

AN EARLY MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CANAANITE SCARAB FROM NAḤAL AVIV:

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TUFNELL'S SIDE TYPES e6b AND d14, AND THE RELEVANCE OF THE HEIRLOOM PARADIGM FOR SCARABS IN LATER CONTEXTS

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Abstract: The publication of a Middle Bronze Age scarab found in an Early Roman period rock-cut burial cave at Naḥal Aviv in the Upper Galilee serves as a platform for the following additional issues: The precise definition of the scarab's side type; the possible time span of its production; the preferable chronological division for the Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs; the relevance of the Heirloom Paradigm for the presence of earlier glyptic objects in later contexts.

Keywords: Canaanite Scarabs; Middle Bronze Age IIB-C; Heirloom Paradigm; Reuse of earlier glyptic objects; Naḥal Aviv

Introduction

The scarab that is the subject of this work was found by Roi Sabar during the first season of excavations undertaken in Burial Cave 30, a rock-cut cave hewn during the Early Roman Period in the cliffs at Naḥal Aviv, Upper Galilee (IAA License G-94/2015).²

An attempt has been made to list a large number of the excavated “parallels” as a basis for future studies.

Due to the variability in the composition of the early Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarab motifs, the term “parallels” employed here means- scarabs that have at least one of their signs in the same form as one of the signs depicted on the Naḥal Aviv scarab. Scarabs from collections are cited only when they are essential to the discussion.

Multiple references are given to the illustrations of the same parallel, with the hope that some

of them are more accessible. If there is an earlier discussion by other scholars regarding a specific issue, we refer to that discussion in order to avoid repetition.

General Notes

In order to avoid disturbing side-discussions, mainly of a technical nature, these are assembled here under the same headings under which they will appear in the discussion of the object.

Material

Glazed Steatite: The scarab was made of steatite that was also glazed,³ but the original color of the glaze (most probably green or blue) had faded and transformed to yellowish due to the depositional conditions in the debris.⁴

Dimensions

The three main dimensions rendered in this publication, are: H = height, L = length, W = width.

Scarab Shape

There are two main classification systems (or typologies) that relate to the Middle Bronze Age scarab shape details (or features):⁵ The first was defined by Alan Rowe (ROWE 1936, Pls. 32–35 = KEEL 1995, Ills. 44, 46, 67) and the second by Olga Tufnell (TUFNELL 1984, 31–38, Figs. 12–14 =

¹ W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem.

² See BRANDL 2019; SABAR 2019.

³ For the different methods of glazing steatite object used in ancient Egypt, see TITE and BIMSON 1989.

⁴ See also KEEL 1995, 153, § 406.

⁵ See diagrams showing the parts of the scarab beetle in ROWE 1936, Pl. 23; WARD 1978, Frontispiece; UEHLINGER 1990, 62, Fig. 37; KEEL 1995, 20, Fig. 1. The last is the most detailed, with the terms given in German, English, French and Italian. For a diagram showing the parts of the scarab, see SCHULZ 2007, 3.

KEEL 1995, Ills. 45, 49, 69).⁶ Neither is sufficiently accurate, and there is a discrepancy between their respective identifications.⁷

Base Design

Throughout this chapter, all the Egyptian hieroglyphic signs (or their Canaanite imitations) are referred to [in square brackets] as they appear in Gardiner's Sign List (GARDINER 1973, 438–548).

Typology

The scarab's design is described according to Tufnell's Design Classification (TUFNELL 1984, 115–148).⁸

Origin

An attempt has been made here to determine whether the Nahal Aviv scarab was imported (from Egypt) or locally made.

Daphna Ben-Tor showed convincingly that most of the early Middle Bronze Age design scarabs found in Canaan were local products (her “early Palestinian scarab series”) as were the later Middle Bronze Age ones (her “late Palestinian [scarab] series”) (BEN-TOR 1997; 1998).

I fully agree with Ben-Tor's observation regarding origins but suggest employing alternative terms for these two groups, since imitations of Egyptian scarabs were also locally produced in Canaan during the Late Bronze Age and later.

I, thus, propose to use the terms “early Middle Bronze [Age] Canaanite Scarabs” (or EMBCS) for her early series, and “late Middle Bronze [Age] Canaanite Scarabs” (or LMBCS) for her late series.

Date

The factors used for dating are the shape of the scarab, its design groups and design components appearing on parallels originating in controlled excavations.

⁶ With some changes in WARD and DEVER 1994, 161–165; KEEL 1995, 55–56; KEEL 2017, XVII–XVIII.

⁷ In spite of this difficulty, in the present publication I decided to refer to the scarabs' features, since comparative data are still meager, and the features provide additional means to refine dating (see also BRANDL 1996, 1 n. 4, 2004, 124 n. 9).

⁸ On the history and development of Tufnell's Design Classification, see BRANDL 1986, 247, n. 4.

⁹ For a full discussion, see BRANDL 2004, 124–125.

My dating of Ben-Tor's “early Palestinian scarab series” (my EMBCS) differs from her dating, being “lower” and shorter by 30 years.⁹

I suggest the following dates:

EMBCS: early MB IIB, 1680–1650 BCE according to Bietak's Low Chronology (= Tell el-Dab'a E/3).

LMBCS: late MB IIB and MB IIC, or 1650–1530 BCE with a division between early LMBCS, 1650–1590 BCE (= Tell el-Dab'a E/2 and E/1) and late LMBCS, 1590–1530 BCE (= Tell el-Dab'a D/3 and D/2).

I will return later to this tripartite division (early MB IIB, late MB IIB and MB IIC) in the *General Discussions*.

Description and Discussion

Scarab (Fig. 1, Fig. 2)

Basket 0020, Locus 006, 'kokh' IV, Burial Cave 30.

Material: Glazed Steatite. Yellowish glaze, complete coverage.

Dimensions: L 18 mm, W 12.75 mm, H 7.75 mm.

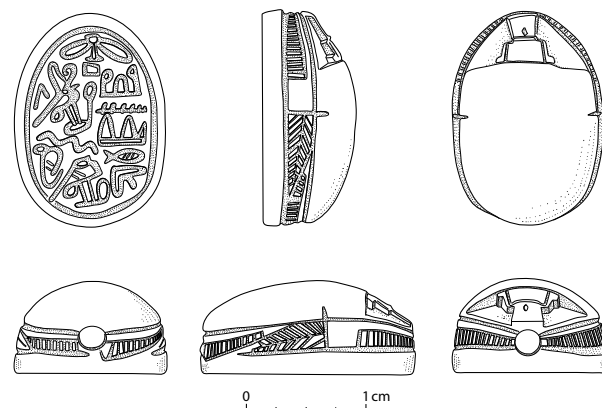


Fig. 1 Drawings of the faces of Nahal Aviv scarab.



Fig. 2 Photos of the faces of Nahal Aviv scarab.

Method of Manufacture: Carving, abrading, drilling, incising and glazing.

Workmanship: Scarab – excellent. Design – mediocre to good.

Technical Details: Perforated, drilled from both sides. Linear engraving.

Preservation: Complete.

Scarab Shape: Rowe – HC 1 (12th–22nd Dyn.), EP 5 (12th–26th Dyn.), Side 2¹⁰ (12th–c.15th Dyn.); Tufnell – D3-O-e6b.¹¹

Base Design: A clumsy vertical oval frame encircles what looks like eleven Egyptian hieroglyphic signs designed in uncanonical forms (pseudo-hieroglyphs¹²) arranged in three segments. A horizontal segment is on top and below it are two vertical columns or tiers without a clear dividing borderline.¹³ The top consists of two signs, the right column consists of five signs and the left column consists of four signs. The signs should be “read” from top to bottom and from right to left.

Except for two signs that still preserve the original Egyptian canonical shapes, all the other nine look like clumsy variants of the original shapes, and since these appear on many Canaanite scarabs, these signs should be identified as “Canaanite pseudo-hieroglyphic signs.”

Moreover, in addition to their non-Egyptian shapes, six signs break the Egyptian writing rules: Four are depicted in other orientations, and two are actually uncanonical monograms that consist of two or three signs.

Top cluster:

- A winged sun-disk or the *Bḥdt(y)*, “the Behdetite”¹⁴ – an epithet of the winged solar

Horus.¹⁵ Such a variant appears on a scarab from Tel Gezer.¹⁶

- Under the winged sun-disk is a *wḏb*-sign “sandy tongue of land” [N 22]. This sign appears on a scarab found on the surface at Tel Akko.¹⁷

Right Column:

- On the top is a sign that resembles a *k3*-sign “arms extended so as to embrace?” [D 28]. Such a variant with the rounded element in the center appears on a scarab from Megiddo.¹⁸

- Below is a *n*-symbol that appears on many Canaanite scarabs, among them a scarab from Jericho.¹⁹

These scarabs belong to the group bearing a formula called the “an-ra” style inscriptions,²⁰ or Anra scarabs.²¹ Tufnell referred directly to the shape of this pseudo-hieroglyph (that actually looks like a variant of the sign [Aa 8] “irrigation runnels”) and even raised some doubts concerning its interpretation.²² The horizontal line is bisected in this case by diagonal lines, as is the case on a scarab from Megiddo.²³

- The third from the top is a *ḥ3st*-sign “hill country” or “foreign land” [N 25]. This variant of the sign together with enlarged hills appears on a scarab from Jericho.²⁴

- The fourth from the top is a *šn*-sign [V 7] laying on its side. The same sign and the same noncanonical position appear on a scarab from Tel Gezer.²⁵

- At the bottom is the *dšrt*-sign “Red Crown of Lower Egypt” [S 3] transformed into a pseudo-hieroglyph and turned left by 90°. There are cases in which such a pseudo-hieroglyph is turned upside-down, as shown on a scarab from Jericho.²⁶

¹⁰ For its drawing, see TUFNELL 1958, Pl. 41: 2.

¹¹ Or, D3-PS-e6 according to WARD and DEVER 1994, 164–165, Figs. 9: 2.PS and 9: 3.e6.

¹² For general discussion concerning the appearance of pseudo-hieroglyphs on Canaanite scarabs, see BEN-TOR 2009.

¹³ Compare with the organization on a scarab from Tell el-Ajjul, see KEEL 1997, 438–439, No. 985.

¹⁴ Behdet is a toponym identified with Tell el-Balamun, the northernmost town of Egypt, or alternatively with Edfu in Upper Egypt (GARDINER 1973, 564).

¹⁵ See KEEL 1995, 170, § 450.

¹⁶ See BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 51: 53 = KEEL 2013, 276–277, No. 245.

¹⁷ See KEEL 1997, 612–613, No. 235 = 2004, 86, Fig. 58 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 52: 38.

¹⁸ See BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 54:32, 55:12, 62:10.

¹⁹ See KIRKBRIDE 1965, 598, Fig. 282: 20 = KEEL 2004, 97, Fig. 80 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 55: 21 = KEEL 2017, 108–109, No. 178.

²⁰ See TUFNELL 1984, 121 (Class 3C).

²¹ See RICHARDS 2001.

²² See TUFNELL 1984, 121(Class 3C).

²³ See LOUD 1948, Pl. 150: 97 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 52: 19.

²⁴ See KIRKBRIDE 1965, 623, Fig. 292: 14 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 53: 41, 56: 1, 57: 4 = KEEL 2017, 170–171, No. 338.

²⁵ See BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 56: 41 = KEEL 2013, 314–315, No. 337.

²⁶ See KIRKBRIDE 1965, Fig. 293:6 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 54: 23 = KEEL 2017, 176–177, No. 351.

Left Column:

- On the top is a monogram that may be compared with *Hrw*, the falcon god Horus with a flagellum [G 5/6], wearing a *shmty*, “the double crown” of Upper and Lower Egypt [S 5]. The falcon is standing on a *r*-sign, “mouth” [D 21], (as is shown on a scarab from Tel Aviv Harbor Cemetery²⁷) from which a plant grows in front of the falcon. Similar monograms appear on a scarab from Megiddo²⁸ and another from ‘Ain Samiya.²⁹
- Below is a pseudo-hieroglyph that may be compared with the *n*-sign, “ripple of water” [N 35], and it is depicted diagonally instead of horizontally. Such a symbol with three picks appears *inter alia* on a scarab from Tell el-Ajjul.³⁰ Such a symbol with five picks appears on a scarab from Beth-Shean.³¹
- Third from the top is an *i^crt*-sign, “cobra” [I 12]. Its tail is uncanonically raised and it faces the left, not following the direction of the birds. Such a position of the cobra appears on a scarab from Megiddo.³²
- At the bottom is a monogram consisting of a falcon standing on a cobra. A parallel combination appears on a scarab from Megiddo.³³

Typology: Design scarab. Tufnell’s Design Classes 3A3 – “Egyptian Signs and Symbols, Varia,” and 3A4 – “Egyptian Signs and Symbols, Monograms and Varia – Horus hawk with *ntr* and other signs” (TUFNELL 1984, Pls. 8, 9).

Origin: Canaanite. The uncanonical forms of the signs (pseudo-hieroglyphs) and their multi-directional orientations point clearly to a non-Egyptian workshop.

Date: This scarab seems to belong to my EMBCS group (early MB IIB, 1680–1650 BCE) based on the uncanonical shapes of the signs (pseudo-hieroglyphs) or perhaps even to the early LMBCS group (late MB IIB, 1650–1590 BCE) based on the newly suggested maximal time span of its side type: Side 2 in Rowe’s or Side e6b in Tufnell’s typologies (see below *General Discussions*).

²⁷ See LEIBOVITCH 1955, 16–17, Fig. 6: 17 = TUFNELL 1984, 54–55, Fig. 16: 17 = WARD and DEVER 1994, 96, Fig. 5:1a:19 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 52: 27.

²⁸ See LOUD 1948, Pl. 150: 94 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 54: 7.

²⁹ See BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 52: 30 = KEEL 2010, 582–583, No. 22.

Archaeological Context: Locus 006, ‘*kokh*’ IV is part of a late 1st century CE Early Roman period burial cave. Therefore, the scarab should be considered as reused object that was found in a much later secondary context (see below *General Discussions*).

General Discussions

The reasoning behind the time span given for the production date of the Naḥal Aviv scarab and its final archaeological context deserve additional extended discussions.

A. The time span for Side Type e6b

The suggestion above that the Naḥal Aviv scarab may be considered not only as EMBCS (due to its pseudo-hieroglyphs) but perhaps even as an early LMBCS (due to the maximal time span of its side type) is based on a careful examination of some relatively recent relevant publications.

1. The absence of Side Type e6b among the early Canaanite scarabs in BEN-TOR (2007)

Tufnell’s side type e6b is not included in Ben-Tor’s plates dedicated to the dominant features of the early Canaanite scarabs (BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 64–73), while it appears twice in the plates dedicated to the dominant features of the late Canaanite scarabs (BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 107: 12 and 17). This absence could not be checked through the regular plates dedicated to the design classes of the early Canaanite scarabs (BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 50–63) since they are missing, *inter alia*, the details concerning the scarab features that are included previously in Tufnell’s studies (TUFNELL 1984, Pls. 1–64). This difficulty can now be solved by using the recent volume of Keel’s Corpus in which the scarabs from Kenyon’s excavations at Jericho, the key site for early Canaanite scarabs, are included (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 158–560).

There is an obstacle that one must skip over before analyzing the last source – the use of another of Tufnell’s side types (d14) for a relatively close

³⁰ See KEEL 1997, 478–479, No. 1095 – with earlier bibliography = 2004, 97, Fig. 75.

³¹ See BRANDL 2007, 584–585 [No. 2], Fig. 8.2 = KEEL 2010, 190–191, No. 212.

³² See LOUD 1948, Pl. 150: 74 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 52: 56.

³³ See LOUD 1948, Pl. 150: 59 = BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 51: 13.

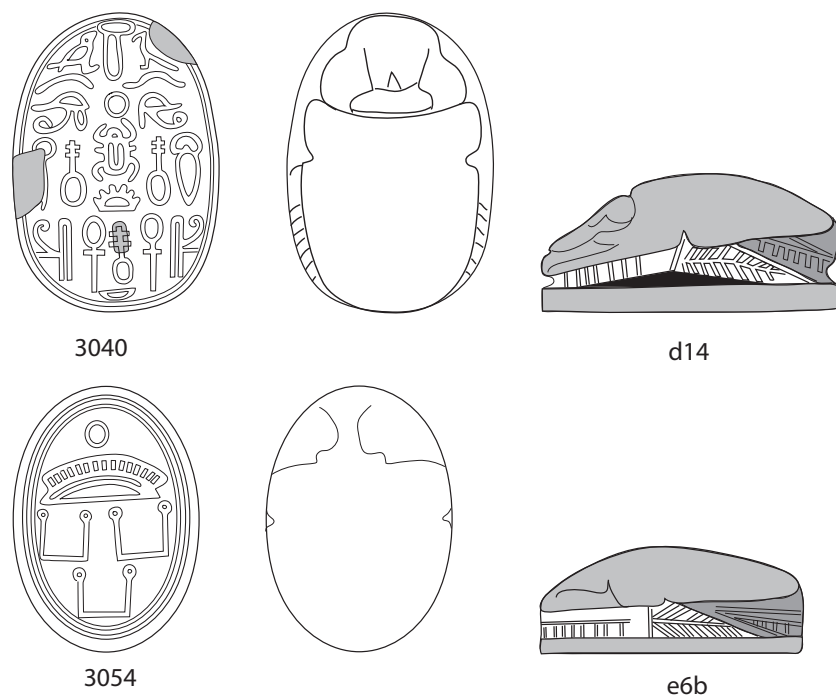


Fig. 3 The difference between Tufnell's Side Types e6b and d14 (redrawing of TUFNELL 1984, Pl. 52: 3040 and 3054).

form and, in some cases, even for the same form as that of side type e6b.

2. The confusion between side types e6b and d14 (Fig. 3)

Tufnell's side type e6b – that follows Rowe's side type 2 – has its origins in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. The earliest parallels are found on 12th and 13th Dynasty scarabs and are defined as Type D66 in Petrie's scarab typology (PETRIE 1917, 6, Pl. 59: D.66). According to Petrie, Type D belongs to one of two side types with feathered legs: Type C, where the feather appears on both the front and middle legs of the scarab, and Type D, where the feather appears only on the middle legs (PETRIE 1917, Pl. 59: C vs. D). The same side type was defined as "Profile Type 2e" in Martin's typology for the Administrative and Private-Name Scarabs (MARTIN 1971, 154 [Type 2], Pl. 54: Type 2e).

Tufnell's side type d14 also originated in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. The earliest parallels are found on 12th and 13th Dynasty scarabs and are defined as Type D20 in Petrie's scarab typology (PETRIE 1917, 6, Pl. 59: D.20). The same side type

was defined as "Profile Type 2d" in Martin's typology for the Administrative and Private-Name Scarabs (MARTIN 1971, 154 [Type 2], Pl. 54: Type 2d).

In this side type, the lower parts of the front and middle legs are no longer on a straight line but are diagonal and separated from the plinth below by a large chipped-out triangle. Similarly, their upper parts are separated from the elytron (or wing case) above by small chipped-out triangles.³⁴

In some publications, scarabs bearing side type e6b were identified as bearing side type d14, despite not having the chipped-out triangles (compare KEEL 1997, 384–385, No. 824 vs. the correctly identified No. 825; MLINAR 2009: 37–39, Fig. 17: 3 [= KEEL 2010, 142–143, No. 103] and 8).

3. New shortened title and side type definition

Keel started to change some side type e6b into e6 in his second and third Corpus volumes (KEEL 2010, 64–65, No. 50, 2010a, 36–37, No. 18), possibly following Tufnell's "economic" way in the descriptions of her plates (cf. TUFNELL 1984, Pl. 3: 1069, 1079, etc.), or Ward and Dever's change

³⁴ Unfortunately, the drawing used by Tufnell in her Chart of Scarab Sides (TUFNELL 1984, 36–37) did not correspond with the written description of Side Type d14. This is the reason for my erroneous identifications of some scarabs

with d14 sides as bearing e6b sides (BRANDL 2004, 123–188, Nos. 4, 17, 24, 25; 2007, 582–605, No. 10). However, correct drawings are found in the same book (TUFNELL 1984, Pls. 52: 3040 vs 3054 (= Fig. 3) and 56: 3202).

(WARD and DEVER 1994, 165, Fig. 9: 3.e6). He was followed in this respect by Vanessa Boschloos (BOSCHLOOS 2015, 24, Fig. 3).

In his recent Corpus volume, Keel increased the number of scarabs with side type d14, suggesting that e6b scarabs with deep incisions should be identified as being chipped-out, but he kept both alternatives with a newly assigned side type “d14 or e6” (KEEL 2017, 126–127, No. 222).

4. The Canaanite scarabs from Jericho with side types e6b and d14

There are twenty Canaanite scarabs from Kenyon’s excavations in the cemeteries of Jericho that bear Tufnell’s side types e6b and d14. The decorated bases of eighteen of those are incorporated in Ben-Tor’s regular plates. Following Kenyon’s groups; Group II – has 8, Group III – has 5, Group IV – has 3 and Group V – has 4 scarabs. According to Ben-Tor’s separation, Group II scarabs are early, while the rest are late Canaanite scarabs.

According to Keel, one scarab has side type d14, two scarabs have side type “e6,” and seventeen scarabs have side type “d14 or e6” (KEEL 2017, 100–259, No. 177; Nos. 242 and 317; and Nos. 190, 222, 224, 256–257, 262³⁵, 279, 336, 340, 371, 399, 437, 454, 532, 552, 554, 560 respectively).

In my view, four have side type d14 and sixteen have side type e6b (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 256–257, 399, 454; and 177, 190, 222, 224, 242, 262, 279, 317, 336, 371, 437, 532, 552, 554, 560, respectively).

This means that 10 Canaanite scarabs from Jericho with side type e6b may be products of a later date.

5. Mid-MB IIB period scarabs (= my early LMBCS or late MB IIB)

Keel uses the term “*mittlere* MB IIB” (mid-MB IIB) for the date of archaeological context (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 279, 317, 336, 340, 371) and even for the production date of scarabs (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 371, 399) for the first time in his recent Corpus volume.³⁶

³⁵ Erroneously published as bearing side type “d3 or e6” (d3 is free in Tufnell’s or Ward and Dever’s typologies).

Keel had already used the term “*späte* MB IIB” (late MB IIB = our late LMBCS or MB IIC) earlier for the production dates (KEEL 2010a, 24–25, No. 48 [Tell el-Far’ah North], 32–33, No. 9 [Tell el-Far’ah South]).

This development that accepts the tripartite division for the time span of producing Middle Bronze Canaanite scarabs (see above *General Notes, Date*) is very important for the dating of the Canaanite scarab from Naḥal Aviv, since, according to Ben-Tor, side type e6b is made also for her late Canaanite scarabs and, among those scarabs from Jericho, some show a great resemblance to the early ones (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 279, 371, 399, 532, 554, 560).

6. The *terminus ad quem* for the production of Canaanite scarabs with side type e6b

Since Keel did not date the production of scarabs with side type e6b from Jericho to his “*späte* MB IIB,” there is a possibility that those were made only during his “*frühe*” (early) and “*mittlere*” (mid-) MB IIB.

This is confirmed by checking the four latest scarabs attributed to Kenyon’s Group V (KEEL 2017, 100–259, Nos. 532, 552, 554, 560).

The next probe was made in Ben-Tor’s book; there we checked how many scarabs with Tufnell’s side type e6b exist among the scarabs that have Tufnell’s Design Classes 9 and 10 (BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 96–106) that are considered of a later date in the Middle Bronze Age (TUFNELL 1984, 27, 139–140).

Among 538 scarabs included in those 11 plates, only 2 scarabs have side type e6b (BEN-TOR 2007, Pls. 99: 40 = Jericho No. 560 (mentioned above), and 106: 14 = TUFNELL 1958, Pl. 30: 64 [Lachish] – clearly not produced during “*späte* MB IIB” (late MB IIB = our late LMBCS = MB IIC). As for scarabs with side type d14, only one scarab was found (BEN-TOR 2007, Pl. 103: 41 = Jericho No. 454 (mentioned above).

To sum up, it seems that there is now an additional criterion for the division of the production period of the Canaanite Middle Bronze Age scarabs into three parts – that correspond with our EMBCS, early LMBCS and late LMBCS.

³⁶ For more scarab production dates during Keel’s mid-MB IIB, see KEEL 2017, 288–289, No. 22 [Jerusalem], 542–543, No. 23 [Kabri].

The neglect of a separate MB IIC (or MB III) period that coexisted with the later part of the Hyksos 15th Dynasty³⁷ should be reconsidered. This separate period is clearly reflected in several aspects of the Canaanite material culture, mainly in the pottery typology.³⁸

B. The reasoning for a later archaeological context of an earlier glyptic object

The isolated appearance of the 17th century BCE Middle Bronze Age scarab from Naḥal Aviv in an Early Roman period burial cave of the late 1st century CE is not a rare or unique phenomenon.

This phenomenon has received two explanations in the literature:

1. The Heirloom Paradigm

One explanation for this phenomenon is the “Heirloom Paradigm,”³⁹ according to which “...scarabs are known to have been saved for generations...”⁴⁰

The most recent case in which the Heirloom Paradigm has been employed is the publication of a Middle Bronze Age scarab from Tamra (ez-Zu‘abiyya) (BEN-TOR 2018). That scarab definitely contradicts the possibility of being an heirloom (which needs continuity), since its production date does not exist in that site, and there is also clearly a gap between its production date and the earliest settlement in this site (TEPPER 2018).

2. The postdeposition activities

Small finds have sometimes a “second life” after what is considered “the end of their original period of use.” That “second life” is divided into a

silent one, in which their depositional context is changing location, and a more active one, in which they are found and reused until their next deposition.

- If these are deposited in settlements or their close vicinities, they may move – in an invisible way – to new localities through earth operations and find their way into new fills,⁴¹ floor⁴² and roof⁴³ ‘makeups,’ or even into new bricks.⁴⁴
- If small finds were buried in tombs or burial caves, they could have been found later, either intentionally by tomb robbers or accidentally by farmers. In the latter cases, the old finds become new personal properties – and were even reburied with their new owners.⁴⁵

The last scenario seems to fit the private history of the Naḥal Aviv scarab. The closest site with MB IIB finds (including an infant jar-burial) is Horbat ‘Avot that is located less than 1 km to the west of the burial cave (BRAUN 2015, 7 [Table 1], 16, 18–19 [Fig. 21]).

There was a maximal settlement extension⁴⁶ in the entire country, including the Upper Galilee and the Hula Valley, during the Roman Period and even more during the Byzantine Period. As a result of that activity, many early small glyptic finds found their way into archaeological contexts of those classical periods.⁴⁷

To sum up, it seems that the use of the Heirloom Paradigm to explain the existence of scarabs in later contexts should be reconsidered.

Acknowledgments

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³⁷ See for example BIETAK 1996, 6, Fig. 3.

³⁸ For example, in local pottery, see BONFIL 2019, 77–79.

³⁹ See for example BEN-TOR 2007, 1.

⁴⁰ As is suggested, for example, with a scarab from Tamra (ez-Zu‘abiyya) claimed to be found in Iron Age I context (BEN-TOR 2018, 159), but actually published by its excavator as a surface find (TEPPER 2018, 58*, 63*, 168).

⁴¹ As is the case with an Israelite stamped jar handle at Megiddo (BRANDL 2006, 427–428).

⁴² As is the case with a 16th cent. BCE scarab identified as a late LMBCS found in a Roman Period street makeup at Gamla (BRANDL 2016, 290 [scarab No. 1]).

⁴³ As is the case with two 16th cent. BCE scarabs identified as a late LMBCS found in Roman Period room destructions above floors at Gamla (BRANDL 2016, 291 [scarab No. 2], 292 [scarab No. 3]).

⁴⁴ As is the case with a 14th cent. BCE scarab from Tel Migne-Ekron found in Iron Age I brick (BRANDL 1998).

⁴⁵ As is the case with a 16th cent. BCE scarab identified as a late LMBCS (MB IIC), found together with a mid-18th cent. BCE Syrian cylinder seal in a Late Roman burial cave at Moza ‘Illit (BRANDL 1996).

⁴⁶ For the maximal spread of settlement during the late Roman and Byzantine periods, see TSAFRIR 1996.

⁴⁷ For example, a scarab identified as late LMBCS at Ha-Goshrim, a hematite cylinder seal of Syrian style at Tel Hai (BRANDL 1996, 11–12 n. 23) and a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal at Horvat Omrit (BRANDL and GROSSMARK 2016).

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