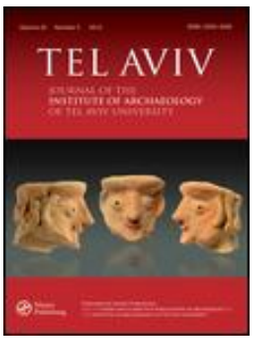

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THE DRAWINGS FROM ḤORVAT TEIMAN (KUNTILLET 'AJRUD)

Pirhiya Beck

Ḥorvat Teiman (Kuntillet 'Ajrud) is located on a solitary hill approximately 50 km. south of Kadesh-barnea near the junction of two ancient roads crossing the Sinai desert: Darb el-Ghazza leading from the Gaza—Rafiah region to Eilat and southern Sinai and the road traversing Sinai from east to west along Wâdi Quraiya (Fig. 1).

Three seasons of excavation were conducted at the site during the years 1975—1976 by Z. Meshel of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University (Meshel 1974:141-145; 1976; 1978a; 1978b; 1979).

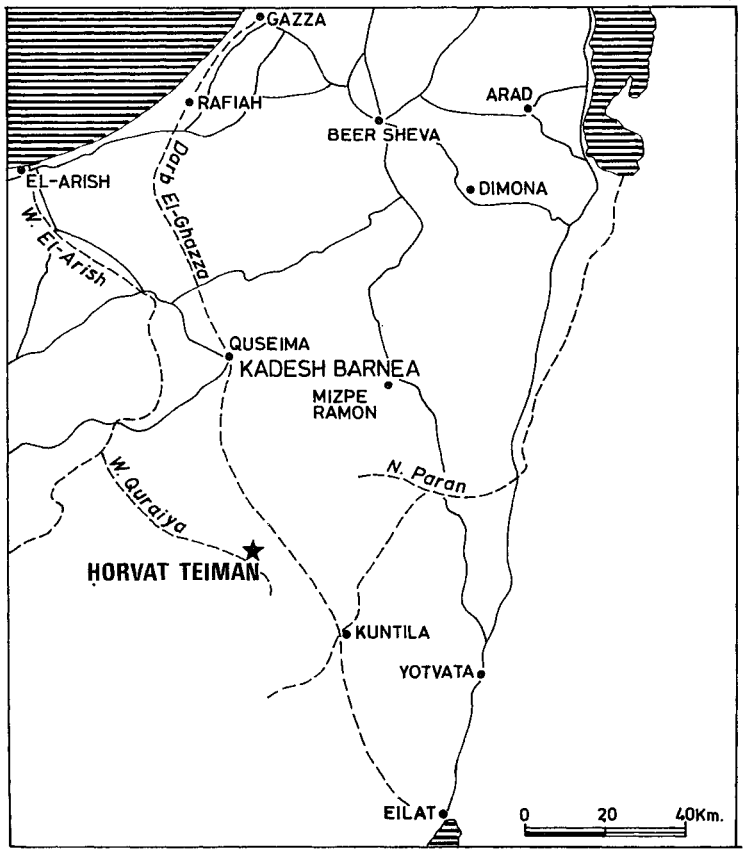

Fig. 1. Location of Ḥorvat Teiman (Kuntillet 'Ajrud).

The remains consisted of an almost completely eroded structure (B on Fig. 2) and an unusually well preserved building surrounding an open courtyard to its west (A on Fig. 2). The entrance to the courtyard passed through a narrow broadroom, lined with benches, which the excavators called the "benchroom". It was on one of these benches (Locus 6) that pithos A (Fig. 3) was discovered, and just outside the doorway, in a corner of the courtyard (Locus 19), were the fragments of pithos B, which the excavator believes originally stood in the bench room also (Fig. 3). Both pithoi were covered with drawings and inscriptions. The benchroom also yielded other inscribed objects together with ink-inscribed plaster fragments that had fallen from the walls; one fragmentary inscription was still *in situ* on the north jamb of the doorway leading into the courtyard. Most of the painted fragments from the murals that decorated the white-plastered walls were found in Building B, while only a few came from the main building. The doorways to the long, narrow storerooms on the southern and western sides of the courtyard of Building A also yielded some wall paintings, one of them applied directly onto a stone of the doorjamb. The exact provenience of all the painted material is shown in Fig. 2.

The full story of this remarkable site will be told by the excavator in the final excavation report (Meshel, forthcoming). In the meantime, he has entrusted to me the publication of this treasure of drawings and paintings, for which I am deeply grateful.

PART I: THE PITHOI DRAWINGS

The drawings to be discussed here occupy the shoulder area and space between the handles on two sides of pithos A (Reg. No. 16/1) and the area below the shoulder and near the base of pithos B (Reg. No. 144/3). The motifs on pithos A from shoulder downwards are (Fig. 4): horse (A), boar (B), lion (C), hindquarters of animal (D), tree and ibexes (E, F, G) and lion (H). On the other side of the vessel are (Fig. 5): chariot horse (V), ibex and garland (W), Bes figures and lyre player (S, T, U) and cow and calf (X). The motifs on pithos B are (Fig. 6): ibex (J), archer (K), lion's tail, cow (L), procession of worshippers (M, N, O, P, Q) and bull (R). In addition, there are two decorated sherds that do not belong to any reconstructable vessel: boar (Y) and seated figure (Z).

The drawings were copied with a great deal of difficulty (see Appendix), since the paint was badly faded and the lines were blurred at many points. In several cases, such as boar B and horse A on pithos A and bull R on pithos B, the drawings are reproduced with hesitance, since we were not sure of the original lines, and should be viewed with a certain measure of caution.

My main objectives are to describe each motif and analyze it in the broader context of Near Eastern iconography. I shall also try to determine whether there are recurrent features that would betray the hand of a single artist or whether several painters applied their hand to the pithoi. Such an attempt is, of course, hampered by the fact that there is such a large variety of motifs rather than one motif executed in different styles.

1. COW-AND-CALF

The unfinished cow (L): pithos B; colour: red; Fig. 6; Pl. 1:2.

The drawing is incomplete, evidently unfinished. The outline of the cow's back ascends at

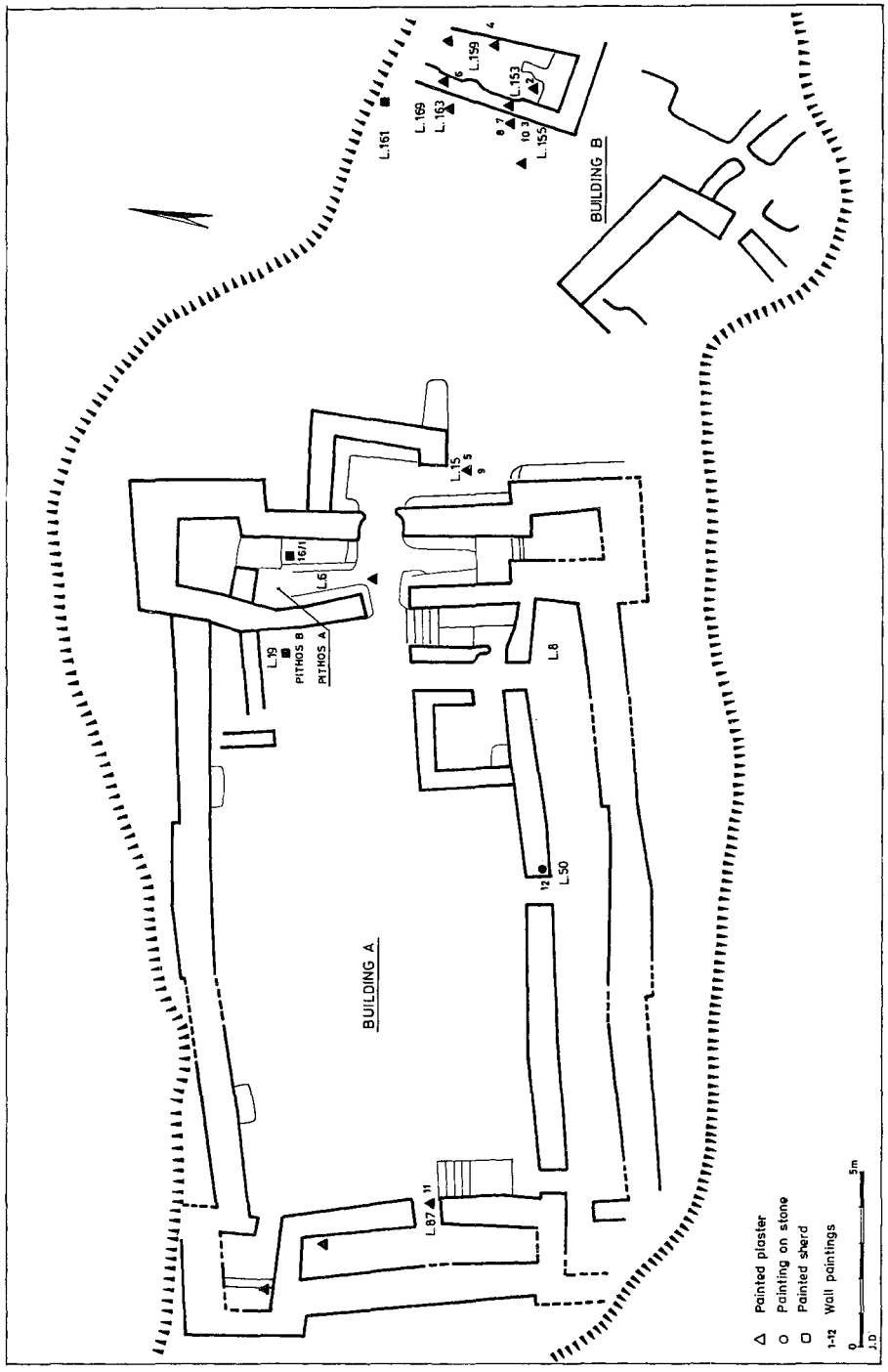

Fig. 2. Provenance of painted pithoi and plaster fragments from walls.

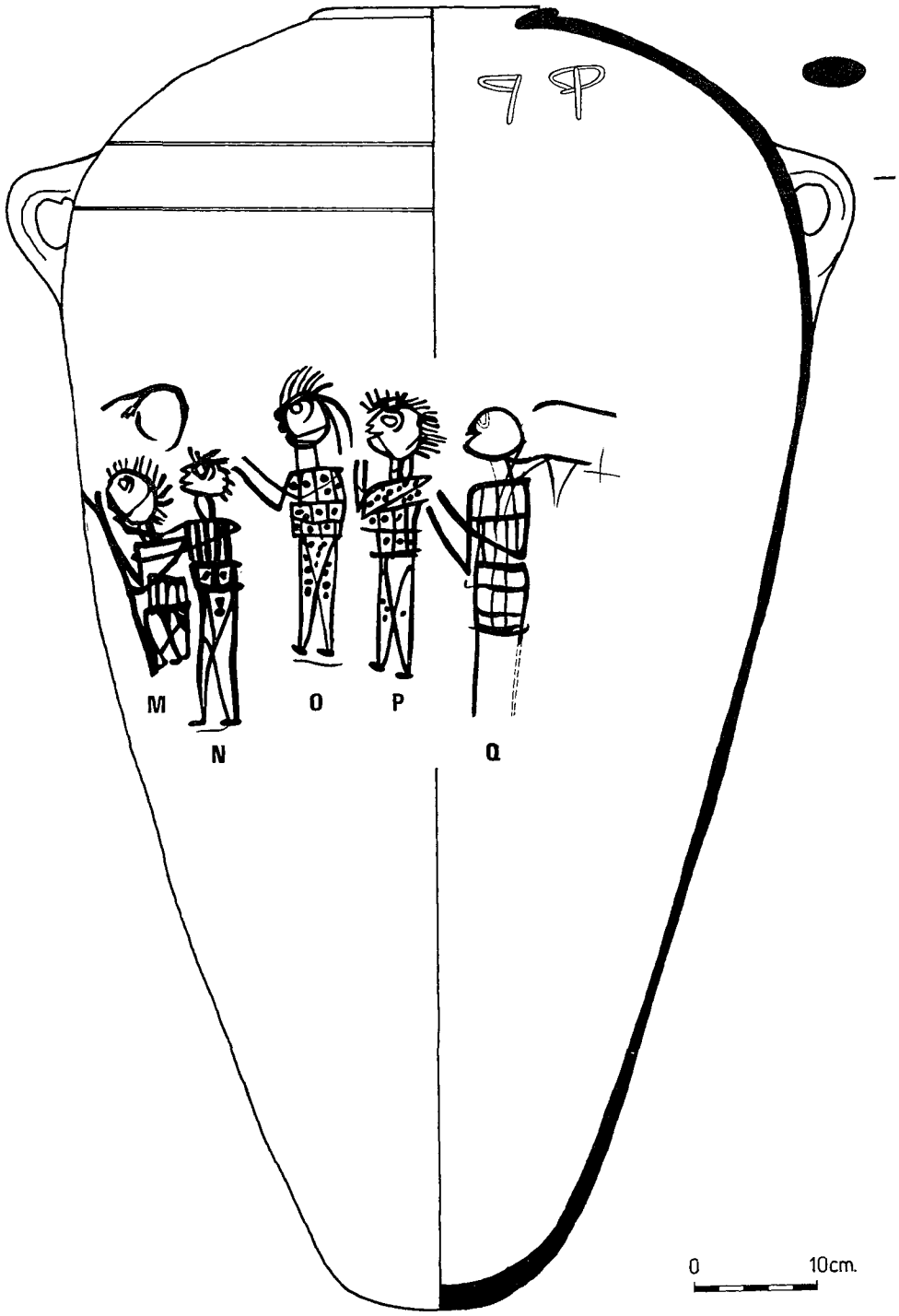

Fig. 3. Pithos B.

mid-point to form the withers, then descends in an arch towards the right foreleg and terminates at the chest. The neck, encircled by three lines, emerges from this arch. The forehead, nose and long tongue jutting out from the chin are clearly portrayed, but there is no indication of the mouth. The eye is a circle, above which a diagonal stroke marks the eyebrow. The short horn curves downwards, while the ears, one behind the other, curve upwards.

The stubby forelegs do not join the body properly. The inner line of the left foreleg was apparently redrawn in order to broaden it, and both lines cross the chest. The right hoof is a rectangle attached to the end of the leg, while the left hoof is more triangular.

The back-turned head and long tongue attest to the intention of the painter to depict a cow suckling her calf, as he did in drawing X (see below). Since the head of cow L was too

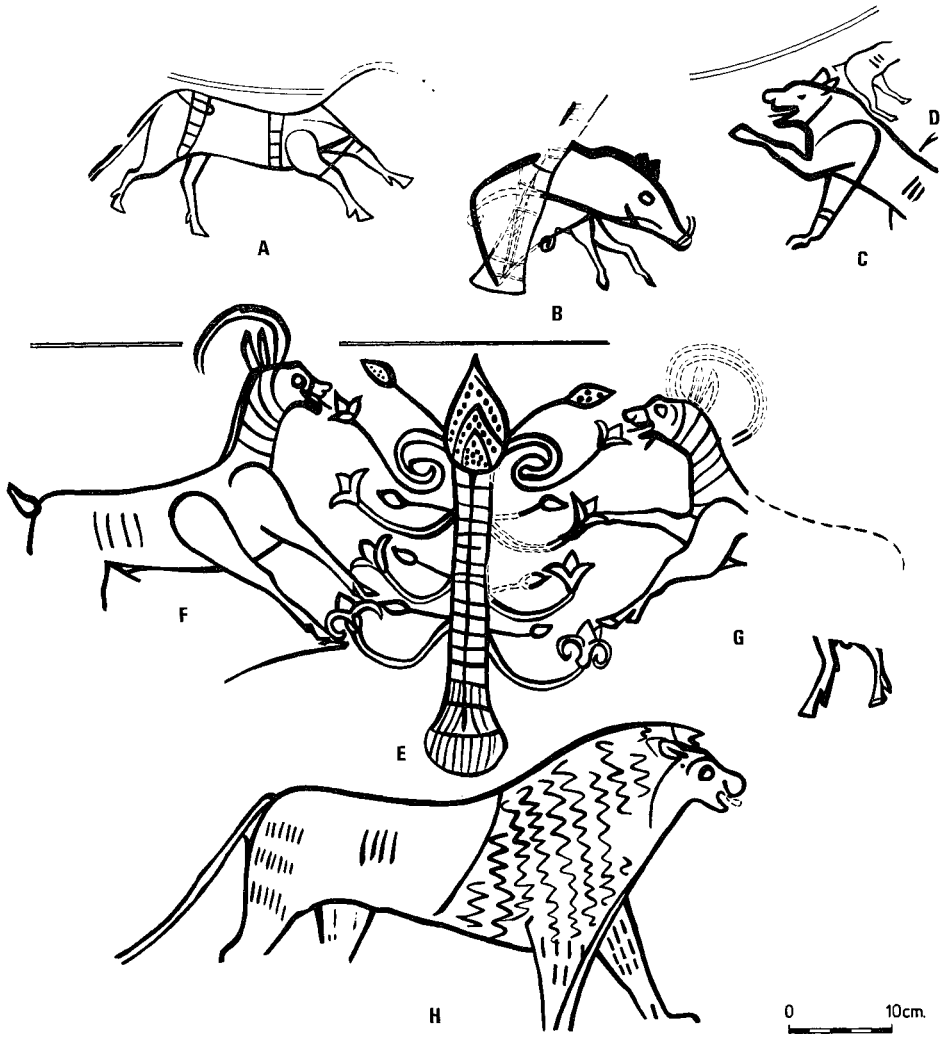

Fig. 4. Pithos A (motifs A-H).

small in relation to its body, it did not reach the belly line and would not have been able to make contact with a calf — if such had been drawn.

Cow-and-calf (X); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 5; Pl. 1:1.

Like on cow L, the outline of the back ascends at midpoint to create the withers and the back-turned neck emerges from the chest. The head, which is about half the girth of the body, touches the belly line, thereby reaching the tail of the calf standing below. The slightly open mouth, short tongue, nose and forehead are clearly indicated. The eyebrow arches over the rounded eye. The tip of the horn curves upwards. The ears are placed on top of the head; one of them is a triangle set on its angle. The hair of the neck is depicted by several curving lines.

The extremely short forelegs are raised as if in a gallop. Five vertical lines of varying length presumably mark the ribs, although anatomically speaking, they are too far to the rear. The rump is rendered by a curved line that terminates in the right hindleg. The hooves are trapezoidal. The long tail ends with a double triangle to represent the switch. The teats are visible in front of the right hindleg, together with another short diagonal line. The double brushstroke at the centre of the belly is apparently merely the painter's correction.

The calf's feet do not stand on the same level as the cow's, those closer to the observer being on a lower plane. Its head and neck are relatively long, and its throat is marked by two diagonal lines. The mouth is suckling one of the teats. The eye is rounded. The triangular ears partially overlap. The general appearance is more canine than bovine.

The line of the withers was drawn twice, apparently in an attempt of the artist to correct himself. The left shoulder is strongly emphasized. The right foreleg is visible to its full length, as though not concealed by its body, as it would have been in reality. The hooves are identical to those of the cow. The upcurving tail, partially parallel to its mother's belly line, is terminated by three short strokes. Six lines of varying length mark the ribs. There is a tiny diagonal stroke that may indicate the sex organ.

A comparison of cows L and X reveals that they have several features in common but differ in others. Although the body of cow L is longer than that of X, they are both drawn with an exaggerated up-curve for the withers, higher for L than for X. The head and neck of cow L are disproportionally small in comparison to the size of its body and do not seem to have any organic connection with it. The head of cow X is much better proportioned; the curve of her back-turned neck resembles more the execution of this animal on the ivory carvings, and the painter succeeded in placing the head low enough to connect it with the calf below.

The ears of both cows are set on top of the head, although the frontal ear of L is not separated from the head by an outline. The horns point in different directions, downwards in L, upwards in X. The eye of each cow is drawn as a circle with eyebrow above, although the eyebrow of L stems from the top of the head, whereas on X it is on the browbone. The profile terminating with the nostril is similar on both. The slightly open mouth of X has a short line jutting out to mark the tongue; on L, however, the tongue issues directly from the chin. The hooves of both cows are similar: trapezoidal shapes attached to the end of their legs.

Despite the above differences, most of the details in the execution of the heads and

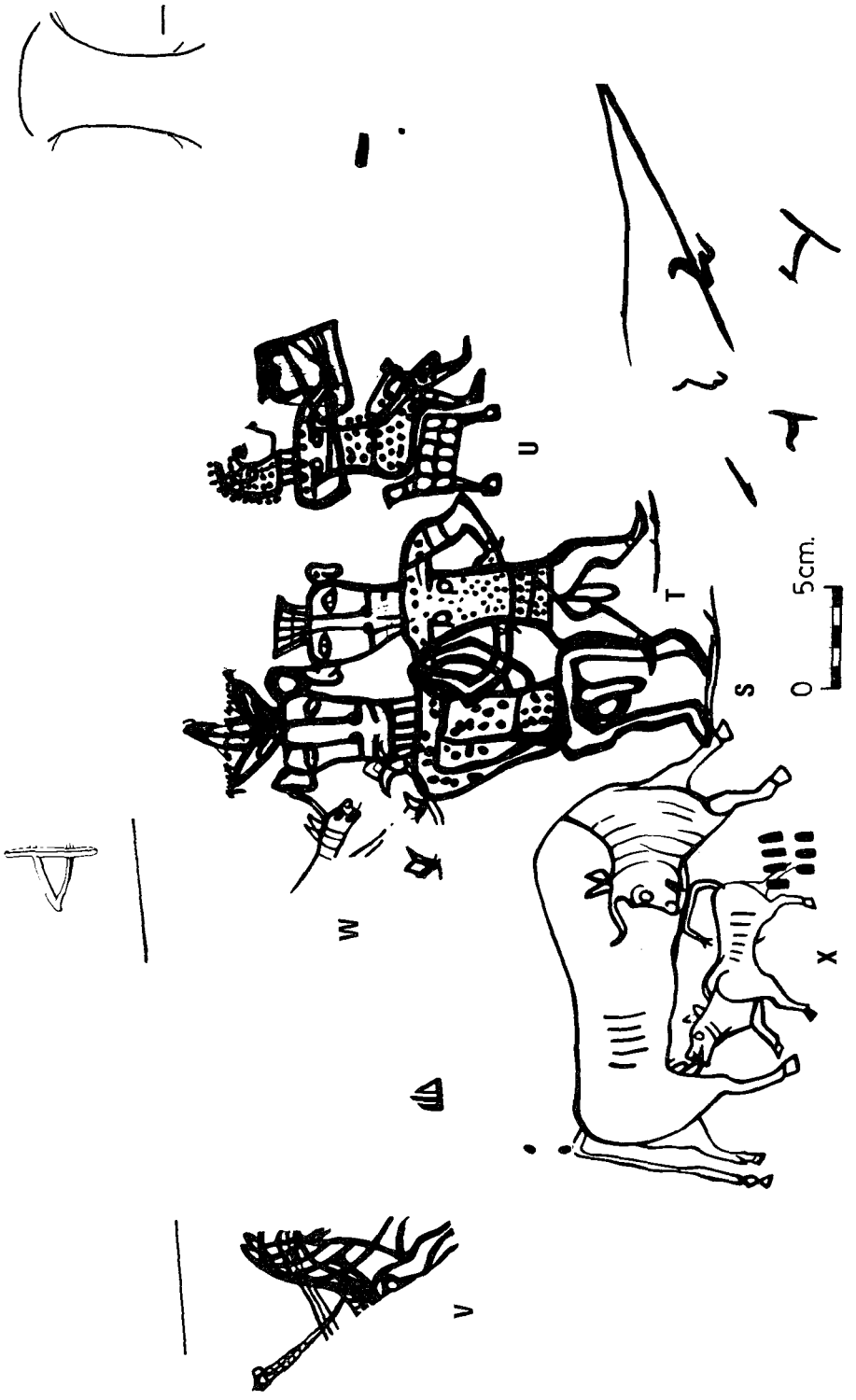

Fig. 5. Pithos A (motifs V-X).

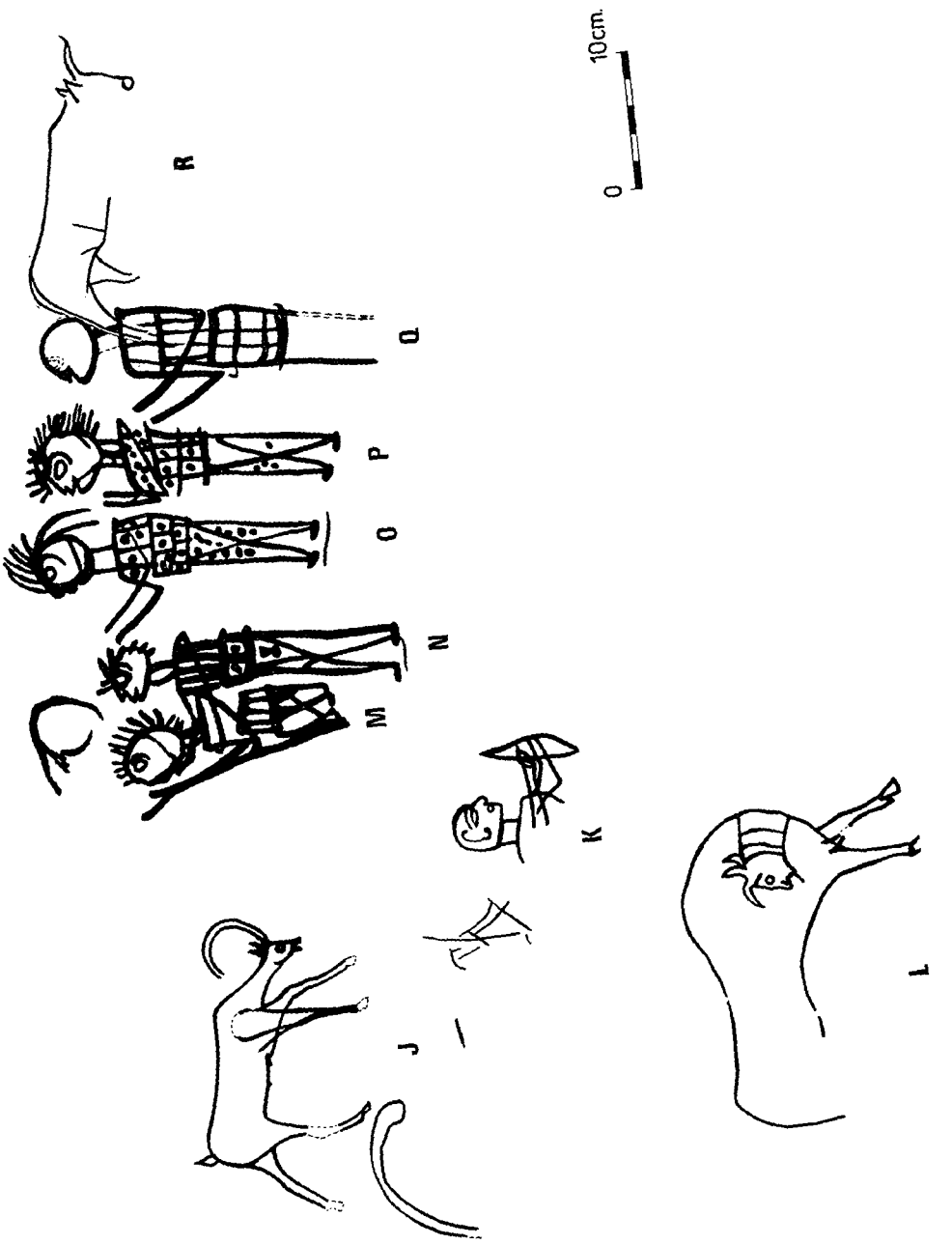

Fig. 6. Pithos B (motifs J-R).

foreparts of the cows seem to betray the same hand. If this interpretation is correct, then we might assume that the artist started with cow L, but since he did not succeed in placing the head in a position that would bring it anywhere near the calf he intended to draw, he left the picture unfinished and moved on to the other pithos, where he was more successful in portraying the desired motif. Another explanation, of course, might be that cow L was an unsuccessful imitation of cow X, thus assuming that it was drawn later.

Most problematic for the 'Ajrud painter were the legs of the animals. On the ivories from Nimrud and Arslan-Tash (cf. *NR II:* Figs. 436-437) the back-turned head of the cow is seen above the foreleg (Fig. 7), whereas at 'Ajrud the forelegs appear to stem directly from the chest. Nor is the stance of our cow natural: the upraised forelegs are not matched by the position of the hindlegs, with the left leg behind the right. The position of the udders is also unrealistic. On the ivories depicting this scene the hindleg that is closer to the observer is extended backwards, thereby revealing the udders; hence even the teats of our cow should — in keeping with visual reality — be invisible, since they would have been concealed by the right hindleg.

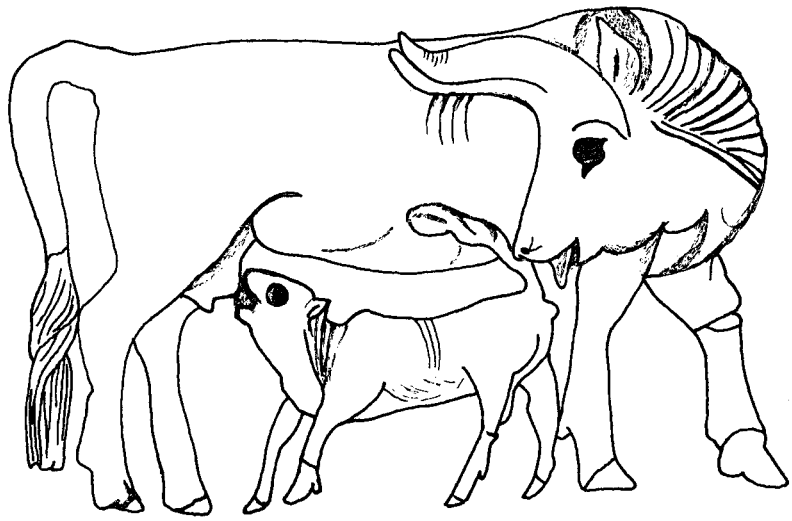

Fig. 7. Ivory plaque depicting cow-and-calf motif from Nimrud (after *NR II:* Fig. 426).

Further comparisons with the ivory carvings illustrate additional inadequacies on the part of the 'Ajrud painter. In these carvings the cow's head is about the same size as the girth of her body, and, consequently, the muzzle of her turned-back head reaches slightly beyond the belly line and nuzzles the haunches of the calf, whereas the 'Ajrud cow cannot reach her calf because her head was neither large enough nor sufficiently lowered. Some of the cows from Nimrud and Arslan-Tash appear to have a mane (?) covering the neck and demarcated from it by a diagonal band (*NR II:* Pl. VI), whereas on cow X this hair (?) covers the entire neck and chest.

Unlike on the ivory carvings — and in nature — the ears of our cows are not drawn behind the eye but are perched on top of the head like pointed triangles. On the ivories only one ear, drawn in detail, is visible. This peculiar manner of drawing the ears on top of the head is typical of almost all the 'Ajrud animals.

The 'Ajrud artist's lack of skill manifests itself particularly in his treatment of the forelegs. As noted above, when the cows on the Nimrud ivories turn to the rear, the head is positioned above the right foreleg, while the left foreleg, equally visible, is shown behind it. At 'Ajrud the two forelegs seem to be in a gallop without any correlation to the hindlegs. As the cow's forelegs were placed too far forward, the wide space left under the body allowed a relatively large calf to be drawn. Apparently, the painter first outlined its haunches and hindlegs and then extended its neck so that the head would reach the teats. On the ivory carvings and seals the cow and calf stand on the same groundline (cf. the stamp seal impression from Buserah, Stern 1978:13-15; Fig. 3), whereas at 'Ajrud they do not. However, this does not seem to be the result of trying to portray the figures in perspective, and the lack of a common groundline may be due simply to the large space available on the pithos.

The cow and suckling calf, which ranks among the most popular motifs of the first millennium in Western Asia, has been discussed extensively (*Arslan-Tash:*119-126; Barnett 1975:143-145; *NR II:*527, 570; Figs. 436-437; *Samaria-Sebaste II:*25; Pl. X:7). Derived from the Egyptian Old Kingdom artistic tradition (Smith 1946:327; Fig. 205), it was transmitted through the "minor arts" to Syria and Anatolia during the 12th dynasty, where it was represented mainly on cylinder seals (Frankfort 1939:177-178; Pl. XXVI:1; Barnett 1975:143). Van Buren (1945:36-38) reviews its history from the first occurrence in Old Babylonia through the Neo-Assyrian periods. The peak of its popularity was reached in the first millennium, as attested by the enormous quantity of ivory plaques bearing this motif, most of them dated to the 8th-7th centuries B.C.E., produced by Phoenician artisans, which have been found in the ivory ateliers of Nimrud and Arslan-Tash. It also appears on metal bowls (Clermont-Ganneau 1880: Pl. IV). This motif even reached Urartu, where it was found as a cast-metal (?) statue standing in front of the temple at Muṣaṣir, as represented on a relief of Sargon II (Van Buren 1945:36-39) and specifically mentioned by Sargon (*ARAB II:* pars. 173-175, 11. 397-414): "The temple of Haldia. . .1 cow, together with its calf."

The calf-and-cow motif is also carved on seals (Galling 1941:140-141, Nos. 33-35) and recently from Buseirah (Bennett 1975:14-15; Fig. 8:9-10), dated to the end of the Iron Age.

Regarding the origin of its motif, Frankfort (1939:177) has suggested that in the Old Babylonian period, it may have been related to the form of Ninhursag. This identification (first suggested by Deimel) is also preferred by Van Buren *(op. cit.)* more than Sheil's attempt to relate it to Ishtar. According to Barnett (1975:143-145), the motif was a symbolic substitution for the actual representation of the suckling goddess, which passed from Egypt into Phoenicia in the 12th dynasty on a pectoral of Amenemhet II. Barnett also refers to the 18th dynasty reliefs on which Hathor is illustrated suckling Queen Hatshepsut, suggesting that the same conception survived into the 7th century B.C.E. in Assyria. According to Barnett, the interpretation of the subject in Phoenicia was very much the same as in Mesopotamia and probably represented "the mystery of birth on one of their principal deities."

Whether the artisans who reproduced this motif in such quantities in the first and second millennium were conscious of its original symbolism is another question, although it may have been connected with some aspect of fertility. At any rate, the painter who drew the cow and calf on the pithos at 'Ajrud would have had ample opportunity to be familiar with the subject through objects in wide circulation, such as seals and, particularly, ivory carvings. In spite of his numerous "mistakes" in rendering details and proportions, it is obvious that he was well acquainted with this wide-spread motif of Phoenician iconography when he transferred it to the surface of the pithoi on a larger scale.

2. IBEXES FLANKING A TREE: pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4; Pls. 2 and 3.

A pair of horned animals on either side of a tree is another of the age-old motifs of Near Eastern iconography.[1] We shall discuss the tree first and then the animals.[2]

The tree (E)

This consists of a long trunk broadening towards its rounded base and bisected lengthwise by a line of uneven width and crosswise by horizontal lines into seventeen segments of unequal size. The three lower segments forming the base of the tree are again divided into vertical bands.

Three asymmetrically arranged pairs of stems terminating with lotus flowers and buds sprout from either side of the trunk. The lotus flowers are attached to double-outlined stems of varying length and curvature, whereas the buds have short, single-line stems. Each lotus flower is drawn differently: the petals of the lower pair are volutes, whereas the petals of the others are only slightly open. There seems to be an additional petal on the lower right-hand blossom, while the lower part of its left-hand counterpart is divided into two. No flower was duplicated, and the free-hand style of the painter is most apparent.

The top of the tree consists of a pointed leaf or bud; our only reservation regarding its identification as a bud is that there is nothing to indicate the folded petals usually present on such buds (e.g., Andrae 1939: Abb. 3). Instead, it is divided by two overlapping, lop-sided round-based triangles, with lines of dots running along the solid lines. Double-outlined volutes sprout from each side of this bud, each terminating with a lotus flower at the end of a solid stem. Short stems, each topped by a small dotted bud, issue from above the volutes.

Although I could not find an exact analogy to this tree, it seems that many of its details have parallels in the iconography of the sacred trees of the ancient Near East.

A scene most similar to ours is known from the terracotta relief-and-painted tiles from a building at Pazarli (Fig. 8), dated by Akurgal to the 6th century B.C.E. (Akurgal 1955:79-

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1 For example, two goats on either side of a tree were depicted on temple walls in second millennium Syria on a basalt inlay at Qatna (Smith 1965: Fig. 32), on a Mari wall painting (Parrot 1958; II:2; Fig. 23) and on clay moulds (Parrot 1959: II:3; Pl. XVII:1033, 1036), as well as in relief on a 10th century clay cult stand from Taanach (Lapp 1969: Fig. 29). The juxtaposition of the cow-and-calf motif and the goats on either side of a tree is known from the Syrian seals of the Middle Bronze Age (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI:1) where these two themes serve as ancillary elements on a seal that is otherwise in the old Babylonian style.

2 We are very grateful to Prof. E. Cernov, who identified the horned animals in this scene. According to him, they belong to the species *Capra ibex nubiana.*

80; Pls. 54-55; Koşay 1941:Pl. XL). The Pazarli trees share several features with the 'Ajrud specimen. Although at Pazarli, the curvature of the four stems at each side of the trunk is different, all terminate in lotus flowers, each oriented in a different direction. The summit of the tree consists of a half-opened flower between two stems. The trunk (as well as the stems) of one of the trees at Pazarli (Pl. 55a, left) are also divided by short strokes. However, the trees from the two sites differ in several important details: there are no buds sprouting from the trunks at Pazarli, the summit on the tree is different and there is no use of dots. The position of the feet of the horned animals is also different: at Pazarli they lean on the offshoots of the plant with one hindleg as well as with both forelegs.

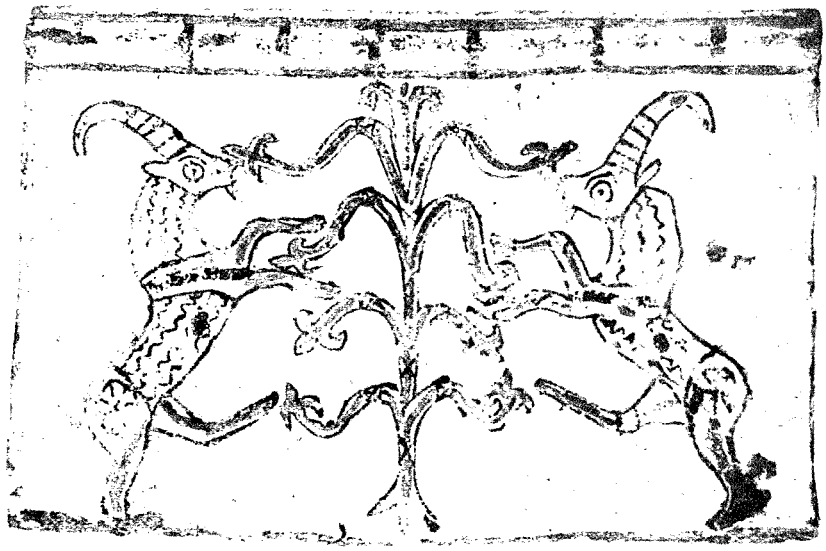

Fig. 8. Ibex and tree scene from Pazarli (after Akurgal 1955: Pl. 54).

The adjoining stems with lotus flowers and bud are peculiar to 'Ajrud, although the alternation of lotus-bud and flower, or lotus-bud and palmette, is a well-known theme in the iconography of sacred trees: e.g. the panel of glazed tiles from the time of Shalmaneser III (*NR II:* Fig. 373), where, however, the buds do not issue from the main trunk. On an ivory plaque from Samaria (*Samaria-Sebaste II:* Pl. XXI:1) there is a "column" of superimposed palmette trees with lotus flower and bud issuing alternately from the base of every other "tree".

The only example of a tree from which two lotus buds and a single flower issue from the same point at each side of the trunk is seen on a Late Bronze Age ivory from Mycenae (Dussaud 1949:105; Fig. 67). The model for these combinations of lotus flowers and buds was probably the Egyptian wreath, which consists of one or two buds and a flower, tied at the bottom, as commonly represented on Egyptian monuments of various periods beside or above the offering table (Goodyear 1891: Pls. 1:4, III).

As noted above, no two lotus flowers on the 'Ajrud tree are identical. Was this the result of the artist's carelessness or was it intentional? Lotus flowers in various stages of blossom

are a common decorative motif at Nimrud (e.g. Mallowan and Herrmann 1974: Pl. VIII) and Samaria (*Samaria-Sebaste II:* Pl. XV:1, 1a).[3] They are also seen on the trees represented on the ivory carvings from Room SW7 at Fort Shalmaneser of the second half of the 8th century B.C.E. (Mallowan and Herrmann 1974:35-39; Pls. VIII:2; XIV:4; XV:5; XVIII:8); on some of the carvings the central petal is covered with dots (*ibid.:* Pls. XIX:9; XXXVII:22; see also Tait 1963:95 ff.). These panels, according to Mallowan, were the product of north Syrian artisans, possibly stationed at Nimrud. According to Winter 1976), they constitute a sub-group within the north Syrian style. Buds on either side of a multi-petalled lotus also form a decorative border design on a panel (Mallowan and Herrmann 1974: Pl. LXXI:62). Lotus buds alternating with lotus flowers to form a continuous design are well known from ivories (*ibid.:* Pl. CVIII:107; *Samaria-Sebaste II:* Pls. XV:2, 2a, 3a, 8a; XVI), from monuments such as the sarcophagus of Ahiram, dated to the 10th century by Porada (1973), and on the reliefs from Karatepe (Winter 1979:137, n. 96).

According to Winter (1976:45, n. 67), this alternation represents birth and maturity, and by repeating itself, conveys the concept of continuity (see already Goodyear 1891:4). It should, however, be stressed that — except for the variety of lotus flower shapes — there is no resemblance between the trees mentioned above and the tree from 'Ajrud — and the latter remains unique.

A possible link with other representations of sacred trees can be observed in the volutes and the lotus issuing from them. If we disregard (for the purpose of comparison) the dots and the shape of the bud, we may see in the summit of the tree one of the elements of the Phoenician "volute tree" (Barnett 1975: Fig. 1:D9) from which the lotus flowers sprout. The thin volutes of the type seen on our tree are known from stylized trees depicted on Bichrome IV vases (e.g. Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974:79), where they stem from a lotus flower capital. The segmentation of the trunk of our tree could be interpreted as a schematic execution of a sacred tree such as the one known from Nimrud (e.g. Barnett 1975: Fig. 1:G6a; Andrae 1925:62) or the later tree from Pazarli (Akurgal 1955: Pl. 55).

Thus it seems that we may relate several of the details of the 'Ajrud tree with specific elements of the Phoenician sacred trees, such as the capital with volutes and the combination of lotus flower and bud. According to Barnett's definition of the Phoenician style, the 'Ajrud tree apparently belongs to this horizon. Its relation to the trees from Pazarli may point to a common model known to both the Phrygian and 'Ajrud artists. The elements in common with the Cypriote trees painted on vases is of great interest, since this stylized portrayal is typical of the Cypriote late Iron Age, which is well known for its rich Phoenician finds.

The ibexes (F, G)

Although neither ibex is completely preserved, it is clear that they are not identical in appearance nor in their position vis-à-vis the tree. The forelegs of the ibex at the right touch

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3 Lotus flowers at various stages of blossom held in the hands of a figure are known from the engraved tridacna shells (Andrae 1939: Fig. 2) or as a garland (Amiet 1976:185; Fig. 4). The tridacna engravings are, however, later than the pithoi. In a recent study, Stucky (1974:89) dated them on the basis of stratified specimens not earlier than the second quarter of the 7th century B.C.E.

the lower and third-from-lower lotus flowers, whereas the forelegs of the opposite animal are drawn on either side of the lower flower.[4]

Right ibex (G). The ears and horns, as well as the body from the shoulder downwards, are missing; only the hindlegs are preserved. The tongue protrudes from the open muzzle, which is set off by a vertical line, and the beard is represented by a thick diagonal stroke. A curved eyebrow is drawn behind the eye, and longer curved lines cover the neck. The left shoulder is strongly emphasized, as well as the bend of the knee, the fetlock and the high hoof. Since the chest line was not drawn, the two forelegs seem to be joined together. The fetlocks of the hindlegs are sharply accentuated.

Left ibex (F). Although the hindlegs are not preserved, the vertical outlines depicting the hindquarters seem to indicate that they were in standing position. The head is similar to that of ibex B, except for the missing eyebrow. The nape of the neck was drawn by two strokes of the brush. The throat is shorter and more rounded than that of ibex F and joins the neck at a more natural angle. Although there is no diagonal stroke to indicate the beard, the chin was drawn with a thicker line that might have been intended to represent a beard. The neck is covered with curving lines. The left shoulder — which according to visual reality would not be seen — is clearly portrayed, while the chest line is missing. The four vertical lines near the loins may be intended to mark the ribs, although — like on the rest of the animals — they are too far to the rear. The sex organ is clearly drawn. The tail is an oval drawn above the rump.

The ears and horns of this ibex are preserved in the drawing. The long, erect ears are positioned one behind the other, like on the cow and calf. The recurved horns (together with the beard) are what identify this animal as *Capra ibex nubiana.*[5]

The interpretation of the scene of horned animals flanking a tree remains precarious, according to Barnett, who surveyed the history of the research of the motif: "For some the tree is a date palm and is a symbol of fertility which in a secondary way has acquired an apotropaic significance. For other it is a symbol of Tammuz" (Barnett 1975:88-89). Although at 'Ajrud this tree (like the cow-and-calf motif) may have been related to various aspects of fertility, it is doubtful if these scenes were connected to any particular deity.

3. ISOLATED ANIMALS

Lion (H); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4; Pl. 3.

The lion, facing right, stands directly below the tree of the ibex scene discussed above. Most of his body is heavily outlined; the outline of the back terminates in a jagged line

4 The right foreleg of ibex F touches a diagonal line that could be interpreted as a branch, which raises the question as to whether there was any intention of showing a goat standing on the lower branch of a tree as is known from Assur (Andrae 1925: Pl. 2) and Hasanlu (Porada 1965: Pl. 33); see also the clay plaque from Megiddo on which two stags flanking a tree are represented, and the discussion by Stern on this subject (1978:15-16).

5 Two ibexes *(Capra ibex sinaitica)* eating lotus flowers are incised on a jar from Stratum II at Lachish (*Lachish III:*316; Pl. 50:1, type 465). Several details in the drawing recall our ibexes: the modelled shoulder, the banded leg, the lack of coordination between the hind- and forelegs. The 'Ajrud drawing may have been the forerunners of this style.

above the forehead, delineating the forelock of the mane. The head is relatively small (cf. Madhloom 1970: Pls. 21-22). The nose is an unfinished loop. The muzzle is very narrow, and instead of the upper jaw, a protruding tongue seems to be depicted by faint lines. The eye is rounded with arching eyebrow. The mane is demarcated from the head by a curving line. The ear is leaf-shaped with median line. The thick mane extends over the shoulders and entire front half of the body, bounded by a thick line at mid belly. The hair of the mane is depicted by descending zigzags which thin out at the end of each downward stroke, perhaps because there was less paint left on the brush. The hair on the rump and legs is indicated by short vertical strokes: three rows on the rump, two or three rows on the forelegs and a few strokes on the right hindleg. The four heavier strokes at the centre of the body apparently — like on the other animals — represent the ribs.

Although the lower extremeties of all four legs are missing, they appear to be relatively long. The front line of the right foreleg was drawn twice, apparently because it was too narrow the first time. The tail is very similar to those of horse A and cow X. There is a short diagonal stroke between the rump and tail.

Although the chest line is not depicted and the right foreleg is drawn by a continuous line from the chin downwards, lion H is in general more realistic than many of the other animals. The placement of the ear stands out in this respect, as it is drawn in its correct position behind the eye instead of on top of the head. The shape of the ear is similar to that of the lion from Til Barsip (Parrot 1961:346); another similarity is the zigzag tufts of hair behind the ear. The mane of the Til Barsip lion, composed of separate V's descending in rows, was translated at 'Ajrud into continuous zigzag lines. There are, however, several differences in the drawings of the two lions: at Til Barsip the outline of the mane was also depicted by a solid line and the shoulder was left bare instead of being covered with zigzags (the exact style varying in each period). The heads of the Til Barsip lions are far more leonine than that of the 'Ajrud specimen — which looks rather like a lamb's head.

The protruding tongue of lion H is one of his most significant features because it is typical of the Hittite and Neo-Hittite lions up till the last third of the 8th century B.C.E. (Akurgal 1949:55-59). The artist who painted lion H, ibexes F, G and W and lion C had probably seen representations of animals in the style prevailing in southern Anatolia and northern Syria, where this specific type of lion was in vogue. Lions with protruding tongues are also known from Judean sites such as Tel 'Eton (Ussishkin 1974:125-126; Fig. 4, left), which the excavator considers an imitation of the 9th century Neo-Hittite type of lion (see also Amiran 1976:31, where she suggests that the 9th-8th century lion from Tell Beit Mirsim had a similar tongue made of material different from that of the lion itself). Recently a lion in Neo-Hittite style was also found in a survey in the Golan heights (Epstein 1972:281-282).[6]

A question to which we have no satisfactory answer at present pertains to the relationship between lion H and the ibexes and tree: Do they form one coherent scene, and if so, what is its meaning? A tenuous relation between lions and the tree-and-ibex scene is seen on the 10th century cult stand from Tel Taanach (Lapp 1969:42-44; Fig. 29), where superimposed

6 In the Persian period, the lions represented on the stone altars of Stern's "Palestinian group" (1973: Fig. 299:4, 14) are also shown with protruding tongues.

pairs of lions, each flanking a register of the stand on which this scene is portrayed, thus have a loose association with this motif. A row of walking lions on either side of a tree appear in one of the registers of an enamelled brick of the Neo-Elamite period at Susa (8th-7th century). The scene is composed of several registers with stylized trees and different animals in each (Amiet 1966: Fig. 395). However, neither of these examples seems to provide sufficient grounds for inferring any particular significance to the juxtaposition of lion H to our ibex scene.

Bull R; pithos B; colour: red; Fig. 6.

The forepart of the bull is covered by an inscription and its posterior is overlapped by figure Q of the procession of worshippers. Since the drawing is badly damaged, we had some reservations concerning the attribution of several lines to this animal, although its existence is beyond any doubt.

The head of the bull, facing right, is lowered. Only the outline from horn to nose is preserved (the area of the eye that is seen in the photograph is actually the damaged surface of the pithos). The two overlapping ears (one triangular and the other slightly rounded on top) are set on top of the head. Two diagonal lines cross the neck. The forelegs are only faintly visible. Of the posterior, only the thighs and the line of the flank are preserved. The tail is covered by the shoulder of figure Q in the procession of worshippers. The area above the haunches is painted red — the meaning of which is unclear.

The depiction of the nose, horn and ears seems to indicate that they were the work of the same painter who drew cows L and X. The lowered head recalls the representations of the bulls seen on the ivories from Nimrud (*NR II:* Figs. 550-553).

Lion(ess) C; pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4.

Only the forepart of the animal, facing left and posed as if ready to attack, is preserved. The tongue protrudes from a rather long jaw. The eye is a small, solid triangle, set on its apex. The ears are overlapping triangles positioned on top of the head.[7] A diagonal line sets off the head from the neck. Since no mane is depicted, it is quite possible that the animal is a lioness. The artist has made such a botch of the drawing of the legs that it is next to impossible to determine which is the right leg and which is the left. The raised (left?) leg and banded (right?) leg seem to be attached to the same shoulder, although the belly line indicates that the banded leg should be the one on the far side from the observer. The execution of the forelegs and head — which very much resembles that of the ibexes — reveals the hand of the same artist.

The posture of a lion attacking another animal, for example, a bull, is known from the reliefs at Carchemish (*Carchemish I:* B13a).

It is possible that the continuation of the belly line across the foreleg of lion C (and the similar line on horse A), which we tend to look upon as an "error" of the painter, is in fact an iconographic feature of a specific style. This interpretation is reinforced when we compare these animals with several of the earlier reliefs from Carchemish (*Carchemish I:* B10a; see also Kantor 1962: Fig. 12) in which the foreleg of the lion, bull and stag is banded at bel-

7 Similarly drawn ears are known from the Philistine Orpheus jug from Megiddo (*Megiddo II:* Pl. 76).

ly level. (For bull statues at Domuztepe with this feature, see Winter 1979:126).

The emphasized shoulder of horse A, ibexes F, G and J, and lion C are also characteristic of some of the animal reliefs at Carchemish (*Carchemish I:* B10a-b; B11a and lion B13b: *Carchemish III:* bull 58b). On lion B55a only a line separates the head and neck and there is no indication of the mane. The date of orthostat B10a is about 900 B.C.E. (Kantor 1962:108; Winter 1973:173).

The protruding tongue of lion C, as noted above, is a feature of the type of lion popular in the sphere of Neo-Hittite art.

Animal (D); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4.

Only the rump and hindlegs of the animal are preserved. It was drawn with a brush thinner than the one used for the other animals. Three vertical lines appear near the loins, similar to those on lion C next to it. The left hindleg stands on a slightly higher plane than the right one.

Horse (A); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4.

The horse is facing right. Its head is missing, either not preserved or unfinished. Its hindlegs are in a walking position, while the forelegs are raised as if in a gallop. The shoulder of the right foreleg is fully outlined, like that of ibex F in the tree-and-ibex scene below. The other details of the legs, fetlocks and hooves are also similar to those of the ibexes.

The left foreleg, which seems to be joined directly to the right one, is crossed by a diagonal line, and another diagonal crosses both forelegs. Whether or not these are parts of straps connected to the bridle is impossible to determine. Nor is it clear what the two wide bands on the horse's back are supposed to represent: perhaps also parts of a harness (belly-band and hipstrap?) that the artist did not finish drawing.

Ibex (J); pithos B; colour: black; Fig. 6.

Ibex J, with lowered head and open mouth, is apparently grazing. It has the same circular eye as cow L, cow-and-calf X and the other ibexes. Unlike the latter, however, its tongue is not protruding. Nor is there anything that might indicate a beard. Its horns are almost exactly like those of ibex F, but its pointed ears are smaller and solid rather than outlined. Its leaf-shaped tail is identical to that of ibex F.

As with the forelegs of the rest of the animals, the painter had his troubles here too. The belly line was drawn by two strokes of the brush, one outlining the right hindleg and the other descending towards what appears to be the left foreleg. The foreleg with moulded shoulder, which was added afterwards and crosses this line, is apparently the right foreleg. If so, the position of the fore- and hindlegs is not coordinated. Another feature that ibex J has in common with several of the other animals is the lack of a chest line, which gives the appearance of the forelegs being joined together. Therefore, despite the difference in colour (black instead of red) and in various details, ibex J was probably the work of the same painter who drew the other animals.

Grazing ibexes are a familiar motif on many ivory carvings (see Mallowan and Davies 1970: Nos. 144, 146, 154). On the carving from Nimrud (*ibid.:* No. 146) the chest line of the horned animal is not seen since it is concealed by its lowered head, but the legs that emerge from below the neck line do seem to be properly separated from each other.

Ibex and garland (W); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 5.

The brush stroke here is thinner than on the adjacent Bes figure, which overlaps it.

The garland consists of a horizontal branch bearing three non-identical lotus flowers. The branch is formed by a double outline as far as the third flower and then becomes a single line. The flowers resemble those of the tree of the ibex scene but are not identical.

The head of ibex W is similar to those of the ibexes flanking the tree, including the protruding tongue. Its long neck is marked with the same type of curving lines. The pointed ears partially overlap. There seems to be only one horn, which is straight instead of curved, although perhaps it is unfinished. Only one leg, without its hoof, is preserved.

The garland recalls those decorating the tridacna shells along their undulating border line; here too, the branches are formed by a double outline (Andrae 1939: Figs. 1-2), and the lotus flowers, which serve as a background for a winged sphinx, alternate with buds or palmettes.

Although there is some distance between the ibex and the garland, they apparently belong to the same scene and represent the motif of browsing stags, with leaves and branches in the background, which is known from Nimrud (Barnett 1975: Pl. 137; suppl. No. 59; *NR II:* Figs. 435; 439) and Samaria (*Samaria-Sebaste II:* Pl. X:8).

Boar (**B**); pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 4.

Many difficulties were encountered in copying this particular animal, since only its head and forelegs are preserved and even these are not completely clear. Its snout and what we assume to be the tusks are visible. The eye is circular. There is a short diagonal line that seems to indicate the transition from head to neck. The two ears on top of the head are solid triangles, partially overlapping. The forelegs issue from a diagonal line from which a spiral is suspended.

Due to its rarity in the Phoenician iconography of the first millennium, this boar is of great interest; no less interesting is the spiral appendage. Among the reliefs of isolated animals from Tell Halaf there are three boars (*Tell Halaf III:* Pls. 57:a-b; 58:a), all of them exhibiting the same type of "dangling legs" (Fig. 9). These reliefs are dated to the 9th century B.C.E. (Winter 1973:164). Dangling legs are mentioned by Winter (163, n. 2) as one of several unexplained phenomena in the art of North Syria, among which she also notes "dead stags with entrails hanging out" (e.g. *Tell Halaf III:* Pl. 122a-b); in this case, the animals are represented lying on their backs, although this is not the rule. Such depictions are related to the art of the steppe people and are usually dated to the 8th-7th centuries (see Bunker, Chatwin and Farkas 1970:22, 26). On an Assyrian relief of the reign of Ashurbanipal a wounded lioness is shown with a spiral under her belly (Barnett 1976: Pl. VII, lower register, right), which might also be an indication of the entrails.

Chariot horse(**s**) **V**; pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 5; Pl. 4.

Very little of this drawing is extant. It includes the back of a horse's head, its neck, part of its forelegs and the reins.

The horse faces right. Of the head only the slightly curving triangular ears (one behind the other) are preserved. The nape of the neck is drawn with a very thick line, partially doubled, which might be interpreted as either the mane or the back of a second horse harnessed to the chariot.

Three reins are seen across the head: the two lower ones seem to pass through a metal loop attached to the headstall, while the third rein passes above the loop. The vertical lines on the head and neck are apparently part of the bridle, together with additional straps by which various ornaments were usually attached to harnessed chariot horses. The circle near the shoulder may represent the fastening for the pendant side ornament, which on Assyrian reliefs is usually seen suspended from a strap connected to the outer rein.

The lines that issue diagonally from the back of the horse seem to be straps ending in a rein ring (?), but it is not clear how they are connected to the horse or what is their function. On the chariot scene from Tomb 31 at Salamis dating to the 7th century (Karageorghis 1970a: Pl. 135) there are similar diagonal lines extending from the horses in the direction of the chariot.

According to Madhloom (1970:19), representations of a single horse harnessed to a non-Assyrian chariot are in fact simplifications of two horses. Actually, three reins might be taken to represent three horses, assuming that there were six reins altogether, three in each hand of the driver. However, the number of reins does not necessarily indicate the number of horses (at least not in the time of Tiglath Pileser III), since there are chariots with two horses and three reins. It therefore seems most likely that there were no more than two horses in the 'Ajrud drawing.

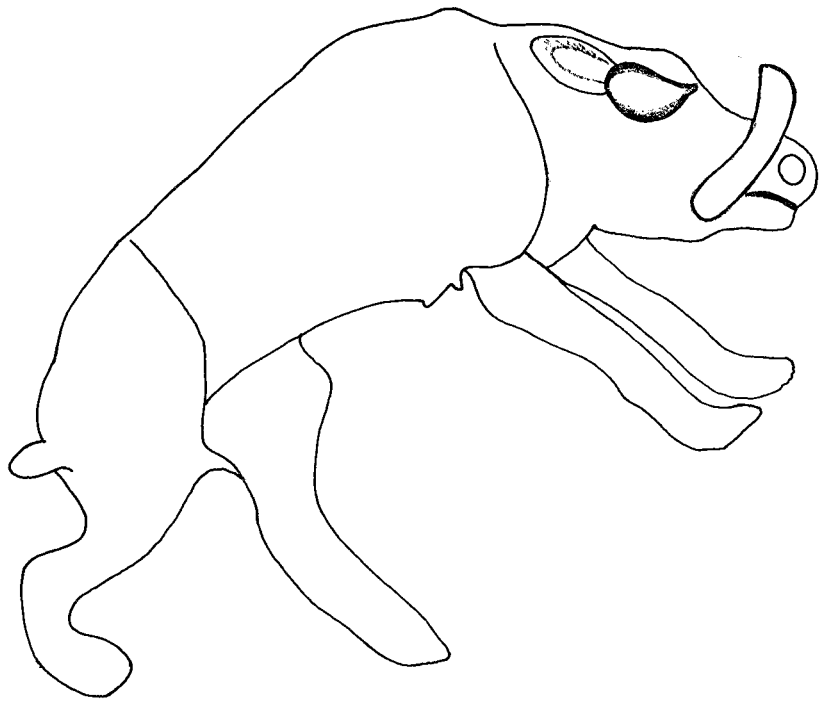

Fig. 9. Boar from stone relief at Tel Halaf (after *Tel Halaf III:* Pl. 58a).

On several reliefs the bit is not seen and the reins are attached to a headstall resembling the modern-day hackamore, tightly encircling the muzzle (for examples at Carchemish, Malatya, Zinjirli and especially Tell Tainat, see Madhloom 1970: Pl. XV:1). In these depictions, however, the reins do not pass through a ring as they seem to do on our horse. This ring is always seen on Assyrian chariot harnesses on monuments from the time of Tiglath-pileser and Sennacherib, although by the time of Assurnasirpal it is sometimes absent. In Assyrian chariot scenes the reins are usually shown at the level of the horse's shoulder rather than at bit level. On reliefs from the peripheral regions there are no pendant side ornaments on the harnesses, although they are seen on the horses from Tell Halaf (Madhloon 1970: Pl. XIV:3) and Sakje-Gözü (*ibid.:* Pl. XIII:2), both of the 8th century. Likewise there are no tassels on the necks of the horses represented on the "peripheral" reliefs.

Features of both Assyrian and provincial artistic tradition are discernible on the 'Ajrud chariot horse. The painter may have been acquainted with both types of trappings, either directly or indirectly through their pictorial representations.

Since the joined outline of the horse's forelegs are similar to those of the other animals on the pithoi, it is tempting to attribute this drawing to the same artist. On the other hand, the use of a wider brush might suggest that it was the work of the painter of the lyre player (see below). However, considering the little we have to go on, we prefer to leave open the question of the horse painter's identity.

4. THE ANIMAL PAINTER

Several details of the animal drawings are shared by all of them, thus indicating that they were all the product of the same hand — or if not the selfsame *hand,* then by one or two artists with identical technique and background. The method of "identifying" the artist by studying the significant details that distinguish him from his contemporaries is well established in the field of art history (Barasch 1977:60-63; Mallowan and Herrmann 1974:36) and will be followed in our attempts to identify the painters of the human figures as well.

In Figs. 10-12 the heads and foreparts of the animals have been collected. From Fig. 10 it is clear that the ibexes on either side of the tree were drawn by the same hand responsible for the ibex and garland W, as evidenced by the rendering of the nostrils, the vertical line delineating the muzzle, the tongue protruding from the slightly open mouth, the profile from forehead to nose and the curving lines along the neck. The neck of cow L has the same curving lines, while the protruding tongue and line demarcating the throat are seen on lion(ess?) C (although here the eye is a small solid triangle instead of a circle); the calf's head is also similar.

There may be some doubt about the painter of lion H and ibex J, although we believe they were also drawn by the same hand. The profile, arching eyebrow and rounded eye of lion H closely resemble those of cow X. The main difference lies in the depiction of the ear, which is far more realistic on lion H than on any of the other animals, both in shape and position. We have frequently pointed out that most of the ears are not drawn in their natural place behind the eye but on top of the head. On cow X they are overlapping triangles, and the ears of calf X, lion C, ibex W and bull R are very similar. On cow L the ears are more naturalistically represented — one behind the other — but nevertheless are on

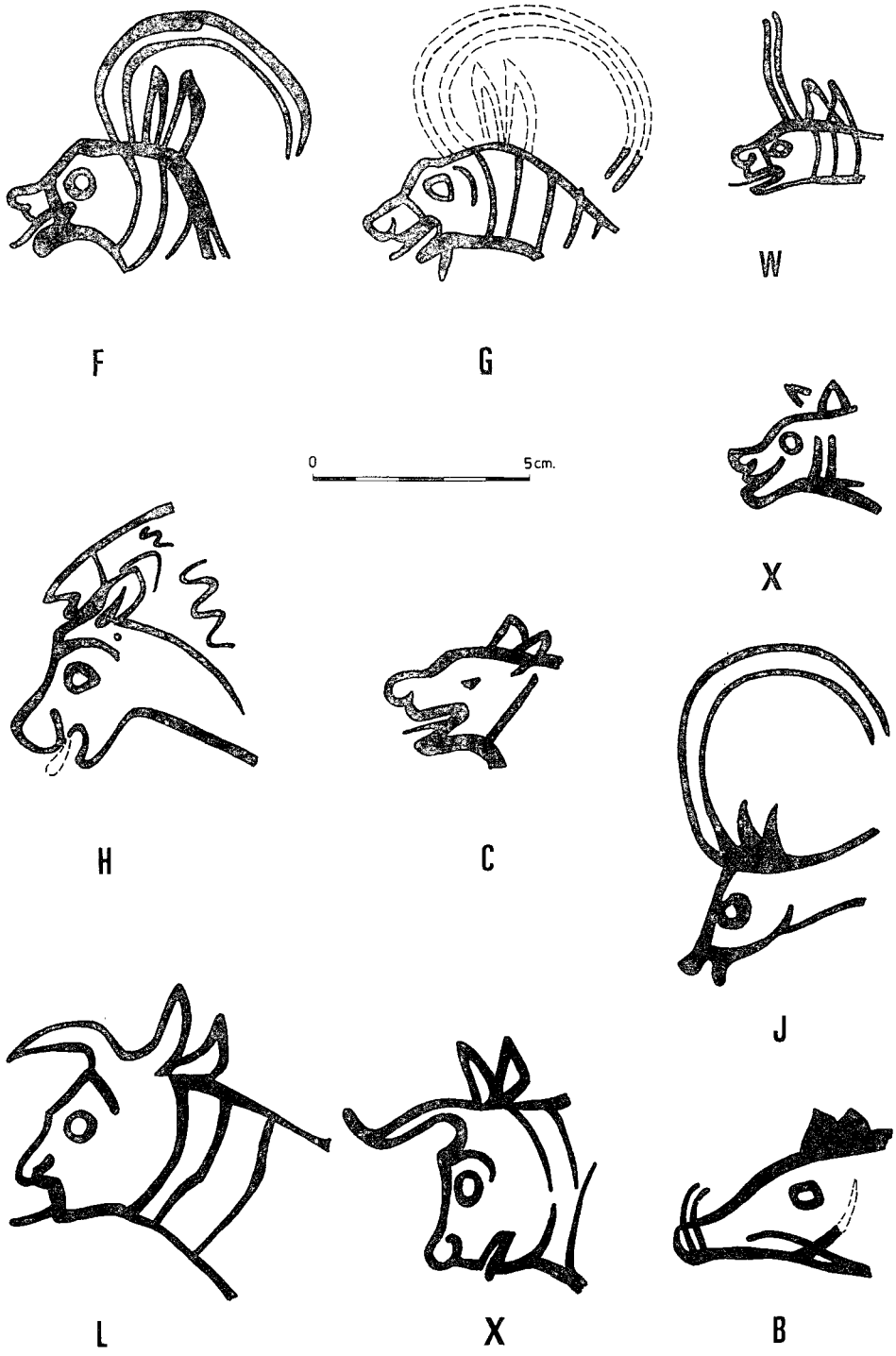

Fig. 10. Comparison of animal heads.

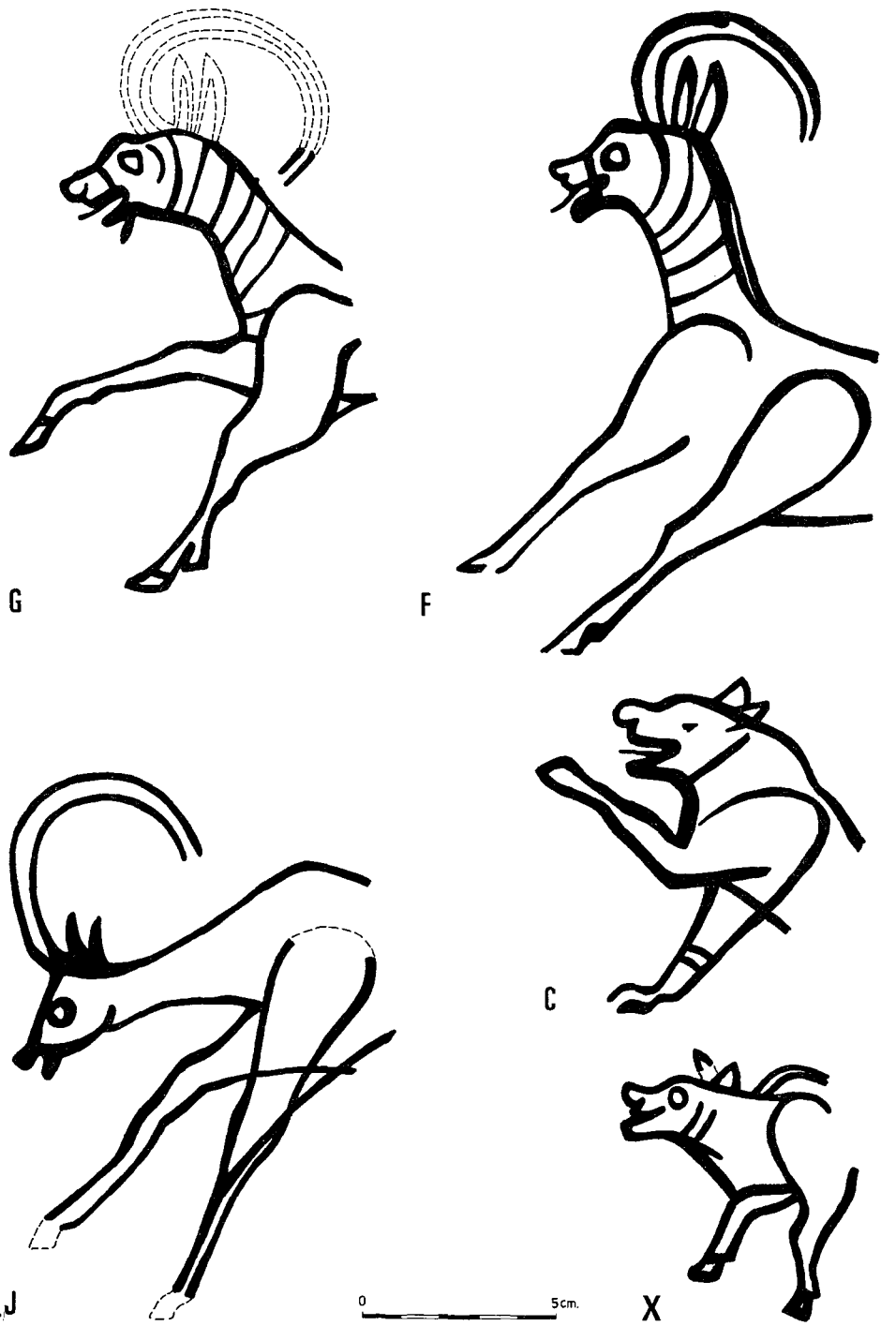

Fig. 11 Comparison of animal foreparts.

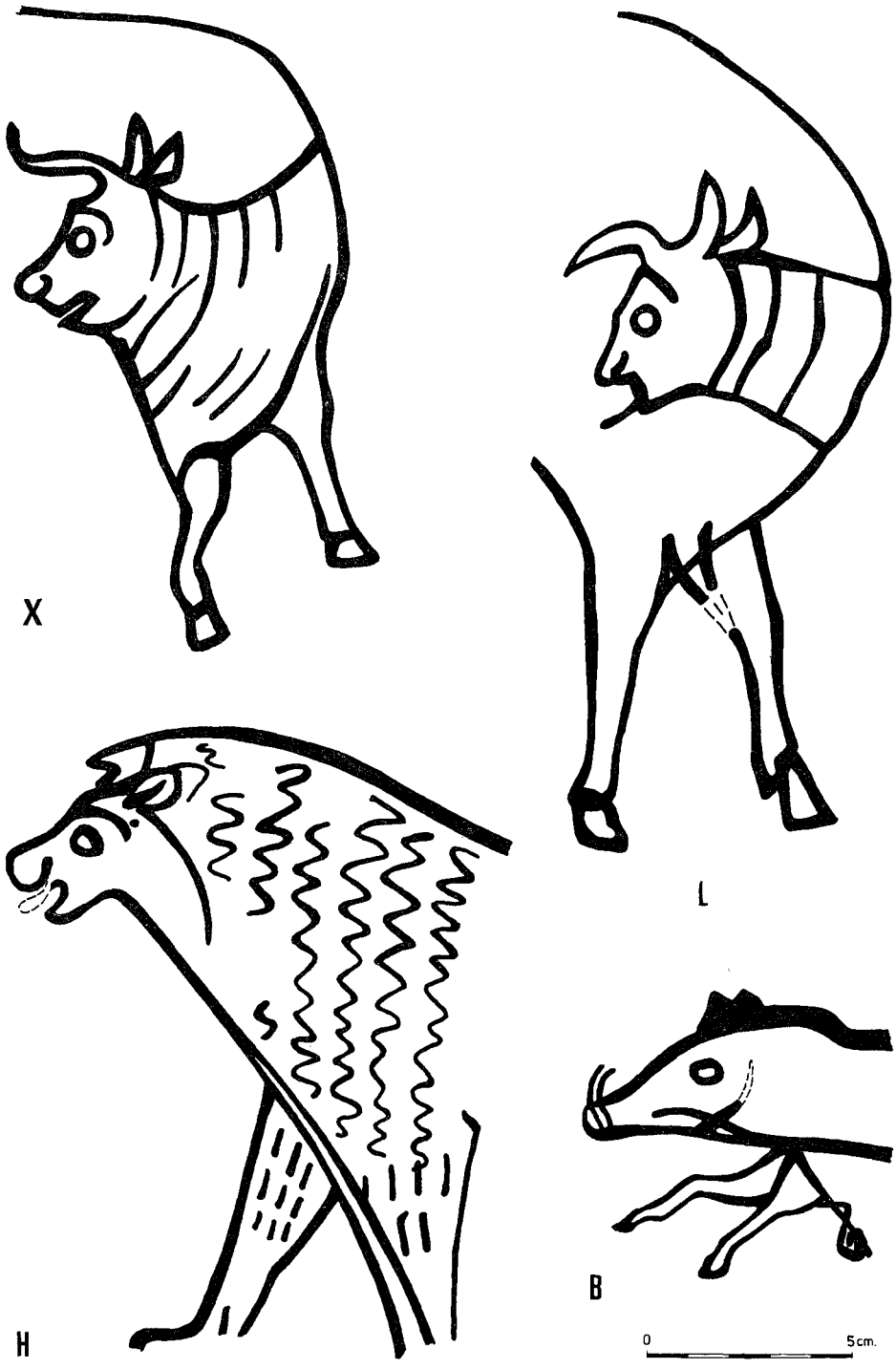

Fig. 12. Comparison of animal foreparts.

top of the head. The ears of boar B, although filled in instead of outlined, are in the same position. Only lion H deviates from the other animals in this respect; here, in accordance with the style of the ivories and reliefs, one ear and one ear only is shown exactly where it belongs: behind the eye.

Throughout our discussion we have noted the artist's unsuccessful struggles with the problem of representing the forelegs and coordinating them with the hindlegs. He also had difficulties in dealing with the parts that — in keeping with visual reality — would have been concealed from the eye of the viewer. In Figs. 11-12 we have assembled these foreparts in order to illustrate the point.

The wide left shoulder of ibex G is joined to its right foreleg, although in reality they should have been separated by the chest line, and the right forearm concealed by it. Similar features occur in the drawing of the calf, whose forelegs seem to be dangling in the air, like those of boar B, although the shoulder of the latter was not drawn at all. The painter's portrayal of the forelegs of lion C is particularly confusing, and it is difficult to decide which is left and which is right. The same applies to ibex J: Is the right foreleg the one with the shoulder or the one stepping foreward in coordination with the right hindleg? On ibex F both shoulders are portrayed, whereas only one should be seen. The head of ibex J differs from those of the other ibexes in the shape of its muzzle and lack of tongue, but the depiction of its right (?) foreleg with modelled shoulder is in keeping with the style of ibex F, while the attachment of its forelegs to each other is very much like that of horse A. Here, too, there is no coordination between the two pairs of legs; judging by the forelegs, the horse seems to be in a gallop, whereas the hindlegs are in walking position. A similar phenomenon was observed on cow X.

The protruding tongues of the ibexes also point to the same artist. Whereas this feature is typical of the Neo-Hittite lions, there is no analogy, as far as I know, for portraying ibexes with their tongues sticking out. It is clear therefore that the 'Ajrud animal painter simply copied this feature from the lions. Another feature that is shared by several of the animals is the placement of the ribs — if, as we assume, the vertical lines near the loins are indeed the ribs. In any case, they are all too far to the rear of the animal.

There is one minor detail in the portrayal of the feet that varies on different animals: the hooves of the cows and calf were drawn by adding a trapezoid to the leg, whereas the hooves and paws of the rest of the animals are depicted by continuous outline. This, however, may merely be the artist's concept of how to differentiate between the species.

Consequently, it would seem that all the animals on the pithoi were drawn by the same painter (with the possible exception of the chariot horse), who repeated his "mistakes" yet managed to convey the characteristic features of each species — a painter who could not have been of the first rank of artisans and whose efforts fall below the standard of contemporary works, such as ivory carvings or seals, manufactured by artists of the highest ability for the royal court.

One of the questions we must still ask is whether there is any relation between the isolated animals surrounding the ibex-and-tree scene on pithos A. It has often been suggested that the isolated animals on reliefs from Tell Halaf, Carchemish, etc. that are seen in various poses, often rampant, are "extracts" of various components of what were once coherent

scenes, but that already in the second millenium they were divorced from these scenes. This particular posture was interpreted as a legacy of the Syrian iconography of the second millennium (Kantor 1956:173). We suggest therefore that the isolated animals from 'Ajrud, rampant or otherwise, are the same type of frozen extracts and were not intended to be part of any scene.

Although the evidence connecting the isolated animals on our pithoi to the art of North Syria is scanty, it cannot be ignored. The role of minor objects in the transmission of motifs to monumental art has been well documented by Kantor (1962) and Porada (1970). Kantor (1956:173) has observed that "the possibility that North Syrian ivory carvings of applied art were the primary works from which the animal style of the stone reliefs at Tell Halaf was borrowed becomes a certainty when it is realized that this animal style originated on ivory carvings of the second millennium." It is possible that this source was also the inspiration for the isolated animals on our pithoi rather than the reliefs themselves.

Another possible type of source is seen in the gold vase from second millennium Marlik (Iran), which has been called to my attention by E. Porada. Here, in four registers from bottom to top, repeated around the circumference of the vase, are seen (1) a kid suckling from his mother, (2) young goats flanking a tree, (3) wild boars and (4) vultures picking at the carcass of a mature goat. The excavator (Negahban 1964:29-30; Fig. 113; Pl. IV) interprets this as the life story of a goat from infancy to death. However, the repetition of the same motif around the vase makes it most unlikely that these four scenes have any connection with each other, and as Porada maintains (personal communication), they seem to be isolated motifs. The relevance of this vase to the 'Ajrud animals lies in the juxtaposition of three of the animal painter's motifs on a single, easily transportable object.

From the preceding discussion emerges a complex picture of the presumed iconographic sources of the animal painter. Several features point towards contact with North Syria and the Neo-Hittite horizon (a style that was also imitated in Judah). The cow-and-calf motif (and perhaps also the tree of the ibex scene) are more typical of the Phoenician artistic tradition, while the drawing of lion H points to familiarity with the Assyrian lions from Til Barsip. If, as we suggest, the same painter was responsible for all the animals, we must assume that he was acquainted with a wide range of decorated objects produced by both Phoenician and North Syrian artisans.

5. THE BES FIGURES AND THE LYRE PLAYER; pithos A; colour: red; Fig. 5; Pl. 5:2.

As the Bes figures generally resemble each other, they will be discussed together, pointing out the differences when they occur.

The Bes figures (S-T); Fig. 13.

The head assumes rectangular shape, vertically divided for about two-thirds of its length by two parallel lines terminating in large dots depicting the nostrils. The interpretation of the two parallel zones below the nose causes some difficulty. The left figure (S) has a third zone divided by four vertical lines, which by analogy with the lyre player would most likely be the neck — and not the beard, as one would expect on a Bes figure. It is also difficult to decide where is the neck on figure T and what lines represent the mouth on both figures. Do we see wide open jaws with teeth and protruding tongue so typical of Bes? And are the ver-

tical lines below the nose intended to depict his characteristic square-cut beard? (cf. the bronze figure from Nimrud, *NR II:* Fig. 361). If these lines are indeed intended to represent beards, then both figures are apparently male.

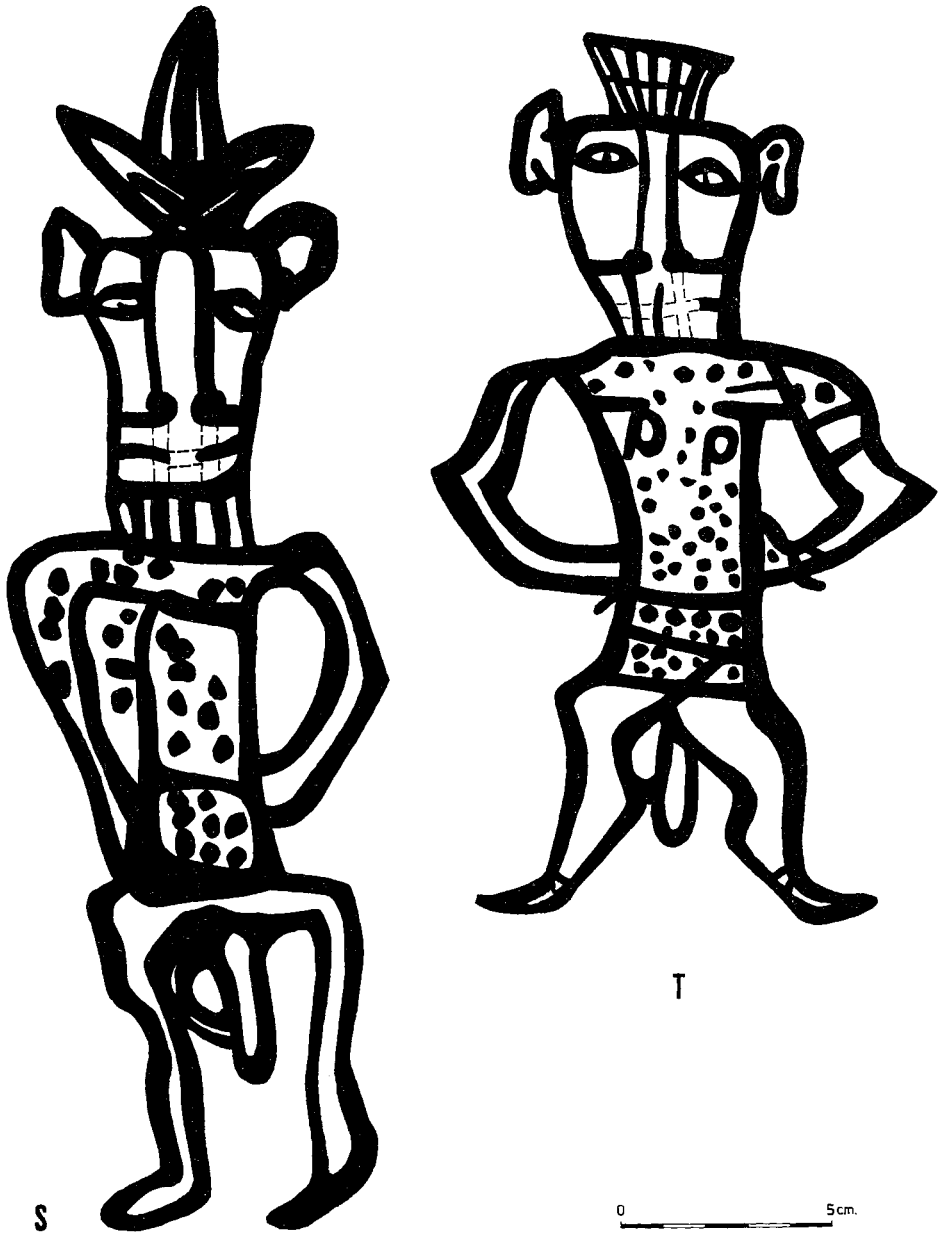

Fig. 13. Details of Bes figures.

The eyes, which are not on the same level in either figure, are elliptical. Only on figure S are the pupils denoted. The latter's nose is narrower than that of figure T. Neither forehead nor hair are indicated. The ears, each a different shape, are placed at the corners of the rectangular head. The right ear of figure T is an open loop with a dot inside, while his left ear, which rather resembles a mushroom, is similar to the ear of the lyre player. The left ear of figure S is trapezoidal, while his right one is a thickly outlined circle.

A three-feathered headdress crowns the head of figure S, each feather divided lengthwise. The headdress of figure T is trapezoidal, bisected by a horizontal line and sectioned by five vertical lines.

The bodies of both figures are horizontally divided rectangles that differ slightly for each of them. The arms of figure T issue from the shoulder at an angle, whereas on figure S they are parallel to the shoulder. The line of the collar bone on the right figure is divided into two parts, each terminating in a P-shaped appendage to mark the breasts or nipples. The rectangular torso of the latter tapers slightly towards the waist. Conceivably, the lower rectangle of both figures represents a kilt. A diagonal line crosses the kilt of figure T.

The body, kilt and outer forearm of each figure are covered with dots. Surprisingly, the area between the body and right arm of figure S is also dotted — a fact that precludes the interpretation of the dots as a garment pattern, or even as an indication of tatooing. The overlapping inner arms are not dotted, which might mean that the dots were a later addition.

The arms of both figures are held akimbo, but the elbows of T are sharply angular, whereas S's are fairly straight. There are two parallel bands on the left forearm of T and two fainter lines on his left and right wrists. Although figure T has his hands on his hips, the hands themselves are not drawn — unless the triangle at the end of the left arm is supposed to be the palm of the hand. Figure S has his left hand on his hip and his right hand on his thigh, although here too the hands are not drawn. The attachment of legs to body differs: those of figure T join at the crotch, while S's are shaped like an upturned U. The feet of T, pointing in different directions, are, like his wrists, delineated at the ankle, while the feet of S, which both point leftwards, stand on what appears to be a groundline. The loop seen between the legs (a double loop in the left figure) marks the tail of the lionskin often worn by Bes figures (for a double tail, see *NR II:* Fig. 560).

Although there are numerous problematic details in the depiction of these figures, there is no doubt that they represent the god Bes, a collective name for a group of Egyptian dwarf deities. The iconography of these figures in the Near East has been extensively treated by Wilson (1975), and hence we shall mention only those details that are relevant to our analysis.

Representations of Bes, which are known in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards, became increasingly popular from the New Kingdom to the Roman period. These figures are characterized by their grotesque facial features, bandy legs and nudity (except for the lionskin, the tail of which is seen between the legs), and their feathered headdress. Invariably, they are shown in frontal view. They generally have mane-like hair, square-cut beards, wide open mouths, protruding tongues and broad noses, and are often depicted with their hands on their thighs. Sometimes they are dressed in a kilt held by a sash at the waist

— a style that was very much in vogue in the depictions of this dwarf god in the Levant (*ibid.*:84).

Among the many attributes of Bes are his association with music and dancing, of which he was considered the patron since the New Kingdom onwards.

In the Levant Bes is likewise known since the Middle Kingdom, attaining his greatest popularity in the New Kingdom, as reflected in the variety of representations on the Megiddo ivories of the Late Bronze Age (*ibid.*:85-86).

In the first millennium Bes was represented on reliefs from Karatepe (see Winter 1979:121 for a most recent discussion), on small objects of various types and materials, such as ivory carvings, metal bowls, faience amulets, metal figurines, Bes-shaped pottery vessels (Stern 1976), and became one of the most popular motifs in the Levant and throughout the Mediterranean basin (Padró 1978).

In discussing the cow-and-calf motif we have suggested that the artist was familiar with the small *objets d'art* on which this motif is often portrayed. But if in this case we were able to detect close contact with the source of inspiration, the 'Ajrud representation of the Bes figures is unlike anything known so far in the Levant. The variations from the norm are obvious when we consider the various attributes that make up the typical Bes depiction. Taking the proportions of the figure as an example, we have noted that the Bes figures represent dwarf gods. Such an impression is gained by portraying the bushy head sunk between the shoulders, with the beard covering a great part of the chest. The broad body and fat arms, the belly splayed over the thighs and the short legs vividly convey the concept of dwarfism. All these details are missing from our Bes figures. Although the head is large, no hair is shown, and it is questionable whether a beard is represented at all. The typical wrinkled forehead and eyebrows of Bes are also absent, although the nose is extremely wide and the nostrils are accentuated. The left figure has a neck — a feature that contributes to the impression of a tall rather than a squat figure. The arms are held too far away from the body. The body itself is relatively tall and narrow, and there is no indication of a pot belly. However, the nipples that are frequently seen on Bes are depicted, while the bent knees and short thighs typical to the posture of these figures are also shown.

Apparently our Bes figures are wearing the short kilt that Wilson considers the typical Bes attire in the Levant. Since not only the kilt but also the upper part of the body is covered with dots, it does not seem likely that they represent a design of the garment, and the fact that there are also dots between the arm and the body on figure S renders such an interpretation of the dots even less plausible.

Bes figures dancing and playing musical instruments are represented on the back of the chair of princess Sitamun (daughter of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiyu) of the 18th dynasty. They are wearing kilts, and the entire body is covered with dots, whereas the kilt is made of material with a different design; see also the ostracon from Deir el-Medineh (Vandier d'Abbadie 1936-1959: Pl. LXXXI: No. 2622) with winged Bes whose sash is covered with dots — but not his body.

Another question concerns the nipples on the right Bes figure (a feature that also appears on the lyre player). Gilula (1978-1979:129) has suggested that the figure is female, but as we have noted, the breast and nipples of Bes are often depicted. Moreover, if we consider the

vertical lines on either side of the mouth of both figures to be beards, the right figure can hardly be interpreted as female.

Admittedly, Bes had a female counterpart — Beset — although she is not as common as Bes himself (Bonnet 1952:116-118). Beset resembles Bes in her feathered crown, gross facial features and heavy, stocky body. She is usually shown in the nude, but without the lion's tail between the legs. From the Ptolemaic period onwards, when she appears more frequently, she is sometimes seen together with Bes (e.g., Padró 1978: Pl. V:1); in earlier periods, however, these two deities do not seem to be portrayed together.

The feathered crown of the left Bes figure is the most common headdress of this dwarf god (Wilson 1975: Fig. 1:3-4), but the crown of the right figure is unusual; it resembles more the base of the crown of the faience amulets than those of two dimensional Bes figures, but even on the amulets it covers the entire head (e.g., Petrie 1914: Pl. XXXIII:k, m-p, x).

Taking all these points into consideration, it is doubtful whether the two Bes figures on pithos A were meant to represent a god-and-goddess couple, nor even whether they were drawn by the same painter. We shall return to this problem after discussing the lyre player.

The lyre player (U) ; Pl. 5:1-2.

This figure is seated on a chair, facing right and holding a musical instrument. The chair has a low back and feet in the shape of animal paws.

The head of the player, shown in profile, is incomplete. The chin joins the neck at a right angle. There is no indication of the mouth. The nose is a short stroke, the eye an elongated oval. The ear is identical to the right ear of the right Bes figure. The hair is marked by dots, and there is a dotted line along the solid outline of the hair. The neck, which consists of four vertical strokes,[8] is more or less in proportion to the head (in contrast with the similarly executed neck (?) of the left Bes figure, which is the same width as his head).

The body is drawn in the conventional Near Eastern manner: the torso *en face,* and from the waist on down in profile. There are six dots along the shoulder line. The collar bone is emphasized by two horizontal lines terminated by P-shaped appendages that — as on the right Bes figure — indicate the nipples or breasts. It should be emphasized that the nipples do not necessarily identify the lyre player as female. On the Hubbard amphora from Cyprus (Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974:6-9; here Fig. 15) nipples appear on men and women alike, the transparent garment through which they are visible being worn by both sexes. It would seem therefore that the lyre player could be defined as a woman only on the strength of her hairdo and skirt.

The player's unnaturally long arms are depicted by a double outline, the left arm terminating with an extremely long four-fingered hand. The right hand cannot be seen.

The garment was held at the waist by a belt, tied in front with two fairly long appendages. The legs are drawn by a double outline from the knee down to the toes. Two horizontal strokes mark the knee. The lines descending from the waist are difficult to interpret. Perhaps the line crossing the left leg depicts the hem of the garment, but the drawing of the garment

8 Depiction of the neck by vertical lines is seen on "a woman smelling flowers" on a Bichrome IV vessel from Cyprus (Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974:72; Group VIII.4); the authors, however, interpret these lines as a sort of "decorative collar".

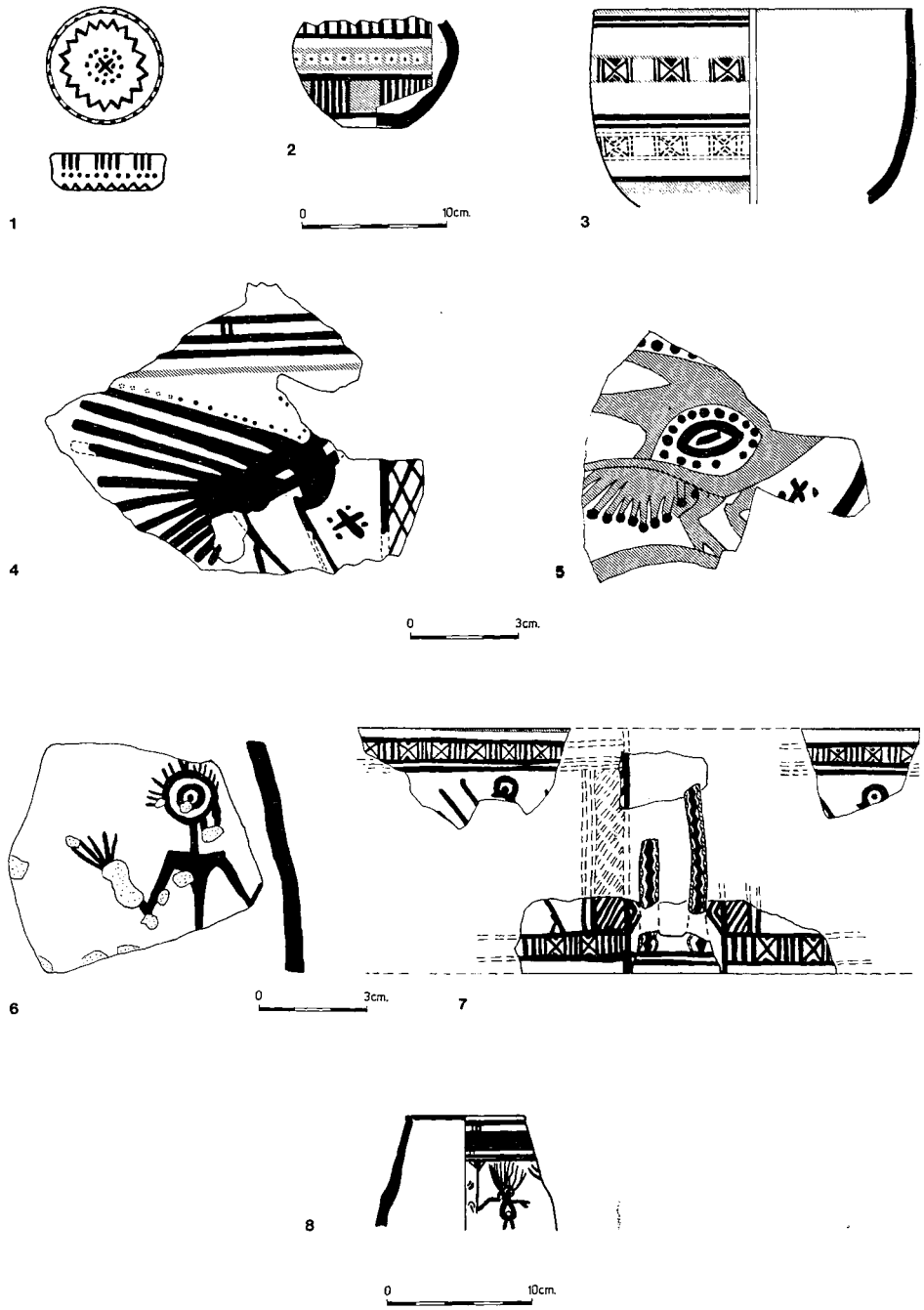

Fig. 14. Pottery from Timna (*Timna;* courtesy of B. Rothenberg): 1 = Pl. XXII; 2 = Fig. 46:9; 3 = Fig. 32:13; 4 = Fig. 47:2; 5 = Fig. 47:3; 6 = Fig. 47:4; 7 = Fig. 47:5, and 8 from Qurayyah (after Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970: Fig. 16:10).

is insufficiently clear to allow it to be reconstructed with any degree of certainty. Even the distribution of the dots is of no assistance in this matter, since they are not confined to the area of the garment: a dotted line follows the front outline of the body, the outline of the hairdo and the shoulder. The peculiar use of dotted lines seen here seems to conform to a consistent pattern, whose origin may be traced back to the so-called "Midianite" pottery, where a dotted line, as a rule, follows a solid one; see, for example, the dotted line along the feathers of the ostriches on pottery vessels from Timna (*Timna:*155; Fig. 47:1-3; Pl. XXIV; here Fig. 14), from Qurayyah in Arabia (Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970: Fig. 16:6) and from Megiddo Stratum IX (*Megiddo II:* Pls. 56:5; 134:21); the first two examples are both dated to the beginning of the Iron Age.[9]

According to this decorative principle, the dots running along the shoulder of our musician are not an indication of a garment pattern, but rather the dotted line that follows the solid one; the same applies to the dotted line curving along the front outline of the player. If so, we are still left with the unexplained group of dots covering the lower part of the body. The partially naked body may perhaps be compared with the similarly attired figure on the Hubbard amphora mentioned above (Fig. 15), which is unclad from the breast-line up, while the rest of her body is covered by a diaphanous garment through which the legs are visible. If this analogy is viable, the spattering of dots on the lower part of the 'Ajrud figure

Fig. 15. Scenes from Hubbard amphora (after Karageorghis and Gagners 1974: Fig. 8).

9 The torso of the warriors on the goblet from Megiddo (Shumacher 1908:44; Abb. 43; *ANEP:* No. 60) is painted with dotted lines between straight lines, one in red, with black paint for the beards. In *ANEP* it is dated to the 8th-7th centuries, but see Yadin (1963:242), who dates it to 1200 B.C.E. Similar figures are represented in red and black on the neck of a zoomorphic kernos ring spout (?) from Stratum VIIA (*Megiddo II:* Pl. 247:7).

may also indicate a garment pattern. However, none of these possibilities seems to furnish a satisfactory explanation for the dots on the Bes figures.

The problem of the dots, however, is not restricted to their iconographic interpretation but concerns also the origin of this decorative style. These dots appear not only on the second millennium "Midianite" pottery but also on Iron Age vessels found by Van Beek (1969) at Hajar Bin Ḥumeid in Arabia; the chronological sequence of this pottery was established by comparisons to Levantine and North Syrian assemblages. One of its most significant features was the popularity of dotted designs and dotted lines between straight, solid lines, which as Van Beek (*ibid.*:355-356) pointed out, also characterize the northwestern Mesopotamian pottery of the 9th-8th centuries form Tell Halaf and the Neo-Assyrian sites, the Tell Fakhariya pottery of the 9th century and the cremation burials of Hama G. In Palestine, according to Van Beek, this style died out in the 10th century, after having been very popular during the Late Bronze Age II.[10] It seems to have continued in Edom in the 8th-7th centuries (Glueck 1967), and was one of the most distinctive features of the much later Nabataean ware.

Tell el-Kheleifeh *(loc. cit.)* is also of great interest in this respect, since the designs on its painted pottery include, among others, dotted lines running along straight, solid ones (as well as geometric patterns that may have some relation to the chequerboard design of wall painting No. 6 at 'Ajrud to be discussed below). These Iron Age patterns seem to continue the decorative tradition of the "Midianite" pottery of the end of the second millennium. It seems to me that in addition to the connections that Van Beek pointed out between the pottery of Hajar Bin Ḥumeid and that of North Syria and Mesopotamia, there is also a close relationship with the ceramic tradition of Qurayyah and Tell el-Kheleifeh. Certain elements of this style found their way to the pithoi drawings at Ḥorvat Teiman. These connections will be instrumental in our attempt to define the art of the site.

To return to our lyre player: of special interest is the oversized hand and extremely long fingers. Exaggeration in the size of the hands characterizes the human figures on the "Midianite" pottery (*Timna:* Fig. 47:4, 101; here Fig. 14). This phenomenon is also encountered on rock drawings of the Chalcolithic period and the second millennium (*ibid.:* Figs. 14; 36). Regarding such over-sized hands, Winkler (1939:32) suggests that "things which for some reason prevail in the mind of the artist he draws abnormally large, showing the importance by this exaggeration."

Musicians playing the lyre in Egypt are usually represented either standing or seated on the ground. On the seals and ivory carvings of Western Asia, on the other hand, they are generally seated on a chair and fully dressed (Porada 1956; Buchner and Boardman 1966; Avigad 1978: Figs. 2-17).

The chair of our lyre player has animal feet, and its side panel and back seem to be covered with a scale design. This design is well known from the New Kingdom, e.g., on the

10 The dotted lines of the Late Bronze Age pottery tradition that are manifested on the Midianite pottery are also seen on the Philistine jug from Tel 'Eton (Edelstein 1968:101), which reflects the Mycenaean IIIC tradition. There seems to have been some sort of connection between the "Midianite" and Philistine pictorial style — a subject with which I hope to deal elsewhere.

chair of princess Sitamun or on Tut-ankh-Amun's golden throne (Baker 1966: Fig. 70; colour Pl. VII). Although the Egyptian chairs have different proportions, they are similar in their paw-shaped feet (which are depicted more schematically on the 'Ajrud chair), in the scale design (which, of course, is more meticulously executed on the royal thrones) and in the outcurving back of the chair (which is less emphasized at 'Ajrud). The royal thrones of the New Kingdom served as models for the chairs of the first millennium ivory carvings at Nimrud (Barnett 1975: Fig. 18:C48; Pl. VIII; Mallowan and Herrmann 1974:104-105; Pls. XCII-XCIII, Nos. 77-80); Mallowan and Herrmann state that the chair mentioned by Barnett is clearly descended from an Egyptian model (*ANEP:* 422), even though it does not have animal feet. The 'Ajrud chair, despite its crude appearance, follows the Egyptian model more closely than the Mesopotamian. In both the Egyptian drawings and the ivory carvings, the chairs are furnished with footstools. The feet of the 'Ajrud player, however, seem to be ."floating" in the air; in this respect they are very similar to those of the seated figure on the Hubbard amphora mentioned above, even though the latter did have a footstool at her disposal (Fig. 15).

The musical instrument

It is difficult to interpret this instrument unless one assumes that it is drawn upside down, with the soundbox above and the crossbar below. Alternatively, it may be that it is held diagonally with the soundbox towards the chest of the player; in either case, there are several unexplainable lines in the drawing. (The strings shown in our reconstruction were represented by very faint lines on the pithos and cannot be taken as proof of the location of the soundbox.) Nevertheless, it seems that what we have here is a representation of the asymmetric lyre. (For examples of this instrument, see Avigad 1978: Figs. 2, 3, 9, etc.; Sachs 1940:100 ff.; Rimmer 1969; Hickman 1949: Pls. 93-95; Barnett 1969).[11] In most of the examples, this type of lyre is held horizontally, with the soundbox against the chest. Meshel (1977:100) has identified this instrument as the biblical *kinnor.*

Our first interpretation does not explain the thick diagonal line crossing the lyre (if, indeed it is part of the instrument). It recalls a similar line on the asymmetric lyre of the rock drawings of Jebel Ideid in the southern Negev (Anati 1963:210-211).[12] This dance scene includes two figures holding asymmetric lyres (one with its vertical arm facing the player and the other with the arm held away from him), as well as several dancers and a seated figure playing the tambourine. The association between the dancers and musicians brings to mind the possibility that at 'Ajrud there may also be a connection between the dancing Bes figure and the lyre player and that they belong to the same scene. As noted above, Bes is associated with dancing and music and is sometimes depicted with a musical instrument in hand, but I have not found a scene in which he dances to the accompaniment of other musi-

11 Stern has compared the 'Ajrud lyre player to the figure of a woman on a Phoenician relief (1978:18; Pl. 3B) from Ras el-'Ain, and the rectangular shape of the lyre with those on the Nimrud ivories. The short hairdo of the woman depicted on this relief is similar, but all the other details — not to mention the artistic style — are different.

12 Barnett (1969: n. 29) considers the Negev lyre a link between the types prevalent in the Sumer/Persian Gulf area and the Egyptian/Ethiopian type.

cians. It is possible that the painter was acquainted with scenes like those on the rock drawings and translated them into the iconographic repertoire with which he was most familiar: a lyre player — which he had seen on seals or ivory carvings (although not as part of a scene) — and dancing and playing Bes figures, which he knew from Egyptian sources.

The motif of a single lyre player is well known from 8th century seals from North Syria and Cilicia (Porada 1956; Buchner and Boardman 1966). The latter have also published a group of seals with double-headed (?) Bes figures (*ibid.*:59, Nos. 5, 43, 47-48). Stamp seals and scaraboids with Bes figures from the end of the Iron Age are also known (Grenfell 1902). Like the cow-and-calf motif, the lyre player and Bes figures were very popular and widely distributed throughout Western Asia.

Several of the details discussed above reveal the same hand for the drawing of the lyre player and the Bes figure standing next to him; the identical shape of the ear; the collar-bone and nipples; the outlining of the arms and legs; the dotted lines running along the solid lines. In our opinion, the left Bes figure was drawn later; his feathered crown, which is more typical of Bes than the headdress of the right figure, may indicate that his portrayer had another iconographic source. More important is the fact that overlapping figures represented *en face* are very rare in the art of the ancient Near East. In our case, it could be explained as the result of the limited amount of space remaining between the right Bes figure and the drawings of cow-and-calf X and the ibex and garland. Indeed, his right foot overlaps one of the cow's feet, and his shoulder overlaps the garland, thereby supporting our assumption that he was a later addition.

From the foregoing analysis, a complex cultural background emerges for the painters of the lyre player and Bes figures. These may not have been the most skillful artists, but they were certainly familiar with both Phoenician and North Syrian iconography and the "desert art" of Arabia and the Negev, as reflected in the decorated "Midianite" pottery (so far known only from the last quarter of the second millennium) and the Edomite pottery of the first millennium, as well as the rock drawings of the desert. These painters must have had close contacts with both cultural spheres. It also seems that the custom of drawing on cliffs and rocky outcrops (for which the clay vessels served as substitutes) was not alien to them. Although pictorial representations on pottery vessels are known from many sources (and several examples on Cypriote amphora were mentioned here), these are of an entirely different nature in that they were pre-planned and executed prior to firing, whereas our pithoi were decorated spontaneously after firing, apparently when the vessels were already standing in the benchroom at Ḥorvat Teiman.

6. PROCESSION OF WORSHIPPERS (M, N, O, P, Q); pithos A; colour: red; Figs. 6, 16; Pl. 6.

Although the figures are not identical, they were all drawn in the same rectilinear style. All of them face left with their forearms raised. The arms (lacking hands) are drawn like matchsticks, while the legs are depicted as two vertical lines crossed by two diagonals (best exemplified on figures O and P).

Figure M (at forefront of procession). The head is egg shaped. It looks as if on the painter's first attempt it was too small, and he had to round it out. The eye is vaguely triangular with a vertical crescent as an eyebrow. The nose is barely indicated. The hairs of

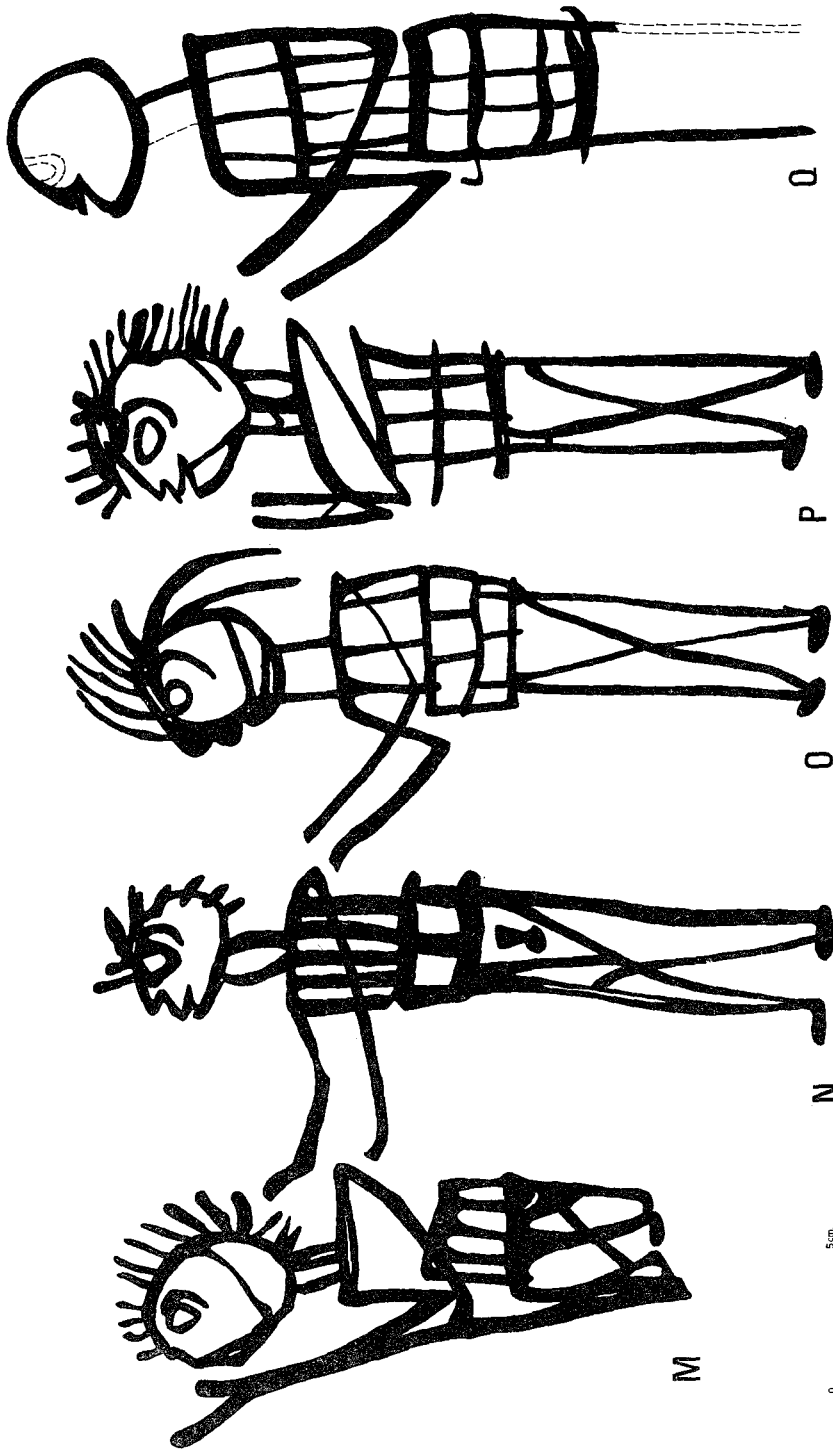

Fig. 16. Details of figures M, N, O, P, Q from procession of worshippers.

the head stand on end and vary in length and direction. The neck consists of two vertical lines. From the outline of what we presume to be the pectoral bone, two arms protrude, bent at different angles. The torso is a rectangle divided by three vertical lines, connected to the legs but not to the shoulders. The legs, construed as two triangles overlapping at the base, are very much shorter than those of the other figures. In his left hand figure M is holding a stick or a cane.

Figure N. The head — which is broader than long — was produced by several strokes of the brush with zigzags to represent the nose and mouth; the large, somewhat triangular eye is attached directly to the forehead, with eyebrow arching behind it. The short hair consists of lines of varying length and width sprouting out from the skull in all directions. The arms are similar to those of the other figures, although they might be construed as embracing figure M standing in front of him. The torso is composed of an elongated rectangle crossed by five thick vertical lines, while the waist is a rectangle divided in two by a thick line, each half enclosing a dot. The legs are similar to those of the two figures behind him; one of the diagonals seems to have been corrected. In the triangle formed between the legs, the penis (?) may have been drawn, although if so, this is the only figure on the pithoi on which the male sex organ is indicated. The feet are shallow ovals, standing on what might be a faint groundline.

Figure O. The head was formed by several brushstrokes, apparently in the artist's attempt to make it more or less circular; on his first try, he attached the eye and arching eyebrow to the inner outline, while the hair, mouth and nose were attached to the outer circle. The frontal hair stands almost erect, while two long, thick hairs droop downwards in back. The neck is a rectangle. The torso is divided into three zones by horizontal lines, the upper third being subdivided into squares, each square or rectangle enclosing a dot or two, with an extra dot in the triangle formed by the two arms. The arms are bent at an obtuse angle. The legs and the triangle between them are filled with dots. The feet, which are similar to those of figure N, likewise appear to be standing on a groundline.

Figure P. Here also the painter apparently tried to correct the outline of the head. This head is the most hirsute of them all with numerous hairs of varying length and width sprouting in all directions. The eye and eyebrow are similar to those of his companions. The neck consists of three vertical lines. The arms resemble those of the other figures, but are bent at a more acute angle. Here, too, the torso is composed of several dot-filled rectangles, but instead of the upper rectangle of figure O, the arms enclose a triangular space like on figure M, and the horizontal lines extend beyond the vertical frame on either side. Most of the rectangles are filled with dots and there are more dots outside of the body frame. The legs, which are of uneven length, are similar to those of the other figures; there are three dots on the right leg and one on the left.

Figure Q. The drawing is both incomplete and not very well preserved. This figure differs from the others in many details, although on the whole it reflects a similar concept. The head — which is unfinished and hence appears to be bald — is an irregular circle with the same type of mouth as on figures N and P. Traces of the eye seem to be attached to the forehead. Of the neck only the rear line is preserved. The body is divided into segments of uneven length, subdivided into rectangles or squares that may represent a short garment.

Only one of the two vertical lines of the legs are preserved. The position of the arms differs slightly from those of the other figures: the left arm is diagonally raised from the elbow, while the right forearm is so long that the bended elbow appears below the waist. The garment (?) is divided into nine squares; the double line that delineates its hem (?) extends beyond the bounds of the body. There are no dots at all on this figure. The left shoulder overlaps the tail and hindquarters of bull R.

These figures, all facing the same direction, have numerous features in common: the similarity in the representation of their heads, hair, necks and general physiognomy; the division of their bodies into geometric shapes; the structure of the legs and position of the arms, the lack of hands and fingers. In addition, figures O and P (and to a certain extent N) are covered with dots; only figure Q deviates somewhat from the general scheme. These figures were undoubtedly drawn by the same painter and belong to a coherent scene, even though they stand on different levels. The explanation for this might be that the painter intended to create an isocephalic line of people (as the remnant of the unfinished head above figures M-N seems to indicate), and first drew figures O and P, and only afterwards figure N, which is the same height but could not be placed on the same level since the unfinished head above figures M-N was in the way. M seems to have been drawn first, with his legs on the same level as O (and hence he is shorter), while N was inserted between M and O, but due to the narrow space, his arms overlap M. Figure Q, which overlaps the bull drawing, was apparently the last to be drawn. If this interpretation is correct, then there is no basis for the assumption that figure N is embracing or supporting M. The painter intended to draw a row of separate figures with hands raised in a gesture of adoration. Figure M, leaning on a cane, is the only exception.

The drawing on a cup from Timna (*Timna:* 155-156; Fig. 47:5) showing two beardless figures facing left with upraised arms, resembles our scene in many respects. Here, too, the arms are drawn by a single line without any indication of hands or fingers. However, there are several differences in the rendering of the head, those at Timna being bald and their eyes small black dots, and several other details are missing (Fig. 14:7).

Figures with hair standing on end are also known from potsherds at Timna (*ibid.*: Fig. 47:4; Pl. 101) and Qurayyah (Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970: Fig. 16:10; here Fig. 14). The head of the linear figure at Timna is almost completely taken up by his large eye (in this case, with pupil). Worth noting is the hand with widespread fingers. The bag-shaped figure from Qurayyah touches the trunk of a nearby tree; his hair is of considerable length. The similarity of the figures from 'Ajrud is of interest, since it adds another bit of evidence to connect this site with the art of the desert regions.

Shaggy hair standing on end characterizes the figures on rock drawings throughout the ages (Winkler 1939: Pl. LV:2; Harding 1969: Figs. 2-3).[13] The figures in our procession also recall the famous emaciated desert herdsman depicted on the 12th dynasty Tomb Chapel at Meir (*ANEP:* No. 101; Blackman 1915:17-18, n. 1; Pl. XXX:1). As Blackman notes, this

13 There seems to be some resemblance in the unruly hair style of the geometric figures appearing on Iron Age Bichrome III wares from Cyprus (Karageorghis and Gagniers: 97, Group IX.1) and also on the stand of the same style (Group IX.4). The "figure with headgear" from the cave at Khirbet Beit Lei (Naveh 1963:79; Fig. 6) may also be related to our figures.

"fuzzy-wuzzy" hair typical of the nomads from Meir also characterizes the nomads of today. The representation of the legs as two verticals connected by crossing diagonals is also known from rock drawings (Anati 1963:207) from Jebel Ideid, although the division of the legs there differ from those in the procession at 'Ajrud in that the division does not start from the foot. One might therefore suggest — albeit with a great deal of caution — that some of the age-old conventions in representing the desert nomads are reflected in this scene at 'Ajrud.

The first figure in the procession is holding a branch or walking stick in his hands. In an attempt to find the meaning of the scene, it might be relevant to compare this figure with the Egyptian convention of representing an old man as leaning on a stick (Fisher 1963), and, indeed, this is the determinative or ideogram for "old" or "elder" (Gardiner 1973:444, No. A19). Hence it is possible that the first figure is the leader of the procession. But since in the art of the ancient Near East importance is expressed by representing the person as taller (rather than shorter) than the others, this explanation is not convincing in our case.

The gesture of outstretched arms is known from Egypt as an expression of adoration, supplication or mourning (Gardiner 1973:445, No. A30). A procession of people with upraised arms appears on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (Porada 1973: Pls. Ia-1b). On an ivory panel from Nimrud (*NR II:* Fig. 470), a line of people in similar posture is seen in the procession of offering bearers. It is also possible that the figures on the cup from Timna belong to a similar procession derived from Egyptian iconography. However, whereas on the sarcophagus of Ahiram both the artistic style and the ceremony itself have their origin in the Egyptian culture, at Timna and Ḥorvat Teiman the figures are executed in an entirely different style, and in Timna they are bald. Hence our comparison is only of a general nature, pointing to a similar manner of expressing adoration, and reinforcing the assumption that the figures do belong to one coherent scene — the exact meaning of which is as yet unclear.

Returning to the vexing subject of the dots: they appear on three figures only, and their distribution is inconsistent: in figure N there is a single dot in each of the squares below the waist; in figures O and P they appear both within the geometric forms that comprise the body and outside the body as well. On the legs of P there are many dots, whereas R has only a few. If we were to assume that the dots represent the material of a garment, then there would be two different types of garments here. And since the dots also appear on the legs, it would mean that the garment was a long one and the legs showed through it; moreover, there is no indication for any hem or border. It is therefore very unlikely that the dots denote a textile pattern, and as they do not appear on all of the figures (despite their similar geometric structure), it seems quite plausible that they were added after the drawing was completed. In brief the dots on these figures pose the same problem as those of the Bes figures.

7. THE ARCHER (K); pithos B; colour: black; Fig. 6.

Only the head and upper part of the body are extant. The head, facing right, is a closed frame with a square jaw and a large fleshy nose jutting out; inside the frame there is an egg-shaped circle for the mouth, an elongated oval for the eye, a curved eyebrow and an immense ear. The broad neck joins the chin at a right angle.

The left arm holding the bowstave was drawn by a double outline but the hand was not depicted. The two parallel lines above the left arm apparently represent the right arm, but if so, then the arrow is not visible — unless the thickened line on top of the hand (?) represents an arrowhead; perhaps the arrow is concealed behind the right arm. In any case, the drawing may be interpreted as depicting the moment at which the archer holds the arrow in preparation for drawing the bowstring, which is still slack.

On most representations of archers the drawn bowstring is held tautly against the body by the right arm, while the left arm holding the bow is straight, on the same level as the shoulder (e.g. the archer from Tel Halaf; Yadin 1963: No. 365). On some depictions, however, the bow is kept at some distance from the body even when the archer seems to be drawing the bowstring, as for example, on certain rock drawings (Anati 1963:188, 207, 208; *Timna:* 122; Fig. 38) and on the pottery vases from Cyprus of the Free-field style (Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974: Group II: amphora of White Painted III style); see also the hunters of Group III.2 and Group III.4; on Group II:7 the hand is invisible (*ibid.*:32-33); cf. Hama G (Riis 1948: Fig. 130B: motif 111: GIV 29). On Egyptian reliefs both positions are represented, and in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Ukhhotep, he is shown in a hunting scene with his bow held far away from his body (Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951:73; Fig. 12).

The association of an archer in a hunting scene with two ibexes flanking a tree is found on cylinder seals of the 13th century from Tchoga Zanbil (Porada 1964:14; Fig. 1; Pl. I); for references to Neo-Assyrian examples of this scene on 9th (and also 8th) century seals, see *ibid.*:14, n. 16.

8. DRAWINGS ON POTSHERDS

In addition to the drawings on pithoi A and B there were two decorated pottery fragments that do not belong to any reconstructable vessel. Since the designs on both of them faded shortly after they were extracted from the earth and I did not have a chance to see them properly, the following description is based on the photographs taken at the time.

Boar Y; colour: red; Reg. No. 1303; Locus 8; Pl. 9:2.

From the photograph, the outline of the forelegs, snout and dotted eye are clearly visible, while the hindlegs of the animal, although less clear, can also be seen. The diagonal line crossing the snout and curving over the back appears to be the outline of another animal that is overlapped by the boar.

Seated figure (Z); colour: yellow outline, black details; Reg. No. 1175; Locus 161; Fig. 17; Pl. 16.

A human figure facing right is seated on a high-backed chair with outcurving legs. Only the upper part of the body, without arms or legs, is preserved. The head appears to be depicted in profile with a thick black line at the back, perhaps a lock of hair, and a similar line in front that may represent the beard. The figure is painted in yellow outline, while the lock of hair on the nape of the neck is in black. The chair is also outlined in yellow, with black used for various details: the dots filling in the yellow ladder design of the frame and the diagonal lines on the side panel, which are intersected with yellow lines.

The fragment is made up of several joining sherds. It is possible that it belonged to a

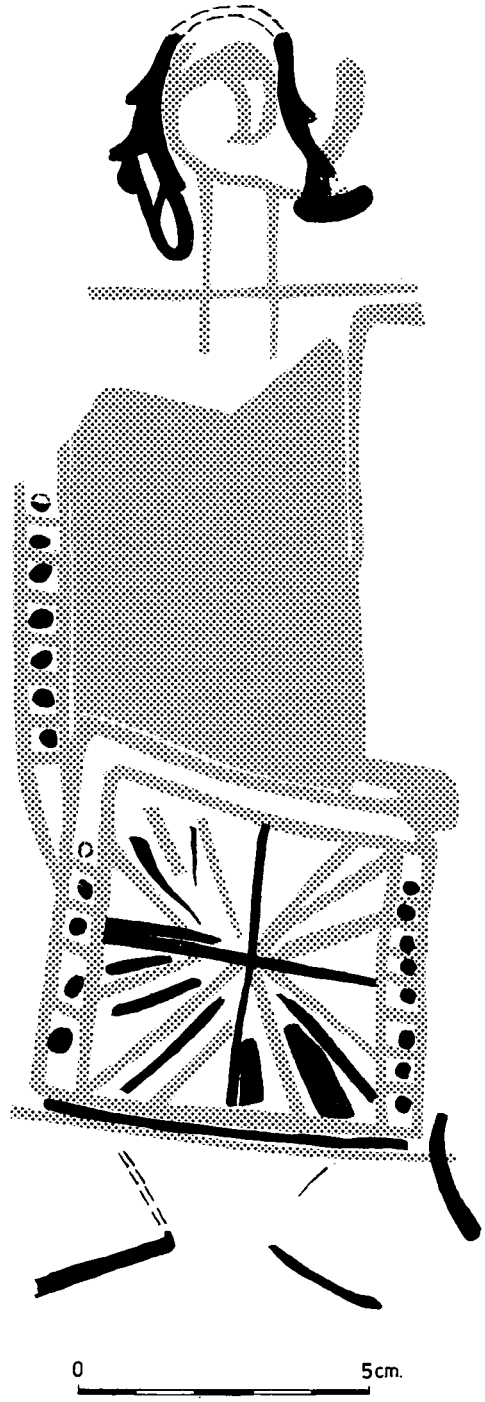

Fig. 17. Seated figure from Sherd Z.

pithos covered with drawings like pithoi A and B, although it differs substantially from them, both in its colour composition (bichrome instead of monochrome) and in the size of the figure, which is larger than any of the pithoi figures (22 cm. from the feet of the chair to the top of the head). Actually, its dimensions are closer to those of the (reconstructed) seated figure of wall painting No. 9, while the use of two colours, black and yellow, recalls the colour scheme of No. 8 (see below). It is therefore somewhat tempting to treat this fragment as a "study piece" for one of the wall paintings. This possibility will be further examined in our discussion of these paintings in Part II.

9. SUMMARY OF THE PITHOI DRAWINGS

The pithoi painters and their iconographic sources

From the foregoing, it appears that the pithoi drawings should be attributed to several painters. We have tried to show the different cultural *milieux* of these artists as reflected in their work. Undoubtedly, the drawings — as well as the inscriptions — were executed after firing,[14] apparently when the pithoi were already at Ḥorvat Teiman and very likely while they were standing in the benchroom. Cow L on pithos B is drawn close to the base, hence this pithos probably stood on a higher level, perhaps on the same bench where it was found, while pithos B must have been lying on its side at some stage, since the inscriptions were written in various directions. Evidently, the pithoi stood close to each other and were decorated at approximately the same time, since drawings that seem to be the work of the same artist appear on both of them. There is no way to determine how long the vessels were at 'Ajrud prior to being decorated, and the date of the pithoi according to ceramic criteria establishes only their earliest possible date.

The drawings often overlap each other and the inscriptions. Their "stratigraphy" can be determined by studying this effect: on pithos A the left Bes figure overlaps the right Bes, the garland (W) and cow (X); on pithos B, bull R is covered by an inscription, while figure Q of the procession overlaps its hindquarters.

We would allocate the drawings to three of four different painters: painter A drew cow-and-calf X, garland-and-ibex W and probably the rest of the isolated animals on pithos A, and was also responsible for ibex J, cow L and bull R of pithos B. Painter B, who used a wider brush, apparently drew the lyre player and the right Bes figure. (The left Bes figure, which was added at a later stage, is the work of a painter with the same iconographic background.) Painter C, who also used a wide brush but whose style is more primitive, drew the procession of worshippers. Regarding the archer, it is difficult to assign him to any particular painter, since there is no other figure that in any way resembles him.

It therefore seems that three painters, at least, left their mark on the pithoi. From the stratigraphic position of their efforts it appears that the earliest were painters A and B, while the painters of the left Bes figure and the procession of worshippers applied their hands somewhat later.

In analyzing the work of painter A, we have pointed out several features that repeat themselves consistently, thus pointing towards specific *style* and not mere scribbling. This

14 Cf. the sherd from Ramat Rahel, which according to Aharoni (*RR II:*42-43; Fig. 30:1; Pl. 28), was also painted after firing. See also Matthiae 1964; Stern 1978:18.

painter was familiar with the most common motifs prevailing in the ancient Near East: a cow suckling her calf, two horned animals on either side of a tree, browsing stags or bulls, etc.

His rendering of the cow-and-calf motif — in spite of his "errors" in detail and proportion — closely reflects the style of the 8th-7th ivory carvings. On the other hand, we failed to find an exact parallel to his depiction of the ibex-and-tree scene in any of the ivory carvings, reliefs or metal works on which this theme was so popular, although there are several elements that strongly resemble the trees on the terracotta tiles at Pazarli. Although these tiles are several centuries later, it is possible that painter A and the Phrygian artists copied this particular type of tree from a common source.

The dotted tree-top of this scene points to some connection with painters B and C in the use of dots, as well as having a rather general similarity to the lotus trees on Cypriote vases of Bichrome III/IV styles. Although no tree identical to the 'Ajrud specimen was found in the Cypriote repertoire, the prevalence of the lotus tree there is significant, strengthening our assumption that they belong to the same cultural horizon. The iconographic sources of inspiration of painter A lie in the Phoenician world and the regions of North Syria and Cilicia up to the periphery of the areas reached by the Phoenician traders, i.e. Karatepe (Winter 1979:136-151).

The motifs of painter B were also derived from the Phoenician world. The Bes figures are most common on small *objets d'art* but also appear on reliefs in the Phoenician style. The lyre player is well known from stamp seals of the second half of the 8th century whose assumed origin is North Syria/Cilicia. The chair of the 'Ajrud player, however, links it to the Phoenician world, since it follows an Egyptian model. Other details (such as the rendering of the nipples, the legs showing through the garment) reveal a concept also known in Cyprus (the Hubbard amphora). In the group of seals discussed by Buchner and Boardman (1966:59-62) Bes and the lyre player do not appear together, but this may be due simply to the limited amount of space on the seals.

It should be noted that on the stamp seals bearing Hebrew, Phoenician, Amonite or Moabite inscriptions, most of the representations are of winged creatures such as griffins, sphinxes, scarabei, uraei or genii that reflect mainly the Egyptian aspect of Phoenician art (Galling 1941; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1978). These motifs are significantly absent at Ḥorvat Teiman. The workshops that produced these seals apparently drew upon those motifs of Egyptian derivation consisting of a single figure and hence more conveniently adaptable to the small surface of the seal. None of the motifs of this branch of Phoenician iconography — in fashion in Judah from the 9th century onwards — is reflected in the 'Ajrud drawings. In Judah, it should be remembered, there were also works that manifest connections with the Neo-Hittite sphere, such as the lions from Tell Beit Mirsim and Tel 'Eton; the drawings of painter A, although to a certain extent derived from the same region, do not seem to be related to these works.

In the dotted lines at the top of the tree of painter A we have noted the influence of "Midianite" art. This, however, was a far more important component of painter B's style. The latter, in our opinion, integrated the motifs common to Phoenician (and North Syrian?) art with certain stylistic elements taken from the pottery of the Negev and northern Arabia,

thereby creating a syncretism that might be termed "Phoenico-Arabian", that is, Phoenician with some stylistic or decorative aspects of the northern Arabian style. This style may have developed already at the end of the second millennium but is as yet unknown to us — perhaps due to the limited number of excavated sites in the region.

We have not found a parallel to the procession drawn by painter C, although it has several elements in common with the drawings from Timna (and in the gesture of adoration, it recalls the procession on the Ahiram sarcophagus). The figures of this scene have a certain stylistic affinity with those seen on the "Midianite" pottery and on some of the rock drawings in the deserts of Sinai and Arabia. This style probably reflects some aspects of the art of the people who inhabited or travelled along the fringes of the sedentary land or were familiar with it from these sources.

The painters represent two different cultural horizons: A/B and C. The iconography of B is derived from the same sphere as that of A. (Frankly, our differentiations between the styles of the two may to some extent be biased by the fact that A drew only animals while B drew only human figures, and their styles may be closer to each other than what is immediately apparent from the subject matter.) Stylistic elements interpreted as derivative of the desert art that characterize painter C, are also an important element in the works of painter B and are present even on the tree of painter A.

10. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PITHOI DRAWINGS AND THE INSCRIPTIONS

No discussion of the pithoi drawings would be complete without taking into consideration the inscriptions on these vessels. The inscribed material at Ḥorvat Teiman will be discussed by Z. Meshel in the final excavation report, and until then (when we hope to study this matter more comprehensively), we shall limit ourselves to a few comments.

Meshel has distinguished a number of scripts on the pithoi that he considers to be the work of several different individuals. According to him (Meshel 1976; 1978a; 1978b; 1979), most of the inscriptions on the pithoi, as well as those appearing on other objects at the site, are of a dedicatory, supplicatory or benedictory nature and include the names of deities such as Yahweh, El, Baal and Asherah.

The inscriptions appear on the following parts of the pithoi: *Pithos A:* (1) on the shoulder above the handles; (2) on the same level as the handles (using the incised shoulder lines as guidelines), overlapping the headdress of the left Bes figure, i.e. in the space above the ibex-and-garland and chariot horse; (3) below the handle, to the right of the lyre player, vertically oriented to the figures; (4) beneath the lyre player and Bes figures (isolated letters (?); below the cow and calf (thick brushstrokes in descending order from 4 to 1); above and behind the left side of the cow and calf (isolated letters). *Pithos B:* (7) following the incised lines of the shoulder above the procession of worshippers; (8) to the right of the procession, overlapping bull R as well as the abecedaries to its right; (9) at the left of the procession (column of six names).

There are several questions that arise concerning these inscriptions and their relationship to the drawings; Were the drawings made by the same people who inscribed the jars? And if so, can they be correlated? If they were done by different people (i.e., the drawings by painters and the inscriptions by scribes), what was the motivation of each? Did the scribe

write the inscription (and the painter draw his picture) for his own sake, or did he do it for others who commissioned him?

As we have noted, the painters (particularly painter C) treated the pithoi as if they were rock surfaces or walls, and many of their sketches recall the cliff drawings of the Sinai in various periods. According to Naveh (1979), the majority of the graffiti, dedications and greeting formulae incised in ancient times on rock surfaces, walls of buildings and even on vessels were actually prayers, and the drawings accompanying them were of similar nature, although this does not mean that the pictures are necessarily illustrations of the inscriptions (personal communication). Naveh also wonders whether all the abecedaries, such as the ones inscribed on pithos B were merely copying exercises or if some of them might not have had a magic connotation (*ibid.*: n. 13). When we consider the geographical position of Ḥorvat Teiman as a crossroad desert station, it seems only natural that the caravaneers and other wayfarers who stopped there would be inclined to dedicate inscriptions (and perhaps even drawings) in order to secure the protection of their gods, and any surface may have seemed suitable to them for this purpose. The dedications on the pithoi could therefore be looked upon as "route prayers" of the type that any traveller along these long, awesome trails might have used to invoke his particular deity — or even several deities — to watch over him during his perilous journey.

However, when we come to examine whether there was a direct relationship between the drawings and the inscriptions in the sense that one might be an illustration of the other, we are confronted with difficulties. For example, Gilula (1978-1979) has interpreted the Bes figures on pithos B as literally representing "YHWH and his Asherah", a formula appearing in the inscription above them (and repeated elsewhere in the 'Ajrud inscriptions). The brush used by the scribe who wrote above these figures was, however, very thin and his handwriting beautifully cursive, in contrast to the thick brush employed for the awkwardly drawn Bes figures. As we have argued above, the two Bes figures were not drawn together, the one at the left being later than the right-hand one. Since the inscription was added after *both* figures were already drawn, it is doubtful whether there is any meaningful relationship between it and the figures.

Another case in point is the procession on pithos B and the inscriptions to the left, right and above it. As noted, the inscription at the right overlaps the abecedaries, and both overlap the bull, which, in turn, is overlapped by figure Q at the end of the procession. To the left of this group *six* names are inscribed, whereas there are only five people in the procession (unless the unfinished head is taken into account). Whether or not these names are connected to these people, it is difficult to say, but the distance between them makes it doubtful. There is also the problem of the paintings of painter A, particularly the group around the ibex-and-tree scene, that are not accompanied by any inscription whatsoever.

Although we did not find any contemporary comparative material, there are a few instances of drawings from other periods that do seem to have a direct relation to the inscriptions accompanying them. For example, in the scenes on large sherds from the Parthian period at Ashur depicting several members of the temple staff (Milik 1972:334-345; Fig. 2) each person is identified by an inscription above his head (I owe this analogy to J. Naveh). This practise is also known from the mosaic floors of synagogues, where various figures are

sometimes identified by name (Naveh 1978). Another example comes from a Nabatean rock drawing (Lidzbarski 1898: Pl. XXXVI) portraying a horse and rider half-encircled by an inscription referring to the rider. Thus we see that in those cases in which there was some connection between the inscriptions and the drawings, the relationship can be inferred from the text, or if the intention was to identify the people in the drawings, the names were written directly above them. In order to determine whether similar inferences can be drawn from the inscriptions on the 'Ajrud pithoi, we shall have to await the full publication and interpretation of the inscribed material. My general impression, based mainly on the "stratigraphy" and placement of the inscriptions rather than any analysis of their contents (which is beyond my field of competance) is that they were drawn by different hands than those that applied the drawings to the pithoi and at different times.

PART II: THE WALL PAINTINGS

1. INTRODUCTION

Here I shall describe the fragments of wall paintings found in the excavations at Ḥorvat Teiman and try to examine their iconography within the context of the art of the ancient Near East, as well as their relation to the pithoi drawings. I shall also attempt to determine whether they were spontaneous works or planned in advance and whether the use of different colour combinations points to the work of different artists.

Most of the paintings were applied to the gypsum-plastered walls, although none of them survived *in situ* but were recovered from plastered fragments lying in the debris on the floors. (The only exception is No. 12 that was painted directly onto the stone doorjamb of Room 50 in the courtyard). Hence their exact original location is unknown. However, No. 6, which was found on the threshold of the doorway to Building B, probably came from the corner between the doorjamb and the lintel, since the sides of the plaster fragment were bent backwards and its upper edges are bent forewards. Fragment No. 1, which has the same colour scheme and the same shape may have been on the opposite doorjamb or on a kind of pilaster next to it. According to the excavator, No. 11, which was found in the debris at the entrance to the western storeroom, apparently also originated on the doorjamb or lintel.

The subjects of the murals include: human figures on a city wall (No. 1), a chequered border (No. 6), a lotus flower border (No. 10), palmette trees (No. 7) and a seated figure (No. 9). The only colours used were red of various shades (dark red or reddish-brown), yellow (yellow-orange and sandy-yellow) and black. (The differences in hue of the red and yellow shades may be due to the state of preservation rather than intentional.) The monochrome designs are either black (No. 7) or red (Nos. 3, 11); the bichrome designs are red and yellow (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6), black and red (No. 5) or black and yellow (No. 8); the polychrome designs are red, yellow and black (Nos. 9, 10, 12).

The designs were apparently applied to the plaster in a free-hand style; only in one band of one design (No. 10) is a thin black outline discernible. This seems to have been added after completion of the yellow lotus petals, since the yellow shows in spots where the black line has not been preserved, although it could have been drawn to reinforce an original outline that had faded.

Brushes of varying width were used; very thin in No. 10 for the black outline, very wide in Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 11, and medium-sized in all the other designs.

When we search for parallels for these paintings, we are faced with the fact that — in contrast with Egypt — very few wall paintings have survived in Western Asia. Most of them come from palaces. In the Assyrian palaces of the first millennium there are only the murals at Til Barsip, Arslan-Tash and Khorsabad (last third of the 8th century) and 7th century Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud (*NR II*:379-381; Figs. 307-308). Relevant to our discussion are also the glazed brick walls at Ashur (Andrae 1925: Pls. 6, 7, 10). Less relevant, due to their great geographical distance, are the temples and palaces at Erebuni, Altintepe, Anzavurtepe and elsewhere in Urartu. From the second half of the second millennium we have 13th century Kar Tukulti Ninurta (*ibid.*: Pls. 1-4), Dur Kurigalzu (Baqir 1946:80) and Nuzi. From the Middle Bronze Age there are Mari (Parrot 1958: Pl. II) and Alalakh (Woolley 1955: Pls. XXXVII-XXXIX, especially XXXIX:b).

The colour schemes of these murals were: red, pink, white, black and grey at Nuzi (*Nuzi I:*55-59; 491-492; *Nuzi II:* Pls. 128:G, H; 129:D); white, black, red and blue at Assur (Andrae 1925: Pls. 1-4); blue, red and black at Til Barsip, where the outlines were in black, and after completion of the work, red lines were added parallel to the black ones in certain places (*Til Barsip:*46-47; Pls. XLII-LII; Parrot 1961:263). At Arslan-Tash the colours were cobalt blue and Indian red, with a black outline sometimes covering the red (*Arslan-Tash:* Pls. XVI:2; XVII:1-2; XLVIII:1-2). At Khorsabad the colours were red, blue and black as well as some green and brown; the black lines were added at the end in order to separate the bands of the design (*Khorsabad II:* Ch. V; 83 ff.; Pl. 91).

In none of these murals was any yellow used, and it is seen only on the glazed bricks at Ashur (and even there it may not have been the original colour but the result of the firing temperature).

Drawing by outline first — unlike at 'Ajrud — was the rule in Egyptian wall paintings and reliefs; there the outline, usually red but sometimes black, was reapplied at the end of the work if it was blurred. The colour range covered a broad spectrum, including black, blue, green, brown, grey, orange, pink, red, white and yellow (Lucas 1962:318 ff.).

At 'Ajrud the colour scheme was extremely limited; red is the dominant colour, but black and various shades of yellow[15] were also present; blue and green were conspicuously absent.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE WALL PAINTINGS

No. 1. Figures on a city wall; Reg. No. 1157; Locus 163; Fig. 18; Pl. 7:1.

The scene is drawn in red and enclosed by a red frame of uneven width, with a yellow line running along its left side. The heads of two figures, facing left, are seen behind the parapets of a city wall between two towers with crenellated battlements. The towers are drawn by a line wider than the one outlining the rest of the construction. The left tower has two adjacent windows and is crowned by five triangular merlons; only two of the merlons of the right tower are preserved.

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15 G. Barkai has drawn my attention to the fact that many of the Iron Age clay figurines found in Judah were also decorated with yellow paint.

The figure on the left wears a tall pointed cap with appendages dangling down from the peak in front. The thick brushstroke at the back of the head may represent a long hair style. The cap, hair on top of the head, diagonal stroke demarcating the throat (and what may be the mouth and ear) are drawn in finer lines than the outline of the head. The eye seems to be a triangle that occupies the full width of the head, enclosing the pupil.

Scenes showing people standing on top of a city wall or fortress are well known from the Assyrian reliefs. This theme is also represented on ivory carvings, for example, on a plaque from Nimrud dated to the 9th century (Mallowan and Davies 1970: No. 6); here the women holding cymbals wear tall caps folded over at the back. The same theme is also known from Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls (e.g. Gjerstad 1946: Pl. VI, Cypro-Phoenician I group); here, as on our painting, only the head of the figure is seen. Like so many of the motifs depicted at Ḥorvat Teiman, this one was doubtlessly part of the stock-in-trade of the Phoenician artisans and was frequently executed on minor, mobile objects; for a general discussion of battlements and military architecture, see Porada 1967. The frame of our drawing recalls the frames of the painted tiles.

Fig. 18. Wall painting No. 1.

No. 2. Wide-banded border design; Reg. No. 1103; Locus 153; Pl. 11:1.

This fragment seems to have been the border between two panels; one panel was apparently bounded by a wide red band and a yellow band decorated with a red zigzag; the other side is not clear, since it was painted in faint red and the design was also drawn in red.

No. 3. Linear border design; Reg. No. 1126; Locus 155; Pl. 8:2.

This design consists of three narrow stripes of reddish-brown colour.

No. 4. Red circle and yellow petals (?); Reg. No. 1154; Locus 159; Pl. 11:2.

The two plaster fragments on which this design appears were found attached to each other, face to face, hence one may have been the negative of the other.

No. 5. Red and black dots; Reg. No. 130; Locus 15; Pl. 7:2.

Like No. 4, the two pieces of plaster covered with these dots were found attached to each other, face to face. The dots do not form any pattern. They are interesting, however, since they may point to some connection with the "Midianite" pottery, for example, a bowl from Timna with bichrome dots in the centre (*Timna:* XXII; here Fig. 14:1).

No. 6. Chequered border design; Reg. No. 1180; Loci 155, 169; Fig. 19; Pl. 15.

This design, as reconstructed, was preserved to a maximum length of 15 chequers (36 cms.) and a maximum width of five chequers. It consists of three types of rectangles, painted either red or yellow or encasing a red X. The painting was evidently made in three stages: first, the long dark-red bands were drawn (freehand, apparently, since the lines waver and are uneven in width); then certain rectangular spaces were filled in either with red paint or red X's (drawn with two different types of brushstroke, one straight and narrow and the other thick and wavy); finally, vertical yellow bands were applied to outline the rectangles, and the empty ones were filled in with yellow. The five long lines of the preserved portion thus have the following pattern from top to bottom: (1) yellow chequers alternating with X-filled chequers; (2) red chequers alternating with X-filled chequers; (3) alternating red and X-filled chequers; (4) alternating red and yellow chequers; (5) alternating red and X-filled chequers. Hence the design consists of diagonal lines of three X-filled and four red chequers, as schematically represented below (r = red; x = X; y = yellow):

1. y x y x y x y x y x y x y x r
2. x r x r x r x r x r x r x r x
3. r x r x r x r x r x r x x x
4. y r y r y r y r y r y x
5. r x r x r x r x r x r

Beginning with the 12th chequer from the left the rhythm of the design is changed, and chequer No. 12 in line 3 is red instead of X-filled, chequer No. 15 in the top row is red instead of yellow, etc. Perhaps at this point another hand treated the drawing and disturbed the flow of the design. There were also some fragments with yellow X's instead of red ones that could not be matched with the design.

The principle of squares (or rectangles) with an X-design alternating with empty or design-filled squares is characteristic of the Midianite pottery found at Timna and Qurayyah (*Timna:* Figs. 32:10; 13; 47:5; Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970: Pl. 42, lower right; here Fig. 14). At Timna there is a similar theme consisting of bands of chequers filled with

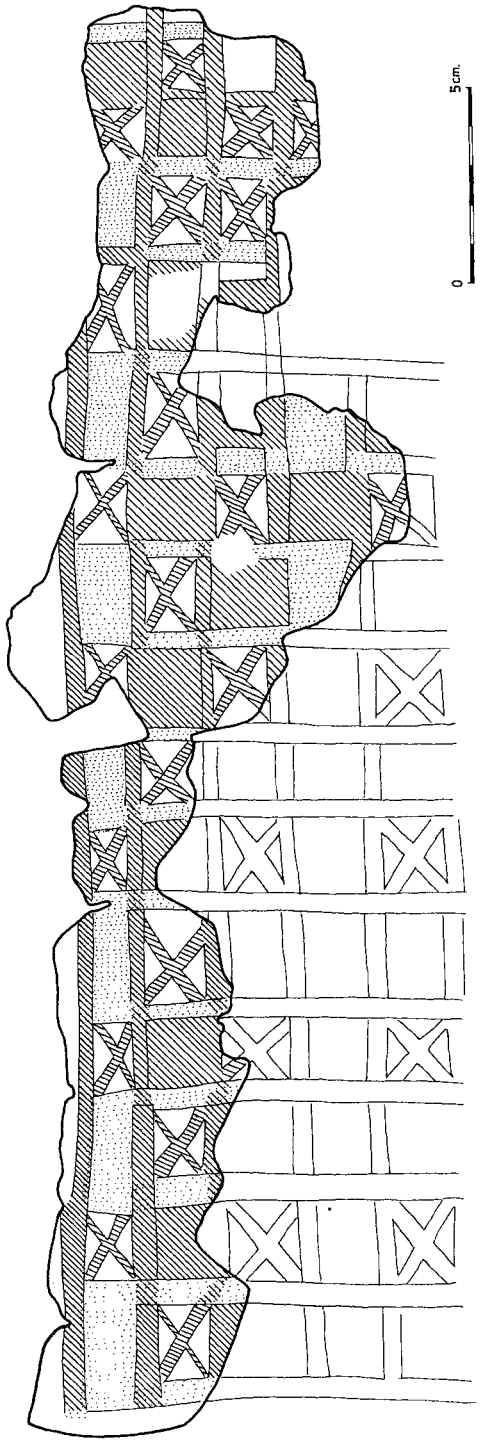

Fig. 19. Reconstruction of wall painting No. 6.

monochrome or bichrome geometric shapes, dots or verticals (*Timna:* Fig. 46:9). Bands of chequerboard designs, X designs or X's in which two of the triangles are filled in to create an "hourglass" are found in the first millennium pottery of Hama G (Riis 1948: Fig. 130:37, 41-50) and Tell el-Kheleifeh (Glueck 1967: Fig. 5:2). Nevertheless, we did not find a band with design identical to the one from Ḥorvat Teiman.

No. 7. Voluted palmette trees; Reg. No. 1121; Loci 155, 163; Pl. 9:1.

Four reconstructed plaster fragments contain the following elements of this design: (A) a pair of volutes, outlined in black, each drawn freehand by a single bold stroke of the brush; together they represent the trunk of the tree, which curves outwards; (B) a similar pair of volutes, with the addition of a crescent just beneath each of them: (C) two parallel curving lines, which might have connected the two pairs of volutes, or two tree trunks, as suggested in our reconstruction: (D) several elongated petal-like elements, one of which encloses a dot.

The two pairs of volutes are not identical. Those on fragment B seem to represent a palmette capital of the type known on Phoenician-style ivories (Barnett 1975: Fig. 1:S327, S309), where the volutes and crescent-shaped leaves below them are designated. The petals of fragment D might have part of the palmette-like tree-top also known from ivory carvings (*ibid.*:S327, G7, etc.).

Apparently the pattern consisted solely of a band of palmette trees, as no human or animal figures seems to belong to it. A circular decoration of interlinked palmette trees connected by curving lines is known from a gold disc from Cyprus (Bossert 1951: No. 307). This design also reminds us of the limestone balustrade at Ramat Raḥel (*RR II:* Pls. 38; 42).

No. 8. Animal scene; Reg. No. 1125; Locus 155; Fig. 20; Pl. 8:1.

This scene is outlined in black, paralleled by a yellow line; yellow is also used to fill in the lotus flowers. The identifiable fragments are the leg and hoof of an animal, a lotus flower and a horizontal line. Less clear is a scale pattern enclosing a dot, two fragments with pointed elements and a dot between curving and diagonal lines.

The leg and hoof seem to belong to one of the forelegs of a cow, bull or other hoofed animal, while the horizontal line could be part of its belly line. The leg is about the same length as those of the bovines on the pithoi.

The lotus flower apparently belongs to the same scene. The petals are filled in with yellow colour. The pointed elements do not seem to be flower petals; possibly they are part of the fur of an animal.

The fragmentary condition of the painting makes any reconstruction highly speculative. We may only remark that bulls in association with nilotic vegetation (although not the lotus) are known from Phoenician-style bronze bowls from Nimrud bearing a "marsh pattern" (Barnett 1974: Fig. 2), and cows with similar vegetation in the background are seen on ivory carvings (*NR II:* Fig. 436).

No. 9. Seated figure; Reg. No. 109; Locus 15; Figs. 21, 21a; Pl. 10.

The reconstructed elements of this painting consist of: (A) head, (B) chair and garment, (C) part of the chair frame, (D) pomegranates (?), (E) plant, (F) unclear. Although the fragments do not join, they seem to belong to the same scene. The colours are red, yellow and black.

Fig. 20. Reconstruction of wall painting No. 8.

(A) Profile of human head facing right. The profile and eye are drawn in red outline, the eyeball and hair in black; the red-outlined appendage behind the eye could have been a lock of hair or the ear. A red object (with some black markings), most likely a lotus blossom, conceals the mouth. The figure is dressed in a yellow garment bordered by a red neckline and a double collar-band drawn in red outline encasing rows of black dots.

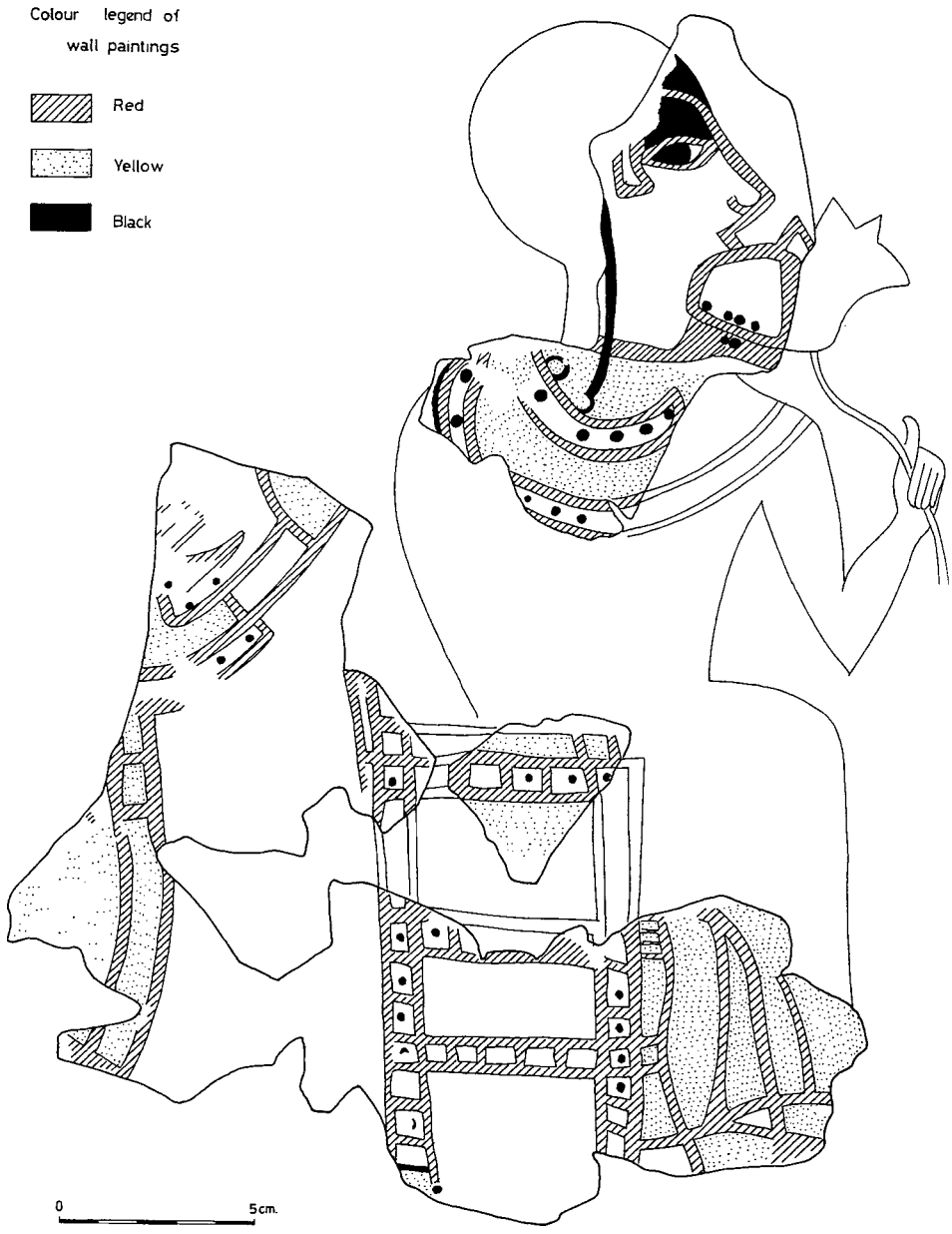

Fig. 21. Reconstruction of wall painting No. 9.

(B) Side panel of chair and part of garment (reconstruction suggested by J. Málek). The ladder-and-dot design is the decorated frame of the chair; hence the yellow area in front of the chair (the same shade of yellow as seen on the garment in fragment A), with red lines running in various directions would logically be the part of the garment covering the legs. The dotted ladder design is similar to that on the frame of the high-backed chair of pithos sherd Z (see Part I:8). There is, however, no satisfactory explanation for the upper left corner of fragment A, which looks like an arm issuing from the sleeve of a garment. If, as we assume, the head on fragment A belongs to the seated figure on fragment B (whose torso is frontally depicted according to Near Eastern convention), one arm was most probably shown holding the lotus flower, and it would be most unlikely that the other arm would be stretched behind the body as if the figure were marching.

Various details of this figure, as well as the plant in the background, are vaguely reminiscent of Egyptian wall paintings. The red-outlined profile with fine pointed nose, the oval eye, the lock of hair trailing down from the wig (?), the collar (although not Egyptian in style), the lotus flower held to the nose (although in Egyptian paintings it does not conceal the mouth) all point to Egyptian inspiration, however indirect. Yet the lack of colour on the face or any part of the flesh is most un-Egyptian, and the difference in execution is enormous.

Figures seated on a throne holding lotus flowers are represented on several Canaanite and Phoenician works: on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (holding a cup and lotus flower), on the ivory handle from Megiddo (*Megiddo Ivories:* Pl. 4), holding a cup to his mouth and a lotus flower in his left hand; on the ivory box from Tell el-Far'ah (S) (*BP I:* Pl. LV), holding a cup in his right hand and a lotus flower in his left; and on the Late Bronze Age statue from Tell Ṣippor (Biran and Negbi 1966: Pl. 23).

From the first millennium, seated figures in Assyrian style are known from Ramat Raḥel (*RR II:* Fig. 30:1; Pl. 28).

The poor preservation of the painted fragments does not allow further reconstruction of the scene. Originally, it may have contained several human figures participating in some kind of ceremony with various plants in the background. The size of the painting is con-

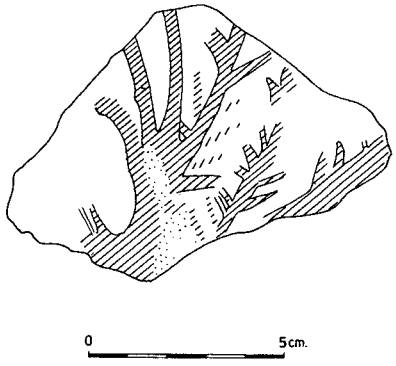

Fig. 21a. Floral motif in front of feet of seated figure (Fig. 21).

siderable. If our reconstruction is correct, it measured 32 cm. in height, thus making it by far the largest mural at 'Ajrud.

No. 10. Lotus chain and guilloche border design; Reg. No. 1115-1117; Locus 155; Fig. 22; Pl. 12.

Several fragments of this design, painted in red, yellow and black, were preserved. B and C are the largest; A, D, E, F and G definitely belong to it, while various other fragments depicting lotus buds were inserted into our reconstruction at the places where they seemed most suitable. The height of the reconstructed design was 23 cms.

The design appears in four horizontal bands containing the following elements from top to bottom: (1) a guilloche band, (2) a chain of alternating lotus flowers and buds, (3) another guilloche band and (4) a chain of lotus flowers without buds.

(1) The upper guilloche band is composed of interlaced oval curves, each enclosing a smaller oval, and a horizontal line below drawn in red. As neither the guilloche nor the lotus flower below it continue to the left (see upper left-hand corner of Fig. 21), we concluded that this was the edge of the design.

(2) Our assumption that the alternating lotus buds and flowers are linked together in a chain is based on the curvature of the stem of fragment A to the right and the curve of the double stem in both directions on fragment B. There is a yellow dot in fragment A that also appears between the double stem of the bud on B. The petals of the flowers, buds and stems are all drawn by a wide red outline filled in with yellow; the chain is bordered by horizontal red lines.

(3) The lower guilloche band is the same as the upper one except that it is bordered by both a yellow and red line.

(4) The lower chain of lotus flowers is presumed to be without buds since, according to our reconstruction, there would not have been any space for them between the flowers. The petals are outlined in black with a very thin brush and then filled in with sandy yellow. There may have been an additional row of flowers, judging by the petal seen in fragments C and D.

Fragment H cannot be fitted into our reconstruction, since the guilloche (Pl. 13:1) there is accompanied by a ladder pattern that is not present on the other fragments, although its lotus flower is identical to those of band 2. On fragment I there are similar buds. From these two fragments it appears that this mural had panels with vertical as well as horizontal guilloche bands.

The guilloche is not known from any Assyrian wall painting, although it does appear on the glazed tiles with central boss at Assur (Andrae 1925: Pls. 31-32) and on the painted walls of second millennium Mari and Nuzi. At Mari it formed an upper polychrome border (Parrot 1958:112; Pls. I; II:1) and at Nuzi it framed various panels, either as the only element of the border or as part of a more complex geometric pattern (*Nuzi II:* Pl. 128:G, H; 129:D). Significantly, it does not appear at Kar Tukulti Ninurta, even though the murals there are bound by frames of various geometric designs. On the other hand, on Syrian and Mitannian style seals of the second millennium guilloche bands are well attested (Collon 1975; Porada 1947).

In the first millennium although the guilloche appears on reliefs at Carchemish and Sakje-

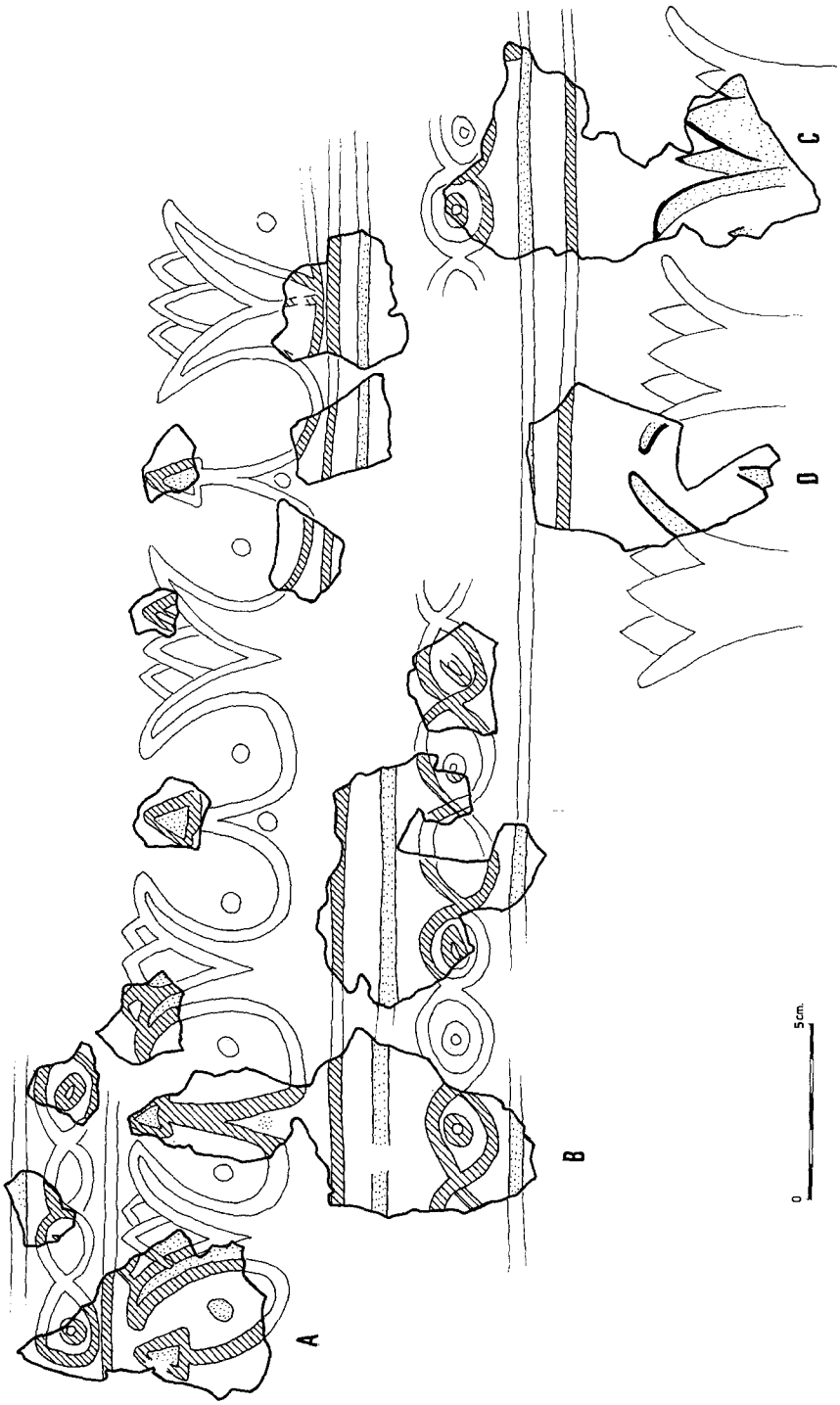

Fig. 22. Reconstruction of wall painting No. 10.

Gözü, it is most common on the minor works of art such as the ivory carvings of Assyrian style (Mallowan and Davies 1970: Nos. 2, 22, 61a, 75, 180, 199, 100, 102). In No. 75 it separates two panels bordered on either side by a chain of palmettes and lotus or palmette alone; see also Barnett (1975: Pls. CXIII-CXIV:2) in which the guilloche frames the entire panel, and the carving from Kuyunjik (*ibid.:* T22a, T24, T25a-b), where the lower frame of the panel consists of a chain of lotus buds and flowers, with a guilloche band and a wide band of rosettes above

The guilloche also serves as a border design on ivory pyxides and tubes in Syrian style from Nimrud (Barnett 1975: S49, S51:a-h, S65:v-w, S68:t, S69) and on Phoenician style ivories (*ibid.:* Suppl. 58) or quasi-Egyptian style (*NR II:* Nos. 420, 421, 504, 531). It is very common on metal vessels as an upper border design (Potratz 1962: Fig. 7; Pl. XCIX:6) and as a border between registers (*ibid.:* Fig. 9:2; Pl. CI:1-2). On pottery vessels of the Bichrome IV style from Cyprus guilloche bands with chains of lotus flowers and buds on either side serve as borders between the metopes.

From the preceding examples, it appears that the guilloche border design from our wall painting could not have been derived from any Assyrian wall painting but came either from second millennium Syrian sources or — more likely — from the ivory carvings or Phoenician metal engravings of the first millennium.

In our discussion of the ibex-and-tree scene in Part I we have noted that the lotus-bud-and-flower-chain was originally derived from Egyptian iconography and was already known in the Canaanite art of the second millennium and beginning of the first. It is also seen on two chalices from Tell el-Far'ah (S) Cemetery 200 (Dothan 1967:157; Fig. 38:1-2), dated to the end of the 10th century and beginning of the 9th. The lotus flower alone is rare on pottery, except for the Philistine jugs of the 12th-11th centuries (Dothan 1967: Type 11). Dothan has also pointed out the frequent appearance of lotus flowers in drawings and reliefs on the incense burners of the period from Gezer and Megiddo (e.g. Schumacher 1908:126-128; Fig. 190). A chain of lotus flowers and buds drawn in a technique similar to that of our wall painting, with black outline for the yellow petals, appears on a 7th century incense burner from Salamis (Karageorghis 1970a: Pl. 147; 1970b: Pl. CIV:5).

By analogy to the use of guilloche bands between chains of lotus flowers on the minor *objets d'art,* we may explain drawing No. 10 from Ḥorvat Teiman as a border design between panels of paintings on the walls. Although the central themes within these borders were not preserved, we may deduce from the size of the borders that they were fairly large. The complex design, as well as the polychrome colour schemes, reinforces the assumption that this mural was planned in advance.

No. 11. Human head; Reg. No. 775; Locus 87; Pl. 13:2.

The head, outlined in dark red, is facing left; the profile is drawn as a continuous line from forehead to nose; the eye is an elongated oval and the mouth assumes a similar shape. The hair is depicted by wide brushstrokes. Remnants of script in the same colour, probably made with the same brush, arch around the head.

Forehead and nose drawn in a continuous line are seen on the heads of the people in the procession on pithos B, although the facial features and hair of these figures are entirely different.

The manner in which inscription seems to surround the head is reminiscent of the dedication inscriptions surrounding the desert rock drawings (e.g. Harding 1969: Fig. 1). This arrangement may be contrasted with the spatial relationship of the inscriptions on the pithoi vis-à-vis the drawings, which are all some distance apart, except in the cases where they and the drawings overlap each other. No other wall painting fragment had any writing attached to it, although several pieces of plaster in the debris were covered with writing.

No. 12. Human head, goat and lotus flower; Reg. No. 1389; Locus 50; Pl. 13.

The figures here were painted directly onto the unplastered surface of one of the stones of the doorjamb. The drawings, outlined in red (with some traces of yellow in the background), cover an area of about 6 x 13 cm. The paint is badly faded. From right to left we can distinguish with various degrees of certainty: (1) some petals of a relatively large lotus flower; (2) a goat or other horned animal with back-turned head, above which are some faint lines of what might have been (3) another small animal; (4) the torso and head of a person carrying a long stick over his shoulder; (5) a much larger head of what appears to be some kind of beast, which — with a great deal of imagination — might be interpreted as a lion.

As no stem of the lotus flower is visible, it may have been part of a chain of flowers rather than the top of a lotus tree, as might be inferred by its juxtaposition to the goat. The goat's forelegs are slightly raised, but they do not appear to be standing on a branch or stem of a plant; his hindquarters are very poorly preserved. The head of the figure behind the goat, at about the level of its hindlegs, is covered with vertical lines that might represent either a long hair style or some kind of helmet. The three projections (one above the eye and two at the back of the head) could be locks of hair or part of the helmet. The stick held over his shoulder, which overlaps the face of whatever is behind him, seems to have a rounded object at the end. The disproportionate sizes of the figures, their different levels and their overlapping give the impression that these are spontaneous graffiti, drawn at different times by different persons.

3. SUMMARY

The wall paintings are so poorly preserved that we were able to reconstruct only miniscule portions of the original scenes. They were all drawn freehand, without resort to any instrument except the brush. Their fragmentary state precludes carrying out any stylistic differentiation too far. It is also difficult to distinguish specific features of any significance that would enable us to identify a particular artist. We may, however, point out the sureness of line exemplified in the palmette trees (No. 7), which is not duplicated in any other drawing. Certain features in paintings Nos. 1 and 6 — such as the identical colour scheme (red and yellow), the uneven lines of varying width, as well as the proximity of findspot — suggest that they were drawn by the same person. Nos. 9 and 10 have the same colour scheme as each other (red, yellow and black), but No. 10 has a feature missing in the others, namely the use of black outline around the yellow leaves of the lotus blossoms in the lowermost band. No. 8 is also unusual in that a yellow line closely follows the black outline, while yellow paint was also used to fill in parts of the lotus blossoms. These minor variations in colour scheme and outlining technique still puzzle us as to whether they are of any significance in distinguishing between different painters.

Although the original size of the murals can only be surmised, the fragments of two of them (Nos. 9 and 10) give the impression that they must have been executed on a large scale. An idea about the themes that might have been represented can be gained from No. 9, which included a figure in long attire seated on a high-backed chair holding what appears to be a lotus flower. Since such depictions usually represent personages of high rank (rulers on the Ahiram sarcophagus and the ivories from Megiddo and Tell el-Far'ah), it is possible that a similar scene was portrayed here.

The scale and execution of the murals suggests that they were planned in advance and painted by artists who were either commissioned or otherwise retained for this purpose (except, of course, the obvious dipinto of No. 12, and perhaps also No. 11).

Relation of the wall paintings to the pithoi drawings

There are a number of motifs that are common to both the wall paintings and the pithoi; lotus flowers and buds, horned animals, grazing bovines and seated figures. However, on the pithoi these appear to be isolated motifs, whereas on the walls we presume they were coherent scenes (except No. 12). On the other hand, there are several motifs that appear solely on the pithoi (the lyre player, the Bes figures, the boars, horses and other isolated animals), while the murals have a number of motifs exclusive to them: the voluted palmette trees, the chequered border and the guilloche. Most of the wall paintings are bichrome or polychrome, while the pithoi drawings are monochrome — either black *or* red — with one significant exception: fragment Z, which is black and yellow.

This colour scheme is also seen on wall painting No. 8, although there black is used for the outline, whereas yellow is the outlining colour of fragment Z, with black used only for details. As we have noted, the theme of sherd Z — a seated figure — is the same as that of wall painting No. 9, and certain details are similar (e.g. the black dots in the ladder pattern of the chair frame), but the colour scheme of No. 9 includes red, as well as black and yellow. Had the colours been identical or had the figures been more similar, I might have been tempted to consider the sherd a practise sketch for painting No. 9. Such preliminary sketches are well documented in Egypt (Vandier d'Abbadie 1936-1959; Brunner-Traut 1956), where pottery ostraca or stone flakes were used by the artists as "study pieces" for the scenes they later transferred to the walls. Although admittedly we have no evidence for any such exercises outside of Egypt,[16] it nevertheless remains an interesting hypothesis as to the *modus operandi* of the mural artists. Another possibility — equally hypothetical — is that the mural artists were simply "keeping in practise" by drawing on the pithoi the motifs fron their iconographic repertoires, without any intention of transferring these specific sketches to the walls. The third possibility, i.e. that the pithoi drawings were intended to illustrate the dedications in the inscriptions or were pictorial dedications in their own right, was examined in Part I.

Whatever the purpose of the pithoi painters and whether or not they were the same artists who painted the murals, there is no doubt that the iconographic background of both stems from the same horizon. The majority of the motifs on both surfaces are derived from the

16 Matthiae (1964:92) raises such a possibility for the painted sherd from Ramat Raḥel: "a practice sketch for an expert painter destined to serve as a model for another work."

Phoenician-Syrian world, with perhaps a certain admixture of the desert art. In comparison to the pithoi, the murals exhibit a higher standard of craftsmanship, perhaps because they were planned in advance, while the pithoi drawings were spontaneous. The common iconographic sources that have been identified in the works of painters A/B and on the murals would lead us to suggest that artisans of this milieu were responsible for the wall paintings that were made to order on the site, while a painter more of C's type may have produced No. 11. Since, however, there is not a single motif that is executed in identical style on both surfaces, it is impossible to be more specific.

The questions that we shall try to pursue in the following paragraphs are probably the most intriguing: What were these painters doing at Ḥorvat Teiman and what was their purpose in decorating the walls at this site?

In view of the location of Ḥorvat Teiman at a desert crossroads, it is very likely that it served as a caravan stop along these routes (perhaps for the incense trade?). In addition there are numerous hints that the buildings might have had a religious function: the dedications, prayers or blessings inscribed on the pithoi and other objects, the names of the gods mentioned in them, the benches on which the dedicated offerings were deposited have led to various conjectures regarding the nature of the site, for example, a wayside shrine for travellers to Eilat and southern Sinai, a station on a pilgrim's route to Mt. Horeb, a border outpost inhabited by priests sent there by the central royal authority (Meshel 1976; 1978a; 1978b; 1979).

However, if we should try to determine the function of the buildings on the basis of the wall paintings, we find that we are faced by a dearth of contemporary analogies. Painted walls have not been discovered in any of the other Negev sites of this period, nor in Judah (except for graffiti on cave walls and a few tombs),[17] nor anywhere else in the Levant. Of course, it may be that such walls existed and have not survived due to adverse climatic conditions (the dry desert air at Ḥorvat Teiman perhaps contributed to the preservation of the pigments), or have not been found so far due to the happenstance of excavation. At any rate, those murals that do exist from the beginning of the first millennium come mainly from palaces (as borne out by the examples in Assyria and Babylonia listed above) and — as Kraeling (1956:348) has pointed out — are less typical of religious edifices in Western Asia. For painted walls of this period in temples or shrines we have evidence only from Egypt or Urartu (and much of the latter is controversial). Of the Egyptian artistic tradition there is nothing at 'Ajrud (except, of course, what is reflected in its Phoenician derivatives), while Urartu is far beyond the zone from which the 'Ajrud painters drew their iconographic inspiration and the routes of the Phoenician traders. Therefore, the fact that the walls of Ḥorvat Teiman were decorated with murals does not — *per se* — prove that the site had a religious function. Due to the absence of contemporary parallels,[18] there is, of course, no

17 The only example with which we are acquainted comes from the Late Bronze Age Temple at Lachish where several fragments of coloured plaster were found, some of them "showing traces of pattern" (Ussishkin 1978:16-17).

18 From later times there are excellent examples of religious art in the wall paintings of the pagan temples, Christian chapel and the synagogue at Dura Europos, the Roman-Parthian fortress-city and caravanserai lying on the Euphrates at the crossroads of the Syrian desert. Here, as Rostovtzeff

evidence to the contrary. The nature of the buildings at 'Ajrud, whether religious or otherwise, will have to be determined by other criteria — such as the inscriptions.

We have frequently pointed out that the 'Ajrud artists were following artistic tradition and using "conventional style" rather than making spontaneous sketches of what they saw around them, even though their results fall far below the standards of the court artisans of the day. Their work should thus be regarded as examples of the "popular art" that Avi-Yonah (1944:109) has differentiated from the "monuments of official inspiration"[19] in the Roman and Byzantine periods. As he describes this art: "The artists were not very highly trained and not the best men of the profession. It is sometimes difficult to see how much of the peculiarities of their works is due to their inexpertness and how much to the colouring of their work by native tradition and training." He concludes that at the same time "the tradition-bound character of popular art (which distinguishes it from the 'artistic' art of the upper classes) adds to its value as a testimony for the permanent trends of the period."[20]

Up until now there has been only sporadic archaeological evidence for the activity of such artisans in the Iron Age in Israel. These might have been itinerant craftsmen who carried with them the stock of motifs that were in vogue in the Phoenician and Syrian workshops of the time,[21] to which they added several features adopted from drawings encountered in the southern Negev and Arabia, thereby creating a new aspect to the style (which we have labelled "Phoenico-Arabian"). Or as Berta Segall (1956:169) puts it: "The trade between East and West through which oriental prototypes were spread was in the hands of the Phoenicians; however, it was evidently not restricted to Phoenician manufacture but included wares from many syncretistic workshops of the period."

As in later times in the large trade centre of Dura-Europos, these itinerant artisans were probably a common phenomenon associated with caravans that stopped at these wayside stations. Whoever constructed the buildings at Ḥorvat Teiman undoubtedly knew of the existence of such wandering artisans and might have commissioned the wall paintings from one or more of them. Such artisans — although not necessarily the selfsame people — may also have been responsible for the pithoi drawings. These, however, are speculations to which the mute archaeological evidence does not provide any answers.

(1935:255) has pointed out, there is evidence of donors who contributed to the decoration of the walls, mainly of the religious buildings. Some of the drawings were dedicated to the gods of the desert Arabs, while other donors were apparently devotees of Phoenician deities. Although these paintings are around a millennium later than Ḥorvat Teiman, the location of Dura Europos at the junction of important desert routes may be analogous.

19 A glimpse at what this "official" art may have been like during the Iron Age in Judah is seen at Ramat Raḥel in the stone balustrade and painted sherd of a seated figure (*RR II:* Pls. 28; 38).

20 Products of such "popular art" may have been the incense altars of the 6th-4th centuries. Van Beek (1960) has pointed out the connection of these altars to the "incense route", a trade with which Ḥorvat Teiman may have been associated.

21 Such itinerant craftsmen are known from various periods, for example, the metalsmiths who travelled with their moulds along the trade routes between Anatolia and Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium B.C.E. (Canby 1965) or the itinerant Aegean potters of the same period who carried with them cylinder seals from place to place to stamp the pottery they produced on the spot (Wiencke 1970).

Dating

The motifs represented on the pithoi and murals were in vogue over a long period of time during the first half of the second millennium, and some of them continued to be popular even long afterwards. Their relation to some works in North Syria and the Neo-Hittite zone are rather tenuous, and we would hesitate to place too much stress on them nor on our comparisons with works from other places even more remote, such as the Phrygian tiles of ca. 600 B.C.E. from Pazarli. Nor does the "Midianite" pottery provide us with any better dating clue, since our arguments merely assumed that the style continued into the first millennium. Our comparisons serve only to indicate the cultural horizons of the painters; most of the parallels date somewhere between the 9th to 7th centuries B.C.E., but for more precise dating we shall have to rely upon the chronological position of the pottery found on the site.[22] In other words, the drawings at Ḥorvat Teiman will be dated by the archaeological data rather than *vice versa*.

Appendix: Analysis, preservation, reconstruction and reproduction

The pithoi were restored by Naomi Nadav, Nili Lapidoth, Ruth Fernandez, Haya Arom and Amalia Katzenelson. Prior to restoration the sherds bearing drawings were photographed by Avraham Hay. The drawings were made independently by Hannah Kek and Naomi Schechter by tracing the photographs and then comparing the results with each other and collating them with the original drawings on the pithoi; only in one case were any changes made: the hindquarters and head of bull R, which were not immediately recognizable.

The plastered fragments were photographed by Moshe Weinberg and drawn by Judith Dekel following the same technique used to reproduce the pithoi drawings. Together we tried to reconstruct some of the scenes represented. For this we used the largest and clearest pieces, but there were many small fragments that in spite of being identical in colour scheme, could not be fitted into the designs, particularly in No. 10. Layout of the illustrations was done by Rodica Penchas.

The plaster on which the murals appeared was examined by Henia Iscovitch. In certain parts of the buildings either one or two coats of gesso were applied to the straw-tempered mud-plaster that covered all the walls. The inner layer (which was not always present) consisted of unslaked gypsum (90% $CaSO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$) with some lime inclusions, while the outer layer, on which the paintings were applied was composed of slaked gypsum (90% $CaSO_4 \cdot 0.5H_2O$) without grits.

The above work was all carried out in the laboratories and studios of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University by members of the staff and was partially financed by grants from the National Academy of Sciences of the Israel Commission for Basic Research of Jerusalem.

Restoration and preservation of the wall painting fragments was done first on the site and

22 The date suggested for this pottery (E. Ayalon, forthcoming) is ca. 800 B.C.E. thereby establishing our drawings as amongst the earliest works in the Phoenician style so far known. The implications of such an early date I hope to be able to discuss elsewhere after publication of the rest of the archaeological data from Ḥorvat Teiman.

afterwards in the laboratories of the Israel Museum by Ronny Tzori. The photographs are accredited to Avraham Hay, Moshe Weinberg and Amikam Shuv.

Acknowledgements

Most of my research for this study was carried out in the library of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, to whose staff I am indebted for their assistance. I have benefited from many discussions with Dr. J. Málek of the Griffith Institute and Dr. P.R.S. Moorey of the Ashmolean Museum; the latter offered many valuable suggestions and references to obscure bibliographic sources. I am also grateful to Prof. Joseph Naveh, with whom I have consulted on the problems concerning the relationship between the drawings and inscriptions, and my colleagues Uzza Zevulun and Nadav Na'aman for discussing various aspects of the work with me.

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