Sabine Laemmel
Lincoln College
University of Oxford

A case study of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah (South)

Volume 1: text

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THESIS

A case study of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah (South)

Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the study of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age tombs of the site of Tell el-Far'ah (South) in southern Palestine, excavated in 1928 and 1929 by W. M. F. Petrie. Because contextual information on the tombs is particularly scant, this work essentially concentrates on the analysis of the material furnishings which were found in association with the burials. It is primarily concerned with the pottery assemblages, but the rich variety of small finds discovered in the tombs is also discussed.

The prime interest of the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, which cover the important transition period going from the 13th to the early 10th centuries B.C., does not only reside in the diversity of the nature of their furnishings, which, besides pottery also include beads, scarabs, amulets, metal and stone vessels, worked ivory, weapons and tools, but also in the variety of the foreign influences which they reflect. Although none of the tombs considered here does contain foreign imports in significant quantities (whether from the Aegean, Cyprus, Egypt or Syria), the majority of them, for example through the presence of local imitations of foreign pottery types, suggest that relationships between the various regions of the eastern Mediterranean were still alive during the period under consideration. Instead of ascribing the diverse innovations, changes and apparent disturbances of the Early Iron Age Levant to the activities of migrating populations from the Aegean (the "Sea Peoples") this research proposes an alternative explanation to the question. It notably argues that the furnishings of the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah provide an important insight into the emergence of new patterns of trade and exchanges in the Mediterranean, accompanied by new forms of socio-economic organization.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

1.1. THE SUBJECT, ITS HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL FRAMEWORK

The subject of this work is a group of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cemeteries surrounding the site of Tell el-Far'ah (South) in the Negev which were excavated by W.M.F. Petrie and his collaborators in the course of two successive seasons at the site, in 1928 and 1929.[1]

The site, including its graveyards, first arouses interest because it is situated at the geographical meeting point of some of the main cultural areas which were involved in the upheavals which affected the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, from the end of the Late Bronze Age onwards throughout the 12th and part of the 11th centuries B.C.[2] This period witnessed dramatic changes, such as the end of the Hittite Empire and the end of the Mycenaean kingdoms, including those of Crete. The period is also often associated with the widespread disturbances caused by important movements of populations, particularly in the Syro-Palestinian area (Schachermeyr 1982). Though some of these events have more to do with tradition than with history, it remains that they are generally seen as symbolically representative of the end of the Late Bronze Age and of the types of centralised political powers which had been ruling the eastern Mediterranean area for the preceding centuries. The general collapse of these long-established political systems, whether attributable to human factors or whether the result

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[1] For history of research and excavations at the site, see below, chapter 2.

of widespread natural catastrophes, such as climatic changes, cyclical earthquakes,[3] or extensive epidemics,[4] is generally believed to have initiated a period of troubles, a time of generalised political and economical crisis, during which traditional sea routes became particularly unsafe, hampering communication and international trade (Stampolidis 1998:68; Iacovou 1998:333-334; Knapp 1988:214). However, the individual events and/or changes that led to this general situation cannot be reconstructed as a series of individual facts. More generally, the possibility of determining whether some of the constituent episodes of the period were without doubt causes or results of others is very unlikely. It rather seems as though each event was stimulated by and intermingled with some others in a complex process.

What is usually interpreted as the irruption of the "Sea Peoples" in the eastern Mediterranean may be considered alternatively partly as cause or partly as result of these disturbances, but, in any case, typifies the generalised disruption of the times. The earliest sources relating to the existence of the "Sea Peoples" in the Late Bronze Age consist of a series of Egyptian documents dating from the 18th to the 20th Dynasties.[5] According to these sources, the "Sea Peoples" entered the eastern Mediterranean landscape progressively. Among these groups, the Sherden are the first to be mentioned in written texts.[6] They make an early appearance in the Amarna Letters, where they are already depicted as professional mercenaries at the service of the Egyptian garrison of Byblos (Gardiner 1947:194). The Sherden later occur on two stelae from Tanis and Assuan (Yoyotte 1949; Helck 1977:9) and on other documents dating to the reign of

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[2] For example Ward and Joukowski 1992.

[3] For example, Ahlström 1993:292; Liverani 1987; Lloyd 1992:56; Mazar 1990:288; Gorny 1989:91; Redford 1992:223.

[4] Walløe (1999), for example, ascribed the disruptions of the end of the Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean to a series of plague epidemics, not only in the Argolid area, but also in the Hittite empire.

[5] For Egyptian sources mentioning "Sea Peoples" groups, see (among others) Hölbl 1983; Helck 1977; Vanschoonwinkel 1991:466-469.

Ramesses II, in which they are said to serve in the armies of the pharaoh (Faulkner 1975:230). In the Annals of Merneptah, the same Sherden, together with other foreigners, the Sheklesh, the Lukka, the Tursha and the Akawasha, appear as enemies of Egypt and allies to the Libyan tribes, under the common denomination of "foreigners of the sea" (Faulkner 1975:233). The next chronological documents mentioning the "Sea Peoples" are the reliefs of Medinet Habu (Wilson 1969:262-263; Güterbock 1992) and the Papyrus Harris I (Erichsen 1933), where, for the first time, the names of the Tjekkers and the Peleset (the latter identified with the Philistines of the Bible) appear alongside those of the other members of the confederacy.[7] Both sources clearly refer to the warfare activity and to the serious threat these peoples brought to the cities and kingdoms of the Levantine coast. As these texts report, the "Sea Peoples" came as invaders; they looted and devastated Hatti, Alashiya (generally identified with Cyprus) and many cities of the Syro-Palestinian coast, before being finally checked by the Egyptian troops of Ramesses III somewhere in the Nile Delta, and defeated in the course of a major encounter which involved both land and sea battles. Following this decisive collision, several of the defeated groups apparently settled down in various areas of Palestine. According to the Egyptian documents, the Egyptian pharaoh installed some of the prisoners of war, among which the Peleset, to serve as mercenaries in several of his fortresses along the border of Egypt,[8] but some also seem to have been responsible for the founding of new settlements in the area. Nevertheless, whether they were installed in their new quarters by the authority of the Egyptian victors, or whether they settled down freely, it is generally believed that the newcomers established

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[6] They may also occur in some Ugaritic documents if one accepts their identification with the Sherdana of the Hittites texts (Dietrich and Loretz 1972). For mentions of "Sea Peoples" in Hittite texts, see also Lehmann 1979; 1983:84-85.

[7] For another further possible mention of the "Sea Peoples" in Egyptian written documents, see Peden 1995.

[8] See Vanshoonwinkel 1991:485, with references.

themselves as a ruling minority among the local Canaanite population, or, alternatively, that they progressively developed as an independent and powerful political entity in the decades following their arrival (e.g. M.Dothan 1989; 1993; T.Dothan 1982:1; 1983; 1989; Mazar 1985c; 1988; Stone 1995:7).

Now, the general historical reconstruction derived from these documents (which are more relevant for the study of ancient ideologies than for the study of historical facts), combined to what is said in later Biblical narratives (which, as has been argued elsewhere, were of a not less propagandistic nature than the Egyptian texts)[9] has often been used by Near-Eastern archaeologists (and Cypriot archaeologists) as a departure point for the interpretation of the material evidence from Levantine sites in the late 13th-12th centuries. As a rule, both architectural and artefactual remains have been considered as a direct reflection of what the scarce contemporary textual remains say, and the general image we have of the period today is still strongly marked by preconceived notions which have been building up since the time of the discovery, translation and initial interpretations of these documents.[10]

As it is, the question of the end of the Egyptian dominance in Palestine is generally connected to the settlement of the Philistines in Canaan. The period during which the Egyptian empire is believed to have lost its control over the area of southern Palestine is indeed more or less contemporary with the emergence of the "Sea Peoples'' culture in this region (e.g. Bietak 1993; Mazar 1990:305; Stager 1995). Though the collapse of the Egyptian dominance in the Levant is often more closely related to a worsening of Egyptian internal affairs than to matters of external policy (Weinstein 1981:22; 1992; Dever 1992:105), it is nevertheless also frequently seen as evolving in

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[9] See in particular Finkelstein and Silberman 2001.

[10] On this subject, and, accessorily, on the role of modern ideologies in the interpretation process of ancient documents, see Silberman 1998 (with further bibliographical references).

conjunction with, and, at least partially, as a result of the Philistine settlement and subsequent territorial expansion in the southern coastal plain of Canaan.

Similarly, the cessation of Mycenaean pottery imports to the eastern Mediterranean, sometime around 1200 B.C., is often associated with the period of troubles and changes described above. By the 13th century several kingdoms (or palatial centres) of Mycenaean Greece were actively involved in extended trading networks which were spreading throughout the Mediterranean world[11] and which were the result of progressive developments that took place in the preceding period.[12] During the last quarter of the 14th century, Mycenaean pottery imports started occurring with some regularity on Cyprus, on the Levantine coast and in Egypt (Sherratt 1980:182), and their numbers increased greatly in the course of the following fifty years to reach a climax before the second half of the 13th century. Towards the end of that century, however, the sheer number of imports began to drop off,[13] before these products virtually disappeared from the east Mediterranean around 1200 B.C. Several explanations have been proposed to account for this phenomenon, many of which are directly connected to the text-based historical reconstruction outlined above. Rather frequently, the cessation of the Greek pottery trade in the east has been linked to the climate of general insecurity, which is believed to have reigned on land and seas because of the activity of the "Sea Peoples" (e.g. Schachermeyr 1980:447-448; 1983:294-295; Iakovidis 1993:318-320; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998).[14]

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[11] This particularly concerns the Argolid centres, since it looks as though much of the imported pottery came from there (Sherratt 1980). For NAA analysis of imports from Tell Abu Hawam, see French 1993:5 and Appendix.

[12] This trade expansion also includes the central Mediterranean area, see for example Marazzi (1976), Marazzi, Tusa and Vagnetti (1986) Vagnetti (1982; 1993) and Re (1993).

[13] The dwindling of imported Mycenaean wares on Cyprus is indeed already obvious in the second half of the 13th century (Sherratt 1980:185)

[14] Hankey (1993b:105) also argued that the end of the imports was the result of a failing of supplies from the pottery producing areas after the main Helladic centres had been victims of violent destructions.

However, some archaeologists have also pointed to a series of other factors which contribute to shed some light on the cessation of Aegean pottery imports to the east, if only we allow ourselves to move away from the text-based historical reconstruction that is generally taken for granted. By lending more attention to the singular developments which took place on Cyprus during the last phase of the Late Bronze Age, some authors have emphasised the fact that before the end of the 13th century, before the period of troubles effectively began in the east, wheel-made Mycenaean-style pottery (such as the Pictorial Style kraters and the Pastoral Style) started to be locally produced on Cyprus side by side with the traditional handmade Cypriot wares, namely Base Ring, White Shaved, White Slip and Monochrome (Sherratt 1992; Kling 1984:35-36). This observation, and the fact that Cypriot Wheelmade pottery was occasionally exported to the Levantine coast around that time (see below, p. 312), have led to suggest that the Cypriot production of Aegeanising wares, played an important role in the fate of the Mycenaean pottery market in the east. It is indeed possible that this market suffered from competition with Cyprus (and with some sites of the Levantine coast, where the production of Aegean-type pottery seems to have developed soon after it had started on Cyprus, see below, p. 333). Though notwithstanding the probable existence of some sort of internal economical or political crisis in Mainland Greece in the late 13th century (e.g. Muhly 1984:41-42; Kilian 1982; Karageorghis 1998:58), which may have had a determinant impact on production and trade relationships, the socio-economic developments which were taking place on Cyprus at that time (and which are illustrated, among others, by the swift diffusion of the wheelmade pottery technology on the island)[15] can certainly be considered as at

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[15] This whole process may have much to do with the fact that, towards the end of the Bronze Age and in the 12th century, Cyprus seems to have specialised in the commercialisation of "value-added" products in addition to its original role as raw material provider (e.g. Sherratt and Sherratt 1993:361-362; Sherratt 1994; 1998).

least partly responsible for the cessation of the Mycenaean pottery trade. In any case, by the end of the 13th century, Cyprus was fully able to meet the local demand for Mycenaean-type ceramics, on its own territory as well as in parts of the Levantine coast.

The question of how the Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery market in the east Mediterranean evolved after the inception of the Iron Age is linked to another important issue which deserves mention in this introduction, namely the possible interruption of contacts between Cyprus and the Levant soon after 1200 B.C. Indeed, Levantine archaeologists have often postulated that the apparition of the "Sea Peoples" in the east Mediterranean brought maritime circulation to and from Cyprus to a halt for a period of about 50 years at least (c. 1200 to 1150 B.C. or slightly later). Present evidence, however, suggests that this was not the case. On the contrary, it is now often argued that contacts never ceased altogether in the eastern Mediterranean, even for a restricted period of time, but that trade mechanisms were progressively modified in order to meet new requirements. Although it might be true that the relatively sustained trade relationships which existed between Mainland Greece and the Levantine coast before the end of the 13th century were interrupted, or at least underwent significant changes at that time, connections between Crete and Cyprus seem to have carried on, even at the height of the troubles (Stampolidis 1998:68-59)[16] and there is little doubt that relations between Cyprus and Syria-Palestine were also maintained .[17]

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[16] In LC IIIA, there is evidence of contacts between Cyprus and the east Aegean, including eastern Attica. Strong stylistic connections have been noted between the pottery of the Attic site of Perati and that of Cypriot LC IIIA, in addition to the LC IIIA imports which have turned up at that site (Kling 1989:175). As for contacts between Cyprus and Crete, they are illustrated by a Sub-Minoan grave from the Knossos North Cemetery (Muhly 1998:323, citing Coldstream 1989:90-91; Coldstream 1991:290) as well as by Early Iron Age Cretan metalwork deriving from Cypriot 13th and 12th century imports (Matthäus 1998:129). The shipwreck of point Iria, in the Argolid, also shows that there was a movement of goods between Greece, Crete and Cyprus around 1200 B.C. (Phelps, Lólos and Vechos 1999).

1.2 AIM, THEORY AND METHOD

The principal aim of the present study is to consider to what extent the archaeological evidence from the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah actually relates to the wider historical context outlined above and, if possible, to add some new contribution to the general knowledge of the period.[18] The tombs are characterised by the mixed origin of their material furnishings, ranging from Canaanite vessels to Egyptian or egyptianizing scarabs and jewellery, and from Aegean type and Cypriot pottery to Philistine artefacts. The analysis of these remains and the interpretation of their possible symbolical meaning, considered in a funerary context, will lead to considerations pertaining to the cultural make-up of the inhabitants of the site, and to the relations these peoples entertained with neighbouring areas. In this respect, the aim of this study directly agrees with the most frequently acknowledged objective of mortuary archaeology, namely to use funerary remains as a tool for identifying the nature of the living communities which were existing at the time when the burials were taking place (Chapman 1987:198). The nature of the present work, which deals with the analysis of material evidence within a mortuary context, requires a few introductory remarks on the theoretical aspects of funerary archaeology and the understanding of material culture.

Although basically pursuing comparable objectives, theoretical and methodological approaches to funerary archaeology underwent important changes over the last 30 years, or so (Brown 1995). In the 1970s, the works of Saxe (1970), Binford (1971; 1972) and Tainter (1978) considered the analysis of mortuary practices as a primary means to investigate past social systems (Chapman and Randsborg 1981).

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[17] See for example, Lipinski (1993:322), Karageorghis (1998:60), Gilboa (1998:418-423; 1989:204), Bikai (1992:133) and more recently Mazzoni (2000b:1049-1050).

These scholars and their followers[19] often had recourse to ethnology and social anthropology in an attempt to understand the relationship between material culture and social identity through the establishment of 'cross-cultural laws' (McHugh 1999:1). Their works have often focused on the level of energy expenditure spent on the building and furnishing of the tomb, in order to identify social ranking (individuals of higher rank should be recognised by greater energy expenditure in tomb building, for example). Some of the most conspicuous problems which are specifically inherent to such studies are, among others, an extensive use of ethnographical data which are, in many cases, not comparable to archaeological evidence (Humphreys 1981:4), and the plain assumption that burial should be seen as a faithful reproduction of a living social community.[20] In fact, the picture emerging from such studies is never tremendously precise and it hardly mirrors the total complexity of the original society it attempts to depict. However, recent studies often seek to take such problems into consideration and the difficulty of determining to what extent and in which ways social reality reflects itself in material remains is often fully acknowledged.[21] Indeed, archaeological as well as ethnographical data have allowed to demonstrate that status difference in burial may be intentionally hidden, over-emphasised, or else, that, in certain societies, display of wealth may simply not be an important factor in the mortuary domain. Thus, in contrast to earlier works, more recent, in particular post-processual burial analysis tend to give more emphasis to the complexity of the various processes involved in burial practices. They focus on the ideological aspect of burial, which is latent in many funerary rites

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[18] Ever since their original publication, these graves have regularly been discussed and referred to as illustrating various aspects of the transitional period from the Bronze to the Iron Age in southern Palestine (see below chapter 2).

[19] McHugh (1999:11-12), also mentions the works of Peebles and Kus (1977), Brown (1981), O'Brien (1978) and Skomal (1983) as belonging to the same type of studies.

[20] For example, Morris 1987. For other criticisms, see Hodder 1980; O'Shea 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987:42-45.

and which may artificially distort the data. An obvious and major difficulty inherent to such approach, however, is establishing the distinction between what should and what should not be interpreted as ideological manipulation, but in this respect, contextual archaeology (comparison with settlement archaeology, for example) may provide useful complementary evidence (McHugh 1999:16).

In spite of their divergences, the majority of the approaches to the study of mortuary remains over the past 40 years are characterised by their common aim of identifying differences within single groups, or, in other words, of defining variability in the treatment of the dead within a single social entity (Chapman 1987:200-201). Therefore, they regularly make use of more or less elaborate forms of statistical and multivariate analyses. The quantitative methods of analysis which are employed in mortuary archaeology (cluster analysis, factor analysis, principal component analysis or correspondence analysis, to cite but a few) are also frequently found in ethnographical and anthropological studies and are borrowed or derived from other disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, linguistics, geography or ecology (McHugh 1999:63; Aldenferder 1987a:9). Although the usefulness of such methods in archaeology has been debated, they generally have allowed achievement of quite satisfactory results.

Thus, from a theoretical point of view, the group of cemeteries from Tell el-Far'ah appears as an ideal case for the application of such quantitative methods. The analysis of the mortuary evidence—grave goods and human remains—pertaining to each individual tomb is liable to provide a new way of looking at the site. The variations and homeostasis of the structure and content of the graves, both through time and in relation to their location within the cemeteries, may allow the identification of certain patterns of occurrence which may help reconstructing the type of society they related to.

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[21] For example Day, Wilson and Kiriatzi 1998:140-141. The difficulty of equating material culture to past societies is, however, not only pertinent to funerary archaeology, but is, of course, shared by many other

On the other hand, more specific characteristics within the graves can lead to approach the individuality of some of the deceased (McHugh 1999:18) or to pinpoint cases of ideological manipulation in the burial process. In a second stage, by comparison with data from other sites, these results can help perfecting, or at least empirically exemplifying, current knowledge of both Levantine social organisation and burial customs during the period considered.

A necessary condition for the good conduct of such model-based research, however, is a relatively accurate, detailed and sizeable set of data from which the archaeologist might be able to draw the parameters which can be included into the analysis programs (Aldenferder 1987b; Orton and Hodson 1981:113-114). In effect, there is always a certain degree of approximation and generalisation involved in this type of work, in particular regarding the coding of the data (e.g. Ihm 1978:11-13). When the data is incomplete or inexact, coding is rendered even more problematic and the distortions which such processes unavoidably generate may be exponentially multiplied in the final results.

In the precise case of the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah, unfortunately, this necessary criterion of accuracy cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled, even with the help of the unpublished documentation. The totality of the written records from Petrie's excavations is twofold. On the one hand, there are the two volumes published by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt directly after the excavation seasons at the site, and, on the other hand, the original unpublished notes which were taken day to day on the field. As far as the results from the settlement are concerned, the excavators collected their information in notebooks and on loose paper sheets; for the cemeteries, notes were taken on specially prepared tomb cards. The tomb cards were subsequently collected into a separate file. The main obstacle to the research project proposed here

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fields of archaeological research (Shanks and Tilley 1987:27).

was encountered when realising that the documentation provided by the tomb cards (not to mention the notes from the tell) was only rarely more accurate and more detailed than it appears in its published form. In many cases, information concerning grave structure, grave dimension, body treatment or anthropological characteristics was minimal, when not totally omitted. In some instances, the decipherment of the information given on the card was, in itself, an uncertain exercise. Moreover, not all the tombs were actually represented by a tomb card. In most cases, the tombs which lacked tomb cards were the most important ones (in size and structure of the grave as well as for the quantity and character of their finds). In short, the nature of the record soon made it clear that the various "social dimensions"[22] which can normally be recognised in cemeteries were, for the major part, not recoverable in the mortuary remains of Tell el-Far'ah. Because so little could be concluded on the human context of the finds, specific focus was laid upon bare material evidence. However, in this case as well, the available data appeared not consistent enough, or not reliable enough to be subjected to detailed and complex statistical analyses. Problems were encountered because the confrontation between the information provided by the tomb cards, their published version[23] and the actual objects kept in museums (as well as the inventory lists of the museums' accessions books themselves) revealed the presence of many inconsistencies, inaccuracies and irrelevance in the sources. On the other hand, full reliance on the preserved material was not possible, first because some objects were not kept after the excavation and are thus only represented by written records, and second because of the uneven state of preservation of the surviving items. In the course of the seventy-odd years which followed the discovery of the graves, their contents have been subject to unavoidable destruction,

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[22] These are the vertical (rank), horizontal (group), gender and age dimensions which are recurrent in mortuary analysis (McHugh 1999; O'Shea 1984:8-13).

[23] The Tomb Registers in Petrie (1930: pls. 68-71) and Starkey and Harding (1932: pls. 91-93).

losses and other varieties of damages.[24]

Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties mentioned above, an empirical qualitative and quantitative reassessment of the artefacts present in the tombs remains the departure point of the present research. Throughout the work these objects will be understood primarily as manifestations of the material culture of the people who used the cemeteries. If perceived as social productions, not as individual creations (Shanks and Tilley 1987:116-117), they may help in obtaining an image of the society they related to in the past as part of an overall pattern of signification (Hodder 1982; 1992; Tilley 1989; 1999:75-76). However, in this process, it is also important to keep in mind that the archaeological object is typically polysemous not only from our own perspective, but also from the perspective of those who used it in the past (Hodder 1992; Tilley 1989:190-191). There is in fact no original meaning to be sought in the empirical object; it is only a mere material relic which is interpreted by the archaeologist, in the light of his/her own cultural conceptions or preconceptions, knowledge and experiences (Shanks and McKenzie 1994:30-31). The identification of ethnicity through archaeological remains obeys similar principles: ethnicity is an artificial construct, based on our own references, and the defining criteria of an ethnic group may change through time and vary according to the position of the observer. In this context, artefact classifications should not be considered as a way to discover precisely how past social actors thought about their own culture, but as a device which may facilitate an act of translation (Rice 1982:48-49). Therefore, full use should be made of the range of variability in the material culture and differences should not be subsumed under high-level generalisations.

As mentioned above, a wide range of objects is attested in the graves of Tell el-

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[24] The tomb groups which were kept in the Municipal Museum of Hull, for example, were almost all lost in a German bombing of the town during World War II.

Far'ah. For a variety of reasons, however, the present work will specifically focus on the ceramic assemblage. Indeed, not only is pottery the most commonly attested class of artefacts in the tombs, but, as a rule, it is also the one which is the best preserved and it constitutes one of the safest means for assigning an approximate date to each individual tomb.[25] Furthermore, the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery assemblages from the cemeteries appears as an appropriate departure point for an interpretation of the nature of the international relations the site - and, in a wider perspective, the region of the Southern Negev - seems to have maintained with its neighbouring areas. Indeed, mention of evidence for foreign connections and possible traces of foreign presence at the site, based mainly on variations in the pottery material, has recurrently appeared in former discussions of the cemeteries from Tell el-Far'ah.

When this work was first undertaken, many of the existing studies dealing in greater or lesser detail with Tell el-Far'ah referred to the site as one of the Syro-Palestinian towns to which Mycenaean pottery was being exported from the Greek Mainland. Moreover, on some occasions, the 900 cemetery at Tell el-Far'ah was considered one of the find-spots par excellence documenting the last occurrences of imported Mycenaean pottery in the Levant at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Dothan 1983:101). The site appeared thus as an exemplifying case for the discussion of Levanto-Aegean connections during this period, of their nature and transformations through time. Further, the presence of the famous "Tombs of the Philistine Lords", forming a small cluster of graves in the 500 cemetery, constitutes, for some scholars, the following chronological stage of such connections and furnishes another incentive for establishing links of relationship between Tell el-Far'ah and the Mycenaean-Aegean

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[25] Pottery is not only a relatively easily breakable material, but it is also, in essence, not considered as a sophisticated class of object. It is therefore less likely to have been deliberately preserved over several generations as was often the case with more prestigious items or with items made of more resistant materials, such as scarabs, jewellery or weapons.

world through the implantation of some of the enigmatic "Sea Peoples" in Early Iron Age Palestine.[26]

Because of such preconceptions about the general character of the cemeteries, the first intention here was to consider the subject from a primarily Aegean perspective. Indeed, the assumption that a significant amount of Aegean-type pottery, figured among the finds from the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah would have conveniently justified using the site as a case-study for an investigation of patterns of trade and goods exchange between the Levant and the Aegean (with particular reference to the Greek Mainland) and to examine the changes which occurred following the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the first stage of the Early Iron Age. Careful examination of the nature of the imported wares and of their manufacturing techniques, specific suggestions relating to their functions or contents (whether imported or locally-made products), as well as proposals about their symbolic significance, may have helped to verify some of the existing theories relating to the nature and the role of trade relationships between these two regions. Moreover, because the site and its accompanying cemeteries did not provide any evidence for an occupational break during the period under consideration, it was even envisaged that Tell el-Far'ah would have shed light on how the change from Bronze to Iron manifested itself in the material record with particular reference to the fate of the Aegean imports.

However, a preliminary investigation of the material coming from the cemeteries led me to believe that the general objective of the study needed slight modifications and partial reorientation. It first appeared that Mycenaean-type objects were not as numerous as expected compared to the total amount of furnishings placed in the graves. Moreover, it also became evident that these objects were attested in only a restricted number of tombs and, consequently, could hardly be considered as typically

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[26] For example, Waldbaum 1966; Schachermeyr 1982:232-234; Gilmour 1995:161.

representative of the cemeteries as a whole. In the second place, it appeared that the actual provenance of the Mycenaean-looking pottery could not always be securely ascertained on the sole basis of the visual aspect and texture of the wares.[27] Taken together, these various elements contributed to impose some restrictions on the prospect of obtaining useful conclusions which would have been directly related to the Aegean sea trade and the distribution of Mycenaean imported products in the eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the Aegean problematic at Tell el-Far'ah remained a significant aspect of the present work and other approaches to the question proved fully exploitable.

As mentioned above, the frequent difficulty of determining the origin of Mycenaean looking pots is undeniable and it is particularly conspicuous with the above-mentioned production of Cypriot Mycenaeanising wares which developed on the island during the second half of the 13th century. On the other hand, however, the identification of a specific kind of Levantine locally-made approximate imitation of Mycenaean wares is often quite straightforward. Now, many such vessels were identified in the graves of Tell el-Far'ah, sometimes alongside more accurate imitations or very possibly true imports (if not authentic Aegean objects, at least mycenaeanising wares from Cyprus). This situation raises a whole range of questions which will be addressed in the course of this work. In the first place, one might wonder about the role and function of these mediocre imitations of Mycenaean vessels within a Near Eastern context. These products also invite questions about the nature of their intrinsic significance with regards to the significance attached to their prototypes or to that of more accomplished copies, whether from Cyprus or the Levant. From a technological point of view, it is likely that local Canaanite potters would actually have been able to obtain better results

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[27] Unfortunately, the present work could not benefit from clay provenience analyses which could have helped determining the origin of at least some of the artefacts.

if they were effectively trying to produce faithful copies of Mycenaean pottery vessels. Instead of seeking perfect resemblance to the originals it rather seems as though Canaanite potters contented themselves with expressing the general idea which Mycenaean vessels might have conveyed, but, if so, to what purpose? Was this intention linked to the contents of the pots or to an undetermined symbolical meaning? Satisfactory answers to such questions require considering the material according to a few basic theoretical principles, as outlined above, which fully acknowledge the metaphorical value the artefact might have carried in its specific context (Hodder 1982; Tilley 1999). Therefore, the particular problematic of Mycenaean pottery's imitations and influences has to be examined in relation to the other socio-cultural and political contingencies which were affecting the site at the time.[28] The role played by the main acting parts in the contemporary political and economical circumstances ought to be clearly reassessed in order to determine if such factors, considered either individually or in conjunction, could have had some impact or influence on the emergence and the course of this particular process in some way or another.[29] On the other hand, the chronological stage directly following the local manufacture of Aegean imitations in the Levant (as well as on Cyprus) deserves equal attention. It is indeed the time when Mycenaean imitated and influenced wares of LB II-Iron IA become progressively integrated into the local ceramic repertoire and the period during which archaeologists usually situate the arrival of the Philistine "Sea Peoples" in Palestine, together with the synchronous appearance of their "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" pottery. Now, the question of the relationship linking these two classes of pottery wares - the

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[28] Melas (1993:375) underlined the importance of a contextual approach for the study of symbolism and ideology in the Late Bronze Age pottery trade in the Mediterranean.

[29] It is of some interest to note that the emergence of Mycenaean imitations and Mycenaean influenced wares in the Levant developed more or less contemporaneously with a similar phenomenon in the central Mediterranean era (most notably in southern Italy) (e.g. Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1986; Vagnetti 1993:151; Bellardelli 1993:350; Vagnetti 1998). This may lead us to believe that the economy and politics of

Mycenaean imitated wares and the "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" (followed by Philistine Bichrome) - is highly interesting and has often been neglected. In effect, although archaeological literature tends to present these two productions as two very distinct and discrete traditions (Killebrew 1998a; 1998b; T.Dothan 1982), arguments can be advanced for viewing them as part of a same and continuous tendency of the local material culture. Another important aspect of the "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" which will be addressed here concerns the strict association between this ware and the early Philistine settlement in the southern coastal plain. Now, as will be seen below, the local production of aegeanizing wares (in particular open shapes) in the early 12th century Levant is not restricted to this area but is also attested (to diverse extent) at many sites of the east Mediterranean coast, not to mention the situation on Cyprus, where a similar production is already conspicuous in the late 13th century. All this suggests that this type of ware may be representative of more complex phenomena than being the mere tracer of a specific ethnicity. Such considerations, which are also directly relevant to the difficulties associated with the terminology of the Aegean-style late 13th and 12th centuries pottery in the Levant, will constitute an important part of the present research.

Furthermore, the equation which is often easily made between material culture and people will also be touched on with regard to the Egyptian influence at Tell el-Far'ah and the ways it is expressed. In this case as well, it will be shown that the connection between artefacts and ethnicity is often tenuous and extremely multifarious. In spite of the rich finds of Egyptian and Egyptian-type objects in the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah in general, there is no clear evidence that any of the tombs discussed here specifically belonged to Egyptians rather than to egyptianised Canaanites.

Mainland Greece were at least partly responsible for this development, though this aspect of the question goes well beyond the scope of the present study.

1.3. STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

Following this first introductory chapter, the second chapter of this work will be devoted to a general presentation of the site of Tell el-Far'ah and of its history and archaeology. It will include a brief review of the results from the earliest excavations and of the researches which were subsequently undertaken in relation to it, whether on the site itself (surveys and trial trenches) or on the excavated material.

The third chapter will consist of a detailed presentation of the cemeteries in their contextual environment. It will notably include a brief description of their geomorphological situation and summarise their relation to the tell's stratigraphy. It will also provide an exposition and discussion of the various types of graves represented within each cemetery. In addition, this chapter will account for the small available evidence for funerary ritual which could be gathered throughout the research.

Chapter four will deal with the analysis of the pottery material from the graves based on both stylistical (typological) and technological (including functional) characteristics. It will include a short introduction to a technological approach to the pottery material and its significance for archaeological interpretation. The analysis of the pottery will serve as the main basis for the dating of the graves and for determining the period of use of the cemeteries.[30] This chapter will also deal with the foreign influences and regionalisms noticeable in the ceramic assemblages from both a technological and stylistic point of view, and it will address some problems relating to the pottery terminology of mycenaeanising wares in the Levant and on Cyprus.

Chapter five will present the other classes of grave goods evidenced in the tombs and include a discussion of the dates and origins of the objects (mainly determined on

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[30] The dates of each individual tombs are summarised in Tables 1-6 and a discussion of the absolute chronology of their period of use will be found in Appendix 1.

the basis of stylistic features). Both chapters four and five will try, whenever possible, to emphasise stylistic, technological, functional or symbolical differences between Bronze and Iron Age material culture items.

The sixth chapter of this work will mainly serve to enhance certain features which resulted from the practical analysis of the material. It will attempt to determine from the evidence of the graves what were the relations the site was entertaining with the main geographical areas which seemed to have had an impact on its socio-cultural development, namely Egypt, the Aegean, Cyprus, the northern Levant and Transjordan.

Finally, the seventh and last chapter will summarise the main conclusions reached throughout the research. Specific phenomena which are particularly well illustrated at Tell el-Far'ah (for example the emergence of locally-made Mycenaean-type pottery, its significance and its relationship to Philistine Bichrome ware, the relationship with Egypt, or the beginning of the production and use of iron) will be placed into their wider context and will provide the base for the archaeological and historical interpretations proposed in this work.

CHAPTER 2

THE SITE

2.1. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The site of Tell el-Far'ah lies about 25 km south-east of Gaza and 26 km west of Beer Sheva on the southern coast of Palestine, at the border of the Negev desert to the east and the coastal plain, with higher rainfalls, to the north and west (Gazit 1996:9; **pls. 1-2**; Frontispiece). The remains of the ancient town occupy the summit of a crescent shaped hill, whose configuration follows the course of the Wadi Guzzeh (Nahal Besor). The area still belongs to the Beer Sheba basin, a large depression filled with Eocene marine sediments (Gilead 1980:53). Geologically, the subsoil of this area mainly consists of calcareous sandstones and fossil dunes, which are part of the Quaternary "Gaza Formation" (Horwitz 1979:113-114).[1] Some of the native dunes still emerge on both sides of the wadi but, for the most part, they have been covered by gradual loess deposition.[2] The relatively flat topography of the Tell el-Far'ah area suggests that this depositional process was discontinuous with several phases of reworking and soil formation (Price-Williams 1973:196), which mainly depend on the succession of wet and dry climatological phases.[3] Currently the region is experiencing a relatively dry period and the landscape is being affected by significant wind erosion.[4]

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[1] See also Ronen 1983.

[2] "Loess" is used here to describe silt-to-clay sized deposits of wind-blown particles (Melson and Van Beek 1992:128-129). In some areas loess deposition can reach 25 to 30 m. in thickness (Horwitz 1979:127).

[3] According to Horwitz (1979:129), the optimum amount of rain for loess formation is to be situated in the range of 250-300 mm/yr; above that average, the loess will turn into soil and in more arid conditions,

Loess depositions in the Beer-Sheva basin appear as alternating layers of dark and light coloured soils.[5] The former, which are clay-rich and contain organic materials, are believed to have developed under relatively humid conditions, while the latter are carbon-rich layers of older date.[6] Both types of loess formations are rich in calcium carbonate, mainly calcite (Melson and Van Beek 1992:129), quartz and feldspar.

On the right bank of the stream, the fossil dunes are much lower than on the left bank and, for about one kilometre, are covered with a layer of gravel and cobbles. Also on the right bank, at about 500 m. due north of the tell lies an area of about 500 sqm. of "badlands" which were caused by linear erosion of the loess surface down to the wadi level (Price Williams 1973:196).

The Wadi Guzzeh, which probably was the main source of water for the ancient inhabitants of the site, runs from south to north and reaches its mouth at a little distance from the modern city of Gaza. It also serves the ancient site of Tell Jemmeh, situated only a few kilometres to the north-west from Tell el-Far'ah. The bed of the wadi was carved into the loessial plain by the rain waters descending from the hills and its formation can probably be situated in the Quaternary era. Today, as in antiquity, this stream, although benefiting from rain waters, is also fed by several springs scattered along its course (Starkey and Harding 1932:1, pl. 1). Although Melson and van Beek (1992:126) stated that the Wadi Guzzeh is a seasonal stream, flowing only during the high rainfall seasons, in winter and spring, water can still be found in its bed, even in

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it will be subject to wind erosion.

[4] Mean annual amount of precipitation in Urim is 221 mm/yr (Liphschitz 1995:229). Farmers from the Kibbutz Re'im, to the north-east of Tell Jemmeh, recorded a yearly average of 323 mm/yr between 1950 and 1987, with a maximum of 540 mm/yr in 1983 and a minimum of 87 mm/yr in 1963 (cited in Melson and Van Beek 1992:128).

[5] The date of the depositional process cannot be firmly established, but it may have started already in the Paleolithic period (Goldberg 1994:96).

[6] What is known as "B-horizons" in geological terms (Horwitz 1979:127; Melson and Van Beek 1992:129-130).

the hottest summer months. The wadi is also generally subject to seasonal floods (Horwitz 1979:19).

Spontaneous vegetation around the wadi banks is mainly of the Irano-Turanian steppe type, including both woody and herbaceous species (Gilead 1980:53; Price-Williams 1973:201-205). The plain around the tell, on the other hand, has been for at least a century (and in particular during the last 50 years) heavily exploited for agricultural activities.

In prehistoric times the availability of the water from the Wadi Guzzeh, as well as the alluvial nature of the soil around it, offered a good potential for human activity. A fair number of Paleolithic and Neolithic dwellings, burials and refuse pits were found in the plain along the course of the river (Macdonald, in Starkey and Harding 1932:1-21; Gilead 1980; Price-Williams 1973:208-211; Gilead and Alon 1988).[7]

2.2. EXCAVATIONS AND POST-EXCAVATION RESEARCHES

The ancient site of Tell el-Far'ah was first recorded in the early 20th century by Woolley and Lawrence who mention the tell on their way from Gaza to Beer Sheva (Woolley and Lawrence 1915:24, Map 1). Archaeological excavations started in 1927, under the aegis of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. The director of the project was W.M.F. Petrie, who after his investigations at Gerar was interested in securing his views on Palestinian archaeology by opening another site of importance in the area (Petrie 1930:1). Petrie and his collaborators only worked for two seasons at Tell el-Far'ah, the first from December 1927 to the spring of 1928 and the second during the winter of 1928/1929 (Albright 1929). The expedition operated with a sizeable

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[7] In the Paleolithic and Neolithic period climatological conditions were much more favourable than they are today in the Negev. The region, apparently until the second part of the 5th millennium B.C., enjoyed higher rainfalls than in the later periods and reduced levels of evaporation (Butzer 1995:134).

workforce and managed to unearth two relatively large areas on the summit of the tell as well as completing the clearance of the series of graveyards that surrounded the settlement.

Petrie interpreted his finds in accordance with the traditional historical framework that was credited at his time. He ascribed to Ahmose the destruction of the Hyksos levels in the north end of the tell as well as the building of the post-Hyksos fort on the south end. He connected the first large brick building of the north end of the mound with the military campaigns of Thutmosis III and he attributed the second building (the Residency) to Seti I, who is known to have renewed Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine. Since typical Philistine pottery was found in the Residency's levels, he suggested that the building stood basically unchanged until the reign of Ramesses III and the line of the "Philistine lords".

On the basis of phonetic analogies, Petrie also suggested a connection between the modern name of Tell el-Far'ah and that of the ancient city of Beth Pelet, listed in Chapter XV of the Book of Joshua (Joshua 15:27).[8] This identification was later abandoned in favour of an identification with the Hyksos refuge site of Sharuhen, mentioned in the story of Sinuhe (Albright 1929:7; Abel 1938:451; O'Shea 1979; Dothan 1982:27; Ahituv 1984; Pritchard 1987:37, 246; Murnane 1989:188; Hoffmeier 1989; 1991). However, other and perhaps more convincing proposals, based not only on toponomy and topography, but also on the analysis of general archaeological contexts, suggest associating Sharuhen with Tell el-Ajjûl (Kempinski 1974; Weinstein 1981:6; Weinstein 1991:106; Fisher and Sadek 2000:211) and Tell el-Far'ah with Biblical Shur (Na'aman 1980:100-105).

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[8] Petrie 1930:2. In the Bible, Beth-Pelet is mentioned in a list of towns belonging to the tribe of Judah that may have been borrowed from an official register recording the subdivision of the kingdom of Judah (OSB, 235).

In the aftermath of the excavations, several important elements at Tell el-Far'ah, such as the massive architecture of the residency or the cartouche of Seti II, discovered in its adjoining courtyard, contributed to the renown of the site.[9]

The most significant discoveries, however, were not made on the tell, but in the surrounding cemeteries. Among the hundreds of tombs dating from the Middle Bronze Age to the Roman period, were found a series of five chamber-graves with stepped dromos and side benches which contained Philistine Bichrome vessels among their furnishings. Other artefacts in these tombs, such as the anthropoid clay sarcophagi and the first occurrences of utilitarian iron (all elements that were traditionally connected to the Philistines)[10] led Petrie to identify these graves with the tombs of local Philistine lords and their families (Petrie 1930:7).[11]

In a first stage the graves from Tell el-Far'ah were mostly discussed for their chronological significance. Wright considered them of foremost importance for dating the introduction of iron in Palestine (Wright 1939), while Furumark used results from the cemeteries in order to build his chronology of Philistine pottery (Furumark 1941b:118-122). Furumark did not only deal with the five large "Philistine" tombs of the 500 cemetery, but he also attributed a great chronological importance to the earlier graves of the 900 cemetery, because they contained what he called "Simple Style" pottery in association with a series of well datable royal scarabs. Since he thought that the earlier phase of the "Simple Style" was contemporary with his Myc IIIB, he was able to use the scarabs found in the same contexts in order to fix a *terminus ante quem* for the end of this period (Furumark 1941b:116-118).

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[9] The jar fragment with the cartouche was also used by Furumark for establishing his chronological framework for dating the last phases of Mycenaean pottery (Furumark 1941b:121).
[10] For early assumptions (based on 1 Sam 13: 19-23) ascribing the introduction of iron working and the monopoly of its production in Palestine to the Philistines, see, for example, Olmstead 1931:268; Macalister 1913:125-126; Albright 1949:110.
[11] The *seranim* mentioned in 1 Sam. 29: 2.

About ten years later, Stubbings (1951) emphasised the importance of the 900 cemetery of Tell el-Far'ah for dating the end of the Mycenaean pottery trade with the east Mediterranean. He incorporated four of the Aegean-type vessels from the 900 graves into his catalogue of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant and considered them as representing some of the latest Late Bronze Age imports from Greece to the area. Unlike Furumark, he did not think that these objects were local products, but true LH IIIB imports from the Aegean (with the exception of a stirrup-jar from Tomb 905, which he thought could have been of Cypriot origin).[12]

While initial post-excavation studies of the tombs were first mainly concerned with their contents, and in particular their pottery,[13] the focus of later research progressively shifted to the analysis of the graves' architectural features and cultural significance. Waldbaum used the five large graves, associated by Petrie with the burials of the Philistine lords, in order to support the Mycenaean ethnicity of the Philistines (Waldbaum 1966). She argued that the rectangular bench-chamber tombs of the 500 cemetery had no local antecedents in Canaan, that no earlier parallel had been recorded either in Egypt, Cyprus or Crete, and that the only possible precedent for such funerary architecture are the chamber-tombs from Mycenae. She acknowledged a structural resemblance between the chamber tombs of the 900 cemetery and those of the 500 cemetery, but she explained these analogies by the fact that both types were ultimately deriving from a same Aegean model. In her opinion, the former were the graves of an earlier group of migrants from the west (tentatively associated with the Danuna or Akkaiwasha), who would have already settled the region in the 13th century B.C. ("before the Myc IIIC exodus"), while the latter belonged to a later wave of newcomers,

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[12] Stubbings 1951:86. However, the author was not able to handle the objects in question and his opinion was solely based on Petrie's drawings.

which she identified with the Philistines or Peleset of the Egyptian texts (Waldbaum 1966:334-335).

This proposal was supported by Wright[14] and, to some extent, by Oren (1973:141, 149-150), but rejected by both Loffreda and Stiebing who expressly emphasised the analogies between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age chamber tombs from the 900 and 500 cemeteries and the Cypriot-style MB II bilobate tombs from the 500 cemetery. They argued that the former represent the mere continuation of the latter and are nothing but the result of the local development of an ultimately Cypriot tradition (Loffreda 1968; Stiebing 1970a; 1970b:155-162). T. Dothan accepted this view with regard to the 900 graves, but she maintained the theory of the Aegean origin for the five Early Iron Age 500 chamber-tombs (T. Dothan 1982:260). Gonen, on the other hand, suggested that the two sets of tombs were perhaps cut contemporaneously during the reign of Ramesses II. According to her, they were modelled after Cypriot prototypes and the five "Philistine" tombs of the 500 cemetery were emptied and re-used in the 12th century B.C. (Gonen 1992a:24, 128). This last proposal was rejected by Gilmour who recognised important structural differences between the 900 and 500 chamber tombs. These differences were explained by him by agreeing with a local development for the 900 graves, and a foreign origin for the 500 chambers tombs. In his opinion the 500 "Philistine" graves reflect a mixture of Mycenaean, Cypriot and local influences which he attributes to a group of Aegean migrants who spent some time on Cyprus before moving on to the Levantine coast (Gilmour 1995:157-161). Finally, and, all things considered, perhaps more sensibly (pp. 78-80), Egyptian and Nubian influences have

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[13] McClellan's article (1979), proposing a new internal chronology for the five chamber tombs of the 500 cemetery and for some of the other graves also has to be mentioned here. The conclusions of this study are based on results from pottery seriation analysis.

[14] Wright believed that the pottery coffins found in some of the tombs were a direct indication of a Philistine presence (Wright 1966).

also been suggested for both the tomb architecture and the anthropoid coffins of the 500 and 900 cemeteries (Risser and Harvey 1992).

Recently, the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age tombs from the site have constituted the subject of a doctoral thesis (Braunstein 1998), the main concern of which is the definition or recognition of certain sociological-behavioural characteristics in the mortuary remains of the site. Following models introduced by Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971), Braunstein investigated burial practices and evidence for mortuary differentiation, corresponding to age, rank, gender, ethnic affiliation or representing forms of social deviance. Her object was to reconstruct the social system of the community who lived at Tell el-Far'ah during the period under consideration and to understand the 'dynamics of power' which regulated the relationships between the local population of the site and the changing authority (foreign or not) which ruled over it (in the present case, shifting from an Egyptian to a presupposed Philistine over-lordship). The work is an attempt towards determining how, and to what extent, political change might affect social behaviour and social organisation and how this may be reflected in funerary customs. Unfortunately, this whole project suffers from the inaccuracy and the incompleteness of a large part of the available data (see above, pp. 11-13).

Now, although the site has been the object of much debate since it was first excavated, very little fieldwork has been undertaken on the tell since the first expedition. A few surveys took place in the surroundings of the mound, but the settlement itself remained untouched until 1976, when a short rescue excavation was carried out on the top of the tell. The exposed area (4x4 m.) allowed the identification of 9^{th}-8^{th} century pottery in an ash layer below a brick building (Cohen 1977).

Only in the last few years, has a project of renewed excavations at the site been initiated under the direction of Lehmann and Schneider (1999; Knauf and Niemann

1999). Three areas were opened on the tell with the purpose of verifying Petrie's stratigraphical conclusions. Unfortunately, before any of the proposed aims could be fulfilled, the work had to be temporarily suspended due to the unstable political conditions which are currently affecting the area.

2.3. ARCHAEOLOGY AND STRATIGRAPHY OF THE SETTLEMENT

The ancient town of Tell el-Far'ah was first settled in the Middle Bronze Age and residential and public quarters probably occupied the entire surface of the natural mound until the Roman period (**pl. 2**). Three main advantages probably led to the settling of the site in the Middle Bronze Age. The first is an immediate access to water resources with the wadi running at the foot of the tell. The second is its easily defensible position, the mound being naturally protected on three of its sides. The eastern edge is marked by the steep cut of the wadi-bed and both the north and south ends by two ravines, which only required slight artificial deepening to optimise the defence system. The western side, which originally appeared as a more gentle slope, was modified by cutting a steep fosse, at the bottom of which was added a wide ditch with vertical sides (Petrie 1930: pl.13, top). Finally, the third advantage of the site lies in its geographical position along two ancient major axes of communication, one connecting Egypt to northern Palestine and Syria and the other linking the Mediterranean ports of the southern coast to Transjordan and beyond. The significance of these routes will be discussed in more details later in the course of the research.

The above-mentioned defensive works at Tell el-Far'ah seem to date to the first period of occupation of the settlement in the Middle Bronze Age. The cutting of graves into the sides of the western defence in the LB IIB and Iron IA period shows that the whole structure had fallen into disuse by the later part of the 13th century, at the latest.

In the following periods, no other defensive structures seem to have been built until about the 9th century B.C., when the summit of the mound was enclosed by a thick brick wall (Petrie's "Shishak wall"). Finally, in the Roman period, a boulder revetment wall was erected along the wadi side, probably mainly as a protection against the seasonal floods of the stream (Petrie 1930: pls. 51, 62:6).

At the time of the first excavations, the only access to the summit of the tell was a path winding up the north ravine (Petrie 1930: pls. 1, 3, 51). At the end of the path, Petrie identified the foundation blocks of what he interpreted as a late gateway and, therefore suggested that the ancient city had always been entered from this side (Petrie 1930:16). However, during the second season of excavations, Starkey unearthed, on the southern end of the tell, the remains of a large city-gate which had been in use throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods (see below).

In the course of the two seasons of excavations, two unconnected areas on the summit of the tell were opened for investigation. The first on the south end and the second on the north end. Because the renewed excavation of the tell is still in its initial stage, the following review of the settlement's strata on the mound closely follows Petrie, Starkey and Harding's exposition.

2.3.1 *The South End*

The first area chosen for excavation, on the south end of the tell, was investigated by Starkey in 1927-1928, but results were only published in the second volume of the report. Six architectural levels of occupation (Strata A to F) could be identified in this sector, ranging from the Middle Bronze Age to the Roman period.

2.3.1.1. *Stratum A*

The Roman period stratum on the south end of the tell consists of two separate architectural units, possibly habitation quarters and storerooms (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 82; **pl. 3**). In the eastern unit, the lowest walls had their bases at 118.56 m.[15] and the highest at 121.96 m. In the western sector these values range from 116.98 m. to 120.36 m. for the lowest levels of the walls and from 117.88 m. to 121.07 m. for the highest. Most of the walls, in both the eastern and the western sector were preserved to a height of about 1 m. However, the heights variations (sometimes up to 3 meters) recorded for this stratum, suggests that the surface level was very uneven. Selected finds from Stratum A are illustrated in Starkey and Harding (1932: pls. 83-84, 86, 88).

2.3.1.2. *Stratum B*

Directly underlying the Roman stratum and partially cut by it, were the remains of a large rectangular structure dated by the excavators to the Hellenistic period (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 81; **pl. 4**). The lowest walls of this construction have their bases at 118.05 m. and are cut off at 119.40 m. No mention of the pottery from this layer appears in the final report. The only published artefacts from Stratum B are a bronze lance-head, a bronze arrowhead and a bone tool (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 74:88, 92, 118). An Iron Age I incised conical seal depicting two gazelles eating from a central tree was also published as belonging to this level (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 73:38). However, the heights recorded for most of these objects are below the lowest wall foundations of Stratum B, and as evidenced by the Iron I seal, the whole assemblage is probably much earlier than the stratum they were ascribed to.

2.3.1.3 *Stratum C*

To the south of the Hellenistic building, on the edge of the mound, was discovered a section of a large fortification wall (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl.80; **pl. 5**). This defensive work is probably part of the same structure which appears on the north end of the tell, Stratum R-S (see below).

The lowest courses of the wall range from 119.30 m. to 119.42 m. and it is preserved to a maximum height of 120.51 m. Three abutting smaller walls and other wall sections to the north, directly under the Hellenistic building, were assigned to the same phase. This stratum was dated by the excavators to the 21st-22nd Dynasties. No pottery is mentioned from these levels and the architecture is not discussed in the excavation report, but a number of small finds was recorded. These consist of a group of bronze and iron arrowheads and blades, a bronze bow-fibula, a series of bone objects (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 74:91, 95, 98, 100, 103-107, 110, 112, 114, 116, 117, 119-120, 122, 124), and a few scarabs of various date (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl.73:22, 24, 26-29, 33-34, 36-37) some going back to the 15th Dynasty (e.g. Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 73:36) and one being as late as the 26th Dynasty (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 73:37).

2.3.1.4. *Stratum D*

Stratum D was only partly covered by the large defensive work of the subsequent layer. It appears as a series of thin walls, delimiting closely spaced rooms and open areas (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 79; **pl. 6**). The presence of pits and domestic ovens suggests that this was a residential quarter. Floor levels were identified at heights ranging from 117.82 m. to 118.26 m. The highest walls are preserved to about 119.70 m. The only reported finds from this stratum are a few bone objects (Starkey and

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[15] All floor and wall levels are absolute height above sea level.

Harding 1932: pl. 74:115, 121, 125-126) and three decorated Philistine Bichrome pots from Rooms DC and DJ (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 75).

2.3.1.5. *Stratum E*

The character of Stratum E is quite similar to that of Stratum D. It also appears as part of habitation quarters where intense domestic activities are evidenced by the presence of numerous stone-lined pits and small ovens (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 78; **pl. 7**). The lowest walls have their bases at 116.42 m. and the highest (in the southernmost part of the area) at 117.95 m. Stratum E produced a few metal finds, two silver seal rings and faience and semi-precious stone amulets (Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. 73:58-70, 74:90, 109) as well as a group of scarabs, two of which bear the cartouche of Ramesses II (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 73:16-21, 31).

2.3.1.6. *Stratum F*

In Stratum F, the earliest architectural level which was reached on the south end of the tell, was found a large gateway built of unbaked mud bricks, laid on a sand-bed foundation (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 78; **pl. 8**). On the whole surface, the sand bed was cut down to the native marl. The 17.7 m. long central passage of the gate was flanked by four small rooms to the west and probably (though they were not preserved) four similar chambers to the east.[16] The northern entrance to the central corridor was paved with large flagstones and approached by two steps made of local sandstone. The floor of the passageway was situated at 112.82 m., that is considerably lower than that of the side-chambers at 114.5 m., at their lowest point. To the north of the gateway,

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[16] The ground plan of this structure can be compared to the MB IIA-B gateway of Dan (Biran 1984), but also to Syrian gateways, for example at Carchemish (Woolley 1921:104-110, pl. 16) or Alalakh (Woolley 1955:145-151, fig.55). For other parallels and a discussion of this type of gate, see Gregori (1986) and Herzog (1986:60-73).

were the stone foundations of two rectangular buildings, with floors at a height of 115.08 m., and two associated stone-paved areas.

The pottery finds from Stratum F are listed in the pottery register from the tell as coming from levels 113.7 m. to 115.5 m. A large part of this assemblage clearly dates back to the MB II period, but a few pieces undoubtedly belong to the LBI and even LBII period.[17]

2.3.2 *The North End*

The area of the North end of the tell was opened by Petrie in 1929 and extended in a southerly direction in 1930 by Starkey and Harding. As pointed out by McClellan (1975:136), it is important to recognise the existence of a natural slope running up from west to north-east on this part of the mound. Combined with successive architectural layers this slope has indeed a definite bearing on the general stratigraphy of the area.

2.3.2.1. *Stratum Q-N*

The uppermost architectural remains in the north end were the stone foundations of a Roman building (Building N), with floor levels at about 120 m., interpreted as a fort by Petrie (1930: pl. 61; **pl. 9**). To the west of it, at a lower level (with floors to a maximum height of 115.89 m.), was another building complex (Q) comprising a room with two sandstone columns coated with stucco (Petrie 1930: pl. 62:3) and a water tank, perhaps part of a bathing installation. The Roman layers here were dated by the discovery of a coin hoard of the 1st century AD in Room QA. The ground plans of two contemporary Roman houses were also uncovered in an unidentified area, apparently somewhere towards the centre of the mound (**pl. 10a**).

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[17] In particular diagnostic fragments of Cypriot Monochrome and White Slip II bowls (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 72:2-3, 5; Duncan 1930: 19C).

In the course of the second season of excavations, a fragment of painted Nabatean pottery was found on the surface of the north end of the tell at a height of 117.2 m. (Starkey and Harding 1932:29, pl. 64:60; Iliffe 1934:134). In spite of its find level which rather corresponds to the "Hellenistic" stratum, this sherd should be chronologically related to the 1st century AD Roman settlement.[18]

2.3.2.2. *Stratum P*

Below the Roman buildings were scant remains of the Greek period (Petrie 1930: pl. 60; **pl. 10b**). These comprised a large brickwork (PK) and the stone foundations of probably a private house. As in Stratum Q-O-N, levels of wall foundations are higher in the eastern section of the area (116.53 m. to 118.96 m. in the eastern part and 119.17 m. to 119.40 m. in the western part). Only a few pottery sherds are mentioned from these levels, but the assemblage includes Greek imports, among which a diagnostic fragment of Greek black-figure kylix (Petrie 1930:20).

2.3.2.3. *Stratum R-S*

This stratum was occupied by a large building block and a thick mud-brick defensive wall to the north (Petrie 1930: pl. 59; **pl. 11**). The construction of this wall probably resulted in the slight raising of the ground around it, thus accentuating the natural slope from south to north. According to Petrie's plan, floor levels in the area range from about 116.55 m. in the northern part to 115.80 m. in the southern part.

Finds from this level include pottery, iron lance heads and a fibula (Petrie 1930: pl. 50:596-599). One of the illustrated pottery types (a rounded base cooking pot) mentioned in the pottery register was also evidenced in tombs 257 and 265 of the 200 cemetery (Duncan 1930: 32D3).

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[18] For the chronology of painted Nabatean wares, see for example Schmitt-Korte 1974:85.

2.3.2.4. *Stratum T-U*

This stratum was partly damaged by the construction of the large defensive wall of Stratum R-S. It comprises at least two independent building units, a brick elongated hall to the south and another complex to the west, plus other brick and stone walls and brick and stone paved areas (Petrie 1930: pl. 58; **pl. 12**). The slope is here less marked than in other layers, with more regular floor levels at about 114.90 to 115.59 m.

Pottery finds from this stratum include Phoenician style mushroom-lip juglets and other shapes characteristic of the 10-9th centuries which are also paralleled in many tombs of the 200 cemetery.

2.3.2.5. *Stratum V-W*

Stratum V-W is particularly confused in plan. It appears as an assemblage of small connecting structures with cobble foundations and mud-brick superstructure, with evidence for frequent rebuilding and floor levels ranging from 113.99 to 114.49 m. The area may be interpreted as two separate building units, the first to the north, which includes a circular domestic oven and a stone paved area, and the second to the south, characterised by a four-pillared room (Petrie 1930: pl. 57:1; **pl. 13**) with successive layers of stone and brick floor paving (Petrie 1930: pl. 58:3).[19]

The pottery assemblage from this stratum includes a Cypriot Black-on-Red juglet (Duncan 1930: 82E)[20] and Phoenician mushroom lip juglets, but it also yielded an

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[19] Pillar houses are a characteristic feature of the Iron Age domestic architecture in the Levant. They already occur in the Negev at the end of the 12th century at Tell Masos, Stratum III (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:9-10, 24-26, plan 9) and continue in Stratum II. In the 11th century they become widespread in the southern Levant, on both sides of the Jordan valley (Braemer 1982:102-105) and are still evidenced in the 7th century, for example at Timnah, Stratum II, Area F (Mazar 1997b:239-244, 260-261, pl. 102). Braemer (1982:105) dated the Tell el-Far'ah house from Stratum V to the 10th-early 9th century B.C. On my opinion, according to the accompanying finds from the same level, it would best fit a 10th century date at the latest.

[20] In the Levant, similar juglets are found, for example in Beer-Sheva Stratum VII-VI, dated 1025-975 B.C. (Herzog 1984:50-51, 60-61, figs. 24:7, 30:8-9), Tel Mevorakh Stratum VII (Stern 1978: figs. 14-16),

assemblage of earlier material –possibly late 12th-early 11th century B.C. (Duncan 1930: 17E4, 20B2, 21X). From this town level also come a clay seal impression, an incised limestone fragment (perhaps a handle), a bronze adze and iron arrowheads (Petrie 1930: pl. 50:582-584; Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 71). The general character of these finds points to a date in the 10th century and is paralleled by the material from tombs in the 200, 500, 600, and 800 cemeteries.

2.3.2.6. *Stratum X*

This stratum, with floor levels ranging from 111.78 to 112.46 m., is only briefly discussed in the second volume of the excavation report, but not even mentioned in the first. It reveals a series of well-built rectangular rooms, seemingly part of a single building unit or at least forming a complex of interconnected buildings (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 70; **pl. 14**). To judge from the presence of several ovens and pits and the series of querns, rubbers and hammers found in Stratum X, the surface excavated may have comprised a food processing area, similar in character to Strata D-E in the south end (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 65:6). Other mentioned finds are a fine incense burner (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 61:4) and a group of pottery from Rooms XA and XE (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 65:4) which can be paralleled in tombs of the 200, 500 and 800 cemeteries.

Because this stratum was ignored (purposely or not) in the first excavation report, McClellan attempted to connect it with the walls that appear in white under the plan of Stratum V in Petrie's volume (McClellan 1975:140-144, fig. 23). However, after having repeated the experience of tracing the two plans together, the links between the two seem, in my opinion, too tenuous to follow McClellan in his reconstruction.

Megiddo Strata VB and VA-IVB (Finkelstein, Zimhoni and Kafri 2000: figs. 11/27:2,5; 11/32:1-2; 11/39:20, 22-29) and in Tomb 36 at Bassit in Syria (Courbin 1993:65, fig. 16:2-3, pl. 29:4-5).

In any case, there definitely exist some confusion between Stratum X and layers directly above and below it, since a pottery sherd bearing late Philistine decoration and said to come from Stratum X (Starkey and Harding 1932:29), is actually illustrated as a Stratum V find (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 87:v.370).

2.3.2.7. *Stratum Y*

Below the confused levels X and V-W was a large well built block of halls, the so-called Egyptian Governor's Residency[21] and to the west of it, another large building interpreted as administrative offices (Petrie 1930: pl. 54; Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 69; **pl. 15**). Whatever was the original function of these buildings they certainly display architectural and contextual characteristics that are typical of an official structure.

Despite the presence of numerous grain pits cut into the south-west sector, the buildings of Strata X and V-W had no damaging effects on this horizon. The Residency building was constructed of mud-brick, in some cases laid over stone foundations (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 68:12). The northern rooms were built over the Hyksos bank, actually stepping into it (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 68:14). The complex comprised a bedroom - a room with a raised brick platform in a recess (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 78:10)-, a bathroom with a plastered water tank and a wine magazine, still furnished with 45 storage jars, some of them still preserving their original mud sealings (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 78:139). The central area, which was probably not roofed, revealed remains of a plastered floor, a feature that was attested in other rooms as well (Petrie 1930: pl. 53:2). To the south was a large cobbled courtyard laid over a 45 cm. thick ash-layer. The courtyard was crossed by a drain channel, running in

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[21] For Palestinian parallels to the Tell el-Far'ah Residency and its Egyptian character, see Oren (1984) and also Weippert (1988:272). The original function of these Egyptian style buildings is however still subject of debate. In his unconventional study about Near Eastern and Egyptian politics, Warburton (2000:145,

a westerly direction, and by a path paved with stone slabs that led towards the entrance at the south-east corner. Against the south west corner of the building was a sloping mud-brick revetment faced with white plaster (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 78:11) and a few steps which may have led to the roof or to a second storey.

As evidenced by the charred remains of wooden beams across the structure, the final building was roofed with cedar beams and ended in a fire.

According to the excavators, decorated pottery from this stratum mainly consisted in Philistine Bichrome ware (levels 111.2 to 111.6 m.: Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. 63, 64:72). From Locus YX, level 111.0 m., also came a small group of Midianite sherds (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 63:53-56). No Mycenaean nor "Gazelle and Bird" wares were found in any of the levels above the courtyard though it is reported that this horizon and the adjoining west building produced a series of 7 scarabs and plaques (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 62:20, 21, 21A, 25-28) and a paste udjat (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 64:64), most of which belong to the 19th-20th Dynasty.[22] From the courtyard, level 111.2 m., also came a jar fragment bearing the cartouche of Seti II (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 64:74) and Room YC yielded the ivory side-panels of a wooden box, decorated with Egyptian scenes, which, according to its style and depending on the author, has been dated from the mid-14th (Liebowitz 1980:167-168) to the early 12th century B.C. (Bryan 1996:62-69).[23] The argument for the later date is more convincing and it is also supported by the stratigraphical context of its discovery.

306-307) suggested that such buildings were the houses of Egyptian representatives (perhaps merchants) in Syria and Palestine.

[22] Except n. 26 which may be a Hyksos heirloom.

[23] For other discussion of the ivory box from Stratum Y, see also Markoe (1991:17-18, fig. 6).

2.3.2.8. *Stratum Z*

Located directly under the Residency, this area was excavated by Petrie during the first season at the site. All the architectural remains were published in a single plan, but two different periods were recognised, the later represented by black walls and the earlier by white walls in Petrie's plan (Petrie 1930: pl. 52).

2.3.2.8.1 *Upper Level Z*

In Upper Stratum Z were found the remains of the first Egyptian Residency (**pl. 16**). Situated just below the Stratum Y building, this construction is identical in plan with the latter and most of its walls were reused when the last Residency was built. Differences between the two structures are lower floor levels, a few missing partition walls and mainly the absence of the paved courtyard in the earlier building.

A few shapes are recorded in the tell's pottery register for Upper Stratum Z (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 89). The fact that all shapes but one are typical of the Iron IB-II assemblage suggests that either there has been a mistake in the recording process, or that the vessels come from an intrusive pit. The ground plan of Building Z, however, points to a date in the 19th Dynasty.

2.3.2.8.2 *Lower Level Z*

The earliest level of stratum Z yielded the section of a fortification wall, made of two parallel lines of stones, filled with earth, running along the northern edge of the mound. A few associated walls probably belonged to private houses (Petrie 1930: pl. 52).

No pottery finds are mentioned for the Lower Level Z. Only two scarabs dated by Petrie to the Hyksos period are recorded from this area, apparently coming from below the black walls levels (Petrie 1930:17).

2.3.2.9. *Stratum ZZ*

This sector was cleared in the course of the second season as part of the extension to the south of the already excavated area. It is situated right below the paved courtyard of the residency and revealed two separate architectural levels. The upper one was sealed off from the courtyard horizon by a 45 cm. thick ash-layer (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 68:15). However, the stratigraphical relationship between these loci and the loci of Stratum Z is unclear, not least because the position of Stratum ZZ with regard to Stratum Z on the tell is not defined.

2.3.2.9.1. *Upper Level ZZ*

The upper level (loci ZZA to ZZH) appears as a few rooms, probably part of a single house, with cobble paved areas and ovens (**pl. 17a**). Floor levels stand at a height of 110.63 m.

2.3.2.9.2. *Lower Level ZZ*

This stratum, beneath Upper ZZ, is represented by architectural remains and pits (**pl. 17b**). With floor levels ranging from 107.03 to 108.0 m., it is based at a noticeably lower level than the structures of Upper Stratum ZZ and was left undisturbed by them.

No small objects were found in these levels, but three sherds of decorated pottery, among which a WS I bowl, were found in the lower loci (Starkey and Harding

1932: pl. 63:35, 37-38). From locus ZZM, level 109.3 m., comes a fragment of Tell el-Amarna blue-painted ware (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 63:37A).[24]

2.4. Conclusion

Several points remain unclear concerning the stratigraphy of the settlement of Tell el-Far'ah, mainly because of inaccuracies in the field reports and because only a selection of pottery finds was published. Therefore, without detailed re-study of the settlement's material a definite answer to these questions remains out of reach.

An important difficulty arises from the possible connection between Strata X and V, in the north end of the tell, their respective chronological significance and the possible confusion between the find assemblages of the two layers. This problem appears unfortunately difficult to solve without checking the stratigraphy in the field.

Another major issue concerns the layers situated below Stratum Y, on the north end of the tell. Definitely two, but perhaps more, distinctive architectural levels are represented here, but their inter-relationship is not well defined and needs to be more clearly re-established. Some authors have suggested that the site was abandoned at the end of MB IIC and remained uninhabited until the LB IIA period (Weinstein 1991:106). However, there are not enough data from Strata Z and ZZ to support such an assumption. Here as well, more accurate and particularly more comprehensive reports on the pottery, especially on the pottery from Building Z, would be needed in order to advance new proposals for these stratigraphical horizons.

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[24] Other pottery from these loci is recorded in the pottery register. However, the types mentioned more often correspond to Early Iron than to Middle Bronze Age or LB I-II vessels (e.g. Duncan 1930: 18J13).

However, in spite of its inherent problems, the evidence from the tell also provides significant clues for a better understanding of the site within a wider geopolitical and cultural context throughout time. The presence on the tell of Midianite and Nabatean pottery alike (though separated by several centuries) draws attention to the crucial position of Tell el-Far'ah along the Wadi Araba route, and to the significant role of this highway which for so long channelled trade and exchanges across the two sides of the Jordan.

The review of the tell's stratigraphy also allows to draw some general conclusions about patterns of land occupation and use on the mound. In LB IIB and in the Early Iron Age, main domestic activities were apparently concentrated on the south end of the tell (Strata D-E), while the official quarter was located in the north (Stratum Z-Y). After the abandonment of the Residency building this pattern was modified and a domestic area with pits and ovens developed above it, sometimes in the 11th century B.C., according to the evidence of late Philistine sherds.

With more direct bearing on the present study, it is worth noting the apparent discrepancy between the architectural features and the pottery finds from the "Residency" of Stratum Y. While building style, small finds (such as the ivory box and the scarabs) and many pottery sherds from this construction point to a date in the 19th-20th Dynasties, a lot of its pottery is characteristic of Iron IA. On the basis of the evidence from the courtyard, where Philistine Bichrome and Late Bronze Age finds are separated by a thick ash layer, T.Dothan interpreted the stratigraphy of the site as reflecting a clear-cut division between two distinct populations, the local Canaanites of the Late Bronze Age tradition and the Sea Peoples of the Early Iron Age (Dothan 1982:28). However, the ash layer, which seals what is below the courtyard from what is above it, is nowhere stated to extend beyond the courtyard itself into the building and

there is no reason to apply to the whole building the rigid stratigraphical barrier between the typical Late Bronze style ware and the Philistine Bichrome pottery emphasised by Dothan.

As it is, the stratigraphy of the Residency shows that there is no strict chronological divide between the egyptianizing culture of Late Bronze Palestine and the Philistine era. Both co-existed for some time and moreover, it may be suggested that traditional Egyptian elements were re-used and adapted to fit the ideologies of an emerging Iron Age society.

CHAPTER 3

THE CEMETERIES

LOCATION, TOMB TYPES AND BURIAL PRACTICES

3.1. THE CEMETERIES AROUND THE TELL

There are eight cemeteries around the settlement of Tell el-Far'ah, lying at a distance of about 100 m. to about 350 m. north and west from the edges of the mound. All are situated on the west bank of the Wadi Guzzeh, like the settlement itself.

3.1.1. *Cemetery 100*

3.1.1.1. *Overview*

Cemetery 100 is situated to the north of the tell, and occupies a surface of about 1,928m^2 on a slope above the Wadi Guzzeh. It can be broadly divided into three main clusters which are called here western, central and eastern clusters.

At the time of Petrie's excavations, this area was bordering the side of an old road which connected Beersheba to Khan Yunis (Tufnell, in Petrie 1930:11). According to the original tomb cards, there are thirty-four tombs in Cemetery 100, though only thirty appear on Petrie's plan (Petrie 1930: pl. 66; **pl. 18**). The majority of the tombs date to the Iron IB period with a few extending into Iron IIA (131, 132, 133). Ysraeli (1993:443) also refers to several Late Bronze Age tombs in the 100 cemetery, but these

could not be identified in the course of the present research. In the first publication of the cemetery by O. Tufnell, mention is also made of a few tombs belonging to the Hellenistic period (Tufnell in Petrie 1930:11), but McClellan, in his re-study of the site, was unable to discern any burials of this period in the graveyard (McClellan 1975:176). According to the results of the present study, only one artefact group may be dated to that period, namely that from Pit 113 (which may not have been a tomb). Tomb 136, the other tomb of the cemetery which was not included into the present study, should probably not be dated as late as the Hellenistic Period and is more likely to belong to the Iron IIB-C. However, if Hellenistic burials are, if at all, only very poorly represented, several surface finds from the cemetery's area show that the emplacement was frequented during the last centuries of the first millennium B.C.

3.1.1.2. *Discussion*

A number of artefacts were found loose in the cemetery without connection to any specific burial. According to the excavation notes, these consisted of fifteen pottery vessels, a copper earring, a copper stylus, an amulet, two scarabs, an unspecified stone object and a number of beads of various types and materials (**pls. 30-31**). Apparently not all these objects were kept by the excavators, and today, no more than six pottery items were examined for the whole area.[1] In spite of its incompleteness, this assemblage broadly fits a date in Iron IA-IIB and can thus be considered as indicative of the most active period of use of the cemetery.

Looking at the plan of the cemetery (**pl. 18**; Petrie 1930: pl. 66) – which has been divided here into an eastern, central and western cluster - it seems that the majority of the tombs followed an east-west orientation. According to the notes on the tomb

[1] One or two other pieces of Hellenistic date could be located in existing collections but were not included into the present study.

cards, fifteen of the thirty-three recorded bodies found in the graveyard were positioned with their head to the west, while only three were oriented to the north and two to the south-east. The position of the other thirteen individuals was not specified.

Nearly all the tombs of Cemetery 100 are rectangular shaft graves. Most of them are individual burials, though two, four or up to five bodies may be found in a single shaft (Tombs 133 and 134). Out of the thirty-two shaft graves, fourteen (i.e. almost half of them) had their walls lined with stones and pebbles from the nearby wadi and two (Tombs 110 and 112) had them lined with mud. Seven groups of artefacts in the cemetery (Tombs 113 and 115, 123, 128-129, 131-132) do not come from shaft graves. The first, Tomb 113, was a plain pit containing animal bones and pot sherds, a copper bear figurine (according to the excavators, dating to the Hellenistic period) and fragments of iron and hematite. The others are described, on the Tomb Cards, as disturbed assemblages of pots, beads and metal jewellery. Except Tombs 131 and 132, these groups were bare of human bones.

About two third of the graves in Cemetery 100 were robbed or disturbed at the time of their discovery; in six cases (including the pit burials mentioned above), although the funerary character of the structure leaves little doubts, there was no trace left of human bones.

3.1.2. *Cemetery 200*

3.1.2.1. *Overview*

This cemetery was discovered at a distance of about 100 meters to the west of Cemetery 100. It includes sixty-three graves, among which seventeen at least are cremation burials. While some of the burials in Cemetery 200 may be slightly earlier in date (Iron IB), many graves of this group contain significant amounts of fully developed

Red Slip wheel-burnished pottery and should therefore be dated to the Iron IIA-IIB period, corresponding to the Egyptian late 21st to 25th Dynasties (Ysraeli 1993:443). The cremation burials are believed to start slightly later than the inhumations tombs, and are probably best situated in the late 9th to 8th centuries B.C. Three of the inhumation tombs (Tombs 226, 230 and 235) are considered by McClellan to be of a later date than the other interments of the cemetery (McClellan 1975:177).

3.1.2.2. *Discussion*

As shown on the plan of the cemetery (Petrie 1930: pl. 67) the cremation burials form a close cluster in the south-eastern side of the graveyard. They consist of large jars of Phoenician type (Ysraeli 1993:443), sealed with inverted bowls or stones, in which were deposited the charred bones of the deceased together with small funerary offerings.

The remaining tombs of Cemetery 200 are inhumation burials in rectangular pits lined with wadi cobbles and covered with large limestone slabs (Tufnell, in Petrie 1930:11; Bloch-Smith 1992:83). As a rule, these tombs are widely spaced; they broadly follow an east to west orientation and are spread over the whole area of the cemetery. Each tomb often contained more than one individual and, as a rule, was richly furnished with pottery, jewellery, metal vessels and other goods.[2]

One of the most impressive graves in Cemetery 200 is Tomb 201, a well built cist tomb in which the remains of at least 122 individuals were discovered in a space not larger than 3.8x1.2x1.7 m. (Petrie 1930: pls. 40-41, 67). Certainly, the grave had been used over a significant period of time. With the exception of one of the lowest burials in the tomb, characterised by Tufnell as that of a wealthy man, and of the top layer, which

was undisturbed and contained eight bodies, the excavators were unable to determine any stratigraphical sequence within the tomb.

Because the great majority of the graves in the 200 cemetery clearly post-date the earlier Iron Age and because of the complex deposition sequences of some of its tombs, the burial ground will not be analysed in details in the present study.

3.1.3. *Cemetery 500*

3.1.3.1. *Overview*

The extensive Cemetery 500 (15,204 m^2) is located on the ridge of a sand dune at about 300 m. due north-west of the tell (**pl. 19**; Petrie 1930: pl. 64). With its ninety-six tombs (ninety-one on the cemetery plan), of which only seven appear as undisturbed in the excavation notes, it can be considered as the largest graveyard of the site.

The surface finds of the cemetery area include a wide variety of material spanning its whole period of use (pls. 54-55). Among these, the dominance of Middle Bronze and Early Iron Age artefacts indicates that it was probably during these two periods that the frequentation of the cemetery was the most consistent.

In contrast with the other burial grounds of Tell el-Far'ah, the spatial distribution of the tombs in Cemetery 500 is of some chronological significance. As already suggested by McClellan (1975:177), the arrangement of the 500 graves can be divided into four distinctive clusters, each of which representing different tomb types and periods of use.

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[2] For special studies on the material from the 200 cemetery inhumation tombs, see Maxwell-Hyslop *et al.* 1978; Maxwell-Hyslop 1978. These studies also point to a general date in the 9th century for the main period of use of the cemetery.

3.1.3.2. *Discussion*

The first tomb group of the 500 cemetery is situated at the south end of the area. It consists of a heterogeneous assemblage of rectangular shaft graves and of tombs with two parallel chambers.[3] It also includes isolated instances of circular pit graves (Tombs 580 and 583)[4] and a single case of a rounded chamber tomb with stepped dromos (Tomb 596). The majority of the tombs in this area go back to the Middle Bronze Age, but two of them (Tombs 585 and 589, both of them shaft graves) were used (if not dug) in the Early Iron Age. No recurrent orientation could be singled out among the graves within this area and the sporadic comments on skeletal remains on the Tomb Cards never mention more than one body within a single grave.

The second tomb group of Cemetery 500 (Tombs 545-551, 554-560, 563-566, 568-570) is situated directly to the north of the former. It consists of ten large and widely-spaced bilobate chamber tombs, two parallel-chamber tombs (Tombs 547 and 560), two rounded chamber tombs with stepped dromoi (Tombs 545 and 563), three simple shaft graves (Tombs 548, 549 and 558) and what appear to have been plain pit graves (Tombs 557 and 561).[5] In most cases, there is no information whatsoever on the skeletal remains of this group.

However, five bodies were recorded in Tomb 550 and, considering the quantity of material found in the bilobate tombs in general, it may be assumed that they were used, as a rule, for more than one burial. The large majority of the graves in this spatial unit are oriented north to south and all the burials, with the exception of Tomb 549

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[3] In his seriation study, McClellan called this group the "Parallel-Chamber Tombs" (McClellan 1975:178).

[4] Tomb 583, a group of three pots without associated human remains, may not have been a tomb (Price Williams 1977:117).

[5] Like Tomb 583, Tombs 557 and 561 consist of small groups of vessels without any skeletal remains (Price Williams 1977:50).

which is dated LB I, go back to the Hyksos period.[6]

The third and most often discussed tomb-group of the cemetery is located on the western edge of the graveyard. It is characterised by the presence of a line of five large trapezoidal chamber tombs,[7] as a rule containing several bodies (up to eleven), but it also includes seventeen shaft tombs of the usual type. Seven of these shafts were lined with stones or wadi cobbles and two with a mud coating.[8] With the exception of four of the shaft tombs dating to the LB I-II period (Tombs 535-537 and 539), all the burials in this area seem to have taken place in the Early Iron Age, with a few extending into late Iron IB-IIA (Tombs 534, 540, 546).

The large chamber tombs as well as about half of the smaller shaft graves are broadly oriented from south-east to north-west, while the others follow a north-south orientation.

The last tomb group of Cemetery 500 occupies the extreme north of the area (Tombs 501-526).[9] It mostly consists of closely arranged rectangular shaft graves dating to the Iron I-IIA period, and containing one to five bodies. Eighteen of these tombs, i.e. about two third of the total, had walls lined with wadi pebbles. Amidst the shaft graves were also found two instances of children's pot burials in circular pits (Tombs 513, 516). In one case (Tomb 510), a group of artefacts, including pottery, jewellery, amulets and scarabs, was found just below the surface without any associated human remains. This last group was not interpreted as a tomb by the excavators.[10] With the exception of

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[6] The majority of the tombs of these first two spatial groups, together with their material furnishings, were published by Price-Williams (1977).

[7] Petrie identified these graves with the tombs of five Philistine Lords and their families, which he suggested were rulers of the Tell el-Far'ah area (Petrie 1930:7).

[8] Information on skeletal remains was not recorded for these graves.

[9] This cluster was called by McClellan the "500 North Cemetery" (McClellan 1975:178).

[10] The pencilled note "no tomb" was added on the Tomb Card of Tomb 510, which had been before, on the same card, described as a chamber type grave. The find spot of the group of artefacts connected to this number is indicated on the published plan of the cemetery (Petrie 1930: pl. 64), but the objects themselves are described as surface finds in the Tomb Register (Petrie 1930: pl. 69).

Tomb 502, oriented east to west, all the graves in this area run along a south-east to north-west axis.

According to the spatial analysis of the graves, it seems that the earliest use of the 500 Cemetery area was concentrated in its southern part, while the northern sector started being dug for tombs only after the former virtually fell into disuse.

3.1.4. *Cemetery 600*

3.1.4.1. *Overview*

Cemetery 600 is the southernmost cemetery of Tell el-Far'ah (**pl. 20**; Petrie 1930: pl. 67). It is situated at the foot of the tell and contains sixty-three graves, of which at least thirty-eight were disturbed at the time of discovery. For the purpose of the present study the cemetery was divided into three areas named western, central and eastern cluster.

With the exception of Tombs 650 which he situated in the 9th or 8th century (see below), Petrie (1930: pl. 70) originally dated the cemetery to the 16th, 19th and 20th Dynasties, but these dates need to be reviewed. The earliest burials seem to go back to the Middle Bronze Age (Tombs 658-659) and the LB I-IIA period, when tombs were opened in the eastern and the central clusters (Tombs 610-614, 657). After an interruption during the LB IIB period, the cemetery was used again heavily in Iron IA-B period and, after another phase of disuse in Iron IIB, a small group of graves were added in the Persian and Hellenistic periods (Tombs 650-655).[11] As it is, the site was apparently still frequented in Hellenistic and Roman times.[12]

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[11] Ysraeli (1993:443-444) only mentions Late Bronze Age and Persian period tombs in Cemetery 600.
[12] Tomb 638 consists of a modest material assemblage, including a small flask (Duncan 1930: 76Q), a bronze kôhl stick and coins of Ptolemy II or VI. Tomb 662 may also date to the Hellenistic period.

3.1.4.2. *Discussion*

The majority of the tombs correspond to the usual rectangular shaft tomb type, and their alignment broadly follows an east to west orientation. As a rule they are widely spaced, but a few of them, dating to the MB IIC-LB I period and concentrated in the eastern cluster, are contiguous to each others or even cut over one another (Tombs 613 and 614 and Tombs 658, 657 and 659). Thirty-five of the fifty-eight shaft graves in the cemetery were lined with wadi pebbles and four with mud. The shaft grave 642, which contained the remains of a woman, differed from the other tombs by the addition of a small mud-lined pit at the head of the grave in which three pottery vessels were deposited. According to the information from the Tomb Cards, the majority of the graves in the cemetery were single burials. Only Tomb 615 is recorded as having held two bodies, the earlier interment had been swept to the side at the time of the second burial. Apart from the shaft graves, there is only one possible jar-burial in a pit grave in Cemetery 600 (Tomb 630) and one plain pit grave (Tomb 624). The jar from Tomb 630 was accompanied by an assemblage of funerary offerings, though no bone remains were reported from it.[13]

The tombs of the Persian period are located at the northern limit of the cemetery. The most important grave of this period is Tomb 650, a large burial chamber with a bricked-up entrance and a forecourt. It contained the metal frame of a couch and a fine silver drinking set (Petrie 1930:14, pls. 44-46; Iliffe 1935; Ysraeli 1993:444, photo; Ilan 2000: figs. 51-53). The only pottery artefact in the grave was a large storage-jar (Duncan 1930: 47H). Slightly later (but perhaps still in the Persian period), an unlined shaft grave (Tomb 651) was added over Tomb 650 and another two interments (Tombs 652 and 653) were deposited in the east end of its main chamber.

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[13] Like for the similar cases reported from the 100 and 500 cemeteries, this could have been the burial of a very young child, whose small bones may have totally disappeared.

3.1.5. *Cemetery 700*

3.1.5.1. *Overview*

Cemetery 700 consists of a group of about 60 graves cut into the native gebel, south-east of Cemetery 500, to the west of the tell (**pl. 21**; Petrie 1930: pl. 65). Orientation and size of the tombs vary and the area was used for both children and adult burials. Several periods of use are represented in the 700 cemetery,[14] but assigning a secure date to each of its individual graves is not a straightforward process. In effect, although often undisturbed, many tombs in the 700 cemetery were bare of any pottery material and many only contained bronze or copper bracelets and anklets and stone and glass beads, which are not very helpful for determining the chronology of their contexts. In this case, instead of basing the date of the tombs primarily on the nature of their furnishings, other criteria, such as tomb type and the graves' spatial distribution, should be tentatively used as chronological indicators.[15]

3.1.5.2. *Discussion*

Fifteen graves (Tombs 704, 706, 708-709, 711-714, 717, 721-722, 730-731, 733 and 738) belong to the Middle Bronze Age, that is the first period of use of the cemetery. They are concentrated in the western part of the sector and with a single exception, are plain shaft graves.

The remainder of the tombs belong to a later period. They essentially consist of shaft graves with a rounded depression at the bottom of the shaft, or less often, with a

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[14] In his publication, Petrie talks about tombs ranging from the Hyksos to the Greek period (Petrie 1930:21). On the other hand, Ysraeli (1993:442) acknowledges the presence of Middle Bronze Age burials in Cemetery 700 but makes no mention of any Hellenistic burials.

[15] McClellan (1975:180) suggested dividing the 700 tombs between a first group, dating to the Middle Bronze Age (characterised by Middle Bronze Age pottery) and a second group, distinguished by little or no pottery, by the presence of the jar type 47H4 (Duncan 1930), and by frequent occurrences of metal

rectangular chamber on the side. There are also a few shaft tombs of the standard type (e.g. Tombs 745, 747) and plain pit-graves (e.g. Tombs 726, 737). Many of these tombs were dug amidst the earliest Hyksos burials, but the graveyard was also extended to the east.

Though a few shaft graves with rectangular side chambers occur in the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods in the 500 and 900 cemeteries (the parallel chamber tombs), tombs with side recesses are relatively rare at Tell el-Far'ah and it may be suggested that those in the 700 cemetery all belong to the same period. Although a few of these tombs are unfurnished, the nature of the finds is broadly indicative of an Iron IIC-Persian period date[16] and it may be suggested by analogy that all shaft graves with side recesses in the 700 cemetery (and possibly a number of plain shaft types scattered among them) belong to the same period. Exceptions are the plain shaft graves 710 and 729, which seem to be as late as the Hellenistic period (both yielded a silver coin and Tomb 710 also contained a pottery vessel), and Tomb 739 which was furnished with a LBI-II pottery assemblage. The stone-lined shaft-tomb 707 should also be singled out. It held a decayed wooden sarcophagus with remains of painted plaster decoration. The only accompanying find was a small pilgrim flask which can fit an Iron II date.[17]

Cemetery 700, like Cemetery 200, also provides evidence for the practice of cremation burials. The shaft Tomb 740 yielded the charred bones of at least 21 individuals with a pottery bowl, fragments of iron arrowheads and a few bronze rings for sole funerary offerings.

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objects (though in many cases metal objects are far from abundant). This second group, he qualified as "quite late".

[16] For example characteristic silver earrings from Tombs 725 and 754 were dated to the later part of the 6th century (Maxwell-Hyslop 1978). These also find parallels at Tell 'Ira Tombs 14 and 23 (Beit-Arieh, Freud and Baron 1999: figs. 4.29:9-12, 4.47:11-15; Freud 1999:396-397, fig. 8.2).

3.1.6. *Cemetery 800*

3.1.6.1. *Overview*

Cemetery 800 is located at the foot of the northern slope of the tell (**pl. 22**; Petrie 1930: pl. 66) and covers a surface of about 2,484 m^2. It contains sixty-two tombs, both rectangular shafts and plain pit graves, most of which were undisturbed. The majority of these graves belong to the Iron IA-B period, with two continuing into the Iron IIA (Tombs 821, 835). Tombs 808, 817, 824, 827 and 850, on the other hand, are certainly later. While Tomb 808 may be situated in the Iron IIB-C period, the other four are certainly contemporary with the Persian period 700 cemetery tombs.[18] Like the latter, these four tombs differ from the bulk of the other burials in the presence of metal goods[19] and of Duncan's Type 47H4 storage-jar (Duncan 1930). A few earlier tombs show that the area was used for burials already in the extreme end of the Late Bronze Age (Tombs 811, 854-856).[20]

3.1.6.2. *Discussion*

As a whole, the rectangular shaft-grave is the dominant tomb type in the graveyard. Both dimensions and orientation of the shafts may vary significantly, though a south-east to north-west axis seems to have been favoured. In many cases, the shafts were lined with mud, and more rarely with stones. The fifteen pit graves are scattered randomly among the other graves and, as a rule, were used during the same period as

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[17] Wooden coffins are extremely rare in the Levant. However, remains of two such coffins were discovered in the cave tomb 1 (Area C) at Sahab in Jordan, apparently dating to around 1200 B.C. (Ibrahim 1972b:32).

[18] These are probably the Persian period tombs of Cemetery 800 mentioned by Ysraeli (1993:444).

[19] For example, the silver drinking set from Tomb 829 (Petrie 1930: pl. 27).

[20] According to Petrie's tomb register and cemetery plan (Petrie 1930: pls. 66, 71), some of the graves of Cemetery 800 should be dated to the 15th Dynasty. However, the reassessment of the material from the tombs shows that, with the exception of an isolated group of pots without associated human remains

the others. Two of the pit graves (Tombs 845 and 855) were jar burials, probably of infants. In Tomb 855, two pots had been used to enclose the body of a child and both tombs had only a couple of beads as accompanying grave goods.

3.1.7. *Cemetery 900*

3.1.7.1. *Overview*

The tombs of Cemetery 900 are located west of the tell (Petrie 1930: pl. 13). They were cut into the slope of the glacis wall of the defence system of the Hyksos period, after it had fallen into disuse.[21] Most of them were found on the east side of the trench, directly under the town, and only a few isolated examples (perhaps those which do not appear on the cemetery plan) were situated on the west side of the ditch. On the east slope, the tombs follow the course of the fosse, forming a long narrow line, broadly running south to north (Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. 60, 66:2). It is, however, unlikely that the alignment of graves should correspond to a well-defined chronological sequence because a few tombs cut over earlier ones, not only at the ends of the row, but also in its centre.[22] In addition to its special situation with regard to the tell, the 900 cemetery has a number of other particular features which distinguishes it from the other graveyards of Tell el-Far'ah.

In terms of period of use, it is with Cemetery 1000 the only burial ground of the site which was used over a continuous and consistent period of time. All its graves can be quite securely situated between the second half of the 13th and the first half of the

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(Tomb 856), no assemblage could possibly go back beyond the LB II. On the other hand, according to Ysraeli (1993:443), there are no Late Bronze Age tombs in Cemetery 800.

[21] The site of Megiddo also offers an example of an extensive pit-grave cemetery with 160 tombs cut into the eastern slope of the tell (Guy 1938: pl. 2, fig. 2).

[22] Two shafts (Tombs 954 and 956) cut over the chamber of Tomb 960. However, this does not need to mean that all the shafts are later in date than the chamber tombs.

12th century B.C. There is no indication for any earlier or later intrusions within this coherent cluster. The character of the surface finds from Cemetery 900 confirms this general date. Pottery and small finds found loose on the western slope of the tell, whether originating from plundered tombs or remaining from burial rituals, show that the area was mainly frequented towards the end of the Late Bronze Age. After the last tombs were dug, the slope was probably soon covered by thick layers of wind-blown sand, thus protecting the whole area from later contamination.[23] This relatively rapid soil accumulation which affected the whole area also saved many of the tombs from being plundered prior to their discovery.

3.1.7.2. *Discussion*

One of the most significant features of Cemetery 900 is the presence of at least eleven chamber tombs with sloping or stepped entrances (Tombs 902, 905, 914, 920, 921, 922, 934, 935, 936, 948 and 960).[24] These display one or two main chambers and are trapezoidal or rounded in shape. Tomb 902, though single-chambered has a small adyton to the side. Like those of Cemetery 500, some of the 900 chamber tombs have a depression cut in the middle of their chamber and, as a rule, housed several burials, one of them in an anthropoid clay sarcophagus (Tomb 935). Cemetery 900 also includes seven graves similar to the Middle Bronze Age parallel chamber tombs of the south area of Cemetery 500. The remainder of the 900 cemetery's tombs consists of oval shaft graves, of varying dimensions. Most of them were rather modest in size and usually contained one single individual, though a few had two and even up to three bodies (Tomb 939). Among the bodies recorded in the 900 graves the proportion of children or

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[23] In the excavation report, the authors mention that the workers had first to remove a layer of up to 6 m. of soil before the upper surfaces of the tombs were eventually reached (Starkey and Harding 1932:22).
[24] To these may perhaps be added Tombs 981-982, 984-985.

small infants seems to be particularly high.[25] Unlike the other shaft tombs of Tell el-Far'ah which are often lined with wadi pebbles or mud, those of the 900 cemetery were apparently left unlined, perhaps due to the very compact nature of the native marl soil in the ditch.

Probably as a result of the morphology of the terrain, all the large chamber tombs are dug facing the slope, following a west-east axis. On the other hand, all the parallel chamber tombs and most of the shaft graves are arranged along the slope, according to a south-north orientation. Of all the shafts, only Tombs 926A, 926B, 930 and 945 follow the same orientation as the large chamber graves.

There was apparently no specific system of spatial planning within the cemetery. However, the chamber tombs tend to be widely spaced and seem to be mainly concentrated towards the southern end of the ditch. The shafts and the double chambered tombs, on the other hand, are, as a rule, arranged in tighter clusters and in several cases partly overlap with each others. Both shafts and parallel chambers are particularly dense in the northern part of the fosse and become scarcer at the south.

3.1.8. *Cemetery 1000*

Cemetery 1000 was cleared during the second season of excavations at Tell el-Far'ah. Unfortunately, the position of this graveyard in relation to the tell cannot be determined, because it does not appear on any of the published or unpublished plans or sketches. The cemetery contained twenty-five graves, all dating back to the Hyksos period (Ysraeli 1993:442).

Several of these tombs were chamber graves for multiple burial, though there were also some plain shaft tombs with stone covering (Tomb 1019A). The chamber

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[25] However, it is possible that the excavators did not systematically note down the occurrence of children or infants in the other cemeteries.

tombs include both bilobate graves with stepped dromos (Tomb 1021) and rounded chambers with entrance shafts (Tombs 1002, 1018, 1019, 1024 and 1026).[26] The graves from the 1000 cemetery were rich in finds, including a good number of Egyptian or Egyptian-type objects, such as a painted ostrich egg, faience and alabaster vessels and numerous scarabs and scaraboids (Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. 42-44). Since it only yielded Middle Bronze Age graves, this cemetery falls outside the scope of this study.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE TOMB TYPES

The Late Bronze and Early Iron Age graves of Tell el-Far'ah provide evidence for a variety of differences in tomb type and tomb architecture, some of which are chronologically significant and others bear witness to the coexistence at the same time of various burial modes side by side.

3.2.1. *Shaft graves*

3.2.1.1. *Type description*

The simple shaft grave, in its different variants, is the commonest grave type for both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age periods at Tell el-Far'ah and instances occur in all the cemeteries of the site. These tombs consist of simple oval or rectangular fosses cut into flat or sloping ground or in the natural bedrock. The dimensions of these graves are rather modest (adapted to the size of a human body), and their depth varies importantly (between about 2.0 m. to 0.30 m).

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[26] See the tomb plans (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 45).

In Canaan, simple shaft graves containing one or two burials already appear in the MB IIA-C period, often within the limits of the settlements (Stiebings 1970b), but they mainly develop during the Late Bronze Age, replacing the more traditional practice of multiple burial in caves, either natural or man-made (Gonen 1992a:34; 1992b:240). This development may have been triggered by intensified contacts with Egypt, where individual burials, sometimes in simple pits, were the rule in non-royal low- and middle-class cemeteries during the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom.[27]

Several sub-types of shaft graves may be distinguished within this group at Tell el-Far'ah.

a) *Unlined shaft*

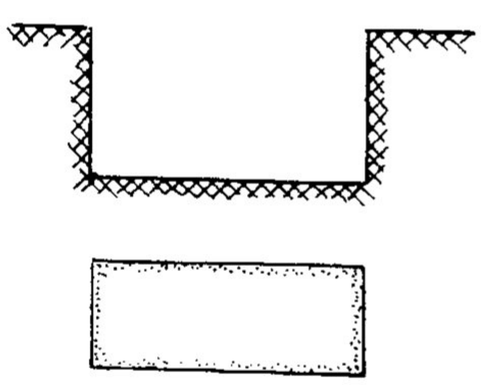


Figure 1: Unlined shaft

This is the most frequently attested shaft grave type at Tell el-Far'ah as well as in the rest of Palestine during the LB II period (Stiebing 1970b:149). The burial fosse is either rectangular or oval and only in rare cases is it covered or partly covered with stone slabs (for example Tomb 114; **pl. 23**).

In the southern Levant, good parallels for the Late Bronze unlined shafts from Tell el-Far'ah may be found at Gaza,[28] Deir el-Balah (Beit-Arieh 1985)[29] and Megiddo, for example Tomb 4 (Guy 1938:101). On the northern coast and inland, such graves occur at Tell Zeror (Ohata 1970: pl. 55), 'Akko (Ben Arieh and Edelstein 1977:1-15),

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[27] Good examples from the eastern Nile Delta may be found at Tell el-Dab'a in the Second Intermediate Period (Van den Brink 1982; Bietak 1991a; 1991b). In the New Kingdom, such cemeteries were excavated, among others, at Tell Heboua (Abd el-Maskoud 1998:91-92) and as far south as Fadrus, in Nubia (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991).

[28] LB II plain shaft tombs at Gaza are mainly found in the Eighteenth Dynasty Cemetery (Petrie 1931:15, pls. 52-53, Tomb 1011).

Tell Nami (Artzy 1990:76), Tell Abu Hawam (Anati 1959: fig. 3), Sidon (Saidah 1967:164), and in the cemetery of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, in Jordan.[30] Throughout the Iron I and IIA period, plain shaft graves continued to be widely used, for example at Gaza (e.g. Tomb 1074: Petrie 1932:15, pl. 53), Lachish (e.g. Tombs 138-139 and 189, Tufnell 1953:197, 199), En-Hanaziv (Porath 1972:259-260), Megiddo (Guy 1938:119-121, 126) and Khalde, at about10 km to the south of Beirut (Saidah 1966).

In Egypt this kind of plain pit-grave, usually used for single interments, was common for low-class and middle-class New Kingdom burials (Kanawati, El-Khouli, McFarlane and Maskoud 1984:59-80).[31]

b) *Lined shaft*

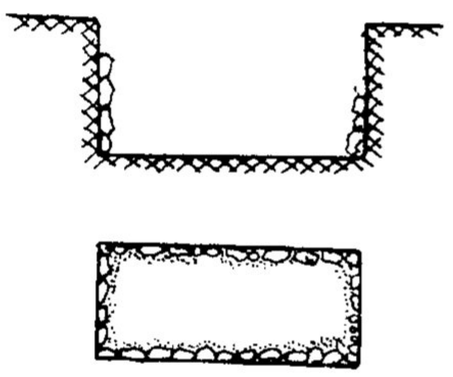


Figure 2: Lined shaft

Many of the rectangular pit graves at Tell el-Far'ah had their walls lined with wadi stones and pebbles (cist-graves) or with a layer of mud, probably in order to strengthen the structure. Such tombs occur in all the cemeteries considered in the present study, with the exception of the 900 cemetery, whose graves are cut into the hard native marl. More frequently than the unlined graves, the lined tombs were also covered or partly covered with stone slabs. One exceptional instance of this tomb type at Tell el-Far'ah is Tomb 642. This woman's burial had an additional mud-lined pit furnished with three pottery vessels at its head.

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[29] The anthropoid clay sarcophagi and the one anthropoid limestone sarcophagus from the site of Deir el-Balah were also found in simple shaft graves (T.Dothan 1970; Beth-Arieh 1985:47-48, fig.4).
[30] Tombs 104-116, 118, 119, 122-125, 127-128, 130-144 (Pritchard 1980), also Tubb 1988:60.
[31] However, any generalising statement with regard to low-class burials in ancient Egypt should be considered with definite caution, where particularly little is known about common peoples' burials and non-formal body disposal (Baines and Lacovara 2002:12-14)

Mud, mud-brick or stone-lined tombs are also quite common in both Late Bronze and Early Iron Age periods in the Levant. Like the unlined variety, they already existed in the Middle Bronze Age[32] and often occur side by side in the same cemeteries. In the Late Bronze Age, they are found in the cemeteries of Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1972:66), Tell Abu Hawam (Anati 1959:93, pl. 12:3-4), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1988:60, fig. 40) and Khalde (Saidah 1966). In the course of Iron I and II, stone-lined or rather slab-lined cists become more frequent in the coastal sites of the Phoenician area, for example at Achziv, between Tyre and 'Akko, (Mazar 1993:32; Smith, Horwitz and Zias 1990:138-139) and further inland at Tell Zeror (Ohata 1967:39-41, pls. 7-8, 10, 36, 45; 1970:69-71, pls. 51-54). Later cist tombs tend to be larger and better built than the earlier examples and were often conceived as multiple burials, containing several dozens of individuals.[33]

3.2.1.2. *Burial customs*

As a rule lined and unlined shaft graves were intended to house one single body. However, it is not rare to find two, three or even more interments within the same tomb (e.g. **pl. 23**: Tombs 114, 124, 133). At Tell el-Far'ah, some shaft graves contained up to four, five and, in one instance, even eleven bodies (**pl. 23**: Tomb 534). In some cases, multiple (especially double) interments may have been practised more or less simultaneously, since the bodies are neatly arranged side by side, once even separated by a stone slab, (eg. Tombs 114, 832, 949; **pls. 23-24**). In other cases, later burials were added within already existing tombs. The earlier depositions were either swept aside

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[32] With regard to this question, the sun-dried brick lined shafts with vaulted roofs discovered at Tell ed-Dab'a in the Nile Delta (Bietak 1991b) are indeed not considered as "Egyptian" tombs, but as "distinctly Syro-Palestinian" (Van den Brink 1982:4). However, brick-lined pit graves are also found in the Middle Kingdom cemetery of Tell Basta (e.g. al Sawi 1979:15).

[33] For example, at Tell el-Far'ah itself, Tomb 201 (Petrie 1930: pls. 40-41, 68) or the "cist chamber tomb" from Achziv (Mazar 1993:36).

(e.g Tomb 615; **pl. 23**) or the new body was simply laid on top of the earlier occupant of the tomb (Tombs 133, 534, 966; **pl. 23**).[34]

In general the bodies were placed in a dorsal outstretched attitude, with arms extended along the flanks or with hands joining on the chest, on the pelvis or brought back to the face. The heads were facing upwards or turned to the side. More rarely the deceased had been placed on his/her side, in a more or less crouched position (eg. Tomb 133 upper burial, **pl. 23**), or in one case seated, leaning on a side of the grave (Tomb 923). Other unusual physical attitudes evidenced at Tell el-Far'ah may represent instances of bodies that had been left to stiffen or partly stiffen after death (for example in Tomb 654).

Sometimes isolated stones were found inside the grave, placed either next to the dead (Tomb 635) or over his/her head or feet (Tombs 124, 901, **pl. 23**).[35]

At the time of discovery, several of the necklaces, pendants, rings, bracelets, anklets and shell ornaments which accompanied the deceased were found *in situ* on the skeletons, just as they had been disposed at the time of the burial. The rest of the funerary offerings were apparently placed rather randomly around the deceased, but in several cases small vessels (dipper-juglets or bowls) were found inside large storage-jars. Grave assemblages generally include pottery, bronze, silver or gold jewellery, glass, semi-precious stone and faience beads, faience amulets, shells and scarabs (in particular in the late 13th-early 12th century tombs). Tools, weapons, metal or stone vases are, as a rule, much rarer. Only a few of the tombs had no offerings whatsoever (e.g. Tomb 118, **pl. 23**).

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[34] Similarly, at Tell Zeror, most of the cists contained several bodies. Bones of earlier burials were either pushed into a corner (for example in Tomb I) or later burials were added on top of the earlier ones (Ohata 1967:41; 1970:69-70).

[35] This practice is also evidenced in the Iron Age II tombs at Khalde: Tombs 1 to 4, 22 and 23 (Saidah 1966:55-63, pls. 2, 4).

There is hardly any evidence for any sort of special treatment of the corpses which could have taken place between the time of death and that of the burial. The only exception may be the burial of Tomb 623, which according to the excavation notes, displayed a waxed skull.

3.2.2. *Rounded pit graves*

3.2.2.1. *Type description*

Rounded pit graves are very similar in type to the rectangular pit graves. They only differ from the latter in their rounder shape and the absence of stone lining on the walls. Different types of inhumation may take place in the pit graves. Two are attested at Tell el-Far'ah.

a) *Plain interments*

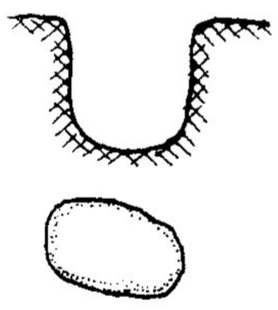


Figure 3: Plain interments

In the cemeteries there are a small number of plain shallow pits, dug in the earth or in the native rock, but only a few of them yielded evidence for human remains (for example, Tombs 131, 132, 811). Rounded pits in the Levant are relatively less frequent than the rectangular shaft in both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age periods.[36] It is possible that some of the pits at Tell el-Far'ah occurring without associated bones may represent pottery groups discarded from a disturbed tomb.[37]

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[36] Several rounded plain pit burials containing the remains of infants were found in the Megiddo cemetery, for example Tomb 37C1, probably Iron I in date (Guy 1938:77, figs. 84, 91) and Tomb 1250 (Guy 1938:116, fig. 40) which goes back to the LB II period.

[37] Similar cases were recorded at Megiddo (Guy 1938:101).

b) *Jar burials*

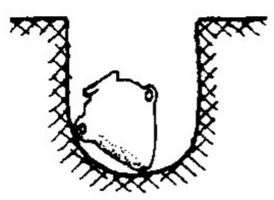


Figure 4: Jar burials

Although the practice of burying adult individuals in pottery jars is attested in several Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Levantine cemeteries,[38] the only jar burials recorded at Tell el-Far'ah are those of children or infants.[39] As a rule, children bodies were simply deposited in a single jar, often accompanied by modest funerary offerings, and the opening of the vessel was closed with an inverted bowl. The jar was then buried in a plain pit-like depression. The only reported double-jar burial at Tell el-Far'ah comes from Tomb 855 and it contained the remains of a baby. Good parallels for the children's jar burials of Tell el-Far'ah are found in the Late Bronze Age at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1988), Tell Nami (Artzy 1989; 1990) and, in the Early Iron Age, at Megiddo (see above, p.65, note 36).[40]

3.2.3. *Shaft grave with side chamber or recess*

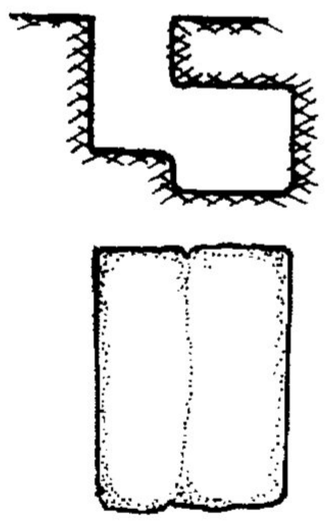


Figure 5: Shaft grave with recess

3.2.3.1. *Type description*

These tombs consist of a straight vertical shaft cut out in the earth or in the marl bedrock opening on to a rounded, elliptical or rectangular cavity on the side. Occasionally, a slight step divides the shaft from the side burial chamber (Tomb 909). Already evidenced

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[38] This custom is also much older and is not restricted to the Levant. In Predynastic and Old Kingdom Egypt, the practice in poorer burials of burying the dead in large pots was widespread (Spencer 1982:167). The body was either placed inside the jar or beneath an inverted vessel.

[39] As a rule, jar burials seem to be more frequently associated with infants and children than with adults in both the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the Levant (Bloch-Smith 1992:32). In Egyptian New Kingdom cemeteries, for example that of Tell Basta, jar burials also seem to have been essentially used for children (e.g. al Sawi 1979:15-16, 22, 25-26, 30-31, 35, 37).

[40] Jars containing infants' remains were sometimes placed in other types of tombs. At Sahab, Tomb 1, for example, transitional LB II/Iron IA children's (and adult) jar burials were discovered in association with other body depositions in a cave tomb (Ibrahim 1972a:93; Yassine 1975:31-33).

at the site in MB IIC, in the 500 cemetery,[41] they later occur in the Late Bronze Age in Cemetery 900 (Tombs 909, 925, 937, 938, 942, 949, 962, 974 and 978). At Tell el-Far'ah the tombs belonging to this type are of modest dimensions and usually contained a single body (a notable exception is Tomb 949).

Similar tombs with shaft access and side chambers are also known from other contemporary Palestinian sites. Instances of this type may be found at Lachish (Tomb 226: Tufnell 1958:235) and a more elaborate version of the same principle (a shaft descending into one or several inter-connected chambers) may be exemplified by the Necropolis K at Byblos (Salles 1980).

Rock-cut shaft tombs with side chamber(s) were also common in Middle and New Kingdom Egypt in non-royal cemeteries, though the shafts of these graves were much deeper (5 to 8 m. deep) than those of the Palestinian examples. Straight shafts with complexes of underground connected chambers are found, for example, in the Middle and New Kingdom necropolises of Dra' Abu el-Naga in western Thebes (Seiler 1993; Polz 1995) and Dashur (Hasegawa 2000:81). In its plainer version this burial type is ubiquitous in the Beni Hassan Middle Kingdom necropolis (Garstang 1907:45-53) and is attested for tombs dating from the 20th to the 30th Dynasty at the same site (Garstang 1907:202).

3.2.3.2. *Burial customs*

The standard body deposition of the shaft graves with side chamber does not differ from that usually practised in the simple or lined shafts. The deceased are usually placed on their back, with hands on the pelvis or on the chest and heads either looking

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[41] Some of the Middle Bronze Age graves of the 500 cemetery are fitted with two burial cavities, one on each side of the shaft (e.g. Tomb 575). The shaft chamber tombs from the 500 cemetery also have local Palestinian parallels in MB II and LB I, for example, Tomb 153 at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: fig. 6) and at a cemetery site, near Tel Aviv's harbour (Kaplan 1955).

up or turned to the side. Grave goods are also similar in character to those found in many of the plain or lined shaft tombs of the 900 cemetery, though they may contain a few more items of prestige. The furnishings of both Tombs 909 and 925, for example, in addition to the usual pottery wares, bronze trinkets and paste beads, also include silver jewellery, gold beads and gold-mounted scarabs.

3.2.4.*Chamber tombs*

3.2.4.1. *Type description*

Chamber graves are less frequent than the simple shaft or pit graves. As a rule they are of much larger dimensions than the latter and they represent greater effort of workmanship. They share the basic principle of the rock-cut rounded ceiling chamber(s) and the practice of multiple interments with the traditional Canaanite cave burials.[42] At Tell el-Far'ah, the chamber tombs contained about ten bodies and have been interpreted as family tombs (Ysraeli 1993). Several variants of the chamber tomb are attested at the site.

a) *Rounded or rectangular chamber tomb*

This type is only found in Cemetery 900 (Tombs 920, 921, 922 and 936: **pl. 28**). It consists of a single burial chamber accessed by a long stepped or sloping corridor. In southern Palestine in the Late Bronze Age, chamber tombs with sloping dromoi also occur at Lachish (Tombs 216 and 512: Tufnell 1958:232-235, 238, fig.9).[43] Outside Palestine, similar tombs are contemporarily found on Cyprus. The structure of the single chamber tombs from Tell el-Far'ah may in effect be compared to the LC IA-IIB rock-

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[42] Cave burials for multiple interments, although not represented at Tell el-Far'ah, are extremely frequent in Transjordan and coastal Palestine throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

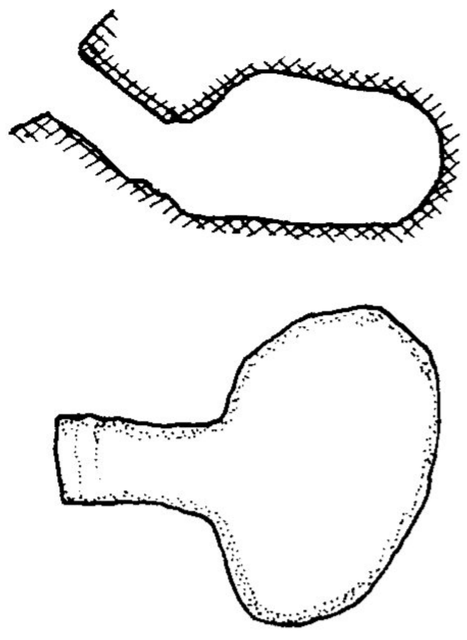


Figure 6: Rounded or rectangular chamber tomb

cut tombs of Ayia Irini-*Palaeokastro*, in particular Tombs 3, 11 and 12 (Pecorella 1977:15-50, 66-99, 103-131, figs. 6-14, 150-152, 216-219, 242-253), and to LC III tombs from Kition, for example French Tomb 3 (Åström 1972:50, fig. 27:9; Karageorghis 1960).[44]

b) *Rectangular or trapezoidal bench tomb*

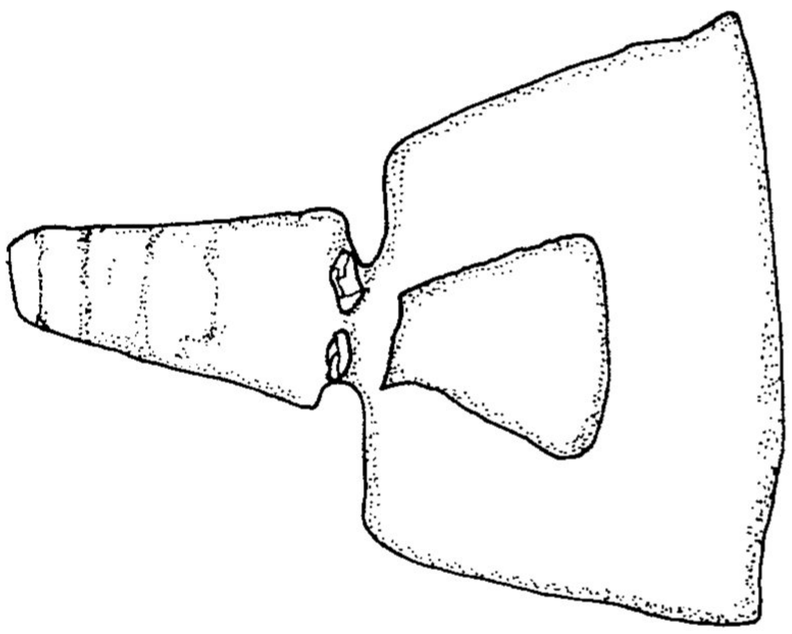


Figure 7: Rectangular or trapezoidal bench tomb

These tombs are characterised by a large rectangular or trapezoidal burial chamber which was accessed by a stepped dromos of varying length, which in some cases, was blocked with stone slabs at the entrance of the burial chamber (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 47, middle right). The centre of the chamber itself formed a central depression and bench-like features were hewn out on the sides of the grave (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 57, top right). Some of these graves also possessed an additional cavity or niche, either at the back of the main chamber (for the 500 cemetery bench tombs, **pls. 25-26**), or on its front, next to

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[43] Tomb 216 also has lime-plastered walls (Tufnell 1958:234).

[44] On Cyprus the single chamber tomb for multiple burial is still frequent in the Cypro-Geometric period and the type lasts throughout Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical times. They are notably found at Amathus, Marion and Idalion (Gjerstad 1935). However, these later chamber graves differ from the Late Bronze ones by the fact that their dromos usually opens on the side of the chamber, thus forming a L-shape with the latter (for example, Amathus Tomb 22: Gjerstad 1935: 119-124, figs. 37:15, 40, 41, 46:1, 2, 6). Chambers with dromoi axed on to the middle of the chamber, such as Amathus Tomb 70 (Gjerstad 1935: 390-392, fig. 167:1-3, 168) are much rarer.

the entrance (Tomb 902, **pl. 27**). In the 500 tombs, this added chamber was also provided with side benches and used for body depositions. The side chamber of Tomb 902, on the other hand, was found empty.

Bench tombs typically contained more than one interment. Tomb 905 had six burials, Tomb 914, seven and Tomb 532, nine (**pls. 26, 28**). The other bench tombs were disturbed when brought to light, but eleven bodies were identified in Tomb 542, only one in Tomb 552, while no bones remained in Tomb 562 (**pls. 25-27**). The three anthropoid clay coffins from Tell el-Far'ah were all recovered in bench tombs (see below, p.73).

In a 1966 article G. Waldbaum pointed to the existence of a number of similarities between the bench burials from Tell el-Far'ah and Mycenaean chamber tombs. She suggested that the burials from the 900 cemetery of Tell el-Far'ah were actually the graves of Mycenaean mercenaries or refugees who had arrived in the area towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, while the chamber graves from the 500 cemetery were those of the second-wave of Aegean newcomers, i.e. the Philistines (Waldbaum 1966). However, it has now been shown that only a few features are common to both the Mycenaean tombs and the Tell el-Far'ah chamber graves (Gonen 1992a:23-24). In both cases, the burial chamber is rounded, trapezoidal or rectangular, but the typical Mycenaean rock-cut tombs are distinguished by a particularly long dromos[45] and have only rarely hewn-out benches on their sides.

In fact, the bench tombs from Tell el-Far'ah are better paralleled by a series of Late Bronze Age Cypriot graves than by any example from the Aegean. As far as typological features are concerned, some of the LC I-II Cypriot graves, are indeed quite

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[45] This is the case both on the Greek Mainland and in the east Aegean. See the recently excavated cemetery of Aspropilia, near Pylona on Rhodes (Karantzali and Ponting 2000:219, fig.1).

close to some of the Tell el-Far'ah bench tombs.[46] Tomb 119 at Palaeopaphos-Eliomylia (Karageorghis 1990:77-78, fig.11), the LC III graves from Milia (Westholm 1939) and the bilobate Tomb 1851 from Enkomi (Lagarce and Lagarce1985:21-25, fig. 1:66), for example, may be cited as comparisons.

However, the bench tombs from Tell el-Far'ah, although rather uncommon in the Levant, should not be regarded as a totally isolated phenomenon. A rectangular bench tomb is known from Gaza (Petrie 1934: pl. 53) and a rounded rock-cut chamber with side ledges was found at Sarafand (Baramki 1959).[47]

In addition, similar tombs have been reported from Pella in Jordan (Tabakat Fahel).[48]

c) *Double chamber tomb*

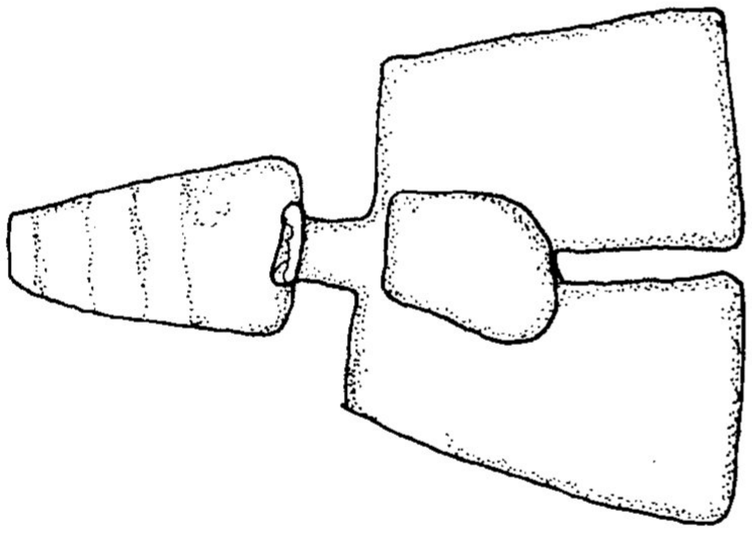


Figure 8: Double chamber tomb

There are only two examples of this type of tomb at Tell el-Far'ah (Tombs 934 and 960, **pls. 28-29**) and both are located in the 900 cemetery. Like the other tombs of this cemetery, the double chamber tombs are cut into the hard marl of the western slope of the tell. The two rectangular or roughly rounded chambers are arranged on both sides of a central depression which is accessed through a stepped dromos. In Tomb 960, the burial chambers were further separated from the dromos by a

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[46] Even in different tomb types the presence of benches along the sides of the burial chambers is relatively common in Late Cypriot rock-cut graves, for example the tombs at Palaeopaphos-Teratsoudhia (Michaelidis 1990), or Tomb 18 at Enkomi (Åström 1972:50, fig. 27:7).

[47] No remains of any entrance shaft or dromos was identified in the Sarafand tomb. However the grave was discovered because its entrance had been exposed as a result of particularly violent winter rains and it is possible that the access corridor or shaft was washed away on that occasion (Baramki 1959:129).

[48] These tombs are not published but they are mentioned by Yassine who visited them in 1964, during the clearance of the area (Yassine 1975:60, note 11).

short stomion, the entrance of which was blocked with a large stone slab (**pl. 28**; Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. 59).

The shape of these graves is directly evocative of the bilobate chamber tombs of the Middle Bronze Age period, which occur at a number of Palestinian coastal sites and as far inland as Jerusalem in the MB IIC period (Saller 1964:7). Tell el-Far'ah itself provides several examples of these Middle Bronze Age bilobate chamber tombs in the 500 and 1000 cemeteries. The resemblance between the Palestinian double chamber graves and the MC III bilobate tombs has long been noticed (Sjöqvist 1940:198-199). However, in contrast to the Palestinian examples which appear quite suddenly at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and whose distribution remains somewhat limited, the contemporary Cypriot type is widespread and the local continuity of its development can be traced back all the way to the Early Cypriot period (Åström 1957:206). Also at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age or slightly later, another tomb type reminiscent of Cypriot burial, the *loculi* tomb (cave tomb with burial niches at the sides) was introduced in Canaan (Gonen 1992a:24-25) and on the basis of this coinciding evidence, it as been argued that both Palestinian bilobate chambers and loculi tombs were the result of a Cypriot influence, or that these graves belonged to Cypriot groups of "resident merchants or invaders" in southern Palestine.[49]

There were no remains of human bones in the disturbed Tomb 934 at the time of the discovery, but Tomb 960 contained 10 bodies, among them 3 children, distributed between the two chambers.

3.2.4.2. *Burial practices*

As a rule chamber tombs contained several bodies. At Tell el-Far'ah only Tomb 920 held only a single individual. In the bench chamber graves, the bodies were generally laid on the benches,[50] either in the main or in the back chamber. In tomb 532, however, one undisturbed skeleton was found in the central depression. The funerary offerings were deposited either on the benches, around the bodies, in the central depression or at the entrance of the grave.

All the chamber tombs bear evidence for the same type of inhumation as was practised in the other grave types of the site. The deceased were laid out on their back with arms extended along the sides, crossed or joined on their pelvis or chest. No special post-mortem treatment was recorded for any of the skeletons. The secondary depositions were generally made without upsetting the earlier ones. The newer interments were often placed next to, or head to foot with those already present in the tombs. Only in rare instances (Tomb 960 and possibly Tomb 542; **pls. 25, 28**) had bones been pushed aside in a corner of the grave. The majority of the undisturbed chamber tombs from the 900 cemetery yielded bones of both adults and children. The chamber tombs of the 500 cemetery, on the other hand, (at least on the basis of the published and unpublished data) did not contain any children remains.

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[49] Stiebing 1970a:143. The great similarity which exists between the grave offerings from these tombs and the typical Palestinian funerary assemblages was explained by the author by suggesting that such foreign groups were rare and that they rapidly merged with the local population.
[50] As in the Cypriot bench tombs (Karageorghis 1990; Lagarce and Lagarce1985).

3.2.5 *The anthropoid coffins*

3.2.5.1. *Discussion*

Whole and fragmentary clay coffins were found in Tombs 935 (Starkey and Harding 1932:25; Weippert 1988:370), 552 and 562 (Petrie 1930: pl. 24; Dothan 1982:261, fig.4, 262, fig. 6). These appear as large elongated pottery boxes with rounded edges and flat bases (Petrie 1930: pl. 24, bottom right). The upper half of the box is made of a detachable lid which is modelled in the shape of a human face, with relief eyes, ears, mouth, nose and beard. Hair is represented only on the lid of the sarcophagus from Tomb 562. On the sides of the lids are also featured a pair of arms with hands joining under the faces (Petrie 1930: pl. 24, top left and middle right). The clay coffins were built from clay coils, using the same basic technique as for the building of the lower parts of storage jars or other large vessels. Unlike storage-jars, however, the walls of the sarcophagi are very thick and their surface was left uneven. The whole container was apparently shaped in one piece and closed at the top of the head. The lid was cut out with a sharp instrument when the shape was leather-dry. The clay, light beige to red in colour, very coarse and containing numerous mineral inclusions and organic temper, was apparently fired at low temperatures. Analysis carried out on comparable coffins from Deir el-Balah showed that they were made of clays local to the area (Perlman, Asaro and Dothan 1973:149-150).

In the Levant, Late Bronze and Early Iron Age burials in similar anthropoid clay sarcophagi are also known from Beth Shan (Oren 1973:105-139), Lachish Tomb 570 (Tufnell 1958:131-132, 248-249, pls. 45-46), Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1972; 1973;

1978), Amman (Yassine 1975), Sahab (Albright 1932b) and Pella (Yassine 1975:62; Bourke and Sparks 1995:159).[51]

All these sarcophagi have their own character, some (in particular those from Deir el-Balah) being very egyptianizing in style, and, according to their contexts and accompanying finds, they were produced over a significant period of time. The examples from Amman and Sahab, which are characterised by the addition of modelled arms along the body and side handles to transport the coffins, are certainly somewhat later than the coffins from Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah and Lachish (Yassine 1975:61). However, all bear witness to a specific mode of inhumation which was apparently not practised in the area before the late 13th century.

For a long time, the introduction of this burial practice in the Near East was linked with the arrival of the "Sea Peoples" in the area (M.Dothan 1957; Wright 1959; 1966:74). The series of anthropoid coffins from Beth Shan, in particular, was interpreted as the graves of Philistine mercenaries who resided in the Egyptian garrison of the site. This proposal was made on the basis of the resemblance between the head-dress depicted on the Beth Shan coffins and the "plumed" cap of the Philistines, such as is represented in the Medinet Habu reliefs (Oren 1973). However, it is now generally believed that the introduction of the coffin burials in Syria-Palestine should rather be connected with the strong Egyptian influence which shaped the cultural landscape of the whole area in the course of the Late Bronze Age (Gonen 1992a:9; Gonen 1992b:224).[52] This proposal finds further support in the nature of the funerary material found in these graves, which often includes a number of Egyptian or egyptianizing artefacts. The

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[51] Another clay anthropoid coffin was found in a grave at Dhiban, dating to the 8th century B.C. (Winnett and Reed 1964).

[52] T.Dothan argues that the earliest clay sarcophagi in Palestine were those of Egyptian soldiers or functionaries serving in the garrisons and that the custom was later adopted by the Philistines (T.Dothan 1983:108).

cemetery of Deir el-Balah, where several coffins were discovered, notably yielded four Egyptian funerary stelae, made of local kurkar stone (Ventura 1987).

Influence from Egypt is not only supported by the fact that coffins were standard in private burials from the first part of the New Kingdom to the 25th Dynasty (Spencer 1982:175-178), but also by the occurrence, in various parts of the country, of clay coffins comparable to the Levantine examples. Though usually made of wood, several examples of clay sarcophagi, mainly dating to the 18th and 19th Dynasties were discovered in a number of low to middle class necropolises all along the Nile. At Gurob, painted anthropoid clay sarcophagi with modelled facial features were found in nine of the shaft and chamber tombs of an extensive New Kingdom cemetery, situated north of the large temple of Tuthmosis III (Brunton and Engelbach 1927:9-17, pls. 1.18).[53] Other examples come from the Cemeteries A, C, D, E and F at Riqqeh. These were delicately painted and inscribed with funerary formulae, like contemporary wooden coffins usually were (Engelbach 1915:18, pl.19.1). A few instances of such burials were also recorded in the rock-cut chamber tombs of the New Kingdom cemetery of Rifeh, south-west of Asyut (Petrie 1907:22, pls. 17, top, 27B, bottom), in built tombs from Cemetery S in Aniba, Nubia (Steindorff 1937:72-73, pls. 39-40) and in the Nile Delta, at Kôm Abu Billou (Leclant 1971:227, figs. 8-9),[54] Nebesheh (Petrie and Griffiths 1888: pl. 1), Tanis (Brissaud 1987a:26, pl. VI:b-c; 1987b: pl. II:a-b), Tell ed-Dab'a (Bietak 1984:139), Tell el-Yehudiyeh (Naville and Griffiths 1890:48) and at Tell Basta, in New Kingdom and Late Period tombs, (al Sawi 1979: fig. 200, 121-122; Bakr 1992: 30-33). Finally, a mud plaster painted coffin was found in the 19th Dynasty tomb 94/1 of the Teti cemetery at Saqqara (Sowada, Callaghan and Bentley 1999:12, pl. 3).

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[53] Tombs range from Point Q to the north, to Point S, to the south.
[54] One of the clay coffin burials from Kôm Abu Billou also yielded a Mycenaean style stirrup-jar (Leclant 1971: fig. 6).

Like their Palestinian counterparts, the Egyptian clay sarcophagi may present significant differences in both style and quality of workmanship. The sarcophagi from Gurob, for example, instead of the usual opening of the upper part, have full-length lids (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 18), and, at Aniba, women's coffins have modelled breasts depicted on their lids (Steindorff 1937:72, pl. 40:3).

Quite likely, the Egyptian custom of burying the dead in clay sarcophagi developed from the more frequent use of anthropoid wooden coffins,[55] and it may be suggested, as argued long ago by Steindorff (1937:72), that clay sarcophagi in Egypt functioned as cheap substitutes for the latter.[56]

3.2.5.2 *Burial customs*

Apart from those of Deir el-Balah, the majority of the Palestinian and Jordanian clay coffin burials come from disturbed contexts and, therefore, little is known about the type of burial they contained. However, from the available records, it appears that, if the container was egyptianizing, the mode of burial itself was not necessarily so. Indeed, several sarcophagi contained the remains of more than one individual. The coffins from Deir el-Bal'ah held from two to six burials of male and female adults and children placed on top of each others in an extended position (Dothan 1972) and two to three inhumations were identified in the coffins from Amman.[57] Unfortunately, even for those found in undisturbed contexts, Petrie omitted to indicate if the sarcophagi from Tell el-Far'ah contained one or several bodies.

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[55] Sometimes the facial features of the wooden sarcophagi consisted of moulded mud-plaster masks (Sowada, Callaghan and Bentley 1999:34).

[56] However, it was definitely not the mode of burial of the poorest. Simpler burials were plainly wrapped in reed matting, for example Tomb 22 at Gurob (Brunton and Engelbach 1927:10) and Burial 94/6 at Saqqara (Sowada, Callaghan and Bentley 1999:14, pls. 28, 52, 53) or deposited on the bare sand, sometimes in linen cloths, like in Burial 95/2 at Saqqara (Sowada, Callaghan and Bentley 1999:16).

[57] Yassine (1983:32) remarked that these anthropoid clay coffins are not large enough to accommodate several bodies if the burials are primary and therefore suggested that bodies were left to decay for some

3.2.3. CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF THE CHANGES

The reassessment of the topographical and typological characteristics of the cemeteries from Tell el-Far'ah shows that, as a rule, the settlement's burial grounds were used intermittently over considerable periods of time. It seems that during the several hundreds years of occupation of the site, the emplacements where the dead were disposed of remained more or less the same. This may be pure coincidence, but it may also point to the perpetuation of strong traditions with regard to land-use, at least in the mortuary domain. However, in spite of this spatial consistency, there is no standardisation of tomb type or tomb orientation, neither within a cemetery nor within a single period.

Analysis of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age tomb types, in particular, bear witness to the heterogeneity of co-existing Palestinian funerary customs. Throughout both periods, the commonest tomb types remained the lined or unlined shaft graves and the plain pit graves (often children's tombs, occasionally in jars), while shaft graves with side chamber and the various types of chamber tombs occurred in much smaller numbers.

The dominance of plain shaft graves fits well the contemporary evidence from other south Palestinian and Transjordanian cemetery sites of the period. This tomb type, which is best fitted for individual interment, may have developed in Palestine under Egyptian influence, since, in Egypt, single interments in pits or shafts were practised in non-royal cemeteries.[58] However, even if it was originally linked to Egyptian practices,

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time before they were deposited inside the coffins. Another possibility is that the coffins were re-opened on several occasions, after the earlier bodies had already decomposed.

[58] See for example the individual pit graves I/12, nr.4 and k/12, n° 1-3 of Middle Kingdom Tell ed-Dab'a (Bietak 1991b:34-38). However, it is not uncommon that the sand-brick built tombs with vaulted ceilings of Tell el-Dab'a contained two or more burials. Tomb m/13, for example, contained five individuals

this mode of burial, by the end of the Late Bronze Age, had become fully integrated into the local funerary customs of Syria-Palestine.

Interestingly, it has been noted that individual shaft graves also enjoyed renewed popularity on Cyprus towards the end of the Late Bronze Age. Although they were common throughout the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods on the island, shaft graves started to be used again extensively in the LC III period (Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987). Like the examples from the Levantine coastland, the Cypriot shafts may be unlined or stone-lined and usually contain one burial, though sometimes up to three, bodies placed in a supine extended position.[59] However, while the Levantine shafts are, with very few exceptions, found in cemeteries situated outside the limits of the settlements, the Cypriot LC III shaft tombs (unlike Cypriot chamber-graves) are generally dug within the limits of the living areas (Niklasson-Sönnerby 1983; 1987:221).

The presence of various types of chamber tombs at Tell el-Far'ah raises another issue of interest. A Mycenaean or Aegean influence has often been invoked in order to explain the emergence of these unusual burial types, but as shown above, these graves have little to do with the chamber tombs of the Mycenaean world. Better parallels are found on Cyprus where multiple burial in rock-cut chambers is the rule throughout the Late Cypriot period. Although structurally quite similar, the Cypriot chamber graves differ from their Palestinian counterparts in the fact that the former were usually used over much longer periods of time compared to the latter. Late Bronze Cypriot chamber graves often contained several dozens of individuals piled up together,[60] while the Palestinian chambers, in particular those from Tell el-Far'ah, were normally used for not more than ten to fifteen burials. These, as a rule, were neatly laid out side by side,

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(infants and adults). In this tomb, the earlier burials had been pushed aside to make place for the later ones (Bietak 1991b:84-86, fig. 45).

[59] For instance the LC III Tomb 14 from Kourion *Bamboula* (Benson 1972:7, pl. 8).

apparently in an effort not to disturb earlier depositions, something which is more evocative of the Egyptian mortuary practices than of the Cypriot custom.

In fact, structurally, these tombs are not totally unlike some of the rock-cut chamber tombs of New Kingdom Egypt. The steep access corridor, in particular, is in a way quite close to the shafts of the Egyptian tombs and the chamber, which was reopened several times for successive body depositions, is evocative of Egyptian family burial chambers. This Egyptian flavour in the local mortuary practices is further evidenced by the occasional presence of the clay anthropoid sarcophagi in the chamber graves.

To conclude, it seems that a number of details in grave architecture and burial practices at Tell el-Far'ah were at least partly influenced by Egyptian customs. However, none of the Egyptian features appearing in the tombs can be considered as straightforward borrowings. They were instead modified in order to fit local usage. This process of adaptation may be interpreted as "elite emulation" (Higginbotham 2000). However, in particular when viewed in a wider context, in relation to the nature of the grave furnishings, and the other possible influences apparent in the tombs (mainly a number of recurrent Cypriot elements) the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah also point to what appears like the emergence of enhanced cultural interconnections between the Levantine coast and Cyprus in sub-elite and non-elite spheres.

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[60] However, this feature changed at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, when tombs started to be used for a small number of burials only (Steel 1995:200).

CHAPTER 4

THE POTTERY

> "I find a pot and I say: this is an Iron Age pot dating from the 12th century B.C. If you think that I am an authority, you may accept my date for the pot. (...) But to quote parallels for the dating of my 12th century B.C. pot does not help to date the pot which I found. It makes it more likely but never conclusive". (Franken 2000:31).

4.1. ASPECTS OF POTTERY STUDIES: STYLE, FUNCTION AND TECHNOLOGY

This quote by Franken, as pessimistic as it sounds to any pottery specialist, certainly has a lot of truth to it, in particular in LB IIB and Iron I Levant, where plain undecorated wares tend to dominate the general pottery repertoire. However, in the eyes of many archaeologists pottery remains an essential source of information and, in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah as elsewhere, pottery is certainly one of the main tools for proposing an internal sequence among the graves, and for placing the tombs within their wider chronological and cultural context.

At least until very recently, most pottery studies (in particular in Aegean archaeology) tended to concentrate on stylistic analysis by building typologies for both shapes and decoration.[1] From the 1960s onwards, and very gradually, the founding principles of these typologies underwent important changes and greater emphasis was given to other dimensions of the material, in particular to its functional and technological aspects. It was notably recognised that certain contingencies which have

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[1] Taking as a model the reference work of Furumark (1941a), many authors of Bronze Age pottery studies in the Mediterranean established stylistic typologies which separate pottery shapes from pottery motifs in a rather artificial way (for instance, Walberg 1976; 1983; 1992; also, though to a lesser extent: Strümer 1992; Mountjoy 1993).

to do with raw material resources and practical expertise often influence stylistic change or conservatism, and consequently, that technological and functional analysis should be granted at least as much, or even greater importance than style in the elaboration of artefact typologies and their interpretation (Bourriau 1985:28; Franken 1974:12).[2]

Whether based on functional/technological or stylistic criteria, the typologies built by the archaeologist constitute the starting point of his/her interpretative work.[3] Stylistic or technological changes are generally employed for establishing chronological sequences within or between archaeological cultures and similarities between two different assemblages are often taken as evidence for cultural interaction (e.g. Wright 1986:2; Buchholz 1999:386).[4] In the course of this analytical process all dimensions of the material should be taken into account and, as argued by theorists and field archaeologists alike (Sackett 1977; 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1987:92; McGovern 1995:29), style and function should be envisaged together, because they play an equal part in the finished product. They are essential constitutive features which, when considered in their original context, may shed light on the practical and/or symbolical significance of an artefact in a past society.

In a wider perspective, apart from reflecting technological progress or cultural interaction, material culture changes and/or continuity may also be apprehended as manifestations of evolving social strategies, social practices and social symbolical or functional "uses" (e.g. Odess 1998). Because such phenomena are often conscious, they

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[2] As it is, in recent pottery studies, function, practical use and technology have often received much attention, sometimes to the neglect of style (Rice 1996:138; Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993; Schiffer *et al.* 1994; Schaub 1996; Juhl 1995).

[3] Although acknowledging the fact that typologies are a necessary tool (or medium) for coping with the ever-growing amount of material that is unearthed at ancient sites (e.g. McGovern, Hardbottle and Wnuk 1982:8), many archaeologists are now aware of the drawbacks inherent to such systems, the chief of which is that they give us more insight into how archaeologists perceive ancient cultures than into ancient cultures themselves (Shanks and Tilley 1987:84).

[4] On the other hand, it has been argued that such correlation between culture interaction and stylistic community is not necessary because style may be used as a means to mark out boundaries between different social groups where there is intense interaction between them (Shanks and Tilley 1987:89).

can become a way to approach "the role of human agency in sustaining and transforming material culture forms" (Turner 1994:118). But also vice versa, the relationship between material and social is not unidirectional and "material culture should not be regarded as a mere reflection of cognitive systems and social practices but as something which is actively involved in the formation and structuring of those practices" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:85).[5]

In the present chapter, an attempt has been made to take these diverse theoretical notions into consideration. The typological classification of the material, which constitutes the main section of the chapter, is based on criteria of shape, decoration, function and technology. For reasons of clarity and to avoid repetition, the main technological features of the different wares attested in the tombs have been reviewed separately, preceded by a brief introduction to the study of pottery technology and its significance in pottery analysis. Additional remarks regarding specific technological traits related to functional characteristics have also been inserted into the discussion of individual types.

4.2. Introduction to a technological approach to the ceramic material of the LB IIB and Iron I Levant

The study of ceramic technology can be defined as an investigation of the practical methods of pottery production. It takes into account every stage of the manufacturing process, from the preparation of the clay to the firing of the vase, in an attempt to understand the potter's craft, which often mixes traditions and cultural heritage with personal skill and inventiveness. The purpose of such an investigation is to go beyond the role of pottery solely as chronological indicator (usually associated

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[5] See also Yoffee and Sherratt (1993:5).

with typology and style) which is normally assigned to it in archaeological research (Franken 1974:30; van As 1995). Understanding how pots were made, trying to explain why a certain type of clay or temper was used rather than another, identifying the tools which were employed for building or decorating the vessels, or in what kind of kilns and at what temperature pots were fired, not only provides information about the technological abilities of the potters who made them, but it also gives us a means by which we can gain insight into the function of a finished product and, hence, the everyday needs and practices of the peoples who used it (Pritchard and Van der Leeuw 1984:10-11).

Both archaeological and ethnographical research has shown that different clays may be favoured for different purposes, that different modes of manufacture can be employed for different final products, and that raw materials can be modified in order to acquire specific properties depending on the particular use for which the object was intended (e.g. Tite, Kilikoglou and Vekinis 2001).

Apart from its direct and obvious connection to function, technology can also influence the visual appearance of a vessel and, conversely, can be determined by it. For example, the local potters of the Levantine coast who manufactured vases resembling Cypriot Base Ring or Mycenaean wares seem to have used specific types of clay, certain ranges of firing temperatures and in some cases, specific methods of pot building, in order to perfect their imitations (Prag 1985:154, 162-163 and below, pp. 97, 177, 205-206).

The changes noticeable in the pottery technology of an ancient community over a certain period of time have elicited a wide range of explanations, which can vary according to the different contexts in which the production was taking place. In principle, in pre-industrial societies, pottery making (both domestic and professional)

tends to reflect long ancestral traditions.[6] Technological innovations and changes, just as changes in shape and decoration, are usually the result of long processes which, in a context of professional production as is the case with the material from Tell el- Far'ah, may be influenced by a variety of factors, such as demographic, economic or environmental changes (Rice 1984:250-255). The other way round, any change in the manufacturing process may have both quantitative and qualitative repercussions on production and generate economical feedback effects, notably on the distribution of the ware (Arnold 1985:202). From an environmental perspective, differences in clay composition and preparation can also reflect the availability and supply of the raw materials (Vitelli 1991b:125). Technological change, just like stylistic innovation, can also originate from individual experiments (sometimes from an accidental circumstance) which if successful was liable to be progressively imitated by local craftsmen in other workshops (Vitelli 1984:125; McGovern 1995:29-30).

However, one of the solutions most commonly and traditionally advanced for explaining changes in pottery technology (and style) consists in considering them as reflections of cultural interactions, thus suggesting that they originate from the establishment of contacts with other cultural areas (Franken 1982:142). The introduction of a new way of preparing the clay or building or firing a pot may indeed be the result of foreign influence or of a transfer of knowledge from one area to another, but quite often (particularly in Levantine archaeology), identification of phenomena such as the emergence of new stylistic features in the local repertoire, has been regarded as an argument supporting the arrival of a foreign population (e.g. Barako 2000:523).[7]

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[6] In traditional communities, the skill of pot-making is kept within the same families and transmitted from generation to generation. See for example London 1989; Brissaud 1982.

[7] In Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Palestinian archaeology, a myriad of publications readily equate foreign stylistic features in locally-made pottery with migration and/or invasion (among many others: Schachermeyr 1983:247-248; Stager 1995; Stone 1995; M.Dothan 1993; T.Dothan 1995). However, the most extreme of such views has recently been advanced by Trude Dothan who claims that following the

Although authors who have, in recent years, argued along these lines have also been concerned with integrating evidence other than pottery into their theories (such as signs of site destructions, new architectural features, changing modes of food preparation and consumption), the whole process is limited to an over-simplistic definition of ethnicity seen as an essentially empiricist concept on the basis of incomplete material evidence (de Miroschedji 1986). Nevertheless, it is the case that, if technology to some extent reflects traditional practices, a careful examination of the details of manufacture of a ceramic material may provide an indication of the cultural background of the potters who made it, and to a much lesser degree, of that of the person who used it.[8]

Over the past decades, several articles and other publications have dealt with the study of pottery technology in the Levant.[9] For a few sites, whole sections dealing especially with ceramic technology have been included in excavation reports, from the pioneering work of Kelso and Thorley (1943) to Franken (1992) and James and McGovern (1993). But, it is probably in Egypt that ceramic technology has been most systematically documented, perhaps because, in addition to standard material remains, such as potters' workshops, potters' wheels and kilns (and of course the pots themselves), Egyptian archaeologists can also make use of other sources of information, namely a relatively rich corpus iconographic evidence.[10] Moreover, Egyptian pottery has been classified into well defined fabric groups and sub-groups (the Vienna System), in which it ought to be possible to include most Egyptian-made pottery artefacts

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first arrival of immigrants /invaders on the Levantine coast, represented by "Myc IIIC:1b" pottery, "There are another three waves of new settlers, which (…) can be seen in the three different pottery phases from Ashdod and Ekron after the initial monochrome phase" (*op.cit.* T.Dothan 2000:156).

[8] An Egyptian pot, for example, can also be used by a non-Egyptian, even if it is then not employed in its most traditional use.

[9] Though often with particular reference to a specific type of ware, e.g. the cooking pots (Killebrew 1999; Vilders 1995).

[10] While Egyptian literary sources concerning pottery production are rather scant (Holthoer 1977:17-18, 22), iconographical documentation, in the form of Old and Middle Kingdom wooden models (Holthoer 1977:10-11, 15-16) and pictorial representations, generally in tombs, is abundant (Arnold 1976).

(Bourriau 1981:14-15; Nordström 1986; Nordström and Bourriau 1993; Bourriau, Smith and Nicholson 2000). Nothing remotely comparable has yet been worked out for the region of the Levant, though an attempt to identify the clay sources of the Canaanite transport jars found on Cyprus (Fischer 1992) and in Egypt (at Memphis and Amarna) has been initiated (Bourriau 1990; Bourriau, Smith and Serpico 2001). The implementation of such a system in the Levant may however not be feasible in practice, as, because of the geo-morphological characteristic of the region, potential clay sources are considerably more numerous and more diverse than those from the Nile valley.

4.3. CLAYS, PROPERTIES AND PREPARATION PROCESSES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TELL EL-FAR'AH ASSEMBLAGE.

4.3.1. *Clays* [11]

Geologically, clays form a very common class of sedimentary rocks and show significant variations in their mineral composition. Depending on their formation and depositional processes, clay beds can be divided into two main groups, called primary and secondary clays (Cuomo di Caprio 1985:29-30; Rice 1987:36-39). As is usually the case in Palestine (Leicht 1975:56), the pottery considered here is exclusively made of secondary clays (i.e. fine-grained deposits rich in argillaceous materials).

Five main clay groups can be distinguished in the locally-made pottery assemblage on the basis of surface and break appearance, colour and texture. The clays classified within a single group are related to each other by their basic appearance and their general quality, but may nevertheless present a number of differences as a result of uneven quantities of organic (chaff, dung, shell) and inorganic (minerals, grog)

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[11] For a discussion of the natural properties of clay, see for example Rice 1987:54-110.

tempering characteristic of the group (whether those were naturally present or artificially added to the paste).

Clay Group I (CG. I)

Clay Group I is the most commonly encountered type in the present study. It is characterised by rich amounts of sand-quartz (usually not very fine-grained), variable quantities of calcite (or limestone) and small grey, dark or reddish grits. It was used in both LB IIB and Iron I, though it appears to have been particularly dominant in the latter period. It was used for the manufacture of plain and decorated bowls, juglets, jugs, pilgrim flasks, small and large dippers and for the Philistine Bichrome wares. This clay is very similar to that attested for the Iron I local pottery at Ashkelon, including the Philistine Bichrome and "debased Philistine" wares.

A few vessels which have been ascribed to this clay type are extremely rich in sand-quartz (quartz is also sometimes present in large quantities in slip preparations and literally covers the surface of the pot), suggesting that an additional amount of quartz was sometimes purposedly added to the raw clay in Iron I.

Clay Group II (CG. II)

This second main clay type occurs mostly in the LB IIB period. It can be distinguished from Clay Group I by fewer mineral inclusions (fine-grained sand-quartz, calcite, or limestone, and small grits in diverse combinations) and by variable but often relatively high amounts of added organic temper. Even if its surface is often covered by a whitish "bloom" (see below p. 91), the color of this clay, after firing, is usually

redder,[12] or of a deeper brown, than that of the first clay group which is often of a lighter orange to salmon tinge. It was employed notably for the production of the Egyptian-style bowls, as well as for plain hemispherical bowls and drop-shaped vases.

Clay Group III (CG. III)

This clay group can be defined as a finer version of Clay Group II. Like the latter, it is characterised by a reddish to brown colour, but it is significantly finer and contains no or very little organic tempering. It was also mainly employed for LB IIB pots, in particular for small-size vessels, such as thin-walled bowls, ring-base juglets and the locally-made Aegean shapes.

Clay Group IV (CG. IV)

This fourth clay type is closely related to the clays of Group II and III. It is relatively poor in mineral inclusions, but does have characteristic large grey-blue inclusions (perhaps wadi pebbles). This clay was mainly employed for the large vessels of the LB II period, such as the storage-jars and the mugs, but it is also occasionally encountered for small pilgrim flasks.

Clay Group V (CG. V)

This clay group is probably the least frequently attested clay type at Tell el-Far'ah. It appears as a hard, rather dense clay, rich in mineral inclusions (grits, limestone or calcite) and it is typically found for shapes post-dating the 13th century, most frequently for small pilgrim flasks.

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[12] These clays need not be interpreted as iron-rich clays since it has been shown that the red colour of a fired unslipped pot can result from factors other than a high iron content (Noll 1981:125), see also below pp. 99-100, 105.

4.3.2. *Clay extraction and preparation*

The process of clay preparation starts with the quarrying of the raw materials. In the northern Negev, clay was probably collected from wadi beds and transported, perhaps with the help of pack animals, to specific manufacturing centres. During transportation, the clay had time to harden and needed to be crushed and soaked in water to retrieve its original workability. At this stage, undesired non-plastic mineral particles could be removed from the paste. Larger impurities, such as leaves, pebbles, roots, etc. could be picked out by hand, but fine-grained minerals could only be reduced by sieving the crushed clay or by levigation (Arnold 1993:12; Rice 1987:118-119). Although it has been argued that levigation and sieving were carried out in Bronze Age Cyprus, Greece and in Egypt in order to obtain very fine clays,[13] the relatively coarse nature of much of the local wares at Tell el-Far'ah does not suggest that such methods were ever used there in LB II-Iron I.

On the other hand, if the paste was too plastic, mineral (e.g. sand-quartz, calcite) or organic (dung, straw, chaff) tempering materials could be added to the clay, so as to avoid the appearance of cracks caused by the tensions occurring during the firing and drying processes. The use of vegetable temper is most effective for absorbing moisture and reducing the shrinking properties of the raw clays (Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:105). More or less finely chopped, it is characteristic of the Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage at Tell el-Far'ah and continues to a lesser extent into the Iron I period. Besides resolving difficulties directly linked to the manufacturing process, the use of organic-rich clays also offers functional advantages. When fired, these clays lose much

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[13] The use of levigated clays has been suggested for the Egyptian Maidum ware (Arnold 1993:13) as well as for the "Cypro-Mycenaean" pottery of the LC IIB-C period (Courtois 1970:84). It has also been argued that the White Slip II wares from the Sanidha production centre (see below, pp. 215-216) were processed in some way so as to remove part of the coarser mineral particles (Xenophontos, in Todd and Hadjicosti 1991:63). However, subsequent analysis has now contradicted this statement (Gomez *et al.* 1995:117). This would bring White Slip II clays in line with Base Ring clays, which were apparently not levigated, though a certain amount of grinding may have helped reducing the coarseness of the non-plastic inclusions (Vaughan 1992:121).

density and become very porous which, in a hot climate, is a positive advantage for liquid containers since the open pores of the clay, left after the temper has burnt out, allow the water to exude to the surface of the pot thus cooling down its content as it evaporates in contact with the air (Henein 1992:192).[14]

The buff to grey-buff surface which characterises many of the plain wares from Tell el-Far'ah (both in the LB and Iron I period) results from the presence of salts which may have been artificially added to the raw clay. Salts are admixed to calcareous clays in order to avoid cracking and spalling of the surfaces caused by the cooling down of the calcites (Rice 1987:98, 119 and below p. 103). When fired, the salts fuse chemically and create a typical whitish "bloom" or "scum" on the surface. The practice of adding salts to calcite-rich clays has been widely documented, from the Iron Age pottery of Jericho (Franken 1974:45) to modern day Egyptian amphorae productions (Lacovara 1985:55).

Once the clay was thoroughly soaked, mixed with water (possibly also with some additional temper) and trodden (generally with the feet), it needed to be wedged and kneaded in order to remove the air pockets which were likely to create tensions and cracks during firing. This last procedure had to be carried out just before forming the vessel.

4.3.3. *Forming*

The majority of the vessels examined here, in particular shapes such as bowls, drop-shaped jars, jugs, flat or ring-base juglets, in both the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages, were built on the wheel, i.e. on a device consisting of a platform revolving around a central axis (Arnold 1993:41). The wheel-marks visible on their internal and/or

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[14] On the other hand, clays which become less porous after firing may be preferred for vessels destined to transport liquids over some distance or for long-term water storage, since, in such cases, water loss by evaporation should be avoided (Aston 1996:3).

external surfaces suggest that hand-turned simple wheels (tournettes) and low wheels had been employed for their manufacture. While the first was activated by the potter himself (and thus left only one hand free for forming the vase during the rotation of the wheel), the second required the help of an assistant for being set into motion and allowed a greater autonomy to the potter.[15]

As far as the Tell el-Far'ah assemblage is concerned, shapes were generally formed in the upright mode, i.e. with the base resting on the wheel. Once removed from its support the base of the vessel was left plain or could be finished in a variety of ways. Ring bases were obtained by adding a clay coil to the bottom of the vessel once it was leather hard. Trumpet or pedestal bases were separately turned on the wheel and linked to the body of the pot in the same way. Rounded and pointed bases were generally finished off the wheel, by hand modelling. The lower parts of the rounded and pointed-base dipper-juglets were then often scraped vertically in order to remove surplus clay at the bottom of the vessel. The method most frequently used for the rounded-base handleless vases of Egyptian type was to place the pot upside down on the wheel and to close the base from the outside (Franken 1974:48; 1992; Arnold 1993: fig. 80).

Other wheel-made pots, like the stirrup-jars, some of the pilgrim flasks and possibly the large biconical mugs or jugs, were built in several parts.

The body of the locally-made stirrup-jars were turned on the wheel. When the clay was starting to harden, a perforation was made on the vessel's shoulder and a ready-made spout, turned on the wheel from a clay cone, was smoothed down externally over the side-hole. As can be observed from fragmentary vessels, the locally made

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[15] See also Arnold 1993:49-79.

stirrup-jars at Tell el-Far'ah in both the LB II and the Iron I periods had separately made semi-hollowed or solid false necks (with a dominance of solid false necks in Iron I).[16]

Two ways of building pilgrim flasks, both employing separately formed elements, have been documented in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Palestine and in New Kingdom Egypt. The first method, which is the most commonly mentioned in the literature (but perhaps not the most commonly used in the practice), was to construct two shallow bowl shapes and link them at their rims (Leonard 1994:80; Holthoer 1977:100; Yon 1971:48-49; 1976:109; Gonen 1992b:235). The second technique consisted in building the body of the flask laterally in one piece, in the same way as the body of a carinated vessel (Eriksson 1988; Franken 1992:154-155; Glanzman and Fleming in James and McGovern 1993:100-101). If the flasks are complete, determining their forming method may prove a difficult exercise, but according to the fragmentary pieces, it seems that the majority of the examples examined here were built by the second method. For both methods, the flasks were finished in the same way: a hole was made on the narrow side of the vessel and the neck (which had been turned separately on the wheel from a clay cone) was either inserted through this perforation into the body wall, or fixed over it.

A fair number of pots were also made using a combination of wheelmade and handmade techniques. For example, as mentioned above, the lower parts of the rounded-base juglets were often handmade (or at least finished by hand) while the rest of the vessel was turned on the wheel. The bodies of the storage jars and of some large jugs were built on the wheel (though some of them were perhaps built in several parts), but their bases were usually raised from coils.

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[16] A comparison of the manufacturing techniques used for stirrup-jars in Jordan, Rhodes, Greece, Egypt and Cyprus was carried out by Leonard *et al.* (1993). No obvious pattern of constistency could be determined, but the stirrup-jars from the site of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, dated to the 12th century B.C. (the majority of which appeared to be of local manufacture) tended to have a hollowed false neck built in one piece with the body; a technique also encountered on Cyprus and Crete in the 13th century.

Besides the small amount of imported Cypriot handmade wares present in the tombs, there are a few examples of local handmade vessels which were made from a clay lump by pinching and drawing.[17] Interestingly, it seems that the local potters of the Levant did not attempt to imitate Cypriot handmade wares by using handmade techniques as well, and all of the imitations of Cypriot Base Ring wares at Tell el-Far'ah (as elsewhere in Syria-Palestine) were turned on the wheel.

The fact that much of the locally-made LB IIB pottery considered here was made on a simple wheel or was coil-built is consistent with the general situation in Palestine and Transjordan at that time. This mode of production also stands in strong contrast to the MB II and LB I periods when the use of the fast wheel was widespread in the area and allowed the manufacture of very thin-walled vessels. The passage from one method to the other has often been emphasised in archaeological research and has been seen in connection with a general degradation of the quality of the pottery production (including surface treatments and firing) which is visible in the material from several sites between the 15th and the 13th century B.C. (Franken 1992:149-150; Harding *et al.*1953:34-35; Gonen 1992b:232). Several theories have been advanced in order to explain this generalised technological change. Bienkowski (1986:152-156) has shown that Several's (1972) argument attributing the worsening of the Palestinian potting craft to the superior quality of foreign (Greek and Cypriot) pottery imports is not a valid one. He also thinks that this phenomenon can hardly have resulted from an economic and demographic pressure exercised upon the local sedentary populations by nomadic groups, like the 'Apiru (though this may have had some disrupting influence in particular in the Hill country and some areas of Transjordan). In the particular case of Late Bronze Age Jericho, Bienkowski (1986:154-155), attributed the qualitative decline

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[17] Generally, handmade vessels were built on some kind of support, such as a flat slab or a straw mat dusted with ash or sand so that the shaped pot could be easily removed (Glock 1982:146).

of the pottery production to increased economic strains, resulting both directly and indirectly from the Egyptian overexploitation of the area's resources. However, as emphasised by the same author, if this explanation does make sense in the case of Jericho and other Transjordanian sites, it cannot be readily applied to the sites of the coastal plain (like Tell el-Far'ah), which probably benefited in some ways of the Egyptian presence and of the Egyptian regular use of the coastal and desert trade routes.

Another possibility is to see the limited use of the fast wheel in LB II as an outcome of the tendency of the time of adding significant amounts of organic (vegetable) temper to the clay. As seen above (pp. 90-91), this process reduces the coherency of the clays and renders them unsuitable for forming on a fast wheel. This mode of clay preparation does not necessarily result from a worsening of general living conditions or from a fall-out of resources, but it can be explained by technological influence from Egypt which should be seen in the context of the increased relations between the two areas which characterise the end of the Late Bronze Age in southern Canaan.

Good examples of manufacturing installations for wheel-made pottery in Palestine have been identified at Hazor (Yadin *et al.* 1958:76-77, pl. XXV:5) and Lachish (Tufnell 1958:90-91, 291-293, pl. 49; Ussishkin 1983:170; Magrill and Middleton 1997), both dating to the LB II period. These provide a good idea of what the workshop(s) producing the local wares at Tell el-Far'ah might have looked like. Both Lachish and Hazor produced a stone two-parts potters' wheel with a discoid upper member pivoting in a socketed lower member. These installations probably required the aid of a potter assistant to keep a rotating movement going. The Lachish workshop was located in a cave and yielded large quantities of unbaked pottery and wasters, raw material (clay, ochre as pigment and crushed lime and shell for tempering), moulds,

mortars and various working tools made of pebbles, shell, bones and pottery sherds. However, no Late Bronze or Iron I kiln has been identified at Lachish.[18]

4.3.4. *Drying*

After the vessel was formed it was put out to dry. Drying can be a hazardous process, since the pots, when placed in the open air (especially in direct sunlight) tend to dry unevenly thus creating cracks and breaks on the walls of the vessels. This risk is increased when plastic clays are used because of their high water-retention properties (MacLaurin Hemsley 1992:215).

4.3.5. *Surface treatments*

When leather hard, the surface of the vessels could be scraped, burnished, polished and/or coated. Some of these methods, in particular the various forms of coating, are sometimes difficult to identify on the finished product, but all are attested in the LB-Iron I pottery assemblage from Tell el-Far'ah.

4.3.5.1. *Polishing/smoothing and burnishing*

Polishing is usually defined as a pre-firing treatment (Arnold 1993:85). It consists of smoothing the vessel's surface with a soft tool, for example a cloth or a piece of leather. This operation is not particularly time-consuming, and it is economical, in that that it does not require the use of additional clay or pigment. It was often practised on the plain ware at Tell el-Far'ah (e.g. **542/22**; **828/3**).

Burnishing can be carried out on plain or coated surfaces. It is effected by rubbing the body of the vessel with a smooth pebble, or an equivalent tool, thus

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[18] For Late Bronze Age pottery kilns at Hazor, see below p. 104.

compacting the clay, making it dense and shiny. Identification of burnishing on a pot is relatively easy, because the process leaves distinctive marks and a good lustre on the surface. Burnishing may be carried out off the wheel (hand-burnishing), by rubbing the pot with short strokes, or on the wheel, by applying the pebble on the vessel's surface while rotating the turntable. The latter method is characteristic of the developed Red Slip ware, and is not represented in the material from the tombs discussed here. Hand-burnishing, on the other hand, is principally found on the Cypriot Base Ring ware (e.g. **922/5**) and some of its local imitations (e.g. **905/19**; **976/2**), on the Black Burnished (**611/3**; **613/4**) and Bucchero juglets (e.g. **600/18**; **640/6**) and on Early Iron Age Red Slip vessels (e.g. PF.5: **621/3**; B.11: **646/1**).

4.3.5.2. *Slips and wash*

Identification of slips and wash on archaeological pottery is not always a straightforward exercise. What may appear as a slip can actually be a "self-slip", an effect obtained by smoothing the vessel walls with water or water-diluted clay (either with fingers or with a paint brush), thus orientating the mineral particles on the surface (Rice 1987:151). Self-slips can be easily confused with slips because the latter are nothing but an argillaceous solution made of water and clay to which a pigment has been added.

Slips can be applied onto the vessel's walls with a paintbrush, in one or several layers, or by dipping the whole pot into a slip solution. If the colour of the slip's pigment is similar to that of the vessel's clay or if the slip's layer is thin, naked-eye distinction between slip and self-slip can appear as something of a guesswork. Identification can however be helped by the texture of the vessel's surface. Because slip solutions tend to use clays with particularly fine particles which are subject to greater

shrinkage during the drying and firing process, they often flake off and lend to the pot a characteristic crackled surface (Franken 1992:152; Rice 1987:150). This phenomenon is well represented among the assemblage studied here and helped in identifying several cases of slipped vessels (e.g. on the bowls **110/2** and **615/3**, on the dipper-juglet **615/10** or on the pilgrim flask **562/41**).

Visually, a slip is also difficult to differentiate from a wash, which consists of a plain mixture of pigment(s) and water. Like a slip, the latter is also applied to the vessel before firing with a paintbrush or by dipping the pot into the solution (Arnold 1993:86).[19]

The majority of the pottery from Tell el-Far'ah was left uncoated throughout the period considered here, but different types of slip, self-slips and washes could be identified.

a) *Clay-coloured slips and self slips*

Clay coloured slips (red-brown to beige) and self-slips constitute the commonest form of coating in both the LB II and Iron I assemblages. The purpose of these slips was probably more functional than aesthetic. They do not significantly modify the appearance of the vessel, but make its surface less porous and more suitable for food and drink consumption. Several of the bowls deposited in the tombs were slipped on their inside only, which suggests that they were originally intended to serve some practical purpose in everyday life.

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[19] According to Rice (1987:151), the main difference between a wash and a slip is that the latter is applied before firing, while the former is applied after firing.

b) *White and cream-coloured slips*

In the Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage, white to cream-coloured slips occur on small-size containers, such as the rounded-body juglets (e.g. **960/8**; **961/1**) or the button-base amphoriskoi (e.g. **935/8**), as well as on larger vessels, like the handleless vessels (e.g. **856/3**; **931/1**), the one-handled pot from Tomb 966 (**966/1**), the large mugs and the large storage-jars (e.g. **663/3**; **920/2**; **939/6**). Often, these slipped vessels were also painted with red-brown to purple linear decoration and more rarely with figurative motifs (mugs, juglets). The production of biconical mugs and amphoriskoi thins out in the course of the 12th century, but the use of white and cream slips continues well into an advanced part of the Iron I period, principally on the Bichrome Philistine pottery (e.g. **103/1**; **552/17**), on various types of bowls (e.g. **542/13**; **601/1**; **608/4**; **615/1**; **839/2**) and on the feeding bottles (e.g. **803/1**).

The slip of the Philistine Bichrome ware does not differ significantly in appearance (and supposedly not in composition either) from the cream-coloured slips employed in the 13th and early 12th centuries. One noticeable change, however, is that a greater amount of quartz-sand is often visible on the surfaces of the vessels, but it is difficult to determine whether these are inclusions which were present in the clay or whether they are part of the composition of the slips.

As in LB IIB, Iron I white and cream slips were generally applied with a paint brush onto the surface of the pots and the thickness and regularity of the coatings may vary both on a single pot and from item to item within the entire assemblage.

c) *Dark and red slips*

Dark grey, dark brown and red to red-brown slips often have related pigment compositions. As a rule, they make use of iron oxides and their final colour is

mainly determined by the conditions of their firing, either in oxidising or reducing atmospheres. The compositional connection between red and dark-brown/grey tinges is evident on the few Bucchero jugs present in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, several of which have surfaces oscillating between red and dark grey.

The increasing occurrence, in the Iron I period, of burnished hematite-based red slips (Anderson 1988:346) on vessels destined for food and drink consumption (bowls, jugs, juglets, strainer-jugs) and on small containers (pyxides) can be considered a typical feature of the contemporary Syro-Palestinian pottery assemblage. The precise date of the introduction of this type of slip in the Levant and the spread and development of the technique, in particular the passage from hand to wheel-burnishing methods, is still the subject of controversy. Holladay (1990; 1993) considers it as a sudden and short-lived phenomenon, not ante-dating 950 B.C., while Mazar (1998) sees it as a slow-developing and long-lasting trend, beginning already in the 12th century. The evidence from Tell el-Far'ah and that of comparative sites in the area tend to support the latter theory. In effect, the practice of covering pottery tableware (in particular bowls and juglets) with an often irregular, hand-burnished red slip layer can be first seen to occur in the 12th century, for example at Tell Qasile Stratum XII (Mazar 1998:375, Table 3) and Beth Shemesh Tomb 2, where several of the bowls are covered with a hand-burnished red-brown slip (McKenzie 1912-1913:67-62). The introduction of wheel-burnishing, which appears as a progressive evolution, is normally dated slightly later[20] and lasts throughout the Iron IB-II period.

Among the material from the tombs considered here, there is no example of wheel-burnished Red Slip. A small proportion of the vessels (generally small shapes, such as bowls, juglets, pilgrim flasks and pyxides) bear an un-burnished or hand-burnished red

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[20] However, a wheel-burnished Red Slip feeding bottle from Tell Miqne/Ekron has been reported from a late 12th century context (T.Dothan 1998a: pl. 7:9).

slip. A specificity of the Tell el-Far'ah assemblage is that many of the typically Red-Slip shapes, in particular various kind of bowls, were left uncoated or bear only plain red or red-brown painted decoration. This can be interpreted in two ways: either that this material really ante-dates the introduction of the Red Slip technique in southern Palestine, or that the development and use of the latter was a very regionalized phenomenon and that its diffusion was not simultaneous throughout Canaan. This last interpretation would make more sense in view of the general trend towards diversification which becomes increasingly visible in the material culture of Palestine in the earlier Iron Age (see below, p. 320).

4.3.5.3. *Painted decoration*

Paints were obtained by mixing fine clay particles with specific pigments (e.g. ochre for red, manganese for black). From a compositional point of view, paints are closely related to slips, but, unlike the latter, are diluted with water and can be applied either before or after firing. Although several types of Egyptian New Kingdom wares were decorated after firing,[21] this practice is not attested on the material from the Tell el-Far'ah graves, or from contemporary Palestinian sites.

4.3.6. *Firing* [22]

Firing is the last and most essential stage of pottery manufacturing. It is only through firing that the chemical composition of the clay is modified to become hard and resistant to shock, humidity and weathering. It is also a delicate process which often requires special skills and expertise.

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[21] Wares decorated after firing in Egypt were perhaps specifically intended for funerary use (Arnold 1993:98-99).

[22] For more detailed analysis of ancient pottery firing procedures see, Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:103-117.

During the first stage of firing, the temperature is progressively increased in order to complete the process of water evaporation already initiated during the drying phase.

In a second stage, temperatures are raised considerably (to between 400 and 800° C) until chemically combined water (H_2O combined with another elements) is evacuated. Organic inclusions (chaff, dung) start to decompose (between 300 and 500° C), leaving diagnostic holes and hollowed lines on the surface and in the break of the vessels.

The next stage (sintering) consists in the incipient melting and fusing of the individual clay platelets. Firing can be interrupted before sintering, but the result is a vessel with many interstices in the paste and a relatively porous structure. As indicated by their high porosity, it may be suggested that several of the local wares from Tell el-Far'ah (most typically the round-mouth and trefoil-mouth jugs, but also some of the bowls and juglets (e.g. **537/2**; **900/4**), were removed from the kiln before the sintering process had been initiated or before it was fully completed.

When firing is continued beyond that point, vitrification starts to take place. With vitrification the melting process is intensified. The gaps remaining after the sintering are progressively filled in with the molten material resulting in a denser and more compact structure. If the vitrification process lasts too long (i.e. in case of over firing), the vessel literally melts and loses its original shape (e.g. **504/1**).

Besides the above-mentioned risks of cracks due to water expansion, breakage during the firing process can also result from the presence of quartz in the paste. In effect, at about 573° C, quartz minerals undergo a structural modification which implies volume expansion (Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:103).[23]

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[23] On the other hand, quartz contributes to reducing the shrinkage caused by water loss (Rice 1987:96).

In some cases, cracks due to variations of the volume of the mass still occur after the firing process is completed. When heated to a temperature of above 850° C, calcium carbonate breaks down into carbon oxides (lime) and carbon dioxides. When the pots are taken out of the kiln, the carbon oxides absorb moisture from the atmosphere as the clay cools down and the admixing of these two elements (CaO and H_2O) produces quicklime, which leads to a volume expansion and eventually, breaks on the walls of the vessel (Aston 1996:2; Rice 1987:98). A method used by ancient potters to overcome this difficulty (notably in the Levant) was to add salt to the initial preparation (see above, p. 91). In New Kingdom Egypt the problem was solved by rising the firing temperature to over 1000° C, which allows calcium carbonate to transform into other non-hygroscopic elements (Aston 1996:2).

It is not certain whether standard LB II/Iron I Palestinian pottery kilns were able to reach these high temperatures and the presence of a whitish bloom on many of the pots from Tell el-Far'ah more likely results from salt addition.

4.3.6.1. *Kilns*

The bulk of the locally-made wares from Tell el-Far'ah seems to have been submitted to relatively high temperatures (at least 800° C), for which the use of a closed or at least partially closed kiln is required. According to the archaeological evidence from contemporary neighbouring sites, it can be suggested that the Tell el-Far'ah pots were fired in a vertical or "updraft" kiln, such as those found at Deir el-Balah, Tell Miqne Ekron and Ashdod in the LB II and Iron I periods. This type of kiln is also the most frequently attested during that period elsewhere in the Levant, in Syria and Lebanon[24] and in Egypt (Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:107). The Levantine vertical kilns

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[24] e.g. at Sarepta (Pritchard 1975:44-47, 71-77; Khalifeh 1988:32-39; Anderson 1988:82-84, fig. 1, pl. 15).

were dome-shaped. They were made of mudbrick, and their inner walls were coated with clay. The combustion chambers (generally underground) were separated from the upper firing chambers by a grid-like structure, supported by pillar(s) (Killebrew 1996a).

The site of Tell el-Far'ah itself has not yet yielded any evidence for potters' workshops, potter's kilns or wheels. However, pottery firing installations, not only open fires (or "bonfires"), but also built kilns, are not always easy to identify archaeologically in the field (Killebrew 1996a:139), and the possibility that the pottery discussed in the present study was manufactured and fired at the site should not be entirely dismissed. Only a relatively small number of kilns and potters' workshops dating to the LB II-Iron I period have been recovered in Syria/Palestine. Built kilns have been found at Deir el-Balah, Tell Miqne-Ekron (Killebrew 1996a), Hazor (Yadin 1972:82, fig 19; Yadin *et al.* 1989:230 (Locus 2160), pl. CXIII.2),[25] Sarepta (Anderson 1989), 'Akko (M. Dothan 1976; 1988:297), Haruba and Tell Jemmeh, and traces of kiln(s) were identified at Ashdod (M.Dothan 1988:295-296). At several of these sites, for example at Sarepta, Tell Miqne and Deir el-Balah, the kilns were concentrated in a designated area of the site, thus forming an "industrial quarter".

Wherever the local pottery wares from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs were produced and fired, their general technological characteristics suggest that they were manufactured in similar workshops to the one of the Lachish cave and fired in up-draught kilns such as those mentioned above.[26] Although the possibility cannot be categorically ruled out, it seems very unlikely that any of the Tell el-Far'ah pots were manufactured in a domestic context and fired in a domestic oven or in an open fire.

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[25] In addition to these instances at Hazor, another two clay oven-like structures from Stratum XIV to XII may have served for firing pottery (Yadin *et al.* 1989:27-28).

[26] It is also possible that the locally-made pottery discussed here was not actually produced in a single centre. Certain workshops perhaps specialised in particular shapes and wares, as was still the case a few years ago in traditional pottery making in Greece (Blitzer 1990:677-678), Cyprus (London 1992:231) or Egypt (Brissaud 1982:173-174).

Even the miniature vessels and other handmade pottery artefacts do not differ significantly in clay composition or clay and paint colour from the rest of the assemblage and do not present any indications of having been fired at lower temperatures than the rest of the pots.

4.3.7. *Colour*

The final colour of a vessel is determined primarily by the nature of the mineral inclusions present in the clay, but it is also conditioned by the firing process. The reddish-brown tinge which dominates the locally-made assemblage from Tell el-Far'ah partly depends on a combination of ferruginous clays, the presence of organic inclusions (carbons) and firing in an oxidising atmosphere at temperatures above 500° C.[27]

The dark (black or grey) tinges noticeable in some finished vessels at Tell el-Far'ah could have been obtained from the same types of clays, either by interrupting the firing at about 500° C (but this would result in a very porous, soft structure, which is rarely the case for the grey-coloured clays at Tell el-Far'ah), or by continuing it in a reducing (oxygen free) atmosphere. A dark colour can also be due to a deliberate smoking of the pot either during or after firing (Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:104).

Yellowish, whitish and olive tinges are obtained from calcium-rich clays (for example clays with limestone or shell inclusions) fired above a minimum of 850° C (Aston 1996:3).[28]

As in the case of the surface, the colour of the core of the vessel also depends greatly on the temperature, atmosphere and duration of the firing. A dark (black or grey) core on a red or red-brown pot shows that the organic compounds of the clay were not

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[27] Between 300 and 500° C, the carbon present in the organic component of the clay moves to the surface, lending a dark coloration to the vessel's walls. Above these temperatures, in an oxygen-free atmosphere the carbon transforms into carbon dioxide and results in a red surface. This phenomenon is also exemplified by the Egyptian Nile silt clays (Aston 1996:2).

[28] Lighter Egyptian Marl fabrics, for example, required firing temperatures of 1100° C (Regner 1998:5).

thoroughly burnt and oxidised, due to insufficient temperatures and to short firing times. However, the colour of a vessel's core cannot by itself serve as a good measure for determining the length of its firing, because the transmission of the carbonaceous material from the core to the surface takes place much faster in porous clays, with numerous interstices, than in a dense and compact fabric (Nicholson, in Arnold 1993:105).

4.4. TYPOLOGY

In the present study the pots have been classified according to an internal typology, which attempts to take into account a variety of criteria, in an effort to integrate as many aspects of the material as possible. For reasons of clarity, the objects have first been separated into different groups according to their origin (whether local or foreign wares). As a rule, local imitations of foreign wares are discussed in the local pottery section.[29] In a second stage, as in most traditional pottery studies, the main factor used for ascribing a pot to a specific category is its general shape, considered from a functional point of view. Within these broad groups (such as bowls, jugs, dipper-jugs, etc.), further divisions of the material are established on the basis of a combination of elements, such as internal morphological variations, clay types, manufacturing techniques, decoration and surface treatments.

The method used for the pottery analysis in the present study is based upon visual examination with a magnifying glass. Observations are made of clay colour, mineral and non-mineral inclusions, building methods and surface treatments. Pots which could not be located or which were not avilable for study for the present work have also been tentatively incorporated into the typology. Information on the genral

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[29] The exception is the series of probably locally-made Bucchero-style juglets decorated with incised zigzags which have been classified in the same category as their Cypriot prototypes.

shape and decoration of these missing pots were drawn from the two published excavation reports (Petrie 1930; Starkey and Harding 1932), from Duncan (1930), from the unpublished Tomb Cards and from museum registers.

Wherever possible, parallels are provided for the main shapes. In a first stage, material for comparison was sought from excavated sites which are located in the broad neighbouring area of Tell el-Far'ah, such as Ashdod, Ashkelon, Tell Miqne/Ekron, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Ajjûl, Beth Shemesh, Gezer and Tell Qasile. These settlements lie within a radius of about 80 km from Tell el-Far'ah. They are not separated by any natural barrier such as sea, mountain range or desert. Other more distant sites, notably Beth Shan and Deir 'Alla have also been used as reference, because their material assemblages show clear resemblances to the one considered here. When no parallels could be found in neighbouring or culturally-related sites, other more remote areas were investigated, whether in Cis- or Transjordan, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, southern Cilicia and even the Aegean.

Stylistical and/or technological resemblances between the material from these regions and the pots from Tell el-Far'ah are also occasionally pointed out, in order to give a general overview of the geographical distribution of specific types.

4.4.1. *Local wares*

4.4.1.1. *Bowls*

Bowls (including platters, chalices and large bowls) represent about 60% of the total pottery assemblage considered here. They occur in a great variety of shapes and sizes and exemplify a wide range of surface treatments and decoration in both the Late Bronze and Iron I periods. Their numerical predominance over other shapes in the Tell

el-Far'ah cemeteries is paralleled by most pottery assemblages from contemporary domestic, cultic or funerary contexts in the Levant, and is probably ascribable to the highly versatile nature of these vessels as far as function is concerned. Depending on their size and specific morphological characteristics, bowls can be used for the preparation and consumption of solid and liquid foods, for short term domestic storage, as votive containers or as lamps. In effect, some of the bowls found in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs bear burnt traces on their interior surface, suggesting that they were used as lamps or incense burners (e.g. **111/1**).

TYPE B.1: *Hemispherical, flared- and straight-sided bowl with flat base* (Table 20)



Figure 9: B.1

Bowls of this type are very common in the present assemblage and are characteristic of the LB II period in the Levant. They have a flat base, straight to rounded sides and a plain thinned or rounded rim. They can be separated into two main groups according to their size: the first includes bowls measuring 14 to 18 cm. in diameter and the second is composed of bowls with diameters nearer to, or greater than, 20 cm. Their shape is quite similar to that of some of the "Egyptian" bowls, discussed below, but they are deeper and are often made of clays which are richer in mineral inclusions (though some can still be related to Clay Group II). These bowls find good parallels in the LB IIB strata of Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 12:8-9, 13:1, 15:14), Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 11:8, 11-12, 17, pl. 33:9) and Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pl. 20:10), as well as in 13th-12th century horizons in Transjordan (Harding *et al.* 1953: fig. 12:11-12; Franken 1992: figs. 4/8:11, 13-15, 5/3:5; Pritchard 1980: figs. 7:1, 8:1, 9:4). They also occur in LB II in Lebanon (e.g. Hachmann 1980: pls. 1:1-12, 4:2-3, 6; Metzger and Barthel 1993: figs. 28:5, 29:15, 30:1, pls. 83:5-9, 84:6-11; Adler and

Penner 2001: pls. 14:8-9, 15:2, 19:8-10, 20:1-2, 10, 33:9-10) and Syria (Courtois and Courtois 1978:266-267, fig. 24:16;Yon, Lombard and Renisio 1987:81, 102, figs. 57:79/641, 84:81/778, 81/791).

Though, as demonstrated by the parallels mentioned above, these bowls are dominant in LB II, their production seems to have continued for some time in the Iron I period in southern Palestine (e.g. Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 42:1; Albright and Kelso 1968: pl. 60:5), and progressively faded out in the course of the second half of the 12th century.

TYPE B.2: *Hemispherical bowl with flat raised base or ring base*

These bowls are characterised by an inturned or straight, sometimes thickened, rim and a raised flat, or plain ring base. Though they do not present any technological variations (the majority is made of Clay Group I) they can be divided into five sub-types on the basis of morphological details. The two most frequent (B.2a-B.2b) are found in LB IIB and Iron I alike, but sub-type B.2b predominates in the latter period.

B.2A: *Hemispherical shallow bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 10: B.2a

This first sub-type is composed of rather shallow bowls, with low ring bases and a straight rounded or triangular (but not thickened) rim. Bowls of this shape find good parallels in LB II contexts, at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 12:5, 7), Lachish, Fosse Temple, Structure III (Tufnell 1940: pl. 38:50-51), Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 14:4, 14, 20:2) and Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993: pl. 80:4, 7). The shape continues in the 12th-11th centuries (e.g Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 14:5).[30] In LB IIB,

[30] Similar bowls, but with straight to everted sides, even occur in the Red Slip technique (Dothan and Porath 1982: figs. 1:3, 7:3).

bowls of this type are usually left plain, while Iron I examples are sometimes decorated with red or red-brown painted bands (e.g. **531/1**; **663/1**) or with a central spiral painted inside the base (e.g. **641/1**).

B.2B: *Deep hemispherical bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 11: B.2b

The majority of the bowls included into Type B.2 fall into this group. It comprises vessels with raised flat or ring bases and straight or inturned, often thickened, rims. Like the bowls of type B.2a, these are found in LB IIB contexts, among others at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 42:143-146; 1958: pl. 70:599, 610), Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1932a: pl. 47:3-4) and Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 33:1). They become progressively dominant in the course of the 12th century. They are widespread at Ashdod, Strata XIIIb-XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 16:3-4, 6, 33:1-5, pls. 37:11, 43:11-12, 44:1, 3), Tell Miqne-Ekron, Strata VIIB-V (T.Dothan 1998a: pls. 1:8-10, 12, 8:1, 11:1), Gezer Field 6, Stratum 6-5B (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 25:22, 36:4), Tell Qasile, from Strata XII (Mazar 1985b: figs. 11:4, 12:4, 16:1) to X (Mazar 1985b: fig. 33:8) and at Beth Shemesh, Stratum III (Grant 1932: pl. 33:13-14; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 62:18-19, 22, 24). This basic type continues well into the Iron Age in the Red Slip technique, for example at Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: figs. 33:5-7, 39:5, 14).

The majority of the bowls of this type in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs were left plain. Only three of the examples examined here are painted with a simple red-brown band on the rim or with concentric circles and a central spiral on the inside (**552/6**; **552/9**; **562/4**). With regard to both shape and decoration, these latter vessels can be related to some of the bowls from Ashdod, Stratum XIIIb which have been classified as "Myc

IIIC: 1b" by the excavators (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 14:1-4, 6-7, pl. 35:9-11, 13). On the other hand, they are also comparable to decorated local wares from 12th century Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 38:10) and Beth Shemesh Stratum III (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 59:29-32).

B.2C: *Hemispherical bowl with out-turned rim* (Table 20)



Figure 12: B.2c

These bowls are rarer than the first two sub-types considered above. They have a low ring or a flattened base and more or less strongly out-splayed rims. Two out of the four examples discussed here are decorated: one bears a single horizontal band on the upper body while the second has a series of concentric circles inside the base.

Although bowls with out-turned rims are already attested as early as the beginning of LB II (Seger and Lance 1988: pl. 12:6), the examples discussed here are indicative of an Iron I date and compare well with pieces from Tell Masos Stratum III (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: pl. 131:6) and Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 24:10).[31]

B.2D: *Deep hemispherical bowl with out-splayed rim* (Table 20)

Figure 13: B.2d

This type is morphologically close to the bowls with rounded base and out-splayed rims (Type B.4c). Like the latter it is evocative of metallic shapes. It is represented only by a single example in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs. Although the context of this particular piece is indicative of an Iron I date, it finds an antecedent in the Necropolis K at Byblos (Salles 1980:44, pl. 20:7).

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[31] The same shape also appears in other south Palestinian Iron I horizons, for example at Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 23:20, 31:12), Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 60:12) and Ashdod Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 33:8).

Bowls with similar profiles, but with narrower opening and various types of bases, are also typical of the Persian Period throughout Palestine (Stern 1995b:52, fig. 2.1:9; below, pp. 115-116).

B.2E: *Hemispherical bowl with high in-turned rim* (Table 20)

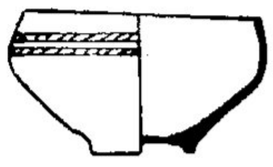


Figure 14: B.2e

The only example of this type in the present assemblage comes from Area 600 (**600/2**). Its shape and decoration of red-painted horizontal bands inside and out, can be broadly paralleled by a fragmentary bowl from Ashdod Stratum XII, Area G (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 33:6).

The high inturned rim characteristic of this type is also found on a bowl from the Jebel Nuzha tomb at Amman (Dajani 1966a:48-49, pl. 18:17). However, this feature seems to develop mainly at the beginning of the Iron I period (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:74, pls. 131:11, 132:12), particularly in the Red Slip technique. Good parallels for the shape are also known in Egypt in the Late Period (e.g. Nagel 1938:114-118, fig. 102:39, 47).

TYPE B.3: *"Egyptian" bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 15: B.3

Although they were quite certainly locally-made, these bowls are conventionally called "Egyptian" because morphologically and technologically they resemble New Kingdom Egyptian bowls (James and McGovern 1993:78-79). The clay which they are made of falls typically into Clay Group II. It contains a variable amount of mineral inclusions and is characterised by a relatively high proportion of deliberately added organic temper. They are fired red to red-brown and often have a whitish-buff to grey

surface, due to the presence of calcite in the raw mass and to firing at relatively high temperatures (over 850° C, see above). This range of temperature is also suggested by the fact that the majority of the vessels examined do not present a grey or dark brown core, showing that the firing process was thorough and lasted long enough to consume all the carbon components originally present in the clay (see above, p. 105).

The "Egyptian" bowls from Tell el-Far'ah have a flat or flattened base, everted sides (often with one or several bulges) and rounded out-turned rims. In many cases, a string cut-mark can be seen on the underside of the base. Occasionally rough traces of trimming are visible on the lower part of the exterior of the bowls. Bases are usually quite thick, though thinner bases, apparently obtained by scraping off some clay from the interior of the vessel, do occur. As a rule, the inside of the bowl was smoothed and, in some cases, even covered with a thin matt red slip, but the exterior was left plain. None of the examples discussed here shows traces of painted decoration, and they thus differ from the assemblage of "Egyptian" bowls from Beth Shan, which usually bear a single red-painted band on the rim (James and McGovern 1993:70-71).[32]

At Tell el-Far'ah, "Egyptian" bowls were found in 17 tombs. They are largely concentrated in the graves of the 900 cemetery, but a few examples come from the chamber tombs of the 500 cemetery (Tombs 542, 532). They have parallels at sites located in the Egyptian influenced areas of Syria-Palestine in the LB II-Iron I period, for example at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993:78-79, figs. 48-50; James 1966: figs. 49:9, 12, 57:4-5; Oren 1973:103-104, figs. 42:8, 43:13, 72:13), Tell esh-Shari'a Stratum IX (Oren 1984: fig. 4:1-2), Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 40:90-91), Aphek (Kochavi 1990:35), Tell Sippor (Yannai 2000:208, fig. 4:6) and Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979:121-13, figs. 21, 27). Bowls of similar type are also found in contemporary

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[32] Compare with 18th Dynasty bowls from the Valley of the Queens (Loyrette and Fikri 1991:15, fig. 6).

Transjordanian contexts, for example at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: fig. 4/14:5) and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, though, at the latter site, they were apparently not made of chaff-rich clays (Pritchard 1980:3).

In Egypt proper, this bowl type appears at the end of the Second Intermediate Period /beginning of the New Kingdom (Aston 1998:98-99; Abd el-Maskoud 1992:520, group 22, fig. 72) and lasts until well into the Third Intermediate Period (Aston 1996:72-73). Good Egyptian parallels for the bowls from Tell el-Far'ah occur, for example, at Deir el-Medineh (Aston 1996: fig. 6.K.S. 61) and in the tomb of Ramesses IV (Aston 1996: figs. 16:1-2, 17:4).

TYPE B.4: *Rounded base bowl*

Three sub-types of rounded-base bowls are attested at Tell el-Far'ah. The first comprises vessels made of a reddish organic-tempered clay (Clay Group II). The second and third types are each represented by isolated examples and made of the orange, quartz-rich clay types of Clay Group I.

B.4A: *Rounded- and button-base bowl* (Table 20)

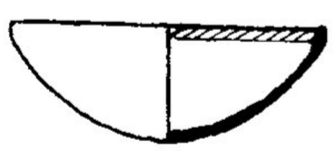


Figure 16: B.4a

The bowls of this category, three of which bear a red-painted band inside the rim (**905/8**, **905/9**, **975/2**), can be compared to LB IIB rounded-base bowls from Beth Shemesh, Stratum IVa (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl.55:17), Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 27:7) and Tomb 42 (Oren 1973: fig. 27:22-24), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pitchard 1980: fig. 13:3-5) and Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993: pls. 87-88).[33] The shape may

[33] Many examples at that site are characterised by a folded over rim, perhaps in an attempt to imitate metallic shapes.

be related to a type of Nile clay bowls common in New Kingdom Egypt (e.g. Aston 1996:60, figs. 187:j-k, 189:e-g; Vincentelli Liverani 1997:122, fig. 3:6).

B.4B: *Shallow rounded-base bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 17: B.4b

The only bowl of this type at Tell el-Far'ah comes from Tomb 822 (**822/1**). It is morphologically very close to the bowls of the previous category, but it is shallower, bears bichrome decoration and is made of an orange, quartz-rich clay (Clay Group I). These combined elements point to a date in the Iron IB to IIA period, as do parallels from Ashdod, Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 26:18, pl. 41:13) and Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 18:5). The shape is also encountered with a Red Slip Burnished bowl from Beth Shan, Level V (James 1966: fig. 59:1).[34]

B.4C: *Rounded-base bowl with everted rim* (Table 20)

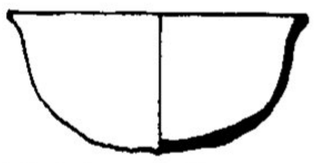


Figure 18: B.4c

This type, evocative of metallic vessels, is represented only by a single example in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries (**600/3**). It bears a distinctive centrifugal mark under its base and its general shape can, in some ways, be related to clay and metal bowls of the Assyrian and Persian periods in Palestine, though it differs from these in small morphological and technological details. Its soft carination and the coarseness of its clay distinguish it from the typical Assyrian bowl type (Stern 1994:143-144, fig. 83; Gilboa 1996: fig. 2:1-9; Gitin 1995: fig. 4.5:9) –though it may be a locally-made copy of the latter (e.g. Herr 2000:199, fig. 4.36:2; 1989:308, fig. 19.16:7) –while the shortness of its rim differentiates it from the clay bowls (and their metal prototypes) of the Persian Period

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[34] The same shape, with painted horizontal bands on the inside, is also found in the LB II phase T3c at Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993:37, pl. 94:6).

(e.g. Stern 1982: fig. 235; Bennett and Blakely 1989:216, fig. 141:20; Hamilton 1966: fig. 6:b-c).[35]

Though a late date in the Iron IIB-C/Persian period is very likely for this bowl, the possibility that it may be earlier should not be ruled out. It can indeed be compared to a type of rounded-base bowl with everted rim attested in LB IIB and Iron I contexts at Tell Sippor (Biran and Negbi 1966: fig. 3:2),[36] Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1988: fig. 48A:12), Madaba (Harding *et al.*1953: fig. 12:1, 4) and in the Jebel Nuzha tomb at Amman (Dajani 1966a:48-49, pl. 18:66). Similar deep rounded-base bowls (with a thickened out-splayed rim) are also attested at Beth Shemesh Tomb 1 (Grant 1929:191, n. 391, 404).

TYPE B.5: *Straight-sided bowl with knob handle and painted decoration* (Table 20)

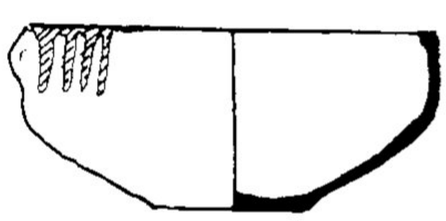


Figure 19: B.5

The type of motifs and the appearance and colour of the paint used for this bowl correspond to the late 13th century "Gazelle and Bird" ware. The style of its decoration is usually found on large mugs (see below, pp. 170-171), but it occasionally occurs on other shapes as well. It is, for instance, attested inside the bowl of a chalice from Tomb 11 at Beth Shemesh (Grant 1931: pl. 19, top; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 35:1) and on a bowl from Lachish Stratum VI (Aharoni 1975: pl. 39:11).

TYPE B.6: *Large shallow bowl with ring or pedestal base*

These bowls occur in two varieties in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, the first dating to LB IIB and the second to Iron I. Both are made of local clays ascribable to Clay

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[35] See also above, Type B.2d, p. 112. Bronze and silver rounded-base bowls with everted rim are also known on Cyprus from the Cypro-Geometric I to the Cypro-Classical period (Gjerstad 1948:217, 220, figs. 28:3, 33:9).

[36] This piece is a surface find, but was dated to the Iron I period by the excavators (Biran and Negbi 1966:160-161).

Group I.

B.6A: *Bowl with raised base and plain rim* (Table 20)

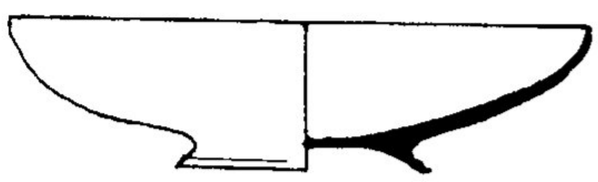


Figure 20: B.6a

This type of bowl is found mainly in LBI-LBII contexts, but it clearly derives from an earlier MB IIC version with internally folded rim.[37] From a technological point of view, these vessels are still close to the Middle Bronze Age tradition. They are made on a fast wheel and make use of relatively fine clays with little or no added organic temper. Similar bowls are very common in the Late Bronze Age levels of Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pls. 37:3-8, 15-19, 28-29, 38:32-33; 1958: pl. 70:600-601, 605) and in the LB II tombs of Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:149, n.162, 193) and Beth Shan (Oren 1973:69, figs. 27:9-18, 67:14). They are also present contemporarily further north, for example at Kamid el-Lôz (e.g. Metzger and Barthel 1993:36-37, 41, pls. 78:1,3, 79:8-14). One of the examples from Tell el-Far'ah (**610/1**), decorated with a red-brown painted band on the rim and concentric circles on the inside of the base, can be compared specifically to bowls from Byblos, Necropolis K (Salles 1980: pl. 19:6), Tell Abu Hawam Strata V/IV (Hamilton 1934: pl. 22:4) and from the Jebel Nuzha tomb at Amman (Dajani 1966a:48-49, pls. 17, 18:5-6, 19).

B.6B *Bowl with ring base and groove or channel below rim* (Table 20)

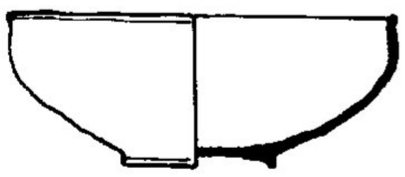


Figure 21: B.6b

These bowls usually have a lower base and a straighter rim than those of sub-type B.6a, and can be ascribed to the Iron I period in the Southern Levant. Five examples of the type were

[37] See for example at Gezer, Strata 10b-9 (Dever *et al*. 1986: pl. 18:12-14), Ashdod, Stratum XXII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 2:2) and in the MB IIC tombs from Tell el-Far'ah (Price-Williams 1977: figs. 35:10, 81:1).

examined here, but a sixth specimen was identified on the basis of the published and unpublished records.

One of the B.6b considered here is covered with an unburnished Red Slip (**508/2**) and may be compared to Red Slip examples from Ashdod Strata XI and X (Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 1:1; 1993: fig. 45:5). The other two also display features which are typical of Iron I, continuing into Iron IIA. The slightly grooved rim, attested on **508/1**, occurs on a small painted bowl from 12th-11th century Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 39:22) and on Red Slip vessels from Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: fig. 33:12, 14).

The bowl from Area 600 (**600/4**) has a red-slipped interior and a red-painted band around the rim. Its horizontal pinched handle finds a parallel at Tell Qasile Stratum X (Mazar 1985b:37, fig. 39:15).

TYPE B.7: *Shallow and hemispherical small bowl with ring base and straight to in-turned rim*

These bowls can be separated into two main sub-types, each of which represents different chronological phases.

B.7A: *Small bowl with narrow flat or concave base and thinned straight to in-turned rim* (Table 20)



Figure 22: B.7a

In the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries, bowls of this category appear only in LB IIB tombs. They are made of relatively fine clays, with occasional organic temper addition (Clay Groups II and III), have thin walls and are well fired. They can certainly be considered as belonging to the local Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage of the southern Levant and find parallels in the

Beth Shan tombs (Oren 1973: figs. 42a:7, 50:1), at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pls. 38:48, 41:119) and Ashdod, Strata XV-XIV (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 11:17, pl. 33:9). A number of parallels and related shapes (sometimes in larger versions) are also found at Deir 'Alla, Level E (Franken 1992: figs. 4/24:3, 5/9:1, 5/13:2), where they seem to have been particularly frequent. The production of these bowls does not seem to have lasted long into the 12th century when it was progressively replaced by the bowls of Type B.7b.

B.7B: *Small bowl with ring-base and in-turned rim* (Table 20)

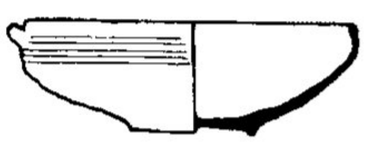


Figure 23: B.7b

As a continuation of the earlier sub-type, these vessels became relatively frequent in the course of the 12th century and remained so in the 11th century, for example at Tell Jerishe (T.Dothan 1982:105, pl. 6) and Tell Sippor (Biran and Negbi 1966: fig. 3:3). With an exterior groove on the rim (as on **822/2**), they are particularly popular in the Red Slip technique in the early 11th and 10th centuries (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 45:5; Mazar 1985b:186, figs. 39:6, 44:2).

By comparison with their Late Bronze Age antecedents, these bowls at Tell el-Far'ah, though all made of quartz-rich clays of Clay Group I, form a much less homogenous assemblage in terms of shape and surface treatment. Some of them are characterised by incised lines below the rim and several are slipped and/or bear painted decoration -always red or red-brown plain bands on the inside and/or outside, or spirals inside the base. Some are characterised by the presence of special morphological features and should be discussed individually.

- **562/12** is unslipped, but its walls are decorated with red-brown painted bands and with a central spiral inside the base. It also has a small pinched knob handle just below the

rim. Without the knob-handle, this shape finds an excellent parallel at Tell Taanach, dated to the 12th century (Rast 1978:12, fig. 8:1). Although knob-handles are often associated with the Red Slip technique and are frequently considered a typical feature of the 11th-10th centuries (Mazar 1985b:37) not only in southern Canaan, but also further north at sites such as Tyre, Stratum XIII-2 (Bikai 1978: pl. 37:6, 8), they already appear earlier in the local undecorated Palestinian pottery repertoire. They are, for example, attested in a 12th century context at 'Aitun (T.Dothan 1982:44, pl. 8 top left; Notes and News 1968:194-195), in Transjordan in the early 12th century, at Deir 'Alla, Phase B (Franken 1969: fig. 50:27, pl. 15) and in Syria, at Ras Ibn Hani, in the late 12th to early 11th centuries (Badre 1983:206, fig. 2a). Knob handles are also known from LB II contexts at Megiddo (Guy 1938:154-155, pls. 13:22, 15:14-16, 19:14, 34:6, 94:11, 99:6; Ilan, Hallote and Cline 2000:218, fig. 9.14:1) and at Kamid el-Lôz (Hachmann 1980:47, pl. 5:4; Frisch, Mansfeld and Thiele 1985:114, pl. 30:6) and a knob/bar-handle is attested on a bowl from the early LB II period at Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988:76, pls. 29:15; 68F).

- **542/15** is covered with a cream slip and is decorated with a red-painted band inside and out. It has a single high horizontal handle on the side. This shape is unusual in southern Palestine, and its closest approximate local parallel is a fragmentary vessel from Ashdod Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 26:9). In appearance at least, this bowl is reminiscent of certain shapes attested on Cyprus in Plain White Wheelmade ware in LC IIIB,[38] though nothing in the nature of the clay or other technological features can otherwise support a foreign origin for it.

- **542/14** has a knob handle on the side and a series of three incised lines below the rim. It is not slipped, but the remains of a red-brown painted band below the rim and of

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[38] For example at Enkomi, Area I, Level IIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:565, pl. 65:1) and in French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952: fig. 70:221).

painted concentric circles inside the base are still distinguishable. The same shape, with the incisions but without the painted decoration, also occurs in Tombs 105 (**105/1**) and 647 (**647/1**) at Tell el-Far'ah.

In the south, this shape is well known in the Red Slip Burnished technique in the late 11th and 10th centuries, at Ashdod, Lachish, Beth Shemesh and Tell Masos (Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 1:4, 7, 17; Tufnell 1953:269-270, pls. 79:24, 99:592-598; Grant 1932:27, pl. 31:20; Fritz and Kempinski 1983: pls. 85C, 144:3). Without Red Slip, it is already attested in Late Bronze Age contexts in northern Palestine, for example in Tomb 3 at Tell Abu Hawam (Anati 1959: fig. 8:1, pl. 13:2), but the handled and incised versions attested at Tell el-Far'ah cannot be documented before the earlier part of the Iron Age in the southern coastal plain (Tufnell 1953:264).[39] It can be added here that non-Red Slip bowls with incised lines below the rim have also been reported from surveys in the Jordanian Dead Sea plateau (Hirbet Yarut) and dated to the Iron I period (Worschech 1990:26, fig. 7:36). The shape is also known in LC IIIA-B Cyprus in White-Painted Wheelmade III, for example at Enkomi Area I, Levels IIIA-early IIIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:583, 593, 610, pls. 72:5, 76:6, 79:3) and IIIC (Dikaios 1969-1971:620, pl. 84:10) and Area III, Level IIIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:607, pl. 83:3).

TYPE B.8: *Small carinated bowl with flat or low ring base* (Table 20)



Figure 24: B.8

These bowls are very consistent in size, with a diameter varying between 10.2 and 13.2 cm. and a height ranging from 4.0 to 5.3 cm. Though they display some morphological variation, all the vessels included into this category are characterised by thin walls, flat or low ring bases, thinned to rounded rim and a carination at mid-body height. Their

[39] However, one such bowl, without the incisions and without the handle, is known from the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 42:142).

clays are also quite homogenous (Clay Group III), varying from red-orange to dark red-brown. Usually the surfaces of the vessels were left plain, but **906/2** is covered with a thin slip and **900/2** and **960/5** bear a red-painted band inside their rims. This general type is very common in southern Palestine in the end of LB II and numerous parallels can be cited from Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 7:3, 9:5), Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 41:121-122), Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pl. 20:3), Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: figs. 3/7:2, 5/3:2) and Beth Shan (Oren 1973: figs. 44:7-10, 75:4-5).

TYPE B.9: *Small bowl with ring-base and groove below rim* (Table 20)



Figure 25: B.9

These bowls have approximately the same dimensions as the small carinated bowls B.8, but while the latter are characteristic of the Late Bronze Age, these are typical of the Iron I period. The nature of their clay (Clay Group I) and the single groove, or depression, just below the rim are diagnostic features which help situating this type chronologically.[40] Parallels for the Tell el-Far'ah examples are found notably at Beth Shemesh in the Iron I period (Grant 1931: pl. 13:top row, 5th from the right) and Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 19:36).[41]

TYPE B.10: *Small bowl with ring base and thinned out-turned rim* (Table 20)

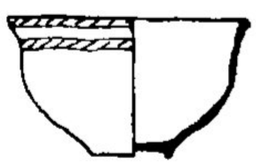


Figure 26: B.10

These bowls appear in only four tombs of the 100 and 800 cemeteries and are all made of Group I clays (quartz-rich, but fine grained). Two of them are decorated with red-brown painted horizontal bands on and just below the rim (**828/1**, **834/2**) and one bears a brown-

[40] See for example the grooves found on different types of bowls at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B (Albright 1932a: pl. 52:14-15, 17).

[41] The groove also occurs on medium-size bowls of the same period at Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 59:15) and Tell Taanach (Rast 1978: fig. 1:13) as well as on a deep rounded bowl with bar-handle from Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b:36, fig. 39:15, photo 26).

painted spiral inside the base (**834/1**). This type is not common in the Palestinian pottery repertoire of the LB II-Iron I period, but an approximate parallel can be cited from Tell Kazel level 6 (Badre *et al.* 1994:322, fig. 48c).

They compare best with Cypriot vessels from Enkomi, French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952:161, 187, 217, figs. 66:9, 72:305, 84:1, 18) and Kition Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:69, 75, pls. 33, 55:1151), classified as "Myc IIIC:1b" and "Decorated Late Cypriot III" respectively.

TYPE B.11: *Small and medium carinated and cyma-profile bowl* (Table 20)

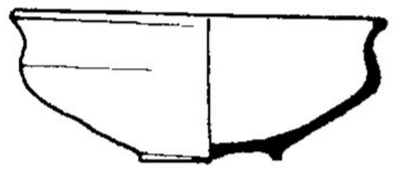


Figure 27: B.11

The vessels grouped here under this common category are, as a rule, made of Group I clays. They show a certain degree of variation in their morphological details, but are all related by the fact that their sides are bent into a rounded curve, or an angle, above mid-body height. Their rim can be rounded, triangular, in-turned or externally thickened. In all cases the bowls rest on ring-bases. The shape which is without doubts local, may ultimately be derived from Middle Bronze Age types of carinated bowls, usually characterised by a sharp carination, situated quite low on the body (Amiran 1969:94). The type continues into LB II, but the carination becomes less clearly defined (James and McGovern 1993:71, figs. 15:13, 20:2). The bend in the profile moves progressively from mid-body height to the upper part of the vessel (e.g. Tufnell 1958: pl. 51:22-24). **542/18** provides an example of this phenomenon and, though it comes from an Iron I context, it finds several LB IIB parallels at Ashdod Area G, Strata XV-XIV (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 10:5, 11:15-16, pl. 33:10, 13), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 69:562), Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1932a: pl. 47:7) and Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: fig. 5/19:16).

By the early 12th century, the carination on the upper walls of the bowls generally appears as a S-shaped or cyma-shaped curve. As far as Tell Qasile is concerned, Mazar (1985b:39-40) noted that these cyma-shaped bowls dominate the local assemblage in Stratum XII and diminish in numbers in Stratum X. Other contemporary sites in southern Palestine, like Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 14:8, 25:2, 33:14, 41:1, pl. 35:12), Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 21:4, 24:4-7, 30:4-6, 36:1-2), Tell esh-Shar'ia (Oren 1972:168, pl. 43C; 1984: fig. 4:12) and Beth Shemesh (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993: fig. 8:3, 9, 11-14; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pls. 59:13-14, 20, 62:6-9) point to their frequency in 12th century horizons. As illustrated by some examples from Tell el-Far'ah (**525/1**; **615/3**), Tell esh-Shari'a and Beth Shemesh, these bowls are sometimes covered with a white or cream slip and/or decorated with red-painted plain horizontal bands inside and out (Brug 1985:56).

On Cyprus, bowls of this type occur in late 13th century contexts. When they are decorated with painted bands, they are sometimes classified as "Late Decorated Cypriot III" (e.g. Lagarce 1969:353, fig. 1:1).

Two of the cyma-profile bowls from Tell el-Far'ah are distinguished by the addition of horizontal handles on the sides. The first (**102/2**) is a fragment of a small- to medium-size bowl showing a nearly straight upper profile and can be compared to bowls from Tell Qasile Strata XII-XI (Mazar 1985b: figs. 11:6, 28:18-19).[42] The second is a large bowl with painted bands on the rim and on the inside (**542/17**). This shape and decoration on large-size vessels is typical of the Iron I period and finds good parallels at Ashdod, Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 33:12-13) and Tell Miqne-Ekron (T.Dothan 1998a: pl. 11:8).

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[42] Two out of three of the published bowls of this type at Tell Qasile are Red Slip wares.

TYPE B.12: *Bell-shaped bowl* (Table 20)

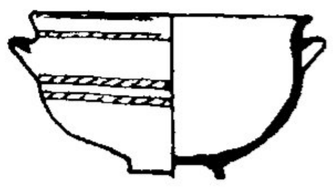


Figure 28: B.12

Bell shaped bowls appear at the beginning of Iron I and, in the handled variety, constitute one of the distinctive shapes of the Philistine pottery assemblage. They are characterised, at Tell el-Far'ah, by a rounded profile, out-turned thinned or rounded rims and sometimes by the addition of horizontal handles below the rim. The bases show a certain degree of variation, ranging from flat to raised rings. As a rule, bell-shaped bowls are deeper than the cyma-shaped and carinated bowls of Type B.11. They are not found in the 900 graves, but are well represented in the 500, 600 and 800 cemeteries.

The clay used for their manufacture is, in all cases, local (Clay Group I). Like the bulk of the pottery from the site, they are fired to a variety of orange-red tinges and have the usual grey grits and sand quartz inclusions (with occasional calcites or limestone). Some also show traces of added organic tempering, in particular in the zone of the handle attachment.

It has been argued that the handled bell-shaped bowls of the Philistines derive from Mycenaean prototypes and were introduced into Canaan by Aegean "Sea Peoples" when they first settled the country in the early 12th century (T.Dothan 1982:96), although, there are other ways of explaining the appearance of this type in the local pottery repertoire (see below, chapter 6). In any case, with some morphological and technological variations, bell-shaped bowls remained popular in southern Palestine in the later 12th and in the 11th-early 10th centuries and still appear at Tell Qasile, Stratum X in the Red Slip technique (Mazar 1985b: fig. 39:3).

Within the assemblage considered here, handleless bell-shaped bowls are less frequently decorated than the handled variety and their decoration is restricted to plain horizontal bands or spirals inside the base. The larger handleless examples (e.g. **552/15**,

562/16, **608/4**) are paralleled at Tell Qasile Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 24:11), while the smaller versions (e.g. **625/1**, **644/2**) find better comparisons with earlier vessels from Ashdod, Area G, Stratum XIV-XIII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 13:2), Tell Miqne-Ekron, Strata VII-V (T.Dothan 1998a: pl. 3:1) and Gezer in Iron I (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 25:17, 35:14). They also compare to Cypriot bowls from the Upper Level of Tomb 9 at Kition.[43] The large majority of the handled bowls, on the other hand, are decorated, either with plain horizontal bands or with the typical Philistine motif of antithetic stemmed spirals. Only one bears a more elaborate bichrome bird and lotus flower decoration. Several of the bichrome bell-shaped bowls considered here and some of the monochrome ones were covered with a white slip of varying thickness before the application of the paint.

The handled bell-shaped bowls with stemmed spirals (e.g. **542/28**, **601/1**, **602/1**, **615/4**) find good parallels at Tell Qasile, Stratum XII (e.g. Mazar 1985b: figs. 11:13, 13:1-3), Ashdod XIIIa (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 19:11, 26:10-11, 13-17, pl. 40:15, 19), Tell Haror (Oren *et al.* 1991:12) and Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 23:24), while the example bearing the bichrome bird motif (**542/29**) can be compared to bowls from Tell Miqne-Ekron Strata VIA-V (T.Dothan 1998a: pls. 7:6, 9:7-11).

The handled bowls decorated with plain horizontal bands in monochrome paint (e.g. **542/23**, **542/24**, **542/27**, **839/2**) have parallels in similar 12^{th}-11^{th} century horizons (e.g. Mazar 1985b: figs. 16:10, 23, 18:18; Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 20:19, 36:3, 13, 38:4; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 62:1-4; Kelm and Mazar 1995: fig. 5.12: second row),[44] but they are also comparable to a series of bowls classified as "Myc IIIC:1b" from Ashdod, in particular the bowls from the potter's workshop (Dothan and Porath

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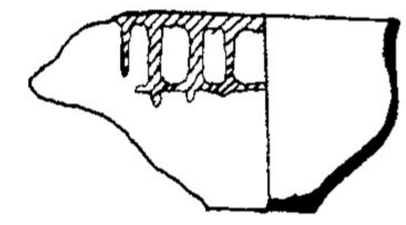
[43] These bowls were classified as "Late Mycenaean IIIB" by Karageorghis (1974:68-69, pls. 70:114, 71:122, 157).

[44] See also at Tell Sippor Stratum II (Biran and Negbi 1966: fig. 6:1-3) and Megiddo Burial 94/F/42 (Finkelstein, Zimhoni and Kafri 2000:246, fig. 11.1:2).

1993: figs. 14:9-23, 16:9-10, pls. 35:14-16, 36:1-9, p.VIII-IX) and from Tell Miqne-Ekron (T.Dothan 1998a: pl. 7:2). Further parallels for the bell-shaped bowls from Tell el-Far'ah can be found on Cyprus, for example, in the Upper Level of Tomb 9 at Kition (Karageorghis 1974:70, pls.72:145, 157:145).

As it is, the bell-shaped bowls discussed here are not the only pottery items at Tell el-Far'ah which are reminiscent of the typical "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" assemblage. In addition to the few bowls of type B.7b, the handled jugs (RM.1) and the feeding bottles (FB.1) examined here (pp. 137-138, 207-208), there are also a series of decorated sherds coming from an unspecified level on the tell which, as far as clay type, shape and decoration are concerned, show strong resemblances with the early 12th century vessels from the Pentapolis sites (**pl. 403**).

B.13: *Strainer-bowl* (Table 20)



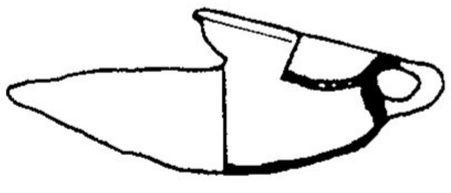


Figure 29: B.13

There are two strainer-bowls in the present assemblage, but for neither of them could precise parallels be identified.[45] The first comes from a LB IIB context (**902/10**). Its wide opening, large spout and the nature of its clay (Clay Group II) relates it to the local wide-mouth strainer jugs of the LB IIB period (Tufnell 1958: pl. 86:999 and below, p. 172). The closest parallel for this piece is a carinated strainer bowl from Iron I Gezer (Macalister 1912: pl. 141:10).

The second strainer-bowl considered here is made of fine clay and is covered with a hand-burnished Red Slip (**104/1**). The bowl part is elongated and one of its ends is topped by a funnel-shaped strainer-mouth. A horizontal handle links the body of the

[45] Strainer bowls, but with the strainer forming an inner wall inside the vessel are known from 20th-21st Dynasty contexts at Deir el-Medineh and Qantir (Nagel 1938: pl. 2K.S.50.a; Aston 1998:592-593, n.2441).

bowl to the rim of the strainer. Due to its special morphology, this vessel needed to be made from separately built parts. It compares best to an animal-headed bowl (also in the Red Slip technique) from tomb 240 at Tell el-Far'ah and since both pieces come from the same site, it can be suggested that they originated in the same workshop.[46]

B.14: *Tripod bowl* (Table 20)

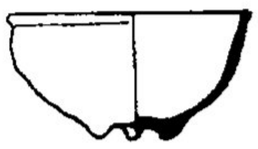


Figure 30: B.14

One small bowl with three legs was found in Area 700. It has a ridged rim and is undecorated. It compares best with small tripod pots from Megiddo V (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pls. 31:146-147, 62; Guy 1938: pl. 64:39) and should probably be dated to the Iron IB-IIA period (see below, pp. 138-139).

4.4.1.2. *Chalices*

TYPE CH.1: *Chalice with out-splayed rim* (Table 20)

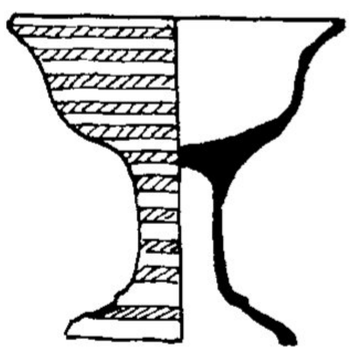


Figure 31: CH.1

Chalices appear only in a small number of graves at Tell el-Far'ah. Most of them are covered with a whitish slip and are painted with red-brown bands. All the examples considered here were manufactured in the same way. Bowl and foot were built separately on the wheel and were joined together when the clay was leather-hard. This technique has the advantage of strengthening the narrow passage from foot to bowl, but, due to the thick clay accumulation in that area, presents the inconvenience of increasing the risks of cracks and breakage during drying and

[46] The strainer fixed above the bowl can also be compared to a Red Slip strainer-cup from Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 85:8).

firing. As it is, several of the chalices at Tell el-Far'ah bear cracks on the inside of their bowls, where the clay is the thickest.

Chalices are found mainly in cultic and funerary contexts in LB II and Iron I Syria-Palestine.[47] In LB IIB, they are characterised by a very shallow bowl and splayed-out foot. Although they may be more frequent at northern sites, such as Megiddo (Guy 1938: pl. 58:24), Tell Abu Hawam (Anati 1959:97-98, fig. 8:17-18) and Sarepta (Anderson 1988: pl. 25:19), they also occur in the south, at Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 21:1-6; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 35:1, 3), Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 46:205-213) and Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 21:1, 23:6, 27:19, 29:9, 65D). At the end of LB II, they appear on the east side of the Jordan river, generally with a distinctive triangular rim (Franken 1992: figs. 4/6:10-11, 4/9:23-24, 5/5:3, 5-6, 5/9:8-9, 5/13:7-8). The shape reaches the peak of its popularity in the Iron I period [48] and continues to be produced until the end of Iron IIC.

The chalices considered in the present study all belong to a single stylistic and technological class. They are made of Group I clays and are indicative of an Iron IA-B date. They are characterised by curved to carinated sides and rounded to triangular rims. The majority have a stepped foot, a feature which was identified as typical of the Iron I period in southern Palestine by Amiran (1969:213).[49] They find several parallels at Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: figs. 27:19, 32:4-6), Ashdod XIIIa (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 19:12), Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 31:10, 35:20) and Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 62:48-50, 53).

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[47] However, the shape also has MB IIC local antecedents (Amiran 1969:95).
[48] See for example at Beth Shan Levels VI-V (James 1966: figs. 50:8, 62:8-9).
[49] However, stepped-foot chalices also occur also at Megiddo in Iron IA (Guy 1938: pl. 68:20).

4.4.1.3. *Domestic storage and food processing vessels*

The vessels discussed in the present section are essentially functional shapes which were used primarily in the domestic sphere. Their presence in a funerary context is, however, not unusual and can be paralleled at many other contemporary cemetery sites.[50]

4.4.1.3.1. *Large coarse bowls*

As suggested by their large dimensions, the vessels included in the present category were probably used for domestic purposes. They might have been employed for small-scale storage (if necessary the opening of the vessel could have been covered with a lid made of leather, textile or of some other material), for food preparation (stirring, mixing or macerating aliments) or even for personal hygiene. Though they were all made of similar clays (usually Clay Group I), they can be separated into two main sub-types on the basis of morphological criteria.

TYPE LB.1: *Handleless carinated large bowl* (Table 20)

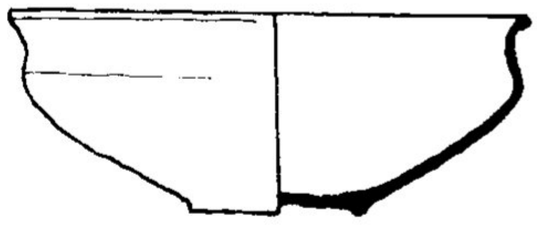


Figure 32: LB.1

These undecorated vessels can be considered as larger versions of the carinated and cyma-shaped bowls discussed above. Their rim profile is rounded or flattened, sometimes sloping inwards. The majority of the examples discussed here have a ring-base, only one has a flattened base. Similar large bowls are quite common at south Palestinian sites towards the end of the Late Bronze Age and in the 12th century. They are attested notably at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pls.

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[50] See, for example the cemeteries from Deir el-Balah and Tell Abu Hawam, where domestic storage vessels are almost always attested in the graves (T.Dothan 1979; Anati 1959).

50:8, 68:511-520, 528-529), Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 15:9, 16:22, 20:2, 25:6), and in Jordan, at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: figs. 5/6:12-13, 5/9:7, 12, 5/13:12).

TYPE LB.2: *Handled carinated large bowl*

In southern Palestine handled carinated large bowls already appear in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages.[51] In LB II B vertical loop-handles dominate in the coastal plain (Tufnell 1958: pls. 50:9, 69:582), in Transjordan (Franken 1992: figs. 5/3:7-8, 5/10:13, 5/13:13; Harding *et al.* 1953: fig. 14:52-57) and in Syria and Lebanon (Adler and Penner 2001: fig. 123:4, pl. 94:1-3), while horizontal handles appear only in the Iron I period (e.g. at Gezer: Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 25:20). Horizontal handles remain relatively rare on undecorated plain wares examples, but are regularly attested on the Philistine Bichrome and Red Slip handled large bowls (e.g. Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 28:5, 31:2; Mazar 1985b: fig. 27:8-9). Both handle types are represented in the assemblage considered here.

LB.2A: *Large bowl with vertical handles* (Table 20)

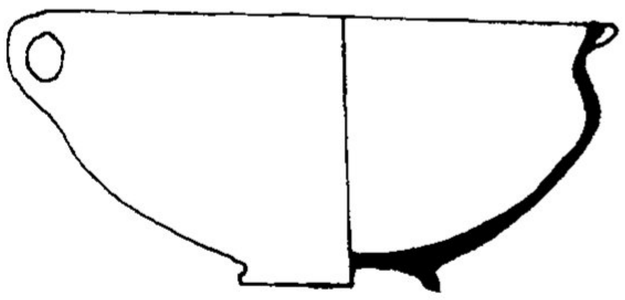


Figure 33: LB.2a

The only example of this type comes from Tomb 542 (**542/34**). It has a single vertical handle on one side and a four-knobbed bar-handle on the other; it also bears the remains of a red-painted band at the level of the carination. Although it can be considered as a special form and, to my knowledge, has no precise parallel in the area, it can be

[51] For example at Beth Shemesh, Strata V and IV (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pls. 55:2, 58:25, 35).

related to a fragmentary large bowl with knobbed bar-handle from Tell Qasile Stratum XII (Mazar 1985b: fig. 11:19).[52]

LB.2B: *Large bowl with horizontal handles* (Table 20)

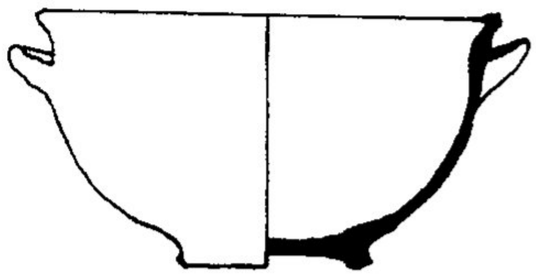


Figure 34: LB.2b

These bowls are only represented by two fragmentary examples in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs. The first (**552/17**) is a Philistine Bichrome vessel with a flattened rim, bearing remains of a painted bird head. It is comparable to examples from Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 27:11), Gezer (Macalister 1912: pl. 163:1, 3), Tell Miqne-Ekron (T.Dothan 1989: fig. 1:4) and Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: pls. 21:1-5, 22, 27, 29:5, pls. 39:1, 41:1-5, 7, 12). The second (**600/6**) is a very large vessel with remains of a linear ladder-pattern decoration. Its best parallel comes from Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b: fig. 29:23).

4.4.1.3.2. *Pithoid jar*

TYPE PT.1: *Pithoid jar with concave base and horizontal handles* (Table 20)

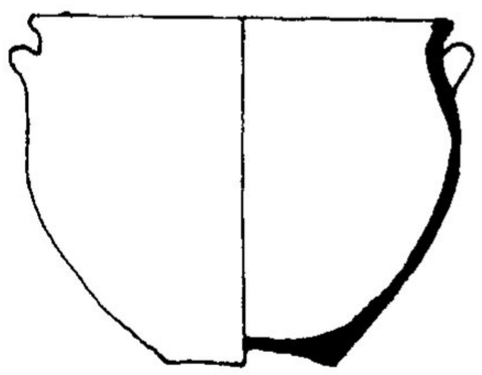


Figure 35: PT.1

Only one example of this shape was found in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries (**542/35**). It is made of the standard Iron I clay type (Clay Group I), but no exact parallel for it could be found in Syria-Palestine. The general appearance of the vessel is evocative of a deep krater shape from Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum C (Albright 1932a:39-40, pl. 47:13; 1933:89, pl. 16:14) as well as of another form dated to the Iron I period at Madaba (Harding *et al.* 1953: fig. 13:42).

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[52] This type of handle also appears on a krater from a 12th century context at Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 24:21).

Incidentally, except for the base, which is here concave, it best compares with a pithoid jar shape from Midea, dating to around 1200 B.C. (Demakopoulou *et al.* 1999:59, fig. 15).

4.4.1.3.3. *Basin*

TYPE BS.1: *Basin with flat base and everted sides* (Table 20)

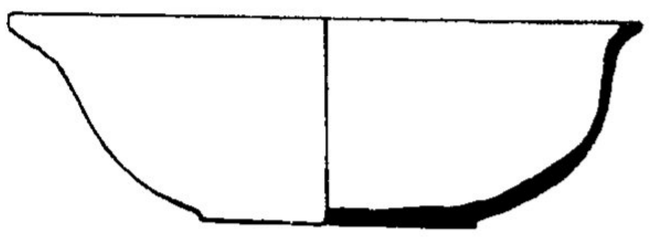


Figure 36: BS.1

One basin with thick walls, straight sides and a wide flat base was found in Tomb 542 (**542/36**). This undecorated simple shape can be interpreted as a washing basin but it could also have been used for storing or preparing foodstuffs. No morphological parallels could be identified for this piece. Another large open shape, also entered into Type BS.1, comes from Tomb 529 (**529/3**).

4.4.1.3.4. *One-handled pots*

One handled-pots are illustrated by two types in the present assemblage, each of which is represented by only one example. The first is made of a standard clay which relates to the general Clay Group I while the clay of the second, richer in organic temper, rather belongs to Clay Group II.

TYPE HP.1: *Rounded bodied pot* (Table 20)

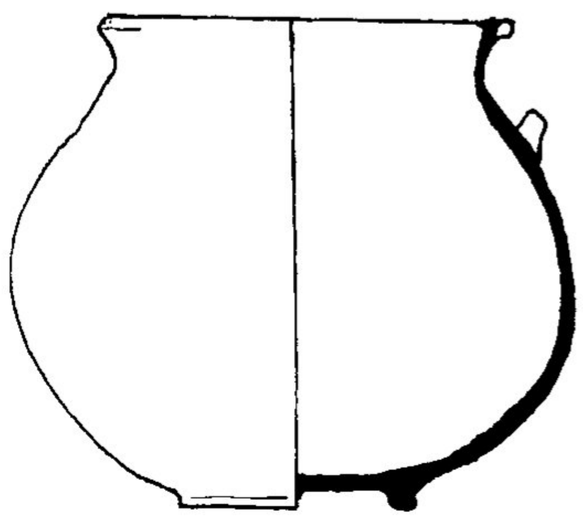


Figure 37: HP.1

This pot is characterised by a low ring base and a wide rounded opening with thinned everted rim. Although its exterior surface does not bear any trace of fire, both the general shape and the gritty nature

of the clay are consistent with a use as a cooking pot. The best parallel for this shape has been identified in LB II horizons at Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993:201, pl. 109:3).

TYPE HP.2: *Straight-sided pot with one handle* (Table 20)

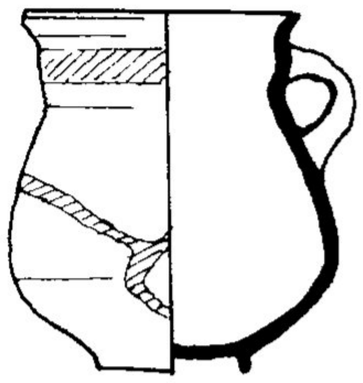


Figure 38: HP.2

This pot can perhaps be related to the carinated mug shape of the LB II period, but is made of coarser clay and, unlike the latter, it is decorated without much care. It is not common in southern Palestine, but can be compared to a LB I straight-sided jar from Megiddo (Guy 1938: pls. 41:11, 139:15).

4.4.1.3.5. *Two-handled pots*

The two-handled jars of the types represented in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs do not appear before the beginning of the Iron Age in Palestine, though they find antecedents in LB II, in a handled type of cooking-pot (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 7:7). The examples considered here (if they were ever used by the living before being deposited in the graves) may have served as water or grain containers or for small-scale domestic storage. However, due to the very gritty nature of their clay (which falls generally into Clay Group I) and their high quartz content, and even if they do not present any traces of exposure to heat or fire, it can be suggested that they were originally intended to be used as cooking-pots. Incidentally, this is the function which was ascribed to pots of related, but not identical, shape at Ashdod XIIIb (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 17:4-5), Tell Qasile Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b:53, fig. 26:11) and Tell Masos Strata III-II (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: pls. 132:16, 133:15).

However, although the examples of two-handled jars attested in the tombs discussed here do not find good parallels in the area of Syria-Palestine, they occur with some frequency on Cyprus in the LC IIC-IIIA period (in both rounded-base and flattened-base varieties). They are well-known at sites such as Maa-Palaeokastro and Enkomi (e.g. Karageorghis and Demas 1988:115, 199, pls. 60, 153, 183:692, 245:358; Dikaios 1969-1971:616, pl. 83:37) where they seem to have been used principally as cooking pots.[53] Related shapes, in the ring-base variant, were also recovered from the LC IIIB-CG I tombs at Kourion (Daniel 1937:68, pl. 3:90, 93) and Lapithos (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:194-201, pl. 45, 1st row, n.1).

Two sub-types are attested in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs, the first has a rounded or thickened base and the second has a low ring base.

TYPE TH.1: *Rounded-base two-handled pot* (Table 20)

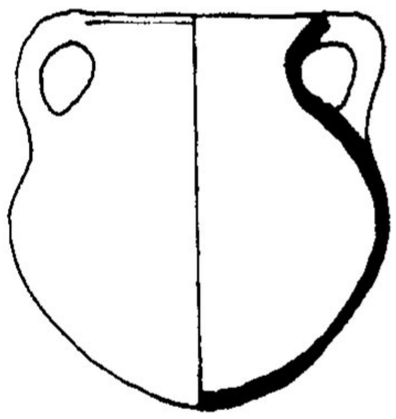


Figure 39: TH.1

Parallels for this type could not be identified in southern Palestine, though similar vessels occur in the Egyptian Delta in the New Kingdom (Petrie 1906: pl. 39D:88-90). Rounded-base two-handled pots are however conspicuous on Cyprus from the LC III to the CG I period, particularly in domestic contexts. They are found notably at Kition, Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:69, pls. 33, 55:659/1) and Maa-Palaeokastro, Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:199, pls. 153, 245:358). These vessels are usually interpreted as cooking-pots, though the specimen from Maa-Palaeokastro mentioned above does not bear any trace of fire on its external surface.

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[53] Two-handled cooking-jars with ring-bases are also typical in domestic contexts in mainland Greece from LH IIIB1 to the 11th century (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:131, figs. 112-113; French 1967:173).

TYPE TH.2: *Ring base two-handled pot* (Table 20)

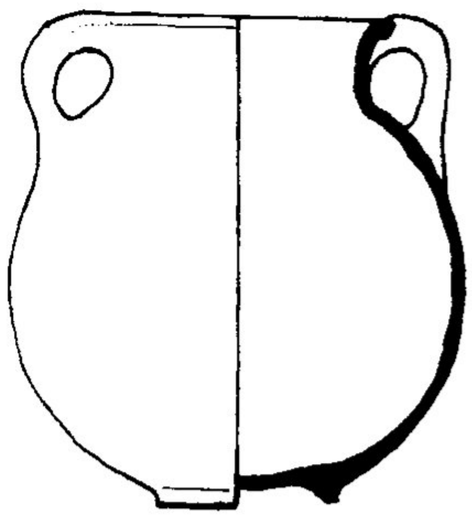


Figure 40: TH.2

Save for its rounder and fuller body, this vessel type is evocative of a series of large handled jars from LB II contexts at Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993: pls. 105:1, 107:1). Related shapes are also known from Beth Shan Level VIII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 16:16) and from Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan (Cooley and Pratico 1995: fig. 29:3-6), but the form remains unusual in Palestine for the whole of the LB IIB-Iron I period.[54]

At Tell el-Far'ah, these ring base jars first appear in the same contexts as the related rounded base two-handled pots (Type TH.1), but, as suggested by the evidence from the 200 cemetery (Duncan 1930: 33C, 33U), they seem to outlast the latter in the 11^{th}-10^{th} century.

On Cyprus, the ring-base type is attested in the LC IIIA period, for example at Maa-Palaeokastro Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:196, 201, pls. 153, 244:350, 602).

4.4.1.3.6. *Round mouth pots with one handle*

TYPE RM.1: *Pot with ring-base, ovoid body and one handle* (Table 20)



Figure 41: RM.1

Thirty jugs of this type were identified in eighteen different tombs and in Areas 500, 600 and 800. Among those 20 could be located in existing collections, while the remaining 10 were recognised on

[54] Approximate parallels can however be mentioned at Ashdod Area G, Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 34:7, pl. 43:5)

the basis of the excavation's notes and publications.

These jugs show little variation in shape. They have a flat or ring-base and a plain, externally thickened, grooved or triangular rim. Their neck is short, generally constricted, but occasionally straight (**542/46**; **644/3**) or slightly tapering (**616/2**). All of the examples considered here are made of extremely quartz-rich gritty clays (Group I) though some also show traces of added organic temper.

Morphologically, these vessels resemble the cooking-jugs which are found in association with the "Myc IIIC:1b" material at Tell Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod (Killebrew 1998a:397; 1999:93-94, fig. 3; T.Dothan 1998a:23, pls. 3:14, 6:7-8)[55] and which are believed to represent an Aegean or Cypriot tradition.[56]

One of the jugs from Tell el-Far'ah, from Tomb 542 (**542/45**), bears clear traces of black soot on its lower exterior walls, showing that here too these pots could have been used for cooking. However, to suggest that the unique function of this shape was that of a cooking-pot and that it is found strictly in association with "Mycenaean IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" may be an oversimplified statement. In effect, the shape also occurs outside the traditional "early" Philistine territory, for example at Tell el-Far'ah and in transitional LB/Iron I horizons at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992:38, fig. 4/3:14). A similar uncoated vessel, with very thick base, was also found in a clear LB II context at Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949:160, fig. 62:14) and one such jug with ring-base comes from Megiddo VIIA (Loud 1948: pl. 67:13). This shows that even if the shape did indeed originate from overseas, whether Cyprus or the Aegean, as suggested, among

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[55] These, or similar, cooking-jugs have also been identified at other sites in the Levant, notably at Gezer in LB II-Iron I contexts (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 45:7-8) and in Syria, at Tell Afis (Venturi 1998:130, fig. 8:4).

[56] Examples of such vessels on Cyprus can be mentioned from Kition Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:71, pls. 33, 55:318), Palaepaphos-*Terasoudhia* (Karageorghis 1990:30, pls. 18, 44) and Athienou, Stratum II (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: fig. 50:7-8, pl. 33:1-2). The one-handled cooking-jug, with rounded or disc base, is also widespread in the Aegean in LH IIIB-C (Döhl 1973:165-167, fig. 14, pl. 66:3). Organic residue analysis have shown that, in the Aegean, these vessels were not only used for the cooking of aliments, but also for the manufacture and storing of fermented beverages (c.f. Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:170-171, fig. 162).

others, by Killebrew (1998a:401-402; 1998b:165; 1999:109) and T.Dothan (1998a:23; 1998b:154), it need not have come directly from the Aegean or from Cyprus, but could have transited through the trading centres of the Syrian coast.

Parallels for these vessels continue to be found throughout the Iron I period at south Palestinian sites, for example at Beth Shemesh Strata III-II (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 61:31; Grant 1929:211, n.337), Tell Sippor, Stratum I (Biran and Negbi 1966: fig. 5:8), Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: fig. 49:10, 12-13) and Tell Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:74, 84-85, pls. 139:6-7, 141:3).

TYPE RM.2: *Tripod pot* (Table 20)



Figure 42: RM. 2

The only example of this type included in the present study comes from Tomb 131 (**131/1**). It has a rounded body, three short stump-legs and a rounded thickened rim. The fact that it bears traces of fire on its external surface suggests that it was used as a small cooking pot.

Tripod vessels are already known on Cyprus from the MC III period onwards (Herscher 1988:151, fig. 5:4).[57] In a different version, they are also attested in the Aegean in the LH IIIB-C period (e.g Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:170, 248, figs. 171, 225). They are not common in Palestine before the 11th century (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987:206, figs. 14:1, 45:5) and the example considered here was therefore dated by Amiran (1969:200) to the Iron IIA period on the basis of parallels from northern Palestine.[58] There is however some evidence pointing to an earlier appearance of the

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[57] Generally, small Cypriot tripod pots occur in Plain White Wheelmade ware (e.g. Dikaios 1969-1971:328, pl. 108:7, 10), but a two-handled Black Burnished Handmade example is known from Tomb 26 at Kourion (Daniel 1937:73-74, fig. 7, pl. 2:21).

[58] Three-legged pots are notably found at Hazor Stratum VIII (Yadin *et al.* 1960: pl. 54:22) and, as censers, at Tell Taanak (Rast 1978: fig. 51:3, 19). The latter are also found in contemporary contexts in Jordan, for example at Irbid (Dajani 1966b:93, pl. 24:20) and Amman (Harding 1945:70, n.10-11). It should be noted that Amiran did not know from which tomb the Tell el-Far'ah tripod jug originated and thus was not helped by any contextual information for her dating of the pot.

shape in the area since a two-handled tripod pot is known from the LB II Tomb 4 at Jericho (Garstang 1933:25, pl. 10:2; Bienkowski 1986:81, fig. 40:2).

4.4.1.3.7. *Storage-jars*

These large vessels, often called Canaanite jars, first appear in the Levantine region in the Middle Bronze Age (Parr 1973). They soon spread to the Egyptian Delta, where they occur at Tell ed-Dab'a (e.g. Bietak 1991b:70, fig. 35:29) and, in the New Kingdom, they are found at many other sites, such as Memphis, Deir el-Medineh, Thebes and Buhen (Bourriau and Nicholson 1992:65-66; Bourriau 1990; Nagel 1938: figs. 14:34, 15:35; Bourriau, Smith and Serpico 2001; Serpico 1999; Gabolde *et al.* 1994:202-203, figs. 44-45; Rose 1987:133, fig. 10.5:62485; Aston 1997:93-94, pl. 122), where they also started to be locally produced (Wood 1987; Aston 1998:510). Contemporarily, they also occur on Cyprus,[59] in Anatolia, Crete and Greece (Leonard 1995; Åström 1992, with references).

Some of the Late Bronze Age "Canaanite jars" found on Cyprus have actually been identified as local products (Åström 1992:68; Jones and Vaughan 1988:390), though it has been argued that these "imitations" did not represent an organised production and were only destined for household use (Hadjicosti 1988:360).[60] In addition, Cypriot sites have also yielded evidence for imports of "Canaanite jars" of Egyptian manufacture (Eriksson 1995).[61]

It is usually assumed that these large containers were intended for the transport and storage of wine and olive oil, but their uses were probably much more diverse.

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[59] For example at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1986:65). The imports of Canaanite jars to Cyprus probably started before the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, since MB IIC Canaanite jars were found in MC III and LC IA deposits (Pearlman 1985:168, 171, fig. 2:1, pl. 22:1, with further references).

[60] However, there is not much evidence in support of this proposal. The possibility that some Cypriot jars were used for transport and ended outside the island should not be ruled out.

[61] The complexity of the situation is well illustrated by a "Canaanite" jar of typical Egyptian shape from Enkomi, which was identified as a Levantine import on the basis of clay analysis (Gunneweg, Perlman and Asaro 1987).

According to ancient Egyptian texts, these large vessels were normally filled with wine,[62] honey, incense or fruits (*Wörterbuch* II:487). Some of the Canaanite jars from Buhen and Amarna have yielded remains of resins, possibly used as incense. Another three jars from Buhen bear in hieratic the inscriptions *nhh*, *b3q* and *sntr* respectively (Serpico 1999:269, 271-272, fig. 1), i.e. the Egyptian words for sesame oil (occasionally also designating an oil used for lamps),[63] moringa (or olive?) oil [64] and incense (Gardiner 1957:576; Hannig 1995:725).[65] The Ulu Burun shipwreck yielded a quantity of Canaanite storage jars, most of them still holding remains of a black resinous substance, identified as terebinth resin (Bass 1986:277; Haldane 1990:59). Only one jar from the wreck was filled with olive stones, while two others contained orpiment and glass beads (Bass 1986:278). From this evidence it seems that, in practice, Late Bronze Age Canaanite jars were employed as multi-purpose containers, rather than as specialised wine or oil vessels. Moreover, as suggested by the Ulu Burun jars (Haldane 1990:59), once emptied of their original contents the vessels could be filled again with another commodity. Unfortunately, none of the Tell el-Far'ah storage-jars revealed traces of their contents.

In the Iron Age the production of large storage-jars continued in the Levant (Grace 1956:80). Their shape progressively departed from that of the Bronze Age prototypes, first acquiring a rounder base and shoulder, and later developing into a torpedo-shape in the Iron IIC-Persian period.

Many of the Canaanite jars discussed here still belong to the LB II types and are made of well tempered and highly fired clays belonging to Clay Group IV. Deep wheel-

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[62] Residue analysis carried out on Canaanite jar sherds from LH IIIB Mycenae have shown that the vessel contained resinated wine (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:157).
[63] *Wörterbuch* II:302. This oil is sometimes qualified as coming from Syria (Hannig 1995:425).
[64] Used for cooking, as medication or as ingredient in the fabrication of perfumes and cosmetics (*Wörterbuch* I:424; Hannig 1995:242).
[65] In medical texts, however, *sntr* has also been translated as terebinth resin (Deines and Grapow 1959:452-454). This identification is of some interest because this would (for once!) make texts and archaeological remains coincide.

marks were left on the inside of the vessel, in particular towards the base, but the external surfaces were always carefully smoothed. Though the base was left very thick, the side walls are surprisingly thin in relation to the large size of the vessels (averaging 50 cm in height).

TYPE ST.1: *Jar with rounded base, rounded shoulder, elongated neck and low handles*

(Table 20)

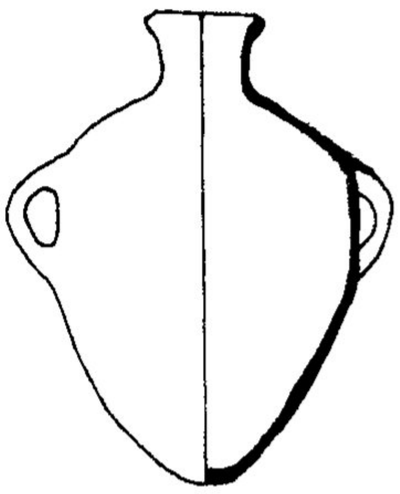


Figure 43: ST.1

From a morphological point of view this type still belongs to the MB IIC tradition but it continues well into LB I (Amiran 1969:142, pl. 44:1). It is distinguishable from the later LB II types by relatively modest proportions, by a thickened, rounded base and by an elongated, straighter neck. It is represented by four examples, one of which was examined for the present study (**611/2**). This type finds parallels at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 57:391; 1958: pl. 87:1009) and the same shape (perhaps a survival) is attested in a clear LB IIB context at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 8:4).

TYPE ST.2: *Jar with rounded base, rounded shoulder, everted neck and low handles*

(Table 20)

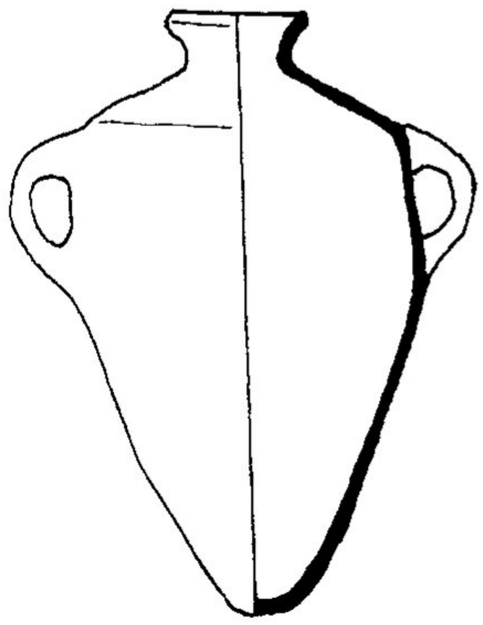


Figure 44: ST.2

These jars are characteristic of the LB I period in Palestine (Leonard 1995: fig. 15:3) and still preserve the rounded base of the earlier Middle Bronze Age types.[66] Two examples of this type were identified among the material considered here

[66] See for example at Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pls. 17:13, 18:1) and Lachish (Tufnell 1958:294-295, pl. 87:1014).

(**562/19**, **739/3**). The proportion and shape of the neck of these vessels are still reminiscent of a MB IIB tradition, while their tall size and slightly carinated shoulder already point to the morphological developments of the LB II period. They can be compared to jars from Lachish, Fosse Temple I and Tomb 6002 (Tufnell 1940: pl. 57:387; 1958: pl. 87: 1010-1011, 1014).

TYPE ST.3: *Jar with button/stump base, carinated shoulder, short neck and two handles*

(Table 20)

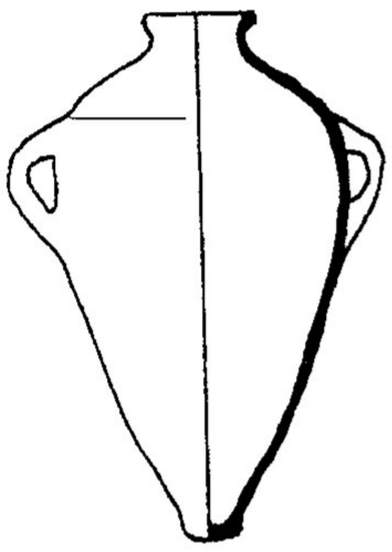


Figure 45: ST.3

These jars are typical of the LB II period. They have an almost triangular body shape, with a thick button or stump base and strongly carinated shoulders. They belong to a type which was widely exported outside Canaan, notably to Egypt and the Aegean (Peet and Woolley 1923: pl. 50:43/67; Grace 1956:80-109). Impressive quantities of these jars were found in the storerooms of Minet-el-Beida (Zamora 2000:325-326), but they are not particularly well attested on Cyprus.[67]

In Syria-Palestine, parallels are found in settlement layers, for example at Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 11:1-with thumb impression on the handle), Kamid el-Lôz (Adler and Penner 2001: fig. 64:30, pl. 62:4), as well as in tombs, for example at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:236, 240, pl. 87:1019, 1021), Beth Shan (Oren 1973: fig. 50:11), Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979: figs. 17-18) and Tell Abu Hawam (Anati 1959: fig. 7:1-4).

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[67] However, they occur at Myrtou Pygadhes (Catling 1957:54-55, fig. 23:318, 320).

TYPE ST.4: *Jar with stump base, rounded or slightly carinated shoulder and four handles*

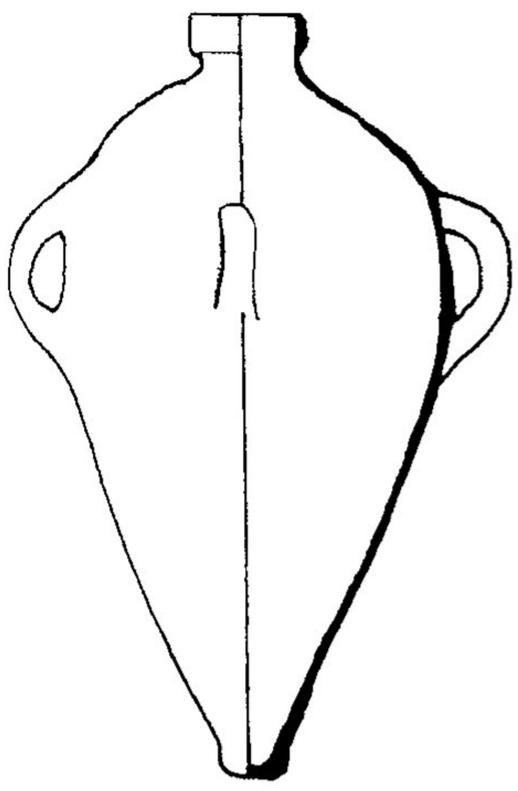


Figure 46: ST.4

(Table 20)

Four-handled jars are, as a rule, larger and heavier than the two-handled variety. They are commonly found in LB II contexts in southern Palestine (e.g. Tufnell 1958:240, pl. 87:1020; T.Dothan 1979: figs. 22, 28, 81, 89, 122, 124-125, 130; Dever *et al.* 1986: pls. 27:1-2, 28:1-2) and also, though with a different body shape, at Maa-Palaekastro in LC IIIA (Hadjicosti 1988:342, pl. 81:545). They disappear progressively sometime around the late 12th century, but an isolated example still occurs at Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b:56, fig. 26:14). With a modified body profile, large jars with four handles reappear in the 9th-8th centuries and enjoy a renewed popularity (Tufnell 1953: pl. 78:5, 11).

TYPE ST.5: *Jar with rounded base and slightly carinated or rounded shoulder*

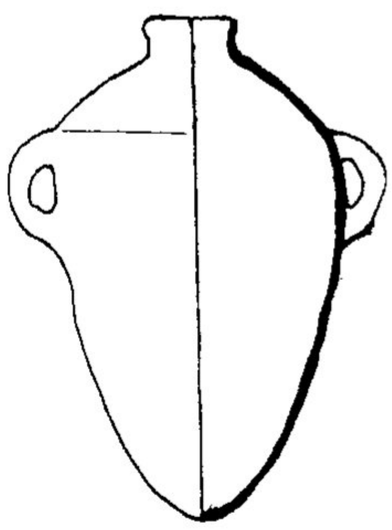


Figure 47: ST.5

(Table 20)

These jars can be considered as a derivative version of the button-base jars with carinated shoulders of the Late Bronze Age and are the dominant storage-jar type among the assemblage examined here. Their base, though remaining rather thick, tends to be rounder and the neck is usually short and straight. Although similar base and shoulder profiles are already attested on examples datable to the LB IIB period (Oren 1973:108; Anati 1959: fig. 7:6; Kelm and Mazar 1995: figs. 4:21-23, C7), jars of this type were mainly produced in the

12th-11th centuries (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 15:6-7). They are particularly well represented at the Early Iron Age site of Tell Qasile, in Strata XI-X (Mazar 1985b:54-56, photo 53). At Tell el-Far'ah, two of them are decorated with red-brown paint (**663/3**; **834/4**).[68] The first bears a series of plain horizontal bands on the shoulder zone and is morphologically closer to the late 12th-11th century production, as illustrated by the examples from Tell Qasile. The second is covered extensively with irregular linear designs (triangles, vertical and horizontal lines and zigzags). Although it comes from a clear Iron I context, its slenderer body still recalls the LB II tradition and its unusual decoration can be paralleled on a jar from an 18th Dynasty horizon at Memphis (Bourriau 1990:24, ill. 7).

TYPE ST.6: *Large storage jar with eight handles* (Table 20)

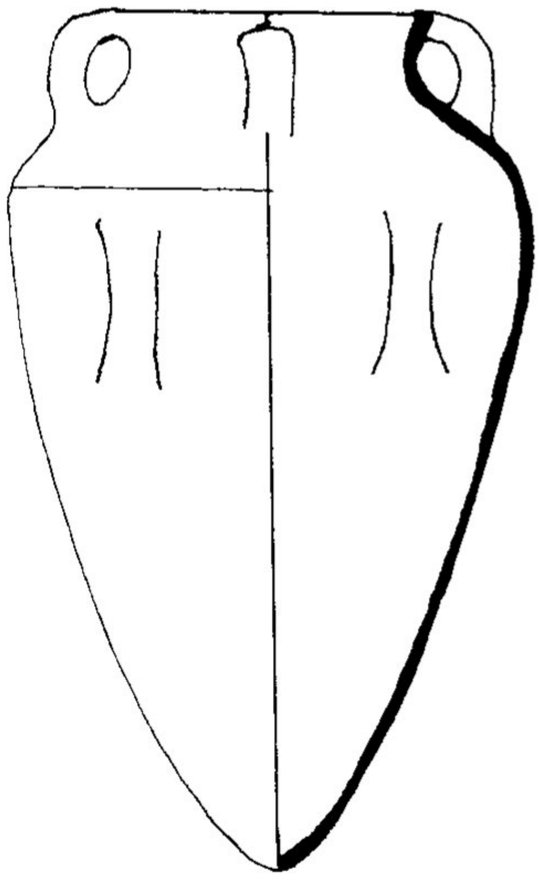


Figure 48: ST.6

The only vessel of this type at Tell el-Far'ah was reported from Tomb 513 (**513/4**) but could not be located for the purpose of the present study. According to Duncan's drawing (1930: 43Q3) this jar is extremely large (ca. 85.0 cm. in height) and thus, in spite of its eight handles, probably more suitable for storage than for transport. It is briefly mentioned by Amiran (1969: pl. 78:7) who, while emphasising the scarcity of the type in southern Palestine, dated this example to the beginning of the Iron Age.

[68] Only two of those could be located in existing collections.

4.4.1.3.8. *Large decorated jars*

TYPE DJ.1: *Decorated jar with tall bulging neck* (Table 20)

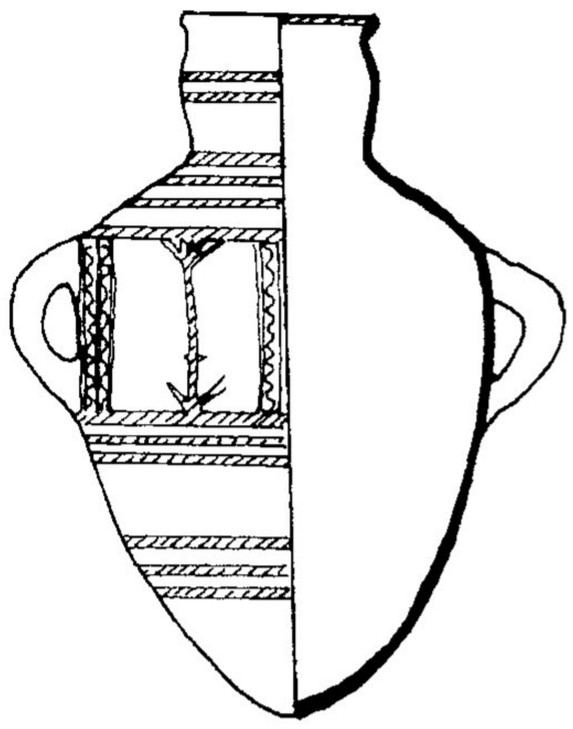


Figure 49: DJ.1

The Tell el-Far'ah tombs yielded only two examples of such vessels, both from Tomb 552 (**552/26**; **552/27**). The rounded base, the elongated body with two vertical handles, as well as the rounded shoulders are common to the larger storage jars, but the long bulging neck is directly evocative of certain Egyptian shapes (e.g. Steindorff 1937:132, pl. 80:34b-1-2). Due to their morphological and stylistical similarity, as well as to the fact that they come from the same tomb, it can be suggested that these two jars were the product of a single workshop, if not of a single artisan, and that they may have been acquired at the same time by the tomb owner, or by members of his/her family.

The two vessels bear similar types of red-brown painted motifs over an unslipped, but well smoothed surface. The decoration is concentrated on the upper part of the container, within a zone delimited by plain horizontal bands. The motifs consist principally of vertical wavy-lines framed by plain bands. The handles are also painted with vertical bands. In addition to these linear motifs, one of the pots bears a stylised palm-tree motif between the handles. Similar jars with comparable decoration are found in Level VII at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 10:12), at Tell Miqne-Ekron, Field INE, Stratum IX (Killebrew 1996b: pl. 5:13) and in the Eastern Cemetery at 'Afula (M.Dothan 1955: fig. 20:14).[69] In the Early Iron Age, these decorated jars were apparently also exported to Cyprus. An example (later in date than the pieces

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[69] A decorated large jar with "Gazelle and Bird"-style motifs was also found in a LB IIB level at Megiddo (Finkelstein and Zimhoni 2000: fig. 10:11).

considered here), with short neck and squatter body, can be cited from Tomb 49 at Palaepaphos-Skales on Cyprus (Bikai 1983:396-400, fig. 1:49/80, pl. 51:80).

4.4.1.4. *Jugs and juglets*

4.4.1.4.1. *Round-mouth juglets*

The vessels grouped under this category are small to medium size containers. They can be separated into nine variant types, some of which are well confined to specific chronological periods.

TYPE JT.1: *Juglet with conical body and rounded thickened rim* (Table 20)



Figure 50: JT.1

The only vessel of this type which was available for study comes from Area 700 (**700/2**), but another missing example comes from Tomb 537 (**537/7**). The conical body profile of these juglets is characteristic of a series of MB IIC-LB I burnished juglets usually found in funerary contexts, for example at Megiddo (Guy 1938: pl. 47:11), Beth Shan (Oren 1973: figs. 25:9, 30:2-8, 68:15) or Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 77:752-753, 761, 763-765). In contrast to the juglet from Area 700, the majority of the above-mentioned vessels have double-strap handles and are slipped and burnished.

TYPE JT.2: *Black Lustrous Wheelmade juglet* (Table 20)

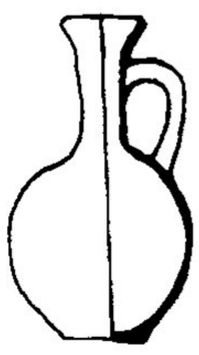


Figure 51: JT.2

Five juglets from five tombs of the 600 cemetery (only two of which were available for study: **612/2**, **613/4**) have been ascribed to this type. These juglets are characterised by a flat base, a rounded body and an elongated concave neck. The handle goes from shoulder to

three-quarters of the way up the neck. They are made of fine sandy clay, sometimes tempered with a small amount of finely chopped vegetable matter (related to Clay Group III). The paste is usually grey in colour, and is fired to varying hardness. The surfaces are covered with a greyish slip and burnished to a smooth lustre.

The origin of this class of pottery has often been the subject of debate since it was identified by Petrie in Egypt and southern Palestine (Petrie 1906:15). Oren (1969:130-136), following Amiran, considered it as a local Canaanite production,[70] while Åström (1972:217-220) included it into his corpus of Cypriot pottery. But, whether the origin of the ware lies in Cyprus or the Levant, it is very likely that, from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age onwards, it was manufactured locally in both areas. According to Oren (1973:77; 1969), Black Lustrous juglets in Palestinian contexts appear at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and do not continue beyond the reign of Thutmosis III (or the first half of the 15th century).

On Cyprus, they first occur at the beginning of the LCI period [71] and last until the end of the Cypriot Bronze Age. As described by Åström (1972:217), the Cypriot Black-Lustrous Wheelmade ware corresponds well to the examples from Tell el-Far'ah. At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, such juglets are also found in tombs at Megiddo (Guy 1938: pls. 41:23-24, 140:21), Pella in Jordan (Smith and Potts 1992: pl. 58:2), and Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: figs. 75:14, 102:1; Courtois and Courtois 1978: 226-227, fig. 9A:6, 8).[72]

In Egypt, Black Lustrous Wheelmade juglets occur, for example at Tell el-Yahudiyeh (Petrie 1906: pl. 8B:103, 107-108; Bourriau 1981:129, fig. 255), Gurob

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[70] Also, more recently, Gonen (1992b:235), who considers these juglets as a hallmark of the LB I period in Palestine.

[71] Åström notes the appearance of Black Lustrous Wheelmade ware in the LCI layer of Tomb 8 at Aghios Iakovos (Åström 1962:219).

[72] Black Lustrous juglets are more rarely attested in domestic than in funerary contexts but an example from Ashdod Area G, Stratum XXIIa can be mentioned here (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 3:10, pl. 30:8).

(Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 22:25), Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: pl. 63) and Aniba (Steindorff 1937:132-133, pl. 81: 36b1, 5-6), always in funerary contexts. According to the accompanying scarabs, the bulk of the Egyptian examples should be dated to the mid-18th Dynasty.

TYPE JT.3: *Ovoid juglet with handle from shoulder to rim* (Table 20)

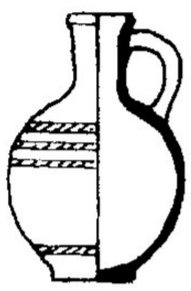


Figure 52: JT.3

These juglets have a raised flat or low ring base, an ovoid body, a narrow straight neck and a single rounded handle from shoulder to rim. The clay is usually semi-fine, with few mineral inclusions (Clay Groups II and III). It is tempered with added chaff and fired red-brown throughout. The external surface is generally covered with a thin buff-cream slip (applied with a paint brush) and decorated with plain horizontal bands in red-brown to purple matt paint. Because of their small size and narrow neck, it may be suggested that these vessels were principally used as containers for perfumed oils or unguents. Typical of the end of the 13th-early 12th century in southern Palestine[73] and Transjordan,[74] in both funerary and domestic contexts, they are also found in Egypt in the 20th Dynasty, in particular in the Nile Delta (Aston 1996: fig. 233b; 1989:23, fig. 7:2). In the majority of cases, these rounded-body juglets are painted in a single colour. One LB IIB example from Lachish, however, shows the remains of bichrome red and black painted decoration over the usual white slip (Tufnell 1958:248-249, pl. 76:725).

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[73] For example at Deir el-Balah, Tomb 116 (T.Dothan 1979:41, figs. 86, 93), Tell esh-Shari'a Stratum IX (Oren 1984: fig. 7:4, pl. 3b), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:726), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:193, n.395) and Beth Shan Level VI (James 1966: fig. 57:11).

[74] For example, at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: figs. 4/2:12, 4/10:34, 36-37, 5/14:17).

TYPE JT.4: *Globular juglet with low ring base* (Table 20)

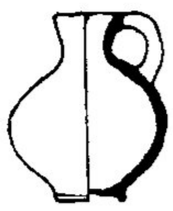


Figure 53: JT.4

Three juglets belonging to this type were identified in Tombs 912, 914 and 984 (**912/2**, **914/6**, **984/12**) and another two, from Tombs 629 and 820 (**629/1**, **820/1**) were added to this group on the basis of the published and unpublished excavation notes and reports. All of the examined examples have missing necks and handles; they have very worn surfaces and bear no visible remains of slip or paint. They are characterised by particularly thin walls and are clearly locally made, probably with organic-tempered clays relating to Clay Group III.

Although the technology of these juglets is definitely local, their shape is rare in southern Palestine. It compares best with Mycenaean LH IIIB imports, for example with a piece from Well 1269 at Ugarit (Calvet and Geyer 1987:138, pl. 2c-e) and with another from Tell Abu Hawam Stratum V (Hamilton 1935:37, n.230). Closer to Tell el-Far'ah, a comparable juglet, apparently also a Mycenaean import, was found in the Late Bronze Age Tomb 58 at Gezer (Macalister 1912:322, pl. 81:9).

TYPE JT.5: *Juglets with narrow neck*

The juglets classified in this category are made of local quartz-rich clay (Clay Group I). They all have rather squat proportions, the body height being more or less the same as that of the neck, but, on the basis of morphological details, they can be further distinguished into two sub-types.

JT.5A: *Juglet with rounded body and narrow neck* (Table 20)

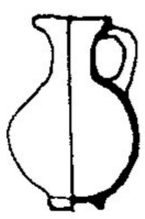


Figure 54: JT.5a

Seven juglets have been included in this sub-type, two of which were available for study (**104/3**, **640/5**). Of these two, one is covered with a hand-burnished Red Slip. The mouth of the Red Slip juglet is

missing, but can tentatively be reconstructed as funnel-shaped. The type was apparently produced from Iron IA to Iron IIB. Antecedents to the shape are already known in the LB II period, for example at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 36:1), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:177, fig. 4:2) and Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 28:4), but parallels closer to the Tell el-Far'ah examples are found in much later horizons, such as Beth Shan Level IV (James 1966: fig. 34:5).

JT.5B: *Juglet with carinated body* (Table 20)

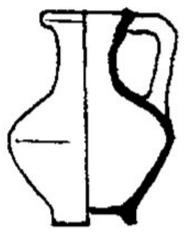


Figure 55: JT.5b

Two juglets of this type were identified in the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah, of which only one (made of clay of Group I) was examined (**801/5**). The shape is not frequent, but it finds a number of parallels at LB IIB Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:718), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 13:8, 39:3, 41:2-3) and in Iron I horizons at Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 19:23). According to this evidence and to their own contexts, the two juglets from Tell el-Far'ah can be dated to the mid to late 12th century.

TYPE JT.6: *Juglet with ring-base, barrel shaped body and out-splayed rounded rim*



Figure 56: JT.6

(Table 20)

The single juglet of this type at Tell el-Far'ah (**607/1**) is made of a fine local quartz-rich clay (Clay Group I) and is covered with a burnished red-brownish slip. It compares well with a Red Slip juglet from Beth Shemesh II (Grant 1932:17, pl. 50:30). This shape is relatively rare in the Iron Age, but has local antecedents going back to the MB IIC-LBI period at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:187, pl. 74:669) and Tel Aviv (Kaplan 1955: fig. 2:1).

TYPE JT.7: *Pinched-waist juglet* (Table 20)

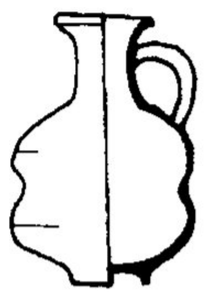


Figure 57: JT.7

Pinched-waist juglets appear in the Iron I period, quite likely, not before the mid-12th century.[75] Although it is presented as one of the main shapes of the Philistine pottery repertoire (T.Dothan 1982:157-160), it remains rare throughout its period of production.[76] In the present study, it is represented by three examples, only one of which was available for study. While the latter does not preserve any visible trace of surface treatment (**617/1**), the two non-examined pieces are reported to bear monochrome and bichrome decoration (**503/1**, **607/2**). The general profile of these juglets can be compared to a Philistine Bichrome vessel from Tell Keisan, Stratum 9a-b (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 61:3).

TYPE JT.8: *Wide-mouth juglets*

These one-handled vessels (generally about 10 cm. high) may have been used as drinking cups or small containers for liquids. While their dimensions and clay composition (Clay Group I) are quite consistent, their shape presents a significant degree of variation and they can be separated into two main morphological groups.

JT.8A: *Juglet with carinated body and high neck* (Table 20)



Figure 58: JT8.a

These juglets have a flat or ring base, a slightly carinated body and an elongated neck. One of them is characterised by an oval opening. The general morphology of the type points to a date in

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[75] A two-handled pinched-waist juglet with Philistine Bichrome decoration from Tell Qasile, Stratum XII is considered by Mazar as one of the earliest examples of the shape (Mazar 1985b:98, fig. 11:26, photo 26). Besides the fact that it has two handles, this juglet differs from the Tell el-Far'ah examples in the angular profile of its sides.

[76] Dothan ascribes the appearance of the type to a local development. Indeed, the closest antecedents for this shape occurs in Tomb 2 at Ras el 'Ain (Ory 1938:118, n.87).

the LB IIB period. It can be compared to examples from Lachish (Tufnell 1958:242, 237, pl. 84:968-969) and from Tomb 1 at Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 24:4). Although these juglets were, without doubt, locally produced, their shape and size are somewhat reminiscent of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age tankards which are often found in funerary contexts in Palestine (e.g. Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 21:13, 70E) and it is possible that they were inspired from such imported objects. On the other hand, the shape may also be considered as a smaller version of the large carinated mugs.[77]

JT.8B: *Juglet with rounded body and short neck*



Figure 59: JT8.b

This subtype reproduces the basic shape of the large rounded-body handled jugs discussed above. Like the latter, it has a low ring or a flat raised base, a round mouth and, generally, a triangular rim. Unlike the carinated juglets, these are not attested in clear LB IIB contexts, but they occur in Tomb 1 (LB II-Iron II) at Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 24:6) and in Stratum II at the same site (Grant 1929:211, n.366).

TYPE JT.9: *Juglet with ridged neck* (Table 20)

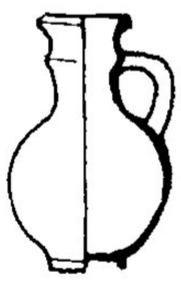


Figure 60: JT.9

The only juglet of this type which could be located in the collections examined here comes from Tomb 805 (**805/2**). Amiran (1969:256) already argued for the northern affinities of this type, and indeed, the juglet from Tomb 805 from Tell el-Far'ah can be compared to a similar Red Slip Burnished vessel from Megiddo Stratum VB (Finkelstein, Zimhoni and Kafri 2000: fig. 11.26:8) and can therefore be approximately dated to the 11th century (Shiloh 1993:1023).

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[77] See for example the small undecorated mug from the "Schatzhaus" at Kamid el-Lôz (Miron 1990: fig. 36:1, pl. 70:2).

4.4.1.4.2. *Small dippers*

The diverse types of small dippers discussed below are all made of local clays which can generally be classified into the broad group of quartz-tempered clays (Clay Group I), though a few also relate to Clay Groups II, III, IV and V.

TYPE SD.1: *Rounded base dipper-juglet with wide neck* (Table 20)



Figure 61: SD.1

These juglets are characterised by their relatively long, widening (sometimes bulging) neck and their oval mouth. In the Tell el-Far'ah graveyards, they occur only in tombs of the 600 cemetery. They are quite common in the southern Levant during the MBIIC-LBI period and in the earlier part of LB II, for example at Beth Shemesh in the "Grotto Sepulchre" (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 17:1, 3, 14), Beth Shan Tombs 42 and 59 (Oren 1973: figs. 26:8, 29:5, 68:13), Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988:76, pl. 21:9) and Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 52:297, 303; 1958: pls. 51:42-43, 52:13-14, 78:182).

TYPE SD.2: *Pointed-base dipper-juglets*

Pointed-base dipper-juglets combine wheelmade and handmade forming methods. The upper part of the vessel was shaped on the wheel from a clay ball but clay surplus was left at the base when it was taken off the wheel. The pointed base was then obtained by scraping off surplus clay from the vessel's lower part when it was already slightly hardened. Three subtypes can be distinguished within this category.

SD.2A: *Dipper-juglet with pointed base and oval mouth* (Table 20)

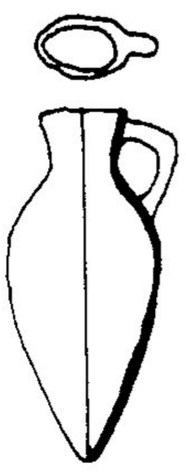


Figure 62: SD.2a

This variant of the Late Bronze Age pointed-base dipper-juglet is characterised by a straight neck and an oval opening. It still preserves the

wide neck of the MB II-LB I examples (e.g. Tufnell 1958: pl. 78:780), but also finds a good parallel in a LB IIB context at Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979:39, figs. 82, 88).

SD.2B: *Dipper-juglet with pinched and trefoil mouth* (Table 20)

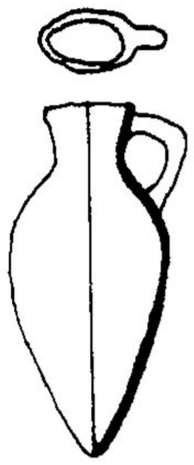


Figure 63: SD.2b

Dipper-juglets with sharply pointed base, either with a narrow or wide body are extremely common in the Late Bronze Age strata of many Syro-Palestinian sites, from Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979:13, 56, figs. 23, 26, 125, 131), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 78: 784-791), Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 13:10, 22:7, 9), Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: figs. 4/2:8-9, 4/15:23, 4/20:13, 4/24:11-12, 5/3:12), Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 20:6, 8), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 24:3, 32:1) to Sidon (Saidah 1979-1980: fig. 7:30), Tell Sukas (Riis *et al.* 1996:39, fig. 26) and Ugarit (e.g Calvet and Geyer 1987: pl. 3c; Courtois and Courtois 1978:254-256, fig. 19:1-4; Courtois 1969: fig. 3:A, D-E). It becomes progressively rarer after the beginning of the Iron Age, but it still occurs in 12th century levels, for example at Ashdod Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 32:8) and Tell Keisan, Level 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 71:4-4b).

SD.2C: *Dipper-juglet with pinched mouth and barrel shaped body* (Table 20)

The only juglet of this type comes from Tomb 979 (**979/1**). It can be considered as a special variant of the LB II juglet of Type SD.2b and finds an isolated parallel at Lachish in a 14th century context (Tufnell 1958:239, pl. 78:792).

TYPE SD.3: *Dipper-juglet with rounded base* (Table 20)



Figure 64: SD.3

These juglets were almost entirely formed on the wheel from a clay ball, but the exterior surface was smoothed vertically off the wheel, leaving distinctive marks on the surface. Handles were added when the vessel was leather dry. As with the pointed-base variety, handles are rounded or rectangular in section and were often made of chaff-rich clay.

While the pointed base juglets could be considered as typical of the Late Bronze Age, the rounded base type is more characteristic of the beginning of the Iron Age. It has good parallels at Ashdod XII-Xa (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 32:6, 46:3, pls. 43:3, 51:10), though early examples already occur in Late Bronze contexts, for example at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 3:5, 9:10, 42:2, 50:6, 53:5) and Deir 'Alla, Phase E (Franken 1992: fig. 4/15:24). The passage from the pointed to the rounded base was certainly a very gradual process and can be illustrated, for instance, by the finds from Level VII at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 9:12, 13:9, 22:5-9, 31:4-6) and Stratum IIIA at 'Afula (M.Dothan 1955: fig. 13:28-30) where both types were found side by side.

TYPE SD.4: *Rounded-bodied dipper-juglet* (Table 20)



Figure 65: SD.4

These juglets are typically Iron Age shapes. They are never found in Late Bronze Age contexts but can probably be considered as a development of the pointed and rounded base juglets of the LB II-Iron I period. The type lasts until the 8^{th}-7^{th} centuries (e.g. Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 2:43, 46-48). The two examples examined here have their necks and mouths missing

(**530/3**, **821/1**). Two non-examined examples have a slightly everted neck with an oval opening (**528/2**, **534/3**) and can be compared to juglets from Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B (Albright 1932a: pl. 51:8, 11) and Iron I Bethel (Albright and Kelso 1968: pl. 59:2-3).

One bears the remains of a hand-burnished Red Slip coating and is decorated with two red-brown painted horizontal lines on the upper body (**530/3**). Parallels (with and without painted bands above the Red Slip) can be found, for instance, at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B (Albright 1932a: pl. 51:2-3), Iron I Beth Zur (Funk 1968: fig. 13:8, pl. 27:8) and also at Ashdod, Lachish, Gezer and Khirbet Balamah in the beginning of the Iron II period (Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 14:1; Aharoni 1975: pl. 42:9; Macalister 1912: pl. 103:11; Van der Steen 2001:127, figs. 7, 15-17).

TYPE SD.5: *Dipper-juglet with ring-base* (Table 20)

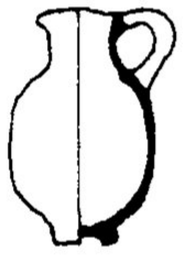


Figure 66: SD.5

This ring-base small dipper is an unusual form and is only encountered twice in the present assemblage (**120/4**, **542/58**). It has a barrel-shaped body and high rounded handle from shoulder to rim. Though no precise parallel could be found for this shape, it is technologically and morphologically closely related to the pointed- and rounded-base dippers discussed above (pp. 153-155) and can be considered as broadly belonging to the same period.

4.4.1.4.3. *Jugs*

TYPE J.1: *Ovoid jugs with handle from shoulder to rim*

The jugs grouped into the present category are related by their size and general appearance, but can be separated into two sub-types on the basis of specific morphological details and sometimes to clay type (relating to Clay Groups I, II, III and

V). They are often covered with a light-coloured slip or self-slip, but have gritty surfaces.

J.1A: *Ovoid jug with everted mouth* (Table 20)

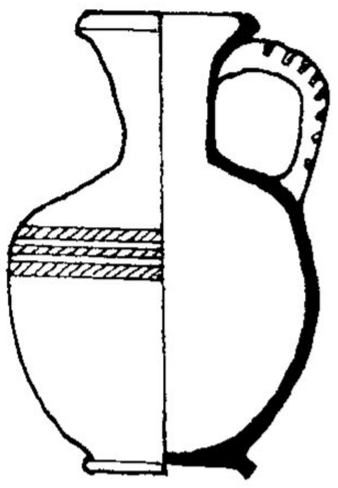


Figure 67: J.1a

The two jugs belonging to this category which were examined for this study have a low ring base, an everted mouth with marked rim and a band handle reaching from the shoulder to just below the rim (**610/4**, **981/17**). Both examples bear red-painted horizontal bands on the body (in one case over a light cream slip), and one has a series of small horizontal strokes along the handle.[78] These two vessels derive directly from a LB I local Levantine jug type (e.g. Guy 1938: pls. 41:9, 47:14-15, 139:23, 147:3), but which continues also well into LB II, for example at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 5:4, 14:3, 21:15, 57:1).

J.1B: *Ovoid jug with narrow mouth* (Table 20)

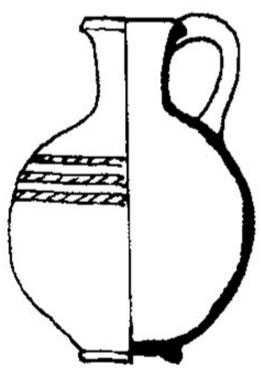


Figure 68: J.1b

These jugs are a large version of the juglets Type JT.3 and belong to the same period. They are rarer than the smaller variety, and, like them, have a narrow neck and mouth and a rounded handle from shoulder to rim. As a rule, they are also covered with a white slip and are decorated with plain horizontal bands in red-brown paint. They can be dated to the same period as their smaller counterparts and are evidenced in the LB II-Iron I period at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:725), Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 29:9) and at Beth

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[78] Mountjoy (1999:1039-1040, fig. 426:179) published a jug of similar shape and decoration (i.e. with painted horizontal bands on the body and stripes on the handle), which she dated to LH IIIC Early to Middle. Such striped handles are not usual in Late Helladic pottery, but they are rather frequent in the Levant in the LB II period, not only on jugs, but also on stirrup-jars, pilgrim flasks and mugs. If such stripes on the handles of jugs can be considered as some kind of stylistic criterion, they may illustrate a movement of influence which went from east to west, sometime towards the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Shan, in Levels VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 17:13) and VI (James 1966: fig. 47:10).

TYPE J.2: *"Base Ring" imitations and derivatives*

A number of jugs, mainly from the tombs of the 900 cemetery, can be considered as local wheelmade imitations of Cypriot Base Ring jugs and as generic derivatives of these imitations. Although their appearance may present significant differences, the jugs discussed below can probably be dated broadly to the same period and the beginning of their manufacture overlaps with the last imports of Cypriot handmade pottery to the Levant.[79] The morphological disparities noticeable between these pots, combined to the uneven degree of resemblance they bear to the original Cypriot models, suggest that local Levantine potters were not always interested in obtaining faithful copies of Cypriot products (if that had been their aim, they quite likely would have had better results). They were only freely adapting certain characteristic traits to their traditional manufacturing techniques (Prag 1985). In this context, what seems to have been most important was not the object itself, but the notions or ideas it was liable to transmit. In Palestine, Base Ring jugs, their imitations and derivatives are often found in tombs and it may be suggested that both imports and local copies were specifically intended for funerary purposes (Prag 1985).

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[79] Tufnell (1958:211) argued that the local production of Base Ring imitations in Palestine became significant only after real imports failed to reach the Levantine coast. However, it has now been demonstrated that the fall off of Base Ring imports in the 13th century is accompanied by a proportionate increase of imitations (Prag 1985:160).

J.2A: *Jug with low ring base, ovoid body thinned or flattened rim* (Table 20)

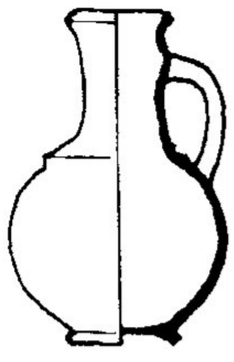


Figure 69: J.2a

This sub-type comprises vessels which are still quite close to the Cypriot prototypes. They are characterised by a rounded to ovoid body, an elongated neck, occasionally ridged at the base, and a thinned or flattened rim. Their clay is relatively fine, but it does not depart in its appearance from the clay type usually employed for fine local wares of LB IIB (Clay Group III). The fact that such clay was preferred to any other, as well as special morphological details, such as the leaning position of the neck and the ridge at its base, shows that, in this particular case, the local potters were quite concerned to preserve the resemblance between their product and their Cypriot models. The two examples of this type attested at Tell el-Far'ah (**902/17**, **905/18**) can be compared to vessels from Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 81:882) and Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913:48, pl. 20:15).

J.2B: *Ring base jug with ovoid to biconical body and everted mouth* (Table 20)

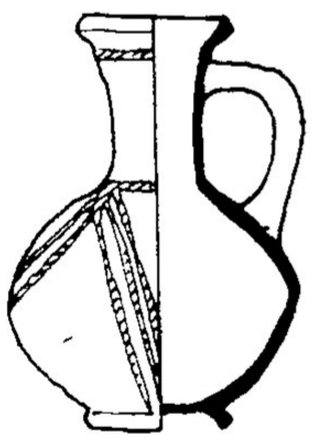


Figure 70: J.2b

These jugs are made of a variety of clays, containing uneven amounts of organic tempering (Clay Groups I and II). They are characterised by an elongated, sometimes bulging, everted neck and by their painted decoration of horizontal bands on the neck and diagonal bands across the body. The colour of the paint is reddish-brown and not light-coloured as that of the real Cypriot Base-Ring. Several of these pots are vertically burnished suggesting that the potter may have been relatively familiar with the external appearance of Cypriot Base Ring.

Parallels for this type are fairly frequent in the southern Levant in the LB IIB period and are attested at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pls. 81:883-885, 888-889, 892-893, 82:904-905),

Tell Beit Mirsim C (Albright 1932a: pl. 47:10) and Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 20:12, 19).

J.2C: *Jug with ovoid body and bulging neck* (Table 20)

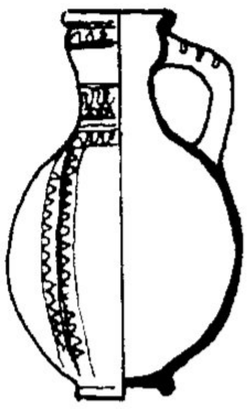


Figure 71: J.2c

Jugs classified in this category are only remotely related to the original Cypriot types. They can be identified by exaggeratedly bulging necks, and by the specific style of their decoration which combines plain horizontal bands, vertical strokes, and vertical and horizontal wavy lines on shoulder and neck. Like the jugs of the previous subtype (Type J.2b), they also compare with examples from Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:284; 1958: pls. 76:722-723, 81:876-877, 886, 895, 82:900, 902-903), Tell esh-Shari'a (Oren 1984: fig. 7:3) and Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:183, 195, n.40, 530) and may be made of different clay types, namely with clays belonging to Group I and II. The type of decorative motifs attested on these vessels continues to be found in Iron I, but not always in association with this particular jug shape (e.g. Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 19:23).

TYPE J.3: *Jug with spherical body, ridged neck and irregular painted decoration* (Table 20)

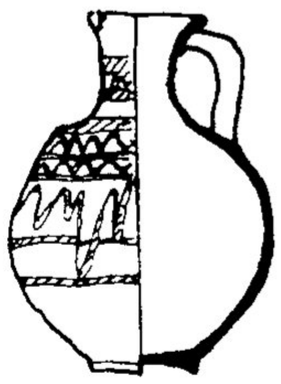


Figure 72: J.3

This type is represented by only a single example from Tomb 125 (**125/3**). The ridge at the base of the neck and the general proportions of the vessel is somewhat reminiscent of the late local derivatives of Cypriot Base Ring. The same can be said of the hastily drawn decoration of alternating zigzag and horizontal bands (see above Type J.2c) and of the clay (Clay Group I). No precise parallel for this jug could be found, but its general shape and

decoration point to a date in the late 12th century, which is corroborated by its context. It can also be broadly compared to jugs from Gibeon Tomb 10 (Pritchard 1963: figs. 8:22, 99:4) and from the Jebel Nuzha tomb (Dajani 1966a:48-49. pl. 18:54).

TYPE J.4: *Jugs with ring-base, narrow neck and rectangular handle*

These undecorated narrow-necked jugs first appear in Palestine in LB I-II, often with an ovoid body, for example at Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 55:12), Ashdod (M.Dothan 1971:79, fig. 31:15, pl. 29:9) and Beth Shan (Oren 1973: fig. 37:2, 6-7). At the very beginning of the Iron Age, they also occur in Transjordan at Deir 'Alla, Phase G (Franken 1969: fig. 65:61). Similar shapes are occasionally attested on Cyprus in Plain White Wheelmade III, in LC IIC-LC IIIA.[80] The basic type continues after the earlier part of the Iron Age, also in Red Slip, with a tendency towards a more globular body (Mazar 1985b: fig. 41:7-8). With a wider base and squatter body proportions, the type is still attested in the 9th-8th century Stratum III at Beer-Sheba (Aharoni 1973: pl. 56:1). Within the restricted assemblage discussed here, two successive stages of the shape's development can be distinguished on morphological and technological grounds. Both are made of quartz-tempered clays of Clay Group I.

J.4A: *Jug with ring-base and handle from shoulder to rim* (Table 20)

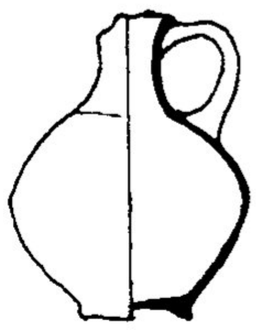


Figure 73: J.4a

This jug (**532/23**) presents the ovoid body of the LB IIB examples from Beth Shemesh, Ashdod and Beth Shan mentioned above. It finds particularly good parallels in early 12th century examples from Jordanian tombs at

[80] For example at Enkomi Level IIIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:599, pl. 77:17) and in the Kition wells (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:79, pls. 38, 59:24).

Madaba (Harding *et al.* 1953: fig. 14:62) and Sahem (Fischer 1997:37-38, fig. 9:4).

J.4B: *Jug with globular body and narrow neck* (Table 20)

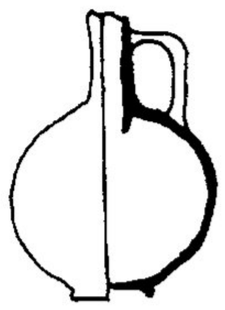


Figure 74: J.4b

A single jug belonging to this type was examined here (**621/1**). It is characterised by a globular body shape and an extremely narrow neck. As suggested by the use of the Red Slip technique, it is certainly later in date than the two jugs of the previous subtype. It compares well with examples from Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b:63, photo 65, fig. 41:7). In contrast with the two jugs of Type J.4a, which were built in a single piece on the potter's wheel, this one seems to have been built in two separate parts. Body and neck were turned independently and joined together by inserting the neck through the body walls. The attachment was then secured from the outside with added clay and the suture was concealed by smoothing the surface. This mode of neck attachment is commonly attested in LB II and Iron I for the narrow necks of the pilgrim flasks.

TYPE J.5: *Jug with flat base, ovoid body and elongated neck* (Table 20)

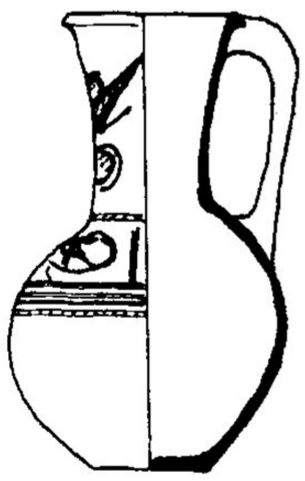


Figure 75: J.5

There are five jugs of this type within the Tell el-Far'ah tomb assemblages, two of which, both decorated in the Bichrome technique, could be located in the existing collections (**542/59**, **841/1**). In Palestine, this shape, which is believed to be of Egyptian origin (T.Dothan 1982:172-185),[81] is typically found in association with the Philistine Bichrome decoration of Iron IB (e.g. Grant 1931: pl. 13, top row; 1932: pl. 42:9; Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 20:7, pl. 39:2).

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[81] The shape occurs in New Kingdom Egypt, for example at Goshen (Petrie 1906: pl. 39D:91) and Aniba (Steindorff 1937:132, pl. 81:35a-3-4). A wooden dummy vase of the same type was also found in an 18th Dynasty funerary context (Mond and Emery 1929:52, pl. 36b).

TYPE J.6: *Jug with depressed body and high handle* (Table 20)

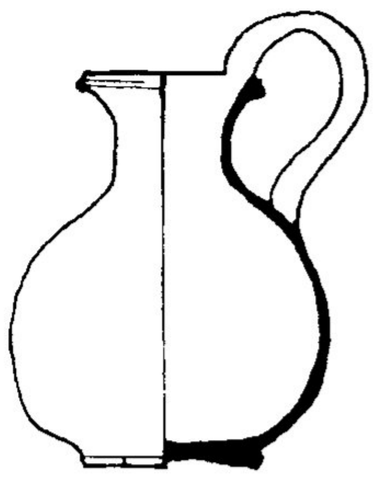


Figure 76: J.6

This type (represented by one example from Area 600 (**600/11**)) imitates the shape of a Greek oinochoe of the Hellenistic period, but was, to all appearances locally made. It finds its best parallel in a contemporary jug from Tell Atrib (Athribis) in the Nile Delta (Poludnikiewicz 1992:97, fig. 2.3:3), pointing to the existence of close relationships between the two areas at that time. Like the latter, the jug from Tell el-Far'ah has a round mouth (instead of the more usual trefoil mouth) and a self-slipped polished surface.

4.4.1.4.4. *Dippers*

The vessels classified into this category are made of clays generally related to Group II. They average 20.0 cm in height [82] and, as far as size is concerned, stand between the small dippers and the large trefoil mouth jugs. They also often reproduce the shapes attested in the latter two groups but are rarer than both of them.

TYPE D.1: *Dipper with rounded body and grooved rim* (Table 20)

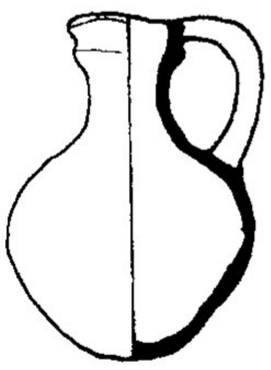


Figure 77: D.1

This is a relatively rare jug type and it is attested in only three tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (**536/2**, **927/2**, **938/2**). No precise parallel could be identified for this shape, but it stands close to a jug from Beth Shemesh Stratum IV (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 59:1). The globular profile of the body and the grooved trefoil mouth is also evidenced on medium-sized jugs from an early 12th century context at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:246, pl. 76:710-711).

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[82] Only **985/5** is smaller (14.9 cm). This vessel's diameter is however too large to classify it as a small dipper.

TYPE D.2 *Dipper with stump or button-base and everted neck* (Table 20)

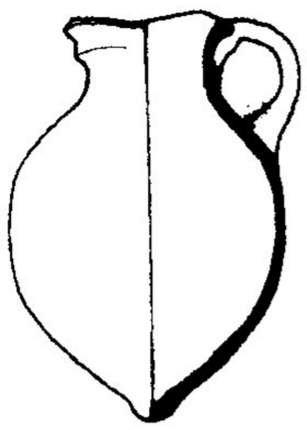


Figure 78: D.2

These dipper-jugs reproduce in a smaller version the shape of the larger button-base trefoil mouth jugs discussed below (Type TJ.1). Apart from their size, they also differ from the latter in their squatter body proportions. Like their larger counterparts these vessels are typical of the LB IIB-Iron IA period (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:706; Grant 1929: 185, n.376; 1932: pl. 42:1; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 35:10).

TYPE D.3: *Dipper with pointed or rounded base and short neck* (Table 20)

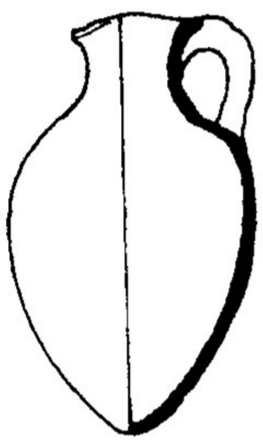


Figure 79: D.3

These vessels can be considered as a larger version of the small dipper-juglets of the LB II-Iron I period (Types SD.2-3). They are less frequently encountered than the latter, but are attested in the same type of contexts, for example, in the Jordan valley, at Beth Shan (e.g. James and McGovern 1993: fig. 31:10; Oren 1973: figs. 35:29, 70:1) and Deir 'Alla, Level E (Franken 1992: figs. 4/2:10, 4/10:29, 32, 5/3:13) and, in the south, at Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 14:1).

4.4.1.4.5. *Large jugs*

The types of large jugs with trefoil or round mouth discussed here are all made of clays belonging to Clay Group I. In both LB IIB and Iron I, these vessels are wheelmade either in one piece or, only in the case of some of the LB II examples, with separately formed neck and mouth. They have a single band-handle on the side going

from shoulder to neck. As a rule, the handle was made of particularly chaff-rich clay and attached to the body when the vessel was leather-hard.

4.4.1.4.5.1. *Round-mouth large jugs*

TYPE RJ.1: *Large jug with rounded base and everted mouth* (Table 20)

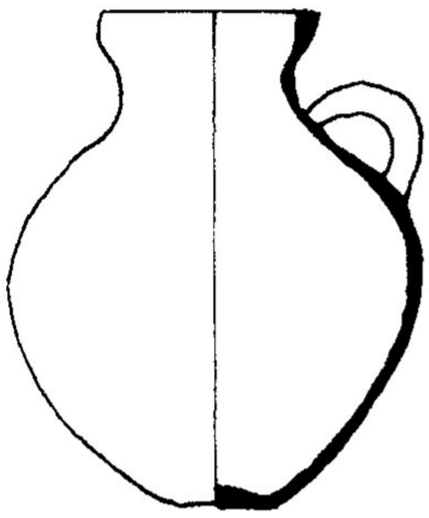


Figure 80: RJ.1

There are only two examples of this type in the tombs studied here (**611/5**, **612/4**). These jugs were made on a turn-table, but their surface was smoothed diagonally off the wheel. The almost horizontal position of the handle is characteristic of this shape and has parallels on large vessels of the end of the Middle Bronze Age, for example at Lachish, Tomb 115 (Tufnell 1958: pl. 74:681), though it still occurs later in the LB II period (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:286). The everted neck with thickened rim is similarly evocative of a MB IIC-LBI tradition. It is not only found on jugs, but it is also evidenced on other shapes dating to that period (Tufnell 1958: pl. 85:971, 973; Amiran 1969: photo 156). Again, this feature seems to last until the end of the Late Bronze Age (Amiran 1969: pl. 46:18-from Megiddo).

TYPE RJ.2: *Large jug with flattened base, grooved mouth and flattened rim* (Table 20)

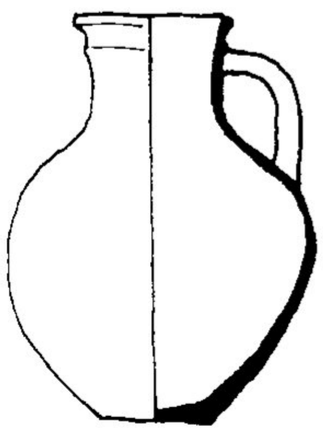


Figure 81: RJ.2

Two jugs of this type were found in Tomb 936 (**936/12**, **936/13**). They have a flattened base, an ovoid body with sloping shoulder and a grooved flattened rim. A very good parallel can be mentioned from a MB IIC context at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:256-257, pl. 75:690). The rim profile, in particular, is characteristic

of that period,[83] but similar rim shapes persist as late as the LB IIB period, for example at Beth Shemesh, Stratum IV (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 57:1) and Tomb 1 (Grant 1929:183, n.474).

TYPE RJ.3: *Large jug with flattened base, everted mouth and flattened rim* (Table 20)

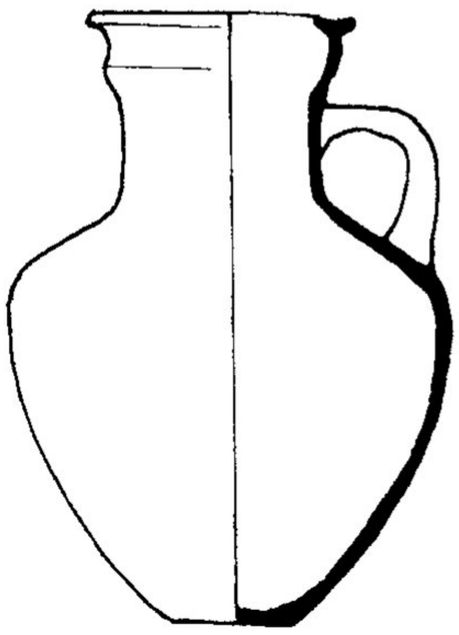


Figure 82: RJ.3

These jugs, which are characterised by a distinctive rim profile, relate to MB IIC-LBI local Palestinian types and only occur in one example at Tell el-Far'ah (**612/5**). Parallels can be cited from Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 8:19-20), Shiloh (Bunimovitz and Finkelstein 1993: fig. 6.17:5)[84] and, with a ring-base, from Megiddo Strata IX-VIII (Loud 1948: pl. 57:8). The type becomes rarer after LB I, but it still occasionally appears in LB IIB contexts (e.g. Grant 1929:193, n.416).

TYPE RJ.4: *Large jug with flattened small base, elongated body and handle from shoulder to rim* (Table 20)

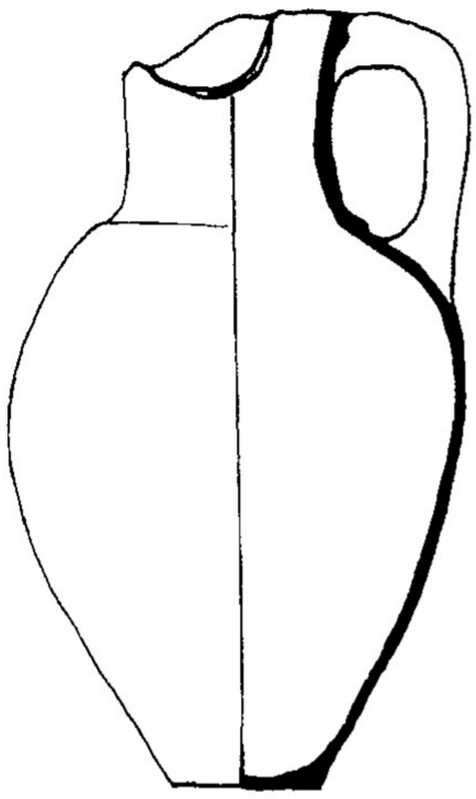


Figure 83: RJ.4

The only jug of this type in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries has a relief ridge at the base of its neck (**611/6**). Its mouth is broken off, but can tentatively be reconstructed as rounded. The elongated proportions of this vessel and the ridge at the base of its neck can be paralleled by an example from Beth Shan Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 22:13). It can be noted that similar shapes are also evidenced on Cyprus in Plain White Wheelmade at Kition

[83] See also at Megiddo Stratum IX (Loud 1948: pl. 48:17).
[84] This type of rim can also be found at Aphek in a MB IIA context (Beck 2000: fig. 10.11:11)

Floors III-II (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:37, pls. 23, 46:931).

TYPE RJ.5: *Large jug with ring-base*

Round-mouth jugs with ring bases are rarer than the button-base and flat- or flattened-base types in the Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage of Syria-Palestine, but become more common in the Iron I period. The material presented here illustrates two variants of the type.

RJ.5A: *Large jug with ring base, ovoid body and short straight neck* (Table 20)

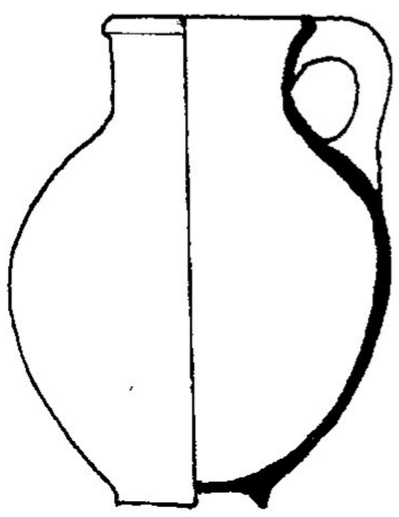


Figure 84: RJ.5a

In the late 13th-early 12th century, these jugs find parallels at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: figs. 4/3:20, 4/10:38) and in 12th-11th century contexts, they are attested at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b: figs. 44:32, 49:11), Ashdod Area G, XIIIb (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 15:1, pl. 37:2) and Megiddo Stratum VI (Loud 1948: pls. 71:1, 75:2, 81;3).[85] In the Iron II period in southern Palestine, this type is replaced by large jugs with elongated bodies and short, straight to slightly bulging necks (Amiran 1969:256, pl. 87:1; Mazar 1985b: fig. 58:7; Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 43:12, 46:1).

TYPE RJ.5B: *Large jug with ring-base and elongated neck* (Table 20)

This general shape, with high neck and handle reaching from shoulder to below rim, is already evidenced in LB IIB contexts at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:724), and with a different rim type at Megiddo in Tomb 877 (Guy 1938: pl. 14:23) and Stratum VIB (Loud 1948: pls. 73:2, 142:1). A comparable piece, with ridged rim and handle

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[85] Similar plain ware jugs are already attested earlier at Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993:358, pl. 121:4-5)

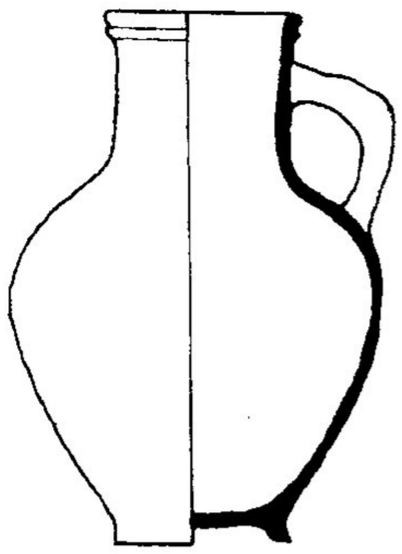


Figure 85: RJ.5b

from shoulder to rim, can be cited from a LB IIB context at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 29:1). The best parallels for this type, however, come from Iron IB-IIA contexts at Gezer (Macalister 1912: pl. 91:5), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:211, n.362) and Tell Taanach (Rast 1978: fig. 15:9).

TYPE RJ.6: *Large jug with button-base* (Table 20)

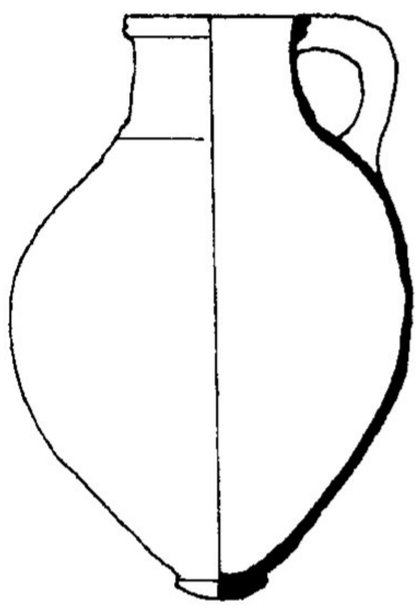


Figure 86: RJ.6

This jug type is related to the trefoil mouth jug with button base (TJ.1) and is also typical of the LB II period in Canaan, for example at Lachish (Tufnell 1958:246, pl. 76:709), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:185, n.375) and Megiddo (Guy 1938: pl. 17:4).

4.4.1.4.5.2. *Large jugs with trefoil mouth*

TYPE TJ.1: *Large jug with button, rounded or stump base* (Table 20)

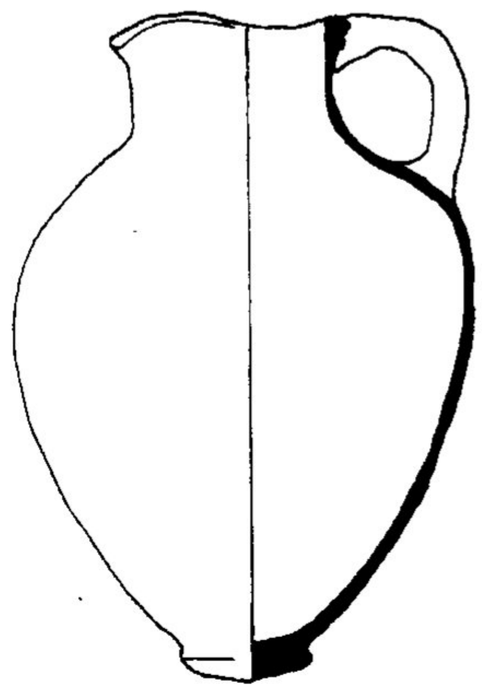


Figure 87: TJ.1

These jugs are characteristic of the south Palestinian area in the 14^{th}-13^{th} centuries and remain the dominant type of large jug during that period. In the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, they mainly occur in the 900 cemetery. The button or stump base was finished off the wheel, usually with added clay and, in some cases, was smoothed vertically. These jugs present some variations in rim profile, but otherwise

form a rather consistent morphological and technological group. Similar jugs are found in 14th-13th century contexts at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:277-278; 1958:239, 286, pl. 76:707, 713, 715), Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: fig. 4/10:31) and Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pls. 14:2, 20:18; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 33:2, 4-7).

TYPE TJ.2: *Large jug with flat or flattened base* (Table 20)

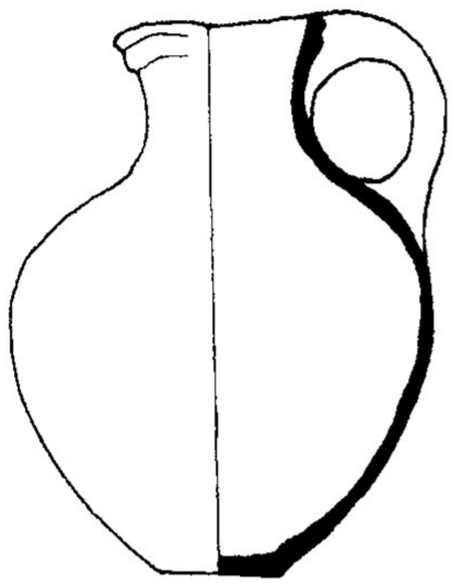


Figure 88: TJ.2

These large-size jugs have an elongated body, a small, narrow flattened base and, often, a moulded rim. Like the button-base jugs they belong specifically to the local LB II period and are found in both south Palestinian and Transjordanian pottery assemblages (Tufnell 1958:252, pl. 75:688; Harding *et al.* 1953: fig. 7:68), though they have antecedents at northern sites in the MB II period (Loud 1948: pls. 25:9, 122:18). In the LB I-II periods, they also occur in Syria, for example at Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:264-265, fig. 23:8) and they are found on Cyprus, in Plain White Wheelmade ware, for example in Tomb 10 at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971:368, pl. 205:51-56).[86]

TYPE TJ.3: *Large jug with ring-base* (Table 20)

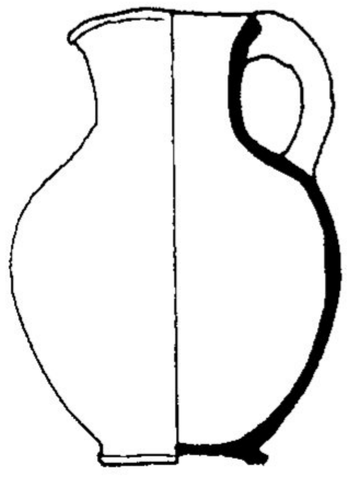


Figure 89: TJ.3

These jugs, with raised flat or well-defined ring bases, usually have a long neck and a rounded body. Antecedents with narrow raised ring-bases are already found in MB IIC, for example at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 76:716-717) and Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright

[86] See also Keswani 1992: fig. 11.1:M-N.

1932a:21, pls. 9:4, 42:10). However, with a wider and lower base, they occur only in Late Bronze Age contexts, in particular towards the end of the period (at Tell el-Far'ah in Tomb 985),[87] and become more common in Iron I, for example at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b:63-64, fig. 41:10), Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913: pl. 14:1; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 38:22-23) and Tell Dan (Biran 1989: figs. 4.7:7, 4.24:4).

4.4.1.5. *Mugs*

TYPE M.1: *Biconical mug* (Table 20)



Figure 90: M.1

These are large wheel-made biconical vessels with ring-base, round mouth and flattened or triangular rim and are made of clays of Groups II. In general, they have a single vertical band-handle on the side, made of particularly chaff-rich clay.[88] They often bear red-brown to purple painted motifs, sometimes over a light buff slip. Their decoration is limited to the upper part of the vessel, including handles and rims. It generally consists of simple combinations of horizontal and vertical bands and wavy lines, or of figurative motifs of the "Gazelle and Bird" style. Handles and rims are generally painted with plain stripes and horizontal bands.

The mug shape, and the kind of decoration typically associated with it, is characteristic of Palestinian and Jordanian sites in the LB IIB period.[89] The origin of the shape, however, may be more likely to lie in Syria or northern Lebanon than in the southern Levant. Similar vessels are indeed frequent at Ugarit, already in late 15th and

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[87] See also at Deir 'Alla Phase E (Franken 1992: figs. 4/2:13, 5/8:28).

[88] Occasionally, these mugs have two vertical handles on each side of the body, for example at Deir 'Alla, Phase E (Franken 1992: fig. 5/7:25). However, only the standard one-handled type occurs at Tell el-Far'ah.

[89] For example at Tell esh-Shari'a Stratum IX (Oren 1984: fig. 6:1), Deir 'Alla Phase E, with and without painted decoration (Franken 1992:47, 91, figs. 4/11, 5/14:19, 5/18:9) and Megiddo VIIB (Loud 1948: pls. 58:1-3, 63:3, 135:15-18, 138:1).

14th centuries contexts, with both bichrome (red and black) and monochrome decoration (Courtois and Courtois 1978:232-233, 240, 248-249, figs. 10-11, 14:1-3, 16:1-5, 12-13). The same site also produced undecorated examples (Schaeffer 1949:138, figs. 51:5, 74:21) and a special variant consisting of decorated twin-vases (Schaeffer 1949:192, fig. 78). The shape is also found at Kamid el-Lôz, in the "Schatzhaus" and Strata P4 and P1/2 (Miron 1990: pl. 70:5; Adler and Penner 2001: fig. 60:15, pls. 51:7, 100:2). Though the biconical mug typically belongs to the LB IIB period, its shape survives for some time in the local repertoire of the Iron Age. Without painted decoration, it still appears at Beer Sheba, Level IX (Brandfon 1984: fig. 19:5).

4.4.1.6. *Strainer-jugs*

The strainer-jug is one of the shapes which is typically associated with Philistine Bichrome pottery in the southern Levant in Iron I but its specific origin is still the subject of debate. T.Dothan (1982:154) believes it finds its morphological prototypes in the Aegean and/or on "Achaean" Cyprus, while Furumark (1944:236-237) thought Mycenaean strainer-jugs derived from Syro-Palestinian models. Furumark's view can be supported by the fact that the earliest Aegean examples of the shape in the LH IIIB/C period are mainly concentrated in the east Aegean, on the islands of Rhodes, Kos and Ikaria, and in the Cyclades (Mountjoy 1999:949-950, 1040-1042, 1067-1068, 1114-1115, 1146-1147, figs. 387:37-38, 427:182-185, 437:266, 456:136-137, 471:1).[90] Another element pointing to the original Levantine character of the type lies in the fact that strainer jars with wide mouth are already present in LB II contexts in Syria-

[90] Examples do however occur on the Greek mainland, e.g. at Iria (Argolid) in LH IIIC (Döhl 1973:163, fig. 11, pl. 65:1) and also earlier, in LH IIIB1, at Mycenae (French 1967:165, n.83) and Prosymna (Blegen 1937:128, fig. 292).

Palestine and Transjordan (Amiran 1969:147, pl. 47:11; Franken 1992: fig. 5/7:23).[91] These can be considered as an integral component of the local pottery repertoire of that period and there is no need to invoke an Aegean prototype in order to explain the appearance of the Iron Age local type.

As suggested by their distinctive shape and the presence of the strainer-spout, these vessels were probably destined for some specialised use. The general opinion is that strainer-jars were associated with beer-consumption. The large holes of the strainer were meant to retain solid residues when the beverage was poured into individual cups (Dayagi-Mendels 1999:122, 124). Several morphological variants of the strainer-jar type are represented at Tell el-Far'ah. All date from the late 13th to the 11th centuries and are, in a majority of cases, made of the standard Iron I clay type (Clay Group I).

TYPE S.1 *Strainer-jug with wide mouth and two side-handles*

(Table 20)

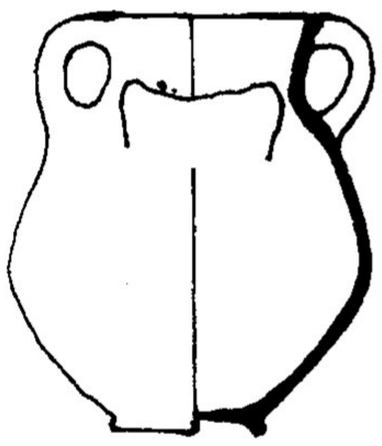


Figure 91: S.1

Only one example of this type is attested in the graves of Tell el-Far'ah (**535/2**). It is undecorated and made of a coarse clay with large quartz inclusions and some organic tempering. Without handles, the shape finds a good Iron I parallel at Beth Shan Level VI (James 1966: fig. 57:9), but antecedents already occur in the Late Bronze Age, for example in Tomb 66 at Beth Shan (Oren 1973: figs. 42:21, 72:20), in Tomb 4 at Jericho (Bienkowski 1986: fig. 40:11) and at Deir 'Alla Phase E (Franken 1992: fig. 5/7:23).

TYPE S.2: *Strainer-jugs with side handle*

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[91] See also at Beth Shan, Level VIII-VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 13:12, 22:14, 28:10-12, 32:2a-b, 40:3). The two more complete examples from Level VII illustrate both the rounded and carinated body type.

TYPE S.2: *Strainer-jugs with side handle*

Although strainer-jugs with side-handles are generally either undecorated or decorated with monochrome paint only, they are usually seen as typical components of the Philistine Bichrome repertoire. A number of morphological variations can be observed within this main type.

S.2A: *Strainer-jug with short spout and narrow mouth* (Table 20)

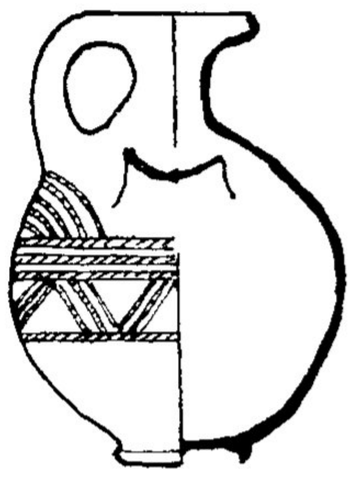


Figure 92: S.2a

This subtype is characterised by a narrow neck, a rounded body and a short spout; it can be considered as a typical Iron I shape. All the examples of this type which have been examined here are decorated. Two of them bear red-painted Philistine-style motifs of half circles and net patterns on their upper body (**601/2**, **625/3**). In one case, the paint was applied directly over the vessel's surface, while in the other, the vase was first covered with a white slip which shows traces of light burnishing. This type of decoration can be considered as late Philistine in style and has been dated by Dothan to the late 12th and 11th centuries (T.Dothan 1982:132-148), though according to the chronology adopted here for Philistine pottery, it should rather be situated in the mid to late 11th century. The third jar is painted with irregular red-brown linear motifs over a thin white slip and its handle bears a series of horizontal stripes (**825/2**). Finally the fourth and fifth jars (**103/1**, **542/62**) can be ascribed to the Philistine Bichrome style. They are decorated with half-circles and bird motifs respectively over a thin white slip and can be compared to examples from Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 17:10, 32:2-3, pls. 37:6, 42:12), Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b: fig. 26:8), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1934: pl. 21:1), Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1932a: pl. 49:2) and Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 28:5).

S.2B: *Strainer-jug with carinated body and long spout* (Table 20)

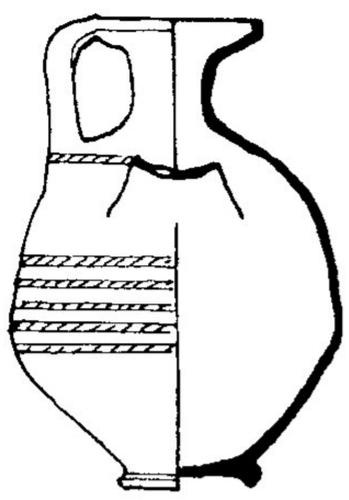


Figure 93: S.2b

Three examples of this type are included in the present study (**523/1**, **523/2**, **636/1**). They bear red-brown painted linear combinations of vertical and horizontal lines. This specific variant of carinated strainer-jug with (usually) painted decoration and side handle is typical of the Iron I period. The shape can also be compared to a Red Slip vessel with black-painted linear decoration from Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: fig. 50:2).

TYPE S.3: *Strainer-jug with basket handle* (Table 20)

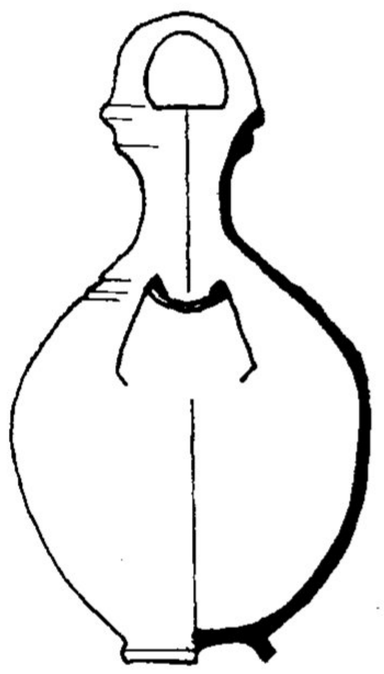


Figure 94: S.3

These jugs were classified by T.Dothan (1982:191-194) in her third chronological phase of the Philistine pottery. Mazar (1985b:96-97), on the other hand, remarked that many of the basket-handle jugs from Tell Qasile were decorated with typical Philistine bichrome motifs and preferred to view them as a sub-type of an earlier phase. In any case, even if the beginning of the type should be situated before the date postulated by Dothan, the basket-handle strainer-jug mainly develops in the Philistine area in the Red Slip technique, not before the mid-11th century (e.g. Mazar 1985b: figs. 35:3, 50:3; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 60:18). Two examples of this type were recovered in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries (**100/4** and **105/2**). Both have an ovoid body and a groove below the rim, but differ from each others in size and surface treatment. The taller example (**105/2**) has a hand-burnished Red Slip and bears traces of a red-painted band around the neck, while the smaller vessel was left plain.

4.4.1.7. *Pilgrim-flasks*

The pilgrim flask is found in several variants throughout the Levant, Cyprus and even in Mycenaean Greece in the Late Bronze Age, as well as in Egypt from the early 18th Dynasty onwards (Brovarski 1997; Mysliwiec 1987:52-53, n.305-307), but the ultimate origin of the shape is most probably Syro-Palestinian (Furumark 1941a:32, 67; Riis 1948:65; Hope 1989:56).

The form was adapted into the Mycenaean pottery repertoire at the beginning of the LH IIIA period and underwent a development of its own in the Aegean. Unlike the baseless lentoid examples from the Levant, Aegean pilgrim flasks have a spherical body and generally a small ring base (FS 187-192). The two variants also differ from each other from a technological point of view: Egyptian and Levantine flasks were built sidewise (see above, p. 93), while those produced in the Aegean were thrown in the upright mode.[92] However, even the "Mycenaean" version of the pilgrim flask may be considered as an "oriental" shape since it is better represented in the islands of the east Aegean than on the mainland itself.[93] It also appears, as imports, in Cyprus,[94] the Levant (Leonard 1994:83-88) and Egypt (Hankey 1993c).

The complexity surrounding the question of the manufacture and distribution of the lentoid pilgrim flask in the LB IIB period is well exemplified by the fact that some of the lentoid baseless (Levantine-type) flasks found in 19th Dynasty Egypt and in LB IIB Near Eastern contexts are characterised by "Mycenaean-type" fabrics, surface treatment (buff slip polished to a slight gloss) and decoration (concentric circles and spirals). Because of these specific features, and in spite of the undeniable Near-Eastern

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[92] See the wheelmarks on an imported Mycenaean pilgrim flask from Amarna (Merrillees and Winter 1972: fig. 7-21).

[93] For example, flasks from Kos, dated to LH IIIA:2 (Mountjoy 1999:1088-1089, fig. 444:28), Appollakiá, on Rhodes (*CVA Denmark*:37, pl. 48:3, 5).

[94] On Cyprus, imported Aegean flasks were found, for example, at Enkomi Level IIIA, but possibly out of context, (Dikaios 1969-1971:589, pl. 73:13) and at Hala Sultan Tekke and Klauvdia-Larnaka (*CVA* Great Britain 1/1: 9-10, pl. II.C.b. 12:32-34, 36-37, 39-40).

origin of their shape, these vessels are sometimes considered as Mycenaeean,[95] ascribed to an Aegean production, or classified as Furumark's Mycenaean "Simple Style" ware (Furumark 1941b:116-117; Leonard 1994:82-83; Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001:152-153, fig. 4, top row). While some regions of Greece, in particular the Argolid, seem to have begun producing such vessels from LH IIIA onwards, apparently exclusively for export purposes, a large proportion of the specimens found either in Egypt, Cyprus or Syria-Palestine were most likely made in the Levant.

In the Mediterranean area, LB II pilgrim flasks were not only produced in clay. They were also made of faience, glass (Hankey 1993c) and stone (Aston 1994:157; Mond and Emery 1929:54, pl. 38a).[96] Two tin examples are also known, one from the Ulu Burun shipwreck and another from 18th Dynasty Egypt (Bass *et al.* 1989:12, fig. 22, with references). Lentoid flasks continue to be found well after the end of the Late Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine (Amiran 1969:276). They are regularly mentioned among the few local shapes which survive into the 12th century horizons during the early phase of the Philistine settlement, at sites with "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" assemblages (Killebrew 1998a:385). In south Palestinian sites, their popularity remains unabated throughout the Iron Age and they figure among the most frequent foreign imports to Cyprus in the early CG I period, in particular in funerary contexts (Bikai 1983:400).

Though their precise function is still undetermined, the narrow mouth of these vessels suggests that they were mainly used as liquid containers. The shape of the late 11th century flask from Gezer mentioned below (pp. 182-183) is evocative of an association with wine drinking, but there is no definite evidence for such a use. In any

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[95] See for example a pilgrim flask from Tomb 387 at Tell Dan illustrated by Fritz (1987:87) and described as a "characteristic Mycenaean" form.

[96] As a rule stone pilgrim flasks are confined to the Late Bronze Age, but an alabaster example is known from Stratum X at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b:14-15, photo 7, fig. 4:1).

case, with regards to their significant variation in size, it seems unlikely that these vessels were all employed in a single manner and for the same purpose.[97]

Type PF.1: *Small lentoid flask with polished body* (Table 20)

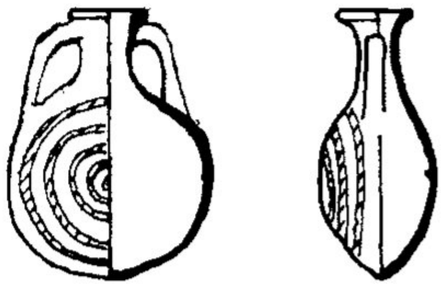


Figure 95: PF.1

A small group of straight handled pilgrim flasks from the 900 tombs which were examined here are characterised by a glossy surface (possibly a coloured clay slip) which shows traces of hand polishing. They are decorated with red-orange painted concentric circles on both sides of the body. They are clearly of local manufacture, and their surface treatment evokes that found on Late Bronze Age Palestinian imitations of Mycenaean wares. Though their clay may be somewhat coarser (Clay Group III), they can be compared to flasks from Hazor (Yadin 1960:157, figs. 148:5-6, 195:4), Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 54:351), Amman (Hankey 1974: fig. 8:91-93), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 18:2, 27:2, 43:2-3) or Beth Shan, Stratum VIII (Hankey 1993a: fig. 54:8, pl. 23C). They are also frequent on the Lebanese coast (Salles 1980:36, pl. XI:6, 10) and on Cyprus (e.g. Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:47, pls. 26, 48:952). The latter examples are usually interpreted as imports from Syria or Palestine.

TYPE PF.2: *Flask with single handle* (Table 20)

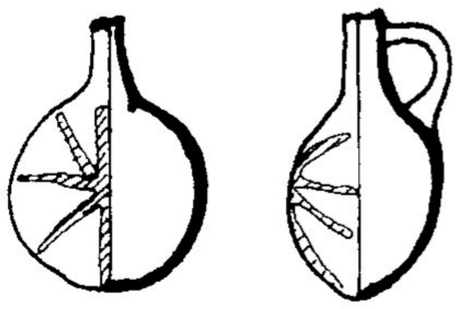


Figure 96: PF.2

Only one example of such a flask was found in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs (**606/1**). As with the other vessels of lentoid type, this one has no base, but, instead of the usual two handles from shoulder to

[97] It can be noted here that fig seeds were recovered from one of the pilgrim flasks found in the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Bass 1986:285).

upper neck, it only possesses a single handle, reaching from the wide side of the body to below the rim. Unlike the two-handled baseless variety, this type occurs in the Aegean (Hankey 1967:121). The shape of the Aegean-made one-handled baseless flasks is much rounder than the Cypriot and Levantine examples, and the vessels are usually of larger dimensions. Mountjoy lists several examples of one-handled flasks (almost all of which date to the 12th century) from the Cyclades (Mountjoy 1999:884-885, 927-928, 956-957, 962-963, figs. 361:76, 379:200, 390:52-53, 393:6), Rhodes (Mountjoy 1999:1020-1021,1074, figs. 416:98, 440:278) and Kalymnos (Mountjoy 1999:1136, fig. 466:25), but only one from the mainland, namely from Perati in Attica (Mountjoy 1999:619, fig. 237:586). Not only the shape, but also the decoration of the Aegean one-handled flasks look quite different from the Levantine and Cypriot ones.[98]

The one-handled pilgrim flask may originate on Cyprus, where it is frequently found in Base-Ring and Red Lustrous Wheelmade wares throughout the LC IIA-C period.[99] Such flasks were also part of the traditional Cypriot imports to the Levant. They are found at sites such as Lachish and Tell Miqne-Ekron in the south (Tufnell 1940: pl. 54:339; 1958: pls. 53:31-32, 37, 81:872-875; Killebrew 1996b: pl. 6:14), Ugarit in the north (Courtois and Courtois 1978:210-211, fig. 5:15) and Gibeon in Transjordan (Pritchard 1963: fig.14:14). Local Canaanite versions, however, are perhaps more common than the real imports and are well known from 13th century contexts, for example at Deir el-Balah, Tombs 116 and 118 (T.Dothan 1979:39, 56, figs. 85, 92, 129, 135), Lachish (Tufnell 1958:210-211, 245, pl. 82:908) and from Beth Shan, Tombs 219 and 221 (Oren 1973:114, figs. 47b:19, 48b:14-15, 75:2-3).

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[98] For example, see a one-handled baseless flask decorated with spiral and a net-pattern from the city of Kos (Morricone 1972-1973:295, figs. 263-264). This motif, however, is unusual, since most of these flasks are decorated with plain concentric circles.

[99] For example in Tomb 11 at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971:395, pl. 213:3) and at Maa-Palaekastro Floor II (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:101, pls. 39, 167:32).

TYPE PF.3: *Small lentoid flask with straight and heart-shaped handles* (Table 20)

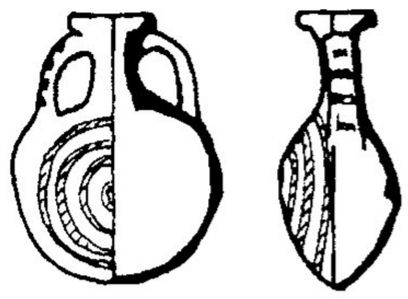


Figure 97: PF.3

Two morphological variants have been grouped here within a single category. Flasks of the first variant have straight band handles reaching from the shoulder to below the rim, and those of the second have heart-shaped handles from shoulder to mid-neck. As a rule, in Levantine pottery studies, the heart-shaped variety is considered earlier in date than the straight-handled one, as it has been argued that the latter mode of handle attachment reflects typical LB IIA traditions (Amiran 1969:166-167, pl. 51:4-7).[100] However, in the present study, it was not possible to establish a strict chronological distinction between the two types neither on contextual, nor on typological grounds, and nor on the basis of the appearance of their clays, which principally fall into Clay Group I, though some examples are made in clays belonging to Groups II, IV and V. In addition, many of the vessels from the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries have intermediate handle types which do not always fit one category rather than the other. According to the present evidence, it seems that both types were, for a large part, produced contemporaneously.

Whether they are of the straight or heart-shaped handle variety, these flasks have an everted mouth, but the specific form of their rim profile may vary considerably, from funnel-shaped to rounded or triangular. They were often painted with orange to reddish brown concentric circles and/or spirals on the body and horizontal lines on the handles. Some also bear horizontal bands or chevrons on their narrow sides. In the majority of

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[100] Broadly speaking flasks with heart-shaped handles are commonly found in LB II levels in the Levant, for example at Ras Shamra (Courtois and Courtois 1978:264-265, fig. 23:3, 7) and Kamid el-Lôz (Hachmann 1980:88, pls. 25:2-3, 30:8; Metzger and Barthel 1993:297, 300, 307, 332, 349, fig. 30:6, pls. 138:1-3, 139:1-2, 5). However they still occur in the transitional LB-Iron I Tomb 1 at Madaba (Harding *et al.* 1953: figs. 15:77-81, 84-86, 16:87-93).

cases, the painted motifs were executed on a plain surface, more rarely, they were traced over a white slip coating.

Straight and heart-shaped handled flasks with or without painted decoration, comparable to the examples discussed here, are found at Ashdod, from Strata XV-XIV to XI, but mainly in Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 12:12, 32:9-13, 15, 41:11, 43:10, pls. 34:1, 43:4, 6-8), at Tell Qasile, Strata XII-X (Mazar 1985b:71-72, figs. 11:23, 15:10, 20:12, 14, 25:20, 37:2-4, 6-15, 42:12-15, 50:11), Beth Shan Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 25:5-6, 29:7-11), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 84:952-955), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980:7, figs. 12:2, 13:9, 14:4, 31:3, 39:6-7; Tubb 1988: fig. 48A:11) and Deir 'Alla, Phases E and F (Franken 1992: figs. 3/7:11, 4/24:9-10, 5/18:10, 5/19:14). They are perhaps even more widespread in the LB II and Iron I levels of north coast sites, such as Tell Kazel Stratum 6 (Badre *et al.* 1994:327-328, fig. 52f), Tell Keisan Level 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 76:2-5), Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993: pls. 138:1-3, 139:1-5; Adler and Penner 2001: fig. 67:7, pls. 53:9, 11, 75:8) and are common on Cyprus, for example at Kition Floors II-I, where they are usually interpreted as Syrian or Palestinian imports (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:53, pls. 29, 52:499).

In the 11th-early 10th century, small pilgrim flasks were also produced in the Red Slip technique, for example at Tell Masos, Stratum II (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:89, pls. 91H, 159:7) and Ashdod, Stratum Xa (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 46:5, pl. 51:8), but they disappear progressively in the course of the 10th century (Mazar 1985b:71).

TYPE PF.4: *Flask with elongated neck and narrow mouth* (Table 20)

This type is closely related to PF.3 and like it makes use of similar clays (Clay Groups I and IV). It can however be distinguished from it by the longer and narrower

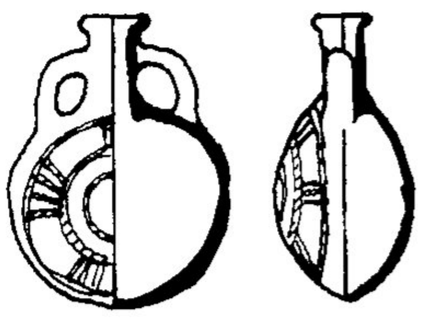


Figure 98: PF.4

proportions of its neck and by the loop-shaped handles which join with the neck at about two-thirds of its height, instead of just below the rim. These features are never attested on LB IIB pilgrim flasks and point to a Iron IB-IIA date. The few vessels of this type at Tell el-Far'ah compare well with examples from Tell Qasile, Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: figs. 37:1, 3, 42:16, 50:10) and Tell Abu Hawam Stratum III (Hamilton 1934: pl. 23:29). Only one of the examples considered here bears a painted decoration of concenrtric circles linked by groups of lines which is likewise typical of the Iron IB period and is paralleled on an example from Lachish, Locus 4034, Pit B (Tufnell 1958:293, pl. 84:956) and on one of the pieces from Tell Qasile mentioned above (Mazar 1985b: fig. 37:1).

TYPE PF.5: *Flask with cup-shaped mouth* (Table 20)

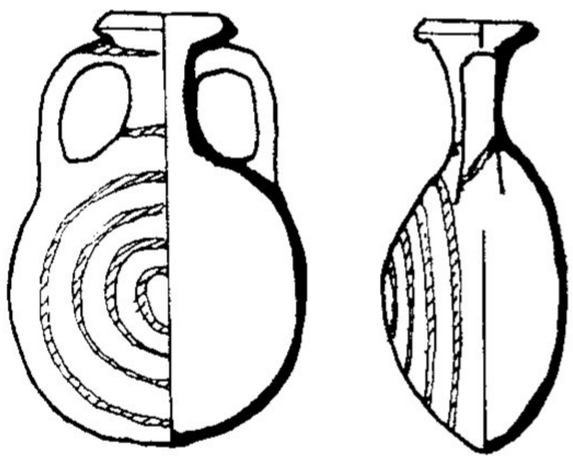


Figure 99: PF.5

These flasks are represented by two examined examples in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah (**621/3**, **660/3**). They are characterised by the profile of their mouth which starts at the junction between the squared-section handles and the neck. This type does not seem to begin before the late Iron IA-early Iron IB period and it is mainly found in 11th century horizons, for example at the northern site of Tell Keisan, Stratum 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980:220, pl. 75:1, 4-5).

TYPE PF.6: *Flask with deep cup-shaped mouth* (Table 20)

Two flasks among the material examined here have been ascribed to this type (**649/2**, **832/1**) These vessels find an antecedent in a late 13th-early 12th century context

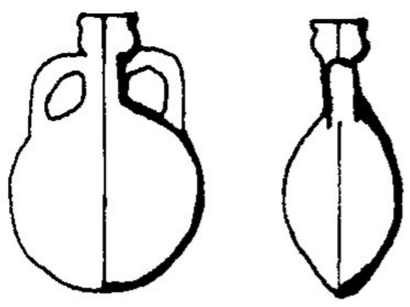


Figure 100: PF.6

at Beth Shan (Oren 1973: figs. 42:27, 72:19), but the majority of the parallels for the shape are found in the Iron IB-IIA period, for example at Tell Qasile Stratum X (Mazar 1985b: figs. 37:5, 50:9). However, the type seems to have been more common in the north, at sites such as Megiddo VII-VI (Loud 1948: pls. 72:9, 86:5-6, 8) and Tell Abu Hawam (Hamilton 1934: pl. 22:11), than in southern Canaan. Flasks with similar mouth profiles are also known from Cyprus, for example in Tomb 1 at Salamis (LC IIIB-CG I), where they have been interpreted as Phoenician imports (Yon 1971: pl. 29:105).

TYPE PF.7: *Flask with spoon-shaped mouth* (Table 20)

There are six examples of this type at Tell el-Far'ah, among which only two could be located for the purpose of the present study (**562/41**, **631/2**). The only complete examined example is the one from Tomb 631 and it should be dated to the Iron IB period. It has several parallels in Iron Age IB-IIA contexts at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 86:998),[101] Tell Qasile Strata XI-X (Mazar 1985b: figs. 20:13, 30:19, 50:8), Gezer Tombs 7 and 9 (Macalister 1912: pls. 65:25, 70:8) and Megiddo Strata VIB-VIA and Tomb 39 (Loud 1948: pls. 74:16, 80:7, 86:11, 143:15, 145:6; Guy 1938: pls. 68:10, 164:5). One of the spoon-shaped mouth flasks from Tell Qasile Stratum XI is a Red Slip vessel and is decorated with black painted concentric circles and spirals, while those from Megiddo are bichrome. The spoon-shaped mouth is also attested on a wineskin-

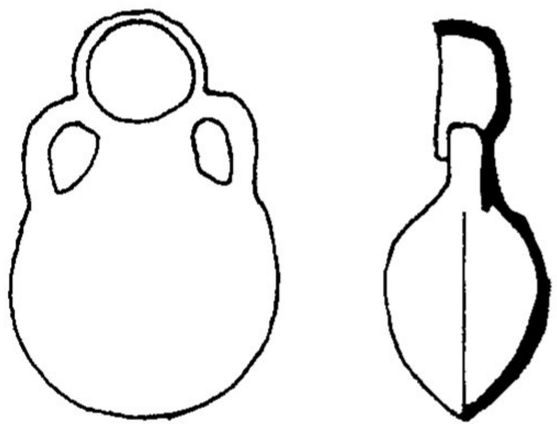


Figure 101: PF.7

[101] This flask is covered with a hand-burnished dark red slip and is painted with dark brown concentric circles.

shaped pilgrim flask from the end of the 11th century at Gezer (Dayagi-Mendels 1999:44).

Although this detail may not be of great chronological significance, it is interesting to note that while all the parallels cited here for this type have perforated lug-handles, all but one amongst the examples from Tell el-Far'ah have the usual rectangular section loop handles. It may therefore be suggested that the majority of the cup-shaped flasks from Tell el-Far'ah were produced in a same local workshop.

TYPE PF.8: *Flask with perforated lug-handles* (Table 20)

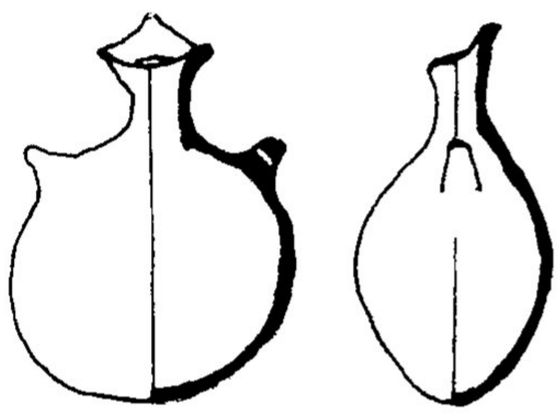


Figure 102: PF.8

Flasks with perforated lug-handles can be considered as an Iron Age variant of the traditional Late Bronze Age type and are usually associated with a spoon-shaped mouth (see above). Besides the flask from Tomb 562 (**562/41**) which was entered into the spoon-shaped mouth variety (PF.7), there is only one example of a perforated lug-handle flask in the assemblage considered here (**849/2**). It is characterised by a specific triangular opening and no precise parallel could be found for it. However, according to its context, to its perforated handles and to the nature of its clay (Clay Group I), it can be situated approximately in the late 12th-11th centuries.

TYPE PF.9: *Large flask with heart-shaped handles* (Table 20)

These vessels are characterised mainly by their large size (c. 30.0 cm. in height). They were built by linking two wheel-made shallow bowls at their rim. The junction of the two bowls is still visible on the exterior of the vessels and is marked by the flattened surface of the sides of the flasks. As with the smaller vessels, necks and mouths and

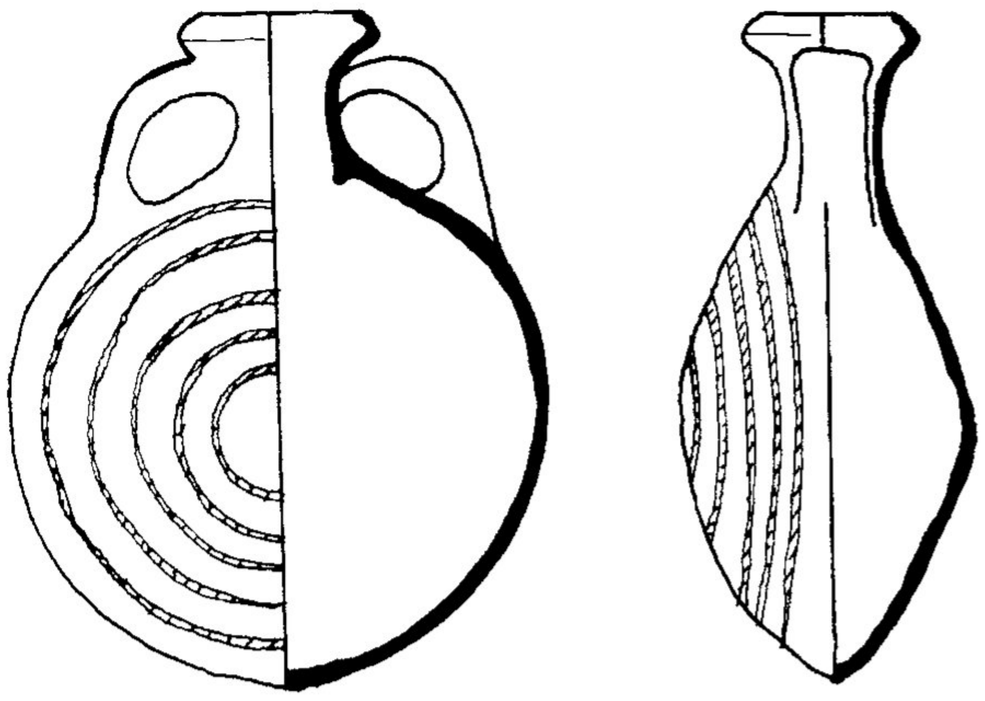


Figure 103: PF.9

handles were formed separately and added on the leather-hard body. Large pilgrim flasks of this type are found at Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 25:7, 38:1), in the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 54:349) at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum C (Albright 1932a: pl. 47:14), at Aphek (Kochavi 1990:37), in Jordan, at Gibeon (Pritchard 1963: 15, figs. 8:25, 12:70) and further north at Tell Keisan, Level 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980:220-221), at LB II Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993:203, pl. 138:4; Adler and Penner 2001: pl. 53:6) and at Tell Kazel (Badre *et al.* 1994:327-238, fig. 52e).

TYPE PF.10: *Large flask with small loop handle* (Table 20)

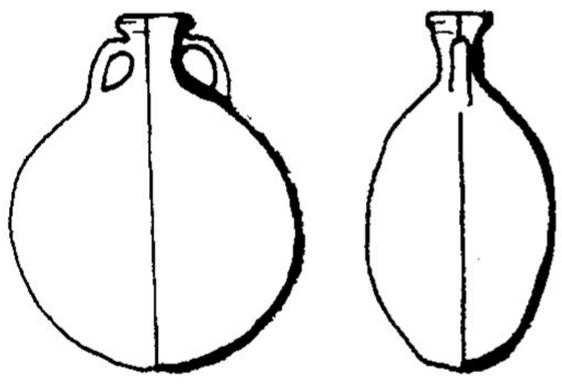


Figure 104: PF.10

These large pilgrim flasks with wide flattened lateral sides, short necks and small loop-shaped handles are paralleled by 10th century small and large examples from Lachish (Tufnell 1953: pl. 92:432, 436) and Tell 'Ira (Beit-Arieh and Baron 1999: fig. 4.47:8). Among the material considered here, these flasks are only represented in the Area of the 700 cemetery (**700/4**).

4.4.1.8. *Bottles*

TYPE BT.1: *Bottle with elongated body* (Table 20)

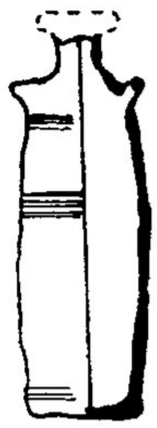


Figure 105:BT.1

These very specific vessels have a flat or very low ring-base, a cylindrical, usually, elongated body, a narrow neck with a round mouth and two perforated lug handles or horizontal loop handles on the shoulder. Three of them are included in the present research (**500/8**, **507/4**, **649/3**), but only two (**500/8**, **649/3**) were available for study, both of them made of local clays (Clay Group I).[102]

In southern Canaan, elongated bottles appear only after the beginning of the Iron Age, sometime in the 12th century. Because they often bear bichrome decoration (e.g. Loud 1948: pl. 71:15), they have been considered by T.Dothan (1982:95, 160), who also presents a list of their occurrences in Palestine, as one of the principal shapes of the Philistine pottery repertoire, which dies out before the end of the 11th century. It should be noted, however, that similar bottles were found at Tell Abu Hawam Stratum V (Hamilton 1935:42, pl. 16:256) and in the Necropolis K at Byblos (Salles 1980:54, pls. 21:4, XIV:13). Even if the Byblos piece comes from the latest phase of use of Necropolis K, its presence there suggests that the introduction of the shape in the Levant cannot be strictly associated with the Philistine settlement in the south, but that it preceded it by a few decades in the northern coast.

Straight-sided bottles are attested particularly in domestic areas at Ashdod, Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 20:9, pls. 9:1, 40:1) and Beth Shemesh, Stratum III (Grant 1932: pl. 44:1; Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 36:22). At Tell Qasile, Stratum XII (Mazar 1985b:99, fig. 17:6) and Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 28:6; Macalister

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[102] The present location of the bottle from Tomb 507 could not be determined. This object was published by T.Dothan (1982: fig. 34:15) after Duncan (1930: 66Y).

1912: pl. 85:2, 5-6, 8) they are also known from cultic and funerary contexts. Elongated bottles continue to occur with unburnished red slip and black-painted decoration and with hand-burnished Red Slip at Tell Qasile Stratum XI and Megiddo VII-VIB (Mazar 1985b: fig. 30:22-23; Loud 1948: pls. 71:14, 73:9, 142:3).

Although T.Dothan (1982:167-168) suggested that the introduction of the straight-sided bottle in the Philistine area is ascribable to a Cypriot influence, there is little evidence for the shape on the island before the end of the LC IIIB-early CG I period. Early examples occur in Proto-White-Painted ware in LC IIIB (Yon 1971:40-41, pl. 24:75-78; Karageorghis 1975:14, 32-33, pls. 10, 56:16/9, 29, 72), but the shape is attested mainly in the CG I period (late 11th-early 10th century) in White-Painted I and Bichrome I wares (Gjerstad 1948:49, 60, figs. V:5-6, VIII:23; Daniel 1937:69, pl. 5:25).

Of the bottles considered here, one is decorated with bichrome linear motifs over a white to buff slip (**500/8**). That from Tomb 649 has a greyish surface and is incised with groups of vertical and horizontal lines. The third example is of an unusual shape and is decorated with a combination of red(?)-painted horizontal bands and incised lines on the shoulder (**507/4**). The two examples which could be examined here seem to be of local manufacture and can be dated, on stylistic and contextual bases to the early 11th century.

4.4.1.9. *Handleless vessels*

Closed handleless jars of medium-size have a long history in Levantine pottery and are relatively common in MB II assemblages (e.g. Beck 2000:178-180, figs. 10.4-5:3-4, 6-7). Though Beck, after Kenyon (1970), suggests a Syrian origin for the Middle Bronze Age handleless jars in Palestine, the majority of the LB II examples are rather evocative of an Egyptian tradition. In effect, during that period, handleless vessels

generally seem related to Egyptian models (morphologically and technologically) and are characterised by hard fired clays, rich in organic tempers (Clay Group II). In the course of the 12th century the shape is progressively assimilated within the local repertoire and its mode of manufacture comes to correspond to that of the usual local wares.

TYPE HV.1: *Beer bottle*[103] (Table 20)

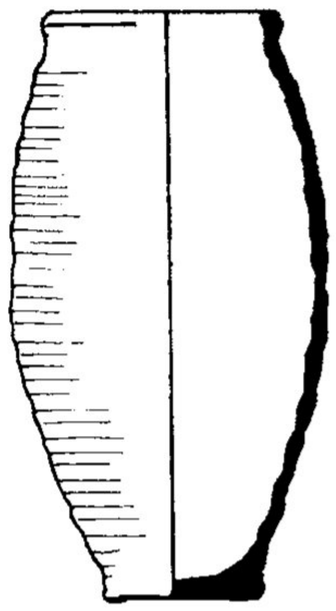


Figure 106: HV.1

One beer bottle, with flat base, elongated bulging body and narrowing mouth, with distinctive ridges on the body and thumb marks on the base, was found in Tomb 939 (**939/7**). Its clay relates to Clay Group II; its surface lacks any sort of finish and is particularly rough. This vessel can be considered as a variant of a typical Egyptian form which already appears in the Middle Kingdom, but becomes more frequent from the late 18th Dynasty onwards in both Egypt and Nubia (Holthoer 1977:86; Vincentelli Liverani 1997:120, fig. 3:3; Aston 1997:86, pl. 113:44-46; 1998:184-185). Similar containers are also found in LB II and Iron I contexts in southern Palestine and Transjordan, at sites which were located within the Egyptian sphere of influence.

In Egypt and Nubia, though they are occasionally attested in settlement areas (e.g Nagel 1938: fig. 110), they often appear in tombs (Nagel 1938: figs. 2:1-4, 23:86-90) and/or ritual contexts, such as foundation deposits (Ricke 1937: fig. 3; Hölscher 1939: pl. 56:1-m,p). The evidence from Palestine, on the other hand, points to a predominant association with habitation areas. At Beth Shan, they appear in a diversity of variant forms from Levels VIII to VI (James and McGovern 1993:79-80, figs. 10:7,

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[103] The name of beer-bottle principally comes from the association of the vessel shape with the pictogram appearing in the votive formula *htp di nsw* (Holthoer 1977:86).

17:20; James 1966: figs. 49:6, 51:6, 54:1); at Tell esh-Shari'a, they occur in Stratum IX (Oren 1984: fig. 7:1) and at Ashdod, they are found in Area H, Stratum VII (M.Dothan 1971: fig. 81:14, pl. 75:3) and in Area G, Stratum XV-XIV (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 11:24). The examples known from Deir 'Alla (Franken 1969:107, fig. 63:29, pl. 15) and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 7:5), just like the one from Tell el-Far'ah and like the Nubian jars mentioned by Holthoer (1977:86, pl. 51), bear distinctive thumb marks on the base. Moreover, the beer-bottle from Tomb 939 also has a single hole in its base. This feature is paralleled on two similar vessels from Deir el-Balah (Yellin, Dothan and Gould 1986:68) and on the example from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh mentioned above. As suggested by Dayagi-Mendels (1999:120, 124), these jars were perhaps used as beer-strainers. However, since all the examples with perforated bases were found in graves, it is also possible to interpret such holes (made after firing) as libation devices.

Clay analyses undertaken on the beer bottles from Deir el-Balah have shown that these Egyptian looking vessels were locally-made (Yellin, Dothan and Gould 1986). The appearance and colour of the clay of the example from Tell el-Far'ah do not show a significant departure from the rest of the local pottery assemblage and it can be suggested that, like those from Deir el-Balah, this example was made in a local workshop, with the usual clay, but using an Egyptian style potting-technology.

TYPE HV.2: *Drop-shaped vase* (Table 20)

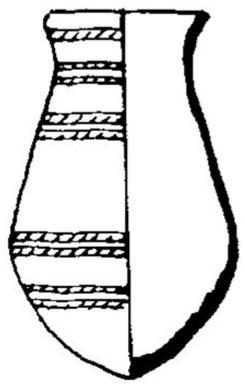


Figure 107: HV.2

Drop-shaped vases are relatively frequent in Cemeteries 500, 800 and 900. They are made of chaff-tempered clay (Clay Group II) and are highly fired reddish-brown throughout. Their surfaces may have a buff-coloured bloom or be covered with a light cream or a matt dark red slip. Painted decoration is limited to plain black-brown, red-

brown or purple horizontal bands on the body and neck. Their maximum diameter is always situated below mid-body height and they show a variety of different mouth and rim profiles.

Though they vary in size, drop-shaped vessels were always built on the wheel in the upright mode, except for their bases (see above, p. 92). The lower walls of these jars are thick and bear deep wheel-marks on the inside of the base. The exterior of the base was smoothed horizontally on the wheel by placing the vessel on its mouth once the clay was leather hard.

In Egypt these vessels are extremely frequent in New Kingdom contexts (Hope 1989: fig. 8:j,l; Abdel Maskoud 1992: figs. 3:6, 5:8-9, 26:1-5; Petrie 1906: pl. 39c:50-58; Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 34-35:20E-26U), and in the Levant they are found mainly in Late Bronze Age levels, for example at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 54:335) and Beth Shan Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 10:6, 13:14). They also appear in significant quantities further north, for example at Kamid el-Lôz (Frisch, Mansfeld and Thiele 1985:117, pl. 25:6; Metzger and Barthel 1993:173, 178, pls. 115:3, 148:1), possibly also as imports.

TYPE HV.3: *Handleless jars*

The tombs of Tell el-Far'ah yielded several examples of rounded or biconical jars with thickened rim. All are made of quartz rich clays of Group I and occur in Iron IA to Iron IIA contexts.

HV.3A: *Rounded base handleless jar* (Table 20)

Like the other handleless vessels discussed here, these pots are usually considered to belong to an Egyptian tradition. Indeed, they are found, for example, at

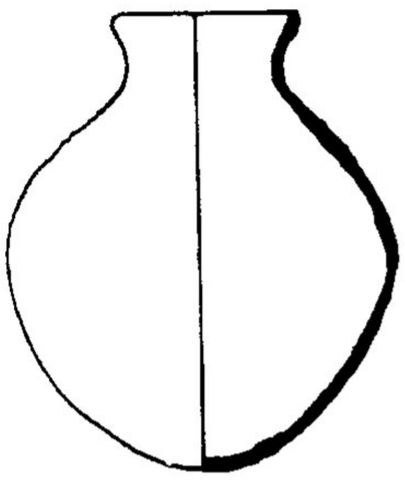


Figure 108: HV.3a

Goshen (Petrie 1906: pl. 39D:78-87), Gurob (Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 35-36:35W-36L) and Aniba (Steindorff 1937:129, 131, pls. 74:17-1, 79:33a-4) in the New Kingdom. The globular shape attested at Tell el-Far'ah is particularly typical of the 20th-22nd Dynasties (Aston 1989:23, fig. 7:4; 1991:54, pl. 53:68; 1998:552-553, 566-567, n.2250-2252, 2321). It is not well represented in Palestine and Transjordan but it has local antecedents in the Middle Bronze Age period (e.g. Grant 1929:153, n.319). As far as Palestine is concerned, the examples from Tell el-Far'ah can be compared to handleless jars from LB II contexts at Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:193, 195, n.219, 232), Beth Shan (Yadin and Geva 1986:68-69, fig. 27:10) and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 18:1). As a rule, this shape seems to be found more frequently in the north, particularly in Lebanon (Adler and Penner 2001: figs. 64:24, pl. 52:1, 3-4, 7; Metzger and Barthel 1993:224, pl. 117:2; Dunand 1939:83-84, 141, pl. 57:2064).

HV.3B: *Ring-base handleless jar* (Table 20)

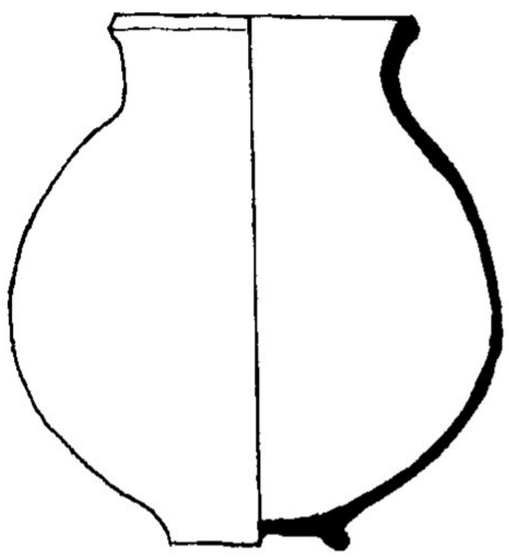


Figure 109: HV.3b

Though it is not very common, this type finds antecedents in the Late Bronze Age, in the southern Levant, for example at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 85:989), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 6:5) and, usually with a higher neck and painted decoration, in 19th Dynasty Egypt (e.g. Nagel 1938:88-101, fig. 73:50-52, 55-60; Steindorff 1937:133-134, pl. 82).

TYPE HV.4: *Rounded handleless jar with narrow neck* (Table 20)

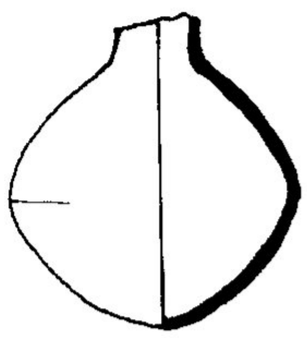


Figure 110: HV.4

The rounded body handleless jar or bottle from Tomb 844 (**844/4**) is unique among the grave assemblages considered here. It is made of coarse but dense clay (Clay Group I) with evidence for the use of added vegetable temper, in particular towards the base. This general body shape can be compared with jars from Beth Shan, from Levels VIII (James and McGovern 1993:74, fig. 22:12)[104] and VI (James 1966: fig. 56:139; Yadin and Geva 1986:68-69, fig. 27:9). However, it can be noted that, according to its original line-drawing, the mouth of the vase (which is now missing) was shaped as a pomegranate stem.

4.4.1.10. *Amphoriskoi (two-handled jars)*

Four types of amphoriskoi (or small amphorae) are attested in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs.

TYPE A.1: *Button-base amphoriskos* (Table 20)

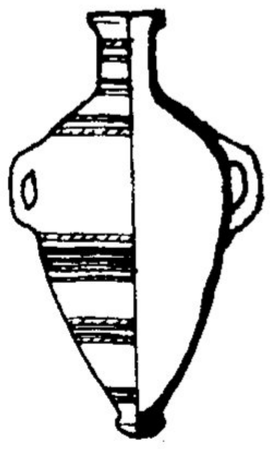


Figure 111: A.1

Button-base amphoriskoi are found in four tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (Tombs 552, 935, 960 and 984). As far as technology, shape and decoration are concerned, they form a relatively homogeneous assemblage. The clay used for these small jars is relatively fine, but always includes a significant amount of finely chopped straw (Clay Groups II and III). The colour of the fired vessel is usually dark red to brown. The method of manufacture of these vessels is a good example of a mixed

[104] James and McGovern ascribe the jar from Beth Shan Level VIII to an Egyptian tradition and compare it to examples from Nubia (Holthoer 1977:166-167, pls. 39, 66:3).

building technique; the upper part was thrown on the wheel from a clay cone and the base was formed by hand with the surplus clay which was left when the vessel was taken off the wheel, or with added clay. Because of this composite building method, several of the button-base amphoriskoi have distinctly asymmetrical profiles (e.g. **552/39**). Their surface is as a rule covered with a cream slip and decorated with red-brown horizontal bands. These vessels are usually found in the southern coast of Palestine in LB IIB and Iron IA levels, for example at Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 17:2), Tell esh-Shari'a (Oren 1984: fig. 7:5), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 85:977), Tell Miqne-Ekron (Killebrew 1996b: pl. 5:9) and Beth Shan Level VI (James 1966: fig. 56:12). They were also imported to (or locally produced in ?) Egypt (e.g. Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 38:48D; Steindorff 1937:138, pl. 87:49/8).

TYPE A.2: *Rounded base amphoriskos* (Table 20)

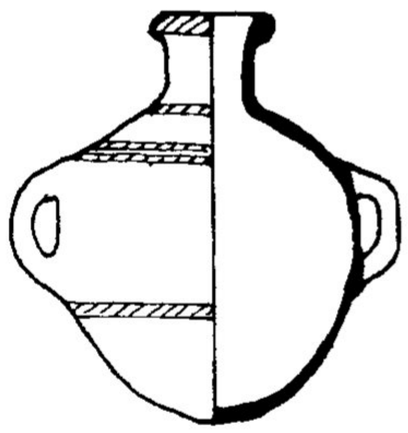


Figure 112: A.2

Unlike the button-base amphoriskoi, these were made entirely on the wheel, with local clays of Group I. The upper part of the vessel was formed first and the base was closed upside down, in the same technique as that used for the drop-shaped vases (Type HV.2). The side handles were added when the pot was leather dry. This shape, which may ultimately derive from the large storage jars, first appears in Palestine and Transjordan towards the end of the LB IIB period.[105] It is usually covered with a cream slip and painted with red-brown or bichrome (red and dark brown) linear decoration (Pritchard 1980: fig. 34:1; James and McGovern 1993: fig. 14:4).[106] The type remains popular in the later Iron I period. It

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[105] For example at Beth Shemesh, Tomb 1 (Grant 1929:165, 181, n. 478) and Deir 'Alla Phase E (Franken 1992: fig. 5/6:19).

[106] Also in Lebanon, eg. at Byblos (Salles 1980:55, pls. 26:7, XVII:6).

is attested at Beth Shan Level VI (James 1966: fig. 50:10, 20; Yadin and Geva 1986:69: fig. 27:11) and continues to be produced in the Red Slip technique.[107]

TYPE A.3 *Pointed-base amphoriskos* (Table 20)

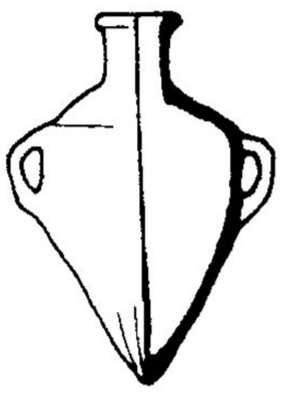


Figure 113: A.3

This type is rare and is represented by a single example in the present study. It is characterised by a relatively wide mouth with grooved rim, two large vertical handles at mid-body height and by a hand-made, knife-pared pointed base. No exact parallels could be found for this vessel, but the general shape has antecedents in the MB IIC period, for example at Lachish Tomb 153 (Tufnell 1958: pl. 85:973). Like the other types of rounded or button-base amphoriskoi, this one seems to last well into the Iron Age. A related shape (with elongated neck and Red Slip) is attested in a 9th-8th century context at Lachish (Tufnell 1953: pl. 9:420) and another comes from Beth Shemesh Level II (Grant 1929:205, n.209).

TYPE A.4: *Ring-base amphoriskos* (Table 20)

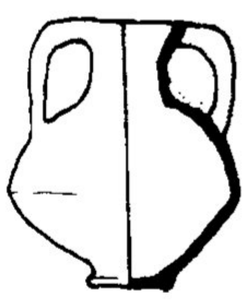


Figure 114: A.4

There is one single example of this type in the graves from Tell el-Far'ah (**636/2**). It is made of the typical local clay with white and grey grits and quartz inclusions (Clay Group I). The shape is unusual, but not totally unknown in the regional repertoire. It has antecedents notably in the MB II and LB I period in southern Palestine, for example at Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988:76-77, pl. 21:12) and Gibeon Tomb 10A (Pritchard 1963: fig. 8:27, 12:74). It also finds approximate parallels at Lachish, Fosse Temple III

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[107] For example at Tell Qasile Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b:60, fig. 26:17) and Lachish, Tomb 223 (Tufnell 1953:211-214, 306, pl. 91:418).

(Tufnell 1940: pl. 54:342-342) and in Tombs 216 and 4010 at the same site (Tufnell 1958: pls. 53:19, 86:1001).

4.4.1.11. *Lamps*

Clay oil-lamps with pinched beak are common throughout the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in southern Palestine, and are also frequent further north and at sites in inland Syria, for example at Tell Afis, Level 4 (Mazzoni 1998: fig. 19:12). They are also found on Cyprus, for instance at Enkomi, Stratum IIA (Dikaios 1969-1971:635, pls. 127:28, 29, 154:8, 15-16). They are rarer in Egypt (e.g. Aston 1991:49, pl. 47:1; Aston and Aston 2001:59, pl. 41:55; Steindorff 1937: pl. 77:24) and not evidenced in this form in the Aegean. In the Levant, they are well known from domestic contexts in the LB II-Iron I period,[108] though they are perhaps more numerous in contemporary grave assemblages,[109] as well as in cultic or official complexes.[110] Although the large majority of the preserved beaked lamps are made of clay, a few metal examples are also known. Bronze lamps are attested in Syria, Palestine and Jordan (Artzy 1995:26, fig. 2.13; Pritchard 1980: fig. 4:19; Strange 1997:402; 2001:300, fig. 8.3) and lead examples are known from Enkomi Level IIIA (Dikaios 1969-1971:686, 689, pl. 163:64-65).

As plain utilitarian shapes, clay lamps show only limited stylistic variations from the MB II-LBI to the Iron I period. However, a series of morphological characteristics can be considered as chronologically significant, and a general typological evolution of the shape can be broadly outlined. In the MB-LB I period lamps only have a slightly pinched spout (e.g. Franken 1992: figs. 7/1:2, 5) but a general development towards a strongly pinched narrow beak takes place in the course of the LB IIB period (Gonen

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[108] For example at Ashdod, Area G (Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 11:25, 25:5).
[109] For example in the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan (Oren 1973:217, 219, figs. 41:1-2, 42:11-15, 71:22, 72:8) and Cave 10A at Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988:77, 82).
[110] See also examples from the "Schatzhaus" at Kamid-el-Lôz (Miron 1990: figs. 71, 79-82) and from the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 45).

1992b:236; Kennedy 1963:69).[111] The examples from the Iron Age I appear as the direct continuation of the LB IIB types, but tend to be deeper (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:76, pl. 135:17) and usually have distinctive out-splayed rims, though this latter element already appears at the end of the preceding period (Tufnell 1958:186). Lamps with a slight carination on their lower part are also generally found in 12th-11th century strata. In the southern coastal plain, the raised flat base seems to appear with some regularity only towards the end of the Iron IB period [112] while this feature already occurs in LB II contexts at Ugarit (e.g. Schaeffer 1949:166, 168, 176, figs. 65:5, 66:8, 70:11, 114). The lamps from the Tell el-Far'ah graves have been separated into different categories on the basis of these morphological criteria.

TYPE L.1: *Shallow lamp with straight rim* (Table 20)

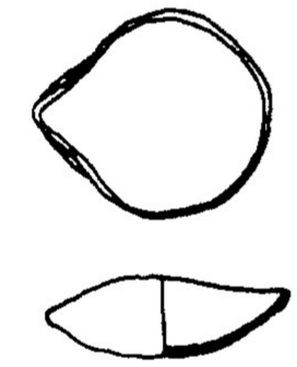


Figure 115: L.1

This type is characteristic of the LB I period, but continues to be found in LB II contexts, for example at Beth Shan, Stratum VIII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 18:12) and Lachish Fosse Temple I (Tufnell 1940: pl. 45:188). Three examples were identified among the material considered here (**549/3**, **902/20**, **936/15**) of which only two were available for study (**549/3**, **936/15**).

TYPE L.2: *Lamp with strongly pinched beak* (Table 20)

This is the dominant type of the present assemblage. The lamps ascribed to it have a rounded base and straight to out-turned rims. This group is typical of the late LB IIB-Iron I period and parallels are found in abundance at contemporary Palestinian sites, like Beth Shan, Level VIII-VII (James and McGovern 1993: figs. 14:6, 32:5), Lachish

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[111] See for example a find from the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Bass 1986:281, 285, ills. 14, 22).
[112] Lamps with raised flat base are particularly typical of the Iron IIC period in the south (e.g. Amiran 1969:291; Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 17:2-Ashdod Stratum 8).

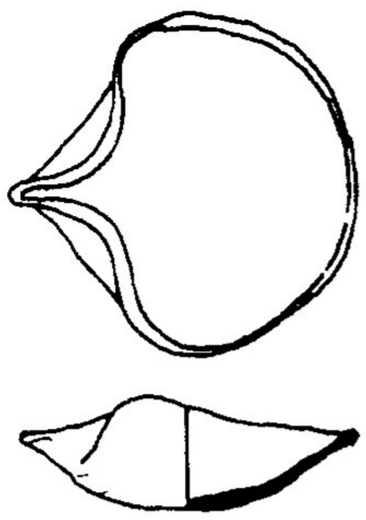


Figure 116: L.2

(Tufnell 1940: pl. 45:193-203; 1958: pl. 73:193-203), Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 8:24, 13:11, 14:6, 16:11, 17:6, 18:5-6, 24:8, 14-15, 25:12, 29:3, 66B-C), and Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1982: fig. 5:5, 8).

TYPE L.3: *Lamp with slightly pinched beak and flattened or rounded rim* (Table 20)

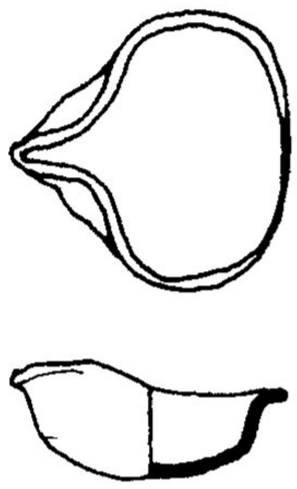


Figure 117: L.3

As in the case of the preceding type, the lamps of this category occur in both LB IIB and Iron I contexts, though they are far more frequent in the latter period. They are usually relatively deep with a rounded or flattened base and occasionally a slight carination on their side profile. Their beak is only slightly pinched and their rim is never out-splayed. They find good parallels at Lachish Fosse Temple III (Tufnell 1940: pl. 45:204),[113] Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992: fig. 3/7:6-7) and in the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh tombs (Pritchard 1980: fig. 5:7).

4.4.2. *Aegean type shapes*

4.4.2.1. *Pyxides*

All the pyxides from Tell el-Far'ah are locally made but the shape originally derives from Aegean prototypes of the LH IIIA-B period. Mycenaean-made amphoriskoi were one of the favourite Aegean-imported shapes in the Levant and occur at both Cis- and Transjordanian sites.[114] On the west side of the Jordan, these vessels are particularly frequent in northern Palestine, at Megiddo (Guy 1938: pl. 32:7), and Syria,

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[113] From Lachish, see also Tufnell 1953:282; 1958:186, pls. 55:37, 73:665-668.
[114] For example at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980:4-5) and Amman (Hankey 1974:149-150, fig. 5). See also Hankey 1993b:104-105.

at Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:342, fig. 52:5-6), but they are also found in the sites of the southern coastal plain, at Timnah (Kelm and Mazar 1995: fig. C10), Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 83:947), Tell el-Ajjûl (Petrie 1931: pl. 11:AD, AM, AU) and Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 27:14; Grant 1929:163, 189, n.508). Sometime during the 13th century, the shape started to be locally produced in the Levant; the type progressively became an integral part of the local pottery repertoire and in some cases imports and local imitations occur side by side in a same context.[115] Variants of the original shape remained popular throughout the first part of the Iron Age.

Different types of pyxides are evidenced in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah and their stylistic, including morphological, characteristics can help establishing a chronological sequence for this form.

TYPE P.1: *Pyxis with rounded base, squat carinated body, loop or perforated lug-handles* (Table 20)

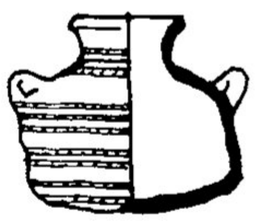


Figure 118: P.1

These pyxides are attested only in the 900 cemetery and are typical of the LB II period. They are still close to the Mycenaean vessels and, like them, often bear linear painted decoration. The clay of these pots is, as a rule, relatively fine (Clay Group III), perhaps in an effort to come closer to the Mycenaean prototypes. The use of a paste more heavily tempered with straw or chaff is usually restricted to the handle zone. The decoration of the examples discussed here is limited to plain horizontal bands in red, brown or red and brown paint on the body which sometimes extends under the base. Parallels for this type are found among assemblages of local imitations of Aegean wares at Lachish (Tufnell

[115] For example at Aphek (Kochavi 1990:35-36).

1940: pl. 54:344-345; 1958: pl. 82:915, 917-919, 921-928), Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1932a: pl. 44:3-4), Tell Dothan (Cooley and Pratico 1995: figs. 24:1-2, 10-12, 28: 5, 8-12, 32:1-7, 35:1-4, 6), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 37:2) and Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:358-359, fig. 57:8). The two bichrome (dark brown-black and reddish-brown) examples among the pyxides from Tell el-Far'ah come from Tomb 902 (**902/22**, **902/23**). In southern Palestine, they are paralleled by examples from Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 82:921). In the Aegean world as on Cyprus, bichrome decoration is rare in the later part of the Late Bronze Age and is not found on pyxides. However, some of the 13th century imitations of Mycenaean shapes from Ugarit bear a colour combination similar to that of the pyxides from Tell el-Far'ah (Courtois and Courtois 1978:354-357, fig. 56:1-8, 11-18). Although there is no evidence for a Syrian origin for the bichrome pyxides from Tomb 902, the use of bichrome decoration on imitated Aegean-style wares may suggest that both southern and northern Levantine examples can be seen as the products of inter-related cultural environments.

TYPE P.2: *Pyxis with ring-base, rounded body and horizontal loop handles* (Table 20)



Figure 119: P.2

This type (only attested in Tomb 562 (**562/49**) at Tell el-Far'ah) stands at the transition between the Late Bronze Age imitations of Aegean vessels and the local pyxides with ring-base and carinated body of the Iron Age. From the Late Bronze tradition, this vessel keeps the horizontal handles on the sides, the plain horizontal band decoration and the colour and texture of its clay (Clay Group III), but its body profile shows a departure from that of the squatter prototypes. Parallels for this shape are notably found in LB IIB contexts at Beth Shan, for example in Tomb 66 (Oren 1973: figs. 42:22, 72:18), at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 12:1, 17:3, 43:1) and in the transitional

LB II-Iron I tomb at Tell Dothan (Cooley and Pratico 1995:154, figs. 19:2-12, 4-9, 11, 28:1-3, 6-7).

TYPE P.3: *Pyxis with ring base, squat carinated body and perforated lug-handles*

(Table 20)

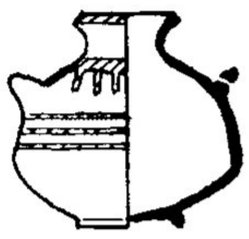


Figure 120: P.3

In the course of the early 12th century other types of pyxides progressively develop in the southern Levant as part of the local assemblage. Examples belonging to the type discussed here can perhaps be seen not as imitations of Mycenaean vessels, but rather as derivative versions of the earlier locally-made pyxides (Types P.1 and P.2). From the former, they retain the carinated body, but, instead of the rounded base, have a small ring base, while perforated lug handles replace the earlier horizontal handles (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:86). At Tell el-Far'ah, the occasionally organic-tempered clays (Groups I and III) and the manufacturing method used for these small containers remains similar to that of some of the earlier types. Painted decoration is generally restricted to linear motifs, but often combines vertical and horizontal lines, and, occasionally incorporates wavy-bands. This widespread shape can be paralleled by examples from Levels 3 to 1 in the Tell Dothan tomb (Cooley and Pratico 1995: figs. 19:7, 28:4) and continues well into the later Iron Age, in particular in the Red Slip technique, occasionally with black painted decoration (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: pls. 91E, 143:5-6).

TYPE P.4: *Pyxis with rounded base, bag-shaped body and perforated lug-handles*

(Table 20)

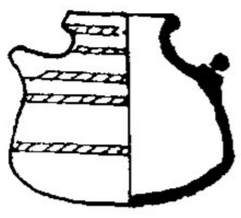


Figure 121: P.4

Bag-shaped body pyxides can be considered as one of the most long-lasting pyxis type of the Levantine area. As illustrated by the example from Tomb 636 (**636/3**), the shape also occurs in Red Slip and it survives until the end of the 10th century. Except for the application of the red slip and the occasional burnishing of the surface, it is often left undecorated. Parallels for this type come, for example, from LBII to Iron I-IIC contexts at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 82:925-930; 1953:189-190, 229, pl. 91:414-416), from 12th century Gezer (Dever *et al.* 1986: pl. 25:8), from Deir 'Alla, Phase F (Franken 1992: fig. 5/18:5) and from LB II/Iron I tombs at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 3:3, 8:2, 23:5, 27:6, 44:1, 50:5). The shape is also attested further north in the same period (e.g. Badre *et al.* 1994: fig. 45g).

TYPE P.5: *Ring-base pyxis with carinated elongated body and perforated lug-handles*

(Table 20)



Figure 122: P.5

This shape is another Iron I morphological development evolving from the LB II pyxis. At Tell el-Far'ah, it is rarer than most types discussed above and is represented by only two examples (**524/3**, **634/2**). Comparable vessels come from Iron IB or later contexts, at Megiddo VIIB-VI and Gezer (Loud 1948: pls. 84:11-12, 144:8-10; Macalister 1912: pls. 102:2, 163:9).

4.4.2.2. *Stirrup-jars*

The stirrup-jar, or false-neck jar, is a shape of Aegean origin. The earliest three-handled versions of the type are found in Middle Minoan III Crete but, as early as LH IIA, the form becomes part of the decorated palatial ceramic assemblage of Mycenaean Greece (Mountjoy 1993:42). In the LH IIIA1 period, the three-handled stirrup-jar is replaced by a tall two-handled variety (apparently also ascribable to Cretan influence) which was used for the transportation and storage of oils and wine and which is usually found in domestic contexts. The smaller version of the shape appears in the LH IIIA2 period and rapidly becomes extremely popular (Mountjoy 1993:71). It was employed mainly as a container for perfumed oils or for wine[116] and is commonly, though not exclusively, found in tombs. In LH IIIB, stirrup-jars can be considered not only as the commonest closed shape in Mycenaean decorated pottery, but also as one of the favourite ceramic imports to Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt. Both the tall domestic jar, employed for storage and transport,[117] and the small-size vessel are attested in the east and south-east Mediterranean. However, in the Levant, and even more so in Egypt, the small variety, which is found predominantly in funerary contexts, by far outnumbers the tall transport jar (Leonard 1994:45-79).

Like all other Aegean pottery imports, Mycenaean stirrup-jars ceased reaching the Levantine coast somewhere towards the end of the 13th or early in the 12th century, a phenomenon which can probably be documented somewhat earlier in Egypt (Hankey 1993b:105; 1993c:112-113). Before that time, however, the shape had started to be locally manufactured on Cyprus as well as on the Levantine mainland where it remained extremely popular until the mid-11th century. The Cypriot examples of the Late Bronze

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[116] For small stirrup-jars used as wine containers, see Tzedakis and Martlew (1999:153, figs. 134-135).
[117] Apparently, the majority of the domestic stirrup-jars found in the east Mediterranean and in Egypt were Cretan products (Leonard 1994:197-199 ; Kemp and Merrillees 1980:246-249, fig.76), just like those found in the LH IIIB1 levels of Mycenae (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:136-137, figs. 122-123).

period were perhaps also exported to sites of the Near Eastern coast (e.g. Courtois and Courtois 1978:302, fig. 35:4), while some stirrup jars from Egypt have been identified as Levantine products (Bourriau 1981:137, n.268). In southern Palestine, the shape became one of the main components of the Philistine pottery repertoire (T.Dothan 1982:125). The great popularity of the small stirrup-jars throughout the Mediterranean area and the international character they progressively acquired in the course of the 14th century, is also illustrated by the fact that the shape was reproduced in Egypt as early as the 18th Dynasty (Bourriau 1981:137-138, n.269), not only in clay, but also in faience (e.g. Bourriau 1981:138, n.270),[118] a nobler material, which was certainly better suited for holding fine liquids, such as perfumes or precious oils. The locally-made stirrup-jars attested in the present assemblage can be distinguished into two main types.

TYPE SJ.1: *Stirrup-jar with ovoid to squat body and short neck* (Table 20)



Figure 123: SJ.1

These stirrup-jars are usually decorated with a series of plain horizontal bands of red-brown to black paint of varying width on the body zone.[119] A few are left undecorated and only two of them have decorated shoulder zones (**936/18**, **939/9**). The majority of the pieces considered here probably come from one or several unidentified manufacturing centre(s) in Canaan. Three examples from Tombs 902, 936 and 939 are made of finer clays (**902/25**, **936/18** and **939/9**); one of them (**936/18**) is decorated with a slightly lustrous paint. It is possible that these three pieces were made on Cyprus in the LC IIB period. As a whole stirrup-jars of this type still stand relatively close to the original Aegean models from a technological, as well as from a stylistical point of view. They probably started to be manufactured locally while imports from Greece were still

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[118] Also on Cyprus (e.g. Schaeffer 1952:170, 195, pls. 41:2, 63:1).
[119] This corresponds to Furumark's Simple Style (1941b:116-117).

reaching the Levant. They occur in great quantities in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan.[120] The examples considered here probably date between the early 13th and the early 12th century.

TYPE SJ.2: *Stirrup-jar with elongated to rounded body and elongated neck* (Table 20)

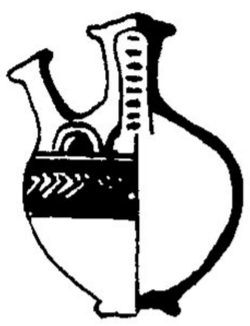


Figure 124: SJ.2

These stirrup-jars belong altogether to a later chronological stage and represent a local adaptation of the Mycenaean shape. Three of these vessels have plain surfaces (**642/7**, **656/3**, **825/1**),[121] but the fourth (**532/38**) bears Philistine Bichrome painted motifs (birds, chevrons, hatched triangles) over a cream slip and has good parallels at other Philistine sites, like Ashdod, Stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 31, pl. 42:2, 11) and Tell Qasile Strata XI-X (Mazar 1985b: figs. 21:1-2, 31:2, 37:16, 38:1-5).

4.4.2.3. *Piriform jars and related shapes*

As in the case of the stirrup-jars and the pyxides (small amphoriskoi), the vessels classified in the present section can be considered as deriving from an Aegean tradition (Mountjoy 1993:33, n.29-30; Furumark 1941a:24-25). Mycenaean imports of piriform jars are found in significant quantities in 14th and early 13th century contexts in the Levant, for example at Megiddo, Ugarit and Amman (Hankey 1974:145-147, fig. 2).[122] Like other pottery forms of Aegean origin, this one became the object of a local

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[120] For example at Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:358-359, fig. 57:1-6; Saliby 1979-1980:108, n.9, fig. 14), Byblos, Necropolis K (Salles 1980:33, fig. 12:7), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: fig. 37:1; Tubb 1988:65, 75, fig. 48A:14), Megiddo (e.g. Leonard and Cline 1998:15), Beth Shan (Oren 1973:234-235, figs. 47a-b:12, 14-15; Hankey 1993a:105, 108, fig. 54:1, 7) and Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979:41, figs. 87, 94).

[121] Compare with a stirrup-jar from Tell Miqne-Ekron Stratum VIa (T.Dothan 1998a: pl. 6:5).

[122] For other finds of imported piriform vessels in the Levant, see Leonard 1994:12-22, with references. Some of the examples mentioned by Leonard are, however, most likely to be local imitations.

production in the 13th century in Cyprus (e.g. Lagarce and Lagarce 1985:151) and in the Levant (see below, pp. 307-308, 327, 315-316), where it also developed into diverse local derivative types. This gradual process of adaptation and integration is well illustrated by the different types of piriform jars attested at Tell el-Far'ah.

TYPE PJ.1: *Wide body piriform jar*

The general shape of these vessels derives from the Mycenaean-type piriform jar with two or three horizontal handles (FS 45-51),[123] which are known both as imports and local products in the Levant, Cyprus and Egypt in the 14th-13th centuries. They appear in two subtypes in the graves from Tell el-Far'ah.

PJ.1A: *Two-handled piriform jar* (Table 20)

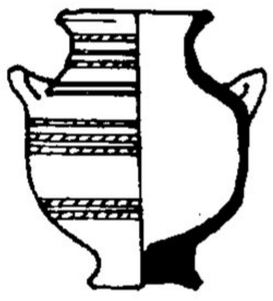


Figure 125: PJ.1a

The two-handled piriform-jar variety is rarer than the three-handled one, both in terms of imports and local imitations. Imported examples can however be mentioned in LB II contexts at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 83:946) and Kamid el-Lôz (Hachmann 1980:85, 88, pl. 26:4; Metzger and Barthel 1993:334, 343, pl. 118:2-4) while imitated versions are attested at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 82:941, 944). The two-handled jar is represented by only a single example in the present study (**936/20**). It has a short neck with wide opening, a pedestal full base and two horizontal rounded handles at shoulder height. The clay is relatively fine, but includes added chaff or straw, in particular on the base.

[123] FS 46-47 are included within Furumark's LH IIIA Levanto-Mycenaean class (Furumark 1992:32).

PJ.1B: *Three-handled piriform jar* (Table 20)

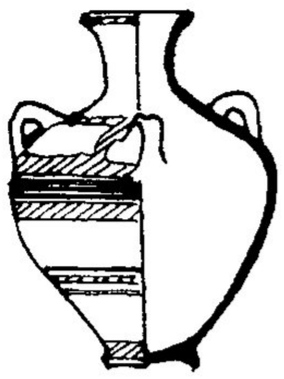


Figure 127: PJ.1b

These jars derive from Furumark's Levanto-Mycenaean type FS 36. They are characterised by a wide ovoid piriform body, a high narrow neck and three vertical handles on the shoulder. They were ascribed by Furumark to his Levanto-Mycenaean class because they only seem to occur in the Levant and Cyprus (Leonard 1994:15).[124] Local imitations of the shape occur, for example, in the upper level of Tomb 13 at Jericho (Garstang 1933:19, fig. 7, pl. 4:1-2; Wace 1936-1937:261-262, fig. 1; Bienkowski 1986:98, fig. 48:1-2), in Tomb 10B at Gibeon (Pritchard 1963: 14, fig. 12:76) and at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 82:940, 942-943). There are two jars of this type in the Tell el-Far'ah graves. The first (**902/27**) is made of a particularly fine and dense clay and its slipped surface is characterised by a smooth gloss. The decoration, in red-orange paint, was effected with visible care and the slight lustre of its surface suggests that the painted areas were polished by hand before firing in order to perfect the resemblance with real "Mycenaean" vessels (see below, p. 305). The second piriform jar (**920/5**) although dating broadly to the same period, looks much clumsier: its clay is coarser, the shape is heavier with thick walls and the decoration is summarily executed.

Although, the jar from Tomb 902 differs from the bulk of the locally-made wares from Tell el-Far'ah, it finds a good parallel in a three-handled jar from Deir el-Balah, Tomb 114 (T.Dothan 1979:12, figs. 15, 19-20; 1973:135, fig. 44C), which was interpreted by the excavator as a Mycenaean import. Coarser imitations, such as that from Tomb 920 also occur in the Deir el-Balah graves (T.Dothan 1979:39, figs. 84, 91).

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[124] Imported three-handled jars on Cyprus occur for example at Enkomi Level IIIA (LC IIIA) and Tomb 2 (Dikaios 1969-1971:346, 574, pls. 70:36-37, 196:18). Local versions of the shape are also found at Maa-Palaeokastro Floors II-I (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:120, 200, pls. 61, 151, 243:257, 191:710).

TYPE PJ.2: *Narrow three-handled jar* (Table 20)

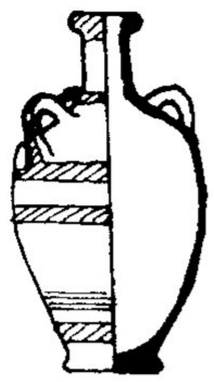


Figure 127: PJ.2

The piriform three-handled jars which appear in the anthropoid coffin tomb 532 (**532/39**) and in tombs 907 (**907/1**) and 936 (**936/21**) differ from Type PJ.1b by a much smaller size and by slenderer proportions. The shape is not attested in the Aegean or on Cyprus, but can still be considered as a morphological derivative of the Mycenaean piriform jar (or of its local imitations). These vessels are relatively rare in the Levant, but occur in undecorated Nile Silt Ware in the Egyptian Nile Delta in contexts dating from Seti II to Ramesses VI (Aston 1996:62). Two of them are known from Gurob (Petrie 1891: pls. 18:51, 19:11) and one from Tell el-Yehûdiyeh (Aston 1996:62).

4.4.2.4. *Feeding bottles*

TYPE FB.1: *Bottle with rounded body and basket handle* (Table 20)

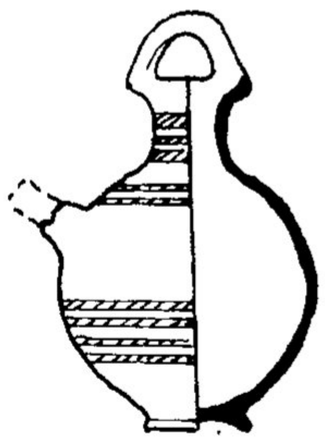


Figure 128: FB.1

The appearance of the basket-handle feeding bottle in the local Near Eastern pottery repertoire has traditionally been associated with the settlement of the "Sea Peoples" and the appearance in southern Palestine of the "Myc IIIC:1b" ware (T.Dothan 1982:157; 1998b:154, fig. 5; Killebrew 1998b:164, pl. 16:8). The shape is relatively common on the Greek Mainland from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIC (mainly in funerary contexts)[125] before becoming rarer in the Submycenaean period (Mountjoy 1986:126, 199).[126] These

[125] For example in the Prophitis Elias necropolis at Tiryns (Rudolph 1973:35, 62, 71-72, 83, pls. 16:2, 34:1, 43:1, 51:1).

[126] For an overview of the instances of the shape in the Aegean see Mountjoy 1999:1101-1102, 1114-1115, figs. 450:83, 456:138-140.

vessels were also produced on Cyprus from the LC III period onwards (e.g. Dikaios 1969-1971:309, 317, 609, pls. 83:14, 88:20, 96:8, 113:5913/4),[127] and, as argued by Furumark, not under a Mycenaean influence but as part of a local development (Furumark 1944:236-237). Specific variants of the form are also known from Late Bronze Age contexts in the Levant, suggesting that the Iron I feeding bottle type of the Philistine area need not derive directly and exclusively from Aegean or Cypriot prototypes.

The shape has local antecedents in Lebanon and Syria in the Late Bronze Age. With vertical side handle, it occurs at Byblos (Salles 1980: pls. 21:5, XV:9) and without the side-spout, at Kamid el-Lôz (Metzger and Barthel 1993: pls. 122:1-2, 158:7-9). At Ugarit a feeding-bottle with linear brown-painted decoration and a potter's mark under the base was found in a 13th century context (Schaeffer 1949:152, fig. 58:14). In Palestine, examples with vertical side-handles are known from Beth Shan Level VII (James and McGovern 1993:72, fig. 22:1-2) and one piece with basket handle, decorated with horizontal red-painted bands, can be mentioned from Beth Shemesh Stratum IV (Grant and Wright 1938-1939: pl. 56:6).

Six feeding bottles are included in the present study, but only three of them were available for study (**500/9**, **513/5**, **803/1**). These are related to each others by the relatively coarse and gritty nature of their clay (Clay Group I). Only one is decorated with a series of red-brown painted horizontal bands on the body. From a morphological point of view these objects have a wider neck than the feeding bottles from Ashdod Stratum XIIIb (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 15:4, 10, pl. 37:1, 3) but they compare well with the piece from Beth Shemesh mentioned above and, except for the colour of the paint, with a fragmentary piece from Tell Miqne-Ekron, Stratum VIa (T.Dothan

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[127] With handle from shoulder to rim and ring-bases, wheelmade feeding-bottles already appear in the LC IIB-C period on Cyprus, if not earlier (e.g. Dikaios 1969-1971:334-336, pl. 192:11; Nicolaou 1972:69-70, pl. 17:12).

1998a: pl. 7:11), as well as with bottles from Tell Sippor, Stratum II (Biran and Negbi 1966: figs. 3:5, 6:10) .

4.4.3. *Local handmade wares*

While coil-building methods and the use of the slow wheel were widespread in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages Levant, there is no signs of a purely handmade pottery tradition at that time. Even when the local Canaanite potters were producing imitations of handmade Cypriot wares (in particular Base Ring jugs), they always built their vessels on the wheel (either to save time or because they felt more comfortable working in their traditional ways). As a rule, in Late Bronze Age Levantine contexts, the fact that a vessel is handmade is a secure reason for identifying it as a Cypriot import. The tombs from Tell el-Far'ah have nevertheless produced a few handmade, non coil-built, vessels of local manufacture.

All the locally handmade objects considered here are of small size. Two of them (the bowl and the dipper-juglet) are forms which normally occur as part of the usual wheelmade production. They were probably made from left-over clay. Similar small handmade vessels are occasionally found in both domestic and funerary contexts in the Levant.[128] The other artefacts were apparently made by hand because their very shape is unworkable on a wheel and can only be obtained by hand-forming.

TYPE HM.1: *Bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 129: HM.1

The only local handmade bowl from the present assemblage comes from Tomb 939 (**939/10**). It has a flattened base and irregular thick walls. It is made of the usual LB IIB clay (Group II) and its

[128] For example a small pointed-base juglet from Deir 'Alla Phase E (Franken 1992: fig. 4/20:14) and a handled miniature vase from Tomb 10B at Gibeon (Pritchard 1963: fig. 12:72).

firing conditions do not seem to have differed from those of the other local wares.

TYPE HM.2: *Juglet* (Table 20)



Figure 130: HM.2

An isolated example of a handmade juglet was found in Tomb 542 (**542/86**). It has a pointed base, an oval, slightly pinched mouth and bears linear red-painted decoration on its upper part. As in the case of the handmade bowl, its walls are thick and only roughly smoothed.

TYPE HM.3: *Miniature bowl* (Table 20)



Figure 131: HM.3

A single bowl of this type comes from Tomb 612 (**612/7**). It is extremely small and of very simple shape. In a settlement context it could be interpreted as a child's toy or as a votive vessel,[129] but as it was placed in a tomb it may alternatively be seen as a symbolic artefact. The practice of using miniature pots (usually jugs or bowls) as tomb furnishing is relatively common, and is attested in various periods in the Near East (e.g. Salles 1980:47) and on Cyprus (e.g. Dothan and Ben Tor 1972:205-207, figs. 3-4).

TYPE HM.4: *Pomegranate shaped vessel* (Table 20)

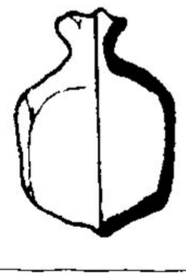


Figure 132: HM.4

Two pomegranate-shaped bottles are included in the present study one of which could be examined (**947/1**). This one is made of the dark red, lightly chaff-tempered clay typical of the LB IIB period (Clay Group III). Though the walls of this vessel were built by pinching and drawing, they are thin and their outside surface was carefully smoothed. Other examples

[129] See for example a quantity of such vessels from Ras Shamra (Schaeffer 1949:258, fig. 110:1-38) and another from the cultic structure at Tell Qasile in Strata XII-X (Mazar 1980:117-118, fig. 47, pl. 39:7-11).

of clay pomegranate vessels are known from Palestinian cultic contexts. Two come from a late 13th century temple (?) at Tell es-Shar'ia and two others are from the Tell Qasile temple, Stratum X (Mazar 1980:116-117, fig. 46, pl. 38:1-2).[130]

The presence of this object in a funerary context certainly relates to the symbolism of fertility and longevity which was traditionally attached to the pomegranate fruit in the Late Bronze Age period in the Near East (e.g. Avigad 1989:12-13). The same symbolical meaning also seems to have existed contemporarily on Cyprus (where it also lasted into later periods), and several examples of glass and faience pomegranate vessels are known from funerary contexts on the island (e.g. Schaeffer 1952:191, fig. 75:251, 238, pl. 40; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. 150:5; Dikaios 1969-1971:378, pl. 208:20; Courtois and Lagarce 1986:157-158; Karageorghis 1974:45, pls. 65:25, 149). The fruit was apparently introduced from Syria to Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom, and, though its popularity there never quite reached the high level it enjoyed in the Near East, clay, glass, faience, metal and stone pomegranate-shaped vessels have been reported from Egyptian domestic contexts, (Nagel 1938: fig. 25:127; Schoske, Kreißl and Germer 1992:169) and pomegranates were occasionally depicted as funerary offerings on the wall paintings of New Kingdom tombs (Courtois and Lagarce 1986:157).

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[130] A clay wheel-burnished bowl with a raised pomegranate decoration in its centre was found in the 8th century Tomb 6 at Tell Halif (Borowski 1995).

TYPE HM.5: *Rattles* (Table 20)

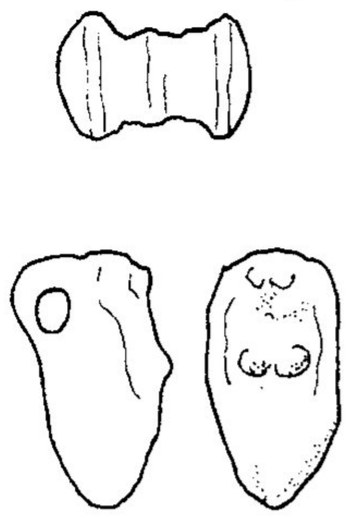


Figure 133: HM.5

The other handmade pottery objects from the graves are not vessels, but two rattles. One (**934/19**) is dumbbell shaped and has parallels in other LB-Iron I assemblages of the Palestinian area, for example at Beth Shemesh in the Iron Age city levels (Grant 1929:205, n.217-218).[131] The other (**905/28**) is in the shape of a sealed pointed-base juglet, fitted with a rounded handle at the back and the modelled anthropomorphic features of a woman on the front. The lower part of the face has been chipped off, but the arms remain descending on both sides of the body, so as the two globular eyes and two breasts at about mid-body height. A similar object was found in Tomb 7 at Gezer (Macalister 1912: pl. 66:42) and two others come from Tomb 1003 at Lachish, dated by the excavator to the 15th century (Tufnell 1958:250-251, pl. 28:24-25). Finally, a bird-headed juglet-shaped rattle with handle was also found in Tomb 1 from the Ankstina necropolis on Cyprus (Nicolaou 1972:75, pl. 17:6).

4.4.4. *Imports*

4.4.4.1. *Cypriot wares*

Real Cypriot imports are relatively rare in the tombs from Tell el-Far'ah. However, although they are represented only by sporadic examples, they occur throughout the period considered in the present study.

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[131] Similar objects, but bearing painted decoration and fitted with a handle, are known from funerary contexts at Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 28:1, 72C) and Pella (Smith and Potts 1992:73, pl. 54:7) in the LB II and MB IIC-LB I periods respectively.

TYPE CY.1: *White Painted VI* (Table 20)

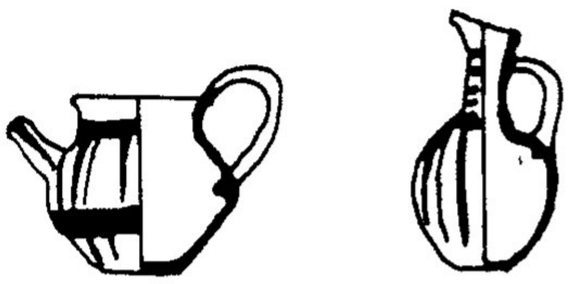


Figure 134: CY.1

The small juglet from Area 600 (**600/17**) and the feeding bottle from Tomb 612 (**612/8**), plus another three non-examined vessels from Tombs 613 (**613/6**, **613/7**) and 614 (**614/2**) belong to the Cypriot White Painted VI pottery class. This ware develops on Cyprus towards the end of the Middle Cypriot period (Åström 1972:53-69). The earliest White Painted VI imports in Palestine occur in MB II and continue throughout the LB I period (Oren 1969:140). Although they remain far less frequent than the later White Slip and Base Ring imports, they are regularly found in LB I contexts in Syria-Palestine and in Egypt.[132] They are well attested at Ras Shamra (e.g. Courtois and Courtois 1978:288-289, fig. 31:18), where they were apparently also locally imitated (Courtois and Courtois 1978:250-251, figs. 17:2). In the southern Levant, they are found, for example, at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:282; 1958: pl. 79:823-826), Tell el-Ajjûl (Petrie 1933: pl. 39:89A) and Gezer (Seger and Lance 1988:79-80, pl. 19:5), mainly in LB I horizons. In the whole, like at Tell el-Far'ah, the side-spouted juglet appears with greater frequency than the trefoil mouth juglet in Palestine.

TYPE CY.2: *White Shaved* (Table 20)



Figure 135: CY.2

White Shaved is a name given to a particular kind of handmade pointed base juglet which is usually believed to have been produced on

[132] Both imports and imitations of Cypriot White-Painted VI were found in the settlement and in Tombs 116 and 117 at Tell Heboua (Abdel Maskoud 1992: figs. 34:1, 35:6-7, 45:8).

Cyprus.[133] In contrast to the contemporary Syro-Palestinian pointed-base dipper-juglets, these were entirely handmade and their surface was shaved vertically with a knife, a spatula or some similar tool, down the total height of the vessel. Åström (1972:700) argued that these juglets appear already in the LC IB period, but it has been noted that the majority of the White-Shaved juglets on Cyprus come from 13th century contexts (Yon 1985:85). In any case, these vessels are frequent, sometimes abundant, in LC IIB contexts, for example at Athienou (Kromholz 1983:41) and Enkomi, Tomb 119 (Courtois 1981:155, figs. 106-107). They were relatively rarely imported to the Levant.[134] A few examples can particularly be mentioned from Gezer, dated to the LB I period (Seger and Lance 1988:79, pl. 18:1). As far as the examined material is concerned, only one Cypriot-made White-Shaved import occurs in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs (**949/8**). It can be compared to Cypriot objects from Kition, Floors IV and IIIA (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:91, 104, 109, 123, pls. 107, 111, 113, 187:4822, 192:4234, 5143, 194:5374).

TYPE CY.3: *Monochrome bowl* (Table 20)

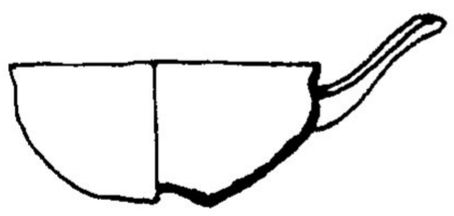


Figure 136: CY.3

Two tombs of the 600 cemetery have yielded three examples of Monochrome bowls of Cypriot manufacture (**612/9**, **613/8**, **613/9**). All are made of a fine dense clay, typical of the fabric. These bowls belong to a hand-made pottery class of the LC II period (Åström 1972:90-103). Very frequent on Cyprus itself (e.g. Pieridou 1971:827-828), Monochrome bowls were occasionally imported to the Levant, but their popularity there was never quite comparable to that of the White-Slip and

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[133] It has been argued that this shape was produced in the wheelmade technique in the Levant long before it appeared on Cyprus (Salles 1980:48) and that handmade examples were also manufactured on the Syro-Palestinian coast (e.g. Yon, Lombard and Renisio 1987:40, fig. 21:79/RS.27).

[134] However, a group of at least thirty-four such juglets, apparently Cypriot imports, were discovered in the Late Bronze Age temple of Tell Kazel (Badre 2000:42, fig. 13:6-7).

Base-Ring wares. Palestinian parallels to the Tell el-Far'ah bowls can be found at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 79:827-828) and Gezer in LB II contexts (Seger and Lance 1988:83, pl. 25:3). Apparently Monochrome bowls were not imitated by Canaanite potters.

TYPE CY.4: *Base Ring II* (Table 20)

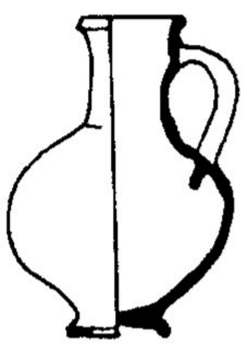


Figure 137: CY.4

Base Ring II is a typical Late Bronze Cypriot ware and is probably the most frequently encountered Cypriot pottery import to the Levant [135] and Egypt.[136] The popularity in the Near East of the small Base Ring juglets, in particular in funerary contexts, has tentatively been explained by the fact that their original content might have been opium, a commodity which can also be used a sedative for the dying and as a painkiller, for example in childbirth (Åström 1993:309-310; Merrillees 1962; 1969; 1974).[137] Only three juglets among the assemblage discussed here can be considered as Cypriot imports and both come from the 900 cemetery (**902/28**, **922/5**, **936/22**). These small containers differ from their locally-made versions mainly in the nature of their clay and in the fact that they were made by hand. The clay is finer and denser than that of the usual local ware and the darker core of the break is narrow and well defined. Two other diagnostic features point to a Cypriot origin for these vases. The first is the mode of attachment of the handle, whose lower end is passed through the wall of the vessel, and the second is a

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[135] For example at Gezer, LB I-IIA (Seger and Lance 1988: pls. 14:12, 15:1, 3-4, 70M, 71A), Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:279-280, 283-284; 1958: pl. 80:864, 866-867), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 21:16, 24:4), Kamid el Lôz (Miron 1990: fig. 36:3, pls. 56-57).

[136] For example at Tell el-Yehûdiyeh (Petrie 1906: pls. 12C, 39B:7-8, 10-13) and Deir el-Medineh (Nagel 1938: fig. 25:118).

[137] Even if the Base Ring jugs were empty when placed in the grave, their shape could have been enough to convey the symbolical idea of their usual content. The same can be argued for the local imitations of the shape.

distinctive burnishing of the surface.[138] The fact that the Cypriot Base Ring II juglets from the Tell el-Far'ah graves were found together with local imitations of the ware is not unusual and can be paralleled in other funerary contexts in LB II Palestine, for example in the "East Grotto" of Beth Shemesh (Mackenzie 1912-1913:48, 50, pl. 20:9, 12, 15-16, 19).

TYPE CY.5: *White Slip II* (Table 20)



Figure 138: CY.5

White Slip II is one of the most easily recognizable Cypriot fabrics of the Late Bronze Age. It was distributed in significant quantities throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the 14th and 13th centuries. Only one certain production centre on Cyprus has yet been identified, at Sanida-Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou (Todd and Hadjicosti 1991; Todd and Pilides 1993), but other manufacturing sites, using related or similar clay sources, almost certainly existed in the area (Gomez *et al.* 1995). The fact that the only production centre of White-Slip ware as yet identified lies at the foot of the Troodos massif, i.e. in close proximity to ancient copper mines, seems to support the idea of a link between the manufacture of this ware and copper extraction, exploitation and trade on the island (e.g. Gomez *et al.* 2002; Courtois 1970:83-84; Gomez and Doherty 2000).

White Slip II is found in two graves of the 900 cemetery (**902/29**, **949/9**).[139] Both bowls are of poor quality and should be ascribed to the latest phase of the production, probably at the extreme end of the 13th century (e.g. Artzy 1985:98-99). Similar vessels, characterised by the same greyish surface colour and by poorly

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[138] It has also been proposed that the body of the Cypriot Base Ring jugs (contrarily to its imitations) was moulded, possibly in two parts (Lagarce and Lagarce 1972:134-135; Merrillees 1982:156).
[139] For the imports of Proto White Slip, White Slip I and II in Palestine and their stratigraphical and cultural context, see, notably Gitlen 1971.

executed decoration are found in the Late Bronze Age layers of Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:284-285, fig. 30:16; Schaeffer 1949:164, fig. 64:11), at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 79:835), and in Level VII at Beth Shan (Gitlen 1993: fig. 57:8-9, 12, 14). Interestingly, while local versions of Base Ring jugs and bowls are relatively frequent in Syria-Palestine, imitations of White Slip bowls are much rarer. Only a few examples of White Slip II bowls from Ugarit (Courtois and Courtois 1978:284-285, fig. 30:21) and Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pl. 82:909-913) have been interpreted as local products.

TYPE CY.6: *White Painted Wheelmade III* (Table 20)



Figure 139: CY.6

A small flat-based juglet from Tomb 902 (**902/30**) can probably be ascribed to this ware. Its clay is finer and denser than that of the other Mycenaeanizing vessels and so is the dark, slightly lustrous paint which was used for its decoration. The morphological and stylistical characteristics of this juglet are unusual and do not find parallels in neighbouring sites; its best comparanda actually come from Cyprus. The distinctive convex curve of the shoulder profile and the tapering of the lower body is found on a larger beaker from Kition/Bamboula (Yon and Caubet 1985: fig. 65:299), which is also decorated with a similar motif of small stylised flower buds. The same motif is, to my knowledge, not attested in the Aegean, but a related pattern appears on an imported LH IIIA:2 bull rhyton from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971:330, pl. 110:2-3).

TYPE CY.7: *Bucchero* (Table 20)

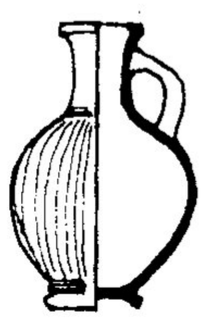


Figure 140: CY.7

The morphological repertoire of the Late Cypriot Bucchero ware is limited to two shapes, which can probably be interpreted as substitutes for metal vessels: the amphora and the

jug/juglet. The ware is divided by Åström (1972:425) into two chronologically distinct varieties. The earlier variety, which he dates to the LC IIA-C period, relates to Base Ring II ware.[140] The vessels are predominantly hand-made and decorated with applied plastic ribs on the body. No example of this ware was found at Tell el-Far'ah, but it occurs in northern Palestine at Megiddo, Tomb 877 C1 (Guy 1938: pls. 14:21, 86:8) and in the south at Lachish, Fosse Temple III and in Tomb 1003 (Tufnell 1940: pl. 51:285; 1958: pl. 79:830). The later variety of Bucchero ware is generally wheel-made, slipped black, red or dark grey and polished to a slight lustre. The bodies of the vessels are decorated with incised grooves. According to Benson (1972:91-92), the vertical ridges become narrower with time. The beginning of this production is situated in the LC IIC period and it continues throughout the LC III and into the early Cypro-Geometric period (Gjerstad 1948:77-78, figs. IX-X, XVII:1-5). The Bucchero jugs of the Cypro-Geometric period are, as a rule, characterised by a trefoil mouth, while in LC IIC-III, they have a round mouth opening.

Nine jugs corresponding to Åström's later Bucchero variety were found in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries (**600/18**, **102/10**, **105/3**, **506/6**, **525/4**, **617/4**, **640/6**, **642/4**, **647/6**). **600/18**, **102/10**, **105/3**, **525/4** and **647/6** are characterised by an ovoid to rounded body, incised with narrow vertical grooves, a thin neck and horizontal ridges around the base of the neck and at the foot. They find parallels at Enkomi, French Tomb 5 and Tombs 10 and 15 (Schaeffer 1952:161-165, figs. 66:7, 67:22, 24, 28-30, 72:306, 84:8, 9-11,14, 16, 22-24; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:505-510, 537-538, pl. 81:1, 5), at Kition Area I, Floor II-I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:60, 227, pls. 29:179/1, 181, 237:5026), Enkomi Level IIIC (Dikaios 1969-1971:617, pl. 83:32), Kourion Tombs 25-26 (Daniel 1937:71, pls. 2:86, 5:15, 53, 84), Alaas Tomb 14 (Karageorghis 1975:9, pls.

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[140] As for the Base Ring wares, Merrillees and Evans (1989) suggested that Bucchero juglets were specialised opium containers.

5, 54:1) and at Idalion Period 3 (Ålin 1978: figs. 9:2, 11).[141] The remaining four jugs are decorated with alternating horizontal and vertical incised ridges, triangular and net patterns. Such decoration cannot really be paralleled on Cyprus [142] and they may be interpreted as local imitations or derivatives of the Cypriot ware. Imported Bucchero ware is scarce in Iron I Palestine, but it was also identified in a settlement context at Dor, in the second half of the 11th century (Gilboa 1995:16, fig. 1.10:42; 1998:418, fig. 7:9; Stern 1995a:271).

TYPE CY.8: *White Painted I* (Table 20)



Figure 141: CY.8

Only one imported Cypriot White Painted I vessel, a skyphos, was found in Tomb 506 at Tell el-Far'ah (**506/7**). It can be dated to the Cypro-Geometric I period and its shape and decoration can be paralleled by similar bowls from Kition Well 1 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:79, pls. 36, 59:266, 271),[143] Kithrea (Adelman 1976:11, figs. 113-118) and from Tomb 1 at Salamis (Yon 1971:78, pl. 39:226). Cypriot imports dating to this period are rare but not non-existent in the Levant, as already evidenced by the Bucchero juglets. Other White Painted I wares in Palestine were found at Dor, Stratum IX (Stern 1990; 1993:331; 1995c:85, fig. 5.6A).

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[141] As far as Cyprus is concerned Bucchero ware is mainly found in funerary contexts. Because of its distinctive metallic appearance it may be suggested that, on the island, Bucchero ware served as substitute for metal vessels which were considered too valuable to be put in the grave.
[142] There is however a fragment of Bucchero jug decorated with incised triangles from Enkomi, Level IIIC (Dikaios 1969-1971:621, pl. 83:34).
[143] The pedestal shape with wide-band decoration already appears in Floor II at the same site (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:47, pls. 26, 48:108/1, 144).

TYPE CY.9: *White Painted II* (Table 20)



Figure 142: CY.9

One juglet of this type was found in Tomb 546 (**546/1**). It is made of a grey clay with small dark grits and has a greyish surface. It bears a group of narrowly arranged brown-painted horizontal lines at mid-body height. The non-local clay, the shape and the style of the decoration of this juglet is indicative of a Cypriot origin. The vessel can probably be classified as White Painted II ware and dated to the CG IB-IIA period (Gjerstad 1948:52, fig. XIII:11-12). Palestinian parallels for it can be cited from Megiddo Stratum V or IV (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 17:88).

4.4.4.2. *Midianite Pottery*

TYPE MD.1: *Juglet* (Table 20)



Figure 149: MD.1

Tomb 542 produced a small juglet of decorated Midianite ware (**542/87**). It is made of a light-coloured clay containing numerous multicoloured mineral inclusions of relatively large size. Its walls are thick and uniformly coloured with a light surface burnishing. Its body-zone is decorated with a dark brown painted animal motif (a dog?) above red and dark brown horizontal bands. Other Midianite sherds at Tell el-Far'ah were found in the settlement, from the Residency floor in Locus YX (Rothenberg and Glass 1983:82; see above, p. 39).

Midianite pottery is known mainly from the site of Timna (Rothenberg 1971:19, pl. 35; 1972:162-163, fig. 32, photos 48-54; 1988:93-94, figs. 6-10, pls. 1:4, 16-18). It is characterised by a high-fired light clay, with numerous multicoloured mineral inclusions, and a thick burnished cream-coloured slip. Decoration, consisting of a

combination of linear and figurative motifs, can be relatively elaborate and make use of brown, black and red paints. The production centres of this class of pottery are not yet identified, but sherds have been found at several sites on both sides of the Jordan river and in north-west Saudi-Arabia, in the Hejaz (Rothenberg and Glass 1983; Bawden 1983:39; Kalsbeek and London 1978; Brandl 1984). The main production centre of this ware is usually located at Qurayyah (north-west Arabia), but other manufacturing places nearer to Timna are not excluded (Gunneweg *et al.* 1991:250). The chronology of this pottery class, however, remains problematic since the date of its find contexts vary significantly. On the Amman citadel a Midianite sherd was found within a Late Bronze Age assemblage, including Egyptian Blue-Painted pottery (Van der Steen 1996:56), while the fragments from Tell Masos come from Stratum IIB which is dated to the late 12^{th}-early 11^{th} centuries (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: pls. 97A, 142:10, 148:11; Kempinski 1993:988-989). Most likely, the production of this pottery ware spreads over a considerable period of time.

4.5. CONTEXTUAL DATA

All the pots discussed here are differentiated by specific typological, technological and/or stylistic characteristics but are all related by the fact that they come from funerary deposits. This commonality of context has the potential to shed some light on certain aspects of the material which have to do with questions of production, distribution, and intended versus actual use of the artefacts. A first question which comes to mind is whether the pots found in the graves at Tell el-Far'ah were specifically manufactured for funerary purposes. Although cases have been reported of tombs furnished with pottery which looked as though it had been specifically made for

funerary use (O'Shea 1984:24),[144] there is no evidence that the same phenomenon occurred at Tell el-Far'ah, at least during the period considered here. In general, the pots included in the present study look very much like the vessels which were found in the settlement on the tell and there are no clear indications that they were manufactured in different ways or that they were made of different clays from the latter. Perhaps the only sign which may point to the existence of a specialised production destined for the mortuary domain at Tell el-Far'ah is the fact that a few vessels (in particular utilitarian shapes, like the bowls and large jugs) are strongly distorted as a result of over-firing or other faults in the manufacturing process (e.g. **839/3**: JT.8b). It can be argued that the potters who made these vessels were not so much preoccupied with the quality of their products because, from the start, these objects were conceived as funerary offerings and were not meant to serve the needs of the living. On the other hand, it can also be suggested that such faulty artefacts represent the inevitable accidents of a regular production and that their relative frequency among the grave offerings mainly results from their unsuitability for everyday use.

Some of the pots found in the tombs at Tell el-Far'ah are also frequently present in funerary contexts elsewhere. This is notably the case with the small stirrup-jars, the lamps and the pilgrim flasks, but these shapes are also attested in cultic and domestic contexts in Syria-Palestine (e.g. Leonard and Cline 1998:16). On the other hand, purely functional shapes (not only made of pottery, but also of stone) are not unusual in the graves discussed here. These are represented by a number of food-processing and storing containers, such as basins, cooking pots, mortars and storage jars.

Little can be inferred from the way the pots were disposed inside the grave, either because the information was not well recorded at the time of the excavation, or because

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[144] See also Steel (1994:243) who suggests that 11th century Cypriot Black-Slip Ware was exclusively produced for funerary use.

the burial was subsequently disturbed. What can be concluded on the basis of the undisturbed interments is that the pottery vessels were generally placed in a random manner around the body. Small pots (often bowls or pointed-base juglets) were laid near the head of the deceased, or less often, at his/her feet. In some cases, smaller vessels (e.g. bowls, lamps, juglets) had been placed in large containers (storage-jars, large jugs). It might be suggested that, as a rule, the vessels were filled with food, drinks, oils or unguents when offered to the dead.[145] However, it is also possible that some specialised shapes, like the stirrup-jars, or the pilgrim flasks, were placed empty in the tombs, the container itself acting perhaps as a symbol for the absent contents.

4.6. Conclusion

The pottery assemblage considered here covers a period going from LB I to the beginning of Iron II, though the vast majority of the pots belong to the end of the LB IIB and to the Iron IA-B periods, approximately from c. 1250/1225 to c. 1050 B.C. During that time, a number of changes are noticeable, though there are also equally well attested signs of continuity in the local material culture. New shapes, such as the bell-shaped bowls with horizontal handles, the feeding-bottles, the strainer-jugs, or the two-handled pots with ring or rounded base make their appearance, and others, like the Egyptian-style platter-bowls or the decorated carinated mugs, become progressively rarer or fade out altogether. On the other hand, an undeniable degree of conservatism is evident not only from the persistence of certain types, such as the hemispherical bowls with ring-bases, the large trefoil mouth jugs, and the small and medium-size pilgrim

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[145] Little evidence for food remains was identified in the graves of Tell el-Far'ah, but this may also be due to the great speed at which the tombs were cleared and processed. However, burnt bread-cakes were found in Tomb 936 (**936/S63**), burnt seeds were recorded in Tomb 853 (**853/S10**) and a few animal bones (possibly the remains of a funerary meal) come from Tomb 542 (**542/S30**).

flasks, but also from the fact that only few of the new shapes have no local antecedent in the earlier periods. In fact, the majority of the changes in pottery types (for example the passage from the pointed to the rounded base on the small dipper-juglets, and the loss of the heavy stump base of the Late Bronze Age store-jars) are the result of slow and gradual transformation processes.[146] The same can be argued for the introduction of the Iron Age Red Slip, which, to all appearances, resulted from progressive and, probably, regionalised experiments. As it is, several unslipped plain ware shapes at Tell el-Far'ah show a clear resemblance with Red Slip shapes dating from the late 12th to the 10th century at sites such as Tell Qasile and Ashdod. This might signify either that the Red Slip technique remained unknown, or at least unpractised, at Tell el-Far'ah at a time when it was already popular at these neighbouring sites, or that the Tell el-Far'ah pots date to a time just preceding the introduction of this technique in the region.

Similarly, the appearance of the Philistine Bichrome ware need not be interpreted as a sudden, completely unprecedented development in the later part of the 12th century, since the use of bichrome decoration has a long history in Syria-Palestine (though it was only rarely used during the LB IIB period, in particular in southern Palestine). Admittedly, the range of motifs attested on this ware is quite different from the decorative repertoire of LB IIB, but this issue will be addressed in greater detail in the last chapter of this work.

One of the most distinctive traits which separates the LB IIB from the Iron IA-B pottery assemblage is an increasing tendency towards diversification and regionalisation. In LB IIB, shapes and decoration are usually quite uniform. The number of different local pottery types is limited, and, among them, a majority find parallels in a variety of geographical areas, sometimes lying as far apart as Sudanese Nubia and

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[146] The continuity of the potting traditions in the LB-Iron I transition was also acknowledged by Mazar (1985a:63) with regards to the Upper Galilee, the central Hill Country, and the northern Negev.

Syria. The beginning of the Iron Age, on the other hand, seems to bear witness to the emergence of a greater diversity, both within and between sites.[147] Although, as pointed out by Amiran (1969:195) with regards to the northern and southern bowl types of the Iron I period, several of the general shapes are again widespread, at least on the Levantine mainland, the multifarious character of the pottery assemblage is manifest in several ways. It can be exemplified by the development of the "new" shapes mentioned above, by numerous morphological innovations on already existing types (e.g. the pilgrim flasks), or by the occurrence of various, often unique, types of handles on bowls. The introduction of the Red Slip Burnish technique, which, as noted above, seems to have been a very gradual and regionally differentiated process, may serve as yet another illustration of this phenomenon.

This tendency towards diversification at the beginning of the Iron Age in the Levant has already been emphasised on several occasions and has generally been interpreted as the reflection of a certain degree of cultural fragmentation following the turbulences of the late 13th-early 12th centuries. Several authors have considered it as the hallmark of the Iron IA-B period and as a clear indication that the cultural *koine* of the Late Bronze Age had definitely come to an end. This theory is often accompanied by a belief that maritime trade had significantly decreased, if not wholly disappeared at that time, and that international, if not inter-regional, contacts had come to a halt (e.g. Iacovou 1998:334; Mazar 1988).

However, the cultural diversity apparent during this transitional period need not be interpreted in this only way. Other explanations which take into account new ideas about the extent and changing nature of international trade, already in the latest stages of the Bronze Age (Sherratt 1998; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; 1993), and other

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[147] This phenomenon was also emphasised by T. Dothan (1985:173).

elements, such as the often-acknowledged eclectic tradition of the Philistine culture, in particular of its associated pottery (T.Dothan 1982:94; 1985:165-176), can be advanced here and can contribute to suggest alternative ways of understanding the historical development at the beginning of the Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean.

CHAPTER 5

THE SMALL FINDS

5.1. SCARABS

The majority of the scarabs from the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, even if not discussed, are at least illustrated by a line drawing or/and a photograph in the two volumes of the original excavation report. Some of them were subsequently republished in monographs and articles, either catalogues of museum collections or thematic studies. Recently, the whole corpus of scarabs and other seals from the site and the cemeteries was examined anew by Othmar Keel, and the results of his analysis will be included in his comprehensive catalogue of ancient Palestinian scarabs and seals.

In ancient Egypt and neighbouring lands, scarabs had a large number of functions which were not mutually exclusive of each other. They could be used either alternatively or concomitantly as seals, ornaments, talismans or amulets. They also could be understood as religious symbols or markers of social status (Keel 1995:266; Buchanan and Moorey 1988: xii-xiii). Although many scarabs (like those discussed in the present work) come from funerary contexts in Egypt, the Levant and elsewhere, there is no doubt that scarabs were also used by the living in various social spheres (Hall 1929:4-5; Petrie 1925:9; Ben-Tor 1989:35). As with the representation of Egyptian gods on amulets (see below, pp. 240-241), the question arises whether Egyptian type scarab-seals, their designs and inscriptions were understood in the same way in Palestine and in Egypt. As far as the area of Tell el-Far'ah, on the very border of

Egypt, is concerned, it would seem likely that their meaning and significance was not too different from those they had in the Nile Delta. However, as suggested by Keel (1995:35), a fair amount of local interpretation and adaptation must have been involved in the process of integration of the symbolism of the scarabs in the Levant.[1]

In archaeological research, scarabs are commonly seen as chronological indicators, though specialists have long been aware of the dangers of dating whole contexts on the basis of these objects alone. It is, in effect, well known that scarabs, like other precious items of jewellery, could be transmitted from generation to generation and could remain in circulation long after they had been manufactured (Jaeger 1982:267-268; Keel 1995:247). In addition, some of the designs and inscriptions found on scarabs (including specific royal names) were reproduced with little recognisable stylistic variation for very long periods of time and are therefore extremely difficult to situate chronologically with any precision (Ward 1994:193-199).[2]

5.1.1. *Production*

Among the materials used for the production of the scarabs from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs, the most commonly encountered is steatite (glazed or unglazed).[3] Faience

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[1] That said, the meaning(s) of the scarab seals in Egypt proper need not have been uniform in all geographical areas and in all spheres of society. The great majority of the Egyptian population was most certainly not able to decipher the hieroglyphic signs that are often inscribed on these objects, though it seems reasonable enough to argue that the average member of the population was capable of distinguishing a royal from a non-royal scarab or of identifying the god(s) which was/were depicted on it. Even if a certain commonality of beliefs throughout ancient Egyptian society can be quite safely assumed (Baines and Lacovara 2002:10), we have no precise idea as to the extent to which figured representations of gods and symbols had standardised receptions.

[2] Some specialists, however, have shown that the method of engraving can sometimes be used as a supplementary chronological criterion for the dating of scarab-seals (e.g. Keel 1995:130-132; Jaeger 1982:135-137). This is for example the case of the scarabs belonging to the so-called "Ramessid Massenware" . A few of the morphological details of the beetle may also be of some use in helping to date specific pieces. For example, a base that is slightly wider than the beetle itself is a typical feature of the Ramesside period (see for example **902/S19**, **902/S20**) and so is the presence of ring-shaped terminations around the suspension holes (e.g. **902/S4**, **902/S20**, **902/S21**).

[3] For the preponderance of steatite versus other materials in scarab production from the 12th to the 19th Dynasties (in Egypt and the Levant), see Keel 1995:148. For the glazing methods employed for steatite scarab-seals, see for example Paynter and Tite 2001:241.

comes second and much rarer are carnelian, jasper and rock-crystal.

Steatite is a soft stone which, in Egypt, is found in significant quantities in the Eastern Desert (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:59; Fuchs 1984), in the mountainous chains of southern Syria and abundantly on Cyprus (Keel 1995:147, citing Richards 1992:42, note 113). This stone presents the double advantage of being easily workable and of changing its chemical composition to become as hard as jade, when submitted to temperatures of about 850°C. Some of the steatite scarabs were heated to such high temperatures in order to fix their glazing layer, but others were simply fired without coating in the sole purpose of hardening the stone. In some cases, the glazing layer applied on the steatite scarabs is so thick that the finished object looks very much as though it was made of solid faience or frit.

There is today little doubt that a number of scarab-seals were locally produced on the Levantine coast as early as the Middle Bronze Age. It is indeed widely accepted that a large series of 18th-17th century B.C. scarabs made of semi-precious hard stones, the so-called "jasper group", were manufactured in workshops located in Byblos and Megiddo (Keel 1989b; 1995:32). In addition, the existence of local manufacture(s) of glazed steatite scarab seals at that time has been proposed on the basis of finds of unfinished scarabs at Tell el-Ajjûl and Tell Beit Mirsim (Keel 1995:33-34).[4] In the Late Bronze Age, the question of Palestinian production centres becomes slightly more complicated. In effect, while Middle Bronze Age locally-made Palestinian scarabs are often identifiable by distinctive stylistic and iconographical features which combine Egyptian and Levantine elements, scarabs from Late Bronze Age Levantine contexts are, as a rule, not really distinguishable stylistically or iconographically from their Egyptian counterparts. This, however, does not constitute sufficient evidence for the

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[4] For a Middle Bronze Age local Syro-Palestinian scarab production, see also Keel 1989a; Ward 1994:190-191.

sudden cessation of the local production. It simply suggests that the craft of scarab-making had become more fully egyptianised (Keel 1995:35-36). This increase and spread of egyptianizing aesthetics and, possibly, also ideologies in the Levant around that time is notably exemplified by the frequent occurrence of the "Ramessid" and "Spätramessid Massenware" scarabs. This particular group, which is essentially identifiable on stylistic and thematic grounds, has mainly been studied by Keel and his colleagues (1995:36; 1990b:337-367), who showed that the class appeared sometime around the second half of the 13th century and rapidly became widespread in both the Levant and Egypt.[5] Scarabs of this type are characterised by a rather coarse workmanship and by a limited choice of motifs (most frequently, falcon-headed gods, stylised royal insigna, caprids, hunting scenes, lions, either isolated, trampling down enemies or attacking prey).

5.1.2. *The shapes of the scarabs and seals*

Scarabs and seals appear in a great variety of shapes at Tell el-Far'ah, the majority of which reflect strong Egyptian traditions. The most common is the standard beetle-shaped scarab on which the different parts of the insect (head, clypeus, pronotum, wings, and legs) are represented in a more or less realistic fashion. Less frequent are various types of scaraboids which reproduce the basic insect form, but whose back takes the appearance of another creature, such as a fish, a monkey, a cat, a cowry shell or an amphibian.[6] Various types of New Kingdom plaques, either oval or rectangular in

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[5] Keel (1994a:232; 1995:36) is of the opinion that the "Spätramesside Massenware" scarabs were primarily produced somewhere in the eastern Nile Delta and that only a restricted amount of these objects were made in southern Palestine. This author also suggests that one of the main Palestinian manufacturing centres of these scarabs was located in a specialised workshop that was attached to the temple of Amun at Gaza. On this subject and on the production associated with this workshop, see also Uehlinger 1990.

[6] Fish and frog scaraboids mostly date to the 18th Dynasty (Jaeger 1982:181; Keel 1995:68-69), while the monkey-shaped variants (at least as far as Palestine is concerned) seem more typical of the 19th-20th Dynasties (Keel 1995:67). On animal and human figure scarabs, see also Stoof 1992. Cowroids (i.e. cowry-shaped scarabs), on the other hand were apparently produced for a long period of time, from the

shape, with flat, convex,[7] or knot-shaped backs[8] are also encountered in several of the tombs discussed here.

Only two types of seals at Tell el-Far'ah relate to a non-Egyptian tradition. The first are the cylinder seals, only represented by four specimens in the material examined here (**133/S3**, **506/S2**, **539/S3**, **934/S110**; pls. 49, 59, 101, 299). The ultimate origin of this class of objects is, to all appearances, Mesopotamia, but cylinder seals were also produced first in northern Syria and slightly later on Cyprus in the course of the second millennium B.C. (Buchanan 1966:165, 186). Cylinder seals were also manufactured locally in Palestine from the 14th century onwards, in a style specific to the area which often includes egyptianizing elements (Buchanan 1966:193-201; Kantor 1956:154, 160; Teissier 1996). The seal from Tomb 133 can be considered as a local Syro-Palestinian version of the Common Mittanian style. This group of predominantly faience seals was widespread in the Levant and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age period where it was also manufactured (Salje 1990). Braunstein (1998:490) rightly classified the example from Tell el-Far'ah in Salje's Syro-Palestinian cursive plastic group.[9] The cylinder-seal from Tomb 506, on the other hand, was published by Buchanan (1966:174, n.891) as an example of the Old Syrian Mature Style (late 19th to early 17th century), but it also finds a parallel in a Common Style seal from a LC IIIB context at Enkomi (13th-early 12th century) which is to all appearance of Cypriot manufacture (Courtois and Webb 1987:72-73, n.20).

The second group of non-Egyptian seals are the Iron Age conoid pendant seals. They are characterised by a round or oval base and a rounded conical back which was

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Middle Bronze Age to the 25th Dynasty (Keel 1995:78-81). The examples discussed here often do not post-date the 18th Dynasty.

[7] Plaques with convex backs seem to have reached the peak of their popularity in the Ramesside period (Jaeger 1982:204-208).

[8] Mainly found in the 21st Dynasty, 1075-944 B.C. (Keel 1990b:360).

bored for suspension. This seal type became relatively frequent in Palestine in the Iron I period (Keel 1995:100; Keel 1994b:28-30), more or less contemporaneously with an upsurge of such objects on Cyprus. The origin of the Palestinian and Cypriot conoid seals of the Iron Age has often been sought in the west and north-west Mediterranean. Though not always very convincingly, its emergence in the area has traditionally been associated with the "Sea Peoples" (e.g. Schaeffer 1952:87-88; Kempinski 1989:87).[10] The earliest conoid shapes are found in Anatolia in Early and Middle Bronze Age contexts (Buchanan and Moorey 1984: xiv),[11] but their character is altogether different from that of the Iron Age examples which are characterised by a predominantly Egyptian-inspired iconography (Keel 1995:65, 102; Keel-Leu 1991:75-78). However, the Iron Age conoid type may appear prior to the 12th century in the Levant, since it is reported from the Late Bronze Age strata of Megiddo.[12] After the earlier part of the Iron Age, conoid-seals became extremely popular in the Near East, in particular in the course of the Neo-Babylonian and Assyrian period (Buchanan and Moorey 1984: xiv; Møller 1992:53-58, pl. 91:92, 96-97, 99-101; Tushingham 1992).

Apart from their shape, scarabs and conoid-seals mainly differ from each other from a technological point of view. While Egyptian and Egyptian-type scarabs are worked by incision, hollowing out and occasionally linear hatching of the hollowed surfaces, the design of the conoid seals is realised mainly by means of plain linear incisions and boring. This difference in working techniques can probably be at least partly explained by the nature of the materials usually employed for the two types

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[9] Braunstein's attribution of the seal to the sub-group 3<S/P3>, however, is arguable. If such classifications are needed at all, this object could as well fit into the sub-group 2<S/P2> which is found in Palestine in the 14th-12th centuries B.C. (Salje 1990:90)

[10] On the origin of the conoid seal see, for example, Keel-Leu, in Keel 1990b.

[11] Such seals were also found in the Late Chalcolithic/EB I levels at Tell Afis in northern Syria (Mazzoni and Cecchini 1995: fig. 6:4). In the Late Bronze Age, however, conoids are not found any more in Anatolia (Buchanan and Moorey 1988:16).

[12] On this subject, see also Buchanan and Moorey (1988:15-16), who however conclude that "the appearance of conoid seals in Syria-Palestine before the end of the Late Bronze Age is unlikely".

respectively, as exemplified by the seals from Tell el-Far'ah. Scarabs and scaraboids of Egyptian tradition in the graves discussed here are most frequently made of steatite and faience, while they rarely appear in semi-precious stones. Conoids, on the other hand, are predominantly made of various types of limestones, of hematite or of rock-crystal, while steatite and faience are clearly less popular for these objects.

5.1.3. *Subjects and themes* (Table 21)

Many different themes are attested on the six-hundred scarabs from Tell el-Far'ah which have been considered here. They are too numerous to be discussed in any detail and only the principal topics will be reviewed.

5.1.3.1. *Anra-type group*

Ten scarabs from Tombs 934, 935, 936 and Area 900 can be ascribed to the so-called *anra*-type group (Weill 1918; Keel 1995:175-177; Richards 2001). This type is attested over a wide geographical area, from Nubia to Syria, but is concentrated in Middle Bronze Age Palestine and in northern Egypt in the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period. *Anra* scarabs are characterised by a seemingly meaningless[13] repetitive suite of hieroglyphic signs, predominantly *ꜥ*, *n* and *r*. The group is quite precisely dated to the Second Intermediate Period, but as suggested by Keel, it also inspired later productions in the 19th-20th Dynasties. Indeed, among the ten examples mentioned here, seven can be considered as archaising works of the New Kingdom, while only three seem to actually date back to the Hyksos period (**900/S4**, **934/S35**, **934/S75**, pls. 244, 295, 298).

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[13] However, several proposals for the meaning of these inscriptions have been advanced. Richards (2001), after Pieper (1930) notably suggested reading the signs of the *anra* scarabs as a cryptographic writing of the semitic god's name El. The same author also correlates the appearance of this type of scarab with intensified inter-connections between Egypt and the Levant during the Hyksos period.

5.1.3.2. *Spirals, rope-patterns and rosettes, sitting female figure(s) with lotus flower or reed, walking male figure with ᶜnh-sign or Red Crown.*

This type of decoration on scarabs is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Giveon 1985:15, 17); and though a few of those considered in the present research are heirlooms which go back to that time, the majority are, like the *anra* type scarab "imitations", archaising works of the Ramesside period.

5.1.3.3. *Royal name scarabs*

Hundred-and-twelve of the six-hundred scarabs, scaraboids and plaques considered here (i.e. about a fifth of the total) bear royal names or royal names as cryptographic writings of god names (hundred-and-five come from tombs and two from cemetery areas). These stamp-seals can be separated into two main groups. The first includes those items whose date of manufacture can be fairly securely situated within the reign of the king whose name they bear, and the second comprises scarabs which could have been made well after the death of the ruler they mention.

The first group is mainly composed of royal scarabs of historically "minor" kings, whose reigns were of relatively short duration and whose names ceased to be inscribed on seals immediately or very shortly after their death. Among the collection examined here, the earliest of these scarabs goes back to the Hyksos period and bears the name of the king Sekhaᶜenre (**934/S1**, pl. 292). Most certainly, this scarab survived several generations before being finally deposited in the grave. Not counting posthumous scarabs and plaques, and despite the fact that they are generally poorly represented in the rest of Palestine (Giveon 1985:18), the pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty appear on at least six seals at Tell el-Far'ah. These consist of four scarabs contemporary

with Amenophis III (**902/S13**, **934/S7**, **934/S8**, **936/S36**) and two scarabs of Amenophis I (**838/S1**) and Amenophis II (**936/S2**) respectively. Like the Hyksos scarabs, these 18th Dynasty pieces are certainly heirlooms of an earlier period. The latest royal scarabs included in this group bear the names of Ramesses IV (**934/S70**, **960/S7**, pls. 297, 338) and arguably of Ramesses X (**532/S3**, pl. 91) (the inscription on this piece has been deciphered as a cryptographic writing of Ramesses X or, alternatively, of the god name Amun). According to the contexts in which they were found, the deposition of these later examples is unlikely to significantly post-date the lifetime of the pharaohs they refer to.

The second group of royal name scarabs, whose production continued long after the reign of the ruler they mention, is made up of Thutmosis III, Amenophis III and Ramesses II seals.[14] The name of *Men-heper-r^{c}* , the throne name of Thutmosis III, in particular, had an exceptionally long life since it remained in continuous favour throughout the Ramesside period, and into the Third Intermediate Period, until the 25th Dynasty at least (Jaeger 1982:265-267; Giveon 1985:13; Satzinger 1974; Brandl 1993:139-140, n.15).

5.1.3.4. *Gods (with or without king) and god names*

Eighty-six scarabs and plaques from the Tell el-Far'ah graves represent gods, combinations of gods and combinations of king and god(s), occasionally forming a triad. Another seventy-six bear names of gods, predominantly Amun and Ptah, sometimes in cryptographic writings. Triads, though first appearing in the 18th Dynasty, are typical of the Ramesside period (Jaeger 1982:195; Wiese 1990:107). Scenes of the king facing Ptah are also specific to the Ramesside period (Jaeger 1982:199), while a

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[14] However, as far as context is concerned, the majority of the Ramesses II seals of Tell el-Far'ah seems to have been produced during his reign.

number of the Amun scarabs from Tell el-Far'ah (as well as one naming Ramesses III) may be interpreted as a reference to the existence of an Amun temple at Gaza at the time of Ramesses III (Uehlinger 1990; **934/S12**, pl. 293), where a workshop responsible for the production of these objects has been tentatively located.

The representation of isolated deities, in particular falcon-headed gods, perhaps Re-Harachte (Keel and Uehlinger 1993:90-92), is also very frequently encountered on the scarabs considered here[15] and the majority of these can be dated to the 19th-20th Dynasties. Scenes of isolated deities on the Tell el-Far'ah scarabs do not only include gods of the traditional Egyptian pantheon, but also gods of Canaanite origin, such as Seth-Baal, characterised by a high helmet and open, sometimes, winged arms (Keel 1995:209; Keel and Uehlinger 1993:86-88). A number of gods, like Toth, Seth, Amun, Horus or Sobek, are occasionally represented in their full animal form (with the exception of Seth and Toth these have been classified in the section discussing animal scenes). While both the baboon of Thot and the ram of Amun can appear in earlier periods, Seth, in his animal form, is typical of the Ramesside period (Hornung and Staehelin 1976:99-100). In addition to these recurring deities, there are a few isolated representations on plaques and scarabs of the gods Onuris (**905/S2**, pl. 259; Hornung and Staehelin 1976:98), Amun-Re (**939/S1**, pl. 321), Maat (**934/S16**, pl. 293) and of a lion-headed goddess, possibly identifiable with Sekhmet (**926A/S2**, pl. 282).[16]

5.1.3.5. *Chariot, battle and hunting scenes, pharaohs smiting enemies and royal symbols*

The majority of the chariot scenes on the scarabs of Tell el-Far'ah can be

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[15] As main subjects of the scenes, falcon-headed gods appear on thirty-four of the scarabs considered here.

[16] This goddess, though rarely represented on scarabs, is already attested on a Second Intermediate Period cowry-shaped seal (Keel 1995:218).

considered as hunting or battle scenes.[17] These are a mainly typical of the New Kingdom, but they continue to appear later. On these genre scenes, the occupant of the chariot, often (but not always) armed with a bow[18] can be identified with the pharaoh while other human and animal figures (caprids, hares or other quadrupeds) depicted around, below and above the chariot represent enemies or prey (Jaeger 1982:189-200; Shuval 1990:76-86; Keel and Uehlinger 1993:68-70). Other battle and hunting scenes do not include chariot representations, but in these cases, identification of one of the hunters as a royal personage is not straightforward.

The depictions of the pharaoh smiting his enemies, another recurring theme on the scarabs of Tell el-Far'ah, is clearly meant to celebrate the power and domination of the king over foreign lands (Keel and Uehlinger 1993:92). Though the antiquity of the motif of the triumphant pharaoh in ancient Egypt is undeniable, it enjoyed, in this form, renewed popularity in the Ramesside period (Keel 1994a:47).

As for the other royal symbols appearing on Egyptian scarabs, one of the most popular, from the Middle Kingdom to the 20th-21st Dynasties, certainly is the Red Crown motif which is found here in several combinations from the 13th to the 20th Dynasty (Hornung and Staehelin 1976:169). On the other hand, the bee, another standard image of kingship, is much rarer at Tell el-Far'ah and it is only attested by two examples (**902/S2**, **960/S16**, pls. 251, 339). One is Middle Bronze Age in style and the other dates to the 19-20th Dynasties.

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[17] In some cases, however, and also on examples from Tell el-Far'ah, the chariot and its occupant (the pharaoh) are shown alone. These images cannot be interpreted as hunting or battle scenes, though they are similarly employed to convey the idea of a victorious, strong and powerful king (Wiese 1990:81-87). For a discussion of the chariot and king iconography and/or its origin and development in Egypt see, Hofmann 1989:240-258.

[18] On the question of the bow symbolism in Egypt and on the Early Iron Age scarabs of Syria-Palestine, see Keel 1990a.

5.1.3.6. *Animal scenes*

Many of the animal representations on the scarabs, in particular in the New Kingdom, stand for deities (see above, p. 235). Others, like the cobra (uraeus) or the lion clearly symbolise kingship or the king himself. The lion appearing alone, attacking another quadruped or trampling down enemies was probably understood as an allegorical representation of the victorious king. This theme is ideologically related to the scarabs discussed in the preceding section, which have the same function of glorification of the ruler (Giveon 1985:20). Like the latter this topic is often encountered on scarabs of the "Spätramesside Massenware" (Keel 1994a:47). Alone or combined with inscriptions and/or other motifs, lions are also found in association with a number of kings from the 18th Dynasty to the Ramesside period and beyond (Jaeger 1982:160-161).

Quadrupeds (generally ibexes or other caprids) are not only represented on Egyptian-type scarabs and scaraboids, but are also frequently encountered on the conical seals of the Iron I period. On both objects, these animals are included in hunting scenes or are shown alone, often eating from stylised bushes or trees. While the complex symbolism of ibexes and other caprids in ancient Egyptian thought is relatively well-known, in particular in the New Kingdom and later,[19] it is questionable whether the significance of these animals was wholly equivalent in the Levant in LB IIB-Iron I. In any case, a certain connection between ibexes, regeneration and fecundity seems quite evident from their regular association with the "tree-of life" imagery, not only on seal iconography, but also on pottery.[20]

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[19] In ancient Egypt, ibexes, gazelles and other caprids had strong negative associations with the desert (their natural environment) and the wilderness, but on the other hand were also symbols of fecundity and regeneration (Hornung and Staehelin 1976:138-140; Quaegebeur 1999:13-49).

[20] For the symbolism of the tree-of-life and the tree-of-life/ibexes associations, see for example, Hestrin (1987) and Keel (1992:83, note 265).

Other animal scenes include various combinations of quadrupeds and humans (human/long-eared animal or human/lion/long-eared animal) which may not necessarily be classified as hunting scenes. Indeed, these subjects have been considered as "non-Egyptian" and related to a northern (Syrian) iconographic style by Shuval (1990:98-101).

Apart from the examples mentioned above, a number of other animals are found on the scarabs from Tell el-Far'ah. Among these are baboons, rams, ram's heads, bulls, a horse, hippopotamuses, crocodiles, fish, scorpions and lizards, each of them the bearer of a specific symbolism or standing for a specific deity (e.g. hippopotamus for Thoeris, crocodile for Sobek, ram for Amun).[21] While the majority of these creatures are recurrent in Egyptian art throughout the New Kingdom, and sometimes later (Jaeger 1982:159-163), the lizard (only attested on a scarab from Tomb 905 (**905/S8**) is a rarer motif, which, when not combined with representations of other animals, seems to be restricted to the 18th Dynasty (Jaeger 1982:160, note 550).

Finally, the group of scarabs depicting fantastic creatures essentially consist of representations of sphinxes (twenty-two examples). The majority of these scenes, showing a sphinx couchant, often wearing the atef-crown, can be dated to the 19th Dynasty (Keel 1995:199). There is also an isolated depiction of a duck/griffin (?) hybrid (**936/S24**).

5.2. AMULETS [22]

5.2.1. *Function and significance*

Amulets are relatively frequent in the graves of Tell el-Far'ah (especially in the tombs of the 900 cemetery). They are found as isolated objects (originally worn as neck-pendants or perhaps sewn onto textiles) or in association with other beads and pendants. As with the scarabs, the main function of the amulet is apotropaic; it is designed to protect the bearer against evil, to keep him/her in good health and to have a benevolent effect on the course of events throughout his/her life and in the afterlife. Besides their purely prophylactic purposes, there are indications that amulets were also endowed with other properties, linked to the belief that the owner of the object could somehow share some of the powers of the figure (animal, god or symbol) represented on the talisman (Herrmann 1994:2).[23] In this respect, even if they often represent well-known deities, amulets are not so much to be understood as the reflection of some standardised orthodox religious faith, than as the expression of a wide range of popular beliefs which refer to the realm of superstition and magic (Petrie 1914; Müller-Winkler 1987:20). But amulets, worn in necklaces, bracelets or as earring pendants, are also colourful ornaments and were certainly appreciated on their own as pieces of jewellery.

As a whole, the amulets from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs can be considered as Egyptian or Egyptian-style objects (only a few of them display a non-Egyptian

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[21] For figured animal representations on scarab-seals and their significance, see Hornung and Staehelin 1976:106-163; Jaeger 1982:74-80; Keel 1995:189-203; also Shuval 1990:103-111 (for the scorpion in the Iron Age).

[22] A great variety of objects found in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah, such as scarab-seals, shells, pendants, worked or unworked stones, might have been considered as amuletic by their owner. In this section the term "amulet" is employed to describe small scale figures, made of faience, stone or other materials, usually used as an element of necklaces or bracelets, which represent deities, sacred animals or other symbolical forms.

[23] This function seems to be attested as early as the Predynastic period in Egypt. Andrews (1994:8-9), notably mentions Predynastic antelope's and gazelle's heads, which were worn as amulets and which may have been believed to transmit to the bearer the rapidity and swiftness of the animal.

iconography). In Egypt amulets were of great importance in mortuary rites. In funerary contexts, they appear as early as the Badarian period, but became more frequent from the First Intermediate Period onwards, in parallel with a sharp increase of their range of shapes (Andrews 1994:8-9). In the New Kingdom, amuletic figures of gods or sacred animals became preponderant, while the earlier types representing body parts lost much of their popularity (only one hand-amulet [**982/S19**] is reported from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs in a LB IIB context). From then on, in parallel with the development of the art of mummification, and until the Ptolemaic period, amulets, deposited directly on the body, under the mummy wrappings, became an essential element for the safeguarding and protection of the dead on his journey to the other world and for assuring his well being in the afterlife. The spells and prayers which needed to be pronounced over them in order to optimise their properties and the way they had to be positioned on the body were all codified in various texts, and in particular in the *Book of the Dead* (Andrews 1994:6-7).[24] Not only the shape, but also the material from which the amulets were made of and their colour were of special significance (Müller-Winkler 1987:29; Hüttner 1995:1-2). Red (carnelian, ruby or red jasper) was known to provide special protection against evil forces, while green and blue (lapis-lazuli or turquoise) were prized for their regenerative properties (Herrmann 1994:2-3). Precious stones were however often satisfactorily substituted by coloured faience or glass, showing that in practice at least, colour was more important than material (Müller-Winkler 1987:30).

What we know about the amulet's role and its symbolic meaning comes mainly from Egyptian sources. The question thus arises of how the people from Egypt's periphery, for example those living on the south Palestinian border, understood these

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[24] For example, *Book of the Dead* Chapters 29 B, 30B, 155-160 (among others: Budge 1910a:129-131; 1910b:14-21; Barguet 1967:74, 75-76, 224-227). Before the New Kingdom, some of the spells found in the *Book of the Dead* appear in the *Coffin Texts* which are themselves inspired by the Old Kingdom

objects. Can it be compared to the way Egyptians themselves perceived them? Although no secure answer can be advanced here, it seems likely that the general meaning of these items was about the same in Egypt as in neighbouring lands (because contacts between the two areas were regular and continuous and also because ideas and concepts sometimes have wide and rapid diffusion), though the rituals accompanying them were probably quite different (McGovern 1985:102).

It may be of some interest here to note that amulets of Egyptian type (as well as scarabs) are also evidenced on Cyprus in particular in LC II-IIIA, though less frequently than on the Levantine mainland at the same time.[25]

5.2.2. *Technology and dating criteria* [26]

The majority of the amulets in the tombs discussed here belong to the LB II and Iron IA periods. The date of the individual objects can be determined on the basis of a number of criteria, such as the subject, the material employed, the technique of fabrication and the style, but the date range suggested by these indices is often quite large and, in many cases, more precision is obtained by the analysis of the context of the finds.

The majority of the amulets found in Palestine were made of Egyptian faience,[27] but other materials, like metal (not attested at Tell el-Far'ah), bone and hippopotamus ivory (typical of the Iron II period) or stone (carnelian and granite) were also employed. Two main methods for the production of faience amulets have been documented archaeologically. The first method (which was the rule from LB II to Iron IB) was to

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Pyramid Texts. Van Haarlem (1992), however, points to the existence of several discrepancies between what is prescribed in the sacred texts and the actual funerary evidence.

[25] For example at Enkomi, Level IIIA (Dikaios 1969-1971:673, 696, pls. 131:23-24, 161:56, 74a) and Kition (Clerc *et al.* 1976:137-164). See also Jacobsson 1994:55.

[26] For a more detailed analysis of these aspects, see Herrmann 1994:26-35.

[27] For the terminology of silicate materials, see Nicholson and Peltenburg 2001:177-178. For the choice of terms employed in this work, see below, p. 272.

form the objects in clay moulds,[28] and the second, which is characteristic of later periods, consisted in partial or full hand-modelling.[29] As a rule, the backs of the LB II-Iron I moulded amulets were left unworked and simply flattened.[30] The presence of a supporting "pillar", sometimes with incised hieroglyphic signs, at the back of the figure is mainly attested in the Iron I period and can be used as a dating criterion. During the Iron II A-B (after around 1000 B.C.), the tendency developed to work the reverse of the amulets as well as their fronts. The use of a double-sided mould was introduced at that time, but the objects were also occasionally finished by hand after firing, or fully formed by hand.[31]

Three glazing techniques have been identified in ancient Egypt: efflorescence, cementation and application. The first method was dominant in New Kingdom Egypt[32] and Late Bronze Age Palestine (McGovern 1985:104). It was practised by mixing the glazing material (composed of coloured quartz (sand)-powder and soluble salts) directly with the paste, before forming the object. The glaze (due to its salt content) migrated to the surface of the object in the course of the drying process so as to produce a relatively consistent covering layer. Cementation, which was mostly used for glazing scarabs, consisted in plunging the artefact into a container of heated glazing powder. The third method, application, was simply carried out by applying the glaze with a paintbrush

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[28] The clay moulds used for the fabrication of amulets are well-known objects (Herrmann 1985; 1990; 1994:26, fig. 6) and are useful tools for identifying faience amulet workshops. Such installations (probably also used for glass-working) were notably discovered at Piramese (Herrmann 1990) and Amarna (Petrie 1894:25; Shortland 2000a:66-70). For the different stages in the processes of faience working and moulding, see Friedman 1998: fig. 4; Nicholson 1998.

[29] Fully hand-formed amulets are mainly found in the Iron III (Persian)-Hellenistic period (Herrmann 1994:35). Hand-forming generally took place when the object was still moist and easily malleable. The desired shape could also have been obtained by abrading the surface of the finished object once the paste was already dry (Nicholson and Peltenburg 2001:188).

[30] There are however a few exceptions to this rule. For example, a Pataikos figure from Tomb 929 (**929/S6**), according to both style and context, belongs to the LB IIB period, but its back was roughly worked by hand.

[31] For a remarkable, at least partly hand-formed, Iron II faience amuletic figurine of Pataikos, see Arav and Bernett (1997).

[32] However, Shortland (2000a:80) has argued that application and not efflorescence was the technique used in the Tell el-Amarna faience workshops.

onto the surface of the object. In all three techniques, the external glazing layer was fixed to the object by firing. The duration of the firing process depended on the glazing method employed, but in all cases it needed to reach a relatively high temperature (between 800 and 1000°C).[33]

The general date of the Tell el-Far'ah amulets is broadly indicated by their preponderant manufacturing technique (moulding) and is also confirmed by the very friable nature of the paste, which is one of the characteristics of the faience of the LB II-Iron I period in Palestine (Herrmann 1994:31). The suspension hole, which is found on the majority of the amulets, was always effected before firing by means of a metal or wooden rod.

Although predominantly made of faience, a few of the amulets discussed here are carved out of semi-precious stones, mainly carnelian, more rarely rock-crystal. The use of stone for the manufacture of these objects is generally confined to the LB II-Iron I period and it almost completely disappears in the Iron II, before being reintroduced in the Persian period (Herrmann 1994:34-35).

5.2.3. *Subjects*

The subjects attested on the amulets from Tell el-Far'ah in the LB-Iron I period are quite typical of other contemporary sites in southern Palestine. The preponderance of Pataikos and Bes figures, in particular, is consistent with the evidence from neighbouring sites. In the following descriptive section the figures are classified by subject according to the standard order proposed by Herrmann (1994).

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[33] For the glazing and firing processes of faience objects, see Nicholson and Peltenburg 2001:189-192; Vandiver 1983.

5.2.3.1. *Isis*

The goddess Isis is one of the most important deities of Egyptian religion who, like Hathor and Thoeris, was invoked for protecting and securing women's fertility, pregnancy, childbirth and maternity. Only one Isis amulet is attested in the tombs from Tell el-Far'ah (**540/S3**). The figurine, representing the seated goddess with the infant Horus, belongs to a type which is not found before the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt. Comparable pieces are not common in Palestine but a good parallel can be cited from the settlement-site at Tell el-Far'ah (Stratum RS) and another two similar figurines come from Tell el-Ajjûl and Tell es-Zuweyid from Iron IIA and IIB contexts respectively (Herrmann 1994:121-123).

5.2.3.2. *Ptah*

The god Ptah, originating from Memphis, is one of the oldest deities of Egypt (Bonnet 1952:614-619). Because he is the creator of all things, he fast became the patron of craftsmen and artists. In spite of his popularity, and probably due to his very official character, he only rarely appears in amuletic form, not only in Palestine, but also in Egypt.[34] As an amulet, he is represented with full mummy wrappings, a small archaic beard, and is often supported by a back pillar bearing incised hieroglyphic signs. Only three examples of Ptah amulets come from Tell el-Far'ah, one from Tomb 128 (**128/S4**), and the other two from Tombs 915 (**915/S3**) and 958 (**958/S1**).

5.2.3.3. *Khnum*

In Egypt, Khnum, the ram-headed god, was venerated for his connections with the annual flood of the Nile. Because of his links with the river and its life-giving properties, he was occasionally represented as the creator of the human form,

sometimes building the king himself, on a potter's wheel (Bonnet 1952:135-140). Amulets reproducing his image are not commonly found in Palestine, and that from Tomb 929 (**929/S3**) at Tell el-Far'ah seems to be the earliest known. The god is represented here as a walking figure wearing an *atef*-crown. In Egypt, ram-headed gods with *atef*-crowns are generally depicted in a sitting or squatting position (in glazed faience, stone or wood). Standing, but without head-dress, he becomes particularly popular in the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994:31).

5.2.3.4. *Sekhmet and Bastet*

When they are represented in amuletic form, Sekhmet, the lioness-headed goddess (Bonnet 1952:643-646), and Bastet, the cat goddess (Bonnet 1952:80-82), look very much alike and, though their respective functions are quite different, it is difficult to tell them apart. Sekhmet is endowed with both benevolent and maleficent properties. She was assimilated to the violent forces of destruction that bring wars and plagues to humans but, on the other hand, she was the tutelary goddess of doctors and mages. As for Bastet, she was venerated as the goddess of joy and intoxication, fertility and maternity.[35] In Egypt and adjacent lands, both figures reached the peak of their popularity in the Third Intermediate Period, but they are already regularly found in New Kingdom contexts (Ferrari 1996:29, 38).

Two types of Sekhmet/Bastet amulets are evidenced at Tell el-Far'ah. The first and most frequent is a standing figure of the goddess, advancing with one foot and bearing a staff in her right hand (e.g. **929/S4**, **855/S3**). The second type is only found in

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[34] In effect, in Egypt, Ptah amulets do not appear before the Late Dynastic period (Andrews 1994:19).
[35] Bastet was also the tutelary goddess of Tell Basta (ancient Bubastis), situated between the Pelusiac and the Tanitic branches of the Nile, where her cult was particularly strong, her first temple there dating back to the 4th Dynasty (Al Sawi 1979:7-10). The fact that the site was an important trading centre and an established halting-point on the way to the Sinai and the Levant (either for mining, trading or warfare expeditions) may have played a role in the diffusion of the cat goddess in southern Palestine.

Tomb 636 (**636/S3**). In this case, only the bust of the deity is represented, a large pectoral covering her chest. This latter type is not attested before the last part of the Late Bronze Age and is mainly found in the Iron I-II period (Herrmann 1994:188).[36]

Tombs 133 (**133/S9**) and 522 (**522/S3**) each yielded a faience figurine of a seated or lying cat. Neither of these pieces could be located among the material examined here but the drawings of the original publication suggest that one of them at least was worn as a pendant. Both can be interpreted as Bastet in her animal form and can be dated to the Iron IIA-B period (Herrmann 1994:528, 535) when the cat-cult had gained much importance in the Egyptian Delta. The seated cat with ring attachment became particularly frequent in the Late Period in Egypt (Giddy 1992:64-66, pls. 48:78/160, 50:78/48).

5.2.3.5. *Amun*

This god, originating from Hermopolis, was particularly well-established in Thebes in the New Kingdom (Bonnet 1952:31-37). Associated with the sun god as Amun-Re, he became pre-eminent in Egypt at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, after the expulsion of the Hyksos. Represented in a human form, he can be identified by his high double feathered crown (originally a sun disc flanked by two tall feathers). Like other major gods, Amun is not so commonly attested on amulets.[37] One example from Tell el-Far'ah (**513/S2**), of relatively poor craftsmanship, has however been identified as Amun by Herrmann (1994: n.150).

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[36] This amulet has a very good parallel at Kition, *bothros* 1 (Clerc *et al.* 1976:151, pl. 6). The same type of bust-amulets depicting the goddess Hathor is found in other Late Bronze contexts in the Levant, for example at Lachish Fosse Temple (e.g. Tufnell 1940: pl. 21:46).

[37] In Egypt, Amun amulets are also rare and only appear in significant numbers in the Third Intermediate Period, usually made of precious metal or high quality glazed composition (Andrews 1994:16).

5.2.3.6. *'Anat*

One amulet from Tomb 947 (**947/S1**), depicting a female goddess wearing an *atef*-crown, was identified as 'Anat by Herrmann (1994:201).[38] This goddess, who is sometimes associated with Astarte, is of Semitic origin. Though she was introduced in the Nile Delta during the 18th Dynasty, her cult remained the strongest in the Levant, as attested by her occurrences on diverse supports (stelae, seals and pendants).

5.2.3.7. *Figures with atef-crown or double crown*

Three undetermined figures with *atef*-crowns and double crowns were found in Tombs 104, 127 and 918 (**104/S6**, **127/S5, 918/S1**; Herrmann 1994:206, 208, 211). To all appearances the three of them are males. Though the combination of the *atef*- and double crown and the male standing figure is characteristic of Osirian iconography, none of the amulets discussed here wears the mummy wrapping typical of this god.

5.2.3.8. *Hathor*

Hathor, the cow goddess, is a very old Egyptian divinity, associated with principles of childbirth, fertility, regeneration and endowed with a full range of erotic aspects (Bonnet 1952:277-282). Represented, either with a cow or a human face (with cow ears and heavy volute hair) and wearing a sun-disc and bovine horns as head-dress, she was introduced at an early date (probably in the Middle Bronze Age) in Palestine. The Hathor head amulet from Tomb 902 (**902/S31**) indeed dates back to the Hyksos period.[39] Apart from the Udjat-eyes, which are often found in this material, this object is one of the rare carnelian amulets recovered from the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah. The

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[38] On 'Anat, see also Bonnet 1952:37-38.
[39] For parallels, see Herrmann 1994:258.

goddess is also represented by a standing figurine from Tomb 934 (**934/S132**) and possibly by another example from Tomb and 947 (**947/S1**).[40]

5.2.3.9. *Human figure with moon head-dress*

Two apparently female figures, wearing a moon-disc head-dress (one of them naked, the other wearing a short skirt) were found in Tombs 903 and 934 (**903/S4**, **934/S132**). Their identification remains questionable, but the one from Tomb 903 may be interpreted as Hathor.[41]

5.2.3.10. *Bes*

Like Pataikos, Bes does not belong to the official Egyptian cult and was mainly venerated in domestic contexts (Bonnet 1952:101-109). In Egypt, the earliest secure representations of this god date to the Middle Kingdom (Dasen 1993:57-58). His popularity mainly increased during the New Kingdom, when he acquired his standard iconography, though the written form of his name is not attested before the 21st Dynasty (Volokhine 1994:81), a fact which further emphasises his popular and informal character. Bes is a domestic god *par excellence*. He was the guardian of the bedroom and of the household in general; together with Hathor, he was also the protector of childbirth and infancy (Sampsell 2001).[42]

In the LB II period, in amuletic form, he is generally represented naked, with or without a beard, and often with emphasised genitals. The addition of the feather crown

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[40] In this case an identification with Isis is also possible. Concerning the unusual short skirt of this figure, see Herrmann 1994:250.

[41] The cult of the moon-god, as evidenced by numerous representations, was well developed in the Ugaritic religion in the Late Bronze Age and it continued into the Iron Age (e.g. Theuer 2000), but the figures from Tell el-Far'ah are iconographically and stylistically closer to Egyptian moon-deities than to those of the Near East. They are therefore more likely to refer to a set of Egyptian beliefs and traditions than to Syrian or Mesopotamian ones (though some possible Near Eastern influence should not be totally dismissed).

[42] For the Egyptian Bes iconography, see, for example, Volokhine 1994; Dasen 1993:57-60.

on the head is not found before the Iron II period (Herrmann 1994:317). The 900 cemetery at Tell el-Far'ah produced a series of unique Bes figures wearing a loincloth (Herrmann 1994:340-343; **929/S2**, **947/S1**). The fact that this specific amulet type was not found at other sites in the region, has led Herrmann (1994:340-343) to suggest that this assemblage was produced in a workshop located at Tell el-Far'ah itself or in its immediate vicinity.

5.2.3.11. *Pataikos*

With at least 135 instances, Pataikos is by far the most frequently occurring figure among all the amulets from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs. As indicated by the name itself, Pataikos is a "little Ptah", endowed with all the creative qualities of the great god Ptah, from whom he derives (Bonnet 1952:584-585). He does not belong to the formal Egyptian pantheon, but is a secondary deity who, because of his informal character, is particularly well fitted to appear in amuletic form. He is also not an ancient god. He only appeared in Egypt in the 18th Dynasty and enjoyed great popularity in the Ramesside period (Herrmann 1994:404). He was first introduced in Palestine during the LB II period where he rapidly became a familiar figure, especially in the regions of the south, in the periphery of Egypt. His commonest form is that of a naked dwarf-like figure with a shaved head. When he is represented in his original manifestation, and not assimilated to Bes, he is usually depicted without or with only small male reproduction organs. There are, however, several variants of this standardised figure. Those which are attested at Tell el-Far'ah are notably examples of "thin" Pataikoi (e.g. **918/S2**), Pataikoi with necklace (e.g. **126/S4**) and Pataikoi with Ptah caps (e.g. **934/S132**). Because of the similarity of their iconography, the distinction between Bes and Pataikos

amulets is sometimes problematic, in particular when the conditions of preservation of the object are poor.

5.2.3.12. *Lion-headed figure (undefined sex)*

A few amulets from tombs in the 500, 800 and 900 cemeteries and from Area 800 at Tell el-Far'ah represent lion-headed human figures. In some cases, the short twisted legs of these deities (**934/S132**, **513/S3**, **800/S24**) are evocative of the god Bes who may also be depicted with leonine morphological features.[43]

5.2.3.13. *Lion*

Lions were venerated from an early date onwards in Egypt. Because of their strength, courage and fierceness, these animals were commonly associated with gods and kings (Bonnet 1952:427-429; and above p. 237). As amuletic figurines, lions were certainly endowed with strong apotropaic properties. In the tombs considered here lion (or sphinx) figures occur four times in LB II and Iron I contexts. The two earliest (**960/S51** and **984/S44**) show the animal in a lying position while the later examples from Tomb 133 (**133/S10-11**) are isolated lion's or lioness's heads which can be paralleled by a piece from a 20th Dynasty tomb at Kahun (Petrie 1891: pl. 26:18).

5.2.3.14. *Baboon*

In Egypt, the baboon was associated with Toth, god of wisdom, who was worshipped at Hermopolis (Bonnet 1952:7-8). Because of the connections between this god and the world of the dead, baboon amulets were often placed in graves in Egypt [44] and they became popular in Palestine as early as the LB II period (Herrmann 1994:561).

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[43] For male lion-headed deities, see Bonnet 1952:427-429.
[44] For the role of Toth in Egyptian mortuary rituals, see, for example Boylan 1922:136-141.

Several examples of the faience baboon amulets with characteristic moon-disc head-dress occur in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs (e.g. **955/S3**).[45] The other type of monkey amulets attested at Tell el-Far'ah is rarer and only comprises examples made of hard stone (carnelian or rock crystal) which represent the animal in profile (e.g. **958/S1**). This latter type should also be dated in the LB IIB period.

5.2.3.15. *Udjat-eyes*

In Egypt, the sacred eye of Horus was believed to possess significant regenerative and apotropaic powers (Bonnet 1952:854-856). It remained one of the favourite amulets in Palestine (as well as in Egypt) from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period. The earlier udjat eyes (LBII-Iron IB) are identifiable by their smaller size and by a less detailed rendering of the physiological features of the eye compared with what can be seen in later periods. At Tell el-Far'ah, the proportion of udjat-eyes made of carnelian or other stones versus those made of faience is greater than that evidenced for other amulet shapes.

5.2.4. *Context and distribution*

The distribution and frequency of amulets and pendant-amulets in the tombs of the LB II and Iron I period at Tell el-Far'ah is not marked by any significant difference. However, none of the LBI graves of the 600 cemetery contained such items, though one amulet dated to this period comes from Tomb 537 (**537/S1**; Herrmann 1994:300).

The scarcity of the amulets in the LB I tombs compared to their frequency in LB II-Iron I contexts at Tell el-Far'ah is paralleled by the general situation in Palestine. This distinction is probably no coincidence, but may reflect an increased Egyptian cultural

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[45] McGovern (1985:16) dates the manufacture of this particular baboon type to the LB II period.

and religious influence towards the mid-13th century (which need not necessarily be linked with military dominance only).[46]

5.3. JEWELLERY

5.3.1. *Metals: materials and technology*

5.3.1.1. *Copper and copper-alloys (bronze)*

Many of the metal objects discussed in the present research have been classified as bronzes (copper and tin alloys),[47] though the possibility that some of them may actually be copper-arsenic or copper-lead alloys should not be ruled out. Several different proveniences can be suggested for the copper which was used in the manufacture of the bronze objects from Tell el-Far'ah. One likely source for that metal, apart from Cyprus (e.g. Muhly 1986; 1998), is the Sinai copper ores (e.g Chartier Raymond *et al.* 1994; Giveon 1974; Rothenberg 1970), and in particular those of the important mining centre of Timna in the Wadi Araba.[48] Copper from Timna was extracted as early as the Chalcolithic period and the site was heavily exploited by the Egyptians from the early 19th to the 21st Dynasty (probably until the reign of Ramesses V). After the Egyptians abandoned the area, copper extraction may have continued for

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[46] A similar phenomenon was noted at Beth Shan, Levels VIII-VII (James and McGovern 1993:125).

[47] Many theories have been advanced concerning the origin of the tin used for the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age East Mediterranean bronze production, mainly because known sources of tin are undeniably scarce in this region of the world. Some researchers have therefore argued that tin came from the tin-rich ores of central or western Europe (e.g. Dayton 1993). However, the general opinion today is that the tin used in ancient Near Eastern artefacts originated from sources in south-east Turkey (Waldbaum 1989:111-112, with references), Central Asia or Afghanistan (Pernicka 1998; Muhly 1985; Penhallurick 1986:15-20, 79-83, 105-109).

[48] The mines of the Wadi Feinan (also in the Araba) have provided significant evidence for copper smelting during the Iron Age (Khouri 1988:123). For copper-smelting activities in the Wadi Araba in general in the LB-Iron I period, see Merkel (1983).

some time under the control of the local or other (for example "Midianite") populations (Shaw 1995; Levene 1995).

Nevertheless, in spite of the relative proximity of Tell el-Far'ah to the Timna copper mines, the copper-alloys artefacts considered here need not have made use of freshly mined raw materials. The small-scale objects, in particular, could also have been made from recycled metal scraps.[49]

5.3.1.2. *Iron*

In the ancient Near East and in Egypt, apart from some isolated early instances, iron objects, usually as prestige items and in some cases made of meteoric iron, only appear in the second half of the second millennium B.C. (Ogden 2001:167-168; 1982:27-29). According to S. Sherratt and others (Sherratt 1994; Sherratt and Sherratt 2001:30-31; Muhly 1995:1515), however, the real beginning of iron metallurgy in the East Mediterranean should be situated on Cyprus, in the early 12th century, in centres such as Enkomi and Kition.[50] The first workable iron processed in these early workshops might have been a by-product of copper smelting with iron oxide as a flux.[51] The early Cypriot iron-smiths of the 12th century did not only produce small jewellery items, but also utilitarian shapes, such as the curved knives discussed below (Sherratt 1994), and soon started experimenting with methods of carburised iron (Sherratt and Sherratt 2001:30).

In Palestine, iron was used for ornaments, weapons and tools already in the LB II period (Bienert and Reinhold 1989:11), but it remained exceptional until the 12th-11th

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[49] In particular towards the later part of the 13th century (Sherratt 2000:87-88). The evidence from Cyprus, shows that bronze recycling activities in the Late Bronze Age period should not be underestimated (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999, with further references).

[50] Haarer (2001:267-268, with further references) has however emitted reasonable objections to Cyprus being the cradle of iron metallurgy in the Near East and has proposed Hittite Anatolia as a more likely candidate for such a development.

centuries (when the iron objects included in the present study can be situated). However, although metal-smelting and metal-working installations were identified in Palestine at that period, none of them can be securely associated with the production of iron artefacts (Stech-Wheeler *et al.* 1981:259). Therefore, the possibility that at least some of the early iron finds from Palestine were imported from Cyprus, Anatolia or Syria should be envisaged. In any case it has been argued that techniques for exploiting local ores of primary iron did not develop before the 10th century in Palestine and that, until that time, utilitarian iron remained a derivative by-product of copper smelting activities (Bienert and Reinhold 1989:10).

Interestingly, while iron technologies and iron use developed dramatically in Cyprus and the Levant and, soon after, in the central and western Mediterranean in the beginning of the first millennium, iron did not acquire such pre-eminence in Egypt, where it remained relatively uncommon until about the 7th century B.C. (Ogden 2001:168; van der Merwe 1980:465-471). This situation is all the more puzzling if one takes into account the fact that some of the earliest 12th century utilitarian iron was found in south Palestinian contexts, in the periphery of Egypt.

5.3.1.3. *Gold*

In ancient Egypt and in the Levant, gold was considered a precious metal and was used for jewellery and other prestige items. Egyptian gold was obtained mainly from the rich deposits of the Eastern Desert (Aldred 1971:29; el-Bedewi and Abdel Kader 1995), though other sources may have also been exploited (notably in Sudan), in particular from the New Kingdom onwards (Ogden 2001:161). Other gold sources in the ancient world were known in Armenia, Anatolia and Arabia (Ogden 1992:28; 1982:22-23). The

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[51] For the presence and evidence of working of iron-rich copper ores on Cyprus (though dating to a later period), see Rehren in Fasnacht *et al.* (1992:73-74).

quality of the metal in its natural state can vary significantly, but, in the light of the present evidence, it does not seem that, prior to the Late Period, Egyptian goldsmiths were able to diminish efficiently the proportions of other intrusive metals in the native gold (Ogden 2001:163). There is evidence for the use of casting techniques in ancient Egyptian and Levantine gold-working traditions (Altman 1979:75-77), but in both areas, most objects and object parts (including gold wires) were essentially made from thinly hammered gold foils (Ogden 1982:34, 43; 2001:165; Aldred 1971:70-113). Soldering was commonly used for binding the different parts of an object together and decoration was made in repoussé or granulation.[52] Both techniques are well evidenced in the Levant and in Egypt from the Middle Bronze Age[53]/Middle Kingdom onwards, though, in Egypt, the latter technique, which had been imported from Mesopotamia (c.f. Politis 2001:184), may have always been considered as "foreign" (Ogden 2001:165).

5.3.1.4. *Silver*

Until the mid to late New Kingdom, silver, even in precious metal terms, remained rare in Egypt (Aldred 1971:33; Gale and Stos-Gale 1981; Harris 1961:41).[54] Apart from the "aurian silver" (or electrum) obtained from the silver-rich Egyptian gold deposits, purer silver was most probably imported from various areas (the northern Levant, Asia Minor, and Arabia (Ogden 1982:23) and/or the Aegean, in particular the Laurion).[55] Although, in Egypt, silver was worked in much the same way as copper-alloys, the silver items from Tell el-Far'ah, like their gold counterparts, were usually

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[52] For methodological details of the granulation techniques, see notably Ogden (1982:58-67), Lilyquist (1993:31-33) and Politis (2001:162-170).

[53] The use of granulation in Middle Bronze Age southern Palestine is notably illustrated by the Tell el-Ajjûl jewellery hoard (Negbi 1974 b; McGovern 1985:93-94; Ilan 2000: figs. 15-19).

[54] See however Philip and Rehren 1996.

[55] For a review of the possible sources of the silver used in the manufacture of ancient Egyptian artefacts, see Mishara and Meyers 1974. To this list can be added the results of a series of analyses which point to a north Greek or south Anatolian origin for the silver of the Middle Kingdom treasure of el-Tôd, which may incidentally not be of Egyptian manufacture (Ogden 2001:170; citing Menu 1994:24-45).

shaped from hammered metal sheets. However, there are also examples of solid silver pendants, pins, rings and earrings (e.g. **925/S7**, **539/S5**, **125/S2**, **914/S44**).

5.3.1.5. *Other metals*

Metals other than copper alloys, iron, gold and silver appear only very sporadically among the finds from the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries. They only consist of a few electrum beads (e.g. **625/S2**, **937/S3**) and earrings (e.g. **505/S3**) and a few scraps of lead (e.g. from Area 800: **800/S35**).

5.3.2. *Artefacts*

5.3.2.1. *Bracelets/anklets*

Only a limited number of types of metal bracelets and anklets are attested at Tell el-Far'ah in the LB II-Iron I period. The commonest of these are large ring shapes with open, sometimes overlapping pointed or rounded finals. The shape of the section of these objects, though in some cases difficult to determine depending on the degree of corrosion of the metal, often seems to have been round or oval. For a few of the best preserved examples, however, a distinctive plano-convex section is evident (e.g. **800/S6-S7**). As with the small rings (see below, p. 257), circular (closed) bracelets (e.g. **546/S1-S4**, **632/S2**) are much rarer than those with open finials. This may be related to questions of technology. While open ended rings were simply obtained by curving metal rods, the manufacture of closed rings implies the use of soldering or casting techniques which are, on the whole, much more time-consuming and which require greater skills from the smiths.

Apart from the fact that some of the bracelets/anklets of Tell el-Far'ah are made of iron, these objects are of little value as chronological indicators. Their restricted range of shapes is found throughout the Levant from the LBI to the Iron IIC period and later.[56]

5.3.2.2. *Finger-rings*

Several types of small-size rings were recovered in the graves of Tell el-Far'ah. The commonest are those made of a single bronze wire of rounded section and (usually) overlapping pointed ends (e.g. **552/S8-S9**). As a rule these items were probably worn as finger-rings and in a few cases they were found still in place on the finger of the deceased (e.g. **645/S3-S4**). It is nevertheless possible that some of these rings, especially the smaller examples, were also used as toe-rings,[57] earrings or hair rings (Golani 1996:40-42). A rarer variant of the ring with open overlapping ends has a flattened or band section.[58] In addition to the open-ended rings are closed finger rings with rounded or flattened section (e.g. **131/S2**, **514/S2**) and metal bezel finger-rings (**922/S13**, **934/S115**). Closed rings are found in bronze, iron, silver and gold, while bezel-rings are only attested in bronze, silver and gold (for faience bezel rings, see below, p. 262). On the bezel of one of the bronze rings, traces of linear incised decoration are still visible (**934/S115**), while the bezels of the gold examples bear a Bes figure and an incised fish (**922/S13**, **934/S111**; Petrie 1930: pl. 53:199).

Finally, a small group of bronze and silver rings with rounded section can be interpreted as scarab-rings, i.e. rings designed to be worn as mounts for a scarab-seal (e.g. **914/S14**). These objects are characterised by their almost semi-circular open shape

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[56] See, for example, bronze bracelets from Lachish (Tufnell 1953: pl. 55:1-10, 30-31, 33-38) and Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 100:15) and iron bracelets from the Baq'ah valley (McGovern *et al.* 1986: 245, 272-278). See also below, chapter 6, p. 321.

[57] In Tombs 920, a bronze ring was found still in place on the toe of the deceased (**920/S5**).

to which a scarab was attached by means of a metal wire which was passed through the perforated ends of the ring and twisted around its upper section. Parallels for these objects are found for example at Lachish in MB IIC and LB II contexts (Tufnell 1940: pl. 27:41; 1958: pls. 25:49, 31:29-30, 54, 36, 37:231, 39, 40:362), and in Jordan, for example at Sahem (Fischer 1997:74, figs. 31:1-2, 34:3, pls. 47, 57). On one unique example from Tomb 612 (**612/S1**), the scarab was attached to the ring by means of a straight pin terminated by two disc-shaped finials. This mode of attachment is rare for scarab rings, but it is attested on a MB IIC or LB I gold ring from Tell el-Ajjûl (Ilan 2000: fig.14, middle row, right) and on a copper one from Tell Beit Mirsim H-D (Albright 1938: pl. 42:16).

5.3.2.3. *Hair rings*

A spiral bronze ring, characterised by a rounded section and slightly pointed ends, comes from Tomb 527 (**527/S3**). This object may be interpreted as a hair-ring, and may be related to a very old and long-lasting jewellery type which originated in the Early Dynastic period at Ur and Mari (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:5, pl. 5a). In Palestine, hair-rings already appear in Early Bronze Age contexts and continue to be found until the Persian period (Golani 1996:43).[59] Although they could have fulfilled different functions, these objects are usually classified as hair-rings and are supposed to have been worn around a plait or lock of hair. This interpretation does not only rest on the size of the rings, which is not adapted to the width of a finger, but also on the fact that, in the Early Dynastic cemetery of Ur, such gold and silver spirals were found around

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[58] Late Bronze Age parallels occur at Kamid el-Lôz (Adler and Penner 2001: pl. 77:3-4).
[59] LB II-Iron IA examples are known from Beth Shan (Oren 1973: fig. 49:5-6). On Cyprus, bronze examples are found at Enkomi Level IIIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:715, pls. 138:28, 171:48), but are already present in the Early Cypriot period (e.g. Catling 1964:232-234).

the skull or at shoulder-height or the deceased, as if they had been once fastened to the hair (Pittman 1998:108).

5.3.2.4. *Earrings*

The most ubiquitous earring shape in the corpus considered here is of the drop-lunate type, which occurs in bronze, iron, gold and silver. Already found in the third millennium B.C. in Sumer (Woolley 1934:241, pl. 138), related types of earring first appear in Syria and Palestine during the Middle Bronze Age (Golani 1996:26). They become particularly common in the Levant throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, when they also occur on Cyprus, at Kition Floors II-III (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. 25:691), at Enkomi Stratum IIIA[60] and at Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 23 (Niklasson 1983: figs. 480-481, 511-512) as well as in the Egyptian Delta, in New Kingdom contexts, for example at Tell Basta (Al Sawi 1979:41, 68, figs. 56, 58:1688, 125-126:1849).

The drop-lunate earrings from Tell el-Far'ah can be divided into two main groups according to their size. The first includes earrings measuring between 1.8 and 2.6 cm. in height and about 1.5 cm. in width (e.g. **532/S10**, **960/S49**) and the second is made of earrings with a size range of 1.2 to 1.5 cm. by 1.0 cm (e.g. **533/S7**, **604/S1**). While earrings of the first group are predominantly made of gold, silver or electrum, those of the second sub-type are mainly attested in copper alloys and iron. As for their respective contexts, it can be observed that the larger precious metals drop-lunate earrings tend to be more frequent in LB IIB graves while the smaller copper alloys/iron ones are generally found in Iron IA-IIA graves. In the whole, at Tell el-Far'ah, the second type of earrings is more common than the first, not only due to the fact that LB II graves are fewer than the Iron Age ones, but also because, from an intrinsic point of

view, earrings seem to occur with greater frequency in the late 12th-early 11th century than in earlier periods. In spite of these differences, earrings of both types at Tell el-Far'ah (at least among the examined examples) are made of hammered solid metal and never of raised metal sheet.

One particular gold earring from Tomb 532 bears a small incised mark on its base (**532/S10**). Maxwell-Hyslop (1971:225) has noted that the same mark appears on a similar gold earring from Gerar and has suggested that both pieces originated from the same workshop. A few among the drop-lunate earrings from Tell el-Far'ah (in both the LB IIB and Iron I periods) differ from the plain variant by the addition of small metal granules or spheres that were soldered to the loop body (e.g **605/S2**, **956/S1**, **960/S48**, **961/S4**).[61]

Besides this dominating type, and the plain annular thread earring, the graves of Tell el-Far'ah also yielded isolated examples of tassel and tri-lobed pendant earrings. The latter shape (**934/S117-119**) is rare, but it is attested during the latest part of the Late Bronze Age in southern Canaan (but apparently not in Egypt) and in coastal Syria. Gold parallels come from Tomb 118 at Deir el-Balah (Dothan 1979:73-77, figs. 158, 164, 171-173), from Stratum IVB at Beth Shemesh (Grant 1931:43, pls. 18; 1932:21, pl. 49:22; Grant and Wright 1938-1939:47-48)[62] and from Ras-Shamra in Late Bronze Age contexts (Schaeffer 1935:144-145, fig. 6; 1939:44, fig. 31).[63] Finally, another close

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[60] For examples made of bronze, see Dikaios 1969-1971:677, pls. 134:22, 163:59.

[61] For parallels from Beth Shan, see: Oren 1973:34; from Kition Floor II-III, see: Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:128, pl. 120:5340. For earlier examples from Enkomi (LC I-II), see Courtois 1981:93, fig. 50:43. Such earrings also appear in a gold jewellery hoard found at Tawilan, southern Jordan, and tentatively dated to the 10th-9th centuries, principally on the basis of comparison with jewellery from the 200 Cemetery at Tell el-Far'ah (Ogden 1995: 73).

[62] The example from Beth Shemesh was found inside a pottery jug together with about 400 other jewellery items of gold, silver and semi-precious stones. The jug which had been buried under the floor of a room of a house was first reported as originating from Stratum III (Grant 1931:43), but in later publications (Grant 1932:21; Grant and Wright 1938-1939:47-48), the find was ascribed to the LBII Stratum IV (this date is also more in accordance with the jug's typological features).

[63] See also McGovern 1985:49-50.

example was found in a gold hoard from Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1983:8, fig. 12, frontispiece).

Tassel earrings are more typical of the Iron I period (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:225-226, pls. 198a-c, 200) and do not appear in the 900 cemetery graves. Apart from their presence at Tell el-Far'ah where they occur in bronze and gold in tombs of the 500 (**502/S2**, **518/S3-4**), 600 (**605/S1**, **647/S3**), in Area 800 (**800/S15**) and in the 200 cemetery,[64] tassel earrings were also part of the above-mentioned gold jewellery hoard from Tawilan (Ogden 1995:69-72) and appear in the Madaba tomb (Harding *et al.* 1953:41, pl. 5:197-198).

5.3.2.5. *Other metal jewellery*

Included in this section are a few metal items whose actual purpose is difficult to determine, though they may have been used as personal ornaments or part of ornaments. In addition to several small fragments of bronze, silver and gold sheets, there are gold foils decorated in repoussé (see below, p. 285), a double spiral ornament, and scarabs mounts (e.g. **914/S15**) which can find parallels at Kamid el-Lôz in the palace area (Adler and Penner 2001: pl. 7:10).

The copper alloy double spiral ornament from Tomb 821 (**821/S2**) is of a type fairly well attested in 13th-12th century Syria-Palestine (for example at Kamid el-Lôz: Adler and Penner 2001: pl. 69:1). Silver pendants of a related shape appear also in 7th century Iran, at Nush-i-Jan (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:267, pls. 152-153).

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[64] Mainly on the basis of the evidence from the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries, Maxwell-Hyslop (1971:226) suggested that the type was confined to the Gaza area.

5.3.3. *Faience*

Other than beads and pendants, only few faience jewellery items (**110/S1**, **919/S2**, **934/S112**) were recovered from the graves of Tell el-Far'ah and all of them are finger-rings. The two shapes that are evidenced are plain circular rings and bezel rings. Both types were made in a mould. As often the case for such objects, it can be postulated that a small amount of powdered glass was added to the paste in order to strengthen the final product (Leveque in Friedman 1998:259, n. 191).

The use of faience for the manufacture of jewellery reflects Egyptian craft traditions. The faience bezel-rings, in particular, are most certainly of Egyptian inspiration, if not origin. In Egypt, this type of ring mainly develops in the 18th Dynasty. It is recurrently found in Late Bronze contexts in Palestine, for example at Beth Shan, Level VIII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 74:1) as well as in the Iron Age, as evidenced by a find from Stratum V at Tell Miqne-Ekron (Golani 1996:45-46, fig.10:3). The plain circular rings from Tomb 919 at Tell el-Far'ah can be compared to an example from Ashdod, Stratum XIV (Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 12:20) and the Sekhmet bezel ring from Tomb 110 finds a good parallel, dated to the Late Period, at Tell Basta (Al Sawi 1979:28, fig. 42:1537).

5.3.4. *Beads and pendants*

The beads and pendants from Tell el-Far'ah, compared to the amulets finds, make use of a much wider range of materials. Though faience and carnelian are certainly preponderant throughout LB II and Iron I, both periods yielded quantities of beads made of metal (gold, silver, electrum and bronze), semi-precious stones (agate, amethyst, jasper, translucent or coloured quartz), steatite and limestone, bone, shell, clay and glass. It is precisely this richness and this diversity of materials and colours,

combined with endless variations of shapes and sizes which renders beads particularly difficult to classify (e.g. James and McGovern 1993:135). But, in any case, at least when dealing with simple generic shapes (rounded, biconical, cylindrical), beads are of little help as chronological indicators, since they were often produced with little change over very long periods of time. In effect, many of the bead types discussed below do not present any major difference of manufacture technique or style throughout the three centuries which fall within the scope of the present study.

5.3.4.1. *Materials and technologies*

5.3.4.1.1. *Stones and semi-precious stones*

a) *Quartz*

Quartz is a generic name given to a very large and frequently encountered group of silicon dioxide minerals of particular hardness. It includes a wide range of distinctive varieties (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:50-53), several of which are attested in the Tell el-Far'ah assemblage.

a.1) *Rock-crystal*

Rock-crystal is a colourless translucent quartz. It is found in the Western Desert and the Sinai and was used in ancient Egypt for jewellery and small vessels from the Predynastic period onwards. In the LB II-Iron I period at Tell el-Far'ah, rock-crystal is used for different shapes of beads and, after around 1100, also for conical seals.

a.2) *Milky quartz*

This quartz variety is white and opaque or almost opaque. It is particularly abundant in Egypt, where it was used for pendants, beads, inlays and miniature vessels (Aston 1994:64-65; Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:52). Only a few milky quartz beads were found at Tell el-Far'ah and all have rounded or nearly rounded shapes (e.g. **534/S15**, **902/S33**).

a.3) *Yellow quartz*

A series of beads at Tell el-Far'ah which are virtually all of the same type and size (roughly biconical shapes with diameters varying between 0.4 and 0.8 cm) are made of a distinctive yellow opaque hard stone.[65] Although this identification is not certain these beads may be made of yellow quartz or citrine, since quartz mineral, though usually translucent, can occasionally be opaque (Moorey 1994:93). Because of the consistent character of their shape and size, of their scarcity (or absence) at other neighbouring sites, and because they mainly occur in LB II graves, it can be suggested that all the yellow stone beads from Tell el-Far'ah were the product of a single local workshop.

a.4) *Amethyst*

The amethyst stone is easily recognisable by its very distinct purple translucent appearance. It was fairly well appreciated in ancient Egypt, in particular during the Middle Kingdom. Important amethyst mines were known in the Eastern Desert at the Wadi el-Hudi (south-east of Aswan). Aston, Harrell and Shaw (2001:51) noted the scarcity of this material in New Kingdom contexts and have suggested interpreting this

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[65]These beads were originally classified as yellow limestone (Duncan 1930: *Beads Register*). This appellation was left unchanged by Braunstein (1998).

as indicative of a temporary cessation in use of the old amethyst sources.[66] Amethyst beads were only identified in one tomb at Tell el-Far'ah (**936/S48**).

a.5) *Chalcedony*

Chalcedony is a group of quartz minerals, occasionally translucent. All its variants share the same basic chemical composition (silicone dioxide, i.e belonging to the larger quartz family) but may assume quite diverse appearances due to their wide colour range.

a.5') *Carnelian*

This material was very frequently used for jewellery in ancient Egypt and the Near East, particularly for beads, but also for scarab-seals, amulets, pendants and even (though rarely) miniature vessels (Aston 1994:68, pl. 15b). In Egypt, rich carnelian sources were exploited in the Eastern Desert, Nubia and between the Nile valley and the Red Sea (Aston 1994:67-68; Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:26-27), but outcrops of carnelian (and other quartz varieties) are also known from the Negev region and from Transjordan (McGovern 1985:105).[67] Though the coloration of carnelian (and agates) may be of fairly uneven quality, a brighter tinge can be obtained by heating (baking) the stone. Heating chalcedony stones also has the advantage of enhancing their workability.

Carnelian beads are the most numerous of all stone beads at Tell el-Far'ah. They appear in diverse shape (rounded, biconical and elongated biconical, discoid and cylindrical). Their range of size is equally large, the smallest tiny examples averaging about a millimetre in diameter and the largest rounded and cylindrical ones measuring

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[66] It seems in effect that the amethyst mines at Wadi el-Hudi were not exploited during the New Kingdom. Only traces of Middle Kingdom and Roman period occupation could be identified at the site (Shaw and Jameson 1993). Andrews (1990:40), on the other hand, rather attributes the rarity of amethyst in the New Kingdom to simple questions of changing taste.

[67] Peltenburg (1986:163-164) suggested that the carnelian beads and pendants found on Cyprus from LC IIB onwards originated from these Levantine sources.

up to about 2.5-3.0 centimetres in diameter. A variety of pendants were also made of carnelian, the most common, in particular in the 13th-12th century tombs, being the lotus-seed vessel pendant (McGovern 1985:47-48; e.g. **526/S6**, **914/S27**).[68] The majority of the carnelian beads and pendants from Tell el-Far'ah are of rather coarse workmanship. Many are irregular in shape and are not always smoothly polished. The stones themselves are not always of the best quality, several presenting an uneven coloration, often showing patches of pale red and almost greyish tinges. Some also have a thin milky layer as a covering film on the surface.

a.5") *Agate*

Agate is another variety of the chalcedony stone. Most of the agate stones used for the beads at Tell el-Far'ah belong to the "banded" variety.[69] Banded agate was prized in ancient Egypt and neighbouring lands (it was particularly liked in the Graeco-Roman period), but its source(s) of origin in Egypt have not yet been located. The majority of the agate beads from Tell el-Far'ah are biconical elongated or cylindrical (only few are of the rounded type) and, as a rule, are mostly found in Early Iron Age tombs.

b) *Jasper*

Jasper (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:29-30) belongs to the group of chert stones. As a rule, it is richly coloured and always opaque (sometimes with a spotted or marbled appearance), red, green, yellow or brown. Red jasper was abundantly used by ancient Egyptians (large quantities of jasper are found in the Eastern Desert), not only for beads and jewellery, but also for small vessels and for parts of composite statuary works. The red variety is also the type most commonly employed for beads at Tell el-

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[68] This pendant shape (particularly in carnelian) was widespread throughout the east Mediterranean and in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age (e.g. Hughes-Brock 1999:280).

[69] They are sometimes called onyx or sardonyx, but the distinction between the two types is not always obvious (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:26-27).

Far'ah. However, it occurs far less frequently than carnelian. Green jasper is also exemplified at Tell el-Far'ah with a bezel ring from Tomb 935 (**935/S30**).

c) *Garnet*

A few beads from Tell el-Far'ah are made of garnet. This mineral is formed by a combination of magnesium or iron and aluminosilicate and is found in metamorphic rocks. When extracted the garnet stones, which oscillate between violet-brown and crimson tinges, tend to be relatively small and friable (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:31-32) which may also explain the modest size of all the garnet beads from Tell el-Far'ah.

Garnet was used in Egypt for bead production from the Badarian period to the end of the New Kingdom (Andrews 1990:43). In the ancient world, Egypt was seemingly its main origin, with sources in the region of Aswan, the Eastern Desert and the Sinai peninsula.

d) *Hematite*

Hematite is an opaque red-brown to black iron oxide which, as a component of other rocks, is extremely frequent in Egypt and fairly frequent in the Negev and Transjordan. The hematite beads and pendants from Tell el-Far'ah, like most of the hematite used by the ancient Egyptians, are characterised by a dark grey or black colour and a metallic lustre.[70]

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[70] Easily extractable hematite outcrops have been reported in the Sinai and in the region of Aswan but the source(s) of the "metallic" hematite type remain(s) unknown (Aston, Harrell and Shaw 2001:38).

e) *Limestone*

Limestone is an ubiquitous form of calcium carbonate which, in antiquity as today, was more commonly employed in architecture and sculpture than for jewellery. However, since some of its varieties are attractively coloured, it was occasionally used for beads, pendants, seals and other ornaments in the ancient Near East and in Egypt (Moorey 1994:92).[71]

At Tell el-Far'ah, the coloured limestone used for the beads and pendants is predominantly of the pink variety. All the pink limestone beads are of similar types and sizes (rings and cylinders) and the diameter of the perforation is in all cases fairly wide (e.g. **534/S15**, **553/S3**). Like the pendants made of the same stone, these beads are carefully smoothed. Those included in the present study occur predominantly in LB II contexts and, because of their relative homogeneity, they may be interpreted as originating from a single production centre.

f) *Diorite*

In ancient Egypt, diorite was not frequently used for the manufacture of ornamental jewellery (beads and pendants) and amulets,[72] but was usually employed for statuary work and, especially, stone vessels (Aston 1994:62). This distinctive black and white speckled stone was obtained from quarries situated in the Aswan region and further south, in the area of Abu Simbel.[73]

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[71] Apparently, limestone jewellery and personal ornaments in Egypt were produced only during the Old Kingdom (Andrews 1990:48, fig. 62d).

[72] In the Late Period, however, amulets made of diorite became more frequent (Andrews 1994:104).

[73] The quarries of the Gebel el-Asr, which produced banded and speckled varieties of gneiss and diorite-gabro were principally exploited during the Middle Kingdom (Engelbach 1938; Harrell and Brown 1994). Because of their predominantly black coloration, it is unlikely that the diorite beads from Tell el-Far'ah came from this source.

5.3.4.1.2. *Manufacturing techniques*

Many of the bead and pendant shapes represented at Tell el-Far'ah are found indifferently in stone, faience, glass and metal and definitely point to the existence of interconnections between the different crafts represented by these materials. Although, the manufacture of these ornaments requires the use of different tools and different types of installations, it can be suggested that the craftsmen responsible for their production were sharing at least some of their working facilities. The fact that each type of raw material is linked to a specific technology, does not forcibly imply that they were always worked by different artisans. Specialised glass-, faience-, stone-workers and metal-workers, probably existed in the Levant and in Egypt in the 2nd and early 1st millennium B.C., but they were certainly interacting between each others, exchanging ideas, technologies, tools and raw-materials.[74]

In ancient Egypt and the Levant, though little is known on the subject, stone beads and pendants were probably made by lapidary workers who specialised in the production of stone ornaments, perhaps including scarabs and seals and possibly also stone vessels. Archaeological evidence from Mesopotamia and contemporary ethnographic studies have provided some insight into the traditional methods used for the manufacture of stone beads and other stone objects (Moorey 1994:106-110, with further references). Some of these techniques seem to be evidenced by the material from Tell el-Far'ah, while others are difficult to identify on the finished product. The practice of heating or baking the stone (in particular agate and carnelian) in order to enhance its natural colour and facilitate the working procedure has often been emphasised in ethnographic case-studies (Possehl 1981), but the use of this technique cannot be

evidenced with certainty at Tell el-Far'ah. On the other hand, the various methods employed for perforating the beads, making use of wooden, stone or metal drills, including the bow-drill, which have been identified from the Neolithic period (e.g Calley 1989-1990; Grace 1989-1990; Gorelick and Gwinnett 1990) to modern days in south west Asia (e.g. Wright 1982), seem to reflect those employed for the assemblage discussed here.[75] The use of the bow-drill was particularly widespread in the ancient Near East and Egypt. It is notably illustrated by a hieroglyphic sign from a Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan (Griffith 1896:26, pl. 5:80).

As already noted earlier, in the case of carnelian examples, the stone beads and pendants from the graves of Tell el-Far'ah are generally not of remarkably fine workmanship. For the majority of the beads, the suspension hole seems to have been made from one side.[76] Only for the longer beads and the biconical beads was the perforation clearly made from both ends.

5.3.4.2. *Siliceous materials*

In this section are included all silica-based beads and pendants. The materials discussed here are non-clay products which, although not always easy to identify by their appearance only, are characterised by different chemical compositions which require different firing processes. Although faience and frit started to be produced much

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[74] Shortland (2000a-b), in his work on the glassworking and faience-making workshops at Tell el-Amarna, has provided a good illustration of this type of craft interaction in New Kingdom Egypt. He was notably able to demonstrate that not only glass and faience workers had tight links with each other (if they were not the same persons), but that artisans so diverse as potters, metallurgists, wood-workers and sculptors were also working side by side, sharing materials, infrastructure and expertise.

[75] Wright (1982: figs. 7-8), in his study on traditional bead-making in Afghanistan, shows that the beads are held in place in a wooden frame during the drilling process. One important difference between modern bead drilling tool kits and those of the second and first millennium B.C. artisans is the introduction of diamond-tipped drills, which probably do not appear before the beginning of the Christian era. Such tools are notably mentioned as part of the engravers' equipment by Pliny (Book 37).

[76] This compares with stone beads from Level VI at Beth Shean (James 1966: fig. 101:17) and also with an Iron I blank quartz scaraboid from Ashdod Stratum XIIIb (Brandl 1993:138, n°12). The fact that many beads from Tell el-Far'ah were perforated from one end only contradicts much of the ethnographical

earlier than glass (Nicholson and Peltenburg 2001:178), all three technologies seem to have been at least partly interrelated in the practice. It can indeed be suggested that the working of all siliceous materials was in the hands of the same artisans and was taking place in the same workshops (e.g. Shortland 2000b; Shortland, Nicholson and Jackson 2001:150). Glassmaking, i.e. the making of glass ingots, however, as suggested by Peltenburg (1987:20-22) and others (Sherratt 1994:66, note 4; Mass, Wypyski and Stone 2002), may have been more closely related to metallurgy than to faience because of the high temperature required for both crafts. The finds from Qantir, where evidence for glassmaking installations was discovered,[77] have indeed shown that these industries had close links with contemporary metal production and that both technologies were maybe taking place in the same workshops (Rehren 1995).[78]

The glass and faience objects found in Late Bronze contexts in Palestine (or at least some of them) were perhaps manufactured locally, but it has been shown that their technological and stylistic characteristics point to close connections with Egypt as far as the introduction and development of such craft in the region is concerned (McGovern 1987a; McGovern, Fleming and Swann 1993; Lilyquist and Brill 1995).[79] In Egypt itself, New Kingdom installations providing evidence for the production of faience, glass and frit objects have been identified notably, at Amarna (Petrie 1894:25-27), Malkata and Lisht (Keller 1983), Qantir/Piramesse (Rehren and Pusch 1997; Rehren, Pusch and Herold 2001), Tell el-Yahûdiyeh (Griffith 1890:48-49) and possibly

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evidence from both India and Afghanistan which shows that even the smallest stone beads are perforated from both sides, in order to avoid breakage (Possehl 1981:46; Wright 1982).

[77] A great number of clay moulds for scarabs, plaques, amulets and beads are known from that site (e.g. Khawam 1971).

[78] With regards to the organisation of the production, on the basis of the existence of workshops specialised in glassmaking in ancient Egypt and on the basis of an analysis of the distribution pattern of the glass finds at Amarna, combined with other archaeological and textual evidence, Shortland, Nicholson and Jackson (2001) have suggested that all of the New Kingdom Egyptian glassmaking and most of its glassworking activities were kept under direct control of the royal house who exercised a monopoly over its production and consumption.

Menshiyeh (Silvano 1988:63). The site of Qantir, notably, yielded several glass crucibles for glass making (Rehren and Pusch 1997; Rehren, Pusch and Herold 2001), while kilns, probably used for glassworking, were recovered at Amarna (Nicholson 1995a; 1995b; Jackson, Nicholson and Gneisinger 1998; Shortland 2000a-b).

5.3.4.2.1. *Faience and frit*

The main component of faience is crushed quartz or sand, to which were added small amounts of lime (calcium oxide) and natron or plant ash (NA_2O). The coating material was obtained from another vitreous silica-based solution which was fixed through the firing process (see above, p.228). The blue to green tinge of the glazing layer which is so widely attested in Egyptian faience often derives from copper additions.

Frit is closely related to both glass and faience. As with the latter, the main component of the matrix of frit is crushed quartz or sand particles. However, in the case of frit, the pigment (usually also copper-based) was added directly to the paste, thus resulting in the characteristic uniform coloration of the matrix and the absence of a core (Nicholson and Peltenburg 2001:177). Frit was also commonly used as a pigment in the manufacture of glass (Nicholson and Henderson 2001:199).[80]

The majority of the siliceous-material beads at Tell el-Far'ah are small-sized discs and tubular cylinders.[81] Among these a good number are perhaps frit, glazed faience (or perhaps even clay) but identification is sometimes hampered by poor

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[79] A workshop specialised in the manufacture of glass and faience beads was identified in Stratum XV (Late Bronze Age) at Tyre (Bikai 1978:7-8; Brill 1978). Local production of faience, including "Egyptian blue" is also postulated for Late Bronze Age Ugarit (Matoïan and Bouquillon 2000:992-993).

[80] For the composition and technology of ancient Egyptian faience and frit, see also Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983.

[81] This is probably the commonest form of faience and frit beads in Late Bronze Age Canaan (Kochavi 1990 : XXIII).

preservation conditions. Therefore, the term faience has been retained here as a generic appellation for all non-glassy siliceous materials.

Cylinder and disc-beads were probably made from thin rolls of faience paste built around an organic rod (wood, reed or an organic thread). Once dried, the rolls were sliced into sections of the desired dimension before being placed in the kiln. In a few cases, the discs (two or up to five) are not completely detached from each other. These multiple beads were sometimes deliberately created by the faience-workers, but they may also be the result of faulty firing procedures or unfavourable weathering conditions.[82] Other more elaborate faience bead shapes, like the spacer-beads (e.g. **905/S13**) or the flower-disc beads (e.g. **126/S6**, **906/S2**), as well as the pendants (disc-shaped, poppy-seed vessels), were usually obtained from moulds. On the other hand, the (often irregular) ridges of the melon-shaped beads (e.g. **119/S1**) and the linear decoration of some of the large cylindrical beads (e.g. **509/S4**) were apparently incised with a hard point onto the still soft mass.

5.3.4.2.2. *Glass*

Before the 18th Dynasty, glass occurs only sporadically in Egypt and, due to the connection between the two crafts, it has been argued that its manufacture first resulted from accidents of faience production. Deliberate glassmaking and the introduction of efficient glass working methods, only seems to have started in the 15th century B.C. in Egypt, probably as a foreign technology originally imported from Mesopotamia or Mittani (Oppenheim 1973; Moorey 2001:6; Shortland 2001:212, 220-221).

The main components of glass are silica (obtained from sand) and different types of alkalis. In ancient glassmaking processes, these ingredients were stirred together and heated until they formed an homogenous mass from which impurities could be

removed. Once this mass was solidified, it was melted in specially designed clay vessels, or crucibles, in order to produce glass ingots. Colouring agents were mixed into the paste in the crucibles before the mass hardened.[83] The ingots thus produced could be transformed into objects in the same workshop or transferred to other manufacturing centres.[84] As a rule, the manufacture of objects from glass ingots required again the use of high temperatures,[85] but the precise method(s) used for that process are still a question of debate. Several early glass-working techniques have been suggested (and occasionally experimented with) by various researchers (Nicholson and Henderson 2001:203-204; Rehren 2000). Though some of them yielded more convincing results than others (in particular Labino 1966; Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994:31-32, 87), the possibility that several forming techniques coexisted contemporaneously for the same types of objects should not be ruled out.[86]

The small glass ornaments of Tell el-Far'ah were probably formed from a core or, in some cases, cast in a mould. When the bead was made from a core, the suspension hole was obtained, as for faience beads, by forming the object directly around a metal or organic rod (Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994:44-46, 126; Tatton-Brown and Andrews 1991:35; Vandiver 1983:242). The shapes of the glass beads discussed here are limited to cylinders, biconical cylinders, rounded beads and dividers. Many of them were made of differently coloured glasses. Elongated cylinder beads usually bear banded patterns (e.g. **643/S6**, **846/S5**), while several of the rounded examples belong to the eye-bead

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[82] For a similar phenomenon of fusion of faience beads, see Leveque in Friedman 1998:258, n.187.
[83] For the main pigments used in ancient Levantine glass, see McGovern 1987a.
[84] Stern and Schlick-Nolte (1994:19) rightly emphasise the fact that glass-making and glass-working (at least in antiquity) were two separate technologies. The Ulu Burun shipwreck notably provides evidence for long-distance (overseas) glass ingots trade (Bass 1986; Bass *et al.* 1989:9).
[85] However, Nicholson and Henderson (2001:202) cite several examples of Egyptian New Kingdom glass objects which show evidence of cold working (carving, chipping and polishing of the glass core). See also Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994:47-48. In this context, it can be noted that the early glass seals found in the Aegean were also carved as though they were stones. Only in the 14th-13th centuries do moulded ones appear.

type (e.g. **609/S6**, **811/S4**). These are specific to the east Mediterranean where they occur commonly from the Late Bronze and Iron Age (Stone and Zimansky 1999:77, fig. 94:5; Bikai 1978: pl. 45A:31-32) to the Roman period.[87] In examples from the LB II to the Iron II period, the eye-patterns were made in the so-called stratified technique (Spaer 1987), i.e. by impressing fused glass rods of the desired colour onto the bead's surface (McGovern 1987a:94, fig. 2).[88]

Finally, probably the most remarkable glass ornament among the assemblage considered here is an incomplete bull-head pendant from Tomb 914 (**914/S21**). Though it has no parallel in the area, its shape and size is reminiscent of the gold bull's heads earring pendants from LB I Tell el-Ajjûl and from Enkomi Tomb 8 on Cyprus (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:129-130, pls. 85, 99)

5.3.4.3. *Clay*

The present assemblage only includes very few beads made of clay (e.g. **846/S6**). As a rule these are short cylinders and rounded beads. Clay beads were probably intended to imitate the general appearance of faience and glass beads. Some were obtained by impressing a small clay ball onto a negative form, but others were simply shaped by hand and were usually dipped into a slip solution before firing.

5.3.4.4. *Metal*

The most frequently occurring material used for the metal beads at Tell el-Far'ah is gold, followed by silver, electrum and bronze. Three distinctive groups of metal

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[86] For examples of different glass working methods employed in ancient Egypt, see Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994:37-54; Tatton-Brown and Andrews 1991:34-36; Sternini 1995:99-101.

[87] During the second half of the first millennium B.C., eye beads spread geographically from the Levant to the Mediterranean basin, and progressively also to eastern, central and western Europe, where they may have been manufactured locally as well. On this subject, see Spaer 1987, with references.

[88] This glass-working technique of the eye pattern is also used on a set of frit gaming pieces from the Late Bronze Age palace area at Kamid el-Lôz (Miron 1990:105-106, pl. 35).

beads are represented in the graves discussed here and each illustrates a specific manufacturing technology. The first group, which is represented only by isolated, mostly copper alloy examples, comprises beads made of solid objects (e.g. **846/S6**, **902/S37**, **928/S7**, **963/S2**). The second group, usually made of precious metals, consists of beads shaped from raised metal sheet. The latter group includes globular, biconical cylinders and spiral wire beads (e.g. **119/S1**, **825/S1**, **934/S140-141**). The spiral wire beads were made of tightly twisted gold or silver wires or thin bands (Golani 1996:75). Beads of the third group combine elements derived from the first two methods of manufacture. It includes beads made from soldered elements (often separately worked metal sheets) and gold and silver granulated beads (e.g. **532/S14**, **613/S7**, **627/S2**). The latter were made by soldering gold grains around a central ring and have parallels in New Kingdom Egypt (Aldred 1971:113, pl. 86, 121).[89] In some cases, the metal sheet beads of the second group were also decorated with designs in repoussé, for example the ridged silver foil beads from Tomb 119 (**119/S1**)[90] and Tomb 853 (**853/S7**).

The distinctive design of the half-moon pendants, which are attested in five examples in Tombs 925 (**925/S7**) and in one example in Tomb 934 (**934/S144**), reflects a very old Mesopotamian tradition (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:149-151, pls. 115, 119).[91] Early examples of such pendants (in metal, bone or stone) are already found during the 4th millennium B.C. at Susa and also in the 'Amuq, though their widest geographical distribution can be dated to the second millennium, particularly in its second half, when they occur at many sites from Mesopotamia and Hittite Anatolia to Egypt (Boehmer

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[89] However, in Palestine, granulated beads, as well as spiral wire beads continue throughout the Iron Age and into the Persian Period (Golani and Sass 1998:72-73).

[90] Similar beads are also attested on Cyprus at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1983:8, figs. 2-3).

[91] The half-moon pendants illustrated by Maxwell-Hyslop closely resemble the gold example with tubular attachment from Tomb 934, which also finds a good parallel at Deir el-Balah (T.Dothan 1979:77, figs. 163, 165).

1972:31-32, fig. 19, pls. 1:9, 60:1760). The half-moon pendants from Tell el-Far'ah are all made of silver [92] and only that from Tomb 934 is made of gold.

5.3.4.5. *Organic materials: shell, bone and wood*

A number of beads and pendants were also obtained from organic materials. The most frequently encountered among these are the cut cowry shells. In both Egypt and the Levant, cowries were used for personal ornaments from very early periods onwards, and in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom they were imitated in precious metals (Aldred 1971: pls. 33, 35, 45; Brovarski 1997:196-197, fig. 58b). In Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt these items had a clear association with reproduction and fertility and women were wearing them as girdles around the waist. However, there is no evidence that this symbolical meaning was preserved into later periods.

Other shell species were used for thin disc beads (*conus* shell) or cylinder beads (*dentalium*), while snail shells were often simply perforated and hung as pendants. The shell species attested in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs are characteristic of the Red Sea maritime fauna and probably originated from there.

The bone and wooden beads generally reproduce the same shapes as those found in semi-precious stones, faience or glass, though they are often of larger dimensions than the latter (e.g. **104/S7**, **110/S3**, **649/S1**, **846/S5**, **936/S47**). Beads made of these materials usually come from Iron I tombs.[93] They are frequently decorated with incised patterns and, altogether may reflect Syrian rather than Egyptian traditions. Bone and ivory are also used in the LB II and Iron I period for large divider plaque-beads.

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[92] Gold examples of horned pendants, more or less contemporary with the silver ones from Tell el-Far'ah, were found in the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Bass *et al.* 1989:6, fig. 6).

[93] It may be worth noting here that bone beads appear in Greece at the end of the Mycenaean period, usually in association with poorer burials (Hughes-Brock 1999:285).

5.4. METAL VESSELS

The repertoire of metal vessels from the LB-Iron I period tombs of Tell el-Far'ah is only constituted by two shapes: the bowl and the strainer. All the examples represented here are made from hammered bronze sheets, and make limited use of soldering and riveting. The holes of the strainer from Tomb 914 (**914/S34**) were probably perforated in the still hot metal by means of a sharp stone or metal implement.

One of the commonest bowl shapes in the present assemblage is the plain hemispherical bowl with rounded base (e.g. **532/S19**, **660/S1**). It has parallels at Late Bronze Age Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 189:9-10), Gaza (Petrie 1933:5, pl. 8:15) and in Cyprus in LC II-III contexts (Catling 1964:147-148, fig. 17:1-3, 5-7, pls. 19:a-b; Matthäus 1985:91-92).[94] The bowls with flattened or concave ring-bases, which are the most frequent in the present assemblage (e.g. **532/S18**, **562/S8**, **914/S32-33**, **960/S59**), have parallels at Deir el-Balah Tomb 118 (Dothan 1979:68, fig. 150-155), Beth Shemesh, Tomb 2 (Grant 1929:137, 2nd row), Beth Shan, Tomb 7 (Oren 1973: fig. 41:38) and in Transjordan at Sahem (Fischer 1997: fig. 28:5, pl. 40). There is also a single example of a ridged bowl from Tomb 644 (**644/S1**).

Only one metal strainer is attested among the material from the tombs considered in the present research (**914/S34**), but another example is known from the same site, from Tomb 229 (Petrie 1930: pl. 34:203-204; Gershuny 1985:31). Similar objects were found in several funerary and domestic contexts in LBII/Iron I Levant (including Jordan)[95] as well as in contemporary Egypt (e.g. von Bissing 1901:53, n.3536). As suggested by Egyptian or Egpytianizing iconographical sources, metal strainers, together with metal

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[94] On Cyprus, these bowls continue to be found until the Cypro-Archaic period, though, by then, they are far less popular than in the Late Bronze Age (Matthäus 1985:64, fig. 4).
[95] At Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tomb 101 (Pritchard 1980: figs. 4:17, 49:1). See also Gershuny 1985:15-17.

shallow bowls, jugs and/or juglets, were part of the typical drinking set of the time (Dothan 1979:22 ; Dayagi-Mendels 1999:55-56).[96]

5.5. STONE VESSELS

Only a few types of stone vessels occur in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs. The most frequent is the ribbed calcite and gypsum[97] pedestal tazza, which is found in ten of the 900 graves (**901/S4**, **905/S15**, **914/S35**, **934/S145**, **936/S51-56**, **949/S8**, **978/S8**, **981/S13**, **982/S22-23**, **984/S49-50**). Similar vessels are often encountered in LB II contexts on both sides of the Jordan[98] as well as in coastal Syria (Schaeffer 1939:31, fig. 22) and on Cyprus, where they generally have a separately carved foot (Jacobsson 1994:12, pls. 41:27, 31, 43:29). Though the ultimate origin of the shape is usually ascribed to Egypt,[99] the majority of the calcite tazza found in the Levant and on Cyprus were certainly produced by local workshops. The examples from Tell el-Far'ah have two or three ribs and a generally rather high pedestal foot which, in all cases, was carved in one piece with the bowl. This latter technological feature is usually considered as a typical trait indicative of a local Palestinian production (Bourke and Sparks 1995:163; Ben-Dor 1945:105).

The other complete stone vessel shapes are limited to a bag-shaped alabaster vase from Tomb 640 (**640/S6**) and a tripod mortar from Tomb 612 (**612/S5**). The first is

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[96] On the association of these drinking sets with Egypt, see Muhly 1984:47.

[97] For the distinction between calcite (Egyptian alabaster) and gypsum rocks, see Lilyquist (1996:137-141).

[98] For example, in Level VII at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 110:3), Tomb 117 at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 21:17, 24:5, 57:11) and Level E at Deir 'Alla (Franken 1992:58-59, fig. 4/18:14-17). A clay imitation of the typical alabaster tazza shape was found in a LB II tomb at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pls. 55:48, 72:641).

[99] This shape appears in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt (Aston 1994:150, with references). In general, genuine Egyptian tazzas have a low conical foot (sometimes carved separately from the bowl) or a flat disc base. It has been argued that tazzas with high pedestal foot (e.g. **914/S35**) are not of Egyptian, but of Cypriot origin (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972:197, figs. 416-417).

comparable to a piece from Level VII at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993:184, fig. 111:5).[100] The second can be considered as a functional shape and has several parallels at Beth Shan Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 122:3, 5), as well as on Cyprus, at Enkomi, Levels IIIA-IIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:655, 693, pls. 130:30, 132:5, 159:12, 164:20).[101]

Two LB IIB tombs from the 900 cemetery also yielded stone cosmetic spoons of Egyptian New Kingdom type (Aston 1994:155; Brunton and Engelbach 1927: pl. 21:45). The spoon from Tomb 982 (**982/S24**), made of limestone, is duck-shaped; it has a separately carved duck-head, now detached, which was fixed at the pointed end of the receptacle's body. Remains of red paint are still detectable on the beak and neck of the duck. The other spoon (**980/S9**) is made of calcite. Its tail is decorated with incised linear patterns imitating feathers and it is possible that, like the example from Tomb 982, its front was originally fitted with a duck-head.

5.6 Weapons and Tools

The majority of the bronze daggers and arrowheads at Tell el-Far'ah were primarily manufactured by the process of casting (though the edges may have been subjected to some hammering before hardening). Iron implements, on the other hand, are essentially hammered wrought iron.[102] In the case of the curved knife blades (e.g. **507/S1**, **661/S6**, **615/S8**, **562/S10**), both bronze and iron examples were made by quenching and hammering and strong signs of carburisation were recognised for the

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[100] The small perforated lug-handles of this bag-shaped container is typical of alabaster vessels. It is also paralleled on a small alabaster jar from Enkomi Level IIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:639, pls. 130:26a, 158:16).
[101] For further examples of tripod stone vessels and a discussion of their diffusion and chronology in the eastern Mediterranean, see Buchholz 1963:9-50.
[102] On early iron working technologies in the Near East, see for example Coghlan (1956:71-74) and Muhly (1995:1514-1515).

iron knife blade from Tomb 562 (Stech-Wheeler *et al.* 1981:258) and on the dagger from Tomb 542 (Bienert and Reinhold 1989: pl. 3).[103]

The use of rivets is regularly attested on the knives with curved blade. On both bronze and iron examples, the rivets, which are always made of copper-alloys, are arranged in a row at the lower end of the object (e.g. **507/S1**, **529/S6**, **562/S10**, **635/S3**). Similar iron knives are attested for example in Tombs 220 and 227 at Tell el-Far'ah (Petrie 1930: pl. 34:189-190) and elsewhere in the Levant, for example at Tell Mikne-Ekron, Dor and Tell Qasile, in the 12th-11th centuries (T.Dothan 2002:18-22; Mazar 1994:49) and in the 12th century on Cyprus, notably at Enkomi, Levels IIIB-C (Dikaios 1969-1971:761, pls. 135:76, 172:5), where the type may actually originate from (Sherratt and Sherratt 2001:30-31; Sherratt 1994:69-70).[104]

The few examples of such knives known from Crete, Attica and Euboia which can be dated to the 12th-11th centuries and which figure among the earliest utilitarian iron finds from these regions, have been interpreted as imports from Cyprus or the Levant (Snodgrass 1971:219).

If rivets are frequent on LB II-Iron I knife blades, they are much more rarely found on the daggers of the same period which, as far as Tell el-Far'ah is concerned, were generally fixed to the hilt by means of an elongated tang (e.g. **542/S14**, **822/S2**).[105] A rivet attachment (with three holes) is, however, attested on an iron leaf-shaped dagger blade from Area 800 (**800/S28**; Petrie 1930: pl. 26:101). According to Maxwell-Hyslop (1946:23: types 20-21), this type may be of Cypriot or Syrian origin. It is frequently encountered in bronze during the 2nd millennium at Ras-Shamra (Schaeffer 1939: fig.

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[103] According to Carpenter and Robertson (1930:428-433), who analysed these objects soon after their discovery, carburisation was obtained by some means which required air-cooling of the artefacts.
[104] On these iron knives, see also Waldbaum (1980:85-86).
[105] Rivets are however a very common mode of attachment for the Middle Bronze Age daggers at Tell el-Far'ah (Maxwell-Hyslop 1946:20, Type 17).

63e,o-q), when it also spreads to Palestine (for example at Megiddo, Tomb 911.A1)[106] and to Egypt (Bonnet 1926:101).

The elongated tang is found on a number of short and long dagger blades at Tell el-Far'ah (e.g. **542/S14**). When the tang was long enough, its end was hooked and fixed under the pommel of the hilt, as illustrated by the dagger from Tomb 562 (**562/S9**). On the same object, the link between the blade and the hilt was also securely fastened and concealed by a wide band of hammered bronze.

The material examined here provides four examples of daggers with bone/ivory and wood inlaid handles (**542/S15**, **562/S9**, **851/S1**, **914/S36**). For the first (**542/S15**) bronze was used for the handle frame and carburised iron was used for the blade. Since it has not been possible to examine the object for the purpose of the present study, it is difficult to establish how both elements were secured together. For the other three examples, in any case, blades and hilts were made of bronze only and cast in a single piece. These latter objects are closely related to each others, not only by their shape and their mode of manufacture, but also because they were both found in association with a bronze chain belt terminated by triangular belt-plaques (perhaps attachments for the chains to dagger sheaths).[107]

Other main types of weapons attested at Tell el-Far'ah are the socketed lance-heads, spear-heads and a spear-butt (**552/S14**, **663/S1**, **852/S1**, **914/S37**, **960/S60**). All the examples represented here are made of bronze, and while the points were probably cast, the sockets, as suggested by the splits running along their sides, were hammered

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[106] See Guy 1938: pl. 118:9.

[107] These daggers with inlaid handles find good parallels in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, for example at Aphek (Kochavi 1990: XXI, n.18, 40), Sidon (Saidah 1979-1980: fig. 7:32), Hama (Riis 1948:119-120, fig. 135a-b) and Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956a:259, figs. 223, 224:17), but they are also attested in Transjordan, for example in the Madaba Tomb (Harding *et al.* 1953:35, pl. 4:162-163). Similar types of cast dagger handles were also found in LC IIC-III contexts at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-1971:256, pls. 130:1, 157:28) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Niklasson 1983:173-174, figs. 444, 492). The triangular plaques found in association with the daggers are also evidenced at Madaba (Harding *et al.* 1953: pl. 5:189-194) as well as at Megiddo, together with bronze chains (Loud 1948: pl. 117:6-11).

into shape.[108] Such types of non-cast split sockets reflect a very old technological tradition which goes back to the copper-using cultures of the east Mediterranean. Typical of the Near-Eastern mainland, they also occur in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Coghlan 1951:102, pls. 5, 8; Catling 1964: fig. 13:10-17, pls. 13:l-i, 14:a-b, j-k) and more sporadically in Proto-Geomteric Greece and Crete (Snodgrass 1971:222, fig. 78).[109]

Tomb 121 yielded a single example of a forked bronze butt (**121/S1**). These objects, which have been studied by Dothan (1976), are known from various Palestinian sites throughout the LB II and Iron I period, but they are even more frequent in Egypt (where the type is usually thought to have originated from). The fact that these objects come almost exclusively from funerary contexts is worth emphasising, though it may as well be due to the limited chances of survival of metal objects in settlement contexts.[110] Arrow-heads in both bronze and iron are regularly leaf-shaped, occasionally with a clearly shaped central ridge (e.g. **534/S19**, **643/S8**, **644/S2**, **900/S20-21**, **936/S57**). The majority, as in other LBII/Iron I contexts in Palestine and Jordan are tanged,[111] but a few display a hammered socket.

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[108] For these types of socketted spearheads, see also James and McGovern 1993:212, fig. 158:3-4.

[109] Though many do present a split, socketed lance- and spear-heads were principally made by casting in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age period (e.g. Avila 1983:9-82; Snodgrass 1971:224; Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998:275, fig. 7-8, pl. 52b). Undivided cast sockets, which are ultimately of European origin, are fairly frequent at that time, in the Aegean as well as on Cyprus (Sherratt 2000:84; Catling 1964:118-123, fig. 14:2-6, 8-9), though, on Cyprus at least, they remain a minority compared to the divided sockets.

[110] The function of the forked butts is still open to investigation. Dothan (1976:20, 33), on the basis of Egyptian wall-paintings, concluded that, besides possible practical uses as harpoons or spears, some of them also had ceremonial functions.

[111] For example at Beth Shan, Levels VIII-VII (James and McGovern 1993:209, figs. 156:1-2, 157:7-9), Lachish, Tombs 216 and 532 (Tufnell 1958: pls. 54:30-38, 55:43-47), Aphek (Kochavi 1990: XXII, 40), Megiddo (Sass 2000:383-384, fig 12.23:1-6) and Sahem (Fischer 1997: fig. 28:1-2, pl. 39:8-9). Such arrowheads are also frequent in New Kingdom Egypt (Huret 1990:63-64).

There is also a three-sided socketed arrowhead from Area 700 (**700/S37**) which can be dated to the Persian Period (e.g. Stern 1982: fig. 259).[112]

5.7. OTHERS

5.7.1. *Pins, needles and various metal objects*

Metal pins used as cloth fasteners (toggle-pins),[113] as attested, for example in tombs 537(**537/S3**), 539 (**539/S9**), 562 (**562/S11**), are frequently found in Palestinian contexts from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, but originate in Mesopotamia in the second half of the 4th millennium B.C. They appear in Anatolia as early as the 3rd millennium (Boehmer 1972:79; Klein 1992). As a rule, these objects were made of cast bronze (or possibly of other copper alloys), though they also occur in more precious metal (at Tell el-Far'ah, Tombs 914 and 934 (**914/S44-45**, **934/S146**) yielded a silver example) and other materials, like bone, faience or stone (Klein 1992:223-229). The ridged section of the upper part of the shaft evidenced on a number of metal examples considered here (e.g. **549/S4-5**, **612/S4**), is still a frequent feature in the LB II period in Syria and Palestine,[114] but it originates in the Middle Bronze Age (e.g. Albright 1938: pl. 42:1-7, 13-14). Ridged pins are in effect abundant at that time, in particular in funerary contexts.[115] They are also, though less often, attested in the Egyptian Delta in the Second Intermediate Period and in the early 18th Dynasty (Abd el-Maskoud 1992:562-563, fig. 34:4, pl. 9:8; Bietak 1991b:116, fig. 69:3). Toggle-pins become

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[112] On Cyprus, these types of arrowheads are typical of Cypro-Archaic I-II (Gjerstad 1948:214, fig. 23:23-24). In Egypt they may appear already after the 18th Dynasty, but are more typical of the 7th-6th centuries (Huret 1990:63, n.553).

[113] The practical use of the toggle-pins was probably not strictly limited to its function of garment fastener. These implements could have been also used as hair-pins, belt-fasteners or, in Mesopotamia especially, as support for cylinder seals (Klein 1992:243-254).

[114] For example at Megiddo, Tomb 217.A (Guy 1938:31, pl. 89:1) and Kamid el-Lôz (Adler and Penner 2001:222-223, pl. 69:6). On this type of pin, see also Klein 1992:265-267.

progressively rarer in the course of the Iron I period, when they tend to be replaced by fibulae (Golani 1996:100).

Other objects included in this section consist of various toiletry articles such as bronze kohl- sticks spatulas and tweezers. Kohl-sticks and spatulas are occasionally found in the tombs discussed here (e.g. **600/S15**, **935/S36**) and are also found in several LB II contexts in Syria-Palestine (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 149:1, 4; Tufnell 1958: pl. 54:12).[116] A pair of bronze tweezers comes from Tomb 542 (**542/S17-18**). Similar objects are attested in funerary contexts at Sahem in northern Jordan (Fischer 1997: fig. 32:2) and on Cyprus at Enkomi, Level IIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:645, pls. 130:5, 157:12).

In addition to several fragments of bronze, gold and silver foils, the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah have yielded complete gold and silver foil ornaments (**914/S42**, **935/S38**) and a fragmentary gold diadem or mouth piece (**934/S147**) decorated with thin repoussé dots and lines. The discs were perhaps sewn onto garments or cloth or leather headbands and can be compared to finds from Beth Shan, Level VII (James and McGovern 1993:150-151, figs. 74:8-9, 75:1, with other parallels). The gold "mouth-piece" find parallels in other LB II-Iron I Palestinian graves.[117] Other fragments of gold and bronze overlays of various shapes, also decorated in repoussé, are attested in several LB II and Iron I tombs alike (**914/S43**, **934/S148**). Originally, these pieces may have been used for decorating wooden boxes. They are known from other Palestinian sites,

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[115] For example in the MB II graves from Tell el-Far'ah (e.g. Petrie 1930: pl. 6:6, 8, 16, 25, 32, 34 ; Price-Williams 1977:71, fig. 45:1-3)

[116] The two bronze spoon-shaped spatulae from Area 600 can be compared with an intrusive example from Beth Shan Level VII which, on the basis of parallels from Egypt, is dated to the Egyptian Late or Roman Period (James and McGovern 1993:204, fig. 149:3, citing Vandier d'Abbadie 1972:161, figs. 714f, 720, 722). It can also be compared to Hellenistic/Roman spatulae from Byblos (Dunand 1950-1958:85, pl. 180:7290).

[117] For example at Beth Shan Tomb 202 (Oren 1973: fig. 46:15) and Megiddo Tomb 39 (Guy 1938: pl. 165:12, 16-17). These plaques have sometimes been considered as reflecting Mycenaean burial practices (Oren 1973:119). However, they have in fact little to do with the Aegean where such mouth pieces are

predominantly from cultic contexts, for example at Beth Shan (James and McGovern 1993:182, fig. 107) and from the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: pl. 26:21, 28).

5.7.2. *Faience artefacts*

The only examined example of faience vessel attested among the assemblage discussed here is the pilgrim flask from Tomb 839 (**839/S4**) (another vessel of an undetermined shape is reported from Tomb 549 (**549/S3**), but could not be located in the course of the present research). As already noted by Braunstein (1998:669), not only the material which it is made of, but also the style of its black-painted decoration is of Egyptian character. However, this does not necessarily mean that the flask was manufactured in Egypt, since as seen above, faience workshops seem to have existed in Canaan in the latest part of the Bronze Age. Such flasks, and other faience vessels, some perhaps locally-made, are indeed well represented in Late Bronze Age Syria-Palestine,[118] usually in cultic or funerary contexts, but a very good parallel for the pilgrim flask from Tell el-Far'ah can also be mentioned from Gurob, in the reign of Seti II (Petrie 1891:18, pl. 19:14).

One faience "ear-plug" comes from Tombs 104 (**104/S9**). The purpose of this mushroom-shaped artefact is uncertain, but similar objects are known from 18th Dynasty contexts in Egypt where they were used as gaming pieces (Friedman 1998:186-187, n30). Bone and faience gaming pieces are also attested elsewhere in LB II Palestinian contexts, for example at Beth Shan, Levels VIII and VII (James and McGovern 1993:148, 190, figs. 69:9, 118:4).[119] On Cyprus, faience gaming-pieces of comparable

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only represented by a few LM IIIC examples from Crete and should rather be interpreted as a Cypriot or Levantine custom.

[118] For example at Lachish Fosse Temple, Structure III (Tufnell 1940:62-63, pl. 22:56). Faience vessels with Egyptian-type decoration, among them a number of pilgrim flasks, are also evidenced at Enkomi Levels IIB and IIIA (e.g. Dikaios 1969-1971:646, 691, pls. 156:51, 131:22) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Peltenburg 1983; E.Åström 1983:66). See also Jacobsson 1994:32-33.

[119] Also in Lebanon at Kamid el-Lôz (Miron 1990:105-107, 120-121, figs. 31, 53, pl. 45:4).

shape were part of the grave furnishing of the Shaft Tomb 23 at Hala Sultan Tekke (Niklasson 1983:175, figs. 448, 501-503).

5.7.3. *Ivory, bone, shell and other organic materials*

Apart from the beads and pendants discussed above, there are a few other objects made of ivory and bone in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah. Only two ivory vessels are attested, both from Tomb 984 (**984/S51**, **984/S52**). The first is a shallow plate with flattened rim and incised decoration (possibly used as cosmetic bowl), and the other is a cosmetic spoon with missing lid. Both objects are typical of LB II contexts in Syria-Palestine and Cyprus. The first finds an approximate parallel at Beth Shean Tomb 7 (Oren 1973: fig. 41:35) and the second can be compared to examples from the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940:62, pl. 20:21-22), which Tufnell identified as Syrian rather than Egyptian in style.[120] The shape of the broken end of the cosmetic spoon evidenced at Tell el-Far'ah, unlike those from Lachish, suggests that it was terminated by a duck's head, a feature which is also evidenced on ivory pyxides from the "Schatzhaus" at Kamid el-Lôz (Miron 1990:114-118, figs. 28-30, 57, 65-66, pls. 40-42). If so, it can be suggested that the pivoting lid which was originally fixed onto the box, was perhaps decorated with a relief duckling, as illustrated by the examples from Kamid el-Lôz and by an isolated lid from Lachish (Tufnell 1940:62, pl. 19:19).[121]

The other objects of ivory present in the graves consist of several ivory fittings and one ivory finial (**542/S20-21**, **542/S22-26**, **562/S12**). While the majority of the fittings are very small fragments simply decorated with incised circles, the best

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[120] On the other hand, Kantor (1958:64-65), in her discussion of the Tell el-Fakhariyah ivories, considers the ivory assemblage from Lachish as Egyptianizing. According to her, the majority of the Canaanite and Cypriot ivories of the Late Bronze Age are characterised by Egyptian iconographic and stylistic elements, in particular in southern Palestine. Her opinion, that pieces showing clear Hittite or Assyrian stylistic influence in that region are in a minority (Kantor 1956:160-170), fits well with the evidence from Tell el-Far'ah.

preserved example (**542/S22**) is disc-shaped with relief knobs on the edge. It is decorated with an incised rosette inscribed inside two concentric circles. This design has several parallels on Cyprus[122] as well as in Palestine, at Beth Shan Level VIII (James and McGovern 1993: fig. 118:3). The perforation at the centre of the object is also found on an incised ivory disc from Enkomi Stratum IIB (Dikaios 1969-1971:647, pls. 128:49, 156:40) and on the example from Beth Shan. The palm-leaf shaped ivory finial, also from Tomb 542, has a flat back and can be compared to an Iron I example from Tyre, Stratum XIII-2 (Bikai 1978: pl. 37:10).[123]

According to the traditional view, ivory working in the Levant and the Aegean came to an abrupt end around 1200 and the craft was lost for about three centuries until ca. 900 B.C. (Kantor 1956:171). However, this statement finds no confirmation in the light of more recent evidence (e.g. Mazar 1994:49-50).[124] The ivory pommels (and other finds) from Tyre as well as the fragments from Tomb 542 at Tell el-Far'ah, and the ivory fittings or lids from Cyprus mentioned above were most probably manufactured in the 12th-11th centuries. Although, the elite character of the east Mediterranean Late Bronze Age ivory production and acquisition certainly changed towards the end of the 13th-beginning of the 12th century, and the production output might have become less significant (at least in a first stage), ivory seems to have been still available and used for the manufacture of ornaments and other implements in the last two centuries of the second millennium in the Levant (Puech 1980:329). Caubet and Poplin (1995:490) also

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[121] For a complete discussion of typology and function of these vessels in the Syro-Palestinian area, see Adler (1996).

[122] For example at Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule 1974: fig. 62, right) and Enkomi, Stratum IIIA (Dikaios 1969-1971:676, pls. 132:22, 162:9). A similar object, but made of bone, was also found at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:55, pls. 32, 53:948).

[123] The motif of the palm-leaf capital became particularly popular in the 9th-8th centuries in northern Syria and in areas under Phoenician influence (Barnett 1975:45-46). An example of such a capital was found in Stratum 9a at Tell Keisan. According to its context, this piece can be dated to the 10th century. Puech (1980:328-329, pl. 101:8), though acknowledging that the object could be older, opts nevertheless for a date in the second half of the 8th century on the basis of comparisons from Nimrud, Arslan Tash and Salamis.

note that this period witnesses the passage from the use of hippopotamus ivory, which is the rule in the Late Bronze Age, to elephant ivory, which, according to these authors, is predominant in the assemblages of the 10th century and beyond.[125]

Other bone objects mainly consist of a few bone plaques decorated with incised straight lines or concentric circles and dots (**935/S40**).These were perhaps pieces of inlay for wooden boxes or pieces of furniture. With similar designs of circles, dots and diagonal lines, these small plaques find numerous parallels especially in LB II Lebanon and Syria.[126]

An empty bone cylinder decorated with horizontal incisions comes from area 800 (**800/S36**). The purpose of this artefact is undetermined (perhaps was it used as a handle fitting), but a similar object, made of steatite, occurs at Kition, Area I Floor II-III (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b:40, pls. 25, 47:439).

Bone astragali, such as those reported from Tomb 134 (**134/S10**), are frequent in both domestic and funerary contexts from the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron I period in Palestine, and, on Cyprus, from the Middle Cypriot to the Classical period. These bones had a ritual function or were used as gaming pieces (Gilmour 1997).

Food remains have been recorded in only three graves. Tomb 853 contained a few carbonised grains (**853/S10**) while Tomb 936 yielded pieces of burnt bread-cakes (**936/S63**) and Tomb 542 a few animal bones (**542/S30**). All these may be considered as offerings to the dead in prospect of the afterlife.

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[124] See also Bryan 1996:76.

[125] On the other hand, hippopotamus bones were recovered from Early Iron Age Tell Qasile and Mazar (1997a:373) suggests that these animals were then still exploited for their ivory rather than being "part of the local diet".

5.7.4. *Stones (weights, etc)*

A number of worked and unworked stones of various sizes and shapes were found in the tombs from Tell el-Far'ah. Some of them, consisting of semi-precious material (hematite, carnelian or garnet), can be interpreted as unfinished beads or as inlay for wooden or metal objects (e.g. **513/S6**, **534/S22**). The larger plain stone examples, on the other hand, were most likely used as weights (e.g. **506/S26**, **533/S11**, **512/S7**, **620/S1**).

Few other stone implements were recovered from the tombs, these mainly consist of the pestle from Tomb 562 (**562/S13**), spindle-whorls and whetstones (e.g. **905/S16**, **914/S48**).

Several tombs, distributed throughout the cemeteries, have yielded remains of kohl and small lumps of ochre (e.g. **134/S11**, **506/S23-24**, **512/S8**). While kohl was certainly destined to be employed as a cosmetic, ochre could also have been used as a pigment for paint or other colouring solutions.

5.8. Conclusions

The majority of the small finds examined here are objects which relate to an Egyptian cultural and stylistic background, which, in the area, goes back to the Hyksos period at least, when interaction between the southern Levant and the Nile Delta was particularly strong.[127] Of course, as already noted with regards to the scarabs and amulets, traditions referring to Egypt were probably not imported in an unchanged form. On the contrary, they were certainly modified and transformed in various ways in

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[126] For example at Kamid el-Lôz (Miron 1990:129, pl. 50:1-5).
[127] A similar dominance of Egyptian versus Syrian (or Syro-Palestinian) influence has been noted by McGovern with regards to the Late Bronze Age Palestinian pendant assemblage (McGovern 1985:95).

order to fit the tastes, beliefs and needs of the local population. Beside its dominating Egyptian character, the small finds assemblage from Tell el-Far'ah also includes a number of objects which are indicative of north-Palestinian and Syrian connections, such as the various forms of toggle pins, the cylinder seals, the bone plaques, some of the bone beads and the duck-shaped spoons and other ivory works. As already noted by McGovern (1985:99-101), artefacts of Syrian and Mesopotamian influence are better represented during the Middle Bronze Age in Canaan, but they continue to occur at a lesser extent in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age period.

In terms of metalworking, the great innovation of the 12th century is the introduction and increasing diffusion of iron objects. However, the production of bronze tools and ornaments does not come to an end with the appearance of iron. To the contrary, it looks as though the diffusion of iron working and iron consumption in the Near East went side by side with an increase in the use of copper alloys. The tombs of Tell el-Far'ah show that the number of non-precious metal artefacts tend to augment after the end of the 13th century. Even if, as illustrated by the drop-lunate earrings, metal objects are often of modest size, the fact that they are found in greater proportions than before demonstrates that metals (not necessarily ingots only, but also and perhaps mainly scrap metals) became of easier access to larger parts of the population at about that time. The special role played by Cyprus in the emergence of this phenomenon and in its diffusion to the east Mediterranean is further suggested by the increased material culture parallelisms noticeable between Cyprus and the coastal Levant at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Nevertheless, in spite of these changes which mainly relate to new types of socio-political and economic circumstances, the passage from bronze to iron in the Levant also bears witness to some degree of cultural continuity. The types and

technology of the Early Iron Age bronze objects perpetuates the local metalworking traditions of the preceding period and no real break can be seen in this respect (e.g. Negbi 1974a; Muhly 1998:322-323). Similarly, the manufacturing techniques of other types of small finds, such as amulets and beads, do not change radically either.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE TELL EL-FAR'AH GRAVES: THE PALESTINIAN AND WIDER CONTEXT DURING THE TRANSITION FROM LB II TO THE IRON AGE.

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the material assemblage from the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah has put in evidence several elements which may contribute to a better understanding of the changing socio-economic and politic conditions which affected the site and its inhabitants during the LB II and Iron I periods. Among the most obvious features is the variety of influences which the cemeteries display throughout the 13^{th}-11^{th} centuries and which are manifest in tomb structure and tomb furnishing (including pottery and small finds) and possibly also in more general burial customs. Such influences may result from a number of different processes, two of which at least are reasonably easy to identify in the archaeological record. One is the changing pattern of trade and exchange which can be traced in the east Mediterranean throughout this period; the other has more to do with questions of socio-cultural and/or ideological interaction, particularly the type of interaction resulting from situations of political or military dominance - in the present case, mainly those exercised by Egypt over the area of the southern Levant. But, though distinct, these two main factors are, however, not entirely independent from each other; they evolve side by side and condition each other in a reciprocal manner. Patterns of trade and commercial exchanges are inevitably affected by the political

context and ideological climate in which they take place, while, at the same time, they often have important socio-cultural and ideological implications of their own, which, in turn, may be crucial to the emergence of specific socio-political circumstances.

The present chapter will provide a general overview of the nature and extent of the relationships which could be traced between Tell el-Far'ah and each of the different areas whose impact on the site was identified earlier in the course of this work. Connections with Egypt, the Aegean, Cyprus, northern Palestine/Syria and Transjordan will be discussed individually, and the significance of these relationships, not only with regard to the site itself, but also in relation to their wider South Palestinian setting, will be assessed.

6.2. Foreign connections at Tell el-Far'ah

6.2.1. *Egypt*

The precise duration of the Egyptian presence at Tell el-Far'ah, which probably started during the 18th Dynasty, possibly under Thutmosis III, is difficult to determine on the basis of the evidence from the site alone, but can at best be approximately estimated by considering it within its wider geo-political context.

Although it was long assumed that Egypt withdrew from its garrisons in Canaan as a direct result of the "Sea Peoples"' invasion and of the settlement of the Philistines in southern Palestine in the eighth year of Ramesses III, evidence from sites such as Beth Shan, Lachish, Timna and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh has come to suggest that Egyptian dominance probably continued, in some places at least, considerably beyond that date, probably well into the reigns of Ramesses IV or even Ramesses VI (James 1966; James and McGovern 1993; Mazar 1993; Rothenberg 1988:277; Tubb 1995:137-141; cf.

Weinstein 1998:191; Finkelstein 1998:140-141; 2000:161-162). According to the predominant view in current research, Ramesses III's reign was marked by an effort to revitalise Egyptian control over certain strategic areas in Palestine, including Tell el-Far'ah and sites in the Shephelah (Stager 1995:342-343). Only after the death of this pharaoh, did Egypt begin to withdraw from these last military outposts several of which were gradually incorporated into an expanding Philistine territory (cf. Singer 1988:6).[1]

As far as Tell el-Far'ah is concerned, Braunstein (1998:340, 345) has concluded on the basis of a significant diminution in the number of Egyptian scarabs in tombs dating to her Period 2 (c. 1150-980 B.C.) that Egyptian presence (and influence) at the site must have ended towards the mid-12th century, immediately after or very soon after the reign of Ramesses III.[2] However, given the evidence from Beth Shan where Egyptian military presence probably lasted at least down to the reign of Ramesses VI (Mazar 1993; Weinstein 1998:191), it seems unlikely, in the absence of any conclusive evidence to the contrary, that Egypt would have relinquished a site like Tell el-Far'ah, far to the south of Beth Shan and strategically close to the Egyptian border, while more northerly possessions were retained. More fundamentally, from a methodological point of view, conclusions based on variations in the number of scarabs in the tombs should take account of other determining factors. One is the fact that the New Kingdom was the golden age of scarab production and that scarabs were much more popular during that time than in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, not only in Palestine, but also in Egypt itself (Ward 1902:83; Giveon 1984:971, 975). Another element of importance

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[1] Bietak (1991c; 1993), on the other hand, still maintains that Egypt had already lost all its possessions situated north of the Wadi Guzzeh by the end of Ramesses III's reign.

[2] However, Braunstein does not think that the site was directly integrated into Philistine territory after Egypt's withdrawal. According to her (*contra* Dothan 1982:29, 296), neither the Philistine Bichrome pottery, nor the anthropoid sarcophagi found in the Early Iron Age tombs, nor the Bichrome sherds from the settlement Stratum Y constitute enough evidence for postulating a Philistine presence at the site in the mid or late 12th century. Following Stager (1995:343), she believes that the site only became part of the Philistine territory in the 11th century after an interval of about fifty years, during which political control reverted to a local Canaanite elite.

is that many of the scarabs found in both LB IIB and Iron I tombs at Tell el-Far'ah are clearly not contemporary with the burials with which they are associated, but are survivals from earlier times.[3] This implies that either these objects had been in the possession of local families for many years before they were eventually deposited in the tombs, or that they only reached Tell el-Far'ah indirectly, considerably later after they had been manufactured. These two observations cast doubt on the reliability of scarabs as chronological indicators at Tell el-Far'ah not only with regard to their own context, but also when used as evidence for or against a continued Egyptian presence at the site. Such doubts are further intensified by finds of 20th and 21st Dynasty scarabs at a number of sites in the Shephalah whose dates, location or nature preclude any question of an active Egyptian politico-military presence in the locality (Weinstein 1998:191-192).

Regardless of how long Egypt actually occupied the site, Egyptian influence is clear at Tell el-Far'ah, not only from certain aspects of the finds and architecture of both tombs and settlement throughout the LB IIB-Iron I period, but also from certain burial customs attested in the tombs (see below p. 298). While this situation can partly be attributed to direct Egyptian military dominance and territorial occupation, probably down to the late 12th century, it also appears to be the result of a more general and long-lasting process of economic interaction and acculturation which took root much earlier and persisted longer, into the Third Intermediate Period.

Trade and exchange relationships between Egypt and Palestine (probably also implying small-scale movement of people) can be traced at least as far back as the EB I period,[4] while more overtly political interventions (including military conflict) are

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[3] Some scarabs from tombs in the 900 cemetery go as far back as the Middle Kingdom, principally 13th-15th Dynasties (e.g. Tombs 902, 934, 936) while the majority of those found in Iron I-IIA tombs dates to the 19th and 20th Dynasties.

[4] See for example Amiran and van den Brink 2001; Braun *et al.* 2001; Levy *at al.* 2001 (with bibliography). These early connections are particularly well evidenced in the direct neighbourhood of Tell el-Far'ah, since Petrie's Site H in the Wadi Guzzeh, provides the most secure example of an Egyptian presence in a domestic context in "Proto-Urban" Palestine (Roshwalb 1981:278, 282, 332, 379).

mainly manifest from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, starting with the occupation of the Nile Delta by the Hyksos kings of the Second Intermediate Period, an episode which was marked by a tightening of links between the two areas (e.g. McGovern 2000). From a socio-cultural perspective, the military involvement of the pharaohs of the New Kingdom in Palestine, which followed this phase, may thus have resulted less in the imposition of sudden and dramatic changes to the cultural identity of the local inhabitants of southern Palestine than in the consolidation and intensification of connections which were already present earlier. Also, in spite of the regular military campaigns conducted by Egypt into Canaan, and actual occupation of the land (e.g. Weinstein 1981:17-19), material and cultural exchanges between the two regions seem to have been reinforced at that time. The battle of Qadesh, at which Ramesses II confronted the Hittite king, and the peace treaty which followed this by a couple of years, stabilised the balance of powers in the east.[5] The southern part of the Levantine coast remained within the Egyptian sphere of influence, while the north definitely shifted to Hittite cultural and, at least nominally, political domination. During this period, the impact of Egypt on Canaan became particularly strong and encompassed a wide range of aspects, from the material culture of everyday life to religion and political ideology. However, these links were not unidirectional and Egyptian material culture was also marked by Palestinian traits, not only in the Delta, but also much further south.[6] With the start of the Third Intermediate Period, the situation may have changed progressively because Egypt was probably not in a position to maintain control over her foreign possessions any more. Nevertheless, the Delta, which once again had devolved from the rest of Egypt, seems to have fostered close commercial ties with the Levant, as

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[5] The treaty was further consolidated by the marriage of Ramesses II with a daughter of the Hittite king Hattusili in his 34th regnal year (van Dijk 2000:298-299; Klengel 2002:121-143).

[6] See, for example, the widespread diffusion of Canaanite jars or pilgrim flasks throughout Egypt (chapter 4, pp. 139-141, 175-177).

can be seen from the number of ships plying between Tanis, Sidon, Byblos and possibly Ashkelon which figure in the 11th century story of Wenamun. Incidentally, this same story also shows well that, despite the internal political crisis the country was experiencing, the prestige of Egypt was still alive at that time, not only in its direct periphery, but also in more remote areas, all along the northern coast of the Levant (Goedicke 1975).

In the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah the cultural influence of Egypt is visible from the LB II period onwards. It is primarily manifest in the increasing use of shaft tombs for single (or simultaneous) burials, in the occasional use of anthropoid sarcophagi (Tombs 935, 542 and 562), and in the relatively large number of scarabs (Tombs 902, 934, 936,, 960 and 984) and amulets (Tombs 641, 834, 914, 929, 934, 937 and 956), particularly in tombs of the 900 cemetery. Other types of small finds such as the alabaster or calcite tazza, the bronze bowls and strainer wine-drinking sets, the bronze forked spear butt, or the faience pilgrim flask from Tomb 838 may also be assigned to an Egyptian tradition. Such influence may be less pronounced with regard to pottery, though a restricted number of functional types found in the late 13th-early 12th century graves, such as the shallow bowls and rounded base vessels (beer-jars and drop-shaped vases) are undeniably evocative of Egyptian shapes. Similar influences, in terms of pottery and small finds, can also be seen contemporarily at sites such as Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Ajjûl and Gaza (e.g. Burdajewicz 2000:31-34).

The scarabs from Tell el-Far'ah, whose chronological significance (or lack of it, except as termini post quos) has already been touched on above, also raise a number of questions which concern not only the actual origin of such objects, or the way in which they were transmitted and distributed, but also their cultural and ideological (whether political or religious) significance in a local context. Indeed, determining the modalities

which regulated the distribution of these objects in the Levant is a complex matter. It has been suggested by Keel and others (see above, chapter 5, pp. 228-229), that some of the Egyptian-style scarabs found in Palestine were produced in local workshops, perhaps under the control of some official authority, such as temple administration. However, official workshops cannot be held responsible for producing all the New Kingdom scarabs found in Canaanite contexts in Palestine and considerable quantities of these must have originated in Egypt itself.

As far as distribution is concerned, it is possible, for instance, that some of the scarabs recovered from sites with Egyptian Residencies, such as Tell el-Far'ah, belonged to Egyptian functionaries who would have acquired them through their official role. This may well be the case for a few of the scarabs found in especially scarab-rich tombs at Tell el-Far'ah, particularly royal name scarabs, or those which refer to the Amun temple at Gaza (see above, chapter 5, p. 235). However, in view of the widespread diffusion of scarab seals throughout the late 13th-early 12th century graves as a whole (including children's burials), and considering that, also in Egypt, the function of these artefacts was principally amuletic and prophylactic (e.g. Andrews 1994:55), it may be argued that the majority of the examples from Tell el-Far'ah reached the site informally, through commercial exchange either from Egypt or from local manufacturers. At Tell el-Far'ah, the popularity of scarab-seals in a funerary context suggests that, although they cannot on this account only be assumed to have been Egyptians, their owners were fairly "egyptianised" to the extent of being familiar with at least some Egyptian beliefs and customs. Although they may not have always been able to decipher the inscriptions engraved on the scarabs, they were certainly aware of the general significance of these artefacts in an Egyptian setting, since they apparently used them in the same ways as their Egyptian contemporaries – as ring bezels, as

elements of necklaces or bracelets, and as a funerary furnishing of choice. Finally, the continued presence of scarabs, albeit in much smaller numbers, in graves datable to the end of the 12th and the 11th centuries, and arguably even later, demonstrates that these objects were, by then, still significant to the inhabitants of the site and suggests that the cultural and certainly also ideological influence (including religious influence) they embodied outlived any Egyptian physical presence in the area.

Like the scarabs, the Egyptian-style amulets at Tell el-Far'ah can be seen as another symptom of the continuous impact of Egypt on this area of the southern Levant. These small figurines representing Egyptian gods, goddesses, sacred animals or religious symbols, usually made of faience are attested in abundance in LB IIB and Iron IA burials alike. The popularity of such artefacts during this extended period mirrors well the wider picture in southern Palestine, as, moreover, does the overall chronological distribution of the pieces within the tombs. In LB I, Egyptian amulets are still rare in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs,[7] as they are in a broader Palestinian context, but they become extremely widespread in LB IIB, coinciding with the time when Egyptian political dominance is particularly strong and explicitly attested in the archaeological record. While the number of scarabs tends to diminish drastically in the course of the 12th century, amulets continue to be found in significant quantities in the Iron I period and beyond (Herrmann 1994:70-71). Herrmann (1994:35-37, with references) and others have suggested that Egyptian-style faience amulets were manufactured locally in Palestine in the LB II-Iron I period, a suggestion supported by finds of amulets moulds at Beth Shan, Gezer, Tell el-Ajjûl and Tell Rehov (Tell Sarem).[8] The possibility that such objects, with their connotations of Egyptian religious symbolism, were locally made in Palestine is crucial to our understanding of the cultural background of the

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[7] The only example of a LB I amulet was found in Tomb 902, itself datable to the LB IIB period (**902/S31**).

region. It notably suggests that local popular beliefs and religious traditions were strongly, and probably largely informally, influenced by Egypt, not only during the New Kingdom, but also in the Third Intermediate Period when Egyptian political control and military dominance in Western Asia had certainly dissolved. The persistence of this influence is further demonstrated by the fact that a few of the amulet types from Tell el-Far'ah belong to groups which are not attested before the late New Kingdom-early Third Intermediate Period, in Palestine as well as in Egypt. This is notably the case with the Bastet cat figurines, the Sekhmet bust amulets and the seated Isis with the infant Horus (see above, chapter 5, pp. 245-246). The presence of significant numbers of Bastet amulets in several tombs at Tell el-Far'ah and in the area of the 800 cemetery is particularly worthy of notice, because it may allude to the emergence of special relationships between the area of southern Canaan and the eastern Nile Delta, above all with the town of Tell Basta, during the 11th century and beyond. The political importance of Tell Basta, which became the capital of Egypt in the 22nd Dynasty in the 10th century, was undoubtedly growing during the Third Intermediate Period (Habachi 1975).

As in the case of the scarabs, the Egyptian amulets from Tell el-Far'ah do not allow the identification of any of the tombs in which they were found as specifically those of Egyptians, let alone of the high- or middle-ranking officials likely to have served an Egyptian administration at the site. The same is true for the anthropoid sarcophagi which occurred in no more than three tombs; among these, only one (in Tomb 935) comes from a scarab-rich tomb, while the contexts of the other two (Tombs 542 and 562) were relatively poor in such finds (and incidentally also include Philistine Bichrome pottery). Furthermore, all the graves (exclusively chamber tombs) which might, on the grounds of their large number of scarabs and amulets be considered as

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[8] Herrmann (1994:36) also suggests that these moulds were imported from Egypt.

potential candidates for an identification as Egyptian burials, lack certain features, such as head-rests or shabtis, which are normally characteristic of middle-class Egyptian tombs in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.[9] Consequently, although some of those buried in the most scarab-rich tombs, or in the coffin burials, might have been functionaries working for Egypt, there is no clear evidence that they were Egyptians rather than Canaanites adopting certain selected customs of their overlords, who may not have been buried at the site or even resided there at all.

The large number of tombs with Egyptian or egyptianizing elements at Tell el-Far'ah point to the persistence of Egyptian cultural traits throughout the LB IIB and into the Iron IB-IIA period, without evidence for a clear cultural break at any point (Hölbl 2000:122). This observation tends to contradict the views of Weinstein (1981:23) and Singer (1988:6) who believe that the impact of Egypt on Canaan did not outlast the end of the military occupation, which, according to Singer (1988), was followed, in the southern coastal plain, by territorial disputes between the emerging Israelite kingdom and the Philistines. The material evidence from Tell el-Far'ah rather suggests that, even after the end of its military supremacy and in spite of the emergence of new forms of socio-political and economic organisation in Canaan and Syro-Palestine generally, Egypt remained an influential cultural luminary, as indeed it did for much of the Levant.[10]

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[9] Shabtis, by the Ramesside Period, are far from restricted to the higher classes of society (Stewart 1995:8-9) and are well attested in the middle-class tombs of Tell Basta, for example (al-Sawi 1979:39, 46, 68, figs. 59-60, 75, 129).

[10] Differing interpretations have been offered of the widespread adoption of Egyptian iconography and representational styles in Canaan at the beginning of the Iron Age. For instance, Byran (1996:79) suggests that they represent a deliberate strategy of subversion. In other words, by borrowing Egyptian iconographical models and adapting them to their own needs and purposes, emergent Levantine rulers were making conscious statements of independence intended to challenge the cultural monopoly of Egypt.

6.2.2. *The Aegean*

Despite the emphasis which has often been placed on it, evidence for direct contact with the Aegean (mainland Greece, Crete or the Cylclades) in the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah is extremely elusive. None of the graves seem to have actually contained any imports from these regions,[11] whether pottery or other artefacts, but indirect connections are nevertheless reflected in the presence of locally-made, or, in at least one instance, Cypriot-made, pottery shapes which are directly evocative of an Aegean tradition. These consist essentially of relatively small stirrup-jars, piriform jars and pyxides, all types imported in significant quantities from the Aegean in the 14th and 13th centuries.[12] According to Leonard's (1994) study on Mycenaean pottery in the east Mediterranean, these three shapes (in a number of different morphological variants) form a high proportion of the LH IIIA-B pottery imports to the East Mediterranean, and they are widespread on the Levantine coast from northern Syria to the borders of Egypt, as well as across the Jordan river.[13] They are also commonly found in Egypt, with perhaps in this case an even greater preponderance of stirrup-jars versus other shapes. Since these types are all closed vessels, suitable for the transport and marketing of

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[11] Which might be used as a chronological argument for suggesting that even the earliest tombs of the 900 cemetery, dated to the late 13th century, actually post-date the cessation of genuine Aegean pottery imports to the southern Levant after LH IIIB1.

[12] A few other shapes, like the strainer-jugs, the feeding-bottle and the pilgrim flask are sometimes similarly regarded as Aegean types, though, as argued above (chapter 4, pp. 171-172, 175-177, 206-208), they all have antecedents in the local Levantine repertoire. They are called Aegean or aegeanising for two reasons only. First, because similar shapes are represented to a greater or lesser extent in the Aegean in the LH III period and second because their decoration of simple bands, and sometimes their surface treatment (including the use of slips to achieve a pale surface colour) is considered to be a reflection of the potter's attempt to lend them an "Aegean" appearance.

[13] As demonstrated by series of clay analyses from a variety of Levantine sites (Jones 1986:542-571; Leonard and Cline 1998:5; and above chapter 1, p. 5, note 11), the majority of the Late Bronze Age Aegean vessels found in the east Mediterranean probably originated in the Argolid. They were transported by sea, as part of mixed cargoes, to the coast of the Levant and were distributed inland from a number of harbour towns which seem to have progressively acquired in the course of the 14th century, the function of nodal trading and exchange centres (e.g. Leonard 1987; Artzy 1993; 1995; 1997; 1998; Arnaud 1992). The most well-known of these towns are Tell Abu-Hawam, Ugarit and its ports, 'Akko, Tell Nami and Ashkelon. It is also possible that other, less thoroughly excavated sites like Tyre, Beirut or Gaza would yield a very similar picture.

liquid or solid products, and because they were most frequently (though not exclusively) found in tombs in the southern Levant as well as in Egypt (cf. Steel 2002), it may be assumed that these vessels were prized primarily for their contents, presumably the kind of valuable perfumed oils or unguents, which seem to have constituted a significant industry in Mycenaean Greece.[14] However, as standard and easily recognisable "packaging" materials, in terms of both shape and decoration, they must have become closely associated with their contents and, through this association, may have acquired a value of their own. The series of locally made stirrup-jars, piriform jars and pyxides found in the Tell el-Far'ah 900 cemetery which echo typical Mycenaean imported shapes along with their painted linear decoration (just like other similar vessels from neighbouring sites) almost certainly represent a form of import substitution in which the general appearance of a pot symbolised the specific commodity which was typically associated with it. Whether the local production of these containers also implies the local production of substitute contents to go with them is perhaps another question, but it is possible that, at least for funerary purposes, the empty vessel may have been enough to produce the desired effect.

In the southern coastal plain, the area round Tell el-Ajjûl which already had a long tradition of producing local versions of imported pottery types, including Cypriot Base Ring jugs and juglets (see below, pp. 310-311) may have functioned as the main production centre for these vessels. However, there are reasons to believe that the manufacture of Mycenaean-style pottery was widespread in the Levant and was taking place at a number of other sites in the region in the later 13th century (e.g. Hankey 1967; Montchambert 1983). The ability of the Levantine potters to reproduce more or less accurately Aegean shapes and motifs, suggests that, by that time, both producers and

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[14] For the large scale production of perfumed oils in Mycenaean palatial centres such as Pylos, Knossos and Mycenae, see Shelmerdine 1985.

consumers were thoroughly familiar with the general appearance of that type of material.[15] It even seems that Levantine potters had developed specific techniques to perfect this resemblance. Though the paint of the locally-made Aegeanising pottery is almost invariably matt, there are also cases of decorated vessels whose surface (including the already applied paint) was burnished by hand before firing, in order to achieve the characteristic glossy appearance of Mycenaean painted wares. This practice is attested at 'Akko and Sarepta (Sherratt, personal communication) and it was also used for the piriform jar from Tomb 902 at Tell el-Far'ah (**902/27**). However, as a whole, there is a considerable variety in the fabric and surface treatment of these Aegean-inspired productions which probably depended on where the pot was manufactured and, perhaps also in which workshop, under which circumstances and for which purpose it was made. This general process of adoption and adaptation of Aegean and aegeanising pottery styles in the Levant is well illustrated by the finds from the graves of Tell el-Far'ah with shapes such as the piriform jar, the pyxis and the stirrup-jar. While the first is particularly characteristic of LB IIB and disappears rapidly after the end of the 13th century,[16] the other two are represented throughout the period concerned here, and continue well into the 11th century (e.g. in Tombs 102, 636 and 640), when they form an integral part of the local pottery repertoire.[17]

But, if the stylistic integration of these three shapes appears as a fairly straightforward phenomenon, other pottery types are of a far more ambiguous nature and have generated a number of problems with regard to their classification. This is in

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[15] This evident acquaintance with Mycenaean shapes and decorative styles, hints at the significant quantities of Mycenaean pottery which were reaching the Levant in the course of the 14th and 13th centuries.

[16] However, in the Iron Age, this shape does not simply die out but is replaced by the elongated three-handled jar whose appearance coincides with the fading out of the Mycenaean type piriform vessel (cf. above, chapter 4, p. 206). This is exemplified at Tell el-Far'ah in Tombs 936 and 532, for instance, which can be respectively dated to the early and to the mid- to late 12th century.

particular the case with shapes such as the strainer-jar or the pilgrim flask which are often considered as "oriental" in an Aegean context, while they are regularly seen as "Aegean" when they are found in the Levant. As discussed in greater detail above (see above, chapter 4, pp. 171-172, 175-177), the strainer jar with side handle is attested in areas of the Aegean at the end of the Late Bronze Age, for example in the Dodecanese, but it remains rather rare on the Greek Mainland. In both areas it is commonest in the LH IIIC period. Even if, in the Levant in Iron I, the shape is often decorated with Aegean-style motifs (spirals, birds, fish), its general character, from a morphological and functional point of view, is closer to local LB II prototypes than to any typical Mycenaean vessels. Similarly the baseless pilgrim flask of the LB II-Iron I Levant should certainly be seen as an essentially local product. The specific version of the shape which is attested in the Aegean from LH IIIA onwards is indeed quite different technologically and morphologically from the Levantine examples and, the fact that it itself ultimately derives from Near Eastern models is in little doubt. Confusion with regard to these vessels, however, arises with the so-called "Simple Style" flasks which are found at many Levantine and Egyptian sites and offer a good example of a shape of Levantine origin combined with an Aegean technology. Indeed, a certain proportion of these small vessels was apparently produced in the Aegean (mainly in the Argolid) from LH IIIA2 onwards. Very likely, they were specifically intended - along with their contents - for export to the east Mediterranean,[18] where local potters also attempted to give the general appearance of these vessels to their own production. This is the case with a few examples from Tell el-Far'ah (e.g. Tombs 902 and 925). As far as fabric and paint are concerned, these flasks look as though they were locally made (see above

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[17] By then these types are considered as "Philistine" or "Phoenician" pottery, depending on where they were found (on the stylistic analogies between Philistine and Phoenician pottery in the Early Iron Age, see also below p. 315).

chapter 4, p. 177), but they differ from the rest of the local pilgrim flasks assemblage in their narrower body, their long handles of rectangular section (instead of the usual rounded or oval-section handles) and by a smoothed (sometimes polished or burnished) surface. Like some other local flasks, they are decorated with matt-painted red-orange concentric circles on both faces. Thus, although the shape as well as the clay of these pots point to a local origin, their general appearance may have been quite consciously intended to evoke genuine Aegean products —possibly again because of their association with some particularly desirable substance which the imported examples contained.

Although the connection which existed between some Mycenaean wares and shapes and part of the local Levantine pottery production in the last stage of the Late Bronze Age is generally acknowledged, the natural continuation of this stylistic trend into the Iron Age has often generated some degree of confusion with regard to the identification of the material and its terminology (not to mention its interpretation).This is largely because of the rigid application of the traditional historical model which is generally retained for this period (chapter 1, pp. 1-4 and *Appendix*) and which insists on the use of ethnic-related terms to designate ancient pottery wares and styles (themselves often associated with certain pre-conceived historical scenarios). Thus "Myc IIIC:1b", for instance, which is believed to appear suddenly in the 12th century, is usually seen as an archaeological surrogate for those peoples known as Peleset in the Egyptian texts and Philistines in the Old Testament. In this particular case, an association between pots and peoples is supported by the belief that open shapes of Aegean type – particularly deep bowls and kraters – which form an important part of the limited range of types which make up the ware's repertoire were hitherto unknown in the Levant. However, this is

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[18] Other Mycenaean pottery wares, such as the so-called "Pictorial Style" kraters, seem to have been produced mainly for export purposes (Steel 2000:1558-1559).

simply not the case. A rough count of the finds entered in Leonard's study (1994) shows that open shapes (i.e. shapes which cannot have acted primarily as containers, but must have been imported for their own sake) form around 30% of the Aegean imports to the East Mediterranean in the 14th-13th centuries. In the 13th century, some deep bowls and kraters found at various settlement sites of Syria-Palestine can be considered as the forerunners of the "Myc IIIC:1b" versions of the following century (FS 284, FS 282) (Schaeffer 1949:150-155, 158-159, 226-227, figs. 57:32, 58:17, 59:45, 61:B-C, 91:3, 95.18; Courtois and Courtois 1978:294-299, 312, 313, 318-319, 321-322, 332-333, 338-339, figs. 33:16, 23, 34:14, 24, 38:5, 41:9, 42:16-17, 46:1, 49:1; Yon 1987:55-56, 85-86, figs. 36:79/661, 66:84/331). These shapes are found almost exclusively in settlement rather than tomb contexts, a pattern which continues in the 12th century.

That some of these open shapes started to be locally produced in at least parts of the Levant before the end of LB IIB is suggested by Montchambert's argument that, at Ugarit, kraters, jugs and bowls of Mycenaean type, as well as stirrup-jars, flasks and pyxides, were already being locally manufactured before the destruction of the town around 1190 B.C. (Montchambert 1983:27-28, fig. 1:1-4). Moreover, what is perhaps of even greater significance for the Levant is the situation on Cyprus, where the local production of such Mycenaean shapes in White Painted Wheelmade III, which present close stylistic similarities with the Levantine "Myc IIIC:1b", was already well underway at the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA (at the turn of the 13th/12th centuries).[19] By the time of LC IIIA (i.e. corresponding to Enkomi Level IIIA or Kition Floor IIIa), this production includes a wide repertoire of shapes, variously based on Aegean and local Cypriot types, and probably also on metallic models (Sherratt

[19] On Cyprus such production probably began well before the last decade of the 13th century (Kling 1989:170; 1991; Sherratt 1990a-b; 1991).

1990b:158). Some of these provide exact counterparts to the contemporary "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" of the Levant.

This stylistic correspondence can find a possible explanation in the fact that well before the end of LC IIC, Cyprus was exporting the results of this wheelmade production to the adjacent mainland, together with the last examples of its more traditional handmade wares (White Slip II, Base Ring II, White Shaved). This can be seen in the "Pastoral Style" kraters at Ugarit, Byblos, Beirut, Megiddo, Gezer and elsewhere (Leonard 1994:9; cf. Anson 1980a; 1980b), as well as in considerable numbers of pots of various types at Ugarit and other sites, such as Sarepta, Tell el-Ajjûl and Tell el-Far'ah (see above, chapter 4, p. 216) whose general appearance and/or specific aspects of their fabric[20] suggest that they were made on Cyprus rather than imported from the Aegean (Sherratt 1994:67; Stubbings 1951:82-83; Koehl 1985:146; Yon, Karageorghis and Hirschfeld 2000:15, 64-65).

Thus, what is suggested here, on the basis of the character and context of the aegeanising material from the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries, is that the local production of an increasing range of aegeanising shapes in the Levant (as well as on Cyprus) is really the result of a progressive process of import substitution, which started no later than the 13th century. In the Levant, it begins predominantly with container shapes which were closely associated with specific products (and thus often placed in tombs or used in cultic contexts). On Cyprus, on the other hand, it starts with open shapes, such as kraters and bowls. These are primarily found in settlement sites and were also traded to the Levantine coast, quite certainly alongside other products (handmade pottery, metals, and possibly also perishable materials, such as textiles, wine, oils, etc). In the early 12th century, the progressive emergence of the locally-made "Myc. IIIC:1b" ware in the

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[20] And in a few cases, actual fabric analysis : cf. Gunneweg *et al.* 1986:14; Perlman, Asaro and Dothan 1973:151.

Levant, with its dominance of open shapes, mainly at sites located along the coast, may represent nothing but the extension of the same process of import substitution, when local potters started displacing Cypriot-made aegeanising ware with their own production. Eventually, these open shapes, like the closed vessels which had already been copied from Aegean models in the 13th century, became fully integrated into the local pottery repertoire and followed a stylistical development of their own, manifest, for example, in the appearance and development of the Philistine Bichrome of the late 12th-11th centuries.

6.2.3. *Cyprus*

In the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah, connections with Cyprus are primarily manifest in certain pottery types and in part of the small finds assemblage. Tomb architecture and burial customs, on the other hand, seem to owe little to the island's influence (see above, chapter 3, p. 79).

In a broad Palestinian context, Late Bronze Age trading links between Cyprus and the Levant are well documented by the impressive quantities of Late Cypriot pottery found at a large number of sites.[21] In the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah, Cypriot pottery imports are proportionally well represented in tombs dating from the 14th to the late 13th centuries, but become much rarer around c. 1200 B.C. Examples of Monochrome and White Painted IV pottery are found in the earliest tombs of the 600 cemetery (dated to the LB I-IIA period), while Base Ring, White Slip II, White Shaved and White Painted Wheelmade III occur in tombs of the 900 cemetery, datable to the end of the 13th-early 12th century.[22] Although genuine imports of Base Ring juglets are

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[21] As well as by the Canaanite jars found at several Cypriot coastal centres, such as Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke (see above chapter 4, pp. 139-140).

[22] Cypriot White Slip I or II is also attested in Stratum F at Tell el-Far'ah, in the area of the city gate on the south end of the tell (see above, chapter 2, p. 34, note 17).

relatively rare in the tombs, the type itself seems to have been so familiar in this southernmost region of the Levant that, by the end of the LB IIB, it had given rise to a whole range of locally produced versions of the shape, many variants of which are represented among the material assemblage examined here (see above, chapter 4, pp. 158-160).

At Tell el-Far'ah, as elsewhere in the Levant, Cypriot pottery imports are only sparsely attested at the beginning of the Iron Age. They are represented in five 12^{th}-10^{th} century tombs and in Area 600 in the form of the six narrow-necked Bucchero juglets (Tombs 102, 105, 525, 642 and 649), and one example each of a White Painted I bowl (Tomb 506) and a White Painted II juglet (Tomb 546). It is particularly interesting that, just as could be observed in the LB II period, some of the Iron Age Cypriot imports seem to find echoes in contemporary local pottery production. This is illustrated by the series of squat, biconical "Bucchero" juglets, apparently made of local clays and decorated with incised zigzag patterns, which find no precise parallels on Cyprus, but clearly have some relationship to Cypriot Bucchero. Considering the undeniable metallic appearance of Cypriot Bucchero, and given the general scarcity of genuine Cypriot Bucchero imports in Palestine, it is possible that these Levantine versions were not inspired by pottery vessels, but by metal prototypes which did not survive in the archaeological record and were perhaps themselves produced on Cyprus.

As suggested by the Bucchero and *pseudo*-Bucchero juglets, the evidence from Tell el-Far'ah in the Early Iron Age goes some way towards countering the traditional view that all trade between Cyprus and the Levant was interrupted, from the beginning of the 12^{th} century to until c. 1050 B.C.,[23] notably as a result of the general climate of insecurity which is usually associated with the activity of "Sea Peoples" invaders and

immigrants (e.g. Mazar 1994:51-53; Iacovou 1994:158-160). This view principally rests on the lack of evidence for Cypriot pottery imports at Early Iron Age Levantine sites which is particularly striking in comparison with the abundance of handmade Cypriot imports of the preceding period. But, notwithstanding the evidence from Tell el-Far'ah, various other considerations contribute to cast doubt on the validity of this assumption. In the first place, the apparent decline in Cypriot pottery imports to the Levant after c. 1200 may be at least partly due to the fact that the production of the easily identifiable traditional handmade wares (chiefly Base Ring and White Slip II) came to an end on Cyprus at around that time and was steadily supplanted by various classes of wheelmade pottery, such as White Painted Wheelmade III, Plain White Wheelmade and Bucchero. Some at least of these wheelmade wares were still exported to the Levant, not only in the LB II, but also in Iron IA, as illustrated by the Cypriot stirrup-jars and bowls from Beth Shan Strata 4-3 (Mazar 1993) and Tell Keisan Level 13 (Balensi 1981). Secondly, there is reason to suppose that, by the 12th century, the Levantine trade in both Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery of the LB II period was no longer of such economic importance to the Cypriot traders responsible for it, since Levantine potters had started producing and marketing their own more or less faithful versions of Cypriot and Cypriot aegeanizing wares. Finally, another factor which certainly had some impact on this whole process was the general shift in trade mechanisms which progressively took place in the late 13th-early 12th centuries in the East Mediterranean. In effect, it has been argued that this period witnessed the end of the type of state-sponsored trade in high-value products and its displacement by the gradual emergence of small-scale private merchantmen who had hitherto mainly dealt with low-value goods, like pottery.

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[23] This date for the renewal of maritime connections between the island and the mainland is notably supported by a number of Early Iron Age Cypriot imports (pottery and supposedly worked ivory) from the harbour town of Dor in mid-11th century contexts (Stern 1993; 1998:346).

Taking advantage of the decline of the large empires, and principally of the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial society and of the Hittite empire, these independent traders, who were, to all appearances, based on Cyprus (e.g. Sherratt 1994; 1998:306; Knapp 1997:68-69), and possibly also in some towns of the coastal Levant, progressively started to deal with a wider range of often more valuable products, not in the capacity of middlemen, as they may have been in the past, but for their own profit. Some of the goods exchanged through these networks (like gold and silver metalwork, textiles, cowhides or foodstuff) will have left no trace in the archaeological record, either because they are easily perishable materials, or because (in the case of metalwork), they were advantageously recycled. Even so, there is indirect evidence for the production and widespread circulation of a more diverse range of commodities on Cyprus at that time. There is, for example, the prominence of textile-related equipment and debris, such as loomweights and murex shells, or the textile-derived appearance of the decoration of certain pottery styles (for example Schachermeyr's eastern Cypriot "Levantine Style" (Schachermeyr 1979)); or the evidence for the intensive production of finished bronze work (using recycled metals) at Kition and Enkomi (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999). The development of early iron technologies may also have constituted an important factor for the Cypriot economy at that time (Knapp 1988:218-219). As it is, the series of iron knives with bronze rivets and ivory handles found at various Levantine sites in the 12th century (and also at Tell el-Far'ah in Tombs 507, 523, 562), and which figure among the earliest utilitarian iron finds in the eastern Mediterranean, are likely to represent imports from Cyprus (Sherratt 1994).[24] Continued trade connections between the two areas are also suggested by Hadjicosti (1988:341) who remarked that the number of imported Canaanite jars found at the site of Maa-

[24] The same may be argued for the type of iron daggers with bronze handles, one of which is attested in Tomb 542 (Sherratt 1994:88). For a discussion of these artefacts, see above chapter 5, p. 282.

Palaeokastro gradually increased after the end of Late Cypriot II.[25] This view can be further supported by the presence of a number of jewellery types in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs, in particular the bronze and gold drop-lunate earrings, or the carnelian beads and pendants (see above, chapter 5, pp. 259, 265, note 67) which find many (probably imported) parallels on Cyprus from the LC IIB to the LC IIIA period,[26] while the ivory found in significant quantities in Cypriot 12th century contexts also probably originated from the Levant (above chapter 5, p. 288 and Sherratt 1994:70). Finally, the stylistic parallelism which has been noted between the "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" from its inception to the appearance of Bichrome at sites such as Tell Miqne (T.Dothan 1989:4-6) also suggests that contacts between the Levant and Cyprus continued into the 12th century, while examples of deep bowls with wavy-line decoration, particularly characteristic of Enkomi Level IIIc extend this pattern into the later 12th century. In the early 11th century, the presence of imported Syro-Palestinian flasks in the Alaas cemetery on Cyprus (Karageorghis 1975:12, 19, 23, 57, pls. VII:12, XV:26, XIX:25, LV:13, LX:26, LXIV:25) already hints at the picture presented by the later 11th-10th century tombs at Palaeopaphos-Skales where Phoenician pottery abounds.[27]

As far as Tell el-Far'ah is concerned, beyond the direct evidence provided by pottery imports, the continuity of the relationships between the Levant and the island can also be supported by the fact that many local pottery shapes (in plain and decorated wares) present strong resemblances with contemporary material from Cyprus. Among these are notably a variety of bowls with side lug-handles, plain one handled jugs and

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[25] The same observation was made by Åström (1993:311) at the site of Hala Sultan Tekke, though some of these jars were also produced on Cyprus (Åström 1991).

[26] Most likely, these objects were imported to Cyprus either directly from the Levant, or from Egypt via the Levant. A variety of eastern objects – including a bronze-drinking set and various items of Egyptian or Levantine jewellery – in the LC IIIA shaft grave (Tomb 23) at Hala Sutlan Tekke may also be mentioned here (Niklasson 1983).

[27] The reciprocity of these exchanges during this period is notably confirmed by recent results from the inland site of Tell el Afis in Syria which show that imports of Cypriot pottery progressively, but steadily increased from the early 12th to the late 11th century (Mazzoni 2000a; Bonatz 1998).

the two-handled jars with rounded or ring bases (cooking-pots). These vessels (which do not figure in the standard Philistine repertoire of shapes as presented by Killebrew (2000) and Dothan (1982)) supplement the evidence of the Philistine Monochrome and Bichrome pottery and of the imitations of the Bucchero juglets in suggesting that the convergence of Cypriot and south Levantine pottery in the Early Iron Age may be more far-reaching and more diverse than hitherto appreciated. This tendency towards integration of the potting traditions of the two areas has already been emphasised by Bikai (1994), who has pointed out that by the early 10th century, much of the once clear distinction between Cypriot and Levantine pottery has vanished. Concomitantly, the same type of assimilation process seems to have taken place, in the course of the 11th century, between the pottery of Phoenician and Philistine type (Bikai 1994:31).[28]

All these combined elements suggest that close relationships between Cyprus and the Levant (including trade relationships) were certainly maintained, and perhaps even intensified, during the Early Iron Age. It is also likely that these connections both contributed to and were motivated by the emergence of new forms of socio-economic organisation which took place in both areas at that time.

6.2.4. *Northern Palestine, Lebanon, Syria*

Material culture analogies between the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah and sites in northern Palestine, Lebanon and Syria are already visible in the LB IIB period. In terms of pottery, these can be illustrated, for example, by a number of parallels from Kamid el-Lôz for some of the pottery types found in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs (Types B.1, B.6a, LB.2, HP.1, M.1, PF.3, PF.9). Moreover, the other components of the cemeteries'

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[28] For example, Bikai considers as Phoenician two strainer-jars, originally published as Philistine by T. Dothan. With regards to Cyprus, she also mentions a bowl from Dor (Gilboa 1989: fig. 4:a-b) which looks like Cypro-Geometric I but which, according to clay analysis, is not. For other Cypriot-looking but locally-produced pottery sherds from Dor, see Gilboa 1998:418, fig. 7; Wolff 1998:778, fig. 14.

ceramic assemblage, such as the carinated jugs of the "Gazelle and Bird" style from Tombs 920, 939, 972 and 978 or the use of bichromy for the decoration of a pyxis from Tomb 902, may also represent a northern tradition (see above, chapter 4, p. 198). As far as small finds are concerned, interaction between the two areas in LB IIB is also evidenced by a few of the ivory works found in the cemeteries. In spite of the fact that such objects are often related to Egypt because of their popularity throughout the New Kingdom, the small ivory plate and in particular the duck-shaped spoons from Tombs 980 and 982, may actually be of Syrian manufacture. The rich ivory finds from Kamid el-Lôz, for example, suggest that a flourishing ivory-carving industry existed in Syria during the LB IIB period (Adler 1996; Lilyquist 1998), and it has been argued that this area probably also exported objects to Egypt (c.f. Barnett 1982:30-31, fig. 43:a-b).[29]

In the Early Iron Age, the resemblance between the ceramic assemblage of Tell el-Far'ah and those of northern sites becomes even stronger. This is manifest in the wider diffusion of certain shapes, such as the small pilgrim flasks and the strainer-jars. While these shapes were much more popular in the north than along the southern coast of the Levant during LB IIB, they seem, by the mid-12th century, to have become prevalent in the latter area as well. At Tell el-Far'ah, pilgrim flasks are attested by twenty-three examples in the late 13th-early 12th century tombs while hundred-twenty examples were found in tombs dated to the Iron IA-B period (from the mid-12th to the late 11th century). Some sort of connection between the north and the south after the beginning of the 12th century is also suggested by the local production of pottery of

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[29] Following Adler (1996), Lilyquist (1998:27) regards the duck-shaped spoons with upright heads (Tombs 982 and probably 980) as typically Levantine, while she ascribes the trussed or sleeping ducks to an Egyptian tradition (incidentally this type is not attested in the Tell el-Far'ah tombs). In fact, the cultural interaction with Egypt manifest in Syrian ivory-carving is a good illustration of the Late Bronze Age "international style", a main theme of which is the representation of certain universal symbols of power which were shared and readily understood by much of the east and central Mediterranean at that time (e.g. Di Paolo 2000).

"Myc IIIC:1b" style in both areas.[30] Locally-made pottery of Mycenaean style evocative of "Philistine Monochrome" and Cypriot White Painted Wheelmade III, in particular bowls, deep bowls and kraters, were found at Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni, Lagarce and Saliby 1978; Bounni *et al.*1979; Lagarce and Lagarce 1978; Caubet 1992:123-127), Sarepta (Koehl 1985), possibly Dor (Stern 2000), and has been reported from 'Akko (M.Dothan 1989). A number of pieces of deep bowls and kraters from Beth Shan are also regarded by the excavators of local (perhaps northern) manufacture (Oren 1973: figs. 47:7, 74:3; Mazar and Sherratt forthcoming). The same phenomenon occurs further north in coastal Cilicia (here no later than the early 12th century) and in the 'Amuq, perhaps in the late 12th century to judge from stylistic parallels with the 12th century sequence at Enkomi (see below, p. 330, note 42).

In addition, it seems that several Philistine pottery shapes, which are as a rule considered as new to the area in Iron I (and often believed to be Aegean or Cypriot derivatives), are found earlier in the northern Levant. This is for example the case of the straight-sided bottle, sometimes considered as evolving from a Cypriot shape,[31] and of the feeding bottle, commonly seen as a Mycenaean form, both of which are found in LB IIB contexts at northern sites. The feeding bottles of the Philistine monochrome repertoire have clear antecedents in LB IIB basket-handled jugs from Kamid el-Lôz (see above, pp. 206-208),[32] and the straight-sided bottles of the late 12th-11th century Philistine bichrome phase have morphological parallels at Syrian and Lebanese sites a century earlier (chapter 4, p.186). Illustrating the convergence of the Early Iron Age Cypriot and Levantine pottery traditions discussed in the preceding section (see above,

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[30] Outside what is regarded as Philistine territory, these are often called "Myc IIIC derivative" wares or "LH IIIC Eastern Mediterranean Style" (cf. Koehl 1985; see also Lagarce and Lagarce 1988).

[31] Horn-shaped elongated vessels already appear on the island in the Early Cypriot period, but there is in fact little evidence for a continuing tradition between these and the bottles of either the Cypriot or Levantine Iron Age.

[32] The shape may however also owe something to Cypriot side-spouted jugs which have a long history on the island before LC IIC (Kling 1989:170 and above, chapter 4, p. 207, note 127).

p. 314-315), the straight-sided bottle also finds its way into the Cypriot Proto-White Painted repertoire in the early 11th century.[33]

The process of ceramic syncretism between northern and southern Levant, which can also be seen in the occurrence of specific decorative techniques, such as the use of bichromy for the decoration of the Aegean style pyxides, thus appears as a gradual phenomenon which already emerges in the LB IIB period, and becomes more pronounced in Iron I. Some of the new pottery types appearing in the southern Levant at that period (e.g the straight-sided bottles or the feeding-bottles) may be ascribed to a northern influence, and other shapes, such as the pilgrim flasks and the strainer-jars which, in LB IIB were much more frequent at northern sites, become as popular in both areas. Another form of parallelism in the development of certain pottery styles can also be seen in a number of sherds from Dor which seem to represent a local version of the southern Philistine Bichrome ware (Gilboa 1998; 1999). This tendency reaches its acme with the inception of the Red Slip Burnished pottery in the later 11th-10th century (attested at Tell el-Far'ah in the 200 cemetery and in Tombs 508, 621, 646), versions of which are widely diffused (and also probably produced) throughout the Levant (see also Mazzoni 2000b:1050).

This kind of convergence – like the convergence between the Levant and Cyprus – can only have come about through regular and sustained intercourse up and down the Near Eastern coast, operating in a multi-directional fashion. The evidence summarised above and the type of interaction it represents is probably best interpreted as the effects of small-scale entrepreneurial trade in a wide variety of goods and materials conducted both along the coast and over a network of overland routes, connecting the shoreline

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[33] This northern influence on the material culture of southern Palestine in the Early Iron Age can also be exemplified by the lion-headed rhyta which are occasionally found at Philistine sites in the late 12th-11th century. Though they are often regarded as indicative of the Aegean background of the Philistines (e.g

with the inland valleys. In this perspective, what are usually seen as signs of Phoenician, perhaps especially Tyrian, political and commercial expansion from the late 11th century onwards, may rather represent the culmination of patterns of trade and exchange which already existed in the previous two centuries (Bauer 1998:159-163).

6.2.5. *Transjordan*

In the Late Bronze Age several pottery types and potting traditions seen at Tell el-Far'ah and in southern Palestine generally are also shared by several sites of the Jordan valley and of the region to the east of it. This is illustrated by the habit of using straw for tempering coarse wares, which, as seen above, also reflects an ultimately Egyptian practice (see above, chapter 4, pp. 88-89), and by the presence in both areas of the distinctive "Gazelle and Bird" style, which may ultimately be influenced by northern Palestine or Syria (see above, chapter 4, pp. 170-171). As evidenced by significant finds, for example by the assemblage from the Amman airport cultic site, Transjordan, just like Palestine, was also a participant in the trading network of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean and was a recipient of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery imports. Moreover, sites such as Deir 'Alla and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh have also produced their own versions of certain imported shapes, in particular Mycenaean-type stirrup-jars and Cypriot-type Base Ring juglets, which were either made locally or imported from production centres in southern Palestine. The parallelism noticeable between the material culture of the two regions at that time is further exemplified by the type of small finds assemblages, in particular metal vessels and scarabs, which are commonly found in Transjordan (mainly in funerary contexts) as well as at Tell el-Far'ah (see above chapter 5, pp. 278-279). The chief associations of such objects are with Egypt

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Dothan and Dothan 1992:104; Dothan 1998b:155, fig. 6), they already occur in 13th century contexts at northern sites, for example at Ugarit (Schaeffer 1978b).

and their recurrent presence on both sides of the Jordan in LB II shows that the influence of this powerful neighbour was an important factor in the cultural makeup of both areas.

During the course of Iron I, several areas of Transjordan seem to have experienced a significant socio-political and economic development. While, generally speaking, material culture remains rather comparable to that of Palestine in the Early Iron Age (as can be seen, for example, in the use of the clay anthropoid coffins in both areas in LB IIB and Iron I), regional differences, including internal differences within Transjordan itself, become more evident (McGovern 1987b:267). This apparent diversity may be due to the establishment and strengthening of the political (and probably also economic) power of small regional entities, whose specific identities remain, however, extremely elusive, at least from our own perspective. Survey works in the south have shown that this period was characterised by an increase in sites on the south bank of the Wadi el-Hasa (McDonald 1983:18-19),[34] while further north, in the hill-country, south of Amman, the appearance of a relatively large fortified site at Tell el-'Umayri seems to have been accompanied by a coherent series of settlements surrounding it (Herr 1998:256-258). More generally, the number of settlements which appear in the Wadi Araba and to the east of it may be interpreted as a sign of demographic growth, reflecting increasing wealth in the region. Several factors (such as slight climatic variations or improvement in agricultural technologies) may lie at the base of such transformations, some of which may not be readily detectable in the archaeological record. However, there is good indications that one of the main catalyst for this change was the development of an intensive desert trade. This was probably

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[34] See also Bienkowski (1995:32-33) who points to the scarcity of settlements in the Wadi el-Hasa in the Late Bronze Age. It is however important to emphasise the fact that the majority of excavations and surveys in Jordan tend to concentrate north of the Wadi Araba and particularly in the Madaba region (e.g. Daviau 2000 ; Miller 1991). See also Homès-Frederiq and Hennessy 1989.

encouraged by the gradual disappearance of the palace-oriented trade networks and the weakening of the traditional elites which went with it, but it was also greatly facilitated by specific practical factors, in particular by the increasing use of camels as beasts of burden (Artzy 1994:134-135; Restö 1991).[35] In the light of the present evidence, it is tempting to postulate that this type of trade was specifically linked to metal resources and to metallurgical activities at Timna and, very likely, in the Wadi Feinan. The 12th-11th century cave burials in the Baq'ah valley are accompanied by rich finds, including iron rings and bracelets (McGovern *et al.* 1986:245, 272-278) which recall the production of similar iron jewellery at Timna, associated both with the Hathor temple site (in its Egyptian and post-Egyptian "Midianite" phase) and with Area F site 2 (Rothenberg 1972; Gale *et al.* 1990:185-189). Moreover, similar items of iron jewellery are also found in the 12th-11th century graves from Tell el-Far'ah thus strengthening the evidence for connections between the southern coastal plain and the Jordanian desert.

Very likely, incense from southern Arabia also travelled up the desert routes, via the Jordan and the Jezreel valleys (Artzy 1994), or along the northern borders of the Negev to the southern coast. Incense trade in the Iron I period is notably evidenced by the fact that incense burners/incense stands (or chalices) constitute a typical feature of Philistine material culture; as seen above (chapter 4, pp. 128-129), a few of those objects attested in the late 12th-early 11th century tombs of Tell el-Far'ah (some in association with Philistine Bichrome) suggests that incense probably reached the site at that time.[36] In this respect, it may be worth emphasising the conspicuous increase in the numbers of lamps in tombs dating from the mid-12th to the 11th century, compared to the

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[35] For finds of camel bones at Tell Jemmeh, see Wapnish 1981:102. On the other hand it is not without interest to note that camels were apparently not used as beasts of burden in Egypt before the Ptolemaic Period (Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Sylvestre 1977). This may not be a fortuitous coincidence, but may represent an intentional policy of isolationism which is evocative of the similar attitude already adopted by Egypt with regard to the development of the production and consumption of early utilitarian iron (see above, chapter 5, p. 254).

late 13th-early 12th century. The large majority of these lamps bear dark soot on their inside surface, and it is possible that, beside their standard function, they were also used for burning incense, as part of funerary rituals.

Finally, a last and perhaps most significant feature to take into account for an investigation of east-west connections in the Early Iron Age Levant, is the Midianite pottery which appears in small quantities at sites such as Lachish, Tell Masos and Tell el-Far'ah where it appears on the tell and in Tomb 542 (Starkey and Harding 1932:29, pl. 63:53-56; Rothenberg and Glass 1983:82; and above chapter 4, pp. 219-220).[37] The occasional presence of small quantities of this pottery ware (possibly of south Arabian origin) in the southern coastal plain and the Negev confirms the existence of connections between this area and the Araba and is likely to be indicative of a trade in more valuable commodities, such as those mentioned above. At the same time, the increasing prosperity of sites such as Tell Masos from the mid 12th century onwards, together with an upsurge of small sites in the Negev highlands and in the Araba, some of them maybe representing a process of sedentarisation of hitherto nomadic groups, strongly suggests the progressive involvement of greater numbers and a greater diversity of local populations along this route (Finkelstein 1988).[38]

As long as the Timna mines were exploited by or for Egypt, it is probable that the majority of the most desirable goods from the Araba (such as incense or copper) ended up in Egypt, which was probably the main beneficiary of this trade. However, other communities were progressively entering this exchange network and, by the time Midianite pottery is found in association with Philistine Bichrome, at Tell el-Far'ah or Tell Masos, and appears at other Negev sites in the late 12th-early 11th century (cf.

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[36] It should be noted, however, that none of the chalices from the Tell el-Far'ah tombs actually bore visible traces of use.

[37] Single items of Midianite pottery also occur in an unknown context at Gezer and in a Late Bronze Age tomb at Jedur. For the distribution of Midianite pottery in Palestine, see Barako 2000: table 2.

Dothan 1982:86-87), it is likely that Egypt was no longer the main motivator of this trade and the prime recipient of its products. The subsequent appearance and wide diffusion of the Red Slip Burnished throughout this extended area (Bauer 1998:162) reveals the robustness of the desert route as part of a long-term pattern of trading networks which continued in the later 11th century and beyond.[39]

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[38] For another interpretation of the Early Iron Negev sites, see Cohen 1979.

[39] The persistence of this desert route, and of the relationships it implied between southern Palestine and southern Jordan, is still attested centuries later with finds of Nabatean pottery at several Negev sites, among others at Tell el-Far'ah itself (see above chapter 2, p. 35).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

One of the main aims of this study has been the identification of patterns of cultural interaction and influences manifest in the tombs of the site of Tell el-Far'ah in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages and their interpretation in both their immediate and wider geographical and chronological contexts. Although this research was primarily based on pottery, the rich assemblage of small finds attested in the tombs and, to a lesser extent, tomb structure and burial customs, have also contributed significantly to the handling of these issues.

An important conclusion emerging from this work is that the cemeteries from Tell el-Far'ah do not bear witness to any sort of strong and dramatic cultural break at the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. With the exception of the 900 cemetery, all graveyards considered here were used (sometimes with some interruptions), over extended periods of time. Though, in some cemeteries at least, tombs broadly belonging to the same period may form coherent spatial units (see above, chapter 3, pp. 49-52), the same general areas around the tell remained designated for the disposal of the dead over centuries, thus pointing to a clear continuity in local funerary customs. This character of continuity not only manifests itself through straightforward spatial consistency, but it is also expressed by the general homogeneity of burial practices and tomb structures noticeable in the cemeteries. The use of the lined or unlined shaft grave (usually for single burials) is dominant throughout the period considered here and, similarly, the various types of chamber tombs for multiple burials are also attested in both LB IIB and Iron I, with antecedents going back to MB IIC (see above, chapter 3, p. 67).

As far as grave goods are concerned, the nature of the general assemblage of pottery and small finds is also relatively consistent from the 13th to the late 11th century. In terms of pottery, continuity is visible in the persistence of certain manufacturing methods and styles and though certain shapes, in particular pilgrim flasks and lamps, clearly become more popular in the course of the 12th century, bowls and juglets remain the most frequently attested items in the tombs throughout the period considered here. Among the main technological changes apparent in the local ceramic assemblage of the 12th century are the gradual diminution of the habit of chaff tempering for bowls, jugs/juglets and cooking-pots, and the increased practice of using quartz-rich clays and slips for painted and unpainted wares. However, pastes containing significant amounts of sand-quartz were widespread in the southern Levant already before that time and, as such, this latter feature cannot be interpreted as a sign of dramatic and significant techno-cultural change. As for the small finds, the favoured jewellery types continue to be the drop-lunate earrings and the plain open-ended bracelets and anklets in LB II and Iron I alike. Although some items of jewellery (in particular bracelets and anklets) and metal tools and weapons begin to be made of iron after the introduction of this metal in the 12th century, copper alloys remain the commonest materials for this type of artefact. Finally, the Egyptian or egyptianizing small portable objects (scarabs and amulets) are also found in association with burials dating from LB II to Iron IB-IIA, and point to the persistence of a certain form of Egyptian influence in the area of Tell el-Far'ah. The use of the anthropoid sarcophagi (very likely also a feature deriving from Egyptian funerary customs), on the other hand, may be more restricted in time, at least as far as Tell el-Far'ah is concerned, since it is only attested in tombs dating from the late 13th to the mid-12th century.

One of the drawbacks inherent in the general element of continuity outlined above is that it makes it difficult to determine exactly when Egyptian occupation ended at Tell el-Far'ah.[40] Despite an undeniable diminution in the numbers of scarabs over the 12th and 11th centuries other features bear witness to the persistence of a pronounced Egyptian influence at the site. Egyptian-type faience amulets (some of which were locally-made) and egyptianizing pottery shapes continue to be found in some of the Iron I tombs, in the late 12th and 11th centuries (e.g. Tombs 635, 821, 851, 856). Moreover, the iconography of the locally-made conoid-seals, which do not appear in southern Palestine before Iron I, is strongly marked by egyptianizing elements (see above, chapter 5, p. 231). All this suggests that the cultural impact of Egypt on the area of southern Canaan certainly outlasted any form of direct military or political Egyptian dominance in the region. However, although the end of the Egyptian presence at Tell el-Far'ah cannot be dated on the basis of internal evidence only, more accurate data from other sites in the Levant afford further insight into the question. The long-lasting Egyptian occupation of the mining centre of Timna and of the garrison of Beth Shan, in particular, provide good arguments for suggesting that the site remained under Egyptian control until the late 12th century at least, probably around the reign of Ramesses V (see above, p. 295 and *Appendix*).

Beside its relevance for chronological issues, the long duration and the consistency of the cultural influence of Egypt at Tell el-Far'ah is pertinent to several aspects of the site's ancient socio-cultural background. First, it appears that the process of acculturation to Egypt in southern Palestine was selective and that all the features which were borrowed from that area were adapted to fit the needs, beliefs and purposes

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[40] It is possible that a renewed and detailed analysis of the contemporary settlement strata on the tell would help in clarifying this question. However, Fritz (2000) also noted a continuity in terms of urbanism and architectural structure in the southern Levant in the LB II-Iron I period, an element which may also

of the local population. While elements such as scarabs, amulets, anthropoid coffins and certain pottery types form part of the standard grave assemblage at Tell el-Far'ah, other common Egyptian objects, such as shabtis or head-rests are not found in the tombs.[41] This weakens the possibility that Egyptian (especially high-class officials) were actually buried at the site, unless they had abandoned much of their traditional beliefs and customs. Second, the scarabs and amulets found in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah suggest that Egypt's influence was not only the result of its political dominance, but that it was also rooted in long-established and sustained trade relationships between the two areas, since at least some of these objects were probably imported from Egypt, perhaps alongside other commodities. Moreover, the frequency of Egyptian-type artefacts in the tombs, and their apparent popularity among the local population, indicate that Egypt's impact on the site was also directly connected with religious and ideological issues. The Bastet amulets, which, in the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries, significantly increase in numbers from the late 12th century onwards suggest that the area of Tell el-Far'ah may have developed some special connections with the site of Tell Basta in the eastern Nile Delta, precisely at a time when the north of Egypt was gaining independence from Thebes, and quite likely, getting more intimately involved in the East Mediterranean trade.

Beside that from Egypt, many other foreign influences can be documented in the tombs examined here, where they are also found in association with local features. Thus, Egyptian or Egyptian-style scarabs, amulets or pottery-types are very often attested in the same contexts as objects reflecting Cypriot, Aegean and/or Canaanite traditions.

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be corroborated by the evidence from Tell el-Far'ah (see above, chapter 2, pp. 43-44). On the subject of urbanism continuity between Bronze and Iron Age in Canaan, see also Bunimovitz 1998:108.

The way the relationship with the Aegean is expressed in the tombs is particularly interesting, because although it cannot be documented by actual imports, it is manifest in the relatively widespread diffusion of locally-made ceramic types such as pyxides, stirrup-jars or piriform jars, which are directly inspired by, or imitated from, Mycenaean pottery shapes and decorative styles. This suggests that by the later 13th-early 12th century, the southern Levant, following the Cypriot example, was thoroughly engaged in the manufacturing of its own Aegean-style pottery and that this production had, by then, totally displaced the LH IIIA-B wares which were hitherto imported to the area. The same phenomenon of import substitution is also apparent in the late 13th century for Cypriot wares with the local (wheelmade) imitations of handmade Base Ring juglets and White Shaved dippers (e.g. in Tombs 902 or 905, to cite but a few). While many of these types are progressively assimilated into the local ceramic repertoire during the earlier part of the 12th century (e.g. Base Ring juglets and decorated stirrup-jars), imitations of a new type of Cypriot imports are again encountered in the mid-12th and 11th centuries, notably with the series of juglets decorated with incised triangles (see above p. 311) which are evocative of the wheelmade Cypriot Bucchero of LC III.

This consideration leads to another important point which arises from this study, namely the maintenance of cultural and probably commercial connections between Cyprus and at least parts of the Levant during the 12th century. In effect, the relationships between Cyprus and Tell el-Far'ah are not only evidenced in the Late Bronze Age (with the White Painted VI wares in LB I and, in LB IIB, with a few handmade pots and one example of White Painted Wheelmade III), but they can also be traced down throughout the 12th-11th centuries with the imported and imitated wheelmade Bucchero juglets and isolated examples of White Painted I and II. Other

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[41] Incidentally, such objects are totally absent from Palestinian funerary contexts in general.

elements attested in the tombs, such as certain items of jewellery which can be paralleled on Cyprus and the iron knives with ivory handles (see above, p. 313) contribute to cast doubt on the assumption that contacts between the two areas were suddenly interrupted after the 13th century. An alternative explanation, which would take into account the general scarcity of Cypriot pottery imports in Syria/Palestine during the earlier Iron Age, would be to suggest that the nature of these relationships changed at about that time, and that from a trade initially centred on pottery in the 14th-13th centuries, Cyprus started to deal with a wider range of products. Features like the Bucchero juglets and the iron knives point to an increase in the circulation of metal goods, and it is very likely that other materials which usually do not survive in the archaeological record, in particular textiles or incense, were also traded to and from the island. Moreover, the Cypriot or Cypriot-derived character of "Philistine Monochrome" as well as the progressive convergence in pottery wares and shapes throughout the region which continues into the early 1st millennium B.C. (Bikai 1994), provide a further illustration of the persistence, if not intensification, of cultural and commercial exchanges between the two areas in the course of Iron I.

Other important conclusions resulting from the study of the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries concern the question of the Philistine pottery. In the first place, it appears that the analysis of the contexts in which Philistine Bichrome is found cannot be used as evidence for an actual Philistine presence at the site (just like Egyptian-type scarabs and amulets could not serve as a categorical demonstration that Egyptians were residing and being buried at Tell el-Far'ah); nor can Philistine Bichrome be presented as a proof that the site was included into a distinct and coherent Philistine territory. On the other hand, the Bichrome Philistine pottery from Tell el-Far'ah has put the emphasis on a number of issues attached to the definition of the ware. A main consideration is that similar types

of wheelmade bichrome pottery also turn up in various areas of the coastal Levant which lie well beyond the traditional Philistine borders (for example at Dor or 'Akko). Although these instances are sometimes considered as Philistine imports, they are occasionally identified as local "derivative Myc IIIC:1b".

Comparable problems of terminology, definition and identification are even more blatant with the earlier "Philistine Monochrome/Myc IIIC:1b" ware, which is only called Philistine when it is found at sites located within the traditional Philistine territory, and "Myc IIIC:1b"or "Myc IIIC:1b derivative" when it occurs elsewhere in the Levant.[42] As it is, the geographically-restricted association between this ware and the Philistines mainly results from an over-simplistic equation of pots and people, in which ethnic groups, conceived as essentialist entities, can be readily identified on the basis of their pottery styles, and from a predetermined historical scenario which ultimately rests on 19th-20th century readings of Egyptian documents and interpretations of Biblical narratives (see *Appendix*). If nothing else, however, the widespread diffusion of pottery of "Myc IIIC:1b" style along the Levantine coast is enough to cast doubt on the notion that this ware was tightly connected to a specific ethnicity (whether these are identified with the Philistines or with some other ethnic groups).[43] A more commonsensical view would be to suggest that the whole of the Levant was at that time taking part in a related ceramic phenomenon (namely the development of a local

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[42] Locally-made "Myc IIIC:1b" (or related wares) is notably reported from the following Levantine sites: Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni, Lagarce and Saliby 1978:246, fig. 28; Bounni *et al.* 1979:245-257, figs. 19:11-12, 14, 25:1-2, 7-12; Bounni and Lagarce 1989:94), Ras el-Basit (Courbin 1986-1987:108-109), Tell Sukas (Riis 1973:204-205; 1961-1962:140), Sarepta (Anderson 1988:273, pls. 28:19, 30:10; Koehl 1985:44-45, 119-122, figs. 20:192-196, 21:197-199; Herscher 1975:90-91, fig. 26:4-5), Byblos (Salles 1980:30, 66, pls. 11:2a-b, 7a-c, 10:9), 'Akko (M.Dothan 1981). For other possible find-spots in Syria-Palestine, see Finkelstein (1998; 2000:164) and Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993:111); for comparable finds from Cilicia and the 'Amuq, see Goldman (1956:227-229, figs. 336-337; 1963: fig. 57:74) and Swift (1958:71-79).

[43] Various attempts have been made to assign this pottery to other groups of "Sea Peoples" mentioned in the Egyptian records: for example the Shardana at 'Akko (M.Dothan 1981) or the Tjekker, Teukrian or Sikils at Dor (Stern 1993; Weinstein 1998:190-191; Stern 1998).

production of Aegean-style pottery) which had certainly more to do with shared socio-economic circumstances than with the sudden arrival of foreign populations.

The fact that "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" was not identified in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah has generally been interpreted in ethno-cultural terms: i.e. as a demonstration that the Philistines did not occupy the site during the first phase of their settlement in the area.[44] However, the presence of locally-made Aegean-style pottery in the tombs of the 900 cemetery (as well as one probable Cypriot import of White Painted Wheelmade III) shows that the production of Aegean-style wares was not necessarily related to the intervention of the "Sea Peoples" of the Egyptian texts. Since the process of import substitution illustrated by these artefacts was already well underway in the Levant, and to a greater extent on Cyprus, in the late 13th century, it makes it possible to suggest that the Early Iron Age aegeanizing wares of southern Palestine merely represent the continuation of this pre-existing, essentially economic-driven, pottery phenomenon. While part of this production (in particular closed shapes such as stirrup-jars) may derive directly from the Mycenaean imported and imitated vessels of the 13th century, the appearance, essentially in domestic contexts, of the typical monochrome-painted bowls of the early 12th century may actually be interpreted as Levantine versions of the Cypriot wheelmade bowls of LC IIC-IIIA. The degree to which such production was integrated into the local material culture, is also evidenced at Tell el-Far'ah where a few tombs produced a number of decorated bowls which are very similar to the "Myc IIIC:1b" bowls found in the early Philistine sites of the Pentapolis (see above, chapter 4, pp. 119-121, 127). The same can be can be said of a few feeding-bottles and of some of the one-handled "cooking-jugs" from Tell el-Far'ah, which, when found at sites such as Ashdod or Tell Miqne are considered as a hallmark of the early

Philistine material culture (Killebrew 2000:242), as well as of the series of monochrome-decorated sherds from the settlement on the tell mentioned above (chapter 4, p. 127, pl. 403) and in the Appendix.

Thus, many of the apparently intractable problems concerning ethno-cultural identity, which have traditionally been raised by the material from the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries, actually become less intractable if we stop trying to associate artefacts and people in a restrictive and artificial way. Instead, by considering the site and its material in its wider socio-cultural and economic context and by keeping in mind its specific geographical setting, many features of the cemeteries begin to make sense in a more long-term perspective.

Much of Tell el-Far'ah's specificity is owed to its strategic geographical position, on the border of Egypt and along two main trade routes which remained in use throughout antiquity. It is situated both along the Way of Horus, which broadly follows the coastline from Egypt to Lebanon, and along the inland route which used to link Gaza to Beer-Sheva and beyond that, to the Dead Sea and the Jordan valley to the north, and to the Araba to the south. The tell also lies on the bank of the Wadi Guzzeh which reaches its mouth near Tell el-Ajjûl, at about 25 km. from Tell el-Far'ah, and was thus directly connected to the Mediterranean sea and to its trade networks.

It is therefore not surprising to see a mixture of diverse foreign cultural influences blending together with local features in the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah. Moreover, many of the artefacts which reflect non-local traditions in the tombs may be considered as physical tracers for trade in more important commodities which, for various reasons, are unlikely to survive in the archaeological record. The Cypriot Base Ring juglets, for example, were perhaps imported to the Levantine coast principally for

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[44] For the proponents of the Levantine low chronology, its absence from the 900 cemetery has also been used as a chronological argument for down-dating the inception of the ware to the late 12th century

their content (whether this was opium or some other substance) while the Cypriot Bucchero juglets, and their local imitations, may point to the existence of an important metal trade in the 12th century East Mediterranean. The Midianite juglet from Tomb 542 and the other Midianite sherds from the tell may allude to the commerce of incense from Arabia; likewise the presence of the locally-made chalices (or incense burners) and the abundance of lamps in the Iron I tombs. These perishable goods were not the only type of material which travelled up and down the trade routes mentioned above. Items such as the Egyptian scarabs and amulets and the tradition of the clay sarcophagi, which point to a certain familiarity with Egyptian beliefs and customs, suggest that political and religious ideologies were also disseminated along the same routes, probably alongside a range of more tangible commodities.

But at Tell el-Far'ah, external influences are mainly manifest in the local manufacture of artefacts of foreign type in both LB II and Iron I alike. Whether these objects are Aegean or Cypriot-style pottery, egyptianizing amulets, scarabs or sarcophagi, they all suggest that the local populations of the southern Levant were well accustomed to, and often practised various types of import substitution which may all have been the result of a shared economic motivation, namely the displacement by local imitations of probably more costly (often better quality) hitherto imported products. In this perspective, the emergence of the "Philistine Monochrome" ware can be interpreted as an expression of the same kind of phenomenon, in which Levantine potters started to produce their own versions of contemporary Cypriot wheelmade vessels. It is therefore justifiable to view Philistine Monochrome and its related wares as a fundamentally Levantine trend with, however, definite influences from Cyprus and with a direct relation to the tradition of the Mycenaean pottery imitations of LB IIB.

(Finkelstein 1998:142; 2000:164; and below *Appendix*, pp. 342-343).

Thus, the specific character of the Tell el-Far'ah tombs and their contents during LB II and Iron I can be best summed up as the product of the site's geo-political location in relation to the interests of its powerful neighbour Egypt, and of its physical position, at the intersection of several important land and sea routes which were channelling the movement not only of goods and materials, but also of ideas and peoples throughout the last few centuries of the 2nd millennium.

Epilogue

Without denying that there was a certain degree of mobility among the populations of the diverse areas of the Mediterranean, this research has suggested an alternative view to the theory of a massive and systematic migration (or invasion) into the area of Philistia in the 12th century. Evidence for destruction of sites and for the settlement of foreign populations in the southern Levant is not conclusive enough to support the theory of a foreign occupation either at the turn of the 13th-12th centuries or later. As a case study, the site of Tell el-Far'ah does not provide further arguments in this direction either in terms of site architecture and or in terms of funerary traditions.

Another important point which has emerged from the present work, concerns the maintenance (and possibly even intensification) of contacts between mainland Levant and Cyprus in the 12th century. There are signs that not only were interconnections kept alive, but also that the island may have played an important role in the formation of the cultural environment of the Early Iron Age of the coastal Levant. Such interactions can be detected both in terms of metallurgical innovations (elaboration and consumption of early utilitarian iron) and ceramic traditions (e.g. in the presence of Bucchero ware in Southern Palestine -and of its local imitations), which, as technological and material

culture imports often are, were likely to be paired with specific socio-politic or economic conceptions.[45]

Besides discussing specific socio-cultural and historical scenarios for the period of the late 13th-12th century Levant, this research has also helped to raise several questions which might require further investigation. High in the list is the problem of pottery terminology and ware definition with regard to the early "Philistine Monochrome/Myc IIIC:1b" or other type of aegeanising pottery wares of the beginning of the 12th century. The uncertainties concerning identification of, and distinction between the various forms of Mycenaean and Cypro-Mycenaean imitated and inspired wares in the Levant remain for a large part an open question. The study of the Tell el-Far'ah cemeteries has only pointed to the diversity and to the wide diffusion, both in time and space, of this sort of pottery. Satisfactory treatment of the problem, however, lies beyond the scope of the present research and can only be addressed through large-scale comparative study of the material and its diverse contexts.

Another question which has only been alluded to in the present work, but which may be worth investigating in more detail in the future, concerns the development of specific forms of regionalism, versus a certain trend to syncretism, in the material culture of the Early Iron Age Levant (including Transjordan) and its possible connection to socio-political changes in the region (Venturi 2000:1721). Such

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[45] Metals and metalwork, in particular, may have played an important part in this process. Already in the 13th-12th centuries similar metal types (such as tripod- and incense-stands) appear in Cyprus and the Levantine coast ; in the 12th-11th centuries, remains of wheeled stands of Cypriot type are found at sites such as Tell Miqne and Tell Qasile (Dothan and Dothan 1992:248-250; cf. Mazar 1991:101, pl. 22:2). Moreover, another significant feature is the proliferation of often quite small-scale metal-working installations, frequently using ready-alloyed bronze-scrap at such widely-spread sites as Sarepta, Tell Nami and 'Akko on the central coast, Tell Qasile, Tell Mor and Beth Shemesh in or close to Philistia, Tell es-Zuweyid and Tell Masos in the far south, Beth Shan and Deir 'Alla in the Jordan valley, and Tell Dan in the northern Galilee (Artzy 1994; Pritchard 1975; M. Dothan 1981:111; 1989:60-63; Tubb 2000). A similar pattern is also seen on Cyprus (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1998; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998) and on the late 13th century Gelidonya wreck (Bass 1967). What it possibly represents is a progressive decentralisation of bronze production throughout the East Mediterranean in the hands of small-scale metalworkers, facilitated by an increase in the circulation of commodified bronze scrap –a process which may well have been pioneered initially by Cypriot commercial traders (Sherratt 2000).

investigation may provide important insights into the emergence of the early Phoenician city-states and the interactive relationships which they certainly maintained with the southern Levant and Egypt (Aubet 2000:81-82; Homès-Frederiq 1987). It may also contribute to explaining how the new social order of the Iron Age Levant, while progressively distinguishing itself into coherent political entities, retained a great deal of the ideological heritage of the Egyptian empire. Consciously or not, it still relied on, and used to its own advantage, the well-established iconographical or formulaic models which had traditionally been used as expressions of power by the Egyptian rulers. This is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the overriding egyptianizing element which is so obvious in the arts and crafts of the Phoenicians, especially during the earliest phase of their political and commercial expansion.

Although the present research was essentially based on a specific case-study it has shed some light on several aspects of the transition from LB II to Iron I, not only in the area directly surrounding Tell el-Far'ah, but also in a broader East Mediterranean context. The questions which have been addressed in the course of this work and the issues it has raised suggest that, at that time, a considerable part of the Mediterranean was becoming progressively involved in widespread and long-term socio-cultural and economic transformations which resulted both in and from the weakening and gradual disappearance of the palace-controlled trade mechanisms and political ideologies of the Bronze Age. More specifically, this study has demonstrated that, in spite of its modest size and even though its location on the border of Egypt was liable to set some limits to the extent of its political and ideological autonomy, the site of Tell el-Far'ah nevertheless fully partook in the development of these new strategies and in the emergence of the new social order of the nascent Iron Age.

APPENDIX

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TELL EL-FAR'AH CEMETERIES

This appendix is intended to provide a brief summary of the main conclusions concerning the relative and absolute chronology of the tombs from Tell el-Far'ah. It also gives a broad overview of the main chronologico-historical issues associated with their period of use.

Although the majority of the tombs from Tell el-Far'ah were single burials (used on only one occasion), a smaller but significant number of graves contained more than one individual, thus rendering more complex the process of ascribing precise dates to each individual tomb. The large majority of the pit and shaft graves at least did not contain more than two burials, manifestly placed in the tomb at about the same time (if not on a single occasion). These double graves are certainly to be understood as containing the remains of members of a same family and the material furnishings found in them were probably deposited in the tombs contemporaneously or within a short period of time. This is particularly clear in the case of Tomb 832 which can be interpreted as the simultaneous (or nearly simultaneous) burial of a mother and child, neatly placed on their back, side by side.

The few shaft graves which contained more than two burials are in general more problematic. Tomb 104, for instance, containing 4 burials, appears to have been used over a considerable period of time. To judge by the bulk of the pottery and small finds which it produced, the main period of use of this tomb can be situated between the late 12th and the mid-11th century. However, the presence in the grave of a Persian period

storage-jar shows that the tomb was re-opened at least once several centuries after its first use. However, Tomb 104 is a rather exceptional case and, in general, to judge by the chronological homogeneity of the material found in even the larger chamber tombs containing multiple burials, it can be postulated that tombs were generally not re-opened for more than about 50-75 years after their first use.

The earliest tombs considered in this study are all located in the 600 cemetery (Tombs 611-614, 657) and date to the LB I period. Tombs ascribable to the following LB I-IIA period are even scarcer and are limited to Tomb 739 and 549. The later Bronze Age (LB IIB), on the other hand, is much better represented with the majority of the tombs in the 900 cemetery, plus isolated ones in the 800 and 500 cemeteries (Tombs 539, 543, 856). Tombs dating to the beginning of the Iron Age (Iron IA-B) are more numerous still. They consist of 41 tombs in the 500 cemetery, 44 in the 600 cemetery, 52 in the 800 cemetery, and 30 in the 100 cemetery. The latest tombs analysed here (Tombs 131-133, 522, 534, 540 and 546) are dating to the Iron IB period, possibly extending into the Iron IIA, when the 200 cemetery begins to be used extensively.

As is clear from the parallels cited above (chapters 4 and 5) for both pottery and small finds, the bulk of these graves fall in the extended period going from the time of the cemetery of Deir el-Balah, the Fosse Temple III at Lachish and Deir 'Alla Stratum E-F, to Tell Qasile Strata XII-XI. This period can also be illustrated by the finds from Ashdod Strata XIV-XIIIb, Tell Miqne-Ekron VII-VI, from Beth Shan Strata VII-VI and from the Northern Cemetery at the same site.

Considered in a wider context, the end of the LB IIB period (the last period in the Levant as a whole which is associated with the imports of Mycenaean (LH IIIB) pottery from the Aegean) coincides roughly with the 19th Dynasty in Egypt and particularly with the long reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC: Kitchen 1987:38-40).

This chronological correlation is notably supported by the finds from the Kharji cemetery at Beirut (Chehab 1955), where LH IIIB vases and sherds were found in association with an alabaster vessel engraved with the full names of Ramesses II (Warren and Hankey 1989:156-157, fig. 11; Hankey 1967:119-120; 1979:149, fig. 2). The end of LB IIB is generally placed at the consensual date of ±1200 BC. That this period, and the duration of the pottery trade with the Aegean, can be extended for a few decades beyond that date, at least at some sites, is suggested by the evidence from Deir 'Alla where a faience bowl bearing the cartouche of queen Tauseret (1185-1180 BC) provides a *terminus post quem* for the LB IIB destruction layer at the site (Franken 1961: pl. 5; 1964:420). To all appearances, the cessation of Mycenaean pottery imports to the east Mediterranean was a gradual phenomenon to which it may be difficult to ascribe a precise date. In the light of the available evidence, however, the decline seems to have taken place during the last decades of the 13th century BC,[1] contemporaneously with the development of local productions of aegeanising pottery, first on Cyprus and soon after in the Levant (see above, chapter 6). In any case, it seems that by the time of Ramesses III (1184-1153), Mycenaean pottery was not circulating any more in the Levant. This is for example illustrated at the site of Tell esh-Shari'a, where a bowl with an Egyptian hieratic inscription dated to the time of Ramesses III (Goldwasser 1984:77-80, 85) was found in Stratum IX, which lies directly above the stratum containing the latest Mycenaean LH IIIB as well as Cypriot WS II and BR II imports (Oren 1993b:1331, photo); a similar object, also naming Ramesses III, comes from Lachish Stratum VI (Starkey 1937:237-238, pl. 7; Goldwasser 1982). This series of synchronisms is corroborated by evidence from Ugarit. The last level of the city, which

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[1] There are for example very few positively identifiable Argive LH IIIB2 imports in the east Mediterranean. A notable exception is the LH IIIB2 deep bowl from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 6 (cf. Kling 1989:170).

contains Mycenaean LH IIIB imports,[2] also yielded a sword bearing the cartouche of Merneptah (1213-1204 B.C.; Warren and Hankey 1989:157-159; Schaeffer 1956b; Helck 1995:93). The final destruction of the city, however, on the basis of epistolary exchange between the last Ugaritic king, Ammurapi, and the Egyptian pharaoh, should be dated a few decades later than Merneptah's reign to between 1195 and 1185 BC (Bordreuil 1987:297; Helck 1995; Yon 1992).

The chronology of the phase directly following the cessation of Mycenaean imports to the east is more problematic, principally because the bases of the diverse historical interpretations of this period essentially rest on late 19th century readings of Egyptian documents and Biblical narratives. The scenes and inscriptions of the temple of Medinet Habu have conventionally been seen as the historical account, on the part of the Egyptians, of a process of mass-invasion of the eastern Mediterranean by foreign tribes arriving by both land and sea. This impression was all the more reinforced by the fact that the invaders depicted on the Medinet Habu reliefs are shown travelling with their wives, children, cattle and all their possessions stacked in wheeled carts, in very much the same way as 19th century historians tended to imagine the European "Great Invasions" of the high Middle Ages. The Aegean origin of some of the foreigners represented at Medinet Habu, notably of the Pelesets, originally identified by Champolion with the Biblical Philistines, became established in traditional scholarship after Tiersch introduced the label "Philistine" to designate a particular kind of bichrome decorated pottery presenting broad Aegean stylistic affinities which had been first identified at Tell es-Safi by Bliss and Macalister (1902). The date of the inception of this pottery which was seen as the archaeological manifestation of the Philistine presence in the area, was initially set in the years directly following the defeat of the

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[2] However, it is worth noticing that a proportion of the pottery of LH IIIB type which is found in the site's final stage may actually have been produced on Cyprus (Yon, Karageorghis and Hirschfeld 2000:15, 64-

"Sea Peoples" and their retreat from the borders of Egypt, as related on the Medinet Habu temple.[3]

From the 1970s onwards, archaeologists working at Ashdod, Tell Mikne-Ekron, and Ashkelon, all sites traditionally associated with the Biblical Philistines, discovered that the bichrome Philistine pottery was there preceded by an earlier pottery class of related type decorated in monochrome paint. Because of the Aegean-looking style of this pottery, and because it particularly resembled the pottery of Mycenaean style produced on Cyprus during the LC IIIA period, the term of "Myc IIIC:1b" (i.e. one of the names applied to the latter pottery class on Cyprus) was retained to designate this ware.

T.Dothan, who excavated at both Ashdod and Ekron, was among the first to identify the locally-made "Myc IIIC:1b" in Palestine. She suggested that this monochrome pottery represented a first "wave" of "Sea Peoples" settlers of Aegean background, who occupied a selected number of sites of the southern coastal plain around 1200 BC (T.Dothan 1982:293-294).[4] While she confined the production and use of "Myc IIIC:1b" to the first quarter of the 12th century, T. Dothan kept the traditional date of c. 1175 for the arrival of the Philistines whose presence she associated with the appearance of the Bichrome pottery. Her chronological sequence for the whole period was subsequently revised by Mazar (1985c), who argued that the monochrome "Myc III:C1b" ware represents an earlier phase of Philistine pottery associated with the Philistine settlement in Canaan which resulted from the events of Ramesses III's eighth regnal year, while Philistine Bichrome only developed some time later. In support of his views, Mazar pointed out that Philistine Bichrome is never attested in stratigraphical

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[3] For an account of the 19th and 20th century history of Philistine pottery and its interpretation, see Sharon 2001.

contexts ascribable to Ramesses III [5] and used the evidence of the Ramesses X scarab from Tomb 532 (**532/S3**) at Tell el-Far'ah (which contains early Philistine Bichrome pottery) to push down the date of the first appearance of Philistine Bichrome to c. 1150 B.C., at the earliest.

Mazar's historical reconstruction and its associated chronology has since been quite widely accepted by archaeologists working in the southern Levant (e.g. Dever 1992; Oren 1993a; Stager 1995). However, in recent years, it has been questioned above all by Ussishkin (1985; 1998:217) and Finkelstein (1995; 1998; 1999) who have pointed to the absence of Philistine Monochrome "Myc IIIC:1b" pottery in levels containing finds datable to the reign of Ramesses III, at sites such as Lachish Stratum VI and Tell esh-Shari'a Stratum IX, which are both located in the direct vicinity of the traditional Philistine territory. This observation, together with other auxiliary evidence, led these scholars to conclude that Philistine Monochrome ware did not appear until well after the time of Ramesses III, and possibly not before the end of the reign of Ramesses VI (c. 1135 BC).[6] Since the advocates of the low chronology agree with Mazar's suggestion that Philistine Bichrome is the stylistic successor of the earlier monochrome ware, its inception was brought down to the 11th century, thus allowing a time-span of a few decades for the period of production and use of the monochrome pottery.

This low chronology has been criticised fiercely by Mazar and others (Mazar 1997c; Ben Tor 2000; Ben Tor and Ben Ami 1998) who object to the proposal on the ground that it is based on *negative* rather than on any positive evidence (Mazar

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[4] Dothan connected this first wave with the confrontation between Egypt and the "Sea Peoples" during Merneptah's Libyan's war; see also M. Dothan 1989; T. Dothan 1983; 1989; Gitin and Dothan 1994.

[5] Though it may, of course, be associated with objects inscribed with his name which survive into strata post-dating his reign.

[6] One of the determinant archaeological context often mentioned in this discussion is the 900 cemetery at Tell el-Far'ah. According to the supporters of the low chronology the tombs of this cemetery are broadly dated to the first half of the 12th century, notably on the basis of the Ramesses IV scarabs from Tombs 934 and 960 (**934/S70**; **960/S7**). Thus the fact that these tombs do not contain any Philistine Monochrome

1997c:158). Since it has now been shown that the end of Level VI at Lachish (associated with the reign of Ramesses III) was, to all appearances, followed by a hiatus in occupation (Ussishkin 1985:219), it is difficult to know with certainty whether the ware would have appeared there in late 12th century levels, and, thus, whether this absence can be granted chronological significance or if it is due to other factors (e.g. a selective distribution of the ware). The fact that "Myc IIIC:1b" was not found at the site of Tell esh-Shari'a is even less conclusive in favour of the low chronology since in this case Philistine Bichrome appears in Level X directly above the level which produced the Ramesses III bowl, to all appearances, without any break in occupation. This may suggest, as argued by Mazar and others, that the presence or absence of the monochrome pottery at certain sites of the southern Levant should be interpreted in other ways than in terms of chronology only and that its diffusion may have more to do with specific political and socio-economic circumstances. Another problem inherent to the very low date suggested by Finkelstein and others for the appearance of "Myc IIIC:1b" is that it would contradict the evidence from Ugarit and its harbour towns, Ras Ibn Hani and Ras el-Bassit, where locally-made "Myc IIIC:1b" pottery is attested in the level directly following the destruction of c. 1195-1185 (e.g. Bounni, Lagarce and Saliby 1978; 1979; Courbin 1983; 1986-1987; 1990:503-506; Caubet 1992:124-127), not to mention the confusion it would create in the Cypriot sequence (e.g. Mazar and Carmi 2001:1340). The recent use of 14C dating from sites such as Tell Rehov, Beth Shean, Megiddo and Dor have not yet provided definite results in favour of either proposal (Mazar and Carmi 2001; Gilboa and Sharon 2001), but dates from Cyprus at least tend to confirm the traditional chronology which places the beginning of LC IIIA

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pottery is interpreted as another sign that the ware had not yet began during their period of use (Finkelstein 1998:142).

(and therefore the corresponding "Myc IIIC:1b" of the Levant) within a decade or two of 1200 B.C. (Manning *et al.* 2001).

In any case, even if the low chronology proposed by Ussishkin and Finkelstein has not yet found enough support to unseat the traditional sequence, it nevertheless has the merit of pointing to some significant problems inherent to the kind of text-based approach characteristic of Biblical archaeology. It notably calls attention to the tendency of many excavators of Palestinian/Israeli sites of interpreting the remains they discover in the field as a direct reflection of what Biblical, Egyptian, Hittite or Assyrian texts say, often to the neglect of the full consideration of the finds' specific contexts. One of the results of such an approach is the propensity to relate material culture to ethnicity in a way which not only bypasses the difficulty of defining ethnicity and identifying ethnic diversity in past societies, but which also tends to ignore the simple fact that people of a given community may possess and use material otherwise characteristic of other ethnic groups. Thus, it is often assumed by adherent of the traditional higher chronology that monochrome pottery can only occur at the sites where the Philistines originally settled, that is at the five cities of the "Pentapolis" mentioned in the Bible. This methodological issue is further exacerbated by the use of the term "Myc IIIC:1b", not only with regards to the vagueness of its definition in the Levant, but also because of the confusion created by the ethnic connotation which it conveys.

Nevertheless, in the light of the present evidence, the traditional chronology remains the most convincing sequence. Not only because of synchronisms with Cyprus and Ugarit, but also with regards to the archaeological correlations with Egyptian reigns for the end of the LB IIB levels at sites such as Deir 'Alla and Tell esh-Shari'a, it looks as though an approximate date earlier rather than later in the 12th century for the beginning of Iron IA

and the appearance at certain sites of Philistine monochrome ware ("Myc IIIC:1b") is to be preferred.[7]

These conclusions have also some bearing on the chronology of the cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah and vice versa. As shown above with the sites of Lachish and Tell esh-Shari'a, the fact that "Myc IIIC" was not found in the 900 cemetery cannot be used as any sort of conclusive evidence that this pottery did not appear in the Levant before the mid to late 12th century.[8] The tombs of the 500 and 800 cemeteries which contain Philistine Bichrome ware should probably be dated to the second half of the 12th century, though some of those containing multiple burials may well start earlier, contemporarily with the bulk of the 900 cemetery tombs. As seen above (chapter 4, pp. 119-121, 127), several of the pots found in Tombs 542 and 562, for example, can be related to the so-called "Myc IIIC:1b/Philistine Monochrome" ware and can be advanced as an argument for a date for the initial use of these tombs in the early 12th century.[9]

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[7] However, S. Muenger's recent work which uses scarab evidence from archaeological contexts in Egypt itself may possibly lend some support to the low chronology (Muenger, forthcoming).

[8] Although the majority of the 900 tombs date to the late 13th-early 12th century, a few may extend into the second half of the latter century without containing Philistine Monochrome either. It is also worth noticing that there are no acknowledged instances of Philistine Monochrome ("Myc IIIC:1b") pottery in funerary contexts in southern Palestine, perhaps mainly because no tombs dating to that period have yet been discovered at the early Philistine sites of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Tell es-Safi or Gaza (where "Myc IIIC:1b" is expected to occur). There are nevertheless a few bowls from tombs at Beth Shan and Gezer (as well as from the 500 cemetery at Tell el-Far'ah, cf. above, p. 331) which may be classified as Philistine Monochrome, though the label may not be unanimously acknowledged to designate these particular instances.
Finally, if "Myc IIIC:1b" was not found in the 900 cemetery, it does not forcibly imply that it was not present in the contemporary settlement on the tell. In effect, a number of pottery sherds from an undetermined context of the settlement at Tell el-Far'ah are very similar to the type of "Myc IIIC:1b" material found, for example, at the potter's workshop from Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993: p. VIII-IX).

[9] With regards to this question, it is possible that a new and more accurate definition of the so-called Myc IIIC and related wares in the Levant, as well as its relation to Bichrome Philistine ware might shed important lights on the chronological sequence of the 12th-11th centuries B.C.

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TABLE 1

CEMETERY 100			34 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate period of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
101	no tomb	-	-
102	1075-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined and covered
103	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft (?)
104	1100-1000	4	shaft, stone-lined
105	1075-1050	2	shaft
106	no tomb	-	-
107	1100-1050	1	shaft, stone-lined
108	1125-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
109	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
110	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined, covered with stones
111	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
112	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
113	Hellenistic	no bones	pit
114	1125-1050	2	shaft, covered with stones
115	1100-1050	no bones	pit
116	1075-1025	2	shaft
117	1100-1050	1	shaft
118	after 1050	1	shaft
119	1075-1025	1	shaft
120	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined and covered
121	1175-1100	1	shaft
122	1150-1100	1	shaft
123	1125-1075	1	shaft, mud-lined, covered with stones
124	1100-1050	2	shaft
125	1125-1050	no bones	pit
126	1150-1125	1	shaft
127	1100-1075	no bones	shaft
128	1100-1075	no bones	pit
129	1100-1075	no bones	pit
130	1075-1000	no bones	pit
131	1025-975	1	pit
132	1025-950	1	pit
133	1050-975	5	shaft, stone-lined
134	1100-1050	5	shaft, stone-lined
135	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
136	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft
137	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft

Cemetery 100: tomb types, dates and number of burials.

TABLE 2

CEMETERY 500			96 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate period of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
501	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
502	1150-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
503	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft
504	1050-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
505	1100-1050	1 child	shaft, stone-lined
506	1050-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
507	1050-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
508	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft
509	1125-1050	1 (?)	shaft
510	1075-1000	no bones	pit
511	1125-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
512	1100-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
513	1150-1125	1 child	pit (jar burial)
514	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
515	undetermined	1 (?)	shaft
516	1150-1100	1 child	pit (jar burial)
517	1125-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined and covered
518	1075-1025	1	shaft, stone-lined
519	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
520	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
521	undetermined	1 (?)	shaft
522	1000-950	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
523	1100-1050	2	shaft, stone-lined
524	1150-1000	5	shaft, stone-lined
525	1150-1000	3	shaft, stone-lined
526	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
527	1180-1150	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
528	1050-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
529	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
530	1050-1000	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
531	1175-1125	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
532	1175-1100	9	trapezoidal bench chamber tomb
533	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
534	1075-900	11	shaft, mud-lined
535	1250-1200	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
536	1250-1200	1 (?)	shaft
537	1300-1200	1 (?)	shaft
538	1150-1100	2	shaft
539	1250-1200	1 (?)	shaft
540	1050-900	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined and covered
541	1200-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined and covered
542	1150-1100	10	trapezoidal bench chamber tomb
543	1225-1190	1 (?)	shaft
544	1200-1150	?	trapezoidal bench chamber tomb
545	Middle Bronze Age	?	rounded chamber tomb
546	1000-900	1 (?)	shaft
547	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
548	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft

549	1450-1350	?	shaft
550	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
551	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
552	1175-1100	at least 1	trapezoidal bench chamber tomb
553	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft
554	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
555	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
556	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
557	Middle Bronze Age	?	pit
558	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft
559	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
560	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
561	Middle Bronze Age	?	pit
562	1175-1100	?	trapezoidal bench chamber tomb
563	Middle Bronze Age	1	shaft or pit
564	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
565	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
566	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
567	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
568	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
569	Middle Bronze Age	?	bilobate chamber tomb
570	Middle Bronze Age	?	rounded chamber tomb
571	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
572	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft
573	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
574	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
575	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
576	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
577	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
578	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
579	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft
580	Middle Bronze Age	1 child	pit
581	Middle Bronze Age	1 child	shaft
582	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
583	Middle Bronze Age	?	pit
584	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
585	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
586	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
587	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
588	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft
589	1200-1150	1 (?)	shaft
590	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft, with 3 chambers
591	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
592	Middle Bronze Age	1	parallel chamber tomb
593	Middle Bronze Age	?	parallel chamber tomb
594	Middle Bronze Age	?	shaft
595	Middle Bronze Age	1	parallel chamber tomb
596	Middle Bronze Age	?	rounded chamber tomb

Cemetery 500: tomb types, dates and number of burials

TABLE 3

CEMETERY 600			63 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate period of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
601	1125-1075	no bones	shaft
602	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
603	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
604	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
605	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
606	1275-1250	1 (?)	shaft
607	1100-1075	1	shaft
608	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
609	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft
610	1350-1300	no bones	shaft
611	1500-1450	1 (?)	shaft
612	1450-1350	no bones	oval shaft, mud-lined
613	1450-1400	1 (?)	shaft
614	1450-1400	1 (?)	shaft
615	1125-1075	2	shaft, stone-lined
616	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
617	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
618	1550-1500	1 (?)	shaft
619	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft
620	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
621	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
622	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
623	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined
624	1500-1450	?	pit (?)
625	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
626	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
627	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
628	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
629	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft
630	1150-1100	no bones	pit (jar burial)
631	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
632	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
633	1100-1075	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
634	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
635	1150-1125	1	shaft
636	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
637	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
638	Hellenistic	?	?
639	1150-1125	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
640	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
641	1175-1125	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
642	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined
643	1150-1125	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
644	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined
645	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined
646	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined
647	1100-1075	1	shaft
648	1150-1125	1 (?)	shaft, stone-lined

649	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined
650	Persian period	?	cist
651	Persian period	?	shaft
652	Persian period	1	shaft
653	Persian period	1	shaft
654	Persian period	1	shaft
655	Persian period	1	shaft, stone-lined
656	1150-1125	1	shaft, stone-lined
657	1500-1450	1	shaft, stone-lined
658	Middle Bronze Age	1	shaft, stone-lined
659	Middle Bronze Age	1	shaft
660	1175-1125	1	shaft, stone-lined
661	1125-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined and covered
662	Hellenistic	?	?
663	1125-1075	1	shaft (?)

Cemetery 600: tomb types, dates and number of burials

TABLE 4

CEMETERY 700			62 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate period of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
701	Persian period	1	shaft
702	no tomb	-	-
703	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
704	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
705	Iron IIC-Persian period	1 child	pit
706	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
707	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft, stone-lined
708	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
709	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
710	Persian period-Hellenistic	1 (?)	shaft with side-chamber
711	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
712	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
713	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
714	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
715	Iron IIB-C	1 (?)	shaft
716	Persian period	1	shaft
717	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
718	Persian period	1 (?)	shaft with side-chamber
719	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
720	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
721	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
722	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
723	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft with side-chamber
724	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
725	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
726	Iron IIB-C	1 (?)	pit
727	Persian period	1	shaft
728	Persian period	1	shaft
729	Persian period-Hellenistic	2	shaft with 3 chambers
730	Middle Bronze Age	1	shaft
731	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
732	Iron IIB-C	1 child	shaft
733	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
734	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft
735	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft
736	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft
737	Iron IIC-Persian period	1 child	pit
738	Middle Bronze Age	1	pit
739	1400-1350	1	shaft
740	Persian period	21	shaft
741	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft
742	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
743	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
744	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
745	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft
746	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft
747	Persian period	1	shaft
748	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft

749	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft, stone-lined
750	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
751	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
752	Persian period	1	shaft
753	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft
754	Persian period	1 child	pit
755	Persian period	1	shaft with side-chamber
756	Persian period	1 (?)	shaft with side-chamber
757	Persian period	1 (?)	shaft with side-chamber
758	Persian period	1 child	shaft
759	Persian period	1 child	shaft
760	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	pit (?)
761	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft with side-chamber
762	undetermined	1	shaft
763	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft

Cemetery 700: tomb types, dates and number of burials

TABLE 5

CEMETERY 800			61 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate period of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
801	1175-1125	1 child	shaft, mud-lined
802	1200-1100	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
803	1150-1125	1 child	shaft, mud-lined
804	1200-1100	1	shaft, mud-lined
805	1075-1025	1	shaft, mud-lined
806	1175-1100	1	shaft
807	1150-1100	1	shaft, stone-lined and covered
808	Iron IIB-C	1	shaft
809	1200-1150	1 child	shaft, mud-lined
810	1200-1100	1	shaft, mud-lined
811	1200-1150	1 child	pit
812	1150-1100	1	shaft
813	1125-1075	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
814	1150-1100	1	shaft, mud-lined
815	1150-1125	1 child	shaft
816	1150-1100	1 child	pit
817	Iron IIC-Persian period	1	shaft, stone-lined and covered
818	1100-1000	1	shaft
819	1150-1050	1 (?)	shaft
820	1150-1100	1	shaft, mud-lined
821	1025-950	1 child	shaft, mud-lined
822	1175-1125	1 (?)	shaft
823	1175-1125	1 child	shaft, mud-lined
824	Persian period	?	?
825	1125-1075	1	shaft, stone-lined
826	no tomb	-	-
827	Persian period/Hellenistic	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
828	1150-1125	1	shaft, stone-lined
829	Persian period	1	shaft
830	1150-1100	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
831	1275-1200	1 (?)	pit (?)
832	1100-1050	2	shaft
833	1100-1000	1	shaft
834	1175-1225	1	shaft, mud-lined
835	1150-1100	1 child	shaft
836	1100-1050	1 (?)	shaft
837	1225-1075	1	shaft
838	1125-1100	1 (?)	pit (?)
839	1125-1100	1	shaft
840	1150-1100	no bones	shaft
841	1125-1100	1 (?)	shaft, mud-lined
842	1200-1100	1 (?)	pit (?)
843	1125-1050	1 (?)	pit (?)
844	1100-1050	1	shaft
845	1100-1050	1 (?)	pit (jar burial)
846	1100-1075	1	shaft, mud-lined
847	11000-1000	1 (?)	pit
848	no tomb	-	-

849	1050-1000	1	shaft, mud-lined
850	Persian period	1	shaft, brick-lined, covered with stones
851	1125-1100	1	shaft
852	1150-1050	1	shaft
853	1050-950	1	shaft
854	1125-1075	1	shaft
855	1150-1100	1 baby	pit (jar burial)
856	1225-1175	1 (?)	pit
857	1200-1150	1	shaft
858	no tomb	-	-
859	1125-1075	1	shaft
860	1100-1050	1 (?)	pit
861	1150-1100	1 (?)	pit
862	1175-1125	1	pit
863	1100-1000	1	shaft
864	1050-1000	1 (?)	pit

Cemetery 800: tomb types, dates and number of burials

TABLE 6

CEMETERY 900			82 tombs
Tombs	*Approximate dates of use*	*Burials*	*Tomb type*
901	1250-1180	1	shaft
902	1300-1180	9	rounded bench chamber tomb
903	1275-1225	1 baby	shaft
904	no tomb	-	-
905	1250-1175	6	rounded bench chamber tomb
906	1225-1175	2 children	shaft
907	1200-1175	1	shaft
908	1275-1250	1	shaft
909	1250-1200	1	shaft with side chamber
910	1300-1200	1	shaft
911	1250-1200	1	shaft
912	1225-1175		perhaps not a tomb
913	no tomb	-	-
914	1250-1200	8	bench chamber tomb
915	1250-1225	1 child	shaft
916	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
917	1250-1225	1 (?)	shaft
918	1250-1225	1 child	shaft
919	1225-1175	1	shaft
920	1250-1225	1	rounded chamber tomb
921	1250-1200	1 (?)	rounded chamber tomb
922	1250-1200	1 (?)	rounded chamber tomb
923	1225-1175	1	shaft
924	1225-1175	1 child	shaft
925	1300-1250	1	shaft with side chamber
926A	1225-1175	1	shaft
926B	1250-1200	1	shaft
927	1275-1225	1	shaft
928	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
929	1300-1225	1	shaft
930	1275-1250	1child	shaft
931	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
932	1275-1200	1	shaft
933	1250-1200	2 children	shaft
934	1280-1150	?	double bench chamber tomb
935	1250-1175	?	bench chamber tomb
936	1250-1175	20	rounded chamber tomb
937	1250-1200	1	shaft with side chamber
938	1275-1225	1	shaft with side chamber
939	1250-1225	3 children	shaft
940	1275-1200	1 child	shaft
941	1225-1175	1	shaft
942	1250-1200	1 child	shaft with side chamber
943	no tomb	-	-
944	1250-1225	1 child	shaft
945	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
946	1250-1225	1 (?)	shaft
947	1275-1225	1	shaft

948	1250-1200	1	shaft
949	1250-1200	2	shaft with side chamber
950	1125-1175	1 child	shaft
951	1225-1175	1 child	shaft
952	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
953	1250-1200	2 children	shaft
954	1200-1150	1	shaft
955	1225-1200	1 child	shaft
956	1200-1150	1	shaft
957	1225-1200	1	shaft
958	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
959	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
960	1200-1150	10	double bench chamber tomb
961	1250-1200	1	shaft
962	1275-1225	2	shaft with side chamber
963	1250-1200	1	shaft
964	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
965	1250-1225	1	shaft
966	1250-1200	2	shaft
967	1250-1200	2	shaft
968	1250-1225	1 child	shaft
969	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
970	1225-1200	1	shaft
971	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
972	1250-1125	1	shaft
973	1300-1250	1	shaft
974	1250-1200	1	shaft with side chamber
975	1275-1225	1	shaft with side chamber
976	1225-1175	1	shaft
977	undetermined	1 child	?
978	1275-1225	1	shaft with side chamber
979	1225-1200	1 child	shaft
980	1250-1200	1 child	shaft
981	1250-1200	?	?
982	1250-1200	?	?
983	1250-1200	1	shaft
984	1250-1170	?	?
985	1250-1200	?	?

Cemetery 900: tomb types, dates and number of burials

TABLE 7: Pottery Types Cemetery 100

Area 100 B.2b; B.11; SD.3; S.3; PF.5; L.2

B.1	1	ST.1	0	J.6	0	HV.4	0
B.2a	3	ST.2	0	D.1	0	A.1	0
B.2b	1	ST.3	0	D.2	0	A.2	0
B.2c	1	ST.4	0	D.3	0	A.3	0
B.2d	0	ST.5	1	RJ.1	0	A.4	0
B.2e	0	ST.6	0	RJ.2	0	L.1	0
B.3	0	DJ.1	0	RJ.3	0	L.2	1
B.4a	0	JT.1	0	RJ.4	0	L.3	2
B.4b	0	JT.2	0	RJ.5a	0	P.1	0
B.4c	0	JT.3	0	RJ.5b	0	P.2	0
B.5	0	JT.4	0	RJ.6	0	P.3	4
B.6a	0	JT.5a	1	TJ.1	0	P.4	0
B.6b	0	JT.5b	0	TJ.2	0	P.5	0
B.7a	0	JT.6	0	TJ.3	0	SJ.1	0
B.7b	2	JT.7	0	M.1	0	SJ.2	0
B.8	0	JT.8a	0	S.1	0	PJ.1a	0
B.9	1	JT.8b	1	S.2a	1	PJ.1b	0
B.10	1	JT.9	0	S.2b	0	PJ.2	0
B.11	6	SD.1	0	S.3	1	FB.1	0
B.12	3	SD.2a	0	PF.1	0	HM.1	0
B.13	1	SD.2b	0	PF.2	0	HM.2	0
B.14	0	SD.2c	0	PF.3	11	HM.3	0
CH.1	1	SD.3	3	PF.4	0	HM.4	0
LB.1	0	SD.4	0	PF.5	0	HM.5	0
LB.2a	0	SD.5	1	PF.6	0	CY.1	0
LB.2b	0	J.1a	0	PF.7	0	CY.2	0
PT.1	0	J.1b	0	PF.8	0	CY.3	0
BS.1	0	J.2a	0	PF.9	1	CY.4	0
HP.1	0	J.2b	0	PF.10	0	CY.5	0
HP.2	0	J.2c	0	BT.1	0	CY.6	0
TH.1	0	J.3	1	HV.1	0	CY.7	2
TH.2	1	J.4a	0	HV.2	0	CY.8	0
RM.1	0	J.4b	0	HV.3a	0	CY.9	0
RM.2	1	J.5	0	HV.3b	0	MD.1	0
						UNDET.	1

Total, tombs only: 55
Total, including Area: 61

TABLE 8: Pottery Types, Cemetery 500

Area 500 B.9; RM.1; ST.1; SD.3; PF.3 (x2); PF.4; BT.1; FB.1; UNDET (X2)

B.1	15	ST.1	0	J.6	0	HV.4	0
B.2a	2	ST.2	1	D.1	1	A.1	3
B.2b	27	ST.3	7	D.2	0	A.2	0
B.2c	2	ST.4	4	D.3	2	A.3	1
B.2d	0	ST.5	17	RJ.1	0	A.4	0
B.2e	0	ST.6	1	RJ.2	0	L.1	1
B.3	8	DJ.1	2	RJ.3	0	L.2	22
B.4a	1	JT.1	1	RJ.4	0	L.3	5
B.4b	0	JT.2	0	RJ.5a	3	P.1	0
B.4c	0	JT.3	3	RJ.5b	0	P.2	1
B.5	0	JT.4	0	RJ.6	0	P.3	1
B.6a	0	JT.5a	2	TJ.1	1	P.4	2
B.6b	5	JT.5b	0	TJ.2	0	P.5	1
B.7a	1	JT.6	0	TJ.3	3	SJ.1	0
B.7b	4	JT.7	1	M.1	0	SJ.2	1
B.8	0	JT.8a	1	S.1	1	PJ.1a	0
B.9	4	JT.8b	0	S.2a	4	PJ.1b	0
B.10	0	JT.9	0	S.2b	2	PJ.2	1
B.11	17	SD.1	0	S.3	0	FB.1	2
B.12	16	SD.2a	1	PF.1	1	HM.1	0
B.13	0	SD.2b	6	PF.2	0	HM.2	1
B.14	0	SD.2c	0	PF.3	40	HM.3	0
CH.1	3	SD.3	16	PF.4	3	HM.4	0
LB.1	3	SD.4	8	PF.5	2	HM.5	0
LB.2a	1	SD.5	1	PF.6	0	CY.1	0
LB.2b	1	J.1a	0	PF.7	1	CY.2	0
PT.1	1	J.1b	5	PF.8	0	CY.3	0
BS.1	2	J.2a	0	PF.9	1	CY.4	0
HP.1	0	J.2b	0	PF.10	0	CY.5	0
HP.2	0	J.2c	2	BT.1	1	CY.6	0
TH.1	10	J.3	0	HV.1	0	CY.7	2
TH.2	1	J.4a	1	HV.2	1	CY.8	1
RM.1	13	J.4b	0	HV.3a	3	CY.9	1
RM.2	0	J.5	3	HV.3b	1	MD.1	1
						UNDET.	4

Total, tombs only: 342
Total, including Area: 353

TABLE 9: Pottery Types, Cemetery 600

Area 600 18 B.2b; B.2e; B.4c; B.6b; B.12; LB.2b; RM.1; JT.7; SD.3 (x2); J.6; RJ.5b; PF.3; L.2; P.3; SJ.2; CY.1; CY.7

B.1	0	ST.1	4	J.6	0	HV.4	0
B.2a	2	ST.2	0	D.1	0	A.1	0
B.2b	8	ST.3	1	D.2	0	A.2	0
B.2c	3	ST.4	1	D.3	0	A.3	0
B.2d	1	ST.5	11	RJ.1	2	A.4	1
B.2e	0	ST.6	0	RJ.2	0	L.1	0
B.3	0	DJ.1	0	RJ.3	1	L.2	10
B.4a	0	JT.1	0	RJ.4	1	L.3	4
B.4b	0	JT.2	5	RJ.5a	0	P.1	0
B.4c	0	JT.3	0	RJ.5b	0	P.2	0
B.5	0	JT.4	1	RJ.6	0	P.3	3
B.6a	4	JT.5a	2	TJ.1	0	P.4	4
B.6b	0	JT.5b	1	TJ.2	1	P.5	1
B.7a	0	JT.6	1	TJ.3	0	SJ.1	0
B.7b	2	JT.7	2	M.1	0	SJ.2	2
B.8	0	JT.8a	0	S.1	0	PJ.1a	0
B.9	1	JT.8b	3	S.2a	2	PJ.1b	0
B.10	0	JT.9	0	S.2b	1	PJ.2	0
B.11	12	SD.1	5	S.3	0	FB.1	1
B.12	8	SD.2a	0	PF.1	0	HM.1	0
B.13	0	SD.2b	2	PF.2	1	HM.2	0
B.14	0	SD.2c	0	PF.3	20	HM.3	1
CH.1	2	SD.3	15	PF.4	3	HM.4	0
LB.1	3	SD.4	0	PF.5	2	HM.5	0
LB.2a	0	SD.5	0	PF.6	1	CY.1	4
LB.2b	0	J.1a	2	PF.7	5	CY.2	0
PT.1	0	J.1b	1	PF.8	0	CY.3	3
BS.1	0	J.2a	0	PF.9	0	CY.4	0
HP.1	0	J.2b	0	PF.10	0	CY.5	0
HP.2	1	J.2c	0	BT.1	1	CY.6	0
TH.1	0	J.3	0	HV.1	0	CY.7	4
TH.2	0	J.4a	0	HV.2	0	CY.8	0
RM.1	10	J.4b	1	HV.3a	1	CY.9	0
RM.2	0	J.5	0	HV.3b	0	MD.1	0
						UNDET.	3

Total, tombs only: 198
Total, including Area: 216

TABLE 10: Pottery Types, Cemetery 700

Area 700 4 B.14; JT.1; RJ.5b; PF.10

B.1	*0*	ST.1	0	J.6	0	HV.4	0
B.2a	0	ST.2	1	D.1	0	A.1	0
B.2b	0	ST.3	0	D.2	0	A.2	0
B.2c	0	ST.4	0	D.3	0	A.3	0
B.2d	0	ST.5	0	RJ.1	0	A.4	0
B.2e	0	ST.6	0	RJ.2	0	L.1	0
B.3	0	DJ.1	0	RJ.3	0	L.2	0
B.4a	0	JT.1	0	RJ.4	0	L.3	0
B.4b	0	JT.2	0	RJ.5a	0	P.1	0
B.4c	0	JT.3	0	RJ.5b	0	P.2	0
B.5	0	JT.4	0	RJ.6	0	P.3	0
B.6a	1	JT.5a	0	TJ.1	0	P.4	0
B.6b	0	JT.5b	0	TJ.2	0	P.5	0
B.7a	0	JT.6	0	TJ.3	0	SJ.1	0
B.7b	0	JT.7	0	M.1	0	SJ.2	0
B.8	0	JT.8a	0	S.1	0	PJ.1a	0
B.9	0	JT.8b	0	S.2a	0	PJ.1b	0
B.10	0	JT.9	0	S.2b	0	PJ.2	0
B.11	0	SD.1	0	S.3	0	FB.1	0
B.12	0	SD.2a	0	PF.1	0	HM.1	0
B.13	0	SD.2b	0	PF.2	0	HM.2	0
B.14	0	SD.2c	0	PF.3	0	HM.3	0
CH.1	0	SD.3	0	PF.4	0	HM.4	0
LB.1	1	SD.4	0	PF.5	0	HM.5	0
LB.2a	0	SD.5	0	PF.6	0	CY.1	0
LB.2b	0	J.1a	0	PF.7	0	CY.2	0
PT.1	0	J.1b	0	PF.8	0	CY.3	0
BS.1	0	J.2a	0	PF.9	0	CY.4	0
HP.1	0	J.2b	0	PF.10	0	CY.5	0
HP.2	0	J.2c	0	BT.1	0	CY.6	0
TH.1	0	J.3	0	HV.1	0	CY.7	0
TH.2	0	J.4a	0	HV.2	0	CY.8	0
RM.1	0	J.4b	0	HV.3a	0	CY.9	0
RM.2	0	J.5	0	HV.3b	0	MD.1	0
	2		1		0	UNDET.	0
							0

Total, tombs only: 3
Total, including Area: 7

TABLE 11: Pottery Types, Cemetery 800

Area 800 11 B.2a; B.2b; RM.1; ST.4; J.4a; TJ.3; PF.3; HV.3a; P.3; UNDET (x2)

B.1	0	ST.1	0	J.6	0	HV.4	1
B.2a	0	ST.2	0	D.1	0	A.1	0
B.2b	15	ST.3	0	D.2	0	A.2	0
B.2c	0	ST.4	1	D.3	1	A.3	1
B.2d	0	ST.5	4	RJ.1	0	A.4	0
B.2e	0	ST.6	0	RJ.2	0	L.1	0
B.3	0	DJ.1	0	RJ.3	0	L.2	5
B.4a	0	JT.1	0	RJ.4	0	L.3	0
B.4b	1	JT.2	0	RJ.5a	0	P.1	0
B.4c	0	JT.3	0	RJ.5b	0	P.2	0
B.5	0	JT.4	1	RJ.6	0	P.3	0
B.6a	0	JT.5a	1	TJ.1	0	P.4	1
B.6b	0	JT.5b	1	TJ.2	0	P.5	0
B.7a	0	JT.6	0	TJ.3	1	SJ.1	0
B.7b	3	JT.7	0	M.1	0	SJ.2	1
B.8	0	JT.8a	0	S.1	0	PJ.1a	0
B.9	0	JT.8b	3	S.2a	3	PJ.1b	0
B.10	4	JT.9	1	S.2b	0	PJ.2	0
B.11	4	SD.1	0	S.3	0	FB.1	2
B.12	3	SD.2a	0	PF.1	0	HM.1	0
B.13	0	SD.2b	0	PF.2	0	HM.2	0
B.14	0	SD.2c	0	PF.3	24	HM.3	0
CH.1	0	SD.3	1	PF.4	2	HM.4	0
LB.1	3	SD.4	1	PF.5	0	HM.5	0
LB.2a	0	SD.5	0	PF.6	1	CY.1	0
LB.2b	0	J.1a	0	PF.7	0	CY.2	0
PT.1	0	J.1b	0	PF.8	1	CY.3	0
BS.1	0	J.2a	0	PF.9	1	CY.4	0
HP.1	0	J.2b	0	PF.10	0	CY.5	0
HP.2	0	J.2c	0	BT.1	0	CY.6	0
TH.1	3	J.3	0	HV.1	0	CY.7	0
TH.2	0	J.4a	0	HV.2	1	CY.8	0
RM.1	4	J.4b	0	HV.3a	4	CY.9	0
RM.2	0	J.5	2	HV.3b	2	MD.1	0
						UNDET.	1

Total, tombs only: 109
Total, including Area: 120

TABLE 12: Pottery Types, Cemetery 900

Area 900 5 B.8 (x2); J.2c; TJ.1 (x2)

B.1	59	ST.1	0	J.6	0	HV.4	0
B.2a	3	ST.2	0	D.1	2	A.1	6
B.2b	1	ST.3	21	D.2	4	A.2	1
B.2c	0	ST.4	6	D.3	1	A.3	2
B.2d	0	ST.5	0	RJ.1	0	A.4	0
B.2e	0	ST.6	0	RJ.2	2	L.1	2
B.3	22	DJ.1	0	RJ.3	0	L.2	15
B.4a	7	JT.1	0	RJ.4	0	L.3	0
B.4b	0	JT.2	0	RJ.5a	0	P.1	9
B.4c	0	JT.3	13	RJ.5b	0	P.2	0
B.5	1	JT.4	3	RJ.6	2	P.3	0
B.6a	0	JT.5a	0	TJ.1	14	P.4	1
B.6b	0	JT.5b	0	TJ.2	3	P.5	0
B.7a	9	JT.6	0	TJ.3	0	SJ.1	7
B.7b	0	JT.7	0	M.1	5	SJ.2	0
B.8	9	JT.8a	1	S.1	0	PJ.1a	1
B.9	0	JT.8b	0	S.2a	0	PJ.1b	2
B.10	0	JT.9	0	S.2b	0	PJ.2	2
B.11	0	SD.1	0	S.3	0	FB.1	0
B.12	0	SD.2a	6	PF.1	10	HM.1	1
B.13	1	SD.2b	27	PF.2	0	HM.2	0
B.14	0	SD.2c	1	PF.3	4	HM.3	0
CH.1	0	SD.3	5	PF.4	0	HM.4	2
LB.1	8	SD.4	0	PF.5	0	HM.5	2
LB.2a	0	SD.5	0	PF.6	0	CY.1	0
LB.2b	0	J.1a	1	PF.7	0	CY.2	1
PT.1	0	J.1b	7	PF.8	0	CY.3	0
BS.1	0	J.2a	2	PF.9	6	CY.4	3
HP.1	1	J.2b	11	PF.10	0	CY.5	2
HP.2	0	J.2c	6	BT.1	0	CY.6	1
TH.1	0	J.3	0	HV.1	1	CY.7	0
TH.2	0	J.4a	0	HV.2	13	CY.8	0
RM.1	0	J.4b	0	HV.3a	0	CY.9	0
RM.2	0	J.5	0	HV.3b	0	MD.1	0
						UNDET.	5

Total, tombs only: 363
Total, includ with area: 368

TABLE 13: Pottery Types, all cemeteries

B.1	75	ST.1	5	J.6	1	HV.4	1
B.2a	11	ST.2	2	D.1	3	A.1	9
B.2b	55	ST.3	29	D.2	4	A.2	1
B.2c	6	ST.4	13	D.3	4	A.3	4
B.2d	1	ST.5	33	RJ.1	2	A.4	1
B.2e	1	ST.6	1	RJ.2	2	L.1	3
B.3	30	DJ.1	2	RJ.3	1	L.2	55
B.4a	8	JT.1	2	RJ.4	1	L.3	11
B.4b	1	JT.2	5	RJ.5a	3	P.1	9
B.4c	1	JT.3	16	RJ.5b	2	P.2	1
B.5	1	JT.4	5	RJ.6	2	P.3	10
B.6a	5	JT.5a	6	TJ.1	17	P.4	8
B.6b	6	JT.5b	2	TJ.2	4	P.5	2
B.7a	10	JT.6	1	TJ.3	5	SJ.1	7
B.7b	11	JT.7	4	M.1	5	SJ.2	5
B.8	11	JT.8a	2	S.1	1	PJ.1a	1
B.9	7	JT.8b	7	S.2a	10	PJ.1b	2
B.10	5	JT.9	1	S.2b	3	PJ.2	3
B.11	40	SD.1	5	S.3	2	FB.1	6
B.12	31	SD.2a	7	PF.1	11	HM.1	1
B.13	2	SD.2b	35	PF.2	1	HM.2	1
B.14	1	SD.2c	1	PF.3	103	HM.3	1
CH.1	6	SD.3	44	PF.4	9	HM.4	2
LB.1	18	SD.4	9	PF.5	5	HM.5	2
LB.2a	1	SD.5	2	PF.6	2	CY.1	5
LB.2b	2	J.1a	3	PF.7	6	CY.2	1
PT.1	1	J.1b	13	PF.8	1	CY.3	3
BS.1	2	J.2a	2	PF.9	9	CY.4	3
HP.1	1	J.2b	11	PF.10	1	CY.5	2
HP.2	1	J.2c	9	BT.1	3	CY.6	1
TH.1	13	J.3	1	HV.1	1	CY.7	9
TH.2	2	J.4a	2	HV.2	15	CY.8	1
RM.1	30	J.4b	1	HV.3a	9	CY.9	1
RM.2	1	J.5	5	HV.3b	3	MD.1	1
						UNDET.	18

Total, tombs only: 1070
Total, including Areas: 1125

TABLE 14

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 100

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 100	6	B.2b; B.11; SD.3; S.3; PF.5; L.2
Tomb 101: No tomb		
Tomb 102	10	B.2b; B.11; B.12; SD.3 (x2); PF.3 (x3); P.3; CY.7
Tomb 103	11	S.2a
Tomb 104	4	B.13; CH.1; JT.5a; Undet.
Tomb 105	3	B.7b; S.3; CY.7
Tomb 106: No tomb		
Tomb 107	0	
Tomb 108	1	B.2a
Tomb 109	0	
Tomb 110	2	B.1; B.11
Tomb 111	2	B.2a; PF.3
Tomb 112	1	P.3
Tomb 113: Hellenistic		
Tomb 114	2	L.2; L.3
Tomb 115	0	
Tomb 116	0	
Tomb 117	2	B.11; PF.3
Tomb 118	0	
Tomb 119	0	
Tomb 120	4	B.2a; B.10; B.11; SD.5
Tomb 121	5	B.11; ST.5; PF.3 (x2); PF.9
Tomb 122	1	PF.3
Tomb 123	2	PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 124	2	TH.2; P.3
Tomb 125	3	B.2c; B.12; J.3
Tomb 126	2	B.11; B.12
Tomb 127	0	
Tomb 128	0	
Tomb 129	1	JT.8b
Tomb 130	0	
Tomb 131	1	RM.2
Tomb 132	0	
Tomb 133	0	
Tomb 134	1	PF.3
Tomb 135	3	SD.3; L.3; P.3
Tomb 136: Iron IIB-C		
Tomb 137	2	B.7b; B.9

TABLE 15

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 500 (Area 500-Tomb 522)

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 500	11	B.9; RM.1; ST.1; SD.3; PF.3 (x2); PF.4; BT.1; FB.1; Undet (x2)
Tomb 501	0	
Tomb 502	1	RM.1
Tomb 503	1	JT.7
Tomb 504	3	RM.1 (x2); PF.4
Tomb 505	0	
Tomb 506	7	B.9; ST.5; PF.4; P.3; P.4; CY.7; CY.8
Tomb 507	4	PF.3 (x2); PF.4; BT.1
Tomb 508	6	B.6b (x2); RM.1; SD.3 (x2); PF.3
Tomb 509	2	B.9; L.3
Tomb 510	1	JT.5a
Tomb 511	0	
Tomb 512	0	
Tomb 513	5	B.2b; B.7a; B.12; ST.6; FB.1
Tomb 514	1	PF.3
Tomb 515	0	
Tomb 516	2	RM.1; ST.5
Tomb 517	1	PF.3
Tomb 518	2	PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 519	8	B.11 (x2); ST.5 (x2); SD.3; PF.3 (x2); L.3
Tomb 520	1	L.2
Tomb 521	0	
Tomb 522	1	SD.4

TABLE 15

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 500 (Tombs 523-543)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 523	2	SD.2b (x2)
Tomb 524	3	B.9; B.11; P.5
Tomb 525	4	B.11; JT.5a; SD.3; CY.7
Tomb 526	0	
Tomb 527	3	B.2b; SD.3; L.2
Tomb 528	3	SD.4 (x3)
Tomb 529	5	B.2b; B.9; BS.1; SD.2b; L.3
Tomb 530	3	CH.1; SD.4 (x2)
Tomb 531	3	B.2a; PF.3; L.2
Tomb 532	39	B.2b (x6); B.3; B.11 (x2); B.12; TH.1; TH.2; RM.1 (x2); ST.3; ST.4; ST.5 (x2); JT.8a; SD.3 (x2); J.1b; J.4a; TJ.1; TJ.3; PF.3 (x5); HV.3b; L.2 (x6); SJ.2; PJ.2
Tomb 533	1	FB.1
Tomb 534	4	B.7b; RM.1; SD.4; Undet.
Tomb 535	2	B.1; S.1
Tomb 536	2	B.1; D.1
Tomb 537	8	B.1 (x3); B.11 (x2); LB.1; JT.1; HV.3a
Tomb 538	4	B.1; TH.1; PF.5; HV.3a
Tomb 539	3	B.1; D.1; RJ.5a
Tomb 540	6	B.6b (x2); SD.4; PF.3; A.3; L.3
Tomb 541	0	
Tomb 542	88	B.1; B.2b (x7); B.2c (x2); B.3 (x2); B.7b (x2); B.11 (x5); B.12 (x11); CH.1 (x2); LB.1; LB.2a; PT.1; BS.1; TH.1 (x6); RM.1 (x5); ST.5 (x7); SD.3 (x3); SD.5; J.5; TJ.3 (x2); S.2a (x2); PF.1; PF.3 (x14); PF.5; L.2 (x5); P.4; HM.2; MD.1; Undet.
Tomb 543	2	JT.3; PF.9

TABLE 15

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 500 (Tombs 543-596)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 544	5	B.2b; SD.2b; PF.3 (x2); L.2
Tomb 545: MBA		
Tomb 546	1	CY.9
Tombs 547-548: MBA		
Tomb 549	3	B.2a; SD.3; L.1
Tombs 550-551: MBA		
Tomb 552	45	B.1 (x5); B.2b (x4); B.3 (x3); B.6b; B.11; B.12; LB.1; LB.2b; TH.1; ST.3 (x5); ST.4; ST.5; DJ.1 (x2); JT.3; SD.2b (x2); SD.3; J.2c (x2); J.5; RJ.5a; S.2a; PF.3 (x2); A.1 (x3); L.2 (x3); Undet.
Tomb 553	5	ST.4; SD.3; J.1b (x3)
Tombs 554-561: MBA		
Tomb 562	50	B.1 (x2); B.2b (x6); B.3 (x2); B.4a; B.7b; B.11 (x3); B.12 (x2); TH.1; ST.2; ST.3; ST.4; ST.5 (x3); SD.2a; SD.2b; SD.3 (x3); J.1b; J.5; D.3; RJ.5a; S.2a; PF.3 (x6); PF.7; HV.2; HV.3a; L.2 (x4); L.3; P.2; Undet.
Tombs 563-584: MBA		
Tomb 585	0	
Tombs 586-587: MBA		
Tomb 589	2	JT.3; SD.2b
Tombs 590-596: MBA		

TABLE 16

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 600 (Area 600-Tomb 642)

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 600	18	B.2b; B.2e; B.4c; B.6b; B.12; RM.1; JT.7; SD.3 (x2); J.6; RJ.5b; PF.3; L.2; P.3; SJ.2; CY.1; CY.7
Tomb 601	2	B.12; S.2a
Tomb 602	2	B.12; ST:5
Tomb 603	1	SD.3
Tomb 604	1	JT.8b
Tomb 605	0	
Tomb 606	1	PF.2
Tomb 607	4	JT.6; JT.7; L.2; L.3
Tomb 608	5	B.2b (x2); B.2c; B.12; SD.3
Tomb 609	1	PF.3
Tomb 610	4	B:6a (x2); SD.1; J.1a
Tomb 611	6	B.6a; ST.1; JT.2; SD.1; RJ.1; RJ.4
Tomb 612	9	B.11; JT.2; SD.1; RJ.1; RJ.3; PF.7; HM.3; CY.1; CY:3
Tomb 613	9	HP.2; ST.1 (x2); JT.2; SD.1; CY.1 (x2); CY.3 (x2)
Tomb 614	2	JT.2; CY.1
Tomb 615	14	B.7b; B.11 (x2); B.12; CH.1 (x2); LB.1; ST.5 (x2); SD.3 (x4); L.2)
Tomb 616	3	LB.1; RM.1 (x2)
Tomb 617	4	JT.7; PF.7; L.2; CY.7
Tomb 618	3	B.6a; SD.1; J.1a
Tomb 619	1	PF.3
Tomb 620	7	B.2b; B.11 (x2); ST.5; PF.4 (x2); FB.1
Tomb 621	6	J.4b; PF.3; PF.5; L.2 (x2); Undet.
Tomb 622	10	B.2b; B.11; RM.1; ST.3; ST.5; JT.5a; SD.3 (x2); PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 623	5	B.2b; B.2c; RM.1; PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 624	1	JT.2
Tomb 625	3	B.12 (x2); S.2a
Tomb 626	3	PF.3; L.2; L.3
Tomb 627	2	RM.1; PF.7.
Tomb 628	0	
Tomb 629	1	JT.4
Tomb 630	1	ST.5
Tomb 631	3	B.2b; PF.7 (x2)
Tomb 632	2	PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 633	1	PF.3
Tomb 634	2	PF.3; PF.5
Tomb 635	1	HV.3a
Tomb 636	3	S.2b; A.3; P.4
Tomb 637	5	PF.3 (x2); PF.4; L.2; L.3
Tomb 638: Hellenistic		
Tomb 639	5	B.2c; RM.1; JT.8b; SD.3 (x2)
Tomb 640	6	B.9; B.11 (x2); JT.5; CY.7; Undet.
Tomb 641	4	B.2a; JT.5b; JT.8b; P.4
Tomb 642	7	ST.5; SD.3; P.3 (x3); SJ.2; CY.7

TABLE 16

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 600 (Tomb 643-Tomb 663)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 643	1	LB.1
Tomb 644	7	B.2b; B.12; RM.1; ST.4; SD.2b; SD.3; Undet.
Tomb 645	3	B.11; RM.1 (x2)
Tomb 646	3	B.11; ST.5; SD.3
Tomb 647	8	B.7b; B.12; ST.5; PF.3 (x2); CY.7; SD.3 (x2)
Tomb 648	3	PF.3 (x2); L.2
Tomb 649	7	B.11; PF.6; BT.1; L.2; L.3; P.4 (x2)
Tombs 650-655: Persian Period		
Tomb 656	3	B.2b; PF.3; SJ.2
Tomb 657	3	ST.1; JT.2; J.1b
Tombs 658-659: MBA		
Tomb 660	4	B.11; RM.1; PF.5; L.2
Tomb 661	1	ST.5
Tomb 662: Hellenistic		
Tomb 663	5	B.2a; B.2d; ST.5; SD.2b; PF.3

TABLE 17

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 700

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 700	4	B.14; JT.1; RJ.5b; PF.10
Tomb 701: Persian		
Tomb 702: No tomb		
Tomb 703: Persian		
Tombs 704-705: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tombs 706-709: MBA		
Tombs 710: Persian		
Tombs 711-714: MBA		
Tomb 715: Iron IIB-C		
Tomb 716: Persian		
Tomb 717: MBA		
Tombs 718-719: Persian		
Tomb 720: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tombs 721-722: MBA		
Tomb 723: Iron IIB-C		
Tombs 724-725: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 726: Iron IIB-C		
Tombs 727-729: Persian		
Tombs 730-731: MBA		
Tomb 732: Iron IIB-C		
Tomb 733: MBA		
Tomb 734: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 735: Iron IIB-C		
Tombs 736-737: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 738: MBA		
Tomb 739	3	B.6a; LB.1; ST.2
Tomb 740: Persian		
Tomb 741: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tombs 742-744: Persian		
Tombs 745-746: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 747: Persian		
Tomb 748: Iron IIB-C		
Tombs 749-751: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 752: Persian		
Tomb 753: Iron IIB-C		
Tombs 754-759: Persian		
Tomb 760: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 761: Iron IIB-C		
Tomb 762: UNDET		
Tomb 763: Iron IIB-C		

TABLE 18

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 800 (Area 800-Tomb 841)

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 800	11	B.2a; B.2b; RM.1; ST.4; J.4a; TJ.3; PF.3; HV.3a; P.3; Undet. (x2)
Tomb 801	5	B.2b; B.10; B.11 (x2); JT.5b
Tomb 802	3	HV.3b; A.3; L.2
Tomb 803	1	FB.1
Tomb 804	0	
Tomb 805	4	JT.8b; JT.9; PF.3 (x3)
Tomb 806	1	PF.3
Tomb 807	5	B.11; B.12; RM.1; PF.3 (x2)
Tomb 808: Iron IIB-C		
Tomb 809	3	HV.3a; PF.3; PF.9
Tomb 810	1	PF.3
Tomb 811	0	
Tomb 812	2	B.2b; RM.1
Tomb 813	2	S.2a; PF.4
Tomb 814	2	TH.1; PF.3
Tomb 815	2	B.2b; FB.1
Tomb 816	0	
Tomb 817: Iron IIC-Persian		
Tomb 818	2	B.2b; PF.3
Tomb 819	1	HV.3b
Tomb 820	1	JT.4
Tomb 821	3	SD.4; HV.3a (x2)
Tomb 822	4	B.4b; B.7b; ST.4; PF.3
Tomb 823	4	PF.3 (x3); L.2
Tomb 824: Persian		
Tomb 825	1	SJ.2
Tomb 826: No tomb		
Tomb 827: Persian/Hellenistic		
Tomb 828	4	B.10; S.2a; PF.3; L.2
Tomb 829: Persian		
Tomb 830	1	PF.3
Tomb 831	2	LB.1; D.3
Tomb 832	1	PF.6
Tomb 833	2	B.7b; PF.3
Tomb 834	7	B.10 (x2); RM.1; ST.5; SD.3; PF.3; L.2
Tomb 835	0	
Tomb 836	0	
Tomb 837	0	
Tomb 838	1	PF.3
Tomb 839	3	B.2b; B.12; JT.8b
Tomb 840	8	B.2b (x3); B.7b; RM.1; PF.3 (x2); L.2
Tomb 841	1	J.5

TABLE 18

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 800 (Tomb 842-Tomb 864)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 842	0	
Tomb 843	0	
Tomb 844	5	B.2b; TH.1; PF.4; HV.4; Undet.
Tomb 845	1	ST.5
Tomb 846	2	B.2b; PF.3
Tomb 847	0	
Tomb 848: No tomb		
Tomb 849	2	B.12; PF.8
Tomb 850: Persian		
Tomb 851	4	B.2b; JT.5a; J.5; HV.3a
Tomb 852	0	
Tomb 853	2	JT.8b; PF.3
Tomb 854	1	TH.1
Tomb 855	2	ST.5 (x2)
Tomb 856	3	LB.1 (x2); HV.2
Tomb 857	1	P.4
Tomb 858: No tomb		
Tomb 859	5	B.2b (x3); B.11; S.2a
Tomb 860	2	B.2b; PF.3
Tomb 861	0	
Tomb 862	2	TJ.3; PF.3
Tomb 863	0	
Tomb 864	0	

TABLE 19

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 900 (Area 900-Tomb 919)

Area/Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Area 900	5	B.8 (x2); J.2c; TJ.1 (x2)
Tomb 901	1	PF.1
Tomb 902	30	B.1 (x3); B.3 (x6); B.13; LB.1; ST.3 (x3); SD.2a (x2); J.2a; J.2b; PF.1; L.1; L.2; P.1 (x2); SJ.1 (x3); PJ.1b; CY.4; CY.5; CY.6
Tomb 903	3	B.8; SD.2b; SD.3
Tomb 904	0	
Tomb 905	28	B.1 (x4); B.3 (x3); B.4a (x2); B.7a (x3); ST.3 (x2); ST.4; SD.3 (x2); J.2a; J.2b; J.2c; PF.9; HV.2; A.2; P.1(x2); SJ.1; HM.5; Undet.
Tomb 906	2	B.8 (x2)
Tomb 907	1	PJ.2
Tomb 908	4	B.1 (x2); SD.2a; PF.9
Tomb 909	3	B.1; J.1b; PF.9
Tomb 910	0	
Tomb 911	1	TJ.1
Tomb 912	2	B.1; JT.4
Tomb 913: No tomb		
Tomb 914	10	B.2b; B.3; LB.1; ST.3; JT.3; JT.4; SD.2b; L.2 (x2); P.1
Tomb 915	2	HV.2a; A.3
Tomb 916	1	SD.2b
Tomb 917	1	LB.1
Tomb 918	2	SD.2b; HV.2
Tomb 919	3	B.1 (x2); HV.2

TABLE 19

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 900 (Tomb 920-Tomb 942)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 920	5	TJ.1; M.1; P.1 (x2); PJ.1b
Tomb 921	7	B.1; B.7a; ST.3; SD.2a; J.2c; PF.1; PF.9
Tomb 922	5	B.1; B.3; B.7a; PF.9; CY.4
Tomb 923	1	J.1b
Tomb 924	1	HV.2
Tomb 925	2	TJ.1; PF.1
Tomb 926A	3	JT.3; PF.9; HV.2
Tomb 926B	3	B.1; JT.3; TJ.1
Tomb 927	3	SD.2b; D.1; TJ.1
Tomb 928	2	B.1; SD.2b
Tomb 929	2	B.1; SD.2b
Tomb 930	0	
Tomb 931	1	HV.2
Tomb 932	0	
Tomb 933	2	B.1; PF.1
Tomb 934	19	B.1 (x4); ST.3; ST.4; JT.3 (x2); SD.3; J.1b; D.3; RJ.6; TJ.1; ; PF.1; PF.3; L.2 (x2); HM.5; Undet.
Tomb 935	11	B.1 (x2); LB.1; JT.3; SD.2b; PF.1 (x2); A.1 (x2); L.2; P.1
Tomb 936	23	B.1; B.3; B.4a; B.7a; B.8; LB.1; ST.3; ST.4; SD.2b; J.2b; J.2c; RJ.2 (x2); TJ.1; L.1; L.2 (x2); SJ.1 (x2); PJ.1a; PJ.2; CY.4; Undet.
Tomb 937	2	B.8; J.1b
Tomb 938	2	B.1; D.1
Tomb 939	10	B.1 (x4); TJ.1; M.1; HV.1; P.1; SJ.1; HM.1
Tomb 940	0	
Tomb 941	1	JT.8a
Tomb 942	1	SD.3

TABLE 19

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 900 (Tomb 943-Tomb 969)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 943: No tomb		
Tomb 944	1	SD.2b
Tomb 945	1	D.2
Tomb 946	1	B.8
Tomb 947	1	HM.4
Tomb 948	1	D.2
Tomb 949	9	B.3; B.7a; ST.3 (x2); SD.2b; J.2b; L.2; CY.2; CY.5
Tomb 950	6	B.1 (x2); B.4a; SD.2b; TJ.1 (x2)
Tomb 951	1	P.4
Tomb 952	3	B.1 (x2); HV.2
Tomb 953	1	M.1
Tomb 954	1	TJ.1
Tomb 955	3	B.1; JT.3; SD.2b
Tomb 956	2	SD.2b (x2)
Tomb 957	1	J.1b
Tomb 958	2	JT.3; J.2b
Tomb 959	1	J.2b
Tomb 960	20	B.1 (x3); B.3; B.8; ST.3; ST.4; JT.3; SD.2b (x2); J.2c (x2); TJ.1; PF.1 (x2); A.1 (x2); L.2 (x2); HM.4
Tomb 961	2	JT.3; J.1b
Tomb 962	4	B.1; B.3; ST.3; J.2b
Tomb 963	1	SD.2b
Tomb 964	1	SD.2b
Tomb 965	2	B.3; RJ.6
Tomb 966	2	HP.1; PF.3
Tomb 967	1	HV.2
Tomb 968	2	B.8; SD.2b
Tomb 969	1	SD.2b

TABLE 19

Pottery Types by tomb, Cemetery 900 (Tomb 970-Tomb 985)

Tomb	**Number of pots**	**Types**
Tomb 970	1	J.1b
Tomb 971	0	
Tomb 972	3	ST.3; JT.3; M.1
Tomb 973	4	B.1; LB.1; SD.2b; HV.22
Tomb 974	2	LB.1; TJ.2
Tomb 975	6	B.1; B.4a; ST.3 (x2); ST.4; SD.2a
Tomb 976	3	B.2a; J.2b; Undet.
Tomb 977: No tomb		
Tomb 978	6	B.1; B.4a; B.5; B.7a; ST.3; M.1
Tomb 979	1	SD.2c
Tomb 980	2	LB.1; JT.3
Tomb 981	24	B.1 (x5); B.3 (x2); B.4a; ST.3 (x2); ST.4; SD.2a; SD.2b (x4); J.1a; J.2c; D.2; HV.2; A.3; L.2; Undet.
Tomb 982	12	B.1 (x3); B.2a; B.3 (x3); J.2b (x2); TJ.2; HV.2; L.2
Tomb 983	1	J.2b
Tomb 984	20	B.1 (x5); B.2a; B.3; B.7a; B.8; ST.3 (x2); JT.4; SD.2b; TJ.1; PF.3 (x2); A.1 (x2); L.2 (x2)
Tomb 985	7	B.1 (x3); JT.3; D.2; TJ.2; TJ.2

Types	Number	Occurrence
B.1	Tombs: 75 Areas: 0 Total: 75	**Tombs**: **110**: 110/1; **535**: 535/1; **536**: 536/1; **537**: 537/1; 537/2; 537/3* **538**: 538/1*; **539**: 539/1; **542**: 542/1; **552**: 552/1; 552/2; 552/3; 552/4; 552/5; **562**: 562/1; 562/2*; **902**: 902/1; 902/2; 902/3; **905**: 905/1; 905/2; 905/3; 905/4; **908**: 908/1; 908/2; **909**: 909/1; **912**: 912/1; **919**: 919/1; 919/2; **921**: 921/1; **922**: 922/1; **926B**: 926B/1*; **928**: 928/1; **929**: 929/1; **933**: 933/1; **934**: 934/1; 934/2*; 934/3*; 934/4; **935**: 935/1*; 935/2*; **936**: 936/1; **938**: 938/1*; **939**: 939/1; 939/2; 939/3; 939/4; **950**: 950/1*; 950/2*; **952**: 952/1; 952/2*; **955**: 955/1; **960**: 960/1; 960/2; 960/3; **962**: 962/1; **973**: 973/1*; **975**: 975/1; **978**: 978/1; **981**: 981/1; 981/2*; 981/3*; 981/4*; 981/5; **982**: 982/1; 982/2; 982/3; **984**: 984/1; 984/2; 984/3; 984/4; 984/5; **985**: 985/1*; 985/2*; 985/3*
B.2a	Tombs: 10 Areas: 1 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **108**: 108/1*; **111**: 111//1; **120**: 120/1*; **531**: 531/1; **549**: 549/1; **641**: 641/1; **663**: 663/1*; **976**: 976/1; **982**: 982/4; **984**: 984/6* **Areas**: **800**: 800/1
B.2b	Tombs: 52 Areas: 3 Total: 55	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/1; **513**: 513/1; **527**: 527/1; **529**: 529/1; **532**: 532/1; 532/2; 532/3; 532/4; 532/5*; 532/6*; **542**: 542/2; 542/3; 542/4*; 542/5, 542/6*; 542/7*; 542/8; **544**: 544/1; **552**: 552/6; 552/7; 552/8; 552/9; **562**: 562/3; 562/4; 562/5; 562/6; 562/7*; 562/8*; **608**: 608/1; 608/2*; **620**: 620/1*; **622**: 622/1; **623**: 623/1*; **631**: 631/1; **644**: 644/1; **656**: 656/1*; **801**: 801/1*; **812**: 812/1; **815**: 815/1*; **818**: 818/1; **839**: 839/1*; **840**: 840/1*; 840/2*; 840/3*; **844**: 844/1; **846**: 846/1; **851**: 851/1; **859**: 859/1*; 859/2*; 859/3*; **860**: 860/1*; **914**: 914/1* **Areas**: **100**: 100/1 ; **600**: 600/1; **800**; 800/2
B.2c	Tombs: 6 Areas: 0 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **125**: 125/1*; **542**: 542/9; 542/10; **608**: 608/3*; **623**: 623/2; **639**: 339/1
B.2d	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **663**: 663/2
B.2e	Tombs: 0 Areas: 1 Total: 1	**Area**: **600**: 600/2
B.3	Tombs: 30 Areas: 0 Total: 30	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/7; **542**: 542/11; 542/12; **552**: 552/10; 552/11; 552/12; **562**: 562/9*; 562/10*; **902**: 902/4; 902/5; 902/6; 902/7; 902/8; 902/9; **905**: 905/5; 905/6; 905/7*; **914**: 914/2*; **922**: 922/2; **936**: 936/2; **949**: 949/1; **960**: 960/4; **962**: 962/2; **965**: 965/1; **981**: 981/6; 981/7*; **982**: 982/5; 982/6*; 982/7; **984**: 984/7
B.4a	Tombs: 8 Areas: 0 Total: 8	**Tombs**: **562**: 562/11; **905**: 905/8; 905/9; **936**: 936/3; **950**: 950/3*; **975**: 975/2; **978**: 978/2; **981**: 981/8

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
B.4b	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **822**: 822/1
B.4c	Tombs: 0 Areas: 1 Total: 1	**Area**: **600**: 600/3
B.5	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 0	**Tomb**: **976**: 976/3
B.6a	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **610**: 610/1; 610/2*; **611**: 611/1*; **618**: 618/1; **739**: 739/1
B.6b	Tombs: 5 Areas: 1 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **508**: 508/1; 508/2; **540**: 540/1; 540/2*; **552**: 552/13 **Area**: **600**: 600/4
B.7a	Tombs: 10 Areas: 0 Total: 10	**Tombs**: **513**: 513/2; **905**: 905/10; 905/11; 905/12; **921**: 921/2; **922**: 922/3*; **936**: 936/4; **949**: 949/2; **976**: 976/4; **984**: 984/8
B.7b	Tombs: 11 Areas: 0 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **105**: 105/1; **137**: 137/1*; **534**: 534/1*; **542**: 542/13; 542/14; **562**: 562/12; **615**: 615/1; **647**: 647/1*; **822**: 822/2; **833**: 833/1; **840**: 840/4*
B.8	Tombs: 9 Areas: 2 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **903**: 903/1; **906**: 906/1; 906/2; **936**: 936/5; **937**: 937/1; **946**: 946/1*; **960**: 960/5; **968**: 968/1; **984**: 984/9 **Area**: **900**: 900/1; 900/2
B.9	Tombs: 6 Areas: 1 Total: 7	**Tombs**: **137**: 137/2; **506**: 506/1; **509**: 509/1; **524**: 524/1; **529**: 529/2; **640**: 640/1 **Area**: **500**: 500/1
B.10	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **120**: 120/2*; **801**: 801/2; **828**: 828/1; **834**: 834/1; 834/2

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
B.11	Tombs: 39 Areas: 1 Total: 40	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/2; **110**: 110/2; **117**: 117/1*; **120**: 120/3;* **121**: 121/1*; **126**: 126/1*; **519**: 519/1; 519/2*; **524**: 524/2*; **525**: 525/1; **532**: 532/8; 532/9; **537**: 537/4*; 537/5*; **542**: 542/15*; 542/16*; 542/17; 542/18; 542/19; **552**: 552/14; **562**: 562/13; 562/14; 562/15; **612**: 612/1*; **615**: 615/2; 615/3; **620**: 620/2*; 620/3*; **622**: 622/2; **640**: 640/2*; 640/3*; **645**: 645/1; **646**: 646/1; **649**: 649/1*; **660**: 660/1*; **801**: 801/3*; 801/4*; **807**: 807/1*; **859**: 859/4* **Area**: **100**: 100/2
B.12	Tombs: 30 Areas: 1 Total: 31	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/3; **125**: 125/2; **126**: 126/2; **513**: 513/3*; **532**: 532/10; **542**: 542/20; 542/21*; 542/22; 542/23; 542/24*; 542/25; 542/26*; 542/27; 542/28; 542/29; 542/30*; **552**: 552/15; **562**: 562/16; 562/17; **601**: 601/1; **602**: 602/1; **608**: 608/4; **615**: 615/4; **625**: 625/1*; 625/2; **644**: 644/2*; **647**: 647/2*; **807**: 807/2*; **839**: 839/2; **849**: 849/1 **Area**: **600**: 600/5
B.13	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **104**: 104/1; **902**: 902/10
B.14	Tombs: 0 Areas: 1 Total: 1	**Area**: **700**: 700/1
CH.1	Tombs: 6 Areas: 0 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **104**: 104/2; **530**: 530/1; **542**: 542/31; 542/32; **615**: 615/5; 615/6*
LB.1	Tombs: 18 Areas: 0 Total: 18	**Tombs**: **537**: 537/6; **542**: 542/33*; **552**: 52/16; **615**: 615/7*; **616**: 616/1; **643**: 643/1; **739**: 739/2*; **831**: 831/1*; **856**: 856/1; 856/2; **902**: 902/11; **914**: 914/3; **917**: 917/1*; **935**: 935/3*; **936**: 936/6; **973**: 973/2; **974**: 974/1; **980**: 980/1
LB.2a	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **542**: 542/34
LB.2b	Tombs: 1 Areas: 1 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **552**: 552/17 **Area**: **600**: 600/6
PT.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **542**: 542/35
BS.1	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **529**: 529/3*; **542**: 542/36

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
HP.1	*Tombs: 1* Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **966**: 966/1
HP.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **613**: 613/1
TH.1	Tombs: 13 Areas: 0 Total: 13	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/11; **538**: 538/2*; **542**: 542/37; 542/38; 542/39; 542/40; 542/41*; 542/42*; **552**: 552/18; **562**: 562/18; **814**: 814/1*; **844**: 844/2; **853**: 853/1*
TH.2	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **124**: 124/1; **532**: 532/12
RM.1	Tombs: 27 Areas: 3 Total: 30	**Tombs**: **502**: 502/1; **504**: 504/1; 504/2*; **508**: 508/3: **516**: 516/1; **532**: 532/13; 532/14*; **534**: 534/2; **542**: 542/43; 542/44; 542/45; 542/46; 542/47*; **616**: 616/2; 616/3*; **622**: 622/3*; **623**: 623/3; **627**: 627/1; **639**: 639/2; **644**: 644/3; **645**: 645/2; **660**: 660/2*; **807**: 807/3*; **812**: 812/2; **834**: 834/3*; **840**: 840/5* **Areas**: **500**: 500/2; **600**: 600/7; **800**: 800/3
RM.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **131**: 131/1*
ST.1	Tombs: 4 Areas: 1 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **611**: 611/2; **613**: 613/2*; 613/3*; **657**: 657/1* **Area**: **500**: 500/3
ST.2	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **562**: 562/19*; **739**: 739/3*
ST.3	Tombs: 29 Areas: 0 Total: 29	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/15; **552**: 552/19*; 552/20*; 552/21*; 552/22*; 552/23*; **562**: 562/20*; **622**: 622/4; **902**: 902/12; 902/13*; 902/14*; **905**: 905/14*; **914**: 914/4; **921**: 921/3*; **934**: 934/5; **936**: 936/7*; **949**: 949/3*; 949/4; **960**: 960/6; **962**: 962/3; **972**: 972/1*; **975**: 975/3; 975/4*; **978**: 978/5*; **981**: 981/9*; 981/10*; **984**: 984/10; 984/11
ST.4	Tombs: 12 Areas: 1 Total: 13	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/16*; **552**: 552/24 *; **553**: 553/1*; **562**: 562/21*; **644**: 644/4*; **822**: 822/3*; **905**: 905/15; **934**: 934/6*; **936**: 936/8; **960**: 960/7; **975**: 975/5*; **981**: 981/11* **Area**: **800**: 800/4

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
ST.5	Tombs: 33 Areas: 0 Total: 33	**Tombs**: **121**: 121/2*; **506**: 506/2*; **516**: 516/2*; **519**: 519/3*; 519/4*; **532**: 532/17; 532/18*; **542**: 542/48; 542/49; 542/50*; 542/51*; 542/523; 542/53*; 542/54*; **552**: 552/253; **562**: 562/22*; 562/23*; 562/24*; **602**: 602/2*; **615**: 615/8*; 615/9*; **620**: 620/4*; **622**: 622/5*; **630**: 630/1*; **642**: 642/5*; **646**: 646/2*; **647**: 647/3; **661**: 661/1*; **663**: 663/3; **834**: 834/4; **845**: 845/1*; **855**: 855/1*; 855/2*
ST.6	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **513**: 513/4*
DJ.1	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **552**: 552/26; 552/27
JT.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: 1 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **537**: 537/1 **Area**: **700**: 700/2
JT.2	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **611**: 611/3* **612**: 612/2; **613**: 613/4; **624**: 624/1* **657**: 657/2*
JT.3	Tombs: 16 Areas: 0 Total: 16	**Tombs**: **543**: 543/1; **552**: 552/28; **589**: 589/1; **914**: 914/5; **926A**: 926A/1; **926B**: 926B/2*; **934**: 934/7; 934/8; **935**: 935/4*; **955**: 955/2; **958**: 958/1; **960**: 960/8; **961**: 961/1; **972**: 972/2; **980**: 980/2; **985**: 985/4
JT.4	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **629**: 629/1*; **820**: 820/1*; **912**: 912/2; **914**: 914/6; **984**: 984/12
JT.5a	Tombs: 6 Areas: 0 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **104**: 104/3; **510**: 510/1*; **525**: 525/2*; **622**: 622/6*; **640**: 640/5; **851**: 851/2*
JT.5b	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **641**: 641/2*; **801**: 801/5
JT.6	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **607**: 607/1
JT.7	Tombs: 3 Areas: 1 Total: 4	**Tombs**: **503**: 503/1*; **607**: 607/2*; **617**: 617/1 **Area**: **600**: 600/8

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
JT.8a	*Tombs: 2* *Areas: 0* *Total: 2*	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/19; **941**: 941/1
JT.8b	Tombs: 7 Areas: 0 Total: 7	**Tombs**: **129**: 129/1; **604**: 604/1; **639**: 639/3; **641**: 641/3; **805**: 805/1; **839**: 839/3; **853**: 853/1*
JT.9	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **805**: 805/2
SD.1	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **610**: 610/3; **611**: 611/4*; **612**: 612/3; **613**: 613/5*; **618**: 618/2
SD.2a	Tombs: 7 Areas: 0 Total: 7	**Tombs**: **562**: 562/25; **902**: 902/15; 902/16*; **908**: 908/3*; **921**: 921/4*; **975**: 975/6; **981**: 981/12
SD.2b	Tombs: 35 Areas: 0 Total: 35	**Tombs**: **529**: 529/4; **544**: 544/2; **552**: 552/29; 552/30; **562**: 562/26*; **589**: 589/2; **644**: 644/5; **663**: 663/4; **903**: 903/2; **914**; 914/7; **916**: 916/1*; **918**: 918/1*; **927**: 927/1; **928**: 928/2; **929**: 929/2; **935**: 935/5*; **936**: 936/9; **944**: 944/1*; **949**: 949/5; **950**: 950/4*; **955**: 955/3; **956**: 956/1; 956/2*; **960**: 960/9; 960/10*; **963**: 963/1; **964**: 964/1; **968**: 968/2; **969**: 969/1*; **973**: 973/3*; **981**: 981/13*; 981/14; 981/15; 981/16*; **984**: 984/13*
SD.2c	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **979**: 979/1
SD.3	Tombs: 40 Areas: 4 Total: 44	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/4; 102/5; **135**: 135/1; **508**: 508/4*; 508/5; **519**: 519/5; **525**: 525/3*; **527**: 527/2; **532**: 532/20; 532/21*; **542**: 542/55; 542/56; 542/57; **549**: 549/2*; **552**: 552/31; **553**: 553/2*; **562**: 562/27; 562/28; 562/29; **603**: 603/1*; **608**: 608/5; **615**: 615/10; 615/11*; 615/12*; 615/13; **622**: 622/7*; 622/8*; **639**: 639/4; 639/5*; **642**: 642/6*; **644**: 644/6*; **646**: 646/3; **647**: 647/7*; 647/8*; **834**: 834/5*; **903**: 903/3*; **905**: 905/16*; 905/17*; **934**: 934/9; **942**: 942/1* **Areas**: **100**: 100/3; **500**: 500/4; **600**: 600/9; 600/10*
SD.4	Tombs: 9 Areas: 0 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **522**: 522/1*; **528**: 528/1*; 528/2*; 528/3*; **530**: 530/2*; 530/3; **534**: 534/3*; **540**: 540/3*; **821**: 821/1
SD.5	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **120**: 120/4*; **542**: 542/58

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
J.1a	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **610**: 610/4; **618**: 618/3*; **981**: 981/17
J.1b	Tombs: 13 Areas: 0 Total: 13	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/22*; **553**: 553/3*; 553/4*; 553/5*; **562**: 562/30*; **657**: 657/3*; **909**: 909/2; **923**: 923/1*; **934**: 934/10; **937**: 937/2; **957**: 957/1*; **961**: 961/2; **970**: 970/1*
J.2a	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/17; **905**: 905/18*
J.2b	Tombs: 11 Areas: 0 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/18; **905**: 905/19; **936**: 936/10*; **949**: 949/6; **958**: 958/2; **959**: 959/1*; **962**: 962/4; **976**: 976/2; **982**: 982/8; 982/9; **983**: 983/1
J.2c	Tombs: 8 Areas: 1 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **552**: 552/32; 552/33; **905**: 905/20; **921**: 921/5*; **936**: 936/11; **960**: 960/11; 960/12*; **981**: 981/18 **Area**: **900**: 900/3
J.3	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **125**: 125/3
J.4a	Tombs: 1 Areas: 1 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **532**: 532/23 **Area**: **800**: 800/5
J.4b	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **621**: 621/1
J.5	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **542**: 542/59; **552**: 552/34*; **562**: 562/31*; **841**: 841/1; **851**: 851/3*
J.6	Tombs: 0 Areas: 1 Total: 1	**Area**: **600**: 600/11
D.1	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **536**: 536/2; **927**: 927/2; **938**: 938/2*

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
D.2	*Tombs: 4* Areas: 0 Total: 4	**Tombs**: **945**: 945/1*; **948**: 948/1; **981**: 981/19; **985**: 985/5
D.3	Tombs: 4 Areas: 0 Total: 4	**Tombs**: **539**: 539/2; **562**: 562/32; **831**: 831/2; **934**: 934/11
RJ.1	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **611**: 611/5*; **612**: 612/4
RJ.2	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **936**: 936/12; 936/13*
RJ.3	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **612**: 612/5
RJ.4	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **611**: 611/6
RJ.5a	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **539**: 539/3; **552**: 552/35; **562**: 562/33
RJ.5b	Tombs: 0 Areas: 2 Total: 2	**Areas**: **600**: 600/12; **700**: 700/3
RJ.6	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **934**: 934/12; **965**: 965/2
TJ.1	Tombs: 15 Areas: 2 Total: 17	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/24; **911**: 911/1; **920**: 920/1; **925**: 925/1; **926B**: 926B/3*; **927**: 927/3; **934**: 934/13; **936**: 936/14; **939**: 939/5; **950**:950/5*; 950/6; **954**: 954/1; **960**: 960/13; **984**: 984/14; **985**: 985/6* **Area**: **900**: 900/4; 900/5
TJ.2	Tombs: 4 Areas: 0 Total: 4	**Tombs**: **614**: 614/1; **974**: 974/2; **982**: 982/10; **985**: 985/7

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
TJ.3	*Tombs: 4* *Areas: 1* *Total: 5*	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/25; **542**: 542/60; 542/61; **862**: 862/1* **Area**: **800**: 800/6
M.1	Tombs: 5 Areas: 0 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **920**: 920/2; **939**: 939/6; **953**: 953/1; **972**; 972/3; **976**: 976/6
S.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **535**: 535/2
S.2a	Tombs: 10 Areas: 0 Total: 10	**Tombs**: **103**: 103/1; **542**: 542/62; 542/63*; **552**: 552/36*; **562**: 562/34*; **601**: 601/2; **625**: 625/3; **813**: 813/1*; **828**: 828/2; **859**: 859/5*
S.2b	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **523**: 523/1; 523/2; **636**: 636/1
S.3	Tombs: 1 Areas: 1 Total: 2	**Tomb**: **105**: 105/2 **Area**: **100**: 100/4
PF.1	Tombs: 11 Areas: 0 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **542**: 542/64; **901**: 901/1*; **902**: 902/19*; **921**: 921/6*; **925**: 925/2; **933**: 933/2; **934**: 934/14; **935**: 935/63; 935/7*; **960**: 960/14*; 960/15*
PF.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **606**: 606/1

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
PF.3	*Tombs: 99* *Areas: 4* *Total: 103*	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/6; 102/7*; 102/8*; **111**: 111/2*; **117**: 117/2*; **121**: 121/3*; 121/4*; **122**: 122/1; **123**: 123/1*; 123/2*; **134**: 134/1*; **507**: 507/1; 507/2*; **508**: 508/6; **514**: 514/1; **517**: 517/1*; **518**: 518/1; 518/2*; **519**: 519/6; 519/7*; **531**: 531/2; **532**: 532/26; 532/27; 532/28; 532/29; 532/30; **540**: 540/4*; **542**: 542/65; 542/66; 542/67; 542/68; 542/69; 542/70; 542/71; 542/72; 542/73; 542/74; 542/75; 542/76; 542/77; 542/78*; **544**: 544/3; 544/4; **552**: 552/37; 552/38; **562**: 562/35; 562/36; 562/37; 562/38; 562/39; 562/40*; **609**: 609/1*; **619**: 619/1*; **621**: 621/2*; **622**: 622/9*; 622/10*; **623**: 623/4*; 623/5*; **626**: 626/1*; **632**: 632/1*; 632/2*; **633**: 633/1; **634**: 634/1*; **637**: 637/1*; 637/2*; **647**: 647/4*; 647/5*; **648**: 648/13; 648/2*; **656**: 656/2*; **663**: 663/5; **805**: 805/3; 805/4*; **806**: 806/1*; **807**: 807/4*; 807/5*; **809**: 809/2*; **810**: 810/1*; **814**: 814/2*; **818**: 818/2, **822**: 822/4; **823**: 823/1; 823/2; 823/3*; **828**: 828/3; **830**: 830/1; **833**: 833/2; **834**: 834/6; **838**: 838/1*; **840**: 840/6*; 840/7*; **846**: 846/2; **853**: 853/2*; **860**: 860/2*; **862**: 862/2; **934**: 934/15*; **966**: 966/2*; **984**: 984/15; 984/16* **Areas**: **500**: 500/5; 500/6; **600**: 600/13; **800**: 800/7
PF.4	Tombs: 8 Areas: 1 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **504**: 504/3*; **506**: 506/3*; **507**: 507/3; **620**: 620/5*; 620/6*; **637**: 637/3*; **813**: 813/2*; **844**: 844/3 **Area**: **500**: 500/7
PF.5	Tombs: 4 Areas: 1 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **538**: 538/3*; **542**: 542/79*; **621**: 621/3: **660**: 660/3 **Area**: **100**: 100/5
PF.6	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **649**: 649/2; **832**: 832/1
PF.7	Tombs: 6 Areas: 0 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **562**: 562/41; **612**: 612/6*; **617**: 617/2*; **627**: 627/2*; **631**: 631/2; 631/3*
PF.8	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tombs**: 849: 849/2
PF.9	Tombs: 9 Areas: 0 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **121**: 121/5*; **543**: 543/2: **809**: 809/3*; **905**: 905/21*; **908**: 908/4; **909**: 909/3; **921**: 921/7*; **922**: 922/4; **926A**: 926A/2
PF.10	Tombs: 0 Areas: 1 Total: 1	**Area**: **700**: 700/4

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
BT.1	*Tombs: 2* Areas: 1 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **507**: 507/4*; **649**: 649/3 **Area**: **500**: 500/8
HV.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: Total:	**Tomb**: **939**: 939/7
HV.2	Tombs: 15 Areas: 0 Total: 15	**Tombs**: **562**: 562/42*; **856**: 856/3; **905**: 905/22; **915**: 915/1; **918**: 918/2*; **919**: 919/3*; **924**: 924/1; **926A**: 926A/3; **931**: 931/1; **952**: 952/3; **967**: 967/1; **973**: 973/4*; **981**: 981/20*; 981/21; **982**: 982/11
HV.3a	Tombs: 8 Areas: 1 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **537**: 537/8; **538**: 538/4*; **562**: 562/43; **635**: 635/1*; **809**: 809/1; **821**: 821/2*; 821/3*; **851**: 851/4* **Area**: **800**: 800/8
HV.3b	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/31; **802**: 802/1*; **819**: 819/1*
HV.4	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **844**: 844/4
A.1	Tombs: 9 Areas: 0 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **552**: 552/39; 552/40*; 552/41*; **935**: 935/8; 935/9*; **960**: 960/16; 960/17*; **984**: 984/17*; 984/18*
A.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: 905: 905/23
A.3	Tombs: 4 Areas: 0 Total: 4	**Tombs**: **540**: 540/5*; **802**: 802/2*; **915**: 915/2; **981**: 981/22
A.4	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **636**: 636/2
L.1	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **549**: 549/3; **902**: 902/20*; **936**: 936/15

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
L.2	*Tombs: 53* *Areas: 2* *Total: 55*	***Tombs*: *114*: *114/1**; **520**: 520/1*; **527**: 527/3; **531**: 531/3*; **532**: 532/32; 532/33; 532/34; 532/35*; 532/36*; 532/37*; **542**: 542/80; 542/81*; 542/82; 542/83*; 542/84*; **544**: 544/5; **552**: 552/42; 552/43; 552/44; **562**: 562/44; 562/45; 562/46; 562/47; **607**: 607/3*; **615**: 615/14*; **617**: 617/3; **621**: 621/4; 621/5*; **626**: 626/2*; **637**: 637/4*; **648**: 648/3*; **649**: 649/4*; **660**: 660/4*; **802**: 802/3*; **823**: 823/4*; **828**: 828/4; **834**: 834/7; **840**: 840/8*: **902**: 902/21; **914**: 914/8; 914/9*; **934**: 934/17; 934/18; **935**: 935/10*; **936**: 936/16; 936/17; **949**: 949/7; **960**: 960/18; 960/19; **981**: 981/23; **982**: 982/12*; **984**: 984/19*; 984/20* **Areas**: **100**: 100/6; **600**: 600/14*
L.3	Tombs: 11 Areas: 0 Total: 11	**Tombs**: **114**: 114/2; **135**: 135/2*; **509**: 509/2; **519**: 519/8; **529**: 529/5*; **540**: 540/6*; **562**: 562/48; **607**: 607/4; **626**: 626/3; **637**: 637/5*; **649**: 649/5
P.1	Tombs: 9 Areas: 0 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/22; 902/23; **905**: 905/24*; 905/25*; **914**: 914/10; **920**: 920/3; 920/4*; **935**: 935/11, **939**: 939/8
P.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **562**: 562/49
P.3	Tombs: 8 Areas: 2 Total: 10	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/9; **112**: 112/1*; **124**: 124/2*; **135**: 135/3*; **506**: 506/4*; **642**: 642/1; 642/2; 642/3 **Areas**: **600**: 600/15; **800**: 800/9
P.4	Tombs: 88 Areas: 0 Total: 8	**Tombs**: **506**: 506/5; **542**: 542/85*; **636**: 636/3; **641**: 641/4*; **649**: 649/6; **649**: 649/7*; **857**: 857/1; **951**: 951/1*
P.5	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **524**: 524/3; **634**: 634/2*
SJ.1	Tombs: 7 Areas: 0 Total: 7	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/24; 902/25; 902/26; **905**: 905/26*; **936**: 936/18; 936/19; **939**: 939/9
SJ.2	Tombs: 4 Areas: 1 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/38; **642**: 642/7; **656**: 656/3*; **825**: 825/1 **Area**: **600**: 600/16
PJ.1a	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **936**: 936/20

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
PJ.1b	*Tombs: 2* Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/27; **920**: 920/5
PJ.2	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **532**: 532/39; **907**: 907/1*; **936**: 936/21
FB.1	Tombs: 5 Areas: 1 Total: 6	**Tombs**: **513**: 513/5; **533**: 533/1*; **620**: 620/7*; **803**: 803/1; **815**: 815/2* **Area**: **500**: 500/9
HM.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **939**: 939/10
HM.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **542**: 542/86
HM.3	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **612**: 612/7
HM.4	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **947**: 947/1; **960**: 960/20*
HM.5	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **905**: 905/27; **934**: 934/19
CY.1	Tombs: 4 Areas: 1 Total: 5	**Tombs**: **612**: 612/8; **613**: 613/6*; 613/7*; **614**: 614/2* **Area**: **600**: 600/17
CY.2	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **949**: 949/8
CY.3	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **612**: 612/9; **613**: 613/8; 613/9

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

Types	Number	Occurrences
CY.4	Tombs: 3 Areas: 0 Total: 3	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/28; **922**: 922/5; **936**: 936/22
CY.5	Tombs: 2 Areas: 0 Total: 2	**Tombs**: **902**: 902/29; **949**: 949/9
CY.6	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **902**: 902/30
CY.7	Tombs: 8 Areas: 1 Total: 9	**Tombs**: **102**: 102/10; **105**: 105/3; **506**: 506/6; **525**: 525/4*; **617**: 617/4; **640**: 640/6; **642**: 642/4; **647**: 647/6* **Area**: **600**: 600/18
CY.8	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **506**: 506/7
CY.9	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **546**: 546/1
MD.1	Tombs: 1 Areas: 0 Total: 1	**Tomb**: **542**: 542/87
UNDET	Tombs: 14 Areas: 4 Total: 18	**Tombs**: **104**: 104/4*; **534**: 534/4*; **542**: 542/88*; **552**: 552/45*; **562**: 562/50; **621**: 621/6; **640**: 640/4*; **644**: 644/7*; **844**: 844/5*; **905**: 905/28*; **934**: 934/16; **936**: 936/23; **976**: 976/3; **981**: 981/24* **Areas**: **500**: 500/10; 500/11; **800**: 800/10; 800/11

* pots not available for study at the time of the research

TABLE 20
Occurrences of pottery types in all cemeteries: items that could not be examined are followed by *.

TABLE 21

Scarabs and seals in the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah:
Subjects and themes.

Total number of scarabs: 601

1) Anra-type scarabs: 10.

900/S4
900/S11
934/S29
934/S30
934/S32
934/S35
934/S75
934/S93
935/S24
936/S15

2) Spirals, circles and dots, rosettes and uraei, humans with *ᶜnh* signs, branches or papyrus flowers: 33.

a) circles and dots: 9.
128/S1
500/S2
553/S1
613/S1
700/S1
922/S7
934/S57
934/S88
960/S17

b) rosettes, rosettes and uraei: 8.
609/S1
628/S2
902/S12
905/S7
914/S3
935/S12
960/S27
970/S1

c) spirals and knot-patterns: 3.
526/S1
935/S22
960/S26

d) sitting human figure(s) with lotus flowers or other signs: 3.
900/S3
934/S61
934/S79

e) standing human figure alone, with branch, *cnh*, or uraeus: 7.
533/S2
920/S3
926/S1
934/S92
935/S20
960/S32
960/S34

f) human figure with sun-ray crown: 3.
934/S97
936/S31
936/S33

3) Royal names scarabs: 112.

a) Sechanenre: 1
934/S1

b) Amenophis I: 1
838/S1

c) Tuthmosis III: 53.
100/S1
120/S1
134/S1
525/S1
534/S3
534/S4
541/S1
542/S1
552/S1
585/S1 (also god Seth)
600/S1
615/S2
615/S3
628/S1
641/S1 (also god Amun)
643/S2
902/S6
902/S24
902/S25
903/S1
909/S1
914/S2
914/S6
922/S6
922/S12
928/S1
934/S2

934/S3
934/S4
934/S5
934/S6
934/S64
934/S102
935/S1
935/S2
936/S3
936/S5
936/S6
936/S7
960/S13
960/S23
960/S24
960/S31
980/S1
980/S2
981/S1
981/S2
982/S13
984/S9
984/S12
984/S14
984/S30
984/S35

d) Amenophis II: 1.
936/S2

e) Tuthmosis IV: 1
935/S3

f) Amenophis III: 7.
902/S13
902/S14
934/S7
934/S8
934/S90
936/S36
984/S28

g) Amenophis III or Seti I: 1.
981/S3

h) Ramesses I: 1
955/S1

i) Seti I: 1.
934/S65

j) Merneptah: 2
914/S5
981/S5

k) Ramesses II: 35.
512/S1
617/S1
902/S23
914/S9
921/S1
934/S9
934/S10
934/S14
934/S62
934/S66
934/S67
934/S68
934/S69
935/S4
935/S5
935/S28
936/S9
936/S10
939/S1
960/S3
960/S5
960/S6
962/S1
978/S1
981/S4
982/S1
982/S2
984/S1
984/S2
984/7
984/S22
984/S23
984/S27
984/S31
984/S37

l) Ramesses III: 4.
934/S11
934/S12
934/S13
984/S3

m) Ramesses IV: 2.
934/S70
960/S7

n) Ramesside kings: 2.
934/S15
972/S1

4) God(s), god(s) and king, god names: 162.

4.1) *God(s), god(s) and king*: 86.

a) Falcon-headed gods: 34.
131/S1
501/S1
516/S1
562/S4
600/S3
643/S1
830/S1
901/S1
902/S8

902/S9
902/S11
9200/S1
920/S2
922/S5
928/2
934/S36
934/S37
934/S63
934/S76
934/S77
934/S100
935/S11
936/S28
936/S35
936/S42
953/S1
960/S40
981/S6
982/S3
982/S4
982/S16
984/S13
984/S15
984/S19

b) Ptah: 11.
902/S7
902/S16
905/S10
921/S2
925/S1
934/S38
934/S78
936/S26
936/S32
936/S41
978/S4

c) Seth-Baal: 6.
117/S1
542/S3
542/S4
635/S1
902/S15
960/S9

d) Toth: 2
107/S1
936/S39

e) Amun-Re: 2.
552/S6
939/S1

f) Seth: 4
510/S1
610/S1
800/S1
981/S10

g) Maat: 2
127/S1
934/S16

h) Hathor: 1
936/S34

i) Atum (ram-headed): 2
960/S29
966/S1

j) Onuris: 1
905/S2

k) Anubis: 1
900/S9

l) Sekhmet: 1
926A/S2

m) God and king or two gods: 12.
552/S2
606/S1
910/S1 (king and Ptah)
934/S17 (king and Toth)
934/S18 (king and Ptah)
934/S26 (Atum and Re)
934/S74 (king and Amun)
935/S6 (king and Ptah)
936/S4 (king and Amun)
960/S4 (falcon and Amun)
978/S6 (king and Amun)
984/S24 (falcon-headed and lion-headed gods)

n) Triad (king and two gods): 4.
552/S3
934/S20
934/S23
936/S30

o) Other figure with royal or divine attributes: 3.
902/S10
934/S96
982/S15

4.2) *God names*: 76.
a) Amun: 53.
134/S2
510/S3
532/S3 (or Ramesses X)
534/S2
800/S4
900/S6
900/S12
902/S20
902/S21
902/S22
905/S1
905/S3
905/S9

914/S1
921/S4
922/S11
931/S1
934/S48
934/S49
934/S50
934/S83
934/S84
934/S85
934/S86
934/S104
935/S10
935/S23
935/S25
936/S1
936/S8
936/S27
936/S40
939/S2
949/S2
955/S2
960/S12
960/S22
960/S28
960/S36
961/S2
966/S3
974/S1
978/S2
978/S5
980/S3
982/S6
982/S8
983/S1
984/S6
984/S20
984/S29
984/S32
984/S36

b) Ptah: 21.
542/S2
553/S2
902/S18
902/S19
905/S5
917/S1
925/S3
934/S53
934/S54
934/S55
934/S56
934/S60
934/S87
936/S25
936/S29
951/S1
960/S15
982/S7
982/S9
982/S12
985/S1

c) Toth: 1
902/S17 (perhaps Amenophis III)

d) Re-Harachte: 1
984/S25

5) Hunting and chariot scenes, king smiting enemies and royal symbols: 83.

5.1) *Scenes with figures*: 20.

a) Hunting scenes: 9
100/S2
102/S1
133/S1
500/S1
506/S1
509/S1
519/S1
534/S5
562/S6

b) Chariot scenes and/or hunt: 5
503/S1
533/S3
601/S1
609/S2
934/S72

c) King smiting enemy: 6
900/S14
934/S19
934/S73
935/S7
960/S35
984/S10

5.2) *Symbols*: 63.

a) Red Crown combinations: 22.
528/S1
618/S1
900/S10
902/S3
902/S4
921/S3
925/S2
930/S1
934/S31
935/S17
935/S18
935/S19
935/S21
936/S12
936/S13
936/S18

936/S20
957/S1
966/S2
982/S10
982/S14
984/S18

b) Combinations with *dd*, *cnh*, *nbw* and/or *sw*: 8.
800/S1
900/S13
922/S9
934/S81
935/S14
936/S16
960/S33
981/S7

c) Combinations with *w3d*: 6.
618/S2
640/S1
902/S1
934/S40
936/S11
936/S21

d) Combinations with ^{c}nh and/or *nfr*: 7.
813/S1
905/S6
934/S59
935/S26
936/S19
939/S3
984/S26

e) Combination with *s3*: 2
901/S2
938/S82

f) Combinations with *hpr* and/or h^{c}: 5.
643/S3
902/S5
922/S8
934/S33
934/S34

g) Maat feather and reeds: 3.
539/S2
936/S14
984/S5

h) Obelisk: 1
640/S2

i) Other signs: 7.
510/S2
549/S2
636/S1
902/S26
934/S98
934/S103
960/S8

j) Bee: 2.
902/S2
960/S16

6) Animals: 118.

a) sphinx: 21.
100/S3
562/S1
800/S3
914/S7
922/S1
922/S2
922/S3
922/S4
934/S21
934/S22
934/S24
934/S25
934/S27
934/S28
935/S8
935/S9
936/S23
967/S1
981/S9
981/S11
984/S17

b) Lion: 18.
135/S2
534/S1
549/S1
562/S2
618/S3
914/S4
923/S1
934/S39
934/S42
934/S101
934/S105
935/S15
960/S39
978/S3
984/S8
984/S16
984/S38
985/S2

c) Ram's head: 7.
532/S4
905/S4
934/S51
934/S52
976/S1
982/S5
984/S11

d) Uraeus (-ei): 24.
532/S1
532/S5
562/S5
914/S8
920/S4
922/S10
926B/S1
931/S2
934/S47
934/S58
934/S91
934/S99
935/S13
936/S17
960/S10
960/S11
960/S25
960/S30
960/S37
960/S38
961/S1
980/S4
982/S11
984/S21

e) Beetle: 12
528/S2
562/S3
900/S5
934/S44
934/S46
934/S71
934/S80
935/S16
936/S22
980/S5
984/S33
984/S34

f) falcon: 14.
539/S1
552/S4
934/S43
934/S45
934/S89
934/S95
934/S106
936/S37
936/S38
949/S3
960/S41
962/S1
967/S2
981/S8

g) Caprid and caprid and scorpion: 5.
134/S4
503/S2
534/S6
601/S2
900/S7

h) Bird: 2.
104/S1
900/S15

i) Undefined quadruped: 5.
134/S3
500/S3
524/S1
534/S7
900/S2

j) Crocodile: 3.
600/S2
615/S1
905/S11

k) Lizard: 1.
905/S8

l) Horse: 1.
934/S41

m) Hippopotamus: 1.
916/S1

n) Scorpions: 1.
960/S42

o) Fish: 1.
949/S1

p) Other: 2.
135/S1
936/S24 (hybrid)

7) Others: 35

100/S4
133/S2
532/S2 (figure with raised hands)
533/S3
538/S1
538/S2
552/S5
600/S3
800/S5
900/S1(incised lines)
900/S8 (human figure)
902/S27
914/S10
914/S11 (cross-hatching)
934/S94 (Memphite formula)
934/S107
934/S107
934/S107
934/S108

934/S108
934/S108
934/S108
934/S108
935/S27
935/S27
935/S27
939/S4
960/S1 (lines)
960/S2
960/S14
960/S18
960/S19
960/S20
960/S21
984/S4

8) Blank scaraboids: 48

100/S5
125/S1
534/S8
613/S2
661/S1
914/S12 (carnelian)
914/S13 (glass)
934/S109 (carnelian or amethyst)
(25 examples)
935/S29 (carnelian)
935/S29 (carnelian)
935/S29 (carnelian)
935/S29 (carnelian)
960/S43 (carnelian)
960/S43 (carnelian)
960/S44 (carnelian)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
960/S45 (faience)
983/S2
984/S39 (carnelian)
984/S40 (carnelian)