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## “HYKSOS” SCARABS FROM CANAAN

By OLGA TUFNELL

WHEN PROFESSOR GARSTANG excavated part of the Middle-Late Bronze Age Necropolis at Jericho between the years 1930–1936, he made special mention in one of his reports of a scarab in a group of six from Tomb 13 (LAAA., XX 1933, pp. 36–7 and Fig. 11). He described it briefly as follows :—

“Figure of a Canaanite wearing robe and cap with Syro-Hyksos hieroglyphs in the field.”

Twenty years have elapsed since then, and other scarabs have come to light which show figures wearing the same type of dress, so that it does seem worth while to assemble them on one page to see if they form a consistent and instructive group.

It is beyond my scope or competence to deal with the quasi-alphabetic signs placed to the right of the figure on the Jericho scarab, here illustrated as No. 1. These signs, and a great number of others like them, arranged in certain fairly systematic groups, are not yet understood, though expert opinion is not now prepared to dismiss them all as misformed hieroglyphs made by ignorant foreigners.

The general aspect of the figure, the manner of dress, and the occurrence of Egyptian royal symbols, occupying the remaining space on the other scarabs which are assembled, leave no doubt that the seal cutter intended to portray a personage of rank and dignity.

No. 1, however, shows no recognizable symbol of royalty, and the signs are least influenced by hieroglyphic tradition, which is perhaps not surprising when we consider that Jericho is more remote from Egyptian influence than either Tell el-Far‘ah or Tell el-Ajjul.

These two sites on the Wadi Ghuzzeh, which was until recent times a main artery on the caravan route to Egypt, provide between them half the total number of scarabs illustrated in this note.

On Nos. 2, 3, 7, and 8 the cobra and/or the Red Crown, both emblems of Lower (Northern) Egypt, are placed before the figure, facing in the same direction. On No. 4 the artist probably intended to show the crown in the top right-hand corner, but he was hampered by lack of space.

On No. 5 from Tell ed-Duweir, and on No. 6 from Gezer, each figure is seated on a high-backed chair or throne. Both personages raise the right and left arm respectively in salutation or benediction. The hieroglyphs on No. 5 are better formed and more varied than on other scarabs in the group. Behind the chair is a *was* sceptre, and below it are three signs, which Mr. Alan Rowe reads as *it neter* “father of the god” (a priest). Other signs are disposed around the figure, of which the chief is a large *nefer*, which fills the space between the raised arm and the knee. Note the small sign which lies between the two. No. 6 from Gezer is



FIG. 1. Provenance of Scarabs.

1. Jericho, Tomb 13, Layer C (*LAAA.*, XX, p. 21, Pl. XXVI ; Tomb 13, 1-6). See also *RES.*, 154.
2. Tell el-Ajjul. Not stratified (*AG.*, V, Pl. IX, 36).
3. Tell el-Ajjul, HJ 866 (*AG.*, V, Pl. IX, 35).
4. No provenance (British Museum Catalogue No. 24710).
5. Tell ed-Duweir, Tomb 4022 (*Lachish*, IV, Pl. 90, 64. In preparation).
6. Gezer, Cave 28, II (*Gezer*, I, p. 127, Pl. XXXI, Figs. 4-27 ; XXXV, 7 ; II, p. 314 ; III, Pl. CCIIA, 7).
7. No provenance. Edwards' Collection, University of London (*BDS.*, Pl. XV, 985 ; *NS.*, Pl. XXV, 2).
8. Tell el-Ajjul. Not stratified (*AG.*, IV, Pl. XI, 895).
9. Tell el-Ajjul, Square 1/1, 851 (*AG.*, V, Pl. IX, 37).

included here more for the general setting of the scene than for the detail of dress.

No. 7 from Tell el-Ajjul is the only scarab from the southern sites in which a second figure is introduced, a kneeling woman with arm raised. The Red Crown carried on a *neb* sign is above her head, though unfortunately it is not clear whether that symbol should apply to her or to the ruler before whom she kneels.

Nos. 9 and 11 show very poorly-executed figures, associated with misformed *nefer* signs, of which those on No. 11 are inverted. Judging from the style, they are probably the latest of the series.

Nos. 10 and 12 come from a grave and from a structural tomb on the mound at Megiddo, and are associated by the excavators with Stratum XII and XI. Somewhat smaller than the average size in our group, Nos. 10 and 12 both show figures of a man and a woman. On No. 10 they are embracing and on No. 12 they hail each other over a *nefer* sign enclosed in an oval. For a similar combination, see scarabs of Senusert I (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XII, 16, 17).

These items suggest in different ways that the figures on the scarabs which we have discussed are intended to portray a princely ruler, or a succession of rulers, having relations with Lower Egypt either as vassals or overlords.

### THE ROBE

On Nos. 2, 3, 5, 10, and 12 it appears that our ruler's hair is close-cropped (unless he is wearing a tight-fitting cap). On Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11 the hair flows to the shoulder. On No. 7 an angular outline and a series of fine incisions suggests more closely the Egyptian type of wig, worn also by the woman suppliant.

Apart from Nos. 6 and 12, the other figures represented on these scarabs all show the robe thrown over the left shoulder, and it is either braided or bound around the edge or fringed.

The material was apparently one woven piece, not cut or shaped in any way, about 30 inches wide and at least 5 yards long. It could be wrapped round the wearer in one of at least three ways. The method employed for Nos. 1 and 2 is not easy to work out from the scant detail on the scarabs, and in these two part of the border is visible at right-angles to the rest.

10. Megiddo, Tomb 5259, Stratum XII (*M.*, II, Pl. 149, 52).

11. Tell el-Far'ah, Tomb 569 (*BP.*, I, Pl. XII, 120).

12. Megiddo, Tomb 3080 (*M.*, II, Pl. 150, 71).

### ABBREVIATIONS

- AG.*, IV Petrie, F., *Ancient Gaza*, IV. *BSAE*, LVI (London, 1934).  
*AG.*, V Petrie, F., *City of Shepherd Kings*, and Mackay, E. J. H., and Murray, M. A., *Ancient Gaza*, V. *BSAE*, LXIV (London, 1952).  
*BDS.* Petrie, F., *Buttons and Design Scarabs*. *BSAE*, XXXVIII (London, 1925).  
*BP.*, I Petrie, F., and Tufnell, O., *Beth-Pelet*, I. *BSAE*, XLVIII (London, 1930).  
*Gezer* Macalister, R. A. S., *The Excavation of Gezer*, 1902-5, 1907-9, Vols. I-III (London, 1912).  
*M.*, II Loud, Gordon, *Megiddo*, II (Chicago, 1948).  
*RES.* Rowe, Alan, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936).

Nos. 3 and 5 illustrate another way in which the robe was wrapped twice round the body. The method is sketched in three stages on Fig. 2, 1a-c, and that used in the case of Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 is drawn below. I am grateful to Mrs. and Miss Crowfoot for advice on the dress, and to my cousin Miss Patricia Tufnell for preparing all the drawings which illustrate this note.

It will be seen that the right arm was free for action in whichever way the robe or shawl was worn, though the left arm was apparently confined in a fold of the robe.

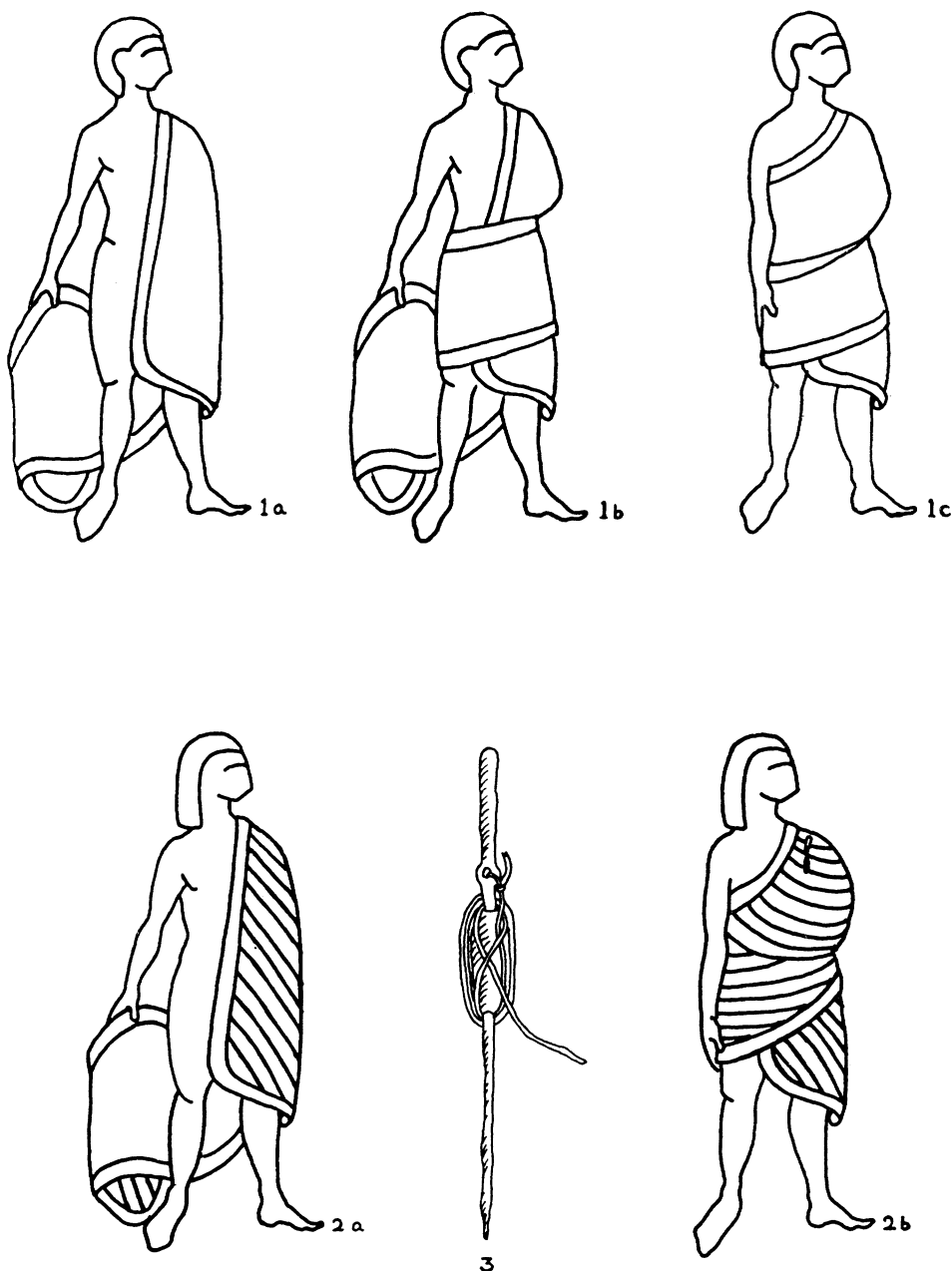


FIG. 2.

Though this may seem impractical, it is a feature which appears on nearly contemporary Mari dress, and which recurs on portrait-statues of the later Assyrian kings. It is also comparable to the way in which a Roman toga may envelop the left arm, see for instance the marble statue of Hadrian in the British Museum.

This type of garment is perhaps to be identified with the Akkadian *kusitu*, Sumerian *tùg.bar.dib* "garment which envelopes the side", which, as shown by A. L. Oppenheim in *JNES*. VIII, 179, was "bound on" (verb *rakāsu*). He states that the secular use of this garment is attested in Old Akkadian and Cappadocian texts, and also in those from Nuzi and Amarna, which would cover the period of our scarabs. "Towards the end of the first millennium B.C., however, the *kusitu* garment shifted from secular to ceremonial use. From then on, gods, kings, and priests are clad in it."

The shawls on Nos. 7 and 8 are bordered and the rest of the material is striped, which is reminiscent of the garments attached on one shoulder, worn by the party of visiting 'Aamu, who are so vividly portrayed in colour on the walls of the Tomb of Chnemhotep, an Administrator of the Eastern Desert during part of the Twelfth Dynasty, c. 2000-1778 B.C. (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXXI). When wound shawls are shown in Egyptian wall paintings, the name of the wearer's country is usually written by the side. For a particularly colourful assembly of foreigners, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Pl. XLVIII.

It is clear that the dress worn by the rulers on our scarabs belongs to the Asiatic rather than to the Egyptian world, where a plain tunic, shaped and sewn, was normal dress for rich and poor from early times.

There are indeed few, if any, monuments in Palestine, apart from scarabs, which throw light on the manner of dress in the so-called "Hyksos" period, to which our series must belong (c. 1675-1567 B.C.). This type of dress is fairly rare on scarabs, and on a greater number of those on which human figures are incised, a loin cloth or kilt is worn in the Egyptian style. See Dr. M. A. Murray's article on Palestinian scarabs (*PEQ.*, 1949, pp. 92 ff.).

The only archaeological finds which may have a bearing on the subject are the so-called "toggle-pins", though this name is not strictly applicable. The late Mrs. Henschel-Simon made a detailed study of these pins from Palestinian sites (*QDAP.*, VI, pp. 169-209), where she reproduced a drawing based on a sketch from an actual example from the Caucasus where enough material remained to show the method of use (J. de Morgan, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, III, p. 294, Fig. 292). See Fig. 2, No. 3.

It is seldom possible to establish the position of the toggle-pin in relation to the body with which it was found, owing to the disturbance of the burials. A clear case among published tomb plans from Gaza is to be seen in a burial from the Courtyard Cemetery, where the toggle-pin lies diagonally across the vertebrae, almost parallel with the left clavicle (Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II, Pl. LIV, Grave 1406). There are other instances of toggle-pins in the same position on bodies from Ajjul (unpublished).

This evidence, though slight, perhaps justifies the suggestion that

such pins were useful but not essential adjuncts to the wrapped garment, and could be worn at the shoulder, or wherever a loose end of material had to be secured.

Comparisons for the type of dress which has been described are to be found in the geographical region which forms the opposite horn to Palestine of the Fertile Crescent. In that area fleece kilts or cloaks, which were sometimes slung across one shoulder, were replaced by the wrapped shawl late in the third millennium B.C.

Outstanding examples of that period from the lower Euphrates are the portrait statues of the Princes of Lagash (Telloh), now in the Musée du Louvre. The shawl is draped diagonally across the right shoulder, passed across the back, and tucked in without apparent fastening of any kind under the left armpit (Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 1954, pp. 46-9). A different method is seen on a statue of Prince Puzur-Ishtar of Mari, which is somewhat nearer in place and time to the Palestinian scarabs (op. cit., p. 60).

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the wrapped shawl reached Palestine with a wave of "Hyksos" migration. "It is commonly held," wrote Professor S. H. Hooke, "that the people known by this name, a corruption of the name given to them in Egyptian sources meaning 'princes of the lands', were a mixture of Canaanite or Amorite stock with peoples of other names, possibly including Hurrians" (*In the Beginning*, p. 74).

Among the peoples of other names taking part in these ethnic movements, can we distinguish from these scarabs an element of Hittite stock?

Describing the scarabs from Tell el-Ajjul, Sir Flinders Petrie remarked that the figures "were probably intended for Hittites by the clothing", and he goes on to state that the "Hyksos" held the suzerainty of Egypt at this time, though they were themselves subject to their overlords, the Hittites in Syria and Palestine (*Ancient Gaza*, V, Pl. IX, 35-7 and p. 7).

Little is known about dress on the Anatolian plateau at the time when Tudhaliash founded the Old Hittite Empire possibly between 1700-1650 B.C. The first king of this name has been identified by some scholars with Tidal, king of Goim, one of four northern allied kings whose campaign in southern Canaan is described in Genesis XIV.

Representations of Hittite rulers are primitive and crude in comparison with those from the Fertile Crescent which we have mentioned above. However, MM. L. and J. Heuzey have suggested analogies between the draped shawl and Hittite dress (*Histoire du Costume dans l'Antiquité (L'Orient)*, Paris, 1935, p. 89 f.). Certain figures in the procession sculptured on the rocks of Yazilikaya are, in their opinion, more crudely expressed versions of the robe of Puzur-Ishtar mentioned above.

The Yazilikaya procession is ascribed by Bittel and Güterbock to the period between 1350-1250 B.C. (*MDOG.*, no. 73, p. 26, and no. 86,

pp. 71-3). For illustrations see also Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 106, Fig. 6, p. 110, Fig. 7e).

The king wears a bordered shawl, which envelops his left arm, though the hand is exposed to hold a curious rod-like implement, the free end of which is rolled in inward.

The name of this implement in Hittite texts and its nature in reality have been exhaustively discussed by S. Alp, "La designation du Lituus en Hittite," and A. Goetze, "The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King" (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, I (1947), pp. 164 ff. and 176 ff.), though no agreement was reached on either point.<sup>1</sup>

The matter would not concern us here were it not that some of the Palestinian scarabs show rather a similar wand.

Let us examine Nos. 3, 4, and 11. A prolongation of the outer and inner line respectively of the right arm of the figure ends in a spiral, turning inwards. On No. 3 there is a balancing spiral which fills in the design above shoulder level, and which may be merely decorative. On No. 4 the main stem is definitely crooked, and on the debased No. 11 the spiral is reduced to a simple curl.

On Nos. 1 and 2 a rather different object is drawn. It could well be a bag on No. 1 as Mr. Alan Rowe suggests (*RES.*, 154), though a single end to the "handle" is clearly visible in the ruler's hand. On No. 2, the artist started to prolong the inner line of the arm, and gave it an angular bend, though he then broke off and filled in the space below with a loop, which could be interpreted as the hieroglyphic sign for cord (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List V.6). Compare also the same loop reversed between the legs of No. 3 and a less successful attempt, possibly at the same sign between the legs of No. 4.

That a different object is intended on Nos. 1 and 2 is shown by the appearance of both the loop and the spiral on No. 3 and 4 (?), while the upper sign on No. 9 may be a further recollection of the loop.

If the loop and possibly also the object held by the figure of No. 1 can be interpreted as a sling, do we see in the wand ending in a spiral, a version of the ceremonial implement said by some authorities to be the prototype of the lituus carried by Roman augurs, and ultimately of the bishop's crook?

The implement as depicted on the scarabs is very different from the Egyptian rendering of the *hqa* sceptre, or crook (Gardiner, Sign List S.38).

If, therefore, it is agreed by those competent to judge that the lituus is native to the Anatolian plateau, is it justifiable to see in the possibly comparable implement on the scarabs, the tradition of a people, who cherished symbols only preserved to us in Anatolia on monuments dating several centuries later?

Finally, do these scarabs reflect an element of Hittite tradition, kept alive by settlers of Hittite stock in south Palestine, of whom we read as having friendly relations with Abraham? (Genesis XXIII).

I leave it to Hittitologists to decide.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Edith Porada for these and other references.