'Indices'. Additionally to that, various tools were also integrated into the database. Six records were fed into ICONBASE, which could be searched, browsed, indexed, statistically analyzed, etc.

The paper dealt with the following topics:

A. Problem Areas of Iconographic Research

1. Vast amount of iconographic data:

The amount and complexity of iconographic material requires a more sophisticated tool of research than the commonly used card file system with its dependency on the associative abilities of individual scholars. The steadily growing amount of archaeological findings has not only increased the available iconographic data, but also

the interest in iconographic studies as a means of gaining insights into the cultural-historical and religious world of the Ancient Near East. Unfortunately, the average researcher encounters various problems in sifting this flood of iconographic information, since most iconographic reference systems work with the card file method. The problem of this method lies in the fact that the iconographic object usually has a much higher and more sophisticated information content than the card file system could possibly cope with when a complex search procedure is asked for. For that reason, the researcher is often restricted by his own associative capabilities, including the possible danger of overlooking an important piece of information.

2. Inconsistency in the descriptive process:

The description of the iconographic object determines the result of the iconographic research to a large extent. This requires a detailed, but also systematic description procedure. In current iconographic research, there is no general description method used. Most iconographic descriptions give a shorter or longer text summary of the object's features, expecting the researcher to view an accompanying picture. However, this inconsistent method of describing becomes problematic in two ways: on the one hand, if a certain object is searched for, and the description - on which the search is based - is inadequate, the locating the object will become rather difficult, and, on the other hand, it may lead to the danger of describing the object in a rather superficial way. Any inconsistent and superficial description of the iconographic object will be reflected in the result of the iconographic research.

B. Contribution of a Picture Database towards a Solution

The application of an electronic image database in relation to pictorial data has been introduced to a number of different fields of science, e.g. art libraries and museums,¹

¹ One of the earliest museums ventures was undertaken by the *Museum of Fine Arts* in Boston, January 1980. (Sorkow, 1983:27-41)

libraries,² medicine,³ and others. It seems to be due time to apply the graphical possibilities of the computer also to the field of iconography. For this purpose, with the help of the programming tool MATRIX LAYOUT, and with the assistance of the Department of Semitic Languages and Cultures at the University of Stellenbosch, ICONBASE, a picture database for iconographic research with special emphasis on miniature art was developed.

1. Efficient handling of the iconographic data

The objectives of ICONBASE are the following:

(1) The storage of iconographical data. Each record consists of three components, i.e. the image, its descriptive data, and its associated bibliographical references. The images are imported into the database via high resolution black and white scanning, whereas one photograph and one line drawing are scanned for each record. For the scanning a PCX format is used which is then converted to the ICONBASE format PCT. The size of the image corresponds to the size of one fourth of a computer screen, so that four different images could be viewed at the same time. It is also the optimal compromise between memory space and display quality. The descriptive data of the object under question is entered into the database in accordance with a standardized method with the help of classified index lists. Bibliographical and pictorial references can be added, whereas a general bibliographical key list is provided, to which reference is made in an abbreviated (Harvard) bibliography form. The references are added on the general information level.

(2) The retrieval of large amounts of pictorial and descriptive data under various search criteria, in order to create optimal preconditions for the iconographic interpretation.

²*Library of Congress* was one of the federal agencies of the U.S. Government that pioneered image systems as early as 1979. Its current project, *Optical Disk Pilot Program* involves two aspects: (1) the scanning, storage, and retrieval of images in black and white; (2) a database including 50,000 images that can be accessed by browsing the images and then calling up the descriptive data or by searching the descriptive data and then retrieving the associated images. (Lunin, 1987:198)

³ E.g. computer-assisted tomography (CAT, CT).

The images are searched via the associated descriptive data, a method used by most picture databases. A graphical search procedure has not yet been fully developed⁴, so that the main emphasis has to lie on the improvement of standardized indexed subject lists and search procedures directed at the descriptive data.⁵ Says Lunin: "There will be a real need for a standardized indexing scheme that can do for image classification what the Dewey Decimal System did for knowledge classification." (Lunin, 1987:200) ICONBASE transfers this concept to the study of iconography, namely, in describing the iconographic object with the help of standardized index lists which are also used as criteria for the search procedure. This ensures a high level of consistency and encourages the researcher to study the object in a more detailed way. That means, ICONBASE works with more precise keywords, in contrast to the commonly used iconographic description with its free text summaries.

(3) The inclusion of a reference facility consisting of iconographic and related literature, as well as reference pictures. An integral part of iconographic research is the confrontation of the object with comparative material, therefore it is desirable to have a relevant comparative data within the database itself. This reference data can also be accessed during the search procedure.

2. A systematic approach to the descriptive process

"One of the main concepts of the syntactic approach to image analysis and pattern recognition is the idea of decomposing an image into sub-images that are simpler to analyze than the original image." (Lunin, 1987:193) Although this concept of image segmentation was used in an algorithm for image analysis, it nevertheless has the same relevance for the iconographic description process. The segmentation of the image is an

⁴ E.g. Chang and Fu (1981:13-21), Lin and Chang (1979:525-530).

⁵ Subject access in relation to image handling is discussed by Doszkocs and Nugent (1984:438-441, 443); a computer index of Classical Iconography is being classified by J. P. Small at the Rutgers State University of New Jersey. An information brochure entitled Computer Index of Classical Iconography can be obtained from IBM Academic Information Systems, 472 Wheelers Farm Road, Milford CT 06460, USA.

important methodological prerequisite for a systematic approach to the description process. In ICONBASE this segmentation is applied in the following way: each image is subdivided into its constituent elements, the Element description during which the attempt is made to classify each element according to general domains, e.g. figure, animal, plant, etc. A procedure comparable with the semantic approach to lexicography as found in Louw and Nida's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains. (Louw and Nida, 1989) A special class of elements are inscriptions that often appear on iconographic objects. An adequate iconographic description should include a treatment of the inscription in order to determine its value for the iconographic interpretation. ICONBASE provides an epigraphic facility for classifying linguistic data such as morphology, paleography, onomastica, historical contents, etc. After thus having classified the single element, the analysis of each element follows with the modification description. The Modification description can also be designated as an intra-element analysis, since the element itself is further described according to its modifications, e.g. figure - left arm, twisted, raised over head. The Modification description is also controlled by standardized index lists.

The structure of ICONBASE has been reflected in the description process employed in the catalogue of the present study. It is the future intention of the author to complete the computer program and store the material and results of the catalogue into the database.

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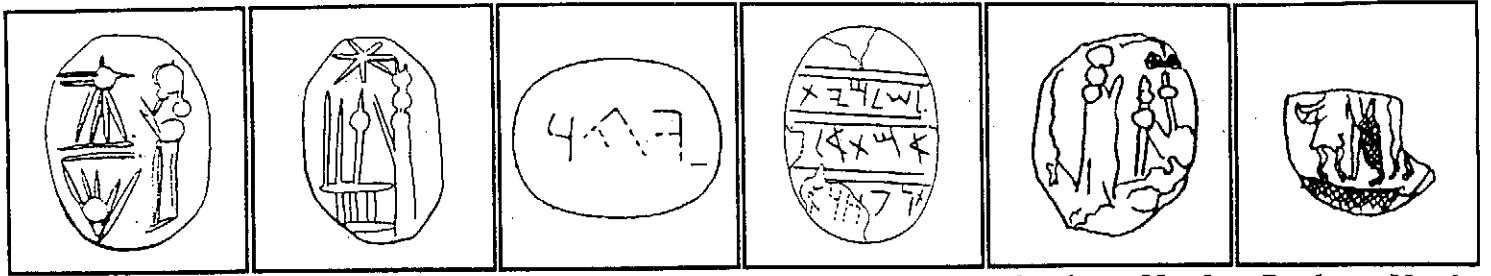
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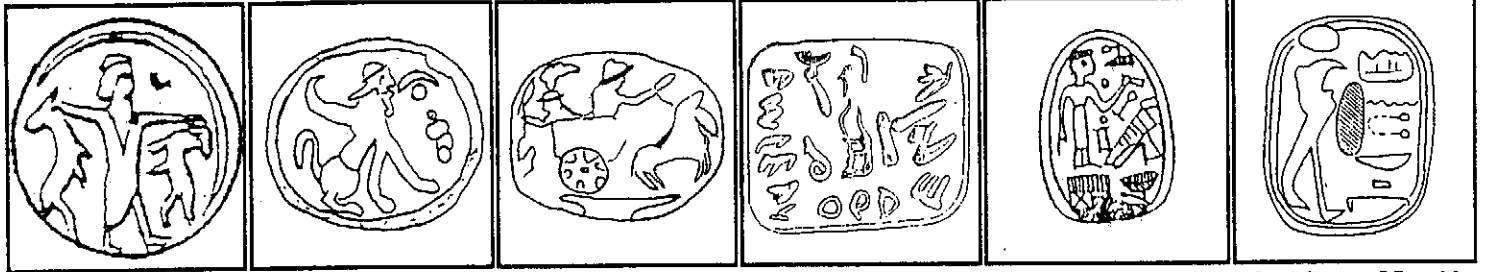
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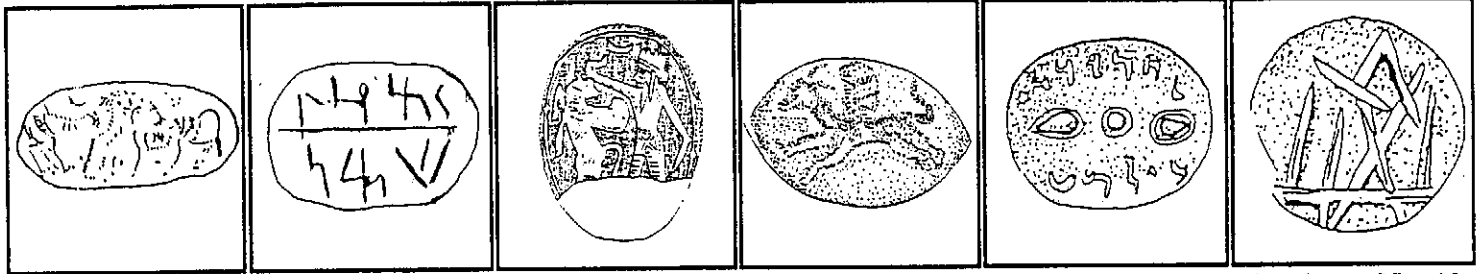
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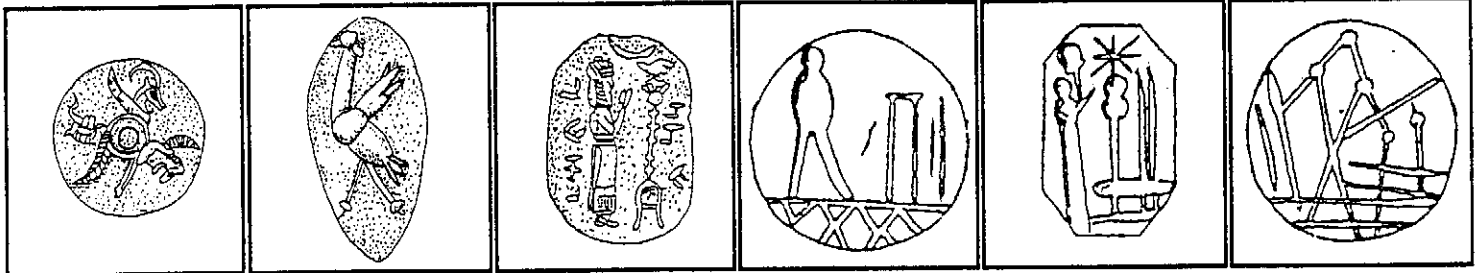
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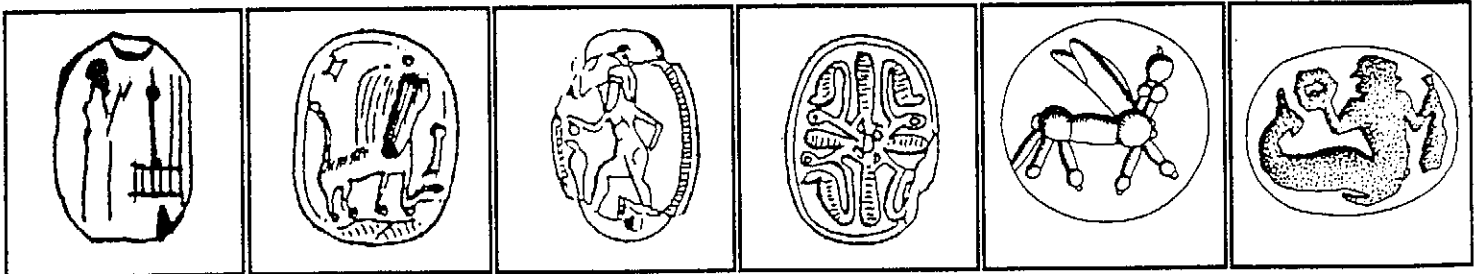
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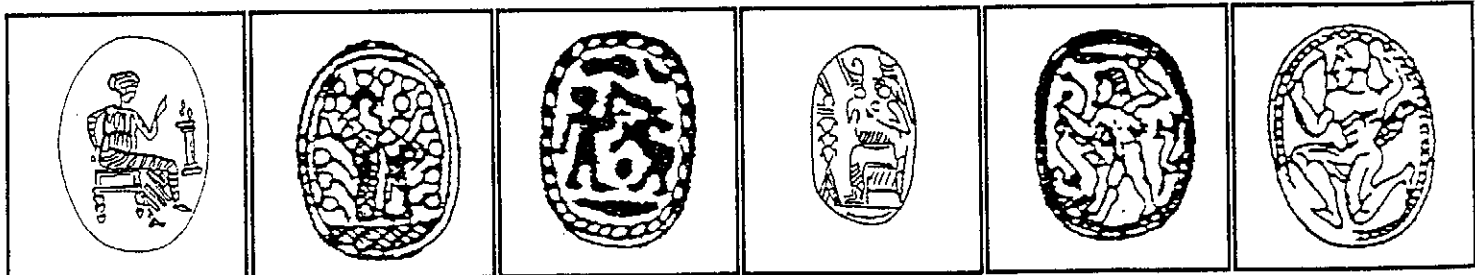
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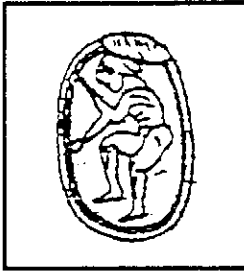
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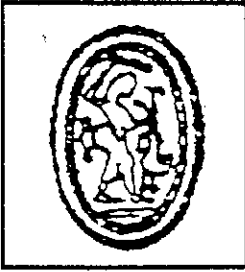
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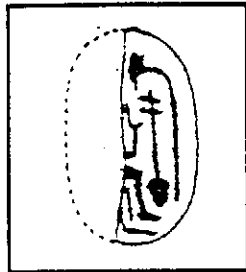
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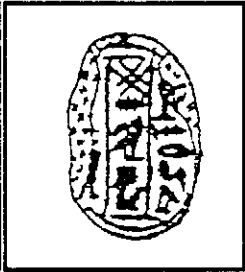
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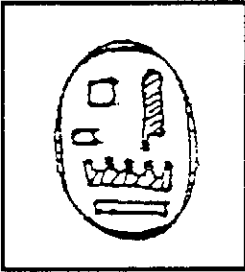
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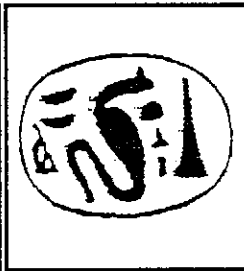
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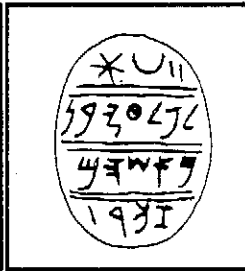
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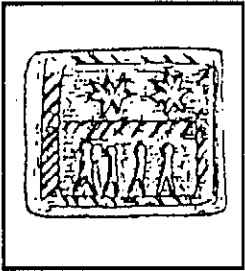
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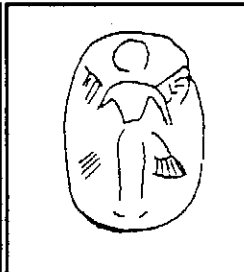
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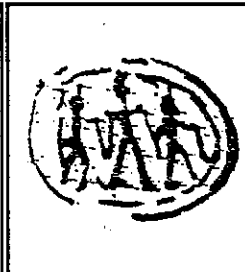
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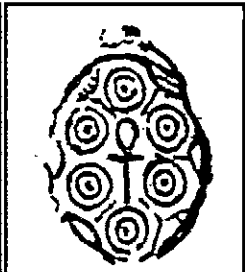
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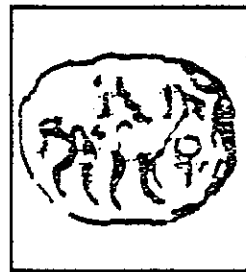
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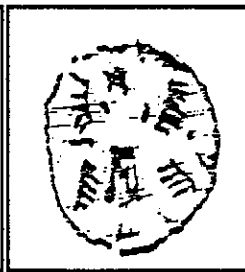
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