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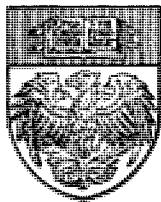
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**MATERIAL REMAINS OF THE
MEGIDDO CULT**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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VOLUME XXVI

MATERIAL REMAINS OF THE MEGIDDO CULT

By
HERBERT GORDON MAY
WITH A CHAPTER BY
ROBERT M. ENGBERG



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PREFACE

In this publication there is recorded a more or less specialized class of objects, excavated at Megiddo from 1926 to 1933. Its appearance has been made possible through the co-operation of the entire expedition staff. The greater part of the burden has fallen more directly on Mrs. Robert M. Engberg, who generously donated her services and who held herself responsible for almost all of the secretarial work involved, also assisting in many of the descriptions. Mr. Geoffrey M. Shipton, by taking charge of all the work of the recording department, assisted by Mrs. Robert S. Lamon, whose services were gratuitous, made possible concentration on this publication in the midst of a busy excavating season. Mr. Lamon has carefully checked the stratification of the various objects against the field records. My statements agree with his attributions, except in chapter ii, where certain problems are dealt with at length, and in a few special situations where I have indicated a larger but not contradictory range of possible dates. Since this manuscript was prepared, Mr. Lamon has carried further his studies of the stratigraphy of the mound (to be published in a later *OIP*), so that more exact data on some points mentioned here incidentally will doubtless be forthcoming. It must be understood that the stratum to which an object belongs is not necessarily the same as that of the locus with reference to which its find-spot is identified. Mr. T. A. L. Concannon has assisted with the plans and made the reconstruction of the Stratum IV "temple." The excellent illustrations are the product of Mr. Olaf E. Lind's skilful photography, with the result that the finer details of the objects are clearly reproduced—a most important factor, since we are dealing with objects representing the art of ancient Megiddo.

Gratitude must be expressed to the Department of Antiquities at Jerusalem for permission to browse through the storerooms of the museum in search of materials relating to this publication. Thanks are tendered especially to Professor W. F. Albright, director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, for his kindness in examining a preliminary form of the manuscript and for helpful suggestions regarding interpretation and bibliography. Sir Flinders Petrie gave full permission to reproduce illustrative material from Tell Fara and Tell el-Ajūl, some of which appears in Plates XXXIX–XL. Dr. F.-A. Claude Schaeffer also co-operated in a most helpful manner by offering for publication a Ras Shamra seal impression (our Fig. 13) which illustrates an important step in the development of tree-of-life designs. Mr. J. H. Iliffe of the Department of Antiquities at Jerusalem was much interested in the Ionic problem and furnished many bibliographical references. Other references and suggestions were given by Professors A. T. Olmstead and John A. Wilson, Dr. N. C. Debevoise, Dr. H. H. von der Osten, and Dr. I. J. Gelb.

It is difficult to express adequately appreciation for the manner in which Dr. Thomas George Allen has edited this manuscript; he has made many suggestions concerning form and content which have resulted in more exactness of detail and have increased the utility of the volume for both the scientific student and the general reader. It should also be stated that this publication is the product of individual research encouraged by the Director of the Oriental Institute, Professor James Henry Breasted.

H. G. MAY

CHICAGO
June 15, 1935

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- XXXVII. ANIMAL FIGURINES OF POTTERY AND HEMATITE
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA* Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908—).
- AAG* ANDERSON, W. J., and SPIERS, R. P. The architecture of ancient Greece . . . , rev. and rewritten by W. B. DINSMOOR (London, 1927).
- AASOR* American Schools of Oriental Research. Annual (New Haven, 1920—).
- AJSL* American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago, 1884—).
- BASOR* American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin (South Hadley, Mass., 1919—).
- BMEP* BLISS, F. J., and MACALISTER, R. A. S. Excavations in Palestine (London, 1902).
- BMMC* BLISS, F. J. A mound of many cities (New York and London, 1894).
- BP II* MACDONALD, E., STARKEY, J. L., and HARDING, LANKESTER. Beth-pelet II (*BSAE* LII [1932]).
- BSAE* British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account. Publications (London, 1896—).
- CFBA* VAN BUREN, E. DOUGLAS. Clay figurines of Babylonia and Assyria (Yale oriental series. Researches XVI [New Haven etc., 1930]).
- CMAO* CONTENAU, G. Manuel d'archéologie orientale I-III (Paris, 1927-31).
- DCPP* DUNCAN, J. G. Corpus of Palestinian pottery (*BSAE* XLIX [1930]).
- EPMK* EVANS, SIR ARTHUR. The palace of Minos at Knossos I-II (London, 1921-28).
- GAB* GRESSMANN, HUGO. Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927).
- GASE* GRANT, ELIHU. Ain Shems excavations I-II (Haverford, Pa., 1931-32).
- GPC* GJERSTAD, EINAR. Studies on prehistoric Cyprus (Uppsala, 1926).
- JPOS* Palestine Oriental Society. The journal (Jerusalem, 1923—).
- MCC* MYRES, JOHN L. Handbook of the Cesnola collection of antiquities from Cyprus (New York, 1914).
- MG* MACALISTER, R. A. S. The excavation of Gezer I-III (London, 1912).
- MJ* Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. The museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910—).
- OIC* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
- OIC No. 4* FISHER, CLARENCE S. The excavation of Armageddon (1929).
- OIC No. 9* GUY, P. L. O. New light from Armageddon (1931).
- OIC No. 14* OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930-31 (1933).
- OIC No. 16* FRANKFORT, HENRI. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad (1933).
- OIC No. 17* FRANKFORT, HENRI. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33 (1934).
- OIP* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
- OIP V* OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Explorations in Central Asia Minor, season of 1926 (1929).
- OIP VII* OSTEN, H. H. VON DER, and SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Alishar Hüyük, season of 1927. Part II (1932).
- OIP IX* Epigraphic Survey (HAROLD H. NELSON, field director). Medinet Habu II. Later historical records of Ramses III (1932).
- OIP XIX* SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Alishar Hüyük, seasons of 1928 and 1929. Part I (1932).
- OIP XXVIII-XXX* OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. The Alishar Hüyük, seasons of 1930-32. Parts I-III. (In press.)
- OTH* OPPENHEIM, MAX FREIHERR VON. Der Tell Halaf (Leipzig, 1931).
- PAG* PETRIE, W. M. F. Ancient Gaza I-III (*BSAE* LIII-LV [1931-33]).
- PEFA* Palestine Exploration Fund. Annual (London, 1911—).
- PEFQS* Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly statement (London, 1869—).
- PG* PETRIE, W. M. F. Gerar (*BSAE* XLIII [1928]).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PM	Objects thus designated are in the Palestine Museum.
QDAP	Palestine. Department of Antiquities. The quarterly (Jerusalem, 1931—).
SAOC	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931—).
SAOC No. 10	ENGBERG, ROBERT M., and SHIPTON, GEOFFREY M. Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery of Megiddo (1934).
SCWA	WARD, W. H. The seal cylinders of Western Asia (Washington, D.C., 1910).
S.D.	Sequence Date(s), as devised for predynastic Egypt by Sir Flinders Petrie.
STEM	SCHUMACHER, G. Tell el-Mutesellim I (Leipzig, 1908).
STT	SELLIN, ERNST. Tell Ta'anek (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse L 4 [1904]).
VC	VINCENT, HUGUES. Canaan (Paris, 1907).
WTEM	WATZINGER, CARL. Tell el-Mutesellim II (Leipzig, 1929).
WVDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).

I

INTRODUCTION

The materials here described do not all fall into the category of cult objects, although all are associated somehow with the religion of ancient Megiddo. For example, the "temple" discussion has naturally led to reference to the proto-Ionic capitals which were an architectural feature of the Stratum IV building. It is not claimed, however, that these capitals are intended only for shrines and temples; for the best examples belonged originally to the gateway (locus 1567) of a large lime-floored inclosure which we describe as a citadel but which Schumacher called a "palace court," the gateway structure being his "palace proper." In like manner the rhytons have been included not because they represent vessels necessarily employed at a shrine but because the discussion of figurines has led naturally to their inclusion, and because the animals illustrated by them are probably to be associated with the religious symbolism of ancient Megiddo.

Of late years there has been a tendency to decry the interpretation of archeological finds in terms of religion or the cult. Mother-goddess figurines become dolls; animal figurines and rattles become toys; and the snake, dove, tree, and pomegranate motives become pure decorations. This is perhaps a reaction against the earlier age which with little effort saw a *massēbāh* in every upright stone and a temple in the most ordinary building, and which interpreted every depression as a cupmark. There has perhaps also been a hesitancy in this matter through a dislike to imagine the Hebrew cult quite as polytheistic and syncretistic as would be indicated if these objects were considered a part of the cult. We cannot neglect the evidence of the Old Testament records, according to which the religious programs of most of the kings were reckoned evil in the sight of Yahweh, and the snake image to which sacrifices were made, the sacred prostitutes of the fertility cult, and sun worship were recognized parts of the temple cult in spite of a protest against them on the part of an idealistically minded minority. In other words, although there were the incomparable prophets with their monotheistic and high ethical standards, great personalities whom we reckon to the everlasting glory of Israel and as evidence of true divinity in mankind, the religion of the Hebrew populace was part and parcel of the religious culture of the Near East. It is with the material remains of this popular religion that this publication deals.

What this religion was like is being revealed by recent studies. Acknowledging its many ramifications, we may characterize it as a fertility cult. It was not a simple religion, for it had astral, lunar, solar, and vegetative aspects, and its deities were as numerous as the cities of Judah and Israel. We are much hampered by knowing little about its mythology and the attributes of its pantheon, although the newly discovered Ras Shamra tablets, the religious literatures of Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt, and discerning studies of the evidence from the Old Testament are making possible a more complete reconstruction of the cult of ancient Palestine.

Our collection falls primarily in the Iron Age, for the excavation of the tell has not proceeded very far into the earlier levels. A suggestion of what may lie below is available both from excavations at other sites and from the unusually large and representative group of tombs excavated on the eastern slope of the tell.¹ The evidence from these has been incorpo-

¹ These tombs are to be published in *OIP XXXIII*.

MATERIAL REMAINS OF THE MEGIDDO CULT

rated in this work. The pottery context of the objects here recorded is still to be published, with detailed plans and descriptions which will be useful for the further interpretation and analysis of these objects.

The determination of exact chronology at Megiddo, as at most other Palestinian sites, is very difficult. The lack of inscriptional materials and the broad date range of Late Iron Age pottery make this a knotty problem. The abbreviations used for the chronological periods are:

EB	Early Bronze.....about 3000-2000 B.C.	EI	Early Iron.....about 1200-1000 B.C.
MB	Middle Bronze.....about 2000-1500	MI	Middle Iron.....about 1000-600
LB	Late Bronze.....about 1500-1200	LI	Late Iron.....about 600-300

Each period is roughly divided into two parts, for example EB I and EB II, MB I and MB II, LB I and LB II. The transitional periods are indicated as follows:

E-MB	Early to Middle Bronze	E-MI	Early to Middle Iron
M-LB	Middle to Late Bronze	M-LI	Middle to Late Iron ²
B-I	Late Bronze to Early Iron		

Our strata are so designated that Stratum I represents the latest and very scattered sporadic population on top of the tell, which may perhaps be dated LI I onward. Stratum II seems to belong near the end of MI II. Stratum III³ is to be placed in the 8th century B.C. and perhaps partly within the 7th century. Stratum IV has two divisions—an earlier phase which is pre-Solomonic and probably Davidic and, as far as is known, consists of only a citadel (Schumacher's "palace court") on an otherwise unoccupied tell; and a later phase lasting from the time of Solomon to the end of the 9th or the middle of the 8th century B.C. Strata V and VI and at least part of VII fall within EI.⁴

The references to related objects found at other sites are not intended to be exhaustive. It is hoped, however, that sufficient parallels have been noted to assist in further study and to suggest the areas of interrelationships. The locus numbers, given in the legends of the plates after the registration numbers of the objects, refer to the expedition maps, which will be published later with the rest of the Megiddo objects and pottery.

The outline of this volume has been determined largely by the character of the materials involved. Arrangement is by types rather than in chronological order, though the latter has been observed within the types when practicable. The second chapter is concerned with interpretation of structures of Strata IV and V within the sacred area. The objects found there and

² This classification is that adopted by P. L. O. Guy for the work at Megiddo. The terminology is not completely accurate at this particular site, for only copper, not bronze, is yet known here from the EB period; see *SAOC* No. 10, pp. 40 and 54-56. However, bronze does seem to occur elsewhere in Palestine at that time; see *ibid.* p. 50.

³ Called "Sub-II" in *OIC* No. 9.

⁴ The evidence for these datings cannot be given in full at this point. The presence of stone palettes in Stratum I makes it probable that they belong at least in part within the 26th Egyptian dynasty, while 5th- and 4th-century lamps of so-called "Attic" ware give a *terminus ad quem*. The pottery and objects of Stratum II are reminiscent of the 26th Egyptian dynasty. It is possible that Stratum II was destroyed by Necho at the time of the death of Josiah. In this stratum was found the sherd inscribed "Belonging to Yo" discussed in *AJSL* L (1933/34) 10-14. An impression of a seal of Shabaka, no doubt belonging to Stratum III, helps date this level. The present writer is uncertain whether Stratum III or Stratum IV is the one to which should be assigned a seal of "Shema, servant of Jeroboam" (probably Jeroboam II; see S. A. Cook in *PEFQS*, 1904, pp. 287-91) found by Schumacher just inside the north wall of his "palace court" (see *STEM* pp. 96-100 and Pls. XXIX-XXX). Though the floor levels of Stratum IV inside this citadel are much higher than that given by Schumacher for his "palace" (the citadel gateway), they were apparently below the find-spot of this seal. The find-spot was, however, probably below the level of the top of the adjacent Stratum IV wall. Stratum IV had a relatively long duration. Its earlier phase, IV B, showing a culture similar to that of the main phase, represents perhaps an outpost constructed by David when he succeeded in gaining control of the Plain of Megiddo and ousting the Canaanites and Philistines, since we find this district in Hebrew hands upon the accession of Solomon to the throne. In Stratum VII a scarab of Ramses III and a bronze statue base of Ramses VI were found.

INTRODUCTION

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at other points on the site are treated in two large divisions. The first (chap. iii) includes sanctuary furnishings, such as altars and model shrines, and also the religious objects other than figurines. In view of our uncertainty, we have made no attempt to differentiate sanctuary furnishings from objects which may have been in more general use, such as chariot wheels, phalli, and pottery legs. The second division (chap. iv) is limited to human and animal figurines of various types, including zoomorphic vessels. It is recognized that the figurines may be classified as instruments of the cult, but they form such a large category that it was thought best to place them in a chapter by themselves.

Part of the final chapter, Mr. Engberg's study of the origin of the proto-Ionic capitals, is closely related to chapter ii. His discussion of tree designs on decorated pottery is associated with the interpretation of the Megiddo cult.

II

THE SACRED AREA AND THE PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS

THE SACRED AREA

The eastern side of the tell includes an area which, for the interpretation of the Megiddo cult, is the most significant locality yet excavated. Unfortunately it is also the most difficult section of the tell to interpret. No finality may be given to the conclusions drawn by the present writer, who has made abundant use of suggestions offered by others with whom he has discussed this problem. This area (see Pls. I-II) is some 75 meters long by about 50 meters wide at its greatest width, and in it are three structures which may be described as a building with upright stones (loci 1 A etc.), a long storehouse (loci 6-7 etc.), and a "temple" (loci 331-48). The last apparently had a dual function, serving not only as a sanctuary but also as a fortress (see pp. 8 f.).

Some of the difficulties of interpretation of this area are to be explained by the history of its excavation, which extends through more than two decades and for which the records are not always as clear as might be desired. Work in this area was begun in 1903 by Schumacher, who first identified the "Tempelburg."¹ It was further excavated in 1926 by Fisher, who has described briefly a "temple" and the long storeroom to the south.² The vicinity was then more completely cleared by Guy, whose account, dealing with only the substructure of Fisher's "Astarte temple," treats the earlier building as a house.³

Since the three buildings with which we are concerned were first uncovered and described, our knowledge of the pottery sequence at Megiddo has greatly increased, especially as regards the distinction between Strata IV and V. Study of the pottery from this area makes it clear that, though the "temple" substructure belongs to Stratum IV as indicated by Guy, the two structures toward the south belong to Stratum V. The pottery from the long storehouse⁴ shows the forms, the irregular hand-burnishing, the red wash, the bands of sepia decoration, and the color of the ware itself typical of Stratum V. Similar forms, ware, and decoration were found in the building with upright stones. Other Stratum V building remains (loci 318, 323, etc.) have been found between the "temple" and the Stratum IV city wall on the east, as well as west of Court 313. But the wall remains of Stratum V beneath the "temple" substructure are too scanty to indicate any building plan.^{4a} It is suggested that the Stratum V structure or structures at this point may have been razed when the "temple" was built. The presence of the storehouse hints of a larger Stratum V building in this area.

The plans of the Stratum IV "temple" (as we shall hereafter call for convenience what has been referred to above as the "substructure" of the later "temple") as published in this volume

¹ *STEM* pp. 110-24.

² *OIC* No. 4, pp. 68-74. The "walls of the Hebrew period" (*OIC* No. 4, Fig. 51) are among those re-used as foundations of "the 'Astarte Temple' in Stratum III" (*OIC* No. 4, Fig. 43). The main wall in *OIC* No. 4, Fig. 51, is that running south of Rooms 334-36 on our Pl. I, whereas Fig. 43 of *OIC* No. 4 is a view toward Room 340 from the east.

³ *OIC* No. 9, pp. 30-37. Cf. p. 5, n. 10.

⁴ Outline drawings of selected forms are given in *OIC* No. 4, Fig. 45, where the pottery is assigned to Stratum III.

^{4a} One Stratum V wall fragment, to be seen in Pl. I just inside the east wall of Room 340, proves that at least that room was not exactly superimposed on a room of Stratum V.

THE SACRED AREA AND THE PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS

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(Pls. I and VI) tell the story of its orientation and dimensions.^{4b} Its masonry has already been associated with that of the period of Omri and Ahab at Samaria; and its structural resemblance to the Jerusalem temple, described in I Kings 7:12 as having "three courses of hewn stone and a course of cedar beams," has been noted.⁵

In the course of his excavations in this area Schumacher discovered Room 340, the tower to the east (346–48), and the platform with the steps leading to it (341–45). Room 340, or rather a room which overlay it, he identified as the "temple proper," for there he found two *massēbōth*, one with a cupmark, the other with a depression in its top. These may be compared with the upright stones of the southerly building described below. The same room contained also a stone table and a stone with a circular depression, beside a layer of charcoal and animal remains,⁶ all suggesting use as a cult room.⁷ It is likely that Room 340 itself, which belonged to the Stratum IV "temple," had a similar function, for new temples often occupied sites already sacred (cf. pp. 9 f.). Furthermore, part of a pottery shrine, perhaps used as an incense altar, was found by Schumacher in the area west of Room 340.⁸ This and other pottery shrines found in the vicinity are useful in reconstructing the Stratum IV building, for they give valuable hints as to the architectural features of buildings of the period.⁹ When we consider these shrines in connection with the proto-Ionic capitals referred to below, our imagination reconstructs an imposing edifice (Pls. V–VI).¹⁰

The walls of the "temple"¹¹ consisted of stone piers of three courses of headers and stretchers alternating with rubble, forming a retaining wall or podium.¹² The stone piers and rubble rested on a rough stone foundation (Pl. VII);¹³ over them had been a course of cedar beams, above which rose the mud-brick superstructure.¹⁴ As found by Schumacher, this superstructure had been destroyed, and walls of stone inclosed the later room which overlay Room 340.¹⁵ The *massēbōth*, which stood "on rubble foundations 15 cm. below the paved floor of the room,"¹⁶ were aligned through the center of this later room and, like the terminal

^{4b} The west wall of Court 313, which does not enter into our discussion, is incompletely shown in Pl. I. The curve in O 13 represents the broken edge of a lime pavement.

⁵ *OIC* No. 9, pp. 35 f.

⁶ *STEM* pp. 111 f. and Pl. XXXVI.

⁷ But Watzinger (*WTEM* pp. 72 f.) calls this "temple" a dwelling, the stone with circular depression a mortar, and the charcoal etc. the débris of a hearth; the pillars are to him "monoliths . . . perhaps re-used."

⁸ In this publication Schumacher's finds and their significance are discussed only as far as necessary for understanding the buildings and objects herein described.

⁹ That the pottery shrines were contemporary with the Stratum IV "temple" seems likely for the reasons given on pp. 6–8.

¹⁰ Watzinger presents a reconstruction of the plan of this building as a "Wohnhaus salomonischer Zeit in Megiddo" (*Denkmäler Palästinas* I [Leipzig, 1933] Fig. 26). His hypothesis of a courtyard within the walls of the building (after Guy) and his location of the doorway on the northern face of the building near the northeast corner (after Schumacher) are, we think, less probable than the reconstruction suggested here. His inner court is theoretical, not based on definite evidence, and presents a most unusual form. As a glance at Schumacher's illustration (*STEM* Fig. 173) will show, his alleged doorway would be at least partly over the steps leading to the platform. The gap at this point, probably non-constructional, seems actually to occur in the Stratum II fortress wall which was here superimposed. *STEM* p. 115, however, claims that the "doorjambs" were retained in the later wall.

¹¹ The term "temple" alone regularly refers from here on to the Stratum IV "temple."

¹² That these three courses stood above ground is evident from the dressing of the blocks, the presence of an incised "shield of David" on a block of the lowest course (pp. 6 f.), and the structural similarity of the "temple" walls to the citadel retaining wall mentioned on p. 6.

¹³ See also *STEM* Pl. XXXVI.

¹⁴ See *OIC* No. 9, pp. 32–35, and notes by Mr. Concannon with Pl. V of the present volume.

¹⁵ *STEM* Pl. XXXVI and pp. 110 ff.

¹⁶ This floor, along with the *massēbōth* and all the other contents of the room, had disappeared before the Oriental Institute began its work here. The high level of this later room, which constituted Schumacher's "temple proper," is clear

stones of the dwarf wall within which they stood,¹⁷ were equidistant from its north and south walls.

That the rooms of the Stratum IV "temple" had their floors uniformly at the level of the tops of the piers is to be assumed, for a similar arrangement of piers of alternating headers and stretchers served as a retaining wall for the citadel at the south edge of the tell.¹⁸ Besides that analogy, there are no indications of doorways through the walls separating the various rooms (see Pl. I). If the floors had not been as high as the tops of the piers, so that doorways would have occurred in the lost superstructure, then a flight of steps on each side would have been necessary for surmounting each wall. Room 333, for example, would have required at least four flights of steps; and a visitor passing from outside the building by way of the porch into Room 336 would have had to use six or more stairways! No traces of such an awkward and inconvenient arrangement have been found.

On the south face of the south wall of Room 340, near the southeast corner (Pl. VII¹⁹), is incised a "shield of David" (Fig. 1). In view of the religious associations of this building, this sign may be interpreted as the symbol of the fertility goddess, whose model pottery shrines were so numerous in this district. The five-pointed "seal of Solomon" and the six-pointed "shield of David" are probably of astral origin,²⁰ with their roots in the fertility cult. This is confirmed in part by the occurrence of both a five- and a six-pointed star on an Astarte plaque from Tell es-Safi.²¹ The five- and six-pointed stars sometimes appear as symbols of the goddess on cylinder seals.²² The five-pointed star was a symbol for the Jerusalem temple also, for it occurs on sealings from the temple treasury with the letters בְּשָׁרֶר alternating with the apices²³ (5th century B.C.).

To be associated with the "temple" are five proto-Ionic capitals (pp. 10 f. and Pl. X) and in all probability three limestone horned altars (Nos. 2982–84, p. 12 and Pl. XII) and two pottery shrines (Nos. 2985–86, pp. 13 f. and Pls. XIII–XV). Since these altars and shrines were found in the vicinity of the storehouse and the building with upright stones,²⁴ both of which belong to Stratum V (see p. 4), at levels below the tops of the pillars of the building with upright stones, they too would normally be assigned to Stratum V. Fisher had assumed that these altars and shrines had "evidently been carried out of the building [his later 'Astarte temple'] and broken up when the temple was looted and burned",²⁵ but the question must be re-

from his publication. Mr. Lamon, who has carefully compared the remains still *in situ* with those shown in Schumacher's illustrations, finds that the stones which appear in the latter are not identical with any of those in the podium walls. The podium structure contained no doorway, such as is shown in *STEM* Figs. 169 and 171, nor did it lie as close to the mound surface. According to the same figures the doorway belonged to the same level as the pavement and the *māṣṣēbōth*. Hence these features were probably of the same later date as the stone superstructure, though it is conceivable that they were actually surviving elements of the Stratum IV "temple."

¹⁷ This dwarf wall connected the *māṣṣēbōth* and extended beyond them to within 1.10 m. of each end wall of the room. In the part between the *māṣṣēbōth* there was an opening. On its threshold and on the floor were vessels (*WTEM* p. 77) which had perhaps contained food offerings. This connecting wall may be compared with the traces of a connecting wall between the upright stones of the southerly building in the sacred area (Pls. VIII–IX). How high either wall rose originally is uncertain. Above Room 340 the southern terminal stone was 1.20 m. high as found, compared to heights of 2.20 and 2.13 m. respectively for the *māṣṣēbōth*. It is improbable that the dwarf wall in the later "temple" rose to the tops of these pillars or that in the building with upright stones would have covered up the cupmarks mentioned on p. 10.

¹⁸ See *STEM* p. 92, Fig. 136, and Pl. XXIX; cf. our pp. 1 and 2, also n. 2 of description accompanying our Pl. V.

¹⁹ Cf. *OIC* No. 9, Fig. 24.

²⁰ Cf. references in S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930) pp. 213 f.

²¹ *BMEP* Pl. 67, No. 15 s.

²² *SCWA* Nos. 413, 360, 550, etc.

²³ See E. L. Sukenik in *JPOS* XIII (1933) 226–31 and Pl. XVII.

²⁴ *OIC* No. 4, pp. 70 f.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 71.

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examined, since it is now known that neither Fisher's "temple" nor the podium structure of Stratum IV is contemporary with the storehouse and the building with upright stones (see p. 4).

Though certainty may never be achieved on this issue, several considerations make Fisher's conclusion still probable. We must, however, apply it to the Stratum IV "temple." There is little doubt that the proto-Ionic capital found between the building with upright stones and



FIG. 1.—A "SHIELD OF DAVID." INCISED DOUBLE TRIANGLE ON SOUTH WALL OF STRATUM IV "TEMPLE" NEAR SOUTHEAST CORNER

The stone is so weathered that inked lines have been added here to make clear the design. An unretouched photograph was published in *OIC* No. 9, Fig. 25.

the storehouse (Pls. IV and X)²⁶ belongs with the other four capitals, the relationship of which to the Stratum IV structure is accepted by Guy and Lamon. That capital was found near the pottery shrines and not far from the horned altars, which may then likewise have been cast out of the "temple." There is indeed no other likely source for the three horned altars, for, though they lay nearest the building with upright stones, it seems improbable that so small a structure would have contained so many. The altars had been shattered by heat and discolored by fire (Fig. 2), and we know that the "temple" had been burned.²⁷ The fires may have been simultaneous, although it must be remembered that the Stra-

²⁶ First illustrated *op. cit.* Fig. 50; now in the Oriental Institute Museum.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 70. The fact that "the black traces were on the top of the fine Israelite masonry [i.e., that of the podium], but not upon the sides," is to be explained by the presence of the cedar beams directly above it. The top of the masonry was discolored when the beams burned.

tum V storehouse also had been destroyed by a conflagration.²⁸ A better proof of the date of these horned altars is the fact that they are quite different from altar M 5331 (Pl. XII), which was actually found in Stratum V. The latter may represent a more primitive type; it lacks an expansion above the molding, has differently shaped horns, and is much less finely finished.

The date of the pottery shrines is suggested by the greenish yellow ware and the red wash, which are characteristic not of Stratum V but of Stratum IV pottery. More significant perhaps are the volutes in the upper corners of the façade of shrine No. 2986 (Pls. XIII–XIV). These are conventionalized proto-Ionic capitals; they point to a building decorated with such capitals, for the shrine may be taken as a rough model of a building known to the people of the period in which the model was made.²⁹

The obvious association is with the near-by “temple,” to which presumably belonged the actual capitals found in the vicinity. Similar volutes as well as other motives of No. 2986 recur on an incense altar found at Ta'anach (see p. 15) amid pottery resembling that of Stratum IV or later at Megiddo.³⁰

The low level at which objects we would assign to Stratum IV were found might be explained variously. The Stratum V ruins of the storehouse and of the building with upright stones may well have risen higher than the intervening space wherein one capital and the shrines were found. Or the Stratum IV people may have felt it necessary to cover up the pillars of the building with upright stones, so that they would not project above ground. The dirt for this project would naturally have



FIG. 2.—LIMESTONE ALTARS AS FOUND

been taken from the vicinity and might thus have lowered the areas in which these objects and the altars were found.³¹

The “temple” has certain features indicative of use both as a sanctuary and as a fortress. It stands perhaps as a symbol of the close relationship between “church and state” at Megiddo in its day—such a relationship as existed among the Hebrews according to the biblical accounts. The southern part of the building (Rooms 338–40) may be compared with the two

²⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 69.

²⁹ The field record of this shrine gives its find-spot as “Q 13 III 1.75 m. × [corner] S. of Rm. I/9.” The depth and locus would suggest that the object was found in Room 6 of the storehouse, with the pottery of Stratum V; but this is clearly not implied in *OIC* No. 4, pp. 70 f. However, one fragment of a pottery shrine, possibly a part of No. 2986, is actually recorded as having come from a room within the storehouse.

³⁰ See *STT* Fig. 108; note esp. the false-spout jug in center.

³¹ The areas concerned were excavated at a time when sickness was prevalent among the members of the expedition. With this handicap it was impossible to make as complete records as usual, so that absolute certainty of interpretation is unattainable.

roughly contemporary Israelite temples found by Badè at Tell en-Nasbeh (Mizpah?).³² In both of these there was a long room at the right, with parallel rooms extending at right angles to it on the left. The long axes of these groups of rooms at Megiddo and also at Tell en-Nasbeh (in at least the one case where a plan is furnished) lie more or less northwest-southeast. Rooms 338–39 at Megiddo may have served as rooms to which the common people were admitted. Entrance to these rooms may have been from the large court west of the building. Rooms 331–37 to the north may have been occupied by the temple attendants, the resident military officer, and/or the temple guard.

Equipped as it was with a tower, the Megiddo “temple” would have been most effective in guarding the sacred area, and perhaps the adjacent stables, and could have served as a place of last resort in case of the destruction of the city. Many parallels for such use might be mentioned; but perhaps Judges 9:46 is the best. It says that the citizens of the Tower of Shechem took refuge in the temple of Elberith (“the God of the Covenant”) after the city had been taken. II Kings 11:4 ff. gives a clear picture of the Carian mercenaries who guarded the Jerusalem temple. They were sufficiently numerous so that with their aid Jehoiada was able to seize control of the government for the youthful Joash; and Jehoiada made his campaign from the temple, which was apparently used as an armory also.³³ In A.D. 70, when Titus captured Jerusalem, one of the last points of retreat and resistance was the Temple.³⁴ The association of military affairs with the temples is to be expected in the light of such institutions as the Ark, which was the processional and oracular instrument of Yahweh of Armies³⁵ and was kept in the innermost sanctuary at the successive religious centers of his people’s life. Even goddesses were often reckoned as patronesses of war; Astarte and Anath are described by Ramses III as his shield.³⁶

The military function of the “temple” must not, however, be overemphasized. The building is hardly situated ideally for military purposes; for its tower, though close enough to the city wall to overlook it, is not close enough to be of direct assistance in defending the city as a whole.³⁷ In any event the plan of the building is such that it can hardly be explained as the official residence of the governor of the Megiddo district.³⁸ There is neither a central court nor any room which would seem suitable for a pretentious reception room or audience hall such as one might expect. West of the gateway and also on the south side of the city are larger buildings, one of which may have been the residence of the chief official.³⁹

The presence of a sanctuary at Megiddo in the MI period is a most natural thing, and the “temple” is the only structure which can by any reasonable assumption be classified as a sanctuary. If the two buildings to the south belonged to the sacred area of Stratum V, then it

³² W. F. Badè, *Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh, 1926 and 1927* (Palestine Institute Publication No. 1 [Berkeley, Calif., 1928]) pp. 30 ff. and Fig. XII, and *PEFQS*, 1930, pp. 12 f. A rather dubious 22d dynasty parallel at Tell Jemmeh (*PG* p. 6 and Pl. IX) is accepted as a temple by J. G. Duncan, *Digging up Biblical History* (London, 1931) II 117.

³³ Cf. I Sam. 21:8.

³⁴ See Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* VI iv 4–5.

³⁵ Cf. I Sam. 4:3 ff.

³⁶ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV (Chicago, 1906) § 105.

³⁷ The small buildings between the “temple” tower and the city wall, both of Stratum IV, belonged to Stratum V. Hence use of their roofs as ramparts adjoining the wall, with a staircase leading up to them from the “temple” platform (the reconstruction offered in *OIC* No. 9), would have been impossible.

³⁸ Solomon’s officer Baana had charge of Ta-anach, Megiddo, Beisan, etc., according to I Kings 4:12.

³⁹ The foregoing considerations were in part suggested by Professor A. T. Olmstead, who has always recognized that in view of the finds of Schumacher and Fisher this building probably had some religious associations. He would now modify the description of its function presented in his *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York and London, 1931) p. 345, which was based on the data given in *OIC* No. 9, pp. 30 ff.

would be natural to place the sanctuaries of Stratum IV and of later times above this area, even as Solomon built his temple at a spot which seems to have been a sanctuary before the Hebrews took possession of Jerusalem and which is today crowned by a Moslem mosque.

The upright stones in the southerly building of Stratum V (Pls. VIII-IX) may be called *maṣṣēbōth* with as much validity as any found at Megiddo. Though it cannot be dogmatically maintained that they are *maṣṣēbōth*, various facts make that interpretation probable. The construction of the building is extremely unusual, suggesting special importance. It must also be recognized that these upright stones are not easily explained as simple roof supports. Why should such a small edifice be supported by such massive pillars? None comparable is found in even the larger buildings near by. The smaller upright stones in the vicinity may be explained as door jambs or, in some cases, as stable stones with tie-holes. If these large pillars were purely constructional, one might perhaps expect them to be more symmetrically arranged. As roof supports they are not high enough, unless completed with other stones placed above them; and certainly such a small building would not need all this support for the roof. Furthermore, what is the explanation of the cupmarks found in three of these pillars? If they were roof supports, were they at the same time sacred pillars?

In the row of upright stones on the north side of the central room there are three cupmarks: the last pillar to the east has a shallow cupmark on its eastern face, while the adjoining pillar has a larger one on the same side about 15 cm. in diameter and 20 cm. deep; the last pillar to the west in this row has a cupmark on its western face about 10 cm. in diameter and 8 cm. deep. The pillars are of varying height, those in the northern row averaging about 1.70 meters while those in the southern row are about 1.45 meters in height. They are all irregularly squared and of varying dimensions, averaging about 50×40 cm.

The original presence of a Stratum V temple to the north under the Stratum IV "temple" can be only assumed, not proved. But the assumption is not entirely unlikely, since there are analogies for the presence of two temples, one to a god and the other to a goddess, at the same site. This was the case at Beisan⁴⁰ and at Tell en-Nasbeh.⁴¹ The building with upright stones, if we are correct in seeing here a shrine, would perhaps have been the sanctuary of the god rather than the goddess; for the male deity was manifest in the pillars of stone, whereas the female symbol was the *wašerdh*. The Stratum IV "temple" may have served for both god and goddess, as the Jerusalem temple seems to have done.⁴²

Besides the numerous objects of cult significance from this area recorded in this publication, there were many fayence amulets and several gazelle horns (not illustrated). The latter may have served as votive objects, for the gazelle was the sacred animal of Resheph (*ršp*), appearing on his forehead,⁴³ and Resheph was known as the lover of Astarte.⁴⁴ The gazelle was also sacred to Isis at Koptos.

THE PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS

Five proto-Ionic capitals found in débris (Pl. IV) or re-used in later structures (Pl. III) presumably belonged to the "temple." One of them was excavated and published by Schumacher.⁴⁵ Of the four discovered by the Oriental Institute (see Pl. X for an example) one

⁴⁰ Alan Rowe in *MJ* XVIII (1927) 415 ff. and XIX (1928) 145 ff., esp. p. 156; also Alan Rowe and L. H. Vincent in *PEFQS*, 1931, pp. 12 ff., esp. p. 19.

⁴¹ See Badè in *PEFQS*, 1930, pp. 12 f.; cf. Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 298 f.

⁴² Cf. the presence of the *wašerdh* and of sacred prostitutes. The latter participated in the activities symbolizing the marriage rites between the god and the goddess. See II Kings 18:4 and 23:4-7.

⁴³ [The gazelle appears also following the god, who leads the animal by a cord.—Ed.]

⁴⁴ See W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I (Washington, D.C., 1906) 32-33.

⁴⁵ *STEM* pp. 119 f. and Fig. 178.

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capital was worked on both sides, but is now badly weathered; the engraving on one of the faces may represent a preliminary, unsuccessful attempt of the artist. In reconstructing their positions in the "temple" it was thought least hypothetical to consider these capitals as belonging to pilasters decorating the door jambs, after the analogy of a tomb doorway at Tamas-sos, Cyprus.⁴⁶

It is extremely likely that more of these capitals were used in the "temple" than have yet been found; for the tell has not been completely cleared to the "temple" stratum, and further excavation might reveal other specimens in this stratum or re-used in walls of upper strata.⁴⁷

Two larger capitals similar in design (Pl. XI), at least one of which had been re-used in the stratum above, belonged originally to the citadel gateway. Both should be assigned to the early part of Stratum IV, being earlier than the stables and perhaps from the age of David.

⁴⁶ AAG Pl. XVI.

⁴⁷ The possible origin of these capitals is discussed on pp. 39-42.

III

INSTRUMENTS OF THE CULT

LIMESTONE ALTARS

The horns of the altars for animal sacrifice had an important function in the blood rites,¹ but the altars of incense² also had horns. There is insufficient room on the Megiddo altars for an animal sacrifice, and the suggestion that they are altars of incense may be accepted. The dimensions of the altar of incense in the Old Testament differ not too greatly from the measurements of our altars (Pl. XII). The biblical altar of incense measured one cubit square and two cubits high, while M 4555 and M 5154, which are not very symmetrically hewn and are somewhat crudely fashioned, measure 24×22×35 cm. and 30×28×47 cm. respectively. M 5331 measured irregularly 34×25×38 cm. It may be significant that No. 2984 is almost exactly twice as high as it is wide. M 5154 does not have horns.

That the horns occasionally served to hold the bowl of incense is evident from a small limestone altar from Nineveh, referred to by Albright, in which a bowl carved out of the same piece is held by the four horns as in much later Hellenistic altars which he cites.³ In M 4555 and M 5154 the surface of the altar itself was used for incense, for their top surfaces are much discolored by fire. M 5331, however, has no such discoloration. This detail cannot be determined in the other specimens, since all their surfaces were much blackened by a conflagration.

As has been suggested by others, it is possible that the projecting ledge found on the limestone altars⁴ is the **תְּמִימָה** of the biblical incense altars.⁵ It was pointed out by Ingholt that the word **תְּמִימָה** signifies an altar of incense, and Albright suggested that the horned altars as we have them today were a part of the cult of *bēdlim* rather than instruments of Yahweh-worship. Upon seeing our pottery shrines Albright thought that they would fall under the same category and title. Certainly, if the context in which our limestone altars were found be taken into consideration, they belong definitely to the fertility cult. Just how much of the Yahweh cult was fused into the syncretistic worship at Megiddo is, of course, uncertain. That such a syncretism did exist has been shown by recent studies.⁶

If the prototype of the horns of the altar was an actual horn,^{6a} then association is no doubt to be made with the bovine motive which is so prominent in all the religions of the Near East and which recalls the calf idols of the Old Testament records. A horned goddess (Ashtoreth-Karnaim), as found represented in bronze at Gezer, has indeed become one of the best known figures in Palestinian archeology.⁷

¹ Cf. Lev. 4:34 etc.

² Exod. 37:25 ff.

³ *JPOS* IX (1929) 52.

⁴ See H. M. Wiener, *The Altars of the Old Testament* ("Beigabe zur Orientalistischen Literatur-Zeitung" [Leipzig, 1927]), reviewed by Albright (unsigned) in *JPOS* IX 50–54; Max Löhr, "Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament" (*Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft* IV [Halle (Saale), 1927] 155–91).

⁵ Wiener, *op. cit.* p. 30; Albright, *op. cit.* p. 52.

⁶ W. C. Graham, "Some Suggestions toward the Interpretation of Micah 1:10–16," *AJSL* XLVII (1930/31) 237–58; S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1933); H. G. May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea," *AJSL* XLVIII (1931/32) 73–98.

^{6a} On horns cf. Cook, *op. cit.* pp. 29–31 and 126.

⁷ See *PEFQS*, 1903, Pl. IV 12 and p. 227. A stele dedicated to Ashtoreth-Karnaim was found in the Amenhotep III temple at Beisan; see Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan* ("Publications of the Palestine Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania" I [1930]) Pl. 48, No. 2.

As far as can be determined, horned altars are limited to the western part of the Near East. They are absent in Mesopotamia, with the exception of one from Nineveh (Kuyunjik), found by R. C. Thompson, which may be considered an importation. Doubtful prototypes come from Asia Minor and Egypt.⁸ In the Copper Age and Early Bronze Age strata at Alishar were found pairs of crude pottery horns⁹ which Schmidt suggested might represent "horned altars." He compared them to "horns of consecration" known in Crete and the Aegean and apparently in Egypt in prehistoric times.¹⁰ Associated with what is described as a typical Minoan and Mycenaean altar base is a miniature altar of the MM II period from Knossos. It is surrounded by pairs of sacral horns;¹¹ compare the altar with sacral horns as an architectural feature above a miniature gold shrine from Mycenae.¹²

A limestone altar comparable to ours in respect to horns and size, but apparently with plain sides, was found at Gezer re-used in the foundation of a building of about 600 B.C.¹³ Of two limestone horned altars found by Sellin at Balata (ancient Shechem),¹⁴ one was quite similar to ours, being more or less a combination of M 5154 and the horned variety. Both are certainly pre-Exilic, probably of the 8th-7th century B.C. Albright reports a horned altar of limestone from Stratum B at Tell Beit Mirsim (probably biblical Debir or Kiriathsepher) dated 12th-10th century B.C., probably nearer the latter. It is described as originally painted red.¹⁵

Limestone incense altars of an entirely different type are reported from Gezer, Gerar (modern Tell Jemmeh), and Beth Pelet (modern Tell Fara).¹⁶ These are very small and are incised with crude animal drawings and geometric decorations. Those from Gerar are dated by Petrie about 700-500 B.C.¹⁷ The ones from Gezer are very similar, but are dated by Macalister in the "Hellenistic" period, about 500-100 B.C., although one specimen is earlier.¹⁸

POTTERY SHRINES

Remains of at least two pottery shrines (Nos. 2985-86) were found. They probably belonged to Stratum IV (cf. pp. 6-8). Shrine 2986 has been restored with the aid of plasticine (Pl. XIII). Only those details which could be reproduced with some degree of assurance are illustrated, with the result that only the general aspect of the shrine is represented. Since it was uncertain how fragments Nos. 4, 5, and 6 (Pl. XIV) fitted into the original pattern, they have been omitted. There is some doubt whether No. 5 formed a part of this shrine, for there is a slight difference in the ware, although the burnishing and wash are identical, and it would demand almost impossible proportions.

The ware is yellow and gray, with a light red wash which is closely burnished. The walls rise above the roof level, the line of which is indicated by a single molding. The edges of the walls above the roof are fashioned as a double molding. The lower apertures of the front and sides are windows or doors, with frames represented by incised lines. The small circular openings above are possibly pigeonholes for the sacred birds of the cult. The reconstruction of the upper part of the center of the façade is purely theoretical. A female sphinx stands at each corner. Her hair falls in two long coils on either side of the face over the ears. The crown of the headdress is a narrow tiara with vertical bands; it may be a later variation of the tiara

⁸ Cf. J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie* II (Paris, 1910) 472-79, for possible examples elsewhere.

⁹ *OIP* XXVIII 207 and 270; called "andirons or spit-supports" by von der Osten.

¹⁰ *OIP* XIX 202 and Fig. 261; P. E. Newberry in *AAA* I (1908) 24-29.

¹¹ *EPMK* I 221 and Fig. 166.

¹² *EPMK* II 187 and Fig. 100.

¹³ *MG* II 424 and Fig. 507.

¹⁴ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XLIX (1926) 232-33 and Pl. 31.

¹⁵ *JPOS* IX 52.

¹⁶ *BP* II, Pls. LXXXVIII 14 and XCIII 662 (cf. Pl. XC).

¹⁷ *PG* pp. 18-19 and Pls. XL-XLI.

¹⁸ *MG* II 443-45 and Figs. 524-26. See K. Galli in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* LII (1929) 247 f.

found on earlier plaques (cf. No. 598 on Pl. XXXI). The headdress may also be compared with that of a female sphinx on a Tell Halaf relief.¹⁹ The eyebrows and the outlines of the eyes are deeply incised, and the pupils are inlaid with limestone. The mouth is quite wide, the lips are thick, and the nose is fractured. In view of the Tell Halaf analogues, one hesitates to call the art Egyptian. Perhaps it might as well be called Canaanite or Hebrew. The shoulders and knees are prominent, and a central ridge between the legs runs the height of the body. Incised lines mark the claws. The body is that of a lion. Some of the detail of the legs is seen in the side view (Pl. XIV 1). On each upper front corner of the façade, just above the goddess and below the cornice, is a proto-Ionic volute, a feature of which is an interrupted border or fringe outside the outer curve of the volute (clearer in Pl. XIV 2). This is a consistent feature of the proto-Ionic volute of Palestine, as illustrated in both the smaller and the larger proto-Ionic capitals from Megiddo (Pls. X–XI).

The details of the side may have been more complex than the reconstruction indicates. An unplaced fragment (Pl. XIV 4) has near the pigeonhole a hatched mold or relief which may even be a snake motive. In the middle of the side wall was a male sphinx, quite different from the female sphinxes on the façade. His headdress, clearer in the parallel figure from the opposite side of the shrine (Pl. XIV 3), is conical with a tab attached to either side and a small knob on top, with another knob (both partly reconstructed in the parallel figure) in the center of the forehead. Unlike the fragment used in the reconstruction, the parallel figure has an illegible seal impression above the forehead. It is uncertain whether the headdress is a conventionalized *ȝtf*-crown plus sun disk, such as is worn frequently by Osiris,²⁰ or whether it is an elaboration of the usual Syro-Palestinian conical headdress of deities.²¹ The huge eyebrows are in relief, the protruding eyes are outlined with incised lines, and the nose is broken off. There is no central ridge running the height of the body between the legs as in the female sphinxes on the façade. In the rear wall there is but one large aperture, with incised lines marking the frame; it may have been either a window or a door. This shrine probably served as an incense altar, as the inside face of the part of the walls projecting above the roof is discolored by smoke.

Pottery shrines are now fairly common objects. One from Dali, Cyprus, has a human-headed bird inside, faces of women (probably hierodules) peering from the two windows, and many pigeonholes nearer the top.²² Macalister reported an unusual shrine from the Second Semitic Period (1800–1400 B.C.) at Gezer; it is analogous to ours at least to the extent that there are two deities, seated in this instance, on the façade at the corners.²³ He also reported other fragments.²⁴ A rather complete votive pottery shrine of the MM II period with pillars, altars, and a portable seat or palanquin comes from Knossos.²⁵ A shrine of the early Christian era with a female figure inside, purporting to belong to a Hauran group and perhaps illustrating Zech. 5:5–11, is described by W. J. Moulton.²⁶ Compare with this a pottery figurine of the Roman period from Beisan²⁷ and a LM IIIb hut-urn from Crete.²⁸ An interesting stele comes

¹⁹ OTH Pl. 34 b.

²⁰ G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Ancient Egypt* II (London, 1883) Fig. 86, Osirid pier at Medinet Habu; again in OIP IX, Pl. 57.

²¹ See *Syria* X (1929) Pls. XXXII and LIII; cf. also GASE I, Pl. XLVII 42 (PM), and the stele of Amrit, illustrated by G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and Its Dependencies* (London, 1885) II, Fig. 7.

²² Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* I 287 and Fig. 208 (about 7th century B.C.).

²³ MG II 437–38 and Figs. 517–19.

²⁴ MG III, Pl. CLIV 9 and 13.

²⁵ EPMK I 221 and Figs. 166 and 225.

²⁶ AASOR I (1920) 83–85; cf. S. Marenof in *AJS* XLVIII 264–67.

²⁷ Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, Pl. 54, No. 2. Cf. an Egyptian naos of the same period with a goddess and lions, GAB Pl. CXVII 277.

²⁸ EPMK II 128 f. and Fig. 63.

from Tell Defenneh (Daphnae), Persian period or earlier, engraved as the façade of a temple, with a molding comparable to those of our specimens, columns with Ionic(?) capitals at either side, and a Syro-Phoenician religious scene with a god standing on a lion.²⁹ A votive model of a Hurrian shrine, made of brick, was found at Tell Billah;³⁰ it dates from the 2d millennium B.C.

The most remarkable Palestinian parallel comes from the vicinity of the temple of Ashtoreth at Beisan. It is a shrine decorated with lion, snake, and dove motives and belongs to the 19th dynasty.³¹ An incense stand also, found in the temple itself, bears modeled snake and dove figures.³² If, in spite of the lapse of time, Rowe is correct in associating models of shrines from Beisan with similar models from Assur dated 2700 B.C. or a little earlier,³³ then we are entitled to do the same with our shrine. One at least of four shrines from Assur has a detail which stands out sharply when compared with our shrine. This is an animal leg on each side of the façade; the cloven hoof suggests a bull's leg.³⁴ The lions on this shrine are also to be noted. Of other early shrines from Assur published by Andrae,³⁵ one³⁶ shows clearly an applied snake motive, which is to be compared with the similar motives on the Beisan shrine and incense stand. The triangular holes are also to be noted as possible pigeonholes. These triangular apertures must be compared to those so common on the incense stands (see Pl. XIX, P 3237). In the Beisan specimen at least the corresponding arched openings may represent pigeonholes, for doves are peering through them. We are at once reminded of the lofty dovecot where the birds live in the temple built by Gudea and described in his Cylinder A.³⁷ This is the temple in which the sacred marriage of Bau and Ningirsu took place.

There is a close relationship between the offering-stands and the pottery shrines, evident in the pigeonholes, the associated symbolism, and the fact that even the stands sometimes represent a very much conventionalized shrine or dwelling. This is discussed more in detail in the analysis of our offering-stands; but at this point reference must be made to an offering-stand found at Ta'anach, especially in view of its date as well as its symbolism and construction, which are closely paralleled by the pottery shrine No. 2986 from Megiddo. The Ta'anach offering-stand, or, as it is more often called, incense altar, is to be dated perhaps around MI II. Sellin puts it about 700 B.C. Like our shrine it is decorated with human-headed sphinxes (here with wings), with the heads at either side of the façade, and with the outlines of the bodies on the sides of the object. The sphinxes are interspersed with lions or lionesses. That these form a motive analogous to that found on our shrine is indubitable, in view of both their position and the fact that the representation is no doubt a conventionalized edifice. The most striking parallelism, however, is in the volutes at the upper corners of the façade. Although they have been variously interpreted, there can be little doubt that the assumption of Thiersch and others that they are to be associated with the Ionic capital is inevitable, even though the suggested association with a horn must be given up.³⁸

²⁹ Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Pl. 40; *GAB* Pl. CXLIV 354; cf. *CFBA* p. 119, No. 593, and Pl. XXXIII 159, a clay model of a god in his shrine, from Nippur, "2800 B.C."

³⁰ See *BASOR* No. 46 (1932) Fig. 4.

³² *Ibid.* p. 299.

³¹ *MJ* XVII (1926) 294.

³³ Rowe, *op. cit.* p. 19, n. 41.

³⁴ W. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischlar-Tempel in Assur* (*WVDOG* XXXIX [Leipzig, 1922]) Fig. 6 and Pl. 15; *CMAO* II 620 and Fig. 424.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* Figs. 5–6 and Pls. 13–17 and *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1930) Pl. IV.

³⁶ Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischlar-Tempel in Assur*, Pl. 14, reproduced in *GAB* Pl. CLXXVI.

³⁷ I. M. Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A & B of Gudea* II (Leipzig, 1927) 34, lines 7–8.

³⁸ For discussions of this Ta'anach object see *STT* pp. 75 ff. and 109–11 and Pls. XII–XIII; R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (New York and Chicago, 1925) pp. 290 ff.; *VC* pp. 181–83; *CMAO* III 1396; *GAB* pp. 114–15, No. 396; S. R. Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (London, 1909) pp. 84–85; S. A. Cook, *The Religion*

There are two other distinct types of pottery houses which should not be confused with the pottery shrines. The impetus for these two types comes from the Mediterranean rather than from the farther Near East. The first type is the "soul house," a type of mortuary furniture associated with offering-trays in their development and found in Egypt in great numbers in the 9th–12th dynasty cemetery at Rifeh.³⁹ It represents a secular house and served a function quite distinct from that of the pottery shrines. The other type is the hut-urn, frequent in early Italy as a mortuary object employed for containing the ashes of the cremated dead.⁴⁰ One is reported from Sweden.⁴¹ The traditions of the shrine and the hut-urn have curiously mingled in one LM IIIb specimen from Crete, a hut-urn with a figure of the mother goddess inside.⁴²

A word may be said at this point concerning the winged-sphinx motive, the origin of which has been assumed to have been largely in Egypt. Ideas on this subject may perhaps have to undergo great changes; for though Egyptian influences may be present the winged sphinx, quite certainly a cherub, has as definite Mesopotamian as Egyptian analogies. Not only is the winged bull called *lamassu* to be considered in thinking of origins of this type of figure,⁴³ but the veiled goddess appears perhaps as early as the 3d millennium in Mesopotamian art in the form of a winged sphinx.⁴⁴ Albright suggested to me that this represents a mother goddess. If so, it is extremely interesting that at Tell Halaf a winged sphinx with inlaid eyes appears as mother goddess on the façade of a temple. The date of this Tell Halaf relief is a matter of dispute, and Oppenheim's postulate of very early antiquity may have to be modified.⁴⁵

The closest contemporary analogies to the sphinxes on our shrine, which, by comparison with the Ta'anach incense altar or stand, we assume to have been winged, are found on ivory inlays from Arslan Tash⁴⁶ and Samaria.⁴⁷ With them at least the artistic influence is primarily Egyptian, or at least characteristic of Egypt. On the ivories from Arslan Tash a frequent motive is the winged sphinx, sometimes feminine with the face of Hathor, sometimes masculine with royal beard and double crown. It must be noted, however, that in style these sphinxes do not correspond very closely either with those on the Megiddo shrine or with those on the Ta'anach offering-stand. Solomon's temple also might be quoted as a parallel. On the leaves of its two doors and on both the inside and the outside walls were carved cherubs and palm trees and open flowers.⁴⁸ Our pottery shrine should be absolute confirmation of the nature of the cherubs.⁴⁹

of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology, pp. 61–62; *PEFQS*, 1904, p. 391; J. G. Duncan, *Digging up Biblical History* (London, 1931) II 99; *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts XXII (1907) 342 ff.; Marc Lods, "Autel ou réchaud? A propos du 'brûle-parfums' de Taanak," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* CIX (1934) 129–47, with a "Rapport" thereon by E. Pottier, *ibid.* pp. 147–48.

³⁹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (*BSAE* XIII [1907]) Pls. XV–XXII.

⁴⁰ See *EPMK* II 130 and D. Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig und Berlin, 1924) p. 41 and Fig. 30.

⁴¹ *EPMK* II 133, inset a.

⁴² *EPMK* II 128 f. and Fig. 63.

⁴³ P. Dhorme and L. H. Vincent in *Revue biblique* XXXV (1926) 328–58 and 481–95.

⁴⁴ See *OTH* pp. 96–103 and Pl. XI and *Syria* XIII (1932) 242–54. In this discussion we restrict the term "sphinx" to mean a human-headed figure with a lion's body.

⁴⁵ See Albright in *BASOR* No. 43 (1931) p. 23.

⁴⁶ F. Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, G. Dossin, and Maurice Dunand, *Arslan-Tash* (Paris, 1931) pp. 104–5 and Pls. XXX 29–30, XXXI 31–34.

⁴⁷ J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot in *PEFQS*, 1933, p. 13, No. 5, and Pl. I 2.

⁴⁸ I Kings 6:29–35.

⁴⁹ Cf. Dhorme and Vincent, *loc. cit.* The present writer hopes to publish soon a tentative interpretation of the ark as a model shrine.

Fragments of at least one incense shrine (Fig. 3) found by Schumacher west of Room 340⁵⁰ are contemporary with No. 2986. Though at the time Schumacher's find was not recognized as a model of a shrine, this classification cannot now be questioned. The inner ledge, which was interpreted as intended to hold a lid, can have been nothing but the remains of a roof, as in No. 2986. The cornice is simpler than that of No. 2986, being a single mold; but the features are directly comparable. Ends of roof poles projecting under the label molding are simulated on the two sides illustrated. The two small indentations below the pole ends and above one of the three rectangular windows resemble actual holes found on a similar fragment and described by Schumacher as "Schnurösen." They may be compared to the somewhat larger pigeonholes of No. 2986. The projecting roof poles, which are retained as a decorative motive in later stone edifices, are a characteristic feature of the Ionic style. They serve to make this shrine, and with it No. 2986, important illustrations of proto-Ionic architecture.⁵¹

The second shrine found by us at Megiddo had two apertures in both the front and the back, and one on either side. Two incised label moldings decorate the upper part, and the walls rise above the roof level. The upper figure in Plate XV shows the back of the shrine, while the lower figure discloses the front and one side. The front (at left) is very fragmentary, with little more than one corner and a portion of one window remaining; but that it is the façade is indicated by the clear traces of a sphinx in relief. The two legs are distinct, but the head is missing; the lower molding stops at the point where it was interrupted by the head. As in No. 2986, there must have been another sphinx at the other edge of the façade.

KERNOS RINGS

It is perhaps possible to discover an early prototype of kernos rings in Cyprus and Egypt. Among cult objects of the Early Bronze Age from Vounoi in Cyprus are hollow pottery rings with legs, and on the rings stand cups or bowls and jugs. There is free communication between the vessels, ring, and legs, so that water poured into the vessels runs down into the legs.⁵² It is suggested that these objects were for libations and that they are a type of kernos. Associated with them was a vase with doves on the rim,⁵³ a further indication of the great age of the fertility cult in Cyprus. What appears to be a related object belonging to the 9th–10th dynasty was found at Sedment, Egypt.⁵⁴

Somewhat analogous, and probably also used in the cult, are Early Iron ring-vases from Cyprus. They consist of a hollow annular base with a "strap handle," with miniature vases on the ring. In one instance an animal head at the base of the handle adds to the similarity.⁵⁵

A type of kernos ring found in Cyprus in the Late Helladic I–II period has three jugs on the ring and a bull's head projecting from the side of the ring.⁵⁶ If the head acted as a spout,

⁵⁰ STEM pp. 122 f.

⁵¹ See AAG p. 74.

⁵² P. Dikaios in *Syria* XIII 345–54, esp. Pls. LXXIV 6 and LXXVI 1. Cf. GPC pp. 115 and 120.

⁵³ Dikaios, *op. cit.* Pl. LXXV 1.

⁵⁴ W. M. F. Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Sedment I* (BSAE XXXIV [1924]) Pl. XXX 40.

⁵⁵ See MCC Nos. 521–23 (899–902, Hellenic, not illustrated). For a Parthian analogy see N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Selucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934) p. 25, Fig. 3.

⁵⁶ GPC p. 212.



FIG. 3.—POTTERY SHRINE EXCAVATED BY SCHUMACHER AT MEGIDDO. Reproduced from STEM Fig. 186.

this would add to the attractiveness of the theory that kernos rings were for use in libations. The Sedment specimen, which is earlier, actually has a spout projecting from the ring.

Kernos rings are fairly common in Palestine, although few attain the beauty and intricacy of P 2282 (Pl. XVI). A fragment from Jericho, quite simple in construction, is dated during the "jüdische Periode," but according to the associated pottery it may be as early as B-I.⁵⁷ Kernos rings were found at Beisan in the Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and Ramses II levels.⁵⁸ There were numerous specimens at Gezer; Macalister noted them in the Third Semitic Period (1400–1000 B.C.) and in the early part of the Fourth. Some of the pottery of this latter period may, however, actually go back at least into EI; hence these specimens are perhaps to be dated no later. One type, with red and black line decoration and birds, dated under Ramses II,⁵⁹ is to be compared with our P 2282 (Pl. XVI).

A kernos ring in fragments⁶⁰ was found by Schumacher in his sixth level at Megiddo; but it must be at least as early as present Stratum VI to judge by a late Cypriote milk bowl with vertical ribs and an EI type of crater associated with it in room p.

We conclude that the kernos ring may have originated in the footed ring-vases of early Cyprus and Egypt, and that its standard forms as illustrated by our Megiddo specimens existed through LB over into EI I. The symbolism of the pomegranate, dove, and gazelle clearly marks its function in the fertility cult.⁶¹ With this in mind the significance of the miniature jars on P 2282 is at once evident: they contained wine, the fruit of the grape.⁶² The kernos ring was probably for libations: the liquid would be poured into the cups to circulate throughout the doves, pomegranates, and jars, symbolizing the fertility of the earth and the fructifying of its produce.⁶³ This specimen at least represented a miniature garden,⁶⁴ and its function may perhaps in part be compared with that of the "gardens of Adonis." We are reminded of the description of the maiden in Cant. 4:12–13:

A garden inclosed is my sister, my bride,
An inclosed spring, a sealed fountain.
Thy produce is a park of pomegranates,
Together with choice fruits, henna, and nard.

CENSERS

The form of our blue-green steatite censers M 4303, M 4606, and M 4304 (Pl. XVII) is closely paralleled in North Syria.⁶⁵ M 4303 may be compared with specimens in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, coming from Yunus near Carchemish and from Aleppo respectively.⁶⁶ The decoration on M 4606 may be compared with that on a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, provenience unknown.⁶⁷ Similar objects come from Merj Khamis, Senjirli, Assur, Marash, and Sandiliyah. In all instances there is little indication of date. The Later Palace period at Knossos, with which Woolley surmises an association,⁶⁸ is too early, as also the period 1200–850 B.C. suggested by Przeworski.⁶⁹

⁵⁷ E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, *Jericho* (WVDOG XXII [Leipzig, 1913]) p. 141 and Fig. 149.

⁵⁸ MJ XIX (1928) 157 and 165, XVII (1926) 300.

⁵⁹ MG II 235–38 and Figs. 389–90; MG III, Pls. CLXXV–CLXXVI.

⁶⁰ STEM Fig. 204 a, seen again in WTEM Fig. 77.

⁶¹ For this symbolism see e.g. Cant. 1:15; 2:7, 9, 12, 14, 17; 3:5; 4:1, 3, 5, 13; 5:2, 12; 6:7, 9, 11; 7:3, 12; 8:2, 14.

⁶² See e.g. Cant. 6:11 and 8:2, where the grapevine and pomegranate are associated.

⁶³ Cf. Isa. 17:10–11.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Pl. XXV 1.

⁶⁵ S. Przeworski in *Syria* XI (1930) 133–45.

⁶⁶ AAA VI (1914) 96.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Pl. XXIV 1 and 3.

⁶⁸ *Syria* XI 142.

With the kind permission of Field Director C. W. McEwan we reproduce in Figure 4 a steatite censer found by the Oriental Institute expedition at Chatal Hüyük in North Syria. Several different types occurred, but the one illustrated forms the closest analogy to our specimens. Albright notes that the decorative motive on a specimen found by him at Tell Beit Mirsim should be associated with the proto-Ionic volutes and posits a probable origin during the 8th–7th century B.C.⁶⁹ All of our steatite censers probably come from Strata II and III and would be products of the 7th and 8th centuries B.C.

The suggestion of Albright, based on the hand motive, that these objects are to be identified with the *kaf*-censer of the Old Testament⁷⁰ is most probable.⁷¹ None of our Megiddo censers shows any discoloration by fire. A simpler form of this censer may go back as far as the earlier dates suggested by Woolley and Przeworski; for M 5202, which is made of ivory and is without decoration, was found in Stratum IV filling and is probably to be assigned to V.

It is of interest to note that three of the parallels to our steatite censers come from Senjirli in Northern Judah, where Yahweh was worshiped and where an Azariah reigned as king.⁷²

STANDS

BRONZE

Stands of bronze and pottery were found. The bronze tripod stand M 2702 once supported the pottery bowl P 3052 with which it is illustrated in Plate XVII; for the two were found in close proximity in Tomb 911 A 1, and oxide from the stand had stained the bottom of the bowl. Schumacher found several comparable specimens⁷³ in his fourth level. The stem of one of them represented a female figure blowing a double flute or pipe; another had three small birds, probably doves, one at the top of each leg. The suggestion that these objects may have been lamp stands or candlesticks must be abandoned in view of the obvious use of our present specimen as an offering-stand. The doves and the feminine flute-player on Schumacher's specimens suggest the symbolism of the cult. G. M. Fitzgerald provisionally dated a stand from Beisan almost identical with M 2702 to the first half of the 12th century.^{73a}

A bronze openwork stand with square base and round top (Pl. XVIII, M 1342) shows on

⁶⁹ *BASOR* No. 47 (1932) pp. 15–16 and No. 48 (1932) p. 1. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* I 108 f., dates the volutes 9th–8th century B.C. by comparison with the Arslan Tash ivories mentioned on p. 16.

⁷⁰ Cf. Num. 7:50: כְּפָתַח עֲשֵׂרָה זָהָב מִלְאָה קְטֻרָה.

⁷¹ Cf. K. Wigand, "Thymiateria" (*Bonner Jahrbücher* CXXII [1912] 1–97).

⁷² See the Tiglathpileser III inscription in D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I (Chicago, 1926) § 770, and the important discussions by Olmstead (*History of Assyria* [New York and London, 1923] pp. 185 ff. and *History of Palestine and Syria* pp. 434 ff.).

⁷³ *STEM* Figs. 117–18; *WTEM* Figs. 19–20. If these are contemporary they may belong to present Stratum VIII (i.e., LB II).

^{73a} *PEFQS*, 1934, pp. 133 f. and Pl. VII 2.



a 1021

FIG. 4.—STEATITE CENSER FROM CHATAL HÜYÜK IN NORTH SYRIA. ACTUAL SIZE

each side a worshiper or priest presenting a gift or standing in an attitude of adoration before a seated deity. The objects held by both figures are too poorly preserved to be identified. The headdresses are similar, but too indefinite to be accurately interpreted. The deity wears a long dress contrasting with the short skirt of the worshiper. The portrayal is certainly more Syro-Hittite than Egyptian, although the scene may be duplicated rather closely in most countries of the Near East.⁷⁴



FIG. 5.—BRONZE POMEGRANATE M 1184, FOUND ON SURFACE AT MEGIDDO. ACTUAL SIZE

The form of the stand is of unusual interest. Close parallels may be found in bronze stands of the same period from Cyprus. Wheels survive on one of the two specimens,⁷⁵ and its bird and griffin motives leave no doubt of its relation to the cult. With it has been compared the form of the bronze stands in the temple of Solomon;⁷⁶ the association is an obvious and a reasonable one. The other Cypriote specimen suggests a windowed shrine with female votaries gazing out. Compare also the more or less contemporary tripod with round top from Ras Shamra, decorated with pomegranates.⁷⁷ A somewhat similar tripod from Tiryns⁷⁸ is decorated with doves and pomegranates; with it we may compare a bronze tripod from Beisan with a rope pattern around the top and supports terminating in Ionic volutes.^{78a} It may be noted that a bronze pomegranate (Fig. 5, M 1184) was found on the surface of the tell.

POTTERY

Frankfort's revealing studies on the history and usage of so-called "pot-stands"⁷⁹ (see Pl. XIX) can be supplemented but little with more recently discovered evidence.⁸⁰ According to him offering-stands of a type found at Assur in the lowest levels of the Ishtar temples, at Musyan, at Ur, at Fara, and in pictorial relief on the Egyptian macehead of Narmer were introduced early into Egypt from Asia, occurring from the 1st dynasty onward at Hierakonpolis, Meidum, Abydos, etc. Their occasional cult usage is not to be questioned, even though they may have also served secular functions, for in the early period they were actually used before the gods to hold flowers and other offerings, on which sometimes libations were performed.⁸¹ Schaeffer reports at Minet el-Beidā an object, similar to P 3237 and probably LB II, for the use of which in the mortuary fertility cult as a libation conduit he finds a reference in a Ras Shamra text.⁸² A tall pottery stand was found in position beside the altar in an 18th–19th dynasty temple at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish?).^{82a}

These objects, especially those of the later period, have been described as censers or incense stands; and they may sometimes have served this purpose. An early form from Susa, rectangular and with many triangular vents, is dated about 3000 B.C. by Contenau.⁸³ A 4th

⁷⁴ See esp. *SCWA* pp. 239 ff.

⁷⁵ A. Furtwängler in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Jahrg. 1899, Bd. II, pp. 411–33; *GAB* Pl. CCIII 505.

⁷⁶ I Kings 7:27–37. Cf. *GAB* Pl. CCIV; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 218–19; G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, Syria, and Asia Minor* I (London, 1890) 260–63 and Figs. 173–74.

⁷⁷ *CMAO* II 1071 and Fig. 741.

⁷⁸ *WTEM* Fig. 21.

^{78a} *PEFQS*, 1934, p. 133 and Pl. VIII 3.

⁷⁹ H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* I (Royal Anthropological Institute, "Occasional Papers," No. 6 [London, 1924]) 127–30 and Fig. 13; cf. *DCPP* Group 96.

⁸⁰ Cf. *WTEM* pp. 38 f. and Fig. 36; Albright in *AASOR* XII (1932) 30 f.

⁸¹ Frankfort, *loc. cit.* Offering-stands(?) with flowers occur in cult scenes on cylinder seals in *SCWA* Nos. 1234–36.

⁸² *Syria* XIV (1933) Pl. IX 4 (facing p. 100) and *Syria* XIII (1932) 12–13.

^{82a} J. L. Starkey in *PEFQS*, 1934, pp. 171 f. and Pl. V 2.

⁸³ *CMAO* I, Fig. 312.

INSTRUMENTS OF THE CULT

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dynasty specimen from Naqadah with triangular holes is reproduced by Duncan.⁸⁴ To this early period we may also assign a specimen from Megiddo with a triangular vent, found in Stage IV of the Early Bronze deposits⁸⁵ and to be considered another evidence of relationships with the lands farther west, especially in view of our early cylinder seal impressions.

Two examples from Crete, described as "cylindrical supports," one of them LM IIIb with a rounded triangular vent, must be placed in the category of offering-stands rather than perhaps utensils for "burning charcoal . . . to keep warm the contents of vessels set on their rims." Their "prototype goes back to MM III."⁸⁶ An object from Gournia, probably LM II, is associated by Evans with the windowed bronze shrine from Cyprus referred to in connection with our M 1342 (Pl. XVIII).⁸⁷ It may be noted at this point that the pottery offering-stands did take on the aspect of a shrine, and that this happened in the instance of the bronze stand also.

A most significant pottery stand was found at Beisan in the Ramses II level;⁸⁸ as Speiser has noted, it has very definite associations with one from the Hurrian level at Tell Billah, 2d millennium B.C.⁸⁹ The bird decoration on this Billah III specimen is comparable to the so-called "Amorite" bird⁹⁰ on M-LB Palestinian pottery (cf. Pl. XXXIX K). One may assume that the bird painted on this type of pottery stand has as much religious connotation as the pottery birds attached to another 19th dynasty pottery stand from Beisan (see p. 15). This latter object has a religious significance which cannot be doubted, both because of its discovery in the temple of Ash-toreth and in view of its decorative motives. Snakes in relief twine around it, peering through the apertures, from which doves look out, while two doves are perched above the handles. In connection with the use of such stands for sacred flowers or plants (cf. p. 20) we might suggest an association with the "gardens of Adonis" (cf. p. 18).

Near the top of the second Beisan stand there is a row of rounded, projecting tabs, probably conventionalized lotus leaves. We shall not be wrong in interpreting them as adaptations of an Egyptian architectural detail taken from a pillar or capital, such as is illustrated in the Arslan Tash ivories⁹¹ and also in an elaborate incense altar from Megiddo (Fig. 6).⁹² In a more conventionalized form this decoration is repeated on pottery stands of the Early Iron Age from ancient Qatna.⁹³ It is perhaps more obvious on a specimen from Gezer.⁹⁴ A very conventionalized form of this lotus-leaf decoration, occurring on a chalice offering-stand or incense

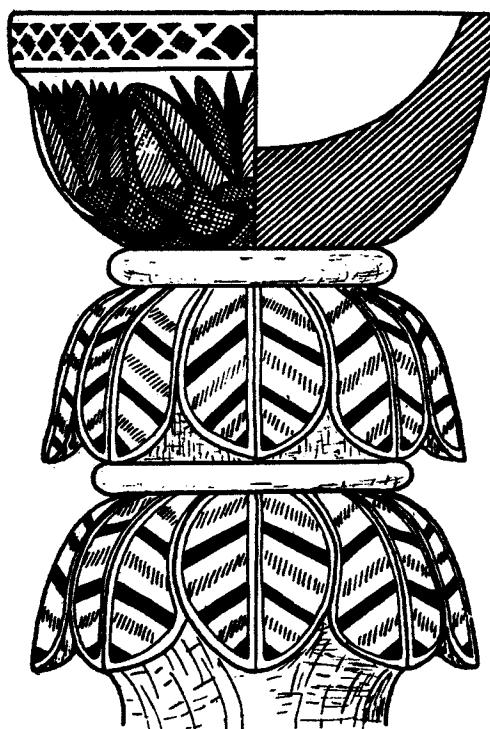


FIG. 6.—INCENSE STAND FOUND BY SCHUMACHER AT MEGIDDO. SCALE 2:5. Drawing based on *STEM* frontispiece.

⁸⁴ DCPP Group 96, W 4.

⁸⁵ See SAOC No. 10, p. 22 and chart, type 28 G.

⁸⁶ EPMK II 133 and Fig. 67.

⁸⁷ BASOR No. 46 (1932) Fig. 3 and MJ XXIII (1933) 276 and Pl. LXIII.

⁸⁸ Cf. Macalister, *The Philistines* (London, 1913) Fig. 10 on p. 121.

⁸⁹ Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash*, Pl. XLIV 92-93.

⁹⁰ Syria VIII (1927) Pls. LXXXIII 5 and LXXXIV 3-4.

⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 133 f. and Fig. 70 bis.

⁸⁸ MJ XVII (1926) 297.

⁹² In colors in *STEM* front.

⁹⁴ MG II 336 and Fig. 460.

altar from Ta'anach, 7th century B.C.,⁹⁵ is duplicated in the Megiddo objects P 5803 (Pl. XIX and Fig. 7) and No. 4787 (Pl. XIX). It appears best at Megiddo in the stand P 6056 (Pl. XX).

An offering-stand from Ta'anach which has much in common with the pottery shrine No. 2986 has already been described (p. 15). An offering-stand of the Fourth Semitic Period from Gezer with rectangular apertures, reminding one of the Gournia specimen (p. 21), was described by Macalister as a "dovecote" incense-burner.⁹⁶ It may be noted that the other stand from Gezer (see n. 94) had a cream slip covered with black and red decoration—a color scheme comparable to that of P 3237. A pottery stand with three rows of windows was found in the temple(?) at Beth Shemesh, about 9th–8th century B.C.⁹⁷

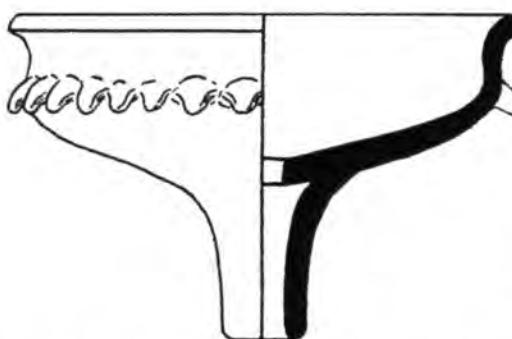


FIG. 7.—FUNNELED OBJECT P 5803 FROM MEGIDDO. SCALE 2:5. SEE ALSO PLATE XIX

saucer. We shall not be dogmatic about the specific use of such a stand as this, but would note the lip and suggest use in libations. Since a long aperture runs the length of the hollow stand, there can be no doubt that the entire object is related to the offering-stands with apertures.

It has been noted by Frankfort that such pot-stands are not necessarily for pots which otherwise could not stand by themselves because of pointed bases. This means that, even as regards the more usual pot-stands the association of which with the cult is more questionable, the utilitarian function may not be primary at all times. Though it is true that often stands of the more ordinary type did serve to support pointed jars, at least two graphic instances from Megiddo illustrate the probable use of the common pot-stand as an offering-stand. In Tomb 912 were two pot-stands upon which bowls containing mortuary offerings had been placed. These bowls had bases which could easily have supported them; and in the tomb chambers were other vessels which it would have been more practical to rest upon stands, if mere support were all that was intended. Perhaps offerings considered especially important for the dead were given prominence by resting them on pot-stands. Figure 8 illustrates the position of one of the stands, as found in chamber D. That stand had two circular vents or apertures. That these had developed from the early triangular vents in the offering-stands and that they are to be associated with the pigeonholes of one of the Beisan specimens (pp. 15 and 21) can scarcely be doubted, even though they may have served only a utilitarian purpose as means of carrying the pot-stand. The stand in chamber B of this tomb was without such apertures.

The well known incense altar found by Schumacher at Megiddo (p. 21 and Fig. 6) came from our Stratum III. A simpler form, with a narrow rim and at least two rows of long, narrow,

⁹⁵ STT Fig. 81 (upside down!).

⁹⁶ MG III, Pl. CVI 6, and MG I 353–54.

⁹⁷ Elihu Grant, *Beth Shemesh* (Haverford, Pa., 1929) p. 103.



FIG. 8.—A POT-STAND USED AS AN OFFERING-STAND IN TOMB 912 D

oblique apertures running around it, was found by Schumacher in his fourth level.⁹⁸ A somewhat similar specimen from the same level is also known.⁹⁹

A word must be said regarding chalices, for not only are they related to the offering-stands by such specimens as No. 2802 and the example from Ta'anach (pp. 21 f.), but it is quite probable that sometimes the more ordinary chalices served a religious function. A typical chalice of the Iron Age (P 5824) is illustrated in Plate XIX. The form of such vessels is very suggestive of use in libations.¹⁰⁰ An Early Bronze "champagne-glass" type of chalice found at Carchemish, with triangular vents in the stem,¹⁰¹ links the chalices with the offering-stands.

BOVINE MASK OR RELIGIOUS SYMBOL

Among our most interesting problems we must place a bit of bovine skull discovered in Stratum III (Pl. XIX, M 4966). The horns were still in position, and the form was such as to suggest that it had been used as a mask or as a religious symbol in the bull cult. This impression was strengthened by the fact that it had been covered with a red wash, traces of which still remain.

From Tell Asmar Frankfort reports the discovery of "clay imitations of horns and frontal bone" (Sumerian early dynastic period)¹⁰² and in the temple of Abu "a pair of gazelle horns still attached to the frontal bone" (Akkadian period).¹⁰³ Especially with regard to the latter a function analogous to that of the Megiddo piece is suggested.

MODEL CHARIOT WHEELS OF POTTERY

Model chariots form another link between Late Bronze and Iron Age Palestine and early Mesopotamia. Model wheels seem to have occurred at Alishar, in "Stratum II," but Schmidt calls one a "'cart-wheel' spindle whorl."¹⁰⁴ Analogous objects from Tepe Gawra II, preceding the Early Bronze Age, must be noted.¹⁰⁵ One of these is an animal on wheels, and a similar object was found by Woolley at Ur in the lowest strata of the cemetery.¹⁰⁶ Another animal on wheels was discovered by Frankfort at Tell Asmar in the Akkadian buildings.¹⁰⁷ Specimens of model chariots or wheels are known from even farther west, in Anau, Turkestan;¹⁰⁸ there is some question as to their date, though Pumpelly assigns them to his Culture III.¹⁰⁹ They seem to be first known in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. Rowe reports from the Amenhotep III level at Beisan part of a model chariot in pottery showing horses, pole, and yokes,¹¹⁰ also a wheel from a model chariot.¹¹¹ Another such wheel comes from the Thutmose III level.¹¹²

Later, wheels are very common throughout Palestine.¹¹³ Some of the most interesting specimens of model chariots and wheels from Palestine come from Gerar (22d dynasty).¹¹⁴

⁹⁸ STEM Fig. 125. Schumacher's fourth level is pre-Stratum IV.

⁹⁹ WTEM Fig. 36.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. VC p. 181.

¹⁰¹ C. L. Woolley in AAA VI (1914) 88 f. and Pl. XIX a.

¹⁰² OIC No. 17, p. 48.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ OIP XIX 124 and Fig. 153, No. b 2174. For other pottery cart wheels from Alishar see OIP XXIX, Fig. 308.

¹⁰⁵ AASOR IX (1929) 54 and Fig. 102.

¹⁰⁶ MJ XXI (1930) 92 and Pl. XI 11.

¹⁰⁷ OIC No. 16, Fig. 26.

¹⁰⁸ Hubert Schmidt in R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan I* (Washington, D.C., 1908) 160 and 172, Figs. 325 and 417-19, and Pls. 41, No. 21, and 47, Nos. 9-11.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit. p. 186.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 68.

¹¹⁰ MJ XX (1929) 57 and 59 f.

¹¹² MJ XIX (1928) 157.

¹¹³ E.g. BMEP p. 105 and Fig. 41 (called a "spindle whorl"); Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 151 and Fig. 184; STEM Pl. XLVIII a ("7. Schicht").

¹¹⁴ PG p. 18 and Pl. XXXIX 12-18. See also the late Nineveh specimens, AAA XVIII (1931) Pl. XXI 14-16.

The pottery chariots and chariot wheels were without doubt votive objects. They were certainly used for this purpose in early Mesopotamia. The religion disclosed in the Old Testament records is extremely suggestive for this interpretation of these objects. The chariot was probably more often the symbol of a god than of a goddess. It stands as evidence of the presence of the deity in the tale of the translation of Elijah. Elijah did not ascend to heaven by riding in the chariot, for he went up in a whirlwind; the chariot of fire and the horses of fire symbolized the presence of the deity.¹¹⁵ When Elisha was in besieged Dothan, he opened the eyes of his servant, so that he saw the mountain around Elisha filled with horses and a chariot of fire, symbols of the protective forces of the warrior-god.¹¹⁶ The deity in the chariot sometimes appears as the warrior-god. This aspect of Yahweh, who rides upon steeds, upon victorious chariots, and with bow, appears in the eschatological utterance of the prophet.¹¹⁷

The chariot was frequently more definitely associated with sun worship, which seems to have been part of the temple cult at Jerusalem. Until the time of Josiah there existed at the entrance of the temple the horses which the Judean kings had dedicated to the sun. Josiah abolished them and also burned the chariots of the sun with fire.¹¹⁸ These sacred horses give rise to the conjecture that our equine figurines as well as the pottery chariots may have served as model horses and chariots of the deity in a cult somewhat similar to that at Jerusalem. That the horses and chariot of the sun were a constituent element in Hebrew mythology is further evidenced by their description in Zech. 6:1 ff., wherein four chariots with horses are depicted as issuing forth from between two mountains.¹¹⁹ The chariots of fire and the horses of fire in II Kings 6:17 and 2:11 were probably of solar significance. In this connection it is to the point to mention the eschatological picture in Isa. 66:15, where it is said that Yahweh "will come with fire, and his chariots shall be like a whirlwind."¹²⁰ The sun worship at the temple persisted,¹²¹ despite Josiah's reformation, as long as the first temple existed, and if our religious materials are to be associated with such a cult we must not be surprised at their presence at Megiddo. It must be remembered that a polytheistic syncretism characterized the official cult at Jerusalem from the time of Solomon to the Exile, and that the few attempts at installation of a pure Yahwism were either only partial or else ineffectual for any length of time.

The deity rode in his chariot in sacred processions on festival days much as Ningirsu, accompanied with music, rode in a chariot¹²² in procession to the shrine which Gudea had built for him and in which his sacred nuptial rites with the goddess Bau were consummated. We may compare the ritual of the fertility cult in Canticles, in which the following utterance is made by the maiden who personifies the goddess in the marriage rites of the new year:

I went down to the nut garden
To look at the verdure of the valley,
To see whether the grapevine had budded,
Whether the pomegranates had bloomed.
Before I knew it, my fancy set me
In the chariot of my ardent lover.¹²³

¹¹⁵ II Kings 2:11.

¹¹⁷ Hab. 3:8 f.

¹¹⁶ II Kings 6:17.

¹¹⁸ II Kings 23:11.

¹¹⁹ Cf. SCWA Figs. 244 ff. for mountains associated with gates between which the sun-god appears; for the deity in a chariot depicted on seals see SCWA pp. 311-13.

¹²⁰ See also Ps. 104:3.

¹²¹ Ezek. 8:16. See F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple* (London, 1934) pp. 132-39, for a discussion of sun worship at Jerusalem.

¹²² I. M. Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A & B of Gudea* II 10.

¹²³ Cant. 6:11 f. "אַתְּ" is here the title of the fertility deity; see the discussion by the writer in *AJSL* XLVIII (1931/32) 88. Cf. Cant. 1:9.

INSTRUMENTS OF THE CULT

25

There is further evidence of chariots in the temple. From I Chron. 28:18 we learn about the use of gold for a chariot in connection with temple furnishings. Whether this is a late interpretation of the chariots of the sun, or whether there were also chariots associated with the cherubs, a possible interpretation of the text, must remain a conjecture. It may also be significant that the wheels of the bronze stands in the temple are compared with chariot wheels.¹²⁴

To state categorically where our pottery chariot wheels fit into this religious milieu is quite impossible. It is sufficient to note the prominence of such concepts as those described above and to conclude that the wheels, which were originally parts of model chariots, are consistent with the picture of Hebrew religion as disclosed in the Old Testament. They are among the votive objects of the syncretistic cult of the Hebrews.

POTTERY LEGS

Many detached or broken legs were found during the course of the excavation. Pierced legs such as M 508, M 5040, M 96, and 4051 (Pl. XXI) may have been amulets, or they may have belonged to figurines with movable limbs. Petrie illustrates Egyptian specimens in various kinds of stone from the 5th and 6th dynasties as amulets.¹²⁵ A pottery specimen from Gerar (1000 B.C.) he describes as the leg of a doll.¹²⁶ Two specimens from the "Tomb of Zeus" in Crete (MM I)¹²⁷ are obviously legs to be fastened to a doll-like figure, for they are modeled at the top in such a way that there is no doubt as to the likelihood of attachment. The full, rounded tops of M 5040, M 96, and 4051 would make it very awkward to fasten them at all gracefully to bodies. M 508, which narrows at the top, might conceivably have been a movable leg of a figurine. Against their use as attachable legs is the fact that even when in one instance two specimens (M 96 and 4051) were found together in a tomb, they were not well matched in size or form. It would appear that at least the majority of the specimens of this type found at Megiddo are to be explained as amulets.

Even if it were shown that these legs were to be attached to bodies, they would probably be parts of mother-goddess figurines rather than merely parts of dolls. The earliest known figures with such legs do appear with mother-goddess attributes. This type of figure seems to have been popular in lands under Greek and Mycenaean influence.¹²⁸

PHALLI

Only two phalli, both from Stratum III (Pl. XXI), have been found at Megiddo. There is small possibility other than that they are to be associated with the fertility cult of Israel.

LIMESTONE STATUETTE

Larger figures are rare at Megiddo; the only specimen of importance is a fragment of a limestone statuette (Pl. XXI). Hebrew artistic endeavor in this direction, unlike that of most neighboring countries, was limited to smaller figures.

POTTERY RATTLE

One pottery rattle (Pl. XXII, P 3596) raises a host of questions as to its use. Macalister correctly remarks concerning such objects: "Some of these objects appear too large and heavy for the hand of a child young enough to be amused by such toys, and it is possible that they

¹²⁴ I Kings 7:33.

¹²⁵ PG p. 18 and Pl. XXXVI 9.

¹²⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914) p. 11 and Pl. I 15.

¹²⁷ EPMK I, Fig. 111 p-q.

¹²⁸ For a discussion see Kate McK. Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d ser., XXXIV (1930) 455-79, and note esp. Fig. 8. For a specimen from Nineveh see AAA XVIII (1931) Pl. XXI 20.

might have been used in some religious rites like the *κρόταλα* described by the author of *De dea Syra.*¹²⁹ But he qualifies his statement by noting that they do not make a loud enough noise for so important a purpose.¹²⁹ Many have been examined during the course of this study, and all would make noise enough for a modern dancer, especially if one were held in each hand. Considering that the pellets in our Megiddo specimen are pottery, it makes a surprisingly loud noise. Such objects may indeed have been used in fertility-cult dances such as those described in Judg. 21:21 or Cant. 6:13 ff. Such usage is confirmed in the mind of the author by the fact that some rattles are decorated with breasts or other features of the mother goddess.¹³⁰ J. L. Starkey reports from Tell ed-Duweir pottery rattles which seem to be closely connected with Astarte figurines.¹³¹

Many rattles are found throughout the Near East. A common type is the jug-shaped rattle with handle, which has been found in Cyprus in the Middle and Late Bronze Age,¹³² at Beth Pelet in the early 19th dynasty,¹³³ at Gezer in the LB II period.¹³⁴ Macalister reported plain rattles at Gezer from the First Semitic to the Hellenistic period,¹³⁵ and they were found at Beth Shemesh¹³⁶ and Tell el-Hesi¹³⁷ during the Iron Age.

Miscellaneous objects, including the rattle, are described in the legend of Plate XXII. Needless to say, there is no insistence on religious use for all of them.

¹²⁹ MG II 306.

¹³⁰ See MG II 306 and Fig. 445, No. 8; BP II 23 and Pl. XLVII.

¹³¹ PEFQS, 1933, p. 195.

¹³² GPC pp. 173-74; MCC Nos. 387-88 ("... neck is closed by a birdlike face").

¹³³ BP II, *loc. cit.* (woman).

¹³⁴ MG III, Pl. LXVI 42 (in bird form according to MG II 306).

¹³⁵ MG II 305-6 and Fig. 445.

¹³⁶ BMMC pp. 117 and 120, No. 241.

¹³⁷ PEFA II (1912-13) Pl. LVI 17.

IV

FIGURINES

The question of the interpretation of figurines in the light of Old Testament evidence has had many answers. It is incredible that religious objects as prominent and as numerous as are mother-goddess and other figurines should have received no mention in the extant religious records of the Hebrews. While there does not seem to be in Hebrew religious terminology any one word the application of which may be limited to figurines, yet it is extremely probable that sometimes the term *t̄rdphîm* may more narrowly mean just that. It may be that figurines are designated when, in a fertility-cult context, a distinction is made between *t̄rdphîm* and *gillûlîm*.¹ The key to the narrower interpretation of the word *t̄rdphîm*, however, comes in Gen. 31:17–35, which tells how Jacob's wife Rachel carried off, from Haran to Canaan, the *t̄rdphîm* of his Aramean father-in-law Laban. That this story reflects the entrance of figurines into Palestine for the first time is made probable by several considerations. As we shall see (p. 30), they seem to have been introduced suddenly at the very end of the Middle Bronze Age. If Jacob represents one of the late Hyksos invaders or immediate predecessors of the Habiru, the time element in the story is consistent with the period of the introduction of figurines. In spite of certain Egyptian stylizations, the figurines of Palestine cannot be considered typical of the Egyptian cult, and we must look toward the north for their origin. We know from the Jacob incident that the *t̄rdphîm* were small, and the Micah story of Judges, chapter 17, contrasts them with carved images (*pesel*) and molten idols (*massēkhâh*).

Like the term "figurine," the designation *t̄rdphîm* covered more than merely the pottery household gods. The *t̄rdphîm* seem also to have been oracle-givers or divination instruments,² but it is difficult to see how the pottery figurines could have been used in this way. This is not a vital objection, however, for it may be that אַלְילִים, *‘lilîm*, also were pottery figurines³ and that they served as instruments for oracles.⁴ They are mentioned with the carved image and the sacred pillar in Lev. 26:1. The *t̄rdphîm* employed by Michal in the incident in I Sam. 19:13 ff. must have been not a small figurine but rather a large effigy with human features.

That the Jacob incident might represent the introduction of the figurine cult is not contradictory to the association of one of our earliest types of figurines with the so-called "Hittite" reliefs. In these figurines (Pl. XXXI) the fluted headdress is without side locks and is Syro-Hittite rather than Egyptian. They correspond most closely with the deities on the Yazılıkaya reliefs.⁵ As Speiser has pointed out, there may have been Hurrian elements in the Hyksos migrations;⁶ and that the cultures of the Jacob immigrants and the originators of the Yazılıkaya reliefs may have had much in common cannot be categorically denied. We may further note Speiser's suggestion that Rachel's act ties up with a Hurrian law, according to which possession of the *t̄rdphîm* by a woman's husband insured his title to the property of his father-in-law.⁷

¹ II Kings 23:24.

³ So A. T. Clay in *AJS* XXIII (1906/7) 277–78.

² Ezek. 21:26 Heb. = 21:21 Eng.; Zech. 10:2.

⁴ Cf. Hab. 2:18.

⁵ See *OIP* V, Pl. XV; Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I (Berlin, 1924) Pl. 5 c; *GAB* Pl. CXXXVIII 338; Kurt Bittel. *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* ("İstanbuler Forschungen" V [Bamberg, 1934]) Pls. XII–XV. The long pigtail down the back is to be noted in the comparison.

⁶ "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.," *AASOR* XIII (1933) 13–54, esp. pp. 48–51.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 44.

The function of pottery figurines of animals in Canaan is much disputed. Few of the animal figurines in the Megiddo collection could have had a practical use; they may have served as images or idols in the bull cult or in the solar cult, as votive objects, or as charms to increase the flocks and herds. Even the effigies in the form of rhytons may have possessed a religious connotation in the minds of their possessors, although, of course, not necessarily for use in the cult activities at the shrine. That any of the animal figurines were used as toys is much to be doubted, for there is no evidence that the peoples of the ancient Near East employed animal effigies as playthings for children. The motive of sheep, goats, and cattle, with the fertility-god as shepherd, so frequent in the Tammuz liturgies of Babylonia and Assyria,⁸ hints as to how these animal figurines may have fitted into the religious pattern of Israel. The equine figurines may have been associated with the sun cult (see p. 24).

The mother-goddess⁹ figurines may have been votive, but more probably they are to be classified as idols. The presence of such figurines in graves at Megiddo may not only indicate that the next life was considered a continuation of this life but may imply a type of mortuary cult in connection with the fertility religion, with the mother goddess as the protectress and patroness of the dead—a natural corollary to her function as consort of the dying god. We might compare the function of Isis in the Egyptian cult of Osiris. Mother-goddess figurines were found as part of the mortuary furnishings at Gezer¹⁰ and at Beth Shemesh.¹¹ Animal figurines also occur in tombs.

FEMALE FIGURES (PLS. XXIII-XXXII)

Early mother-goddess figurines are scarcer in Palestine than in most other sections of the Near East. Only one truly early type has come to my notice, namely an Early Bronze or earlier specimen of shale from Tell Fara near Gaza,¹² comparable to the conventionalized Neolithic type as found in Crete, or to Copper Age figurines from Alishar.¹³ A "troglodyte" pottery head from Gezer¹⁴ can scarcely be classed as an idol. The "primitive idol" ("uraltes Götzenbild") found by Schumacher at Megiddo¹⁵ is probably little more than a marked stone. Nor can we with any degree of certainty claim that M 3637 (Pl. XXXII), found in the earliest levels at Megiddo, represents a deity, though there is a very slight possibility that a head is broken from the top.¹⁶

The oldest mother-goddess figurines in the Nile Valley, the Badarian, show a tendency to steatopygia.¹⁷ One of these¹⁸ may be compared with early figurines from Rumania and other Danubian regions.¹⁹ Its characterless tiny stub for a head is typical of early forms in many places. This type of head occurs in late Neolithic figurines from Crete, where the arms also

⁸ Cf. also Cant. 1:7-8; 2:16; 6:3.

⁹ The term "mother goddess" is here used in a general sense for female deities with the usual fertility attributes and is not necessarily restricted to any particular goddess.

¹⁰ MG III, Pls. LXXVIII 47 and CXVI 14.

¹¹ PEFA II (1912-13) Pls. XXII-XXIII and XLI-XLII.

¹² BP II 8 and Pls. XXVII 71 and XXVIII 16. Several early stylized feminine figurines were found at Tulailat el-Ghassul in Transjordan; see Père Mallon *et al.*, *Tel el-Ghassul I* ("Compte rendu des fouilles de l'Institut biblique pontifical, 1929-1932" [Rome, 1934]) Fig. 34.

¹³ OIP XIX, Fig. 62 (called "Period I").

¹⁴ PEFQS, 1904, p. 19 and Fig. 5.

¹⁵ *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1906, p. 9 and Fig. 12.

¹⁶ The fragment of a crude Astarte plaque found at Gezer in Cave 15 I (MG III, Pl. XXI 6) cannot be taken as evidence of an E-MB type; for the pottery is not consistent, and some fragments (*ibid.* Pl. XXIII 4 and 7) may be LB.

¹⁷ Guy Brunton and Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation* (BSAE XLVI [1929]) pp. 28 f. and Pls. XXIV-XXV. During S.D. 33-40 in Egypt beak-faced steatopygous figurines occur. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (BSAE XXXI [1920]) pp. 8-10 and Pls. IV-VI.

¹⁸ Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *op. cit.* Pl. XXIV 3.

¹⁹ J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie* I (Paris, 1908) 568 and Fig. 213.

are little more than stubs and the form is sometimes steatopygous.²⁰ In some of these and kindred Trojan examples adduced by Evans conventionalization proceeded to such a degree that the idol approximates a mere T-shaped cross with bulbous base, while in Alishar I²¹ it even becomes scarcely more than a disk with pointed top.²² Figurines from Tell Halaf with foreshortened legs and pinched heads have been compared by von Oppenheim with specimens from Egypt, Thessaly, Assur, Susa, and Ur,²³ and by von der Osten and Schmidt with one from Alishar,²⁴ although their date is a matter of dispute and it has been contended that they may be as late as 12th–11th century B.C. (post-LM).²⁵

The goddess figurines of Alishar of all periods through the New Hittite Empire have no analogies in Palestine. But we have suggested (p. 27) that the closest parallel to the type of mother-goddess figurine which comes in M–LB in Palestine is found in the Yazilikaya reliefs, which are not far from Alishar. We must then infer that perhaps it was a people related to those of Yazilikya who adopted from some other region the habit of making figurines and upon their arrival in Palestine expressed this in the mother-goddess type represented on Plate XXXI. Certain it is that the Yazilikaya district cannot be considered the center of the diffusion of figurine culture as we have it in Palestine.

Mother goddesses in pottery were prominent in early Mesopotamia. Only a few examples can be cited here. E. F. Schmidt illustrates what may be a mother goddess with hatched decoration from Fara III (period of the 3d dynasty of Ur).²⁶ Woolley reports from Ur mother-goddess figurines, well modeled, with somewhat grotesque, almost reptilian heads, some with hands on hips and some carrying a child, from the al-Ubaid II period and even from before the “flood.”²⁷ A pottery goddess figure, seated and clasping her breasts, comes from Tepe Gawra I.²⁸ In Mrs. Van Buren’s catalogue of the figurines of Babylonia and Assyria,²⁹ even the 3d millennium specimens show many analogies with the Palestinian figurines, confirming those links which we find between Assur and Beisan³⁰ cult objects. A favorite posture is that of the goddess clasping her breasts, and in not a few cases the goddess holds a child. This latter type occurs as early as the 3d millennium at Tell Lo, Kish, and Assur,³¹ although the majority of specimens come from the Iron Age. The hatched decorations, incised lines and triangles, collars, wristlets, anklets, and other details confirm the impression that these figurines of the 3d millennium B.C. are somehow to be linked with the LB and EI figurines from Palestine. There are enough close parallels to make accidental resemblance improbable. As in the Megiddo specimens, there are two chief forms—the plaque and the figure in the round—and the figurines are often made in a mold.

At least one type of figurine may be traced from Mesopotamia to Palestine, Egypt, and Cyprus. Found in Mesopotamia from the beginning of the 3d millennium, it is characterized by pinched features and pierced ears with two holes in each for rings (Fig. 9).³² A parallel in

²⁰ *EPMK* I 45 ff. and Figs. 12–13; *EPMK* II, Fig. 3.

²¹ *OIP* XIX, Fig. 62.

²² Archaizing attempts in later periods frequently produce forms resembling these earlier types. See *EPMK* I, Fig. 14; *MG* II 416 and Fig. 501; *Syria* IX (1928) 310 f., Pl. LXXI f., and Fig. 13 a; *Syria* X (1929) Pl. LXXXI; *Syria* XIII (1932) Fig. 5 on p. 7.

For an early conventionalized goddess at Corinth, see T. L. Shear in *Art and Archaeology* XXIII (1927) 115.

²³ *OTH* Pl. 56 and p. 187.

²⁷ *MJ* XXI (1930) 103 and Pl. XIX.

²⁴ *OIP* VII 35 and Fig. 27, No. 2894.

²⁸ Speiser in *AASOR* IX (1929) 29, 74 (Fig. 65), and 78.

²⁵ R. Dussaud in *Syria* XII (1931) 93.

²⁹ *CFBA*.

²⁶ *MJ* XXII (1931) 227 (Pl. IX).

³⁰ Rowe in *MJ* XX 61. See also our p. 15, n. 33.

³¹ *CFBA* Nos. 207–9. Cf. also Ur examples in *MJ* XXI (cited above) and a Louvre figure in *CMAO* II, Fig. 603.

³² *CFBA* Nos. 39–40 (the latter reproduced here). Cf. figurine heads found at Alishar in Asia Minor: *OIP* XXVIII, Fig. 85, c 506 and e 1940 (Chalcolithic); *OIP* XXIX, Fig. 234, c 2052 (period of the Hittite Empires).

basalt, described as Hurrian-Mitannian,³³ has recently been studied. An undated, cruder specimen comes from the vicinity of Qaṣna (el-Mishrifé).³⁴ Albright has called my attention to the same type in Egypt in the late Hyksos period. Another example was found at Faras in Nubia in the 18th-19th dynasty Hathor temple.³⁵ The same type was found in Cyprus in the LB period.³⁶ One found at Ta'anach was probably LB.³⁷ R. W. Hamilton of the Antiquities Department at Jerusalem has published two figurines of this type excavated by him at Tell Abu Hawam, near Haifa.^{38a}



FIG. 9.—AN EARLY FEMALE FIGURINE FROM ASSUR(?). Reproduced from *CFBA* Pl. III 15.

may not be Egyptian; its parallel is found in Mesopotamia in apparently both the earlier and the later period. A posture similar to that on our M 2884 (Pl. XXX) is duplicated in two plaques of unknown provenience, dated 2000 and 1900 B.C. (Fig. 11) by Mrs. Van Buren, and in one from Assur, dated 1200 B.C. by her.⁴¹ In these cases the representation may be that of the goddess on a couch—an interesting possible explanation of the origin of the plaque type.

It is probable that the use of figurines in Palestine and Syria came in with the great disturbances which characterized the region during the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age and the 18th and 19th dynasties. Incoming Hittites, Habiru, Amorites, Hurrians, and others, and probably even late stragglers of the Hyksos (these terms are not necessarily mutually exclusive), may have taken part in the movement. Certainly some of our types do go back to the earlier part of this period. As we shall see (remarks on Pl. XXXI), the goddess with tiara began both at Megiddo and at Ta'anach in the pre-Thutmosis III period, and the goddess with double-pierced ears may be slightly earlier in Egypt. In the time of Thutmosis III a figurine of the mother goddess with a child was known at Beisan,⁴² and again

Another possible correlation between early Mesopotamia and Palestine is given by figurines carrying a tambourine or cake. They occur at least at Ur, Kish, and Tell Lo in the early period (Fig. 10);³⁸ and the resemblance to LB and later Palestinian figurines is too close to be accidental. Macalister reports three from Gezer in the Third Semitic Period;³⁹ Schumacher found one at Megiddo which is probably LB.⁴⁰



FIG. 10.—EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN ANALOGUE(?) OF PALESTINIAN FIGURINES. PROVENIENCE UNKNOWN. Reproduced from *CFBA* Pl. XXV 123.

³³ A. Moortgat in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLI (1933) 209-15.

³⁴ *Syria* IX (1928) 87 and Pl. XXXVI 5.

³⁵ *AAA* VIII (1921) 86 and Pl. XIX 13 and 14 (the latter upside down).

³⁶ *MCC* pp. 335-36, No. 2013.

³⁷ *STT* p. 80 and Fig. 113; *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* XXII (1907) 328-29 and Fig. 9; *VC* pp. 164-65 and Fig. 108; *GAB* No. 280.

^{38a} *QDAP* IV (1934) 55, Nos. 320-21.

⁴⁰ *STEM* p. 59 and Fig. 71.

³⁸ *CFBA* Nos. 449-54 and Pl. XXV 123-24.

⁴¹ *CFBA* Nos. 1086-88 and Pl. LVII 275-76.

³⁹ *PEFQS*, 1909, pp. 14-16 and Fig. 1; *MG* II 414 and Fig. 499.

⁴² Rowe in *MJ* XX 51.

FIGURINES

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in the 19th dynasty, and also at Hermopolis in Egypt.⁴³ The posture, it is true, is much different in the Hermopolis specimen.

A few figurines link Palestine and North Syria in the LB period. An Astarte (Hathor-headed) with ibexes and serpents, on a flat gold pendant from Minet el-Beidā,⁴⁴ is certainly to be associated with earlier pottery plaques with serpents found at Beth Shemesh.⁴⁵ Many of a similar type were found by Macalister at Gezer.⁴⁶ We may compare our own plaque M 2884, where the posture is much the same and the representation is that of Hathor, as well as one found by Schumacher at Megiddo.⁴⁷ It is significant, too, that the plaque type of figurine is known both in Minet el-Beidā⁴⁸ and in Palestine in this early period. The technique and the type of representation are, in each case, quite Egyptian, but not entirely so; and it is extremely improbable that the impetus for these forms could have come from Egypt. It is more proper to state that those figurines which have Egyptianized features received their impetus from some outside territory and that, being made in Palestine or Syria, where the style of art closely resembled that of the Egyptians, their style has much in common with the Egyptian. The only possible Egyptian analogies would be found in ushabtis, but their function is utterly different.

Plaques similar to those found at Megiddo continue into the Middle Iron Age, with a few specimens even later. One from Beisan is dated "Scythian period or earlier."⁴⁹ A narrow plaque type is dated by Petrie in the 9th century B.C.⁵⁰ Macalister noted that plaques are commonest around EI, but illustrates two late examples.⁵¹ In Syria they may persist into the Greek period.⁵² The earliest occurrence of figures in the round at Megiddo is not known, but for a while they are contemporary with the plaques (see Pl. XXVIII, M 5393 and M 5402, which are pre-Solomonic). It is probable that our latest plaques are not later than Stratum III, even if we include in this classification the type represented on Plate XXXII. This would seem to correspond rather closely with the conditions at Gerar.

The "pillar" form of the mother-goddess figurine had little influence at Megiddo, although it is common in the southern part of Palestine. Our M 1776 (Pl. XXVI) belongs to this class, as is indicated by parallels from Gezer dated "toward the end of the Fourth Semitic Period and through the Persian and Hellenistic."⁵³ Similar types occur at Ophel in the post-Exilic period.⁵⁴ At Beth Shemesh this type was found before 700 B.C.⁵⁵ It was found at Tell Beit

⁴³ G. Roeder, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die deutsche Hermopolis-Expedition* ("Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo" II [1932]) pp. 110 f. and Pl. XXVI b.

⁴⁴ Schaeffer in *Syria* XIII 8–10 and Pl. IX 1.

⁴⁵ E. Grant in *AASOR* IX 2–3 and Fig. 3.

⁴⁶ MG III, Pl. XIX 16 (a mold) and Pl. CCXX. Cf. also BMMC Fig. 105, from Tell el-Hasi.

⁴⁷ STEM Fig. 86 and Pl. XVII a.

⁴⁸ Schaeffer in *Syria* XII (1931) 2 and Pl. XIII 4.

⁴⁹ Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, p. 42 and Pl. 54, No. 1.

⁵⁰ PG p. 17 and Pl. XXXVI 36. Nos. 34–35 are similar, but undated.

⁵¹ MG II 416.

⁵² Cf. Abel and A. Barrois in *Syria* IX (1928) 310 ff. and Figs. 13–14, and B. Carrière and A. Barrois in *Syria* VIII (1927) Pls. L–LI.

⁵³ MG II 417–18 and Fig. 502.

⁵⁴ PEFA IV (1926) Fig. 197.

⁵⁵ PEFA II (1912–13) Pls. XXIII and XLII.



FIG. 11.—EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN ANALOGUE(?) OF M 2884. Reproduced from *CFBA* Pl. LVII 276.

Mirsim (PM),⁵⁶ in Cyprus in the Early Iron Age (1200–750 B.C.),⁵⁷ and in the same period in the Carchemish district.⁵⁸ The style of the Carchemish specimens is quite different.

It is impossible to identify any individual figurine with any particular goddess. It would seem that the mother goddess of the Canaanites appeared under many different guises and titles. Ashtoreth, Anath, Kadesh, Ashimah, Asherah, Shala, and others may have filled similar rôles. It would seem probable that when different types of figurines appear in the same period in the same locality, they may represent different deities. The differences cannot be explained by positing that the figurines are effigies of sacred prostitutes; for the long life of certain types could not then be explained, nor the occurrence of similar types in widely separated localities. It is probable, however, that the sacred prostitutes did attire themselves after the manner of a goddess, and it is thus that we find these sacred women with veil, rings, and necklace in the Old Testament.⁵⁹

Upon close examination of the figurines illustrated in this publication, it will be found that there are not as many different types as appear at first glance. On Plate XXVII, by examining carefully the facial features, we may identify M 4495, M 4365, and M 787 as the same goddess. Little enough is actually known about the Palestinian pantheon; but by analogy with the picture disclosed by the Ras Shamra texts, and from the few hints which we have, we may assume it to be very complex. Ashtoreth may have been the mother goddess most commonly represented in Palestine, but we have hesitated to call all of those illustrated here Ashtoreth figurines. "Ashtoreth" may even have been merely a title given to mother goddesses known by other names also.

An interesting type of mother-goddess figurine represents a figure which is veiled despite the fact that the body is sometimes nude. A combination of a chin-veil and a back-veil which hangs down from the headdress over the shoulders is best exemplified in M 65 and M 4495 (Pl. XXVII). The chin-veil is designated by an incised line under the chin; the long veil is made by letting the clay run over the edge of the mold above the shoulders. A similar veiled effect is produced in Cypriote figurines of about 750–550 B.C.⁶⁰ In connection with the veil as identifying the mother goddess, we may recall the incident of Tamar, who was recognized as a sacred prostitute by her veil.⁶¹ She was, of course, acting as a personification of the mother goddess.⁶²

A vexatious issue is the identification of the disks held by some of the female figurines (see p. 30). Are they tambourines or cakes? The writer is tempted to affirm that sometimes one, sometimes the other, is intended; for, while sometimes the object is obviously a tambourine, in other instances it is held in a position not suitable for a tambourine and at times is too small and crude and may represent a cake. There is, of course, no conclusive evidence.⁶³

The names of Palestinian fertility-cult goddesses form a further link with Mesopotamia, for there we find counterparts of Ashtoreth, Anath, and Asherah. Anath was the colorless consort of Anu, and can be identified with the protective deity of Warka. Ashtoreth is the Ishtar of Mesopotamia, and Asherah may be considered the feminine counterpart of Ashur or Ashir,

⁵⁶ Cf. *BASOR* No. 47 (1932) p. 15.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Hos.* 2:13; *Prov.* 7:10; etc.

⁵⁷ MCC No. 2028.

⁶⁰ E.g. MCC No. 2166, a goddess with lyre.

⁵⁸ *AAA* VI (1914) Pl. XXVI b 1 and 5.

⁶¹ Gen. 38:15.

⁶² Cf. Caroline M. Galt, "Veiled Ladies," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d ser., XXXV (1931) 373–93, where the veiling found in classical times is derived from Western Asia and grounded in the idea that a married woman was her husband's property and could not safely be seen by others. More to the point, however, are references in the Assyrian law codes to the veiling of the *qadillu*; see S. I. Feigin in *AJS* L (1933/34) 228 f.

⁶³ For tambourine goddesses at Gezer (about 1400–1000 B.C.) see *PEFQS*, 1909, pp. 14–16 and Fig. 1.

whose name is reflected not only in that of Osiris but also in that of the Hebrew tribe of Asher. She is also to be identified with Asherat of Ras Shamra.⁶⁴

Of the three female figurines in stone from Megiddo (Pl. XXXII), M 3637 has already been discussed on page 28. M 4418 is a well carved image, and the relief M 1222 is interesting for the Egyptian posture of the feet. The other features of the relief figure are not Egyptianized,⁶⁵ the position of the hands is very common in bronze representations of the deities of Palestine and Syria.

MALE FIGURES (PLS. XXXIII-XXXIV)

Male figures were not found in great numbers among the Megiddo figurines. What may be an early idol or image in basalt (Pl. XXXIII, M 2120) was found on the field adjoining the tell. The facial details are only roughly suggested and present an impressionistic aspect. There is a pointed beard and no headdress. Its probable analogies belong to the EB or perhaps "Neolithic" period.⁶⁶

It is probable that the two heads M 4334 and M 4553 (Pl. XXXIII) are male, though the absence of bodies prevents a definite conclusion. The protruding ears are scarcely human; they may represent bull-cult symbolism. On the back of M 4334 two lines from the collar run up toward the crown. Identity in color, wear, decoration, and construction, in addition to the bovine ears, gave rise to a conjecture that M 4334 might belong with the bovine figurine M 4587 (Pl. XXXV) as a human-headed bull. These two fragments were found in adjoining squares on the tell, about 20 meters apart, in Stratum III.⁶⁷

The sex of the pumice and limestone effigies M 3342, M 1558, and M 2690 (Pl. XXXIII) cannot be determined, though characteristic female attributes are lacking. M 1558 and M 2690 represent slight improvements on rough pieces of limestone and chert and must be considered with reference to "statuettes fashioned out of nodules of soft limestone" from the Fourth Semitic Period (1000-550 B.C.) at Gezer. Macalister with reason surmises that "a shadowy anthropoid outline in the natural pebble struck the finder of the stone, who has done nothing more than add an indication of the face or other human characteristics."⁶⁸ Unworked "anthropoid" stones can be picked up easily in the limestone-strewn fields of Palestine.

The two bronze figurines No. 357 and M 2013 (Pl. XXXIV) are the best examples of male idols. They are reminiscent of Syro-Hittite art. No. 357 is an unusually well preserved image of the warrior-god Resheph. Among the parallels noted in the plate legend we call attention here to one from Ras Shamra,⁶⁹ which forms another link with that district, which the alphabetic texts are bringing into prominence. The similarity between the pottery plaques of Ras Shamra and vicinity and those of Palestine has already been mentioned (p. 31). In the tomb in which Resheph was found at Megiddo there was MB II and LB II pottery, and our figure belongs to the later period, to judge from analogous forms published elsewhere. M 2013, a head with conical hat, was found on the surface of the tell and is undated.

The reason for such a small number of male images at Megiddo is not easily found. Was it more common to depict gods as animals, and does that explain the great number of bovine

⁶⁴ Cf. Albright, "The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity *An-Anat-Attâ*," *AJSL* XLI (1924/25) 73-101 and 283-85. The Ras Shamra records place Anath definitely in the fertility cult as the consort mother goddess.

⁶⁵ See *MG* III, Pl. CCXX 4 and 21.

⁶⁶ See Egyptian and Cretan figures in Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas* (*BSAE* I [1896]) Pl. LIX and *EMPK* I, Fig. 52, and II, Fig. 13; cf., however, *Syria* VIII 294 and Pls. LXXIX 1 and LXXX 1, a basalt figure from Qatna.

⁶⁷ For pottery centaur figures in Cyprus about 600 B.C. see *MCC* p. 341, No. 2065, and G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and Its Dependencies* (London, 1885) II 200 and Fig. 135.

⁶⁸ *MG* II 421-22 and *MG* III, Pls. CCXXII-CCXXIII.

⁶⁹ *Syria* X (1929) Pl. LIII.

figures? Yahweh seems to have assumed bovine form in the cults at Bethel and Dan.⁷⁰ Or was there a reticence in depicting gods in concrete human form as idols, due to the influence of Yahwism? The greater number of female figures may be explained in part at least by the popularity of the mother-goddess cult.

ANIMAL FIGURINES (PLS. XXXIV-XXXVII)

The three bronze animal figurines (Pl. XXXIV) are bovine. We cannot err in associating them with the bull cult of the Old Testament, and we are reminded of the stories of the golden calf in the desert⁷¹ and of those at the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan set up by Jeroboam I.⁷² That any of our images belonged to the Hebrews is not certain; for two specimens (M 3032 and M 3070), from the tombs, are 18th–19th dynasty, before the Hebrews were at Megiddo, and the remaining one (M 2326), from the surface of the tell, is not dated.

The pottery animal figurines represent a limited number of species. Most common is the bovine, which appears in calf and bull form. A water buffalo (Pl. XXXVI, M 1666), an elephant (Pl. XXXV, M 4557), and an apelike head (Pl. XXXVII, M 2652) are more unusual. It is not always simple to separate the goats from the sheep—or from the horses—because of the fragmentary state of most of these objects. The ram, with his long horns, is more easily identified (Pl. XXXVII, M 4565, M 1014, etc.). The gazelle is found at least once (Pl. XXXVI, M 1089), as well as on the kernos ring P 2282 (Pl. XVI). Horses are very numerous (Pl. XXXVI), occurring mostly in Stratum III rather than in the level of Solomon's stables (Stratum IV) as we should expect.

The possible function of animal figurines has been discussed on page 28.

ZOÖMORPHIC VESSELS (PL. XXXVIII)

The discussion of figurines may be concluded with a note concerning vessels modeled after animals. The three examples from Megiddo represent varying degrees of realism. No. 3016 is comparatively realistic, No. 3015 more impressionistic, while No. 2962 is so conventionalized that it is uncertain whether any animal or bird form was intended. Two of the specimens come from the sacred area and may perhaps have been part of the furnishings of the sanctuary, although there is no direct evidence of their actual use. These types are too common in Palestine to allow the assertion that they were limited to the sanctuary, although it may well be that in the minds of the people of the day the animal symbolism of such vessels was not unrelated to the popular animistic cult. A type similar to No. 3016 is known in base-ring ware in Cyprus at an earlier period (LB).⁷³

⁷⁰ I Kings 12:29–33.

⁷² I Kings 12:29–33.

⁷¹ Exod., chap. 32.

⁷³ See *GPC* p. 187.

V

**TREE DESIGNS ON POTTERY, WITH SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING
THE ORIGIN OF PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS**

BY ROBERT M. ENGBERG

In considering objects and portrayals of a religious nature in the early art of Palestine, it is impossible to overlook the motives of the first figured pottery, which made its appearance in the country during the M-LB period (Pl. XXXIX), before the rise of the Egyptian Empire. In this ware of the 17th and 16th centuries B.C. appeared for the first time an artistic and religious consciousness, which was manifested likewise at about the same time on cylinder seals and scarabs. To the same period presumably should be attributed the widespread introduction of still other cultural elements, including figurines, for few figurines from Palestine can be given an earlier date (see p. 30). One is not to assume from this that the preceding peoples had lacked religious feeling, for indeed there is much to indicate that they had definite ideas of higher powers. It is simply recognized here that a new people with a strong artistic feeling for its religion was invading the country at the end of the MB period. From the evidence of scarabs we must conclude that it was closely related to the earlier Hyksos and probably represents the last great movement from the north before the conquests of Thutmose III in the first part of the 15th century B.C. A bowl from Minet el-Beidā¹ in North Syria (Pl. XXXIX N), although found out of context, is included in the early ceramic group because of its similarity in shape and design to a bowl from Gezer (Pl. XXXIX M) and to others using the British union jack pattern (Pl. XXXIX C and J), which is characteristic of the M-LB period in Palestine. Schaeffer has already called attention to other early types found at Ras Shamra and also in Palestine,¹ and one can scarcely doubt that both Palestine and Syria were simultaneously coming under vigorous new influences even as early as MB I.²

During the LB period the painting tradition persisted in a modified form (Pls. XL and XLI A-F), but we cannot attribute the changes to Egyptian influence. There seems rather to have been a normal and indigenous retrogression with a definite trend toward the use of lines and mere suggestion. This would not exclude immigration of related peoples from the north during the period; more frequent use of the metope, together with the more typical LB border patterns, especially crosshatching, may in itself be due to such influence. By the time of the EI period, during which we can see the same factors operating toward a dead end (Pl. XLI G-O), some of the designs become almost meaningless; and after that the appearance of any of the earlier motives is infrequent. There are very few examples of trees and animals from E-MI (Pl. XLI P-S), and those that we have appear to be the last degenerate expressions of a tradition many centuries old.

Many of the elements that we see in the first painted pottery of the M-LB period might seem to be nothing more than stylized representations of natural life well known to the people. Undoubtedly trees, birds, fish, and animals, which predominate in the art of the period, were familiar to all and as such may have had a strong attraction. But in no sense was there an impartial drawing on nature, as the distinctive but restricted repertoire shows. Further, speci-

¹ *Syria* XIV (1933) 110-11 and Fig. 10.

² Albright in *AASOR* XIII (1933) 66-67; Engberg and Shipton, *SAOC* No. 10, Appendix I.

mens showing a symmetric arrangement of tree and animals (as in Pl. XXXIX A), on comparison with designs from other parts of the Near East known to represent the tree of life with attendants, make it seem far from fanciful that in Palestine also the sacred tree played an important part in the religious life of the people. The subject is well treated in an article by Vincent.³ Such a view includes those birds and animals which are seen feeding on the foliage, as well as trees and animate forms which are portrayed singly but are executed in the same manner. It is not denied that the early representations were intended to be decorative; they were undoubtedly that in all cases, but the subjects were deeply imbedded in a lore that is seen frequently to supersede all laws of artistic composition. It is more likely that there was a restricting theme behind the arrangement of the animals and birds in Plates XXXIX A^{3a} and XL A, B, D, F, and G than that the artists were simply trying to make a pleasing display for those who were to use the vessels. The essential fruitfulness of the tree is clear in the first of our M-LB examples; and, whether or not the birds appear sacred, they here take the place of the religious and mythological figures, human, winged, and animal, which, with the central tree, are so prominent in Syro-Hittite and Assyrian art. This being so, the star depicted on the dovelike bird in Plate XXXIX H is possibly that of Ishtar.

The M-LB technique of outlining a pattern in broad strokes of dark brown and filling the inside space with another color, often a reddish brown, was superseded by an LB formula of thinner bounding lines with the interior often left unfilled. But whether the figures were filled or not, the pottery-painters of this period depended for the most part on one color. It is in this period too that a metopic arrangement of the patterns is most emphasized. But in all probability there lies in the decorative content of LB ware much that is diluted and debased from the superior ceramic designs previously introduced. Such a process is little less than normal in the light of history. Decadence begins directly on the introduction of a vigorous culture into foreign soil, and in this case is revealed to some extent by the poorer heraldic groupings of the LB period.

As before, we note in the LB group that fish (Pl. XL B) are given a place of importance. But here, instead of fitting into a metope (as in Pl. XXXIX M and N) or simply contributing to a crude composition (as in Pl. XXXIX J), two fishes are seen to be taking nourishment from the same tree as some acrobatic and ingeniously realistic goats. Being unable under any conditions to reach the fruitful branches, strange fare for inhabitants of the water, the artist has supplied the fishes with long tubes through which they draw the same sustenance as do the others within the ritual circle. In this scene the M-LB pattern of Plate XXXIX A is perpetuated, although more elaborately. Groupings of the same nature are recognized in Plate XL A-G, where sometimes incongruous postures make possible the eating of tree leaves and fruit. It is significant that in none of these groupings does the tree stand alone as an independent element in a scene. It is there not to produce shade, not to provide depth for a pastoral scene, but only as a source of nourishment for a small group of horned animals, fish, and birds. A crab, possibly because of some relationship to the tree and its attendants, appears under the handle in Plate XL A. The tree is more easily identifiable in this case than in others as the date palm, although the trees in Plate XL B, C, and E leave little doubt as to their species.

³ *Syria* V (1924) 81-107.

^{3a} If we agree that the group in Plate XXXIX A is more than the presentation of a scene from nature, then the cross-hatched design directly above the tree may assume some significance. Spouts on jugs were already known (e.g. x 101 from Tomb 24 at Megiddo), and here we may have the representation of a spout in paint. The placing of the spout, if such, immediately above the tree may well symbolize the watering of the tree. The underlying concept may be libation of a sacred tree, for which parallels are not lacking. It has been suggested that a sun disk might have been intended, but we see that there was enough space above the tree to permit of a completely circular sun. The crosshatching too appears to be better explained as representing the strainer of a spout.

The step from Plate XL *E* to *H* seems very possible from what we know of LB artistic tendencies.

The designs in Plate XLI *A–F* are added hesitantly, because most of them not even remotely resemble trees. Yet because of the hasty methods revealed in these degenerate metopic LB designs it is possible that they are actually derivatives of a former more flourishing tradition. When compared with the tree in Plate XL *C* these cursory designs take on a meaning. The first tree in this group, with its waving bands on either side of the straight trunk and with fruit and branches recognizable by comparison with Plate XL *C*, seems to typify one of the last intermediate steps between a stylized naturalism and complete degeneration. It must not be considered, however, that we are attempting to establish a direct hereditary line in painted designs. The surprising composition of Plate XL *A* and the linear motives of Plate XLI *A–F* are strictly contemporary, being dated by scarabs and Mycenaean pottery to the time of Ramses II. Because the two styles differ so markedly, we are forced to see in them the products of two artistic schools, the one conservative and depending upon former rules of technique and subject, the other, perhaps not fully understanding the lines that were painted, giving a degenerate and strictly contemporary rendering. Still other forms of stylization are to be seen in Plate XL *J* and *K*, the former of which, as Macalister points out, bears some resemblance to the seven-branched candlestick.⁴

In the group that represents the transition to the Iron Age (Pl. XLI *G–O*) both tendencies are still to be seen, but the more persistent is that which employs line decoration done in haste with little understanding of the history of motives. One entirely new style (Pl. XLI *N*) makes its appearance at Megiddo in a burial of this period; but the aggregate of design, ware, and finish of these sherds prevents their being in any way directly related to any of the earlier Palestinian pieces before us. There is here still another group of tree-feeding birds, existing as a new conception of an old tradition, but intruding itself sharply on an established evolutionary process.^{4a}

The MI period cannot be characterized by painted pottery in the decorative sense. Except for a few survivals (among them Pl. XLI *P–S*) the ceramic group is barren of any artistic endeavor; and those pieces that we have appear to belong to the early part of the period and are attached typologically as far as the tree design is concerned to the preceding period. This does not mean that interest in the tree as a decorative subject ended with the beginning of the Hebrew kingdom. The frequent mention of carved tree designs on Solomon's temple is sufficient to prove otherwise.⁵ Nor can it be said that the tree cult ceased with the formation and development of the Hebrew monarchy, for its continued existence is too well known; it is reflected, in all probability, in the popular Moslem views current today.⁶

The origin of M–LB two-color designs has intrigued Palestinian archeologists since the latter part of the 19th century, and writers have attempted designations suitable to the idea that the new conceptions came from the north. Thus the early trees, birds, and animals have been given an "Amorite," "North Syrian," or "Northern" origin, as was natural considering the limits of knowledge at the time. More recently Speiser has called attention to the similarity of some of the M–LB designs in Palestine and Egypt to those found by him at Tell Billah near Nineveh.⁷ From the Hurrian Stratum III at Tell Billah, dated 1600–1400 B.C., come designs on pottery which are directly comparable to some we have gathered together on Plate XXXIX.

⁴ MG II 192.

^{4a} Although used decoratively, the design above the horizontal band may represent mountains, between each two peaks of which appears a sun (cf. p. 24).

⁵ I Kings 6:29, 32, 35.

⁶ T. Canaan in *JPOS* V (1925) 181–83.

⁷ MJ XXIII (1933) 272.

Most striking is Macalister's "Amorite" (cf. p. 21) bird (Pl. XXXIX K),⁸ which we would now call Hurrian; but equally important are the British union jack (Pl. XXXIX C, J, and N) and checkerboard patterns.⁹ We do not illustrate the latter from Palestine; but at Megiddo and Tell el-Ajūl it has been found in a M-LB context, although much more common during the LB period (cf. Pl. XL B). The plaited pattern of Plate XXXIX A, D, and J appears to be missing at Tell Billah, but it has been found together with the Hurrian bird by R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hamilton at Nineveh.¹⁰ In Plate XXXIX J not only the fish but also the bird placed above it recalls still another typical arrangement from Tell Billah.¹¹ The antithetic group of Palestine is represented at Tell Billah in Stratum IV only,¹² which is earlier than and well separated from Billah III and is dated "about 1900 B.C. ff."¹³ but Speiser finds analogies for both Billah IV and Billah III occurring simultaneously in Palestine in the M-LB period.¹⁴ This is true to a large extent, but it is even truer that the Billah IV animals are better reflected in LB paintings in Palestine.

An explanation for this chronological discrepancy is not yet possible in detail, but with Speiser we may look to the west, probably to North Syria, for the Hurrian source. Ras Shamra appears to be within close reach of the route of Hurrian influence into Palestine, to judge from the striking similarity between two-color pottery specimens from there and from Gezer (Pl. XXXIX M and N). Central Anatolia is too far north according to the ceramic evidence from Alishar, which shows nothing similar to the representations in Plate XXXIX. Moreover, no palms grow there. The center of origin is therefore south of Central Anatolia, west of Assyria, and north of Palestine; and, because of the common ground now established between Assyria and Palestine, we can with some certainty place the parent Hurrian source somewhere on the Fertile Crescent which connects unbrokenly the two areas under discussion. The fact that Hurrian designs have not yet been found in the Aleppo district need not disturb us, for excavation in the interior of Syria has only begun. Neither have such designs been found in the eastern part of Palestine, although they have occurred in the Plain of Esdraelon (Megiddo and Ta'anach) and more plentifully in the Shephelah and coastal areas (Tell el-Ajūl, Gezer, Tell ed-Duweir). Since eastern Palestine has been explored considerably, it is possible that the apparent path of the two-color ware along the western border of the country is an indication of the route traversed by the Hurrian element of the late Hyksos group¹⁵ on its way to Egypt.

Now that the existence of a Hurrian element in Palestine has been established, we can make up for the absence of tablets or other forms of writing of that period in Palestine by reaching out to other established Hurrian centers for an elucidation of the extant religious fragments. To begin with, study of the tablets and particularly the seals from Billah III and contemporary Hurrian occupations in Assyria should give us fuller understanding of the theology brought to Palestine by related peoples during the period. The sudden appearance of offering-stands and figurines is probably an associated phenomenon.

The origin of antithetic grouping, however, cannot be as late as Billah IV. In his very important paper on painted Palestinian pottery Vincent¹⁶ derives its characteristic heraldic theme

⁸ *Ibid.* Pls. LX 3, LXIII-LXIV.

⁹ *Ibid.* Pl. LXIV.

¹⁰ *AAA* XIX (1932) Pls. LVII 8 and LIX 17 (plaiting) and LIX 11 (bird); cf. their pp. 83-88.

¹¹ Speiser in *MJ* XXIII, Pl. LXIV.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 276.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 260 and Pl. LXXII.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 272.

¹⁵ See Speiser in *AASOR* XIII for a full discussion of the Hurrian (taken as = Horite, Hiwwite), Habiru, Hittite, and Semitic groups within the broader Hyksos aggregation. If Hurrian = Horite, the Horites need no longer be restricted to the caves of Edom.

¹⁶ *Syria* V 81-107.

from the Chaldeo-Elamite region, where it was manifestly of religious significance and where a clear meaning for the design can be gained from written texts. The date of orthostats found by von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf, in particular the one with a stylized palm tree between two animals,¹⁷ will of course have some bearing on the matter; for if these orthostats are of the 3d millennium, then we have a very early instance of the heraldic idea in North Syria. Dussaud, on the other hand, has placed these orthostats late in the 2d millennium,¹⁸ and indeed the one with the palm tree seems to find its best analogies in the Assyrian art that flourished after the collapse of Kapara's stronghold, around 1100 B.C.¹⁹

This Tell Halaf orthostat,²⁰ being dated to or before the end of the 12th century B.C. in any case,²¹ appears to have a strong bearing on the origin of still another class of Palestinian objects brought within the purview of this volume. The essentials of the proto-Ionic capitals found at Megiddo (Pls. X-XI), Samaria, Ramath Rahel, and most recently Medeibiyah in Transjordan²² can be recognized in the volutes of the Tell Halaf orthostat, which portrays a complete palm column. Nor should a tree-of-life origin be considered too fantastic for such heavy architectural features. In a 6th century proto-Ionic Cypriote stele now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York²³ one sees in the midst of the foliage, between volutes and abacus, two winged figures face to face with a tree motive between them. This arrangement, intimately associated with a true capital, is precisely the same as that seen on the Tell Halaf orthostat. The column and capital which it portrays in miniature may, even in the 12th century, have been known structurally. The Megiddo capitals in stone are of the 10th century and show a degree of adherence to convention not to be expected in a new-born conception; we are therefore led to look to an earlier period outside of Palestine for the origin of the Ionic idea. A unique column found at Assur, dated to the reign of Shamshi-Adad IV, a son of Tiglathpilesar I (about 1100 B.C.),²⁴ suggests dependence on similar artistic principles. It carries over structural evidence another century back of the Megiddo capitals and, moreover, points to a territory in which the Ionic conception may possibly have arisen. Further instances of proto-Ionic forms in Mesopotamia are a stele of the 9th century B.C. from Sippar²⁵ and a Khorsabad relief of the late 8th century B.C. showing an "Ionic" temple.²⁶

It seems worth while to point out a few instances of miniature proto-Ionic capitals and pillars which are probably as old as or older than the Tell Halaf piece. These too originated far away from Aeolia, Cyprus, Egypt, and other traditional homes of the Ionic order; they come from Syro-Hittite territory. Within that area in the latter half of the 2d millennium was practiced

¹⁷ OTH p. 143 and Pl. 24b.

¹⁸ *Syria* XII 90-95. Götze too differs from the excavator, but dates the reliefs to the Mitanni period in the 2d millennium; see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XL (1933) 252. These and other opinions which view the Tell Halaf art as a late creation are summarized by Ernst Herzfeld in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* VI (1934) 112-14.

¹⁹ Cf. a 9th century B.C. tree and animal relief from Tell Ahmar in *Syria* X (1929) 201, 203, and Pl. XXXV 4.

²⁰ For another stylized palm of the same type from Tell Halaf see *Syria* V (1924) Pl. XXIX 3.

²¹ In OTH p. 226 Bruno Meissner dates in the 12th century the ruler Kapara to whom all the cuneiform inscriptions found on the orthostats belong; his date is based on the style of writing, the peculiarities of language, and the ideas of the inscriptions.

²² See Nelson Glueck in *BASOR* No. 51 (1933) p. 13. His Fig. 2 pictures the Medeibiyah capital as found on the surface. He calls it "probably no later than the 8th century B.C."

²³ AAG Pl. XVI.

²⁴ W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* (WVDOG XXIV [Leipzig, 1913]) pp. 24-30 and Pls. XV-XVI.

²⁵ GAB Pl. CXXIX 322 and pp. 92 f.

²⁶ P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive II* (Paris, 1849) Pl. 114. Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* Fig. 115; on his pp. 277-78 he suggests that this is the type of structure called *bit hilani* and is able to use Greek architectural terms in describing it. The original is in the Oriental Institute Museum.

a distinctive type of art, including the earliest representations known to us of proto-Ionic capitals and pillars.²⁷ Whether we can argue from the striking column on the seal shown in Figure 12²⁸ that the same form was used monumentally in stone or wood is yet to be seen. A date before the end of the 11th century B.C. seems reasonable for this seal, to judge by a comparison of its details with those of better dated specimens.²⁹ Aside from its smaller figures, which are characteristically Syro-Hittite, two heraldic cherubs face the column which is the dominant center of the composition. That the shaft and capital in this case were derived from the palm rather than the lily can scarcely be doubted in view of numerous intermediate examples.³⁰

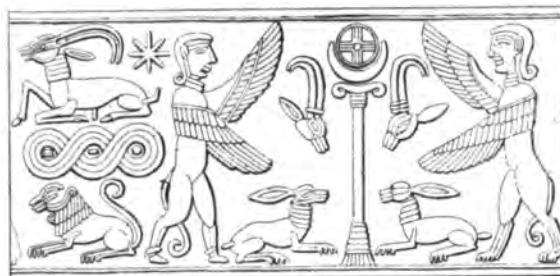


FIG. 12.—SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSION

Reproduced from Félix Lajard, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* (Paris, 1847) Pl. LII 6. Cf. his posthumous text, *Recherches sur le culte ...* (Paris, 1867) pp. 260 f.

come from the area stretching between Assur and Kirkuk on the east³¹ and Ras Shamra on the Mediterranean coast. M. Schaeffer has been extremely kind in offering for publication here one of a group of tree seals found in the 1934 clearance of the 13th–14th century B.C. level at Ras Shamra (Fig. 13). There is no mistaking the Ionic form of the central theme, which, although essentially a composite of volutes, must be regarded as a tree not only because of the animals reaching full length upward to feed but because of the intermediate tree designs and the antithetic arrangement.

This development carries us back in time to simpler forms, the distribution of which can leave little doubt that the parent source was in Asia. It is true that Ras Shamra during the Egyptian Empire period absorbed much that was foreign to North Syria. This influence became apparent to a very marked degree in art. In the Ras Shamra seal it is probably a blue lotus that is growing out of the upper volute. Perhaps the two shoots extending from the



FIG. 13.—IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF THE 13TH–14TH CENTURY B.C. FROM RAS SHAMRA. ACTUAL SIZE

²⁷ Not until the manuscript for this chapter had been sent to press did W. Andrae, *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol?* (Berlin, 1933) become available to the writer. It will be noted that there, as here, cylinder seal designs are considered of great importance in the development of the Ionic order.

²⁸ Reproduced by Ward, *SCWA* No. 949, from Lajard. Source is not stated by latter, but it was in his collection, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

²⁹ Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *Cylinder Seals* (Oxford, 1920). The following references (all in his Pl. VI) are to seals of his Class III A, dated roughly before the end of the 11th century (see his p. 98): No. 177, winged figure with headdress similar to those in our Fig. 12, and also disk resting in crescent; No. 153, disk and crescent above drooping palm; No. 154, ibex head, goat, and two hares; Nos. 172, 175, and 176, animals above and below a short horizontal guilloche.

³⁰ A cylinder seal impression (probably 15th century B.C.) illustrated in *Syria* XI (1930) 11 by Alfred Boissier provides one excellent example of a tree midway between naturalism and convention. A further step toward convention has been taken in O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* ("Der Alte Orient" XVII–XVIII [1920]) No. 255.

³¹ See Weber, *op. cit.* Nos. 470 and 479, Assur seals attributed to the 3d quarter of the 2d millennium, and No. 267, a Kirkuk seal placed merely within the 2d millennium. The latter strongly resembles a number of Nuzi seals (about 1600–1400 B.C.) which are being drawn by Mrs. Edward Chiera for publication by the University of Pennsylvania.

lower volute are blue lotus buds, and from its base spring what may be two "Madonna lilies,"³² which were much more at home in Crete. This combination of motives is to some extent that seen in the involved Arslan Tash ivories of North Syria, some of which use decorative elements which include stylized volutes and papyrus-like designs.³³ So with the Ras Shamra seal, as with the Arslan Tash, Nimrud, and Samaria ivories,³⁴ we must attempt to make a clear distinction between what is Egyptian and what is Asiatic. Neither the heraldic grouping about the tree nor the grotesque individual (priest?) holding the tails of the animals has an Egyptian background. Concerning the volutes, which interest us primarily, Thureau-Dangin and his colleagues have pointed out that this type of decoration did not appear in Egypt until the 18th dynasty.³⁵ Is it not then possible that the background for the Egyptian lily capital actually lay in another continent? The volutes on the Ras Shamra seal have strong links with Egyptian Empire designs, but the long process of development can be traced in Asia only. A connection between the lily as symbol of Upper Egypt, which goes back at least to the Pyramid Age, and the 18th dynasty lily capitals is, of course, not impossible, but it is difficult to overlook the continuous series of tree motives which developed slowly and naturally in Asia. The greatly increased interest of Egypt in Asia during the Empire can explain the sudden introduction of the idea to the Nile, and it so happens that the lily column of Thutmose III at Karnak³⁶ is the earliest instance we can find of the monumental use of the lily in Egypt.

Before leaving the Ras Shamra seal we wish to point out that at the base of the lower volute there exists the triangle in the same form that it later took in the stone capitals from Palestine and Cyprus.³⁷

Some bas-reliefs at Yazilikaya near Boghazkoy show "aediculae"³⁸ which were long considered to be additional evidence of an early Western Asiatic background for the Ionic order. It is now clear, however, that such "aediculae" are analogous to the cartouches used in ancient Egyptian writing and that they consist of groups of appropriate hieroglyphs framing the names of Hittite kings. Inasmuch as the triangular signs at the sides are in origin independent of the scrolls placed above them,³⁹ any connection of the latter with the Ionic order is out of the question.

³² EPMK I 604 and Figs. 443-44.

³³ Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash* (Paris, 1931) Pls. XXIV 15-16 and XXV 17-19. But we must refrain from defining details too closely, for in other Arslan Tash ivories well known Egyptian designs are taken over in general, but with details completely changed. E.g., an Egyptian symbolic design shows the hieroglyph for "union" with the plants of Upper Egypt and the Delta being bound about it; but at Arslan Tash the "union" hieroglyph, in Egypt a picture of lungs and windpipe, has itself become a cluster of plants (cf. Thureau-Dangin et al., *op. cit.* Pl. XXVI and p. 101).

³⁴ See p. 16. The Nimrud ivories, first mentioned at this point, are described by A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (London, 1849) II 8-10.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 99, citing W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894) Pls. XVI 197-210 and XVIII 368-89. D. Fimmen (*Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, p. 202) calls attention to the sudden modification of the lily form in Egypt in the 18th dynasty, but derives it from the Minoan-Mycenaean culture. Search of pertinent publications by T. G. Allen and John A. Wilson yielded a large body of negative evidence in support of Thureau-Dangin et al. and Fimmen.

³⁶ J. Capart, *L'art égyptien* (Bruxelles et Paris, 1909) Pl. 54.

³⁷ See for Palestine Pls. X-XI and for Cyprus G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and Its Dependencies* I 118 f.

³⁸ For the best and latest photographs, brief description, bibliography, and summary of interpretations and datings of Yazilikaya see K. Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* ("Istanbuler Forschungen" V [Bamberg, 1934]). The "aediculae" appear in his Pls. XXI-XXII and XXVII-XXIX. E. Dhorme in *Syria* XIV (1933) 360-62 (too late to be included by Bittel) dates these reliefs to the time of Hattushil (about 1271 B.C.).

³⁹ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914) pp. 32 f.; I. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* I (SAOC No. 2 [1931]) 16 and 68; E. O. Forrer, *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (SAOC No. 3 [1932]) pp. 2 ff. (citing P. Jensen as the first to recognize the "aedicula" as equivalent to a cartouche).

There is thus far no archeological evidence that actual proto-Ionic capitals were used by the early civilizations that approximated them in small reliefs and cylinder seals. On the other hand we are faced with the fact that the Palestinian and Transjordanian capitals, some of them perhaps as early as the first half of the 10th century B.C., and the 11th century column from Assur are in need of an ancestry. Therefore we venture to suggest that the structural idea underlying them is to be traced back to a region where similar conceptions in miniature were known at an earlier period; North Syria and Assyria would seem to be likely sources. Such a hypothesis does not detract in the least from the later development of Aeolic beauty and grace in western Asia Minor, perhaps under late Egyptian influence as suggested by L. Kjellberg.⁴⁰

What is of greatest importance, of course, in determining Ionic origins is to discover early archeological remains. But if the first structural use was in wood, as seems probable, then the question can never be settled satisfactorily, since wood disintegrates rapidly under unstable climatic conditions such as are found in Western Asia. Lacking material remains, we may see some significance in the designs on the Ras Shamra seal (Fig. 13), the Tell Halaf orthostat, and, most important, the seal shown in Figure 12. The last forms an almost perfect approach to the Ionic type known later on the Greek mainland, while the first two recall the capitals known from Palestine and Cyprus. In the absence of essential evidence one must consider the possibility that the long line of cylinder seal motives already discussed, developing from recognizable palm-tree designs into the very stylized forms seen in these three instances, affected the artistic evolution of capitals used structurally. Such a consideration would explain the small projections under the Megiddo and Cypriote⁴¹ volutes as vestigial date drops. On this basis religion would again appear as the impetus of an artistic conception, for in our discussion the "tree-of-life" pattern has had a prominent place.

⁴⁰ "Das äolische Kapitell von Larisa," *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom II: Corolla archaeologica* (Lund, 1932) pp. 238-45. Cf. also the Megiddo incense stand shown in Fig. 6, which is strongly Egyptianized yet has a leaf molding of typical Aeolian form.

⁴¹ AAG Pl. XVI.

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THE SACRED AREA

The view is southward across the "temple"; the building with upright stones is in the background. See pages 4 ff.



PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS LYING ON A STRATUM II WALL

The broad walls of a Stratum II fortress in which two of the proto-Ionic capitals had been re-used extend over the sacred area of Stratum IV. The capitals are seen at center left, lying on one of these later walls, but not in their positions as re-used. The village of Lejjun is in the background. See page 10.



SOUTHERN PART OF THE SACRED AREA

The storehouse is in the foreground, and the building with upright stones, not yet fully excavated, is at the upper left. The upright stones in the far background are mostly door jambs or stable stones. One of the proto-Ionic capitals lies as it was found before the building with upright stones (center left). See page 7.

T. A. L. Concannon gives the following description of his reconstruction of the Stratum IV "temple." It should be read in conjunction with a previous reconstruction and description in *OIC* No. 9, Figure 22 and pages 32-37.

The building, as existing, is constructed with a series of dressed stone piers, spaced at equal intervals, with a filling of uncoursed rubble extending through the full thickness of the wall. A distinctive feature of these stone piers is that two headers and one stretcher in one pier alternate with one header and two stretchers in the next.¹

On the north front of the structure are three steps of a stairway leading to a platform the north and east supporting walls of which remain in position. Mr. Guy reports a bit of lime plaster still *in situ* on the lowest step, making it probable that the ground sloped upward at this point to reach this step and that the number of steps illustrated in the present reconstruction should be reduced. There is no definite evidence, however, of an external staircase leading to the top of the tower, as illustrated in *OIC* No. 9, Figure 22; not only would the assumption of one be hypothetical, but such an arrangement would make the building extremely vulnerable in case of attack. An inside staircase or ladder may have led to the top of the tower.

Since no doorjambs or thresholds are to be observed in the existing walls, it is assumed that the general floor level inside the building stood immediately above the level of this platform.

An examination of the rubble and coursed stonework suggests that the use of regularly spaced dressed masonry in a rubble wall of this type has no structural significance in relation to the superstructure.² The view is taken here that the rubble was plastered over, and that the dressed stones were exposed as an ornamental feature. If the floor line inside the building was at the height suggested, there would be a considerable amount of earth or other fill to be retained by the external wall, and the stone piers would increase the strength of what would otherwise be a retaining wall of doubtful resistance.

There is no unquestioned evidence to indicate exactly what form the walling of the superstructure did take, but the use of vertical timber posts as proposed in the reconstruction in *OIC* No. 9 cannot be reconciled with the known architectural details of the period. If the intention was to represent a building with a timber frame and mud-brick skin (i.e., non-structural) walls, then in order to insure a sound foundation the timber posts which are arranged over the coursed masonry ought to have been carried up to meet a beam or plate supporting the roof timbers, and all the wall corners ought to have been formed of double posts, the remainder of the walling being filled with a thin skin of plastered mud brick or other material. From the evidence of cedar wood ash found in the building, however, and by analogy with Senjirli structures and the descriptions of Solomonic buildings at Jerusalem, the presence of a horizontal layer of cedar beams placed immediately above the rubble podium may safely be argued. This wide and continuous layer of beams would perform the function of providing a true and level base for the course of walling arranged directly above it. The character and dimensions of five stone pilaster capitals found within the sacred area add strength to the possibility of this reconstruction, for their over-all length is equal to the width of the rubble podium. Since but one of these five capitals is worked on both faces, and the abacus and necking are rectangular, it is obvious that their use was as cappings to pilasters flanking the doorways of the more important rooms and carrying lintels composed of two or three beams of stone or wood.³

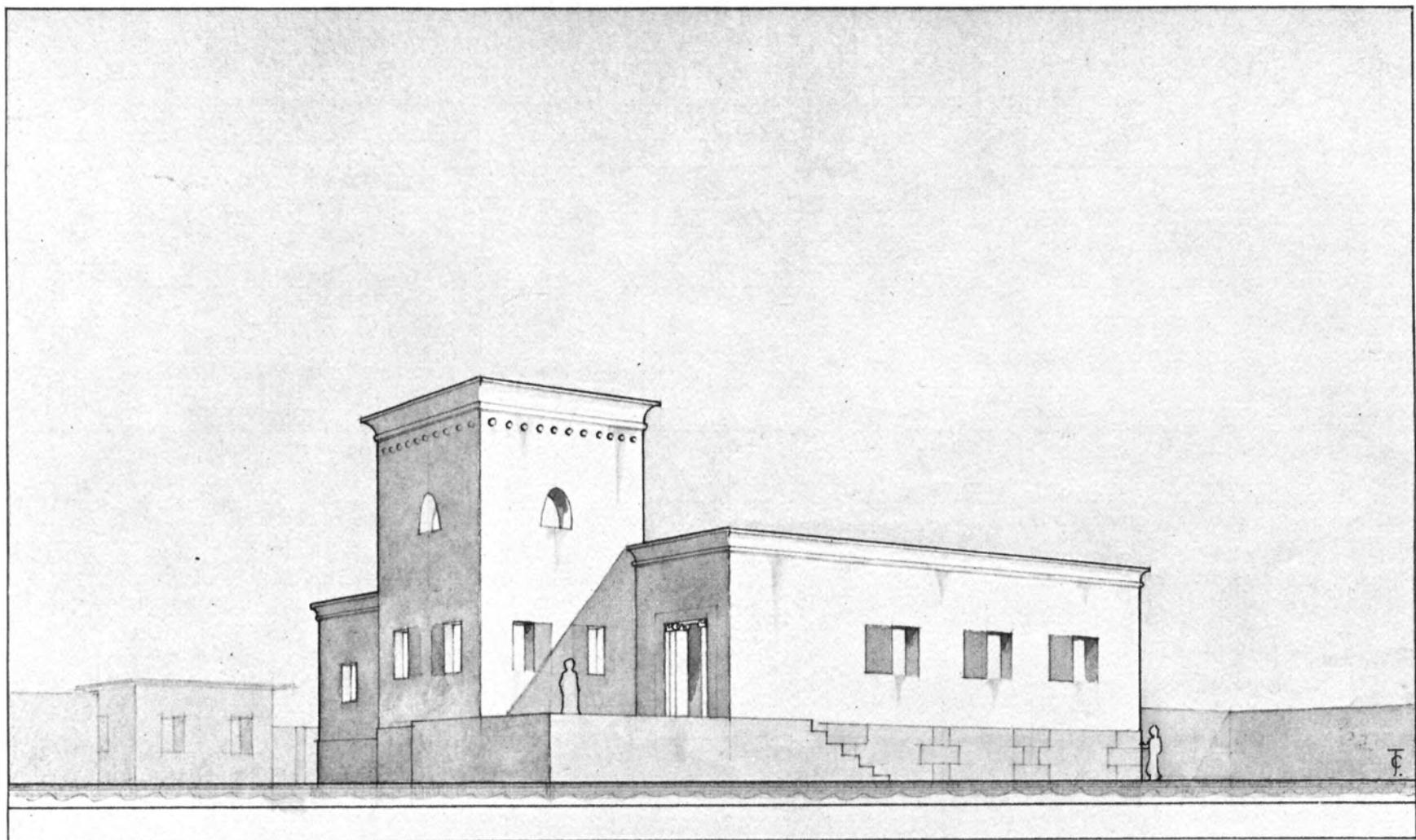
The reconstruction of the superstructure is based not only on representations of buildings on reliefs of the period but also on the pottery shrines found at Megiddo and described in this publication. These shrines, exhibiting details of fenestration and construction, are considered to have been models of actual buildings. On this hypothesis windows at eye-line height, a flat roof with a parapet wall, a cavetto cornice, and a row of slightly projecting roundels at the roof level (possibly a decorative treatment which had a structural origin in a row of roof timbers projecting through the external walls) have been included in the restored view.

See page 5.

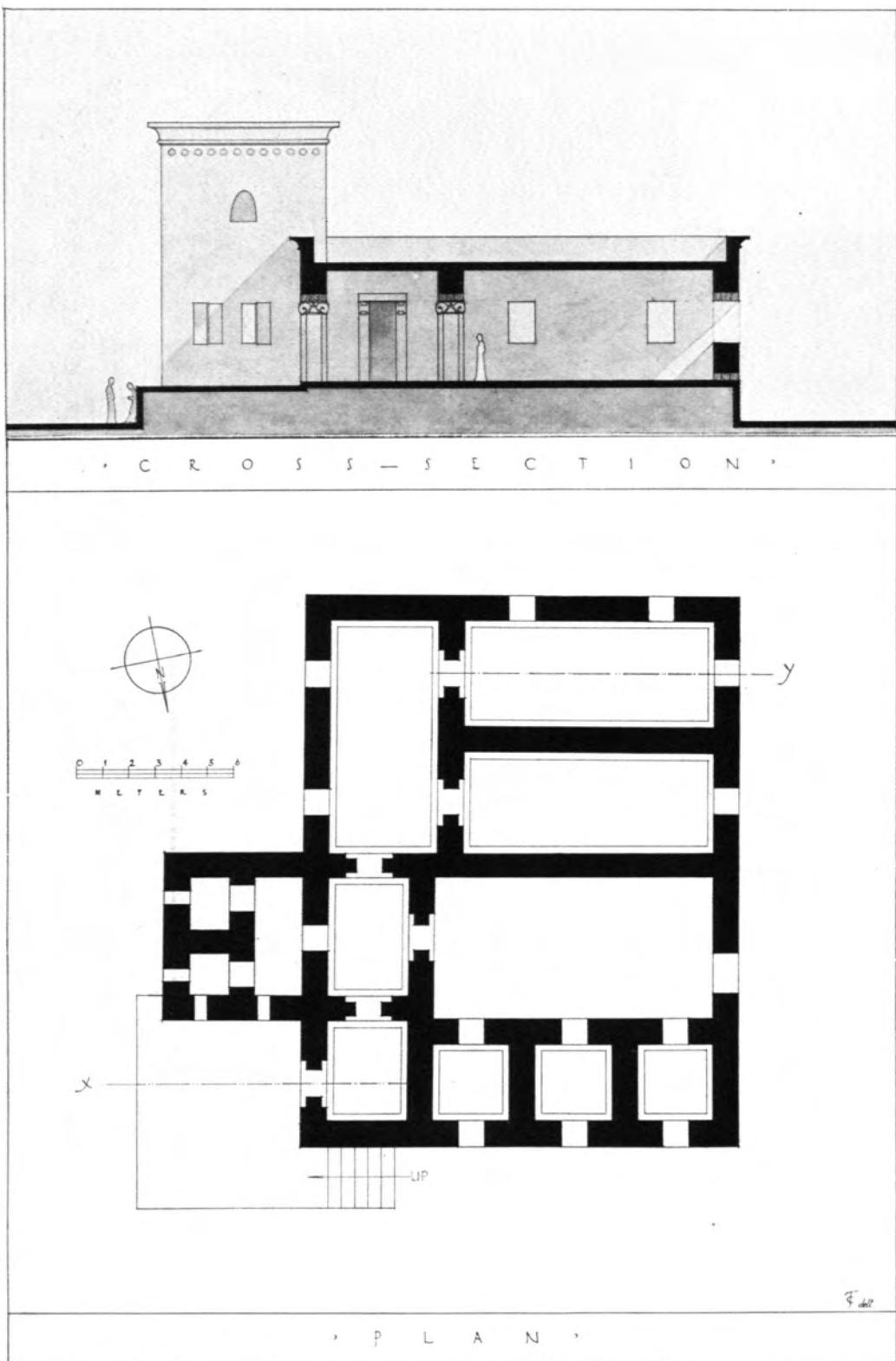
¹ The same type of construction occurs at Tell Abu Hawam; see R. W. Hamilton in *QDAP* III (1933) 78-79.

² At the south edge of the tell a wall bounding an area of about 56×56 meters exhibits on its face a similar arrangement. The wall probably supported little more than a low parapet or fence wall projecting above the general level of the lime-paved open compound, the base serving in the main as an earth-retaining wall, strengthened by the equally spaced dressed stone piers. Plaster still adheres to portions of the outside walling, while none is visible upon the dressed stone.

³ Cf. *AAG* Pl. XVI.



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STRATUM IV "TEMPLE." PERSPECTIVE VIEW



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STRATUM IV "TEMPLE." CROSS-SECTION AND PLAN. SCALE, 1:250



THE STRATUM IV "TEMPLE" FROM THE SOUTHEAST

A "shield of David" is on the southern face of the building near this corner. Mount Carmel is in the background. See page 6



THE BUILDING WITH UPRIGHT STONES, FROM THE SOUTHWEST

A cupmark is visible on the western face of the first pillar to the left. Little Hermon is in the background. See page 10

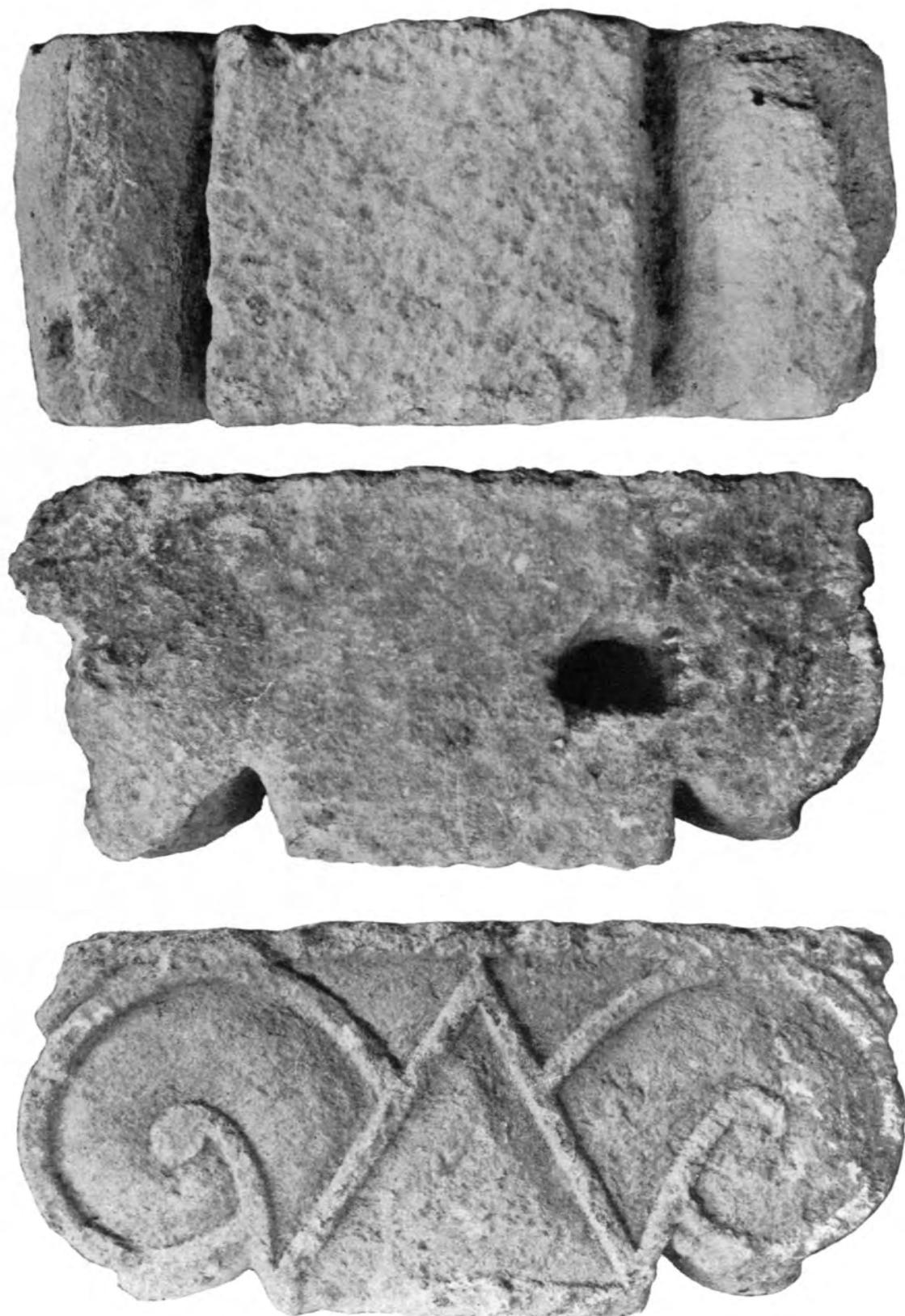


THE BUILDING WITH UPRIGHT STONES, FROM THE NORTHEAST

The cupmarks on the eastern faces of the first two pillars in the northern row are visible. The walls of the rear rooms (in foreground) are poorly preserved. See page 10

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description
3657	Q13	IV	Bottom, back, and face illustrated; hole in back perhaps for attachment; inclusive measurements $1.025 \times .435 \times .46$. Triangle and volutes still appear well carved, in spite of evident weathering.

See pages 7 and 10.

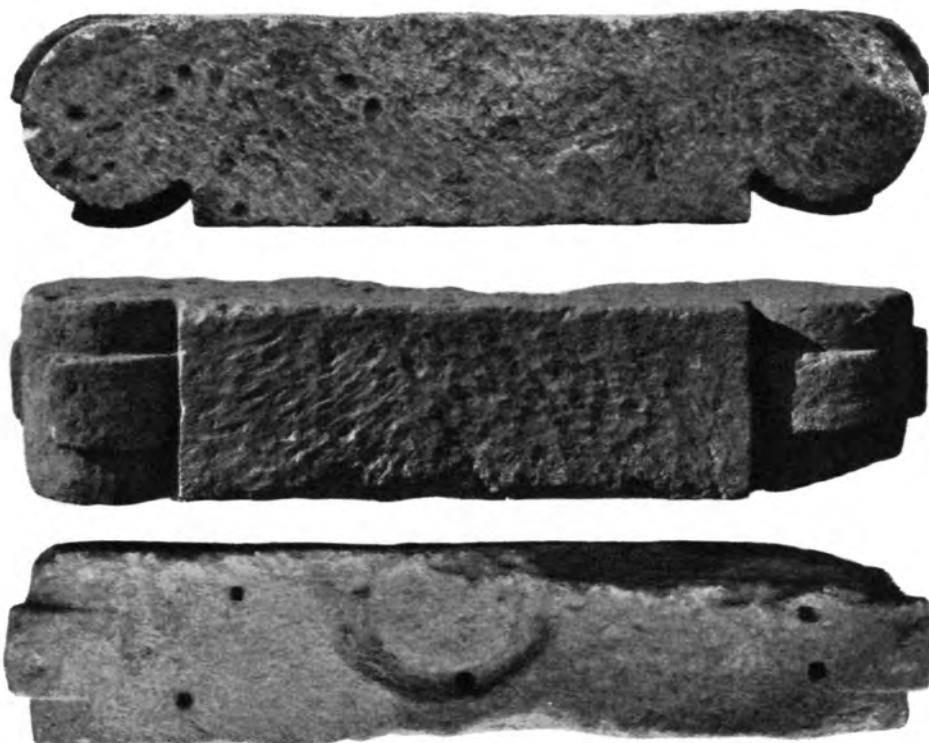


A PROTO-IONIC CAPITAL ASSOCIATED WITH THE STRATUM IV "TEMPLE." SCALE, 1:8

The grooved semicircle on the top has the same position on each capital relative to the face.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 5339	P9	III	Unworked face; bottom, top, and face illustrated; 2.39 long, .57 high, .56 thick; grooved semicircle and holes on top perhaps to support a decorative construction or entablature; abacus slightly trapezoid, long sides 1.48 and 1.46.	The interrupted border or fringe is to be compared with the design of the volutes at the corners of pottery shrine No. 2986 (Pls. XIII-XIV). The block was not <i>in situ</i> .
M 5340	Q9:1565	III	Finely worked face; bottom, top, and face illustrated; 2.44 long, .57 high, .57 thick; holes and grooved semicircle on top; abacus slightly trapezoid, long sides 1.46 and 1.54.	This no doubt originally belonged to Stratum IV, since it was found re-used in a Stratum III wall near the citadel gateway. The volutes and triangle are well carved, though at present somewhat defaced.

See pages 1 and 11.



M 5339



M 5340

PROTO-IONIC CAPITALS FROM THE CITADEL GATEWAY. SCALE, 1:20

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
2984.....	R12	IV?	Height .68; discoloration by conflagration evident in photograph.	Found near sacred area.
2983.....	R12	IV?	Height .555.	Found near sacred area.
M 4555.....	R5:1521	III	Measurements .24×.22×.35; horns at four corners broken off short; surface of top discolored by fire.	
M 5331.....	R6 = 1689*	V	Measurements .34×.25×.38; no discoloration by fire; surface of top convex and very rough; horns squared and rising more abruptly than in other specimens.	Found beneath stables. Earliest example from Megiddo.
M 5154.....	G14	Surface	Measurements .30×.28×.45; top a simple tray discolored by fire.	It differs from all the others in that the lower portion is not recessed and it has no horns.
2982.....	R12	IV?	Height .545.	Found near sacred area.

* This type of designation indicates that the object was found near the locus and at the same stratigraphic level

See pages 12 f.



2983



M 5331



M 5154



2982

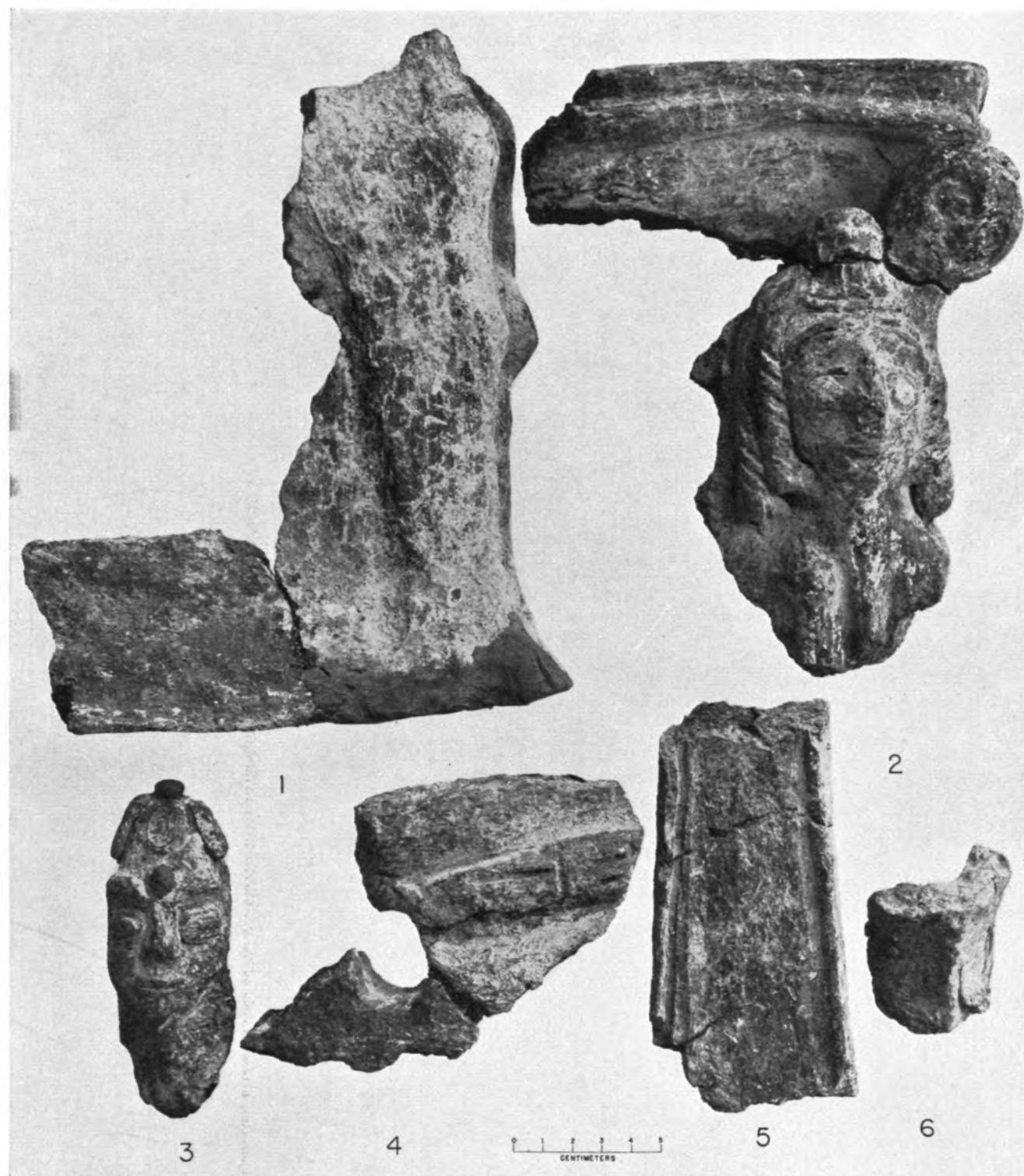
LIMESTONE ALTARS. SCALE, 1:7

Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
Q13 south of I 9*	IV?	See pages 13-17.	Found in sacred area. For details see Pl. XIV.

* Such a combination represents a locus preceded by indication of its stratum. Objects located with reference to a locus may, however, as in this case, belong to a different stratum.



RESTORATION OF POTTERY SHRINE NO. 2986. SCALE, 1:4



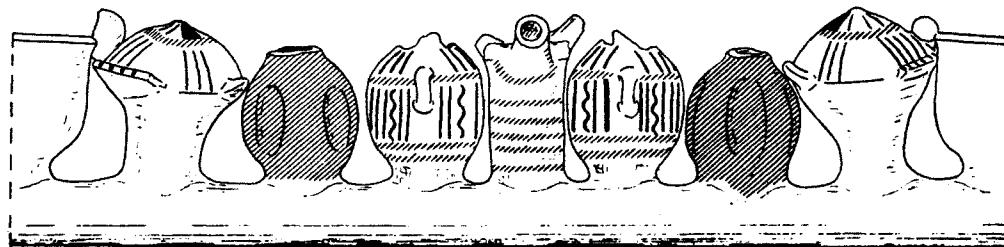
FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY SHRINE NO. 2986. SCALE, 1:2. FOR RESTORATION SEE PLATE XIII

Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
Q13 south of I 9	IV?	See page 17.	Found in sacred area.

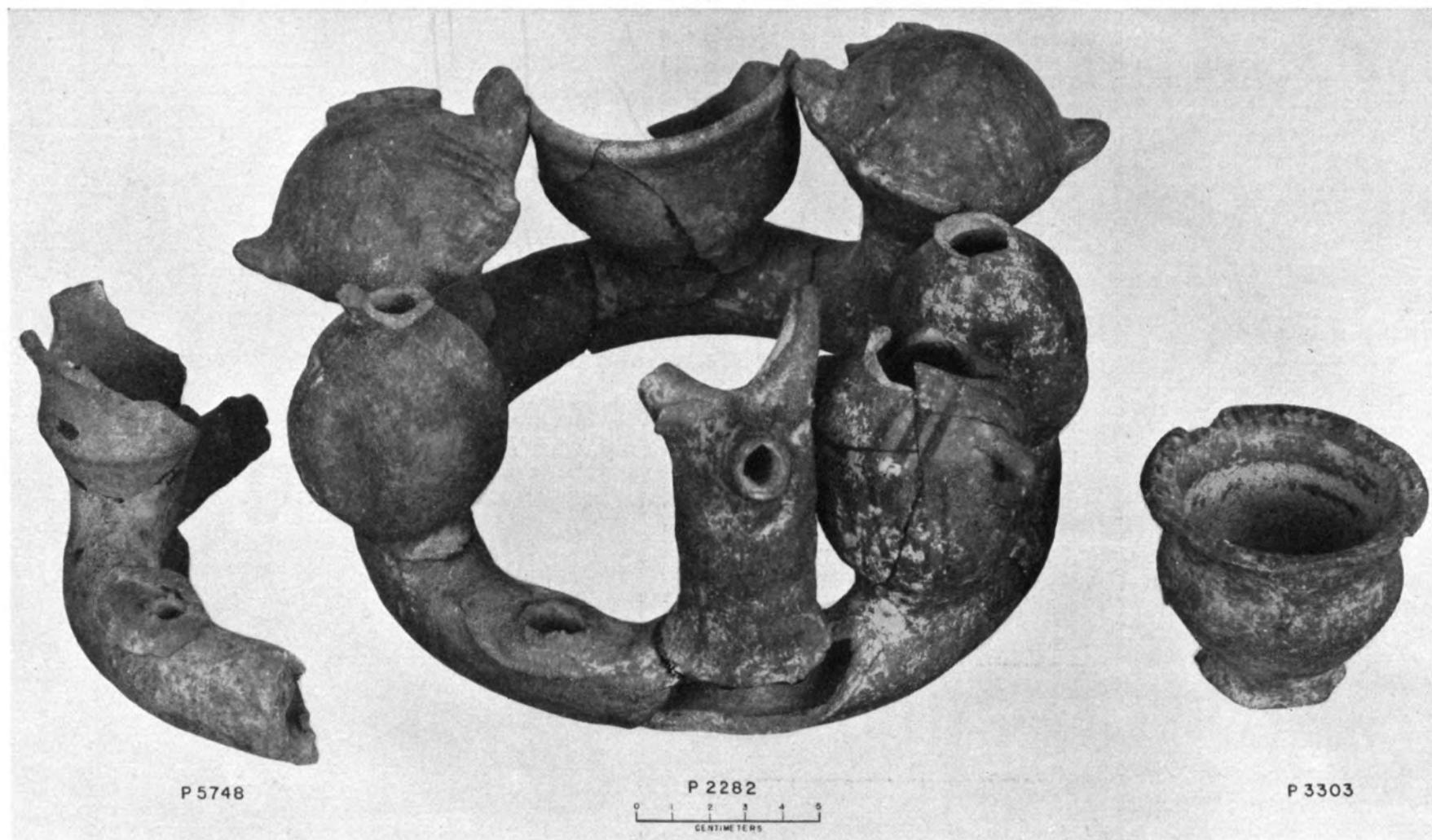


POTTERY SHRINE No. 2985. SCALE, 1:3

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
P 5748.....	Q10 below 1567	VI	Brown ocher ware; originally eight objects on the ring base. Fragment of one cup remains.	
P 2282.....	R4:626	VI	Burnt umber ware; closely burnished surface. Ring base supported one gazelle head, two amphoræ, two pomegranates, two doves, and one cup. All supported objects hollow, communicating with hollow base. Gazelle head is decorated with red lines, has pierced eyes and orifice through mouth, horns and ears broken off. Remaining amphora decorated with red and sepia lines; pomegranates (tops broken off) covered with red wash; each dove decorated with red and sepia lines forming Maltese cross at top. Doves originally drank from cup, but heads now broken off. One side of object blackened by fire.	For detail see drawing below (scale, 1:4).
P 3303.....	P4:925	.....	Brown ocher ware; light red and sepia decoration, with two blanks, perhaps where heads of doves reached over rim.	



See pages 17 f.



KERNOS RINGS. SCALE, 3:5

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 5202	O6:1674 (R5)*	IV filling	Ivory censer; no discoloration through use as censer.	Association with steatite censers discussed below is unquestioned, in spite of unusual material.
M 4304	N10:1390 (pavement)	I or II	Steatite censer; raised rope decoration around rim. Part of one finger of conventionalized hand in relief survives on outside.	
M 4303	P9:1388 (floor)	II or III	Steatite censer; end shaved for fitting into pipestem; filled border incised in chevron pattern; conventionalized hand in relief on outside.	For similar decoration see <i>Syria XI</i> , Pl. XXIV.
M 4606	P8:1534	III or II	Steatite censer; tapering stem covered with minute incisions to aid in holding packing of stem; crisscross incised border and cross on outside.	
M 2702 and P 3052	Tomb 911 A 1	.....	See page 19.	Dated LB II by context.

* Number in parentheses indicates actual plot in which the object was found.

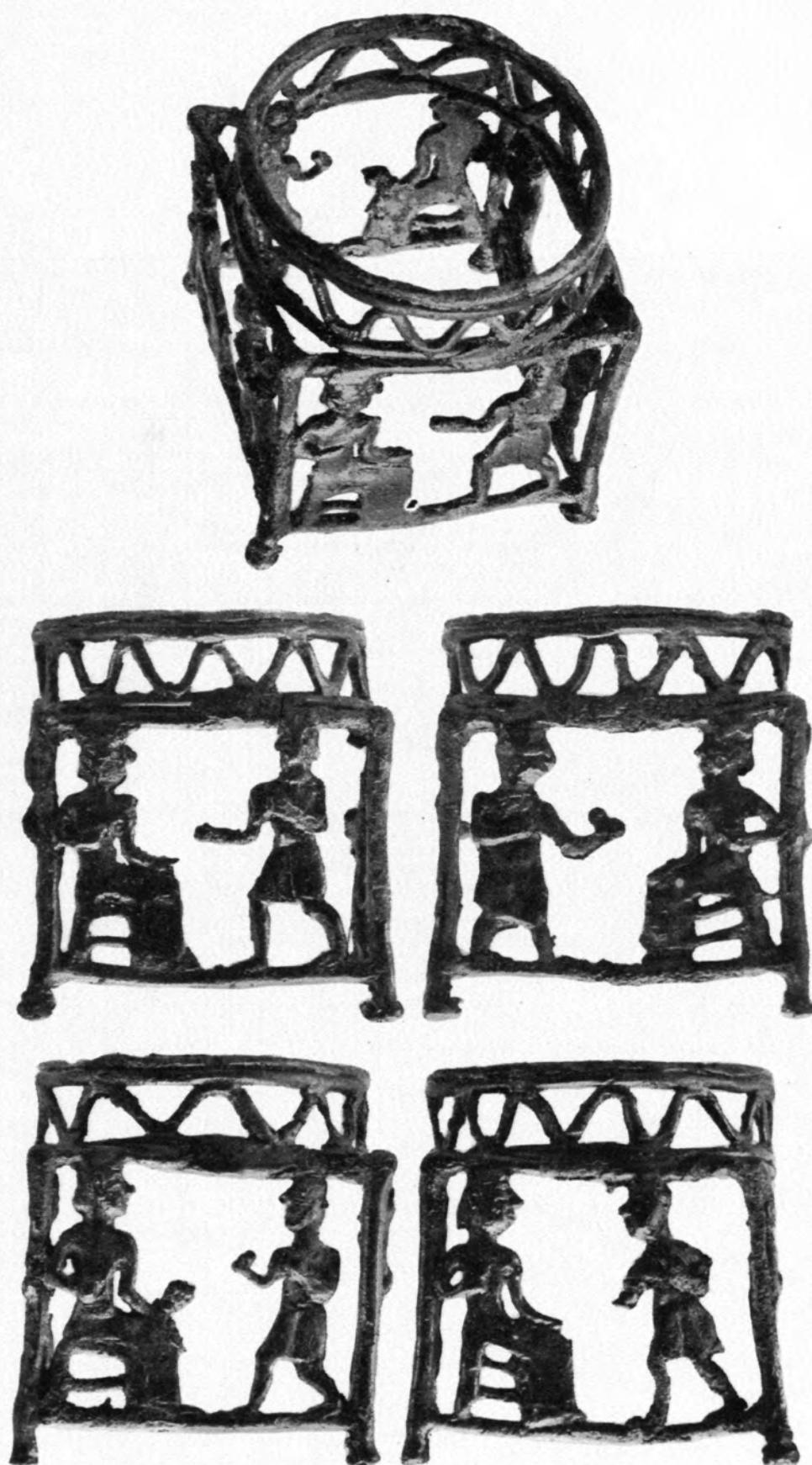
See pages 18 f.



CENSERS AND BRONZE OFFERING-STAND WITH POTTERY BOWL WHICH IT ONCE SUPPORTED. SCALE, 1:2

Locus	Stratum	Description
P3?	V?	All four sides illustrated; details uniform, except on one side, where seated figure is at right instead of left.

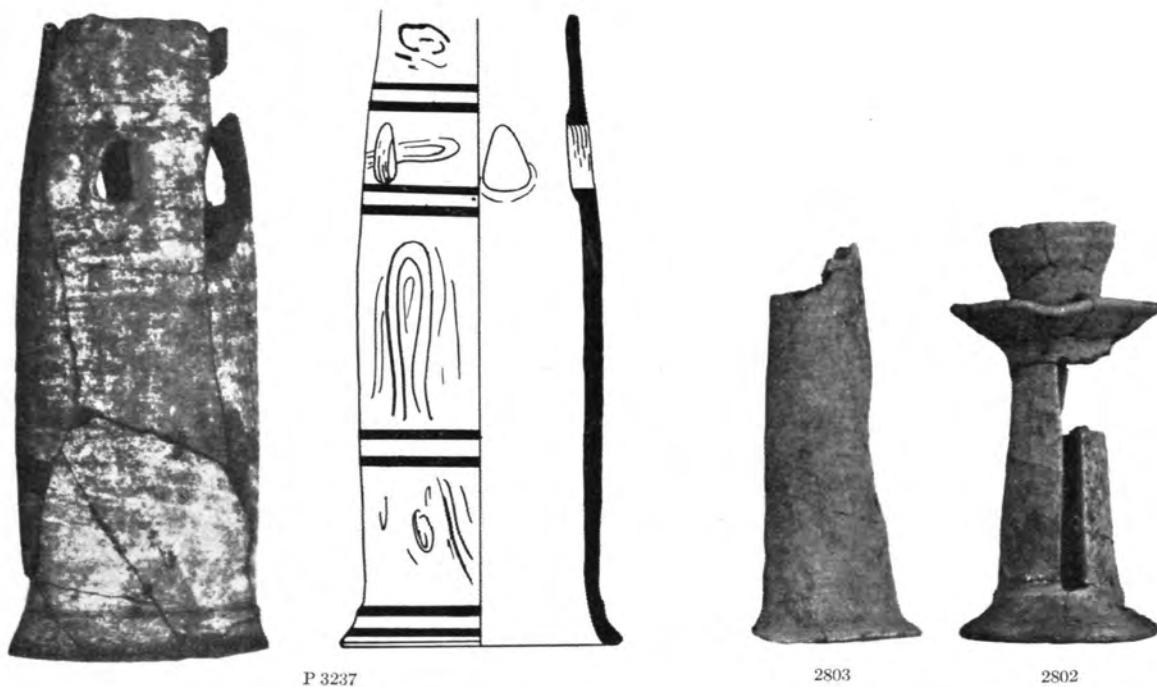
See pages 19 f.



BRONZE OPENWORK STAND M 1342. SCALE, 2:3

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
P 3237.....	P4:949	.....	Brown ocher ware stand; white wash; light red and blue-black decoration; five triangular vents; top lost.	Number of stratum not yet determined, but context is MB II.
2803.....	O14:331	IV filling	Perhaps a simplified offering-stand, without vents.	Found in sacred area.
2802.....	O14:331	IV filling	Combination offering-stand and "cup-and-saucer" lamp.	Found in sacred area. See page 22.
P 582.....	H16:360	.....	Yellow ware stand; no decoration; traces of two oval vents; top and loop handle on each side broken off.	Dated MI by pottery context. For parallels see <i>MJ</i> XVII 296-97 and 299.
P 2368.....	R4:628	VI	Yellow ware stand; incised and punched decoration; triangular and semicircular vents.	
P 159.....	P14:589	V	Brown ocher ware fragment from near top of stand; deeply incised raised rope decoration with row of thick clay disks on either side.	Found in sacred area.
P 5803.....	S10 = 1671	V	Brown ware; closely burnished on both sides; light red concentric circle decoration inside; lotus-leaf decoration outside; use uncertain; discolored by fire inside.	Perhaps to be associated with combination chalice and offering-stand from Ta'anach (pp. 21 f.). May have served as lamp. Reconstructed in Figure 7.
4787.....	T16:220 below pavement	.....	Yellow ware; fragment of chalice with lotus-leaf decoration; inside decorated with red, black, and white concentric circles of varying thickness; red wash and long black lines on rim.	Probably to be dated MI by pottery context.
P 5824.....	R6:1662	V	Brown ocher ware chalice; inside discolored by fire, as though through use as lamp.	
M 4966.....	P5:1573	III	Part of bovine skull; traces of red wash.	See page 23.

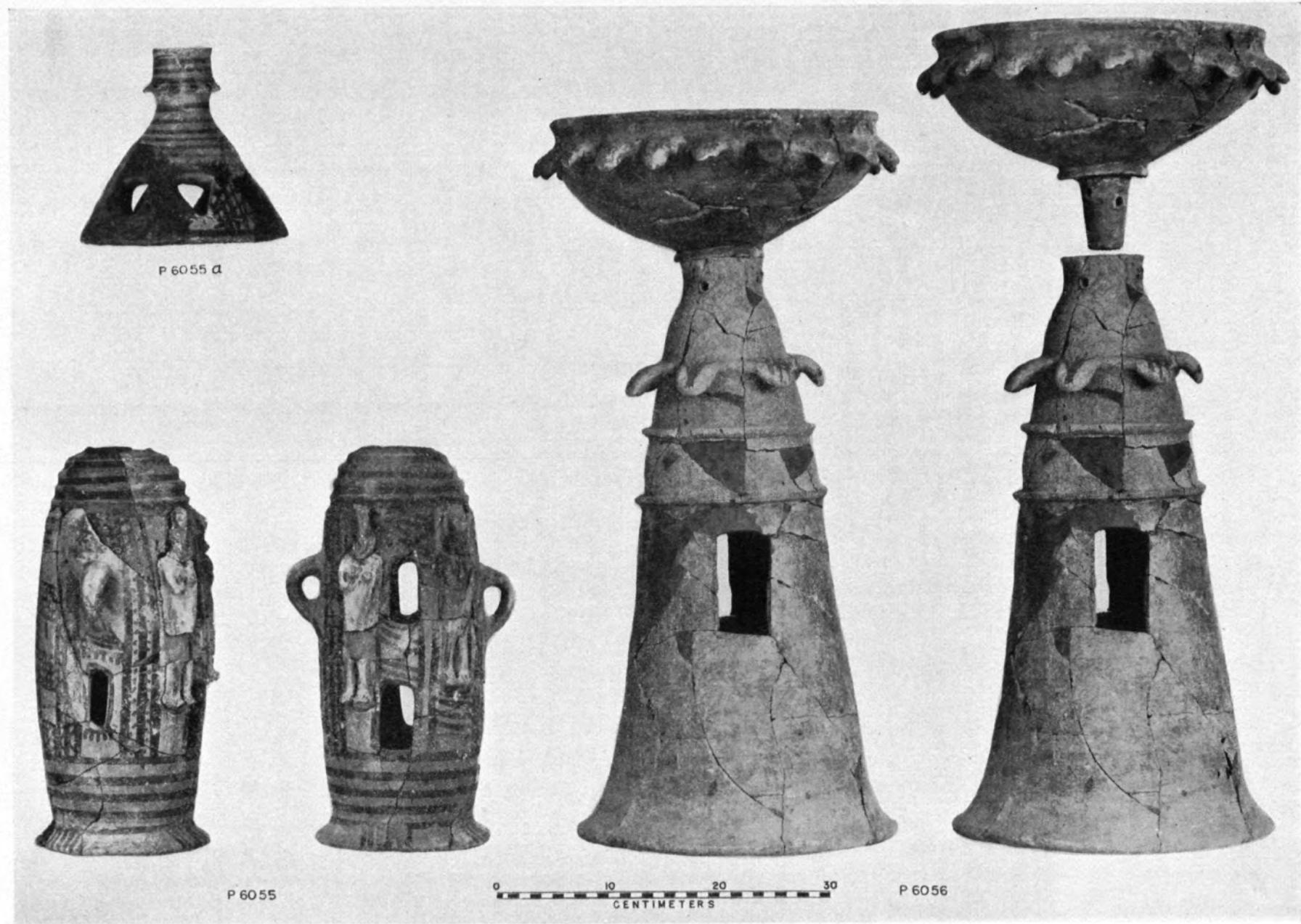
See pages 20-23.



POTTERY STANDS, A CHALICE, VESSELS WITH LOTUS-LEAF DECORATION, AND A BOVINE MASK. SCALE, 1:5

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
P 6055.....	R10 north of 1731	VI	Yellow ware; red line decoration; two windows in front and back and one on each side under handle; crude and battered mother goddesses in front; broken off at top.	Cf. L B specimen from Shechem (<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> L [1927] 267 and Pl. 29 b).
P 6055a.....	R10 north of 1731	VI	Same ware and decoration as P 6055 and found with latter but can scarcely be its top, for P 6055a should be placed as shown with lotus leaves dropping downward in normal fashion (cf. P 6056); probably base of another stand.	
P 6056.....	R10:1735	VI	Yellow ware; red wash from foot to ridge above windows in base; red line decoration on the lotus leaves; evidence of discoloration by fire in bowl, perhaps accidental; stand and bowl probably fastened together by pin through pierced holes.	Top not a funnel as in P 5803 (Pl. XIX).

See page 22.

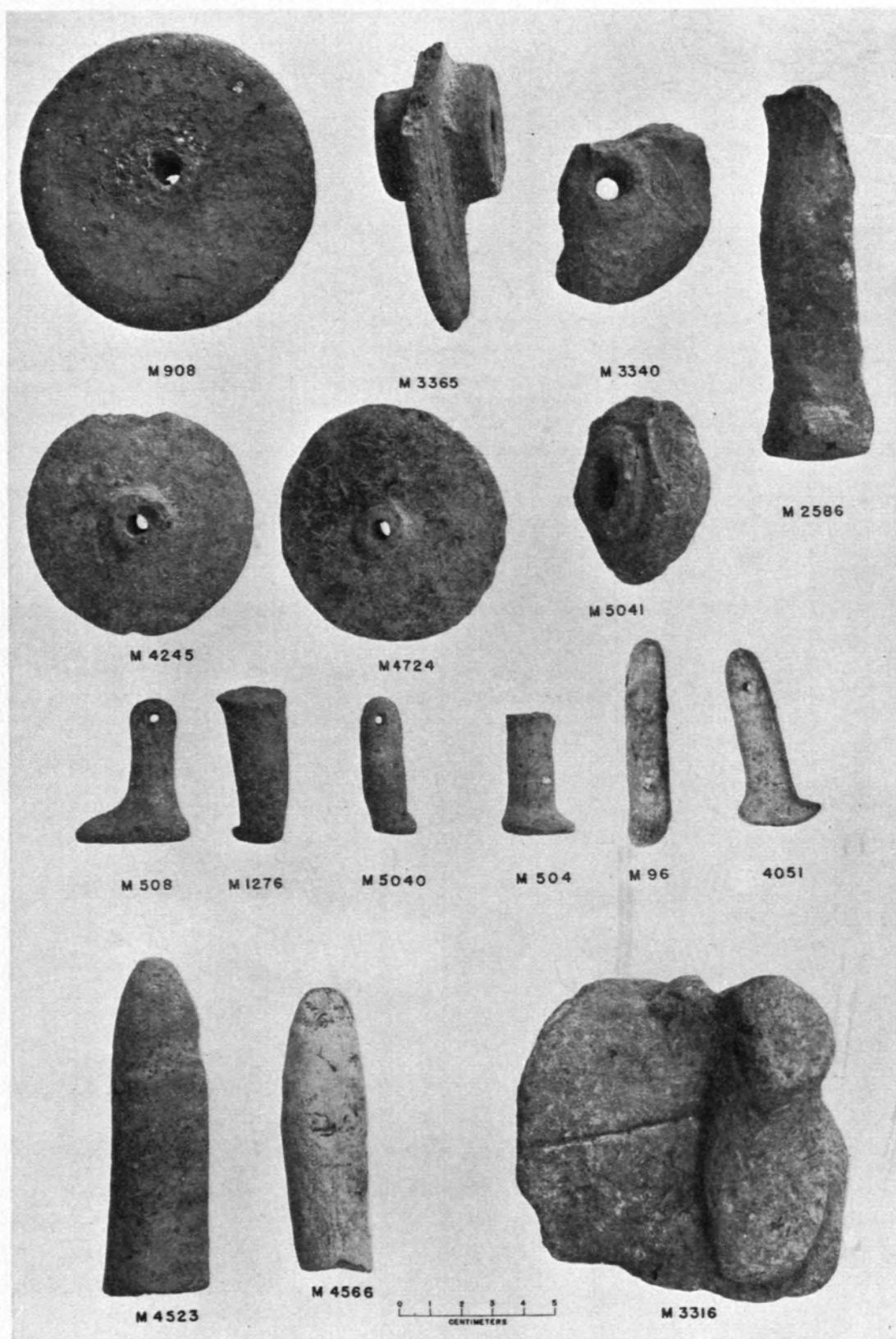


POTTERY OFFERING- OR INCENSE STANDS. SCALE, 1:5

The objects are of pottery unless otherwise stated.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 908	P12:270	V	CHARIOT WHEELS Ruddy brown ware; hub on one side only.	
M 3365	Q2:1010	. . . . .	Brown ocher ware; hub prominent on each side.	
M 3340	L7:1051	III?	Gray ware; slight hub on each side.	
M 4245	R7:781	I	Brown ocher ware; pronounced hub on each side.	
M 4724	Q9 below 1345	III	Light red wash; hubs fractured.	
M 5041	Q10:1583	III	Traces of white wash; light red ring around hub.	
M 2586	U17:916	. . . . .	LEGS Dark brown ware.	No context.
M 508	T18	Surface	Gray ware; pierced for suspension or for attachment to figurine.	MI?
M 1276	O12:393	V	Brown ocher ware; crude; broken at top.	
M 5040	Q10:1583	III	Gray ware; pierced near top.	
M 504	T17	. . . . .	Gray ware; broken short at knee.	18th dynasty?
4051 and M 96	Tomb 73	. . . . .	Gray ware; incised lines for toes; pierced.	MI?
M 4523	P8:1424	III	PHALLI Brown ocher ware; circumcised.	
M 4566	P10:1414	III	Limestone.	For others see <i>MG</i> II 446 and Schumacher in <i>Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins</i> , 1906, p. 47.
M 3316	M10:842 (L11)	I	STATUETTE FRAGMENT Limestone; foot on base.	

See pages 23-25.



MODEL CHARIOT WHEELS, LEGS, PHALLI, AND A STATUETTE FRAGMENT. SCALE, 1:2

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
P 3596	L1:1011	. . . . .	Pottery rattle; seven perforations on one end and eight on the other; several pottery pellets inside.	Scale, 1:2. Dated B-I by context?
M 4824	P6 below 1316	III	Fragmentary limestone head of a staff; two holes for attachment; socketed by means of tubular drill.	Scale, 1:2.
M 1291	M15 below 325	V or earlier	Green shale bar with lion head at one end and crocodile head at other; pierced short distance behind each head.	Scale, 1:2. See close parallel from Gaza in PAG I 8, No. 5, and Pl. XV.
P 4827	Tomb 1100 C	. . . . .	Snake motive on pottery.	Scale, 1:2. Dated M-LB by context. Cf. J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, <i>A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum</i> (Oxford, 1899) Pl. II 255a.
P 3060, P 3083 and P 3061	Tomb 911 A	. . . . .	Snake motive on jug handles.	Scale, 2:5. Dated MB II by context. Cf. AASOR IX (1929) Figs. 6-8 (Beth Shemesh) and P. Montet, <i>Byblos et l'Egypte</i> (Paris, 1928) pp. 256-57, No. 995, and Pl. CLIV 995 (Byblos).

As to the rattle, see pages 25f.; on snake motives compare pages 21 and 31.



P 3596



M 4824



P 4327



M 1291



P 3060



P 3083



P 3061

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Unless otherwise stated, the ware of all the pottery figurines is brown ocher. Because of its great uniformity analysis of core, grits, etc., is deemed useless; the form of these objects is the most important consideration.

Each head (except M 4561) on this plate was made separately from the body and was cast in a single mold. M 3284, M 1360, M 1389, M 2204, M 2925, and M 4090 belong to the same type from the viewpoint of construction. A small amount of clay was first pressed into the mold to make the outlines. More clay was added to this without filling the mold, thus leaving a hollow. After the clay had hardened somewhat the figure was removed from the mold by a small stick. This explains the cavity and also a small hole found behind the left lock in the case of M 3284 and at various points in the other figurines of this type. The back and the side locks were then modeled by adding more clay. This is one of the later types at Megiddo, limited to Strata I-II.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 3284	O8:1025	I or II	Red wash over fine clay; small hole behind left ear leading to hollow interior of head; plaited bangs; ends of side locks and part of back broken away.	
M 1389	R10	I	Traces of banded bangs; thick, plaited side locks drawn behind ears; hole in back of neck; defaced.	
M 2925	O9=844 (O5)	I	Nose and chin deformed when clay was wet; hollow head expanded during firing, leaving aperture through neck; traces of bangs; ears partly visible; no hole; right side lock broken off.	
M 1360	S9	Surface	Worn features; back fractured; left side lock missing.	
M 2204	R9	Surface	Traces of red wash over fine clay; back only slightly rounded; profile suggestive of veiled goddess, with crossed ribbons or bands in relief over headdress; worn features; hole in back of head; right side lock missing.	
M 4090	R8 under 774	II	Features obscure.	
M 4117	P8:1270	II	Ancient mold and modern cast; red wash; mold cast, perhaps from wood or pottery model; long thin neck to facilitate attaching head to body.	Cf. <i>MG III, Pl. XIX 16</i> (1450-1250 B.C.) and a specimen from Tell Beit Mirsim (PM).
M 4561	R10 below 1561	IV	Red wash over yellow clay; broad fillet over forehead; hair perhaps parted in center; ears prominent; headdress perhaps padded; nose fractured.	Although similar to the other specimens on this plate in external appearance, the head is not hollow and is without the hole.

See pages 28 ff.



M 3284



M 1360



M 4117



M 1389



M 2204



M 4561



M 2925



M 4090



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

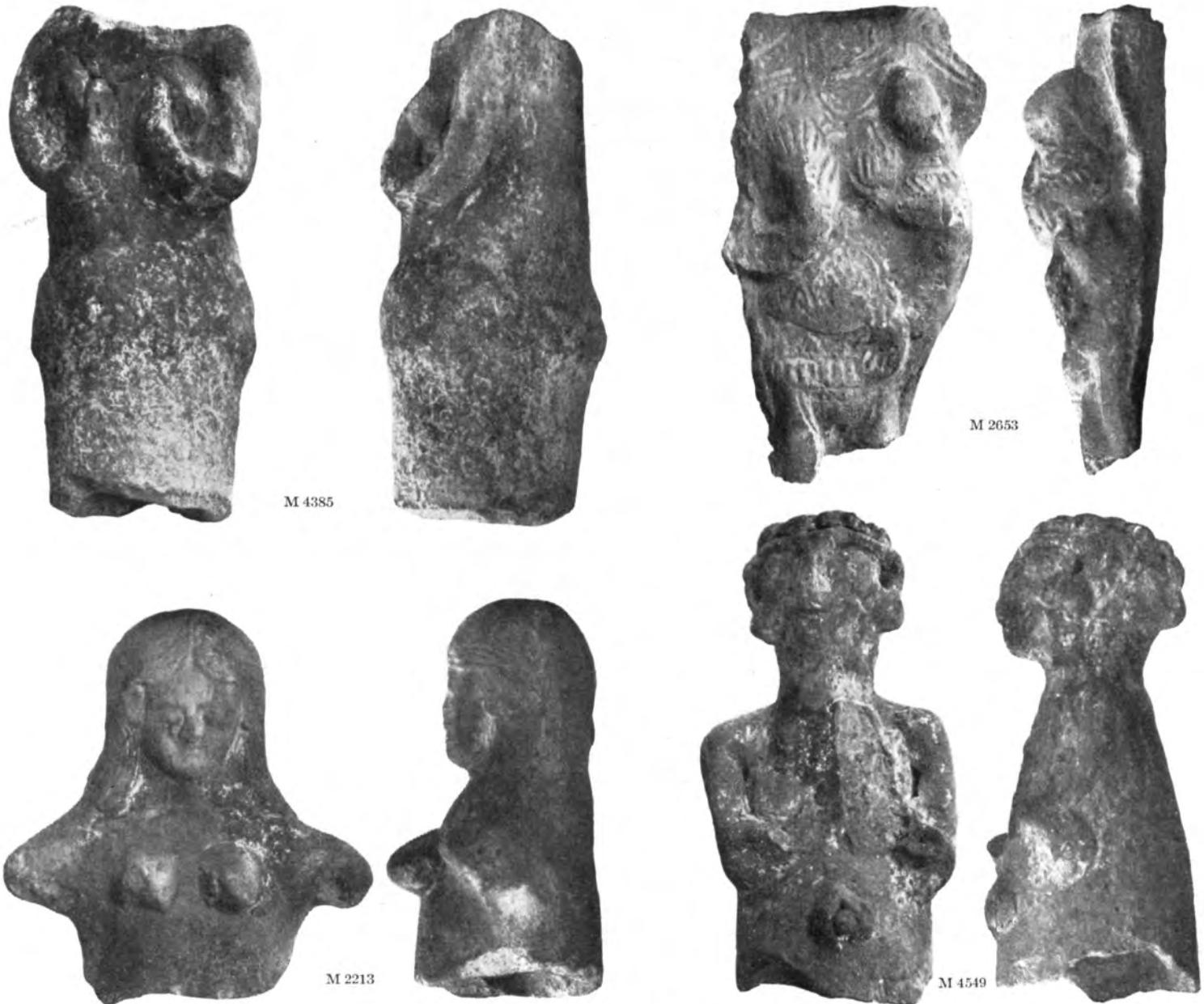
With the exception of M 2653 these figures are similar to what Petrie calls a "pot figure," which he found at Gerar and dated around 1050 B.C.¹ The heads were made separately and fitted into hollow bodies. Schumacher suggested that such figures were supported on a staff.²

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 4385	R5:1431	III	Blue-black ware; round; fractured, pendulous breasts.	Similar type from Megiddo illustrated by Schumacher in <i>STEM</i> Fig. 156. Cf. cincture or belt on bronze figures (<i>Syria</i> XII, Pl. XXII 2-3).
M 2213	R10:654	I	Fine clay; broken arms originally little more than stumps; nose fractured.	
M 2653	N10	II	Pregnant mother goddess; misshapen; hatching applied apparently without rhyme or reason; indistinguishable object—perhaps child wearing collar—held in left arm; right hand clasps breast.	
M 4549	Q8:1501	II	Red wash; tight curls represented by knobs of pottery; incised mouth; bulbous eyes; pierced nostrils; some object originally held over left breast, now broken away; right breast small and high; exaggerated navel.	

¹ PG p. 17 and Pl. XXXV 6-14.

² STEM p. 102.

See pages 28 ff.



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

All of these figurines were cast in single molds. Some specimens are similar enough to have come from the same mold.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 4647	Q7:1538	III	Hatched wig ending in curls; medallion in center of forehead; depressed pupils; double collar.	Same type of head appearing on specimen illustrated by Schumacher shows that this is a hollow-body type of figurine and that it is a goddess bearing a cake or tambourine (<i>Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins</i> , 1906, pp. 46-47 and Fig. 43).
M 4306	N9:1394	III	Similar to M 4554, except for incised line encircling neck, perhaps a collar.	
M 4554	R5:1521	III	Light red wash; wig bound tightly with narrow band across forehead; two braids fall behind ears; facial details similar to those of M 4647.	Similar specimen found by Schumacher in our Stratum IV (<i>STEM</i> Pl. XXXII b).
M 1633	O8	Surface	Same as M 4647, except mold not as completely filled; more defaced.	
M 5400	O6:1674 (P6)	IV filling	Light red wash; typical Egyptian Hathor head; punched decoration on collar.	Pre-Solomonic. Perhaps part of support for stand or bowl. Cf. M 5403 on Pl. XXVIII.
M 2518	V17	.....	Slightly rounded back; headdress suggestive of veil; fringe of hair exposed over forehead and flat curls falling over ears to shoulders; depressed eye sockets.	Dated LB II by analogy. Reminiscent of Hathor type.
M 3612	U17 = 1182	.....	Similar to M 2518.	LB II.
1119.	Q13:6	V	Similar to M 4647.	Found in sacred area.
1496.	Q12 center	Surface	Similar to M 4647.	
M 1489	M7	Surface	Similar to M 4647.	Dated MI by analogy.

See pages 28 ff.



M 4647



M 1633



M 3612



M 4306



M 5400



1119



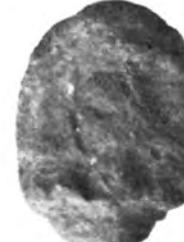
M 4554



M 2518



1496



M 1489

POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

All except M 3437 were made in single molds; except perhaps M 1454, the heads and bodies were made separately.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 4551	Q8:1501	II	Back of head originally round; low headdress; plaited bangs; chubby face distorted when clay was wet; no chin; pupil of one eye pierced.	Attachment of head to body well illustrated.
M 3287	P9:1026	II	Traces of red wash; grotesque features; simple headdress.	
M 3437	W16:1112	.....	Modeled by hand; raised eyebrows; tiny projecting ears; pierced eyes and nostrils; nose and mouth defaced.	LB.
M 1373	Q9	Surface	Vertically hatched band or bangs below high broad headdress; in center of forehead a medallion from which extend two long horizontal lines; features defaced.	
M 2009	M9	Surface	Light red wash; highly burnished; low forehead with vertical hatching above it on pompadour headdress; prominent cheeks; bulbous eyes; faint outlines of ears; attachment of head to body strengthened originally by a pin.	Similar method of attachment in M 1071 (Pl. XXIX).
M 1745	O4	Surface	Padded headdress above diadem of two horizontal bands, with corkscrew curls protruding beneath; incised line on chin may represent chin-veil; disproportionate ears and protruding, pinhole eyes.	For chin-veil see M 787 (Pl. XXVII).
M 1500	L6	Surface	Details obscure; headdress probably similar to that of M 1634 (Pl. XXIX).	
M 1454	P14:590	V	Traces of burnishing; fractured diadem of three horizontal bands; long braid terminating in coil over each breast; protruding, pinhole eyes; pendant between breasts on necklace(?); no traces of arms.	From sacred area.
M 1088	R11 in Schumacher's trench	III?	Light red wash; burnished; low, vertically banded headdress falling behind large ears; full cheeks; pupils depressed and originally inlaid, for not covered with wash.	Specimen from the same mold found by Schumacher in his fifth level "Masseebenraum" (<i>STEM</i> p. 108 and Fig. 162 a-b). This locus must be assigned to present Stratum III.
M 1776	N4	Surface	Multiple-banded headdress falls sharply over ears; finely molded features now defaced.	See page 31.

See pages 28 ff.



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

Single molds were used for these figurines, but it is probable that in many cases only the head was made in a mold. M 65 and M 4495 are among the few dressed goddesses. Most of the hatching on these images was made after they were taken from the mold, as shown by a comparison of M 4365 and M 787.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 65	P13:37	V	Padded headdress with bangs; long curls or braids behind ears to shoulders; high back-veil folded over headdress and falling wide over shoulders; incised line marking chin-veil; features obscure; "tambourine" held over left breast; skirt flares above ankles; incised lines mark toes.	Found in sacred area. See page 32 for discussion of the two types of veil and the "tambourine."
M 787	O13	III	Light red wash; head and body made separately; headdress, veils, hatching, and "cake" similar to those of M 4365; bracelets on both wrists.	Perhaps from sacred area. See page 32.
M 4495	R8 = 1482 (Q7)	IV	Edges trimmed as though with a knife; vertically hatched headdress bound by single band; probably both back- and chin-veil; depressed pupils in bulging eyes; wide collar; robe to ankles; suggestion of shawl or cape; armlets and wristlets.	See page 32.
M 4365	Q7 = 1004	II	Faded traces of light red wash; sides trimmed as though with a knife; fillet over headdress; obliquely hatched side locks; chin-veil and traces of back-veil; studded collar; a "cake" held by both hands; upper arms in outline only; back broken away.	Cf. facial details with those of M 4495 and M 787. Back originally like that of M 787, where back-veil is clear. Made from same mold as M 787? Probably intrusive from III. See page 32.
M 810	N12 in Schumacher's trench	V?	Pregnant mother goddess; yellow ware with red wash; back-veil; pierced pupils; studded collar; two bracelets on right arm; "tambourine" held over left breast; original position of left arm uncertain; two anklets on each leg.	Dated by analogy with M 5418 (Pl. XXVIII).
M 1138	O14	IV	Bottom worn smooth by continued use after fracture; suggestion of back-veil; eyes, ears, right breast, collar, and "tambourine" pierced; traces of three bracelets; no left arm; earrings may be intended.	Found in sacred area. Clear traces of earrings on an earlier "tambourine" type from Gezer (<i>PEFQS</i> , 1909, Fig. 1). A similarly pierced "tambourine" lady found by Schumacher in the LB period (<i>STEM</i> Fig. 71).

See pages 28 ff.



M 65



M 4495



M 810



M 787



M 4365



M 1138



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

Of these figurines M 5376 and M 5418 were made in single molds. M 5403 is scarcely to be classified as an image of the mother goddess. Those figurines found in the Stratum IV filling probably belong to Stratum V.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 5418	R9 below 1693 (R10)	V	Pregnant mother goddess; yellow ware with red wash; right breast pierced; double incised line down center of body ending in volute; armlets, obscure girdle, anklets, and collar.	Similar in details and size to M 810 (Pl. XXVII). Save for protruding arm of latter, possibly from same mold.
M 5401	O6:1674 (P7)	IV filling	Bell-shaped; hollow; two holes in crown, one communicating with interior; headdress indicated by small blobs of pottery, mostly lost; button eyes, stub nose, and protruding lips are grotesque; hole for navel; two holes near base may have been for attachment.	
M 5393	O6:1674	IV filling	Rounded; head made separately; incised line around each arm-pit; broken arm stubs turn backward; incised necklace with pendant; no breasts; prominent navel; broken short at waist.	Back and front illustrated. See page 31.
M 5403	R7:1653	V	Button eyes and long, incised mouth have semi-human aspect; perhaps foot of pottery vessel or stand; nose broken.	Cf. M 5400 (Pl. XXV).
M 5376	R9:1693 (R10) lime floor	IV	Blue-black ware; polished back; long braids fall over double, studded collar; earrings, armlets, and bracelets; suggestion of back-veil; pierced pupils and breasts; hands support breasts.	Details of face and headdress similar to those of M 1138 (Pl. XXVII). The heads may have come from same mold.
M 5402	R7:1653	V	Light red wash; high, slanting headdress with three rows of punched decoration may represent tiara; Armenoid profile; nose broken; long pointed chin; one hand originally above the other below the breasts; arms missing; broken off at waist.	See page 31.

See pages 28 ff.



M 5393

M 5376



M 5403



M 5402

M 5418

POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

These figurines were made in single molds, unless otherwise stated.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 1634	M5	Surface	Red wash; head perhaps made in single mold; originally little more than a bust, for wash covers stump of head extending through body and protruding; suggestive of veiled goddess.	Cf. headdress with that of M 1500 (Pl. XXVI).
M 135	Q13:592	V	Pregnant mother goddess; modeled by hand; stippled incised triangle and pierced navel.	From sacred area.
M 5029	R6:1576	IV	Brown ware; hole through crown to communicate with hollow body; eyes, ears, collar, pendant, locks, breasts, and arms secondarily applied pieces of clay; each ear protruding between two locks; pendant hung from collar which is broken away; nose fractured.	
M 1071	Schumacher's trench	.....	Hand-modeled; head attached to body by pin; muscular development indicated; bracelets on both wrists; beginnings of lines marking hip girdle visible; broken at waist.	M 2009 (Pl. XXVI) has same method of attachment.
M 1387	P10	Surface	Probably plaque type; crested headdress with suggestion of back-veil; side locks fall behind ears; features obscure.	
M 2717	P4:925	.....	Plaque type; side locks of low headdress fall in plaited bands behind bovine ears; hands clasp breasts; trace of necklace or collar; much worn; broken at waist.	May be dated LB by analogy with Gezer parallel (<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CCXX 15, and <i>MG</i> II 412-16).
M 2060	P6 below 555	II	Hand-modeled; red wash; "snow-man" technique; deeply pierced eyes; incised mouth; stumps (now broken) for arms; broken at waist.	Cf. "pillar" type figures from Beth Shemesh (<i>PEFA</i> II [1912-13] Pl. XLII). Vincent associates a parallel found by Schumacher with a Cappadocian analogy (<i>VC</i> pp. 165-66 and Figs. 110-11).
619.	Tomb 3	.....	Probably a plaque fragment; very obscure.	M-LB?
M 967	N13 below 282	IV	Perhaps pregnant mother goddess; narrow plaque type; bulbous eyes and pinched features; low, narrow collar or necklace; hands clasped over abdomen; armlet near left elbow; six fingers on left hand.	Posture unusual.

See pages 28 ff.



M 1634



M 1071



M 2060



M 135



M 1387



619



M 5029



M 2717



M 967

POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 2884	Tomb 989	.....	Typical plaque type; Hathor headdress; uncertain whether anything is held in hands; double incision for girdle.	Dated to Ramses II by context of pottery and scarabs. Cf. <i>MG</i> III, Pls. CCXX-CCXXI; <i>BMMC</i> p. 61, No. 105; <i>BMEP</i> Pl. 67, Nos. 11 and 15; and a parallel from Tell Beit Mirsim (PM). See pages 30-31.
M 3444	V16:1124	.....	Pregnant mother goddess; plaque type; incised line for belt; double bracelets.	Dated LB II by pottery context. For posture cf. <i>AAA</i> VIII (1921) Pl. XIX 12 (18th-19th dynasty). Cf. also early 18th dynasty plaque from Rifeh (<i>Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh [BSAE XIII (1907)]</i> Pl. XXVIII F 173 A). Closest parallel from Minet el-Beida, probably same date as M 3444 (<i>Syria</i> XII, Pl. XIII 4). See also Peet and Woolley, <i>The City of Akhenaten I</i> (London, 1923) Pl. XII 4 (18th dynasty).
M 1906	N7:548	III	Hands held object with pointed bottom, fragment of which remains; horizontal incisions on forward part of forked base (now broken); head and arms lost.	This type of base known in Syria (<i>Syria IX</i> , Pl. LXXI b and Fig. 12 k [Neirab]).
M 4255	N9:1363	II	Legs of human figure in relief on fragment of crude, handmade vessel; toes broken off.	
M 878	R11:285	III	Pregnant mother goddess; rounded back; incised girdle; obscure incisions for toes; suggestion of anklets; flattened base.	Cf. <i>STEM</i> Pls. XXXII d and XLVIII i.
P 2229	R8:613	I	Bizarre countenance on neck and rim of handmade vessel with traces of handle at back; deeply pierced button eyes; ears and nose irregular blobs of clay.	Vessels with similarly placed faces known from Beth Shemesh (<i>PEFA II</i> , Pl. XLVIII) and Cyprus (<i>MCC</i> Nos. 793 and 931).
1649	R15	Surface	Light brown ware; hollow leg of figurine.	
599	Tomb 26 B	.....	Plaque type.	M-LB?
1824	Q19	.....	Gray ware; birdlike face; breasts broken off; no arms.	
3991	Tomb 64	V	Red wash; solid; no arms; probably no head, though top lost.	
772	Tomb 24 B	.....	Traces of dark red wash; legs and feet of figurine; incised lines indicate toes; unusual indication of knees.	LB II?
M 648	U17:218	.....	Plaque type; unusual posture with toes turned outward.	Dated LB by pottery context. Cf. similar posture on LB plaque from Shechem (<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> L [1927] 226 and Pl. 29 c).

See pages 28 ff.



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

All these figurines belong to the same type, the only type thus far found at Megiddo which was made in a double mold. All could have come from the same mold. The incised lines which mark collar, girdle, etc., were added after the figure was taken from the mold. Upon first glance at the dates of these figurines the type appears to have extended through a period of seven hundred years, but the archeological evidence is not too strong. Except for M 227, the specimens all fall within MB-LB II, and it is improbable that M 227 is EI. Since there was no sealed area where M 227 was found, and since the specimen was badly worn, it may have been intrusive. The same may be true of a mold for a head like M 227 found by Schumacher in the "palace" of his fifth level,¹ our Stratum IV, locus 1567.

The writer has examined a specimen from Gezer which Macalister reported was modeled by hand,² and there is no doubt that it belongs to the type illustrated here. An identical specimen (head only preserved) was found at Ta'anach among the ruins of a fort destroyed by Egyptian invasions of the 15th century B.C.³ Figurines of this type were so common at Ta'anach that Sellin called it a "gewöhnlicher Astartetypus."⁴ Other identical specimens come from Shechem (LB)⁵ and from Tell Abu Hawam near Haifa.⁶

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 3436 . . .	W16:1112	.....	.....	Locus a cistern with LB pottery throughout.
M 227	P14:591	V	Much worn head like that of No. 598.	Found in sacred area.
M 394	S16	.....	Identical with No. 598, except for incised circle on left thigh, which may be a sacred mark or <i>stigma</i> (see EPMK II 129).	Dated M-LB by pottery context, which included a pyriform jug, button-base carinated bowls, etc.
598	Tomb 26 B	.....	Top of fluted or vertically ribbed tiara broken off; wide bracelets; exaggerated features.	M-LB?
634	Tomb 38	.....	Identical with No. 598.	Dated M-LB by pottery context.
M 594	Tomb 217A	.....	Identical with No. 598.	Dated LB by context.
M 2642	P4:925	.....	Identical with No. 598.	Found in shaft of water system.
M 3189	Tomb 989 B 1	.....	Identical with No. 598.	Dated LB II by context.
1477	Q12	Surface	.....	.....

¹ STEM Fig. 158 a.

² MG III, Pl. CCXX 6, and MG II 411-12.

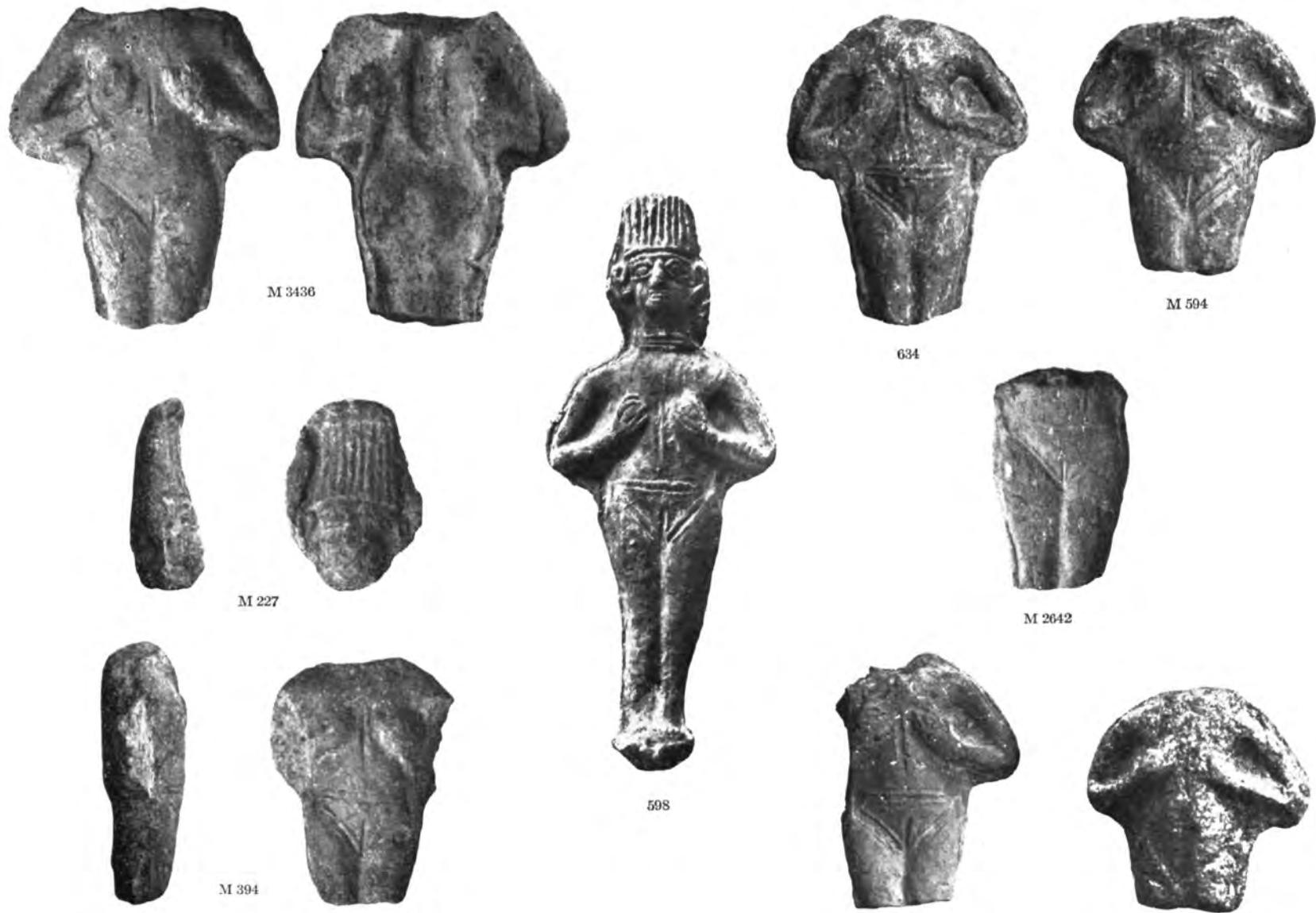
³ VC pp. 160-61 and Fig. 104.

⁴ STT Fig. 47.

⁵ Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins XLIX (1926) 231 and Pl. 31.

⁶ QDAP IV (1934) 55, No. 322.

See pages 27, 29, and 30.



POTTERY FIGURINES. SCALE, 2:3

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 4418 . . .	R9 below 658	III	Limestone; wrought with unusual skill; portion below waist recessed, perhaps to fit into a base, although that leaves "apron" unexplained; hole in back perhaps for attachment; right arm fractured.	
M 3637 . . .	Tomb 903 Lower	.....	Limestone; incised decoration; interpretation uncertain; see p. 28.	EB, Stages V-VII. See <i>SAOC</i> No. 10, pp. 58 ff., for dating of these stages.
M 1222 . . .	M14:317	III	Limestone low relief; about 7 cm. thick; simple headdress to shoulders; narrow collar or necklace; small, high breasts; poorly proportioned.	

See pages 28 and 33.



M 4418



M 3637



M 1222

FEMALE FIGURINES OF STONE. SCALE, 2:3

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 2690 . . .	P5:946	I	Limestone and chert; probably natural shape of stone except for eye sockets and mouth; eye inlays lost.	
M 4334 . . .	R7:1423	III	Pottery; head and body made separately; red line decoration outlining features and indicating collar; eyes, lips, and <i>agal</i> secondarily attached; bovine ears.	Cf. <i>MG</i> II 77 and Fig. 271; <i>VC</i> p. 169 and Fig. 115. Somewhat reminiscent of heads from Alishar in Asia Minor: <i>OIP</i> XXIX, Fig. 234, e 583 and c 2052 (period of the Hittite Empires).
M 2120		Surface near tell	Basalt.	
M 3342 . . .	R2:1074	. . . . .	Pumice; deeply inset eyes; hole in abdomen goes all the way through body; hole on inside of each leg suggests it was made to fit standard or support.	Found in cavern spring at end of water system. Context consistently MI II but not an absolute criterion.
M 1558 . . .	O3:475	VI	Limestone and chert; probably natural shape of stone except for depressed eyes and incised mouth.	Cf. M 2690.
M 4553 . . .	P5 = 1508	III	Pottery; head and body made separately; red line decoration; incised button eyes, mouth, and <i>agal</i> ; pierced nostrils.	Same deity as M 4334.

See page 33.



MALE FIGURINES OF POTTERY AND STONE. SCALE, UPPER ROW, 2:5; LOWER ROW, ACTUAL SIZE.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
357.....	Tomb 4	.....	Figure of Resheph with shield and weapon; part of latter had been broken off, but photograph shows possible original position. Bend accidental?	LB II. The girdle is Syro-Hittite (see <i>Syria XII</i> , Pl. XXII 2-3). For parallels see <i>GAB</i> Pl. CXLI 347 (Egypt); <i>Syria X</i> , Pl. LIII (Ras Shamra); <i>MG III</i> , Pl. CCXIV 33 (Gezer).
M 2013	M9	Surface	Human head with Syro-Hittite features.	
M 3070	Tomb 912 B	.....	Hollow, reclining cow or bull; horns and ears broken off.	Dated 18th-19th dynasty by context.
M 3032	Tomb 912 B	.....	Hollow, reclining calf.	Dated 18th-19th dynasty by context.
M 2326	L12	Surface	Solid bull on platform.	

See pages 33 f.



357



M 2013



M 3070



M 2326



M 3032

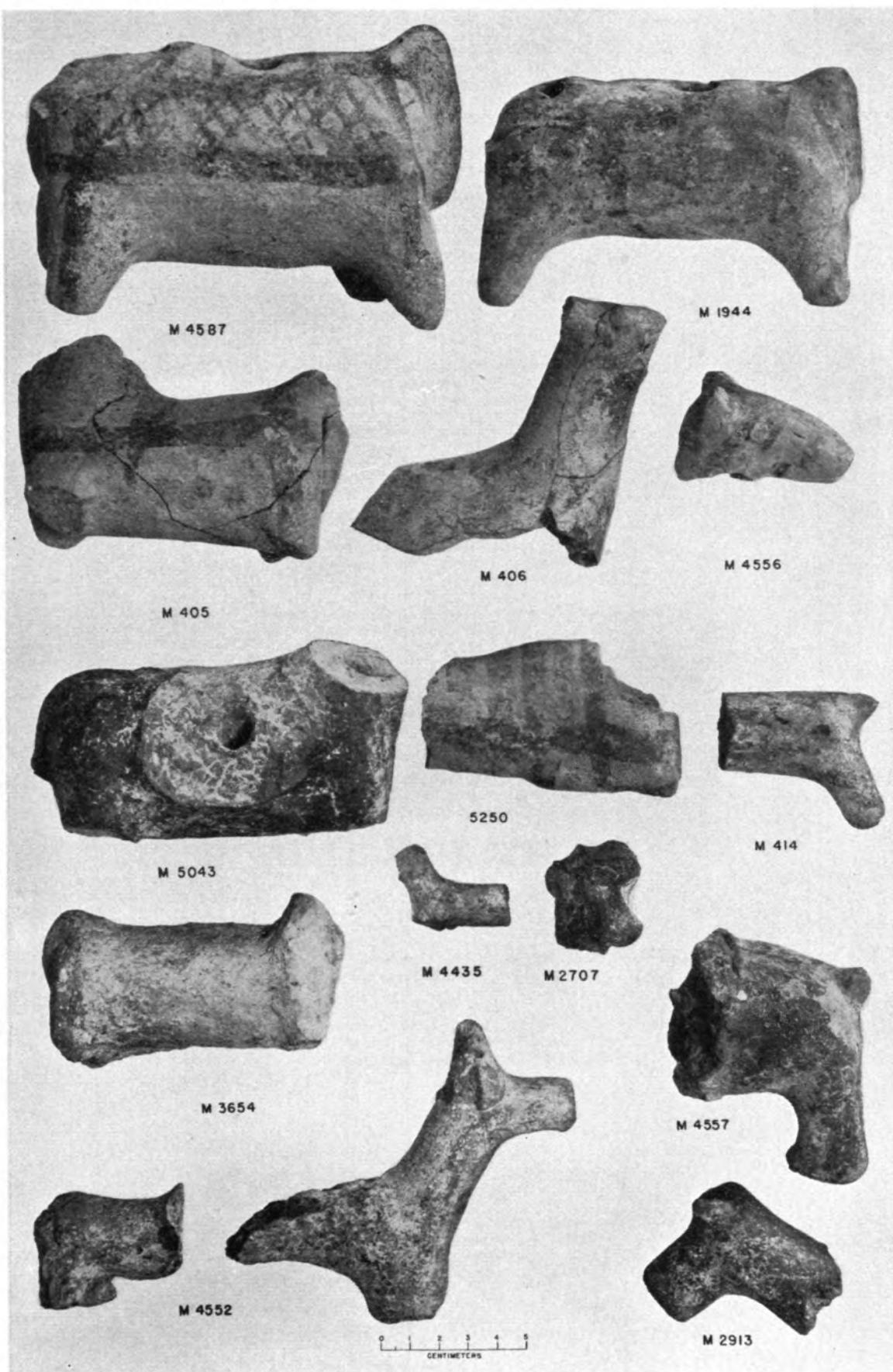
BRONZE FIGURINES. ACTUAL SIZE

All except perhaps M 4435 and M 4557 are bovine. The heads of the hollow specimens were made separately. None of these can be explained by Macalister's suggestion that certain types of hollow animal figurines were used as lamps or feeding-bottles.¹

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 4587	Q6 = 1468	III	Hollow; red line decoration may represent harness and trappings; hole in center of back, and another where head has broken away.	See page 33.
M 1944	P6 below 556	II	Similar to M 4587 except for details of decoration.	
M 405	Q12	III?	Similar to M 4587 except for details of decoration.	
M 406	Q12	III?	Hollow; ware similar to that of M 4587 except for details of decoration; button eyes; snout and horns broken off.	Hole connecting mouth and interior too small to be useful for pouring.
M 4556	Q8 = 1480	III	Similar to M 406; horns broken off.	
M 5043	R9: 1599	III	Hollow; red wash; opening in each side of body perhaps supported rider; opening where hollow neck has broken off; pinhole depression on each haunch; legs broken off; tail less prominent than in preceding specimens.	Fact that holes were covered in complete object militates against utilitarian function, since there was no way to pour liquid. The figurine is very realistically conceived.
5250.	R11	III	Solid, reclining figure with red line decoration; head and hind quarters broken off.	
M 414	S17	.....	Solid figure with red decoration over white wash; tail and legs broken; forepart missing.	
M 3654	W17 under 882	.....	Hollow; coarse ware; no decoration; tiny hole behind collar or exaggerated shoulders connects with interior; legs broken off.	B-I? No chance to pour anything into body.
M 4435	P10 = 1415	I	Solid fragment with traces of red line decoration.	
M 2707	Tomb 877 CI	.....	Solid head with light red decoration; no detail of eyes or mouth; horns broken short; ears fragmentary.	Dated LB I (18th dynasty) by context. Realistically modeled.
M 4557	R8 = 1482	IV	Elephant; solid; light red wash; stubby, crooked tail broken off; clay broken away on back, showing possibility of rider.	Cf. M 5043. A cult object with elephant head came from the Amenhotep III level at Beisan (<i>MJ</i> XIX 155 and 165).
M 4552	Q7 = 784	II	Solid; no detail of nose or mouth; stocky horns; fragmentary padlike ears; tail curls under right leg; legs broken short; probably carried rider.	Similar figure without rider found in Stratum III (M 4567, not illustrated). An identical specimen comes from Beth Shemesh, Tomb 8 (<i>PEFA</i> II 87-88 and Pl. LV). Typical of Beth Zur and many other places in the south (with and without rider). In all cases the ware is brown ocher and uniform in texture.
M 2913	Q5: 1002	II	Same type as M 4552.	

¹ *MG* II 1.

See pages 28 and 34.



ANIMAL FIGURINES OF POTTERY. SCALE, 1:2

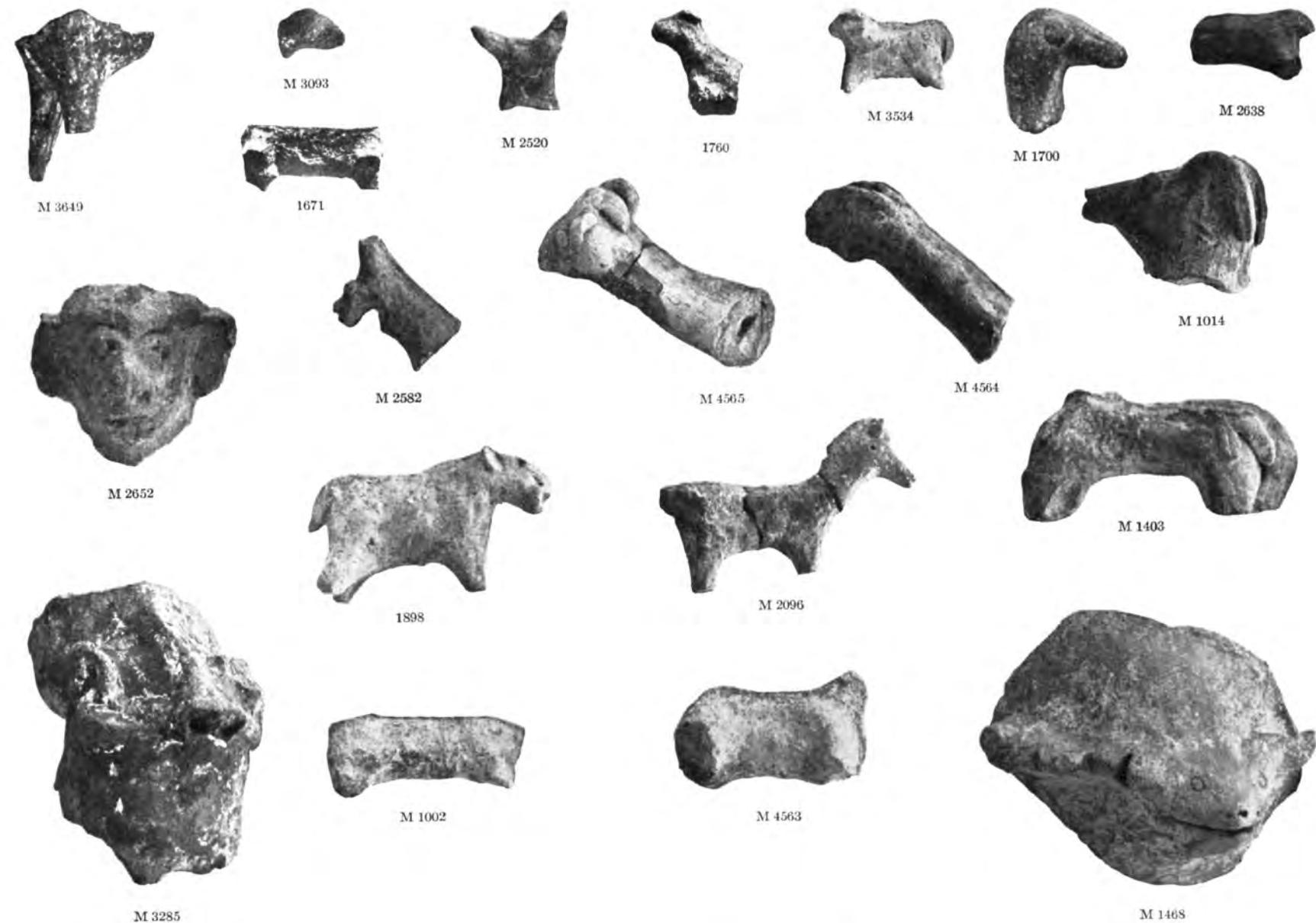
Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 1666 . . .	N5	Surface	Hollow, reclining water buffalo; originally attached to inside rim of bowl and rested on bottom; opening through mouth.	Motive at Beth Shemesh in B-I (<i>GASE</i> II 28, No. 1516, and Pl. XI).
M 4823 . . .	P8:1259	II	Equine; traces of red wash over yellow ware; pierced mouth not connected with hollow neck; eyes, forelock, mane, and harness in relief; ears broken short.	
M 786 . . .	O13	IV	Solid; equine; head and body made separately; nostrils and eyes depressed; inlay still in right eye; ears broken short.	Modeled with strong realism despite crudeness.
M 4550 . . .	Q6:1503	III	Equine; traces of burnt umber wash; pierced nostrils; incised mouth; eyes depressed to hold inlay; hole through mouth to hollow neck; elaborately tooled harness; hatched mane; ears broken off.	One of the best examples of pottery figurine art at Megiddo.
P 5399 . . .	L7:1374	III	Bovine head attached to rim of burnished brown ocher bowl; hole through mouth to hollow rim; button eyes; calf, without horns.	
M 4524 . . .	P10:1414	III	Equine; blue-black ware; small hole through mouth to hollow neck; pierced bulbous eyes; hatched forelock and cropped mane; one incised, upright ear broken.	Found in filling of large grain pit.
M 4558 . . .	R10 under 1462	III	Equine; brown ware with light red wash; button eyes (originally inlaid), forelock, and harness (decorated with incised circles) secondarily applied; hole through mouth to hollow head and neck.	
P 1499 . . .	S8	Surface	Hollow bovine head with brown ocher wash; highly burnished; protruding eyes; hole through mouth; probably calf, without horns.	
M 806 . . .	N12	Surface	Bovine; gray ware; bulbous eyes; deeply depressed nostrils with incised lines marking wrinkled skin above them; hole through mouth to hollow neck; horns and ears broken off.	
M 5035 . . .	R10:1584	III	Solid; equine; yellow ware; inlay still in one depressed eye; pierced nostrils; ears broken; remnant of cropped mane.	Cf. inlaid eyes in cherubs of model shrine (Pl. XIII).
M 1089 . . .	N14	IV	Gazelle; large opening through mouth to hollow neck; button eyes; ears and horns broken.	Parallel found by Schumacher in "Massebenraum" of his fifth level, which at this point is our Stratum III (<i>STEM</i> p. 106 and Fig. 165, upper right-hand figure).
M 1866 . . .	M3 outside 325	Surface	Hollow; bovine; small, depressed eyes; hole through mouth; protruding ears; horns broken off.	
M 772 . . .	S17 below 220	IV?	Hollow; equine; deeply pierced eyes and nostrils; hole through mouth; incised harness; suggestion of mane; ears fractured.	Similar specimen found by Schumacher in "Massebenraum" of his fifth level, our Stratum III at this point (<i>STEM</i> p. 106 and Fig. 165, top row, 2d figure). Cf. also his earlier specimen (1600-1300) in <i>STEM</i> p. 66 and Fig. 85.
M 831 . . .	Q11	II	Bovine; gray ware; small hole through mouth to hollow neck; horns broken.	Close parallel from Gezer (<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CXXIV 1).
P 1942 . . .	N6	Surface	Hollow; bovine; originally attached to rim of vessel, part of which remains; raised eyebrows; incised eyes; opening through mouth; horns and ears broken off.	Cf. P 5399 above.
M 188 . . .	Q13	IV or V	Similar to M 772.	Found in sacred area.

See pages 28 and 34.



ANIMAL FIGURINES OF POTTERY. SCALE, 1:2

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
M 3649 . . .	W17:900	.....	Fragment of Cypriote bull.	LB II? Cf. <i>MCC</i> pp. 38-39 and Fig. 335; <i>GPC</i> p. 190, No. 6 (Fig. 6 on p. 188). More common from towns of the coastal plains and the Shephelah. See <i>MG</i> III, Pl. CXXVI 23 and <i>MG</i> I 305 and Fig. 161 (Gezer); <i>PAG</i> I, Pl. XXVII 46, and <i>PAG</i> III, Pl. XV (Gaza); <i>GASE</i> I, Pl. XI (Beth Shemesh); Schaeffer in <i>Syria</i> X 287 and Fig. 2 (Ras Shamra).
M 2652 . . .	M13 below 368	V or earlier	Traces of red wash; half human and half animal (ape?) with large ears, depressed nostrils, and incised eyes; probably decoration from outside of a vessel near rim.	
M 3285 . . .	O8:1025	I	Upper part hollow; lower part solid; protruding eyes (or ears?); high cheek (or jaw?) bones; large depressed nostrils; long, ridged snout; no indication of mouth.	
M 3093 . . .	Tomb 912 B	.....	Head of sheep; hematite.	Dated 18th-19th dynasty by context.
1671.	T19	.....	.....	MI? Similar object, No. 1340, undated (not illustrated), found in Tomb 47.
M 2582 . . .	W16	Surface	Goat or gazelle? Solid, gray ware; nostrils and pupils of button eyes pierced; pronounced larynx; horns broken off.	Cf. <i>MG</i> III, Pl. CXXIV 31.
1898.	Tomb 52	.....	Sheep or donkey? Yellow ware; crudely modeled with pinched-up ears and ill-proportioned, depressed eyes and nostrils.	Pottery context EB and LB. Comparison with ware of M 3534 (E-MB) suggests earlier period.
M 1002 . . .	L13	Surface	Sheep? Solid, gray ware; head, tail, and legs broken off.	
M 2520 . . .	Tomb 903 Upper	.....	Bovine; solid, blue-black ware; pinched-up ears; eyes and mouth not indicated.	EB, Stages IV-V. One of earliest figurines from Megiddo. See <i>SAOC</i> No. 10, Fig. 15, for context.
1760.	Tomb 47	.....	Sheep or calf.	MI?
M 4565 . . .	Q8:1631	IV	Ram; red decoration on forehead, horns, and neck; eyes and snout outlined in black; small hole through neck to mouth; button eyes and padlike ears.	
M 2096 . . .	Q6:631	I	Horse or goat, solid, blue-black ware; pinhole eyes; possible mane; tail, legs, and horns or ears broken off.	
M 4563 . . .	R10 = 1445	III	Solid; light red wash; head, legs, and tail broken off.	
M 3534 . . .	Tomb 1101 B Lower	.....	Sheep; yellow ware; pinched ears.	E-MB, Stage O (see <i>SAOC</i> No. 10, chart). Ware similar to that of No. 1898. Cf. also sheep figurines from "Alishar II," which may be of relatively same date (<i>OIP</i> XIX, Fig. 174).
M 4564 . . .	R10 = 1613	III	Ram; solid, with light red wash; closely burnished; snout missing.	
M 1700 . . .	W18	Surface	Sheep? Solid; bulbous eyes.	
M 2638 . . .	P4:925	.....	Light red ware.	From shaft of water system.
M 1014 . . .	N14 below 283	IV	Ram; hollow; red wash; button eyes; hole through mouth to neck.	
M 1403 . . .	Q10:435	II	Solid; head made separately; secondarily applied details on back may be remnants of a rider; legs and head broken off.	
M 1468 . . .	Q10	I	Ram; traces of red decoration and burnishing; incised, coiled horns; incised circles for eyes; incised mouth not connected with interior; probably part of a vessel.	Cf. <i>MG</i> III, Pl. CXXV 21.

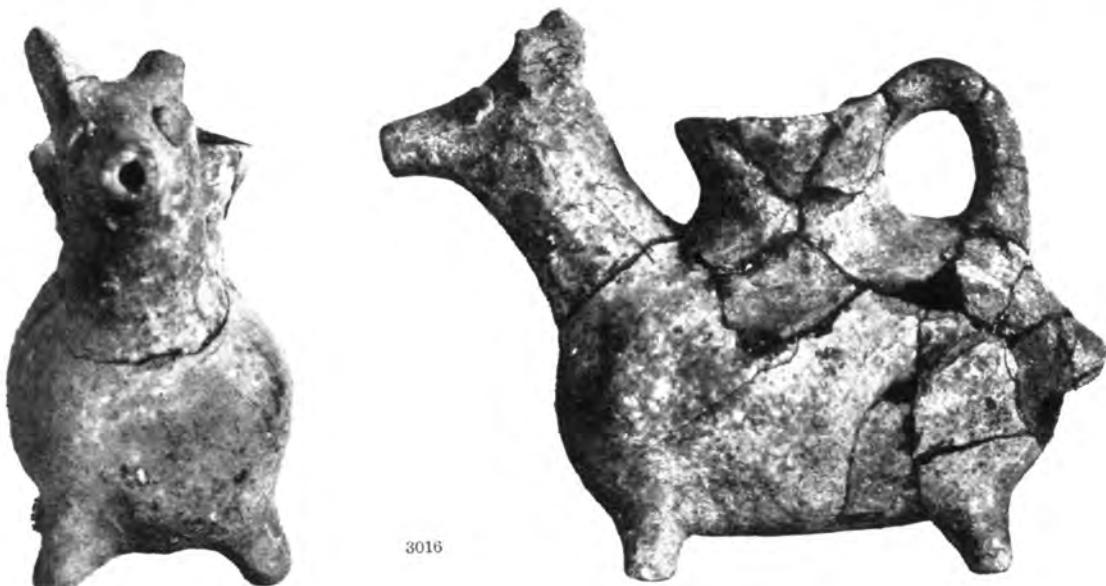


ANIMAL FIGURINES OF POTTERY AND HEMATITE (M 3093). SCALE, 1:2

For a discussion of related types see M. Mayer in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XXII (1908) 207-35.

Number	Locus	Stratum	Description	Remarks
3016.....	Q13:7	V	Brownish drab ware with red slip or wash.	Found in sacred area. See <i>MG</i> II 239 and Fig. 391.
3015.....	Q13:7	V	Black to brown ware; highly burnished.	Found in sacred area. Fragment of a similar vessel came from S9:1650 (Stratum IV).
2962.....	Tomb 49	.....	Light red ware; burnished.	Dated MB II by pottery context. Restoration is based on additional fragments found.

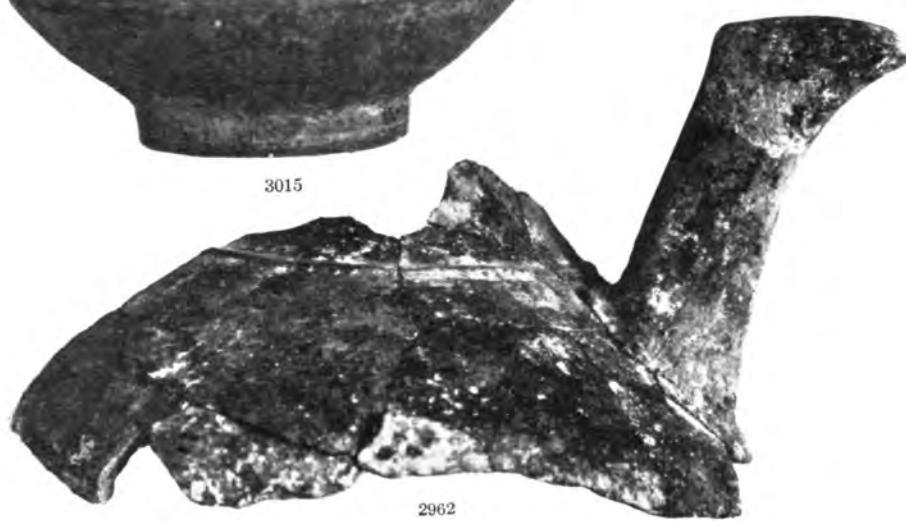
See page 34.



3016



2962



3015

2962

ZOÖMORPHIC VESSELS. SCALE, 1:2 (DRAWING, 1:5)

	Site	Source	Scale	Text References
A	Megiddo	Tomb 1100, P 4393	1:5	pp. 35-36, 38
B	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG II, Pl. XXXVIII 1	1:3	p. 35
C	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG III, Pl. XLI 16	1:4	pp. 35, 38
D	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG I, Pl. XXIX 6	1:3	pp. 35, 38
E	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG III, Pl. XLI 7	1:4	p. 35
F	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG II, Pl. XXXVIII 12	1:3	p. 35
G	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG III, Pl. XLI 11	1:4	p. 35
H	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG I, Pl. XXVIII 4	1:5	pp. 35-36
J	Tell el-Ajūl	PAG I, Pl. XXVIII 5	1:5	pp. 35-36, 38
K	Gezer	R. A. S. Macalister, <i>The Philistines</i> (London, 1913) p. 121	.....	pp. 35, 38
L	Tell el-Hasi	BMMC p. 62, No. 106	.....	p. 35
M	Gezer	MG II, Fig. 324; cf. PAG III, Pl. XXXVI 38q4 PO 930	1:8?	pp. 35-36, 38
N	Minet el-Beidā?	Syria XIII 11, Fig. 7	.....	pp. 35-36, 38



PAINTED POTTERY DESIGNS OF THE LATE HYKSOS PERIOD FROM PALESTINE AND SYRIA

	Site	Source	Date	Scale	Text References
A.....	Megiddo	Tomb 912 D, P 3317	Ramses II	1:5	pp. 35-37
B.....	Tell Fara	<i>BP</i> II, Pl. LVIII 972; cf. Pl. LXXXIV 972	19th dynasty	1:5	pp. 35-36, 38
C.....	Megiddo	<i>STEM</i> Fig. 54; Vincent in <i>Syria</i> V (1924) Pl. XXIV 1	LB II	1:3?	pp. 35-37
D.....	Gezer	<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CLXV 2	18th dynasty?*	1:4	pp. 35-36
E.....	Shephelah	<i>BMEP</i> Pl. 41, No. 131	19th dynasty	2:5	pp. 35-37
F.....	Gezer	<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CLXV 1	18th dynasty?*	1:4	pp. 35-36
G.....	Taanach	I. Benzinger, <i>Hebräische Archäologie.</i> 3. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1927) Fig. 323	LB II	.....	pp. 35-36
H.....	Gezer	<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CLIX 1	19th dynasty	1:2	pp. 35, 37
J.....	Gezer	<i>MG</i> III, Pl. CLX 6	19th dynasty or later	1:4	pp. 35, 37
K.....	Tell Fara	<i>DCPP</i> Pl. 44 R2	19th dynasty	2:3	pp. 35, 37

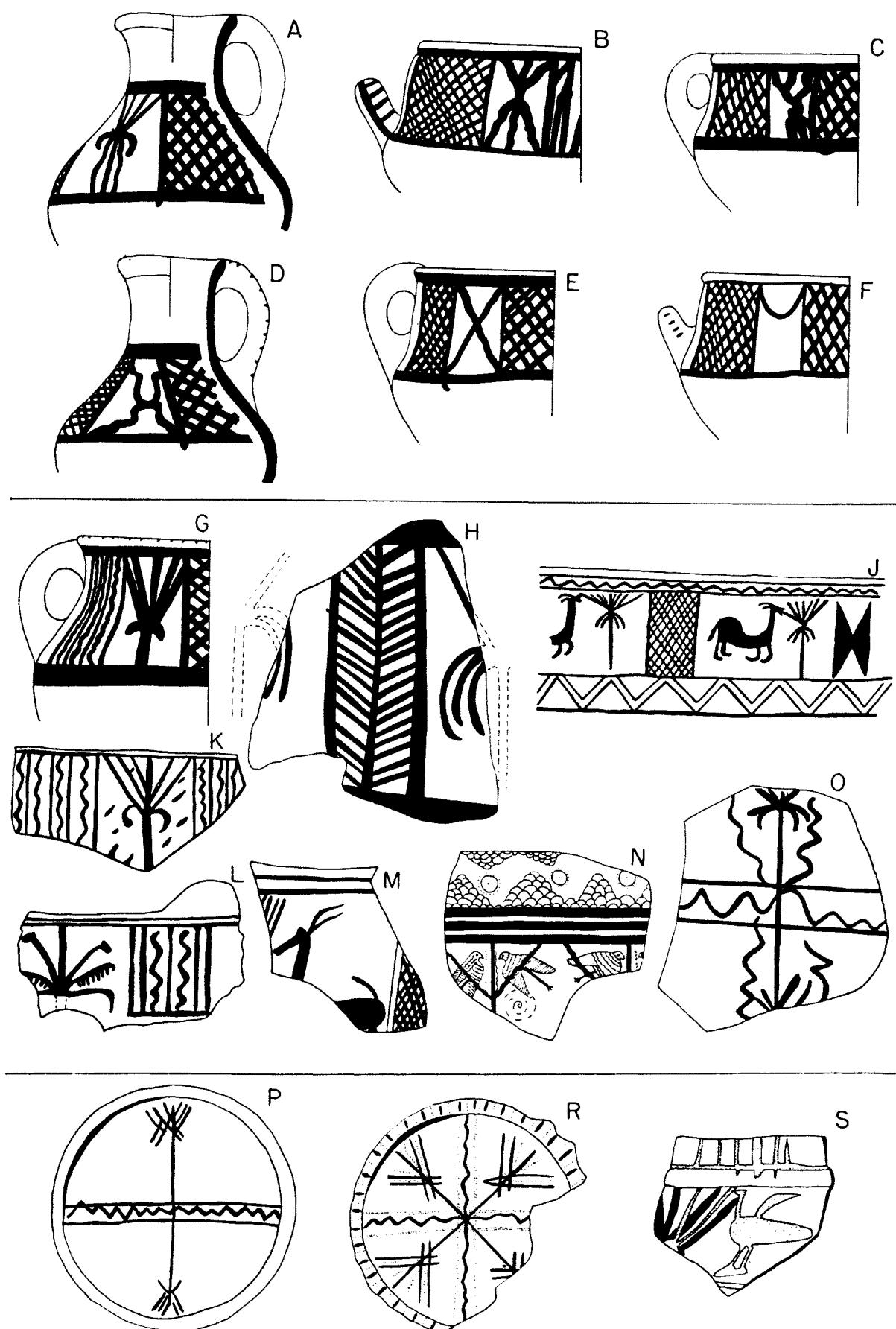
* Macalister puts it in his Third Semitic Period, which begins at the end of the 18th dynasty.



PAINTED POTTERY DESIGNS OF THE LATE BRONZE PERIOD FROM PALESTINE

	Site	Source	Scale
		Time of Ramses II at Megiddo. Scale, 1:5. See pages 35 and 37	
A.....		Tomb 989 C 1, P 3180	.....
B.....		Tomb 911 B 1, P 3084	.....
C.....		Tomb 912 A 1, P 3453	.....
D.....		Tomb 989 A 1, P 3323	.....
E.....		Tomb 912 A 1, P 3452	.....
F.....		Tomb 877 B 1, P 2956	.....
		Early Iron Age in Palestine. See pages 35 and 37	
G.....	Megiddo	Tomb 1101 C, P 4118*	1:5
H.....	Megiddo	Tomb 73, 4252	1:2
J.....	Gezer	MG III, Pl. LXXXV 17, and MG I 328	1:3?
K.....	Gezer	MG III, Pl. CLXVIII 7	about 3:8
L.....	Megiddo	STEM Fig. 244 Tomb A	1:1
M.....	Gezer	MG III, Pl. CLXVII 5	1:3
N.....	Megiddo	Tomb 1101 A Upper, P 4089	1:5
O.....	Gezer	MG III, Pl. CLXVII 10	3:8
		Early to Middle Iron Age at Gezer. See pages 35 and 37	
P.....		MG III, Pl. CLXXIII 6	1:4
R.....		MG III, Pl. CLXXIII 4	1:4
S.....		MG III, Pl. CLXXIII 14	1:2

* The associated pottery in this tomb was post-Ramses II. G belongs to the same tomb group as N.



PAINTED POTTERY DESIGNS OF THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGES FROM PALESTINE

