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# The Aigina Treasure

Aegean Bronze Age jewellery and a mystery revisited



Edited by J. Lesley Fitton  
With a technical report by Nigel Meeks

**This book is dedicated to Reynold Higgins**

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Frontispiece: The Aigina Treasure in its display case in the Arthur I. Fleischman Gallery of the Greek Bronze Age in the British Museum.

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## Three pendants: Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, Aigina and a new silver pendant from the Petrie Museum

Robert Schiestl

In W.M.F. Petrie's catalogue *Objects of Daily Use*, published in 1927, among a miscellaneous collection of jewellery, a small silver pendant is presented.<sup>1</sup> Even in its heavily corroded state, the pendant exhibits various features that link it closely to the well-known gold pendant found at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> (Figs 190 and 191), as well as to the 'Master of Animals' pendant and the dog earrings of the Aigina Treasure (see Figs 11, 18 and 19).

Petrie's brief and amazingly accurate description was as follows:<sup>2</sup>

Silver. Two hawk-headed sphinxes of Mentu, facing, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. The bases on which they stand are not clear, they look like boats. At the back was a horizontal tube at the top, and another at the base, for threading. The tails of the sphinxes curl like a dog's tail, a form which is very unusual. This pendant is made by impressing a sheet of silver in a die, and then soldering it to a flat sheet for the back. It is thus very thin and hollow; and the amount of corrosion that it has suffered prevents it being cleaned. XIIth dynasty.

Fortunately the penultimate statement has been proven wrong, owing to the marvellous work done by the British Museum conservator Marilyn Hockey. Now an in-depth look at the details of the pendant is possible and we can see what Petrie could not.

### The Petrie Museum pendant

#### *Technique and provenance*

The pendant<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 192) is 3.2 cm high and 5.4 cm wide at the base line. It was produced by cutting out two silver sheets and soldering their edges together; the front sheet had been worked in repoussé technique, the back remained flat. Some details on the front have been added by chasing. The back sheet has been folded over at the top, thus creating a small tube for the suspension of the pendant. Three little wire loops have been soldered on along the bottom of the base in order to attach additional pendants, possibly small discs, which have not survived.

Petrie purchased the pendant in Egypt in 1912, while working at Kafr Tarkhan/Kafr Ammar.<sup>4</sup> Technologically, the piece does

not stand in an Egyptian tradition: Middle Kingdom pendants are exclusively made in cloisonné technique, a method in which precisely cut-out semi-precious stones are fitted into cells created by metal strips soldered at a right angle to the sheet metal base.<sup>5</sup> The reverse side of the pendant, which was not visible when worn, was usually worked in repoussé technique and details were added by chasing. However, not until the New Kingdom do repoussé and chasing appear on the face of pendants, either as a complementary feature to the continuing tradition of inlays<sup>6</sup> or with the whole pendant fashioned in that way.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, from a technological point of view, an Egyptian manufacture can be disputed. Attempts at localizing the place of manufacture must be based primarily on an iconographic discussion. While such a discussion can never replace a lost context, essentially the same questions would be asked of the object had it been found in a known context.

Mirroring the reception of the Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> pendant,<sup>8</sup> the most likely candidates for place of manufacture for the Petrie pendant are the Aegean, the Levant – in either case under strong Egyptian influence – or the north-eastern Nile Delta. While forming part of an interrelated discussion, the pendants will be treated separately: first, an attempt will be made to embed the Petrie pendant in its cultural context; secondly, the Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> pendant will be presented in its archaeological context.

#### *The Petrie pendant's protagonists*

The antithetic creatures are Egyptian-style griffins, composed of leonine bodies and heads of hawks with short beaks. They wear a long, Egyptian-style headdress, which falls to the chest. The heads are fitted with C-spirals, the wings are folded on the body (Barta griffin type b).<sup>9</sup> Both griffins are shown standing with three legs on the ground and one front leg extended, which overlaps with the front leg of the opposing animal. The bases consist of horizontal bars ending in rounded elements.

Petrie's identification may have been aided by De Morgan's discovery of a pendant in 1894, from Princess Mereret's tomb in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Fig. 184).<sup>10</sup>

This pendant's griffins, flanking a cartouche spelling the name of Senwosret III, are shown in the Egyptian pose of 'trampling the enemies'. The Petrie griffins wear the same headdress as the Dahshur griffins; however, the latter's heads are fitted with *andjty* crowns, consisting of cow's and ram's horns, and a pair of tall feathers. The wings are folded on the body, as on the Petrie pendant. From beneath the folded wings, tail feathers emerge. This is the canonical Egyptian style of the Old and Middle Kingdom for depicting folded griffins' wings, as opposed to folded wings of sphinxes – as shown, for example, by the reconstructed reliefs from the 6th Dynasty pyramid complex of Pepi II from Saqqara (Fig. 196).<sup>11</sup> In the case of the sphinx, shown on the top, the wings are larger and more stylized, with a scale-like pattern, and are shown without tail feathers. While this differentiation between griffins' and sphinxes' wings was rigorously maintained throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms, by the time of the New Kingdom it was abandoned and sphinxes are shown with tail feathers as well.<sup>12</sup> The Dahshur and Petrie pendants show the same wing composition of tail feathers, four and three respectively, emerging from below the wing. The adherence to such detail is remarkable and stands in contrast to the adaptation of the trampling scene. In this classic Egyptian pose, developed in the Old Kingdom, sphinx and griffin represent royal power and are, in this context, interchangeable. On the Petrie pendant, the enemies have been dropped, the griffins have been pushed together and touch at the tip of their beaks, like the snouts of the Dab'a dogs (Fig. 190) and the Aigina dogs (Figs 18 and 19). The paws of the extended front leg have been lowered and overlap with the opposing griffin's paw. Both features are unknown in Egyptian iconography; from an Egyptian point of view the animals are too close, and there is no overlapping and rarely 'touching' in Middle Kingdom Egyptian art. Figures and signs are only adjacent to each other; they do not interact. Exceptions are small confronted bird amulets, where one does also find examples with the birds' beaks touching – for example from Khnumet's burial at Dahshur<sup>13</sup> and from various non-royal Middle Kingdom burials.<sup>14</sup> But they seem more like hieroglyphs simply pushed together until their borders touch. This still holds true for Egyptian lion amulets of the New Kingdom,<sup>15</sup> which show the antithetical animals barely touching.

Also removed in the Petrie pendant is the griffins' threatening regal stance, while the touching beaks and overlapping legs create an impression of harmless affability. This informality is inconsistent with Egyptian 'hieroglyphic' poses and renders the scene meaningless in an Egyptian context. But what if we consider it in an Aegean or Levantine context?

Both Levantine and Aegean art adapt Egyptian art freely, losing and adding iconographic elements and meanings.<sup>16</sup> Comparable variations of the trampling pose are amply known from Syrian seals, though never with griffins but always sphinxes, alone or in pairs.<sup>17</sup> The enemies may be depicted, or omitted, or replaced by snakes. The front paws may touch, yet there is no overlapping. A very good parallel to the overlapping of the front legs is shown by the bees of Mallia–Chrysolakkos.<sup>18</sup>

The bodies of the griffins on the Petrie pendant are more compact than and not as slender as the Egyptian lion's body from Mereret's pendant or as in another Middle Kingdom example showing a hawk-headed lion from the collection of the Myers Museum, Eton College,<sup>19</sup> presumed to be from a royal

burial at Dahshur. The Syrian griffins and sphinxes also tend to have slender bodies like the Egyptian creatures. In contrast, the earliest Aegean/Minoan group has broad upper bodies, as shown by the Middle Minoan standing sphinx from a prism, probably from Sitea, in the Giamalakis Collection (Fig. 193)<sup>20</sup> and the earliest representations of Minoan griffins from the Phaistos sealings (Figs 194 and 195).<sup>21</sup> The Mallia clay sphinx<sup>22</sup> also displays a particularly broad upper body.

Undoubtedly, though, little otherwise links the Phaistos griffins with the ones from the Petrie pendant. The elongated beaks and upraised wings are to become trademarks of Aegean griffins; later typical features – such as spirals on the neck and upper body, adder marks on the wings, a feathered crest on the head, and spirals dangling down the back – are missing.

The wings of both Minoan and Syrian griffins are never shown folded on the body; either they are wingless or the wings are raised. Some examples of sphinxes on Old Syrian glyptic<sup>23</sup> show an abstract 'ladder pattern' hatching on the body, which could be interpreted as indicating folded wings. These marks, however, depict details of the fur, as shown by the griffin from the Ahmose axe from the tomb of Ahhotep,<sup>24</sup> which shows both raised wings and such vertical marks on the body. Folded wings are an Egyptian characteristic and neither Aegean nor Levantine.

The two C-spirals on the griffins' heads are unique. They do not fit in any of the eastern Mediterranean griffin traditions – the Phaistos sealings showing either one individual curl or three leaf-like elements. The Syrian and Anatolian griffins are also shown either with one curl, falling off to the back,<sup>25</sup> or wearing a sundry array of elements, presumably degenerated remnants of Egyptian crowns.<sup>26</sup> The horns or the tufts of hair sprouting from the Sitea/Giamalakis sphinx (Fig. 193) have also been linked to the ram's horns of Egyptian *andjty* and *atef* crowns, which on their way to Crete lost the tall central element while emphasizing the horizontal elements.<sup>27</sup> The Petrie C-spirals are reminiscent of the double volutes emanating from the woman's head on the plaque pin from Mycenae, Shaft Grave III,<sup>28</sup> or they could simply be a doubling of the single curl from the Dab'a dogs. Yet unlike all the above-mentioned elements, the C-spirals do not emerge from the head, but seem to rest on top, like an independent element consciously added. They are symmetrical and cleanly executed, and therefore, in my opinion, do not fall into the Syrian tradition of degenerated Hathoric cow's horns. If then the spiral was added as a separate element, this also would point to the Aegean. Except for the running spiral, spirals were not common in the early second millennium BC in the Near East.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, the round tail is not particularly diagnostic. In Egypt it is limited to the depiction of dogs' tails; it can, however, also be found both on protopalatial seals<sup>30</sup> and in Levantine depictions of animals, such as on a dagger sheath from Byblos.<sup>31</sup>

### **The pendant's base**

The closest link between the Aigina, Dab'a and Petrie pendants is the base. As in the case of the Dab'a dogs, the Petrie griffins each stand on their own flat base, which ends in a round volute. In the Dab'a pendant and the Aigina 'Master of Animals' pendant, a third round element was added in the middle, from which, in the latter, lotus flowers sprout. The interior of the horizontal bar is decorated with hatched lines, a feature also

present in the Dab'a pendant, where the lines are more vertical. Evans, in keeping with his highly Egyptianizing interpretation of the setting as a Nilotic fowling scene, considered the Aigina base a stylized Egyptian bark.<sup>32</sup> To support his theory, he cites the supposedly frequent depiction of Egyptian barks decorated with lotus flowers at their prow and stern.<sup>33</sup> Higgins emphatically rejected the boat theory and laid the emphasis on the flowers, thus initially suggesting a marsh<sup>34</sup> and later a field of lotus flowers.<sup>35</sup> However, he ventured no suggestion as to what the base was supposed to depict. On a formal level, similarities to Egyptian papyrus barks do exist. A bark on a Middle Kingdom relief from Lisht<sup>36</sup> also displays a partly curled-up end, almost creating a volute. Comparable shapes, however, can also be found on Near Eastern seals.<sup>37</sup> These simple Egyptian barks are made of papyrus and consequently generally end in umbels of papyrus, not lotus.<sup>38</sup> From an iconographic point of view, the setting of trampling scenes on barks would be an oddity.

As of the New Kingdom, it becomes very popular for scenes on pectorals to be set on boats, which fill the entire width of the base of the pendant: Ahhotep's pectoral<sup>39</sup> is the oldest example.<sup>40</sup> These barks are often shown floating on stylized water and always remain enclosed in a kiosk frame. Variations on this scene, associated with the sun-god's voyage across the ocean of the sky, become very popular on private funerary pectorals.<sup>41</sup> Regardless of how crude the jewel may be, however, the barks, whether shown in detail or stylized, are always immediately identifiable as such. The design, even on the minute space of a scarab seal,<sup>42</sup> had never been experimented with to the extent of clouding the crucial messages these images were conveying. Occasionally, bow- and stern-posts end in papyrus umbels,<sup>43</sup> rarely in lotus flowers.<sup>44</sup> Other rare variations show the ends consisting of heads of gazelles<sup>45</sup> or snakes,<sup>46</sup> or topped with sun discs.<sup>47</sup> A non-Egyptian artisan would not have been bound by any of these formal or iconographic concerns and could have transferred the lotus decorating boats or growing wild in fowling scenes on to an abstracted bark, as well as relocating the griffins 'trampling the enemy'.

However, looking to the Aegean, another suggestion for the origin of the base could be put forward. Possibly it developed from Early Bronze Age pins with attached plaques, which rested on wire bases ending in wire spirals. Examples are the antithetic birds from Poliochni on Lemnos<sup>48</sup> and a pin from Troy, Treasure O.<sup>49</sup> While a large chronological gap separates these pieces from our pendants, the slim corpus of Aegean jewellery of the intervening centuries leaves room for the imagination. Trade in the northern Aegean in the later Early Bronze Age was extensive and lively.<sup>50</sup> A close link also exists between pins with plaques and pendants suspended from necklaces: Higgins, in comparing the 'Master of Animals' pendant with the Mycenaean plaque pin from Shaft Grave III, suggested the former might have originally been suspended from a pin as well.<sup>51</sup> A development of a quasi-generic Aegean/Anatolian base might be proposed, which could be used simply as a neutral base line, as in the case of the Petrie and the Dab'a pendants, or – as in the case of the Aigina pendant – could be adapted through the addition of lotus flowers to create a marshy or swampy setting. Hence, the Dab'a and Petrie pendant did not omit the flowers;<sup>52</sup> rather they were added for the Aigina scene.

Three wire loops are soldered on to the base line of the Petrie pendant. The holes bored through the base of the Aigina

'Master of Animals' pendant and the soldered-on loops of the Aigina pectoral with human-headed terminals (see Fig. 41), reminiscent of an Egyptian *wsx*-collar,<sup>53</sup> show that from these loops additional circular pendants should be suspended. In the Petrie pendant nothing of such appendices remains. The fondness for chain attachments has a long Aegean tradition, as Higgins has pointed out: examples come from Mochlos;<sup>54</sup> and, more contemporary to our pendant, the bees of Mallia–Chrysolakkos and the Middle Kingdom jewellery of Princess Khnumet from her tomb in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur<sup>55</sup> could be added. The rare Levantine parallels for such attachments do not use wire rings but little tubes.<sup>56</sup>

Summing up, I ultimately suggest an Aegean manufacture for the Petrie pendant, under both strong Egyptian and Near Eastern influence. Egypt contributed the griffins, while their pose was adapted in the Near East. Although the pendant does not immediately suggest an Aegean or Minoan origin, most of the evidence – the technique, the shape of the griffins' bodies, the overlapping of the front legs, the C-spirals on the heads, the base, the loops for attachments – in my opinion points in the direction of the Aegean. A comparable item, also possibly Aegean with a high degree of Egyptianization, is an unprovenanced golden falcon ornament with wings inlaid in cloisonné technique, now in the British Museum.<sup>57</sup> Chronologically I would place the Petrie pendant very close to the Dab'a dog pendant, namely the first half of the eighteenth century BC, thus hardly changing Petrie's original dating. While these individual pieces of evidence are still too singular to draw historical or art-historical conclusions, the fusion of styles and the difficulty in pinpointing the place of manufacture in some ways anticipates discussions familiar from the Late Bronze Age.<sup>58</sup> One object that already has opened such a debate is the Tell el-Dab'a pendant.

### The Tell el-Dab'a pendant

Since its discovery in 1989 and first publication in 1991 by Gisela Walberg,<sup>59</sup> the Tell el-Dab'a gold pendant (Figs 190 and 191) has been much scrutinized, while also serving as a focal point for wider-reaching discussions on eastern Mediterranean Middle Bronze cultural interactions. Walberg's initial designation as Aegean and presumably Minoan<sup>60</sup> has been widely accepted.<sup>61</sup> It was Joan Aruz who first voiced doubts, suggesting, mainly on the basis of comparisons with Syrian seals, that it is a 'Canaanite piece, made either locally at Tell el-Dab'a itself or in the Levant'.<sup>62</sup> This idea was enthusiastically taken up by Sarah Morris,<sup>63</sup> who discusses the Dab'a pendant and other 'orphans'<sup>64</sup> of the second-millennium BC eastern Mediterranean. Her approach also advocates a shifting of the emphasis from the great cultural superpowers of Egypt and Crete to undervalued Levantine regions such as Asiatic craftsmen in the Delta.<sup>65</sup> While the new focus on new regions and shifting centres is crucial, chronological questions tend to get pushed aside. Despite there being no inherent connection between the Tell el-Dab'a pendant and the 'Ezbet Helmi wall paintings, and despite being separated by hundreds of years, the two issues are at times blended in discussions.<sup>66</sup> The focus here will be on the pendant and its Middle Bronze Age IIA (or late Middle Kingdom) period alone. Middle Bronze Age Tell el-Dab'a certainly offers itself as a site for reassessing the international climate of this age. Hence, an attempt will be made to put the dog pendant into context.



### **The 'palace necropolis' of Tell el-Dab'a, stratum d/1**

The site of Tell el-Dab'a, ancient Avaris, lies in the north-eastern Nile Delta.<sup>67</sup> In antiquity the town was situated on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and spread out over a group of mounds, so-called *geziras* or turtlebacks, which were protected from inundation. Of these tells only one remains visible today, namely Tell el-Dab'a. To its west is the area designated F/I, where the tomb p/17-no. 14, in which the pendant was discovered, lies. It was erected in a cemetery in the garden of a large residential building, frequently called a palace,<sup>68</sup> and consequently the cemetery has been termed a 'palace necropolis'. The residence and the cemetery associated with it belong to stratum minor d/1 (Fig. 198), which is dated, in dynastic terms, to the early 13th Dynasty, or about 1780–1750 BC. In the 'palace' area, in the same stratum, four sherds of Classical Kamaraes ware, probably all from the same cup, were also found.<sup>69</sup>

The cemetery extends to the south of the residence and was excavated from 1985 to 1990 by an Austrian team under the direction of Manfred Bietak.<sup>70</sup> To date, twenty-nine tombs, generally arranged in parallel rows running from north-east to south-west have been excavated. The full extent of the necropolis and its boundaries is not known. However, it is certainly larger than the hitherto excavated area. To the east of the residence, a second 'palatial' structure was discovered and partially excavated; it could represent an expansion of the first residence or an independent second unit. In any case, to the south of this building a similar layout of rows of tombs appears, of which to date only the southern part has been excavated.

This was a cemetery for an elite associated with the palatial residence. While the design and construction of the residence and the tombs are Egyptian, certain features designate the interred as foreigners, linking them to Syria–Palestine: the dead are buried in a contracted position and donkeys have been ritually deposited in front of the tombs. All weapons deposited in the tombs are exclusively of Syro-Palestinian type and, presumably, manufacture (see below).

The large size of the tombs, along with the fact that they were marked by prominent structures above ground and an integrated garden design, eventually contributed to a high level of tomb robbing. The area, which had been used as a cemetery before the construction of the residence, continued to be used as such after the abandonment of the residence. While some smaller tombs of the preceding and the following strata escaped plundering, every single tomb of the 'palace necropolis' was robbed, although to varying degrees. Some sections of tombs remained intact and some parts of ensembles were also *in situ*. The pendant tomb, p/17-no. 14, lies at the southern edge of the excavated area, approximately 75 m from the 'palace'.<sup>71</sup> A huge east–west oriented Sebakh-pit, created by farmers digging for fertile earth, cuts off the whole necropolis along its southern flank. The tomb was thus sliced in half along its east–west axis, almost completely cutting off the southern half.

### **The tomb's architecture and its contents**

The tomb is built of sandy mud-bricks and erected in a pit 7 m long and 2.7 m wide. The orientation of the tomb, ESE–WNW, is aligned with the orientation of the residence to the north. As was the case in the row of tombs to the north,<sup>72</sup> a chapel-like superstructure had probably originally been built over the tomb. No substantial traces of this remain, however, except for a small

row of bricks to the west of the chamber (Fig. 199, situation 1), which could be interpreted as remnants of a superstructure. In front of the entrance to the tomb to the east, a pair of donkeys was deposited (Fig. 199, situation 2), a Near Eastern funerary feature<sup>73</sup> very common in the tombs of this cemetery: over two thirds of the tombs excavated in this stratum have donkey burials associated with them.

The rectangular tomb-chamber (measurements on the outside 4.26 x 2.13 m) was covered with a mud-brick barrel vault, the greater part of which had collapsed when the tomb was robbed in antiquity (Fig. 199). The vault can be reconstructed as consisting of three courses of bricks (Fig. 197). While the bricks of the inner course were laid at a right angle to the axis of the chamber, in the outer two courses the bricks were parallel to it. Vaults of more than two courses at Tell el-Dab'a can so far be documented only in tombs of the 'palace cemetery'. While these tombs are often very large, it should be noted that it was not the size of the chamber that necessitated the construction of such a multi-layered vault. Expenditure on tomb construction might have been considered one of the means of expressing status.

The robbers had entered the tomb via a tunnel in the north-western corner, and pilfered it thoroughly. The result, for us, is a very disturbed context which, in order to reconstruct some of the original arrangements, is presented here in a sequence of four 'situations' (Figs 199 and 200). These 'situations' essentially reflect the order of excavation, but it should be emphasized that they do not represent phases of use. Under the debris of the collapsed vault, the partial skeletal remains of two burials were encountered (Fig. 199, situation 2). In the western half of the chamber, the upper body of a mature man, approximately fifty to sixty years old (burial 1, B 1),<sup>74</sup> was found, while to the east the very disturbed and fragmented remains of the lower body of a woman, twenty to thirty years of age (B 2), were discovered. The position of the man's body, in the western end of the tomb with his head to the east, reflects the typical burial position of this and the previous stratum. Either this body was still in its original position or, if it had been moved by the robbers, this had taken place not very long after the burial, as the bones were still articulated. If the latter scenario is correct, the tomb would definitely have to have been robbed twice, as the lower body was cut off by an intrusive robber's pit. After the removal of these bodies, the disarticulated skeletal remains of the upper body of a second woman of the same age were discovered (burial 3, B 3, see Fig. 200, situation 3). It also became clear that the eastern part of the tomb-chamber had not been touched by the plundering. A small ensemble of ceramics, consisting of a Canaanite jar, two dipper juglets, a 'beer jar' (nos 13, 4, 5, 11 in tomb; see also Fig. 201, nos 7, 6, 5) and some bones of sheep and goats remained *in situ*.

Beneath the tangled bones of the young woman (see Fig. 200, situation 4) the remains of a coffin emerged. It had consisted of a simple rectangular wooden box, the wood having decayed completely and only being recognizable as a dark discoloration. Around those sides of the coffin not directly touching the northern wall of the chamber, a small supporting wall of mud-bricks had been constructed. The coffin was 50 cm wide and preserved to a length of 95 cm, its western end having been cut off by a robber's pit. It was on the floor of this coffin that the pendant lay, among 602 beads (see Fig. 200, situation 4,

nos 1 and 2 in coffin). At this point in the excavation, the floor of the tomb-chamber and the coffin were submerged in water.

During analysis of the bones of the upper body of the young woman, the last bead, a large barrel-shaped bead of agate,<sup>75</sup> was subsequently discovered. The close association of the bones of burial 3 with the beads and the pendant are an indication that the pendant had belonged to the young woman, who was between twenty and thirty years old when she was buried. Having been deposited in the coffin, she had been the primary burial; lacking room for a second coffin, the body of the man had probably been deposited on top of the coffin. If this tomb's primary owner was a woman, it also represents the only definite donkey burial in front of a woman's tomb at Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>76</sup> However, the context is obviously highly disturbed and these conclusions remain uncertain. The fact that three adult bodies<sup>77</sup> were buried in a chamber not planned for such a number does not imply that the tomb was used over a long period of time, as there is no evidence at Tell el-Dab'a for this practice.

Of the original stringing of the 602 beads<sup>78</sup> nothing remains and any reconstruction of the original arrangement is hypothetical. On the photographs, they have simply been assembled into necklaces by material and shape (Figs 202–11). There are 391 small beads made of garnet, of which most (221) have a roughly spheroid and irregular shape (Fig. 202), whereas 180 are well-made clean spheroid and barrel shapes (Fig. 203). The sizes range from diameters of 2.8 to 4 mm. All have a central or longitudinal borehole. Of the beads, 149 are made of whitish to reddish agate. Most are in various barrel shapes, ranging from very slim (Fig. 206) to wider shapes (Figs 204, 205). While the former are roughly similar in size (lengths range from 5.5 to 8.5 mm), the latter (Figs 204, 205) show size gradations from 0.8 to 1.8 cm. Unusual are the five ribbed agate beads (length 0.6–1.39 cm), roughly barrel shaped with a spheroid, ribbed middle section (Fig. 207, top). Six plain spheroid beads of agate (Fig. 207, bottom, diameter c. 65–75 mm) and two slender elongated drop-shaped beads (Fig. 205, length 2.6 cm) are represented in small numbers. The sixty-one beads of gold or electrum can be divided into the following shapes: thirty-one very small beads (Fig. 209, diameter 2.5–3 mm) have a flattened spheroid body with five to seven grooves running parallel to the borehole. Twenty-three small beads are drop shaped, with a flattened top (Fig. 208; length 4.5–6 mm). Three are barrel shaped (length 3.5–4 mm, diameter 3 mm) and four are biconical (Fig. 208, top left; length 3 mm, diameter 3.2 mm). Some of the metal beads have a dented surface, presumably caused by wear.

All the raw materials are available in Egypt<sup>79</sup> and commonly used for Middle Kingdom jewellery. The spheroid,<sup>80</sup> barrel<sup>81</sup> and drop shapes<sup>82</sup> are very common Egyptian types, but others are more unusual and exact parallels are difficult to find. The barrel-shaped agate beads with wide, ribbed mid-section are documented in Egypt only in faience and without the ribbing<sup>83</sup> or in gold from a Byblos tomb.<sup>84</sup> The small flattened spheroid gold ribbed beads are also documented in Egypt only in faience,<sup>85</sup> whereas similar shapes with a collar are known from Egypt in gold.<sup>86</sup> Similar shapes in metal are very popular in the Near East,<sup>87</sup> the Levant<sup>88</sup> and the Aegean.<sup>89</sup>

While keeping in mind that perhaps not all the beads survived, it is none the less very likely that those used for the suspension of the pendant are to be found among the remaining ones.<sup>90</sup> The pendants of Middle Kingdom royal women are today

uniformly displayed and pictured<sup>91</sup> suspended from necklaces using alternating drop-shaped beads and small spherical beads. However, these are all later reconstructions, based on post-excavation analysis. De Morgan as well as Petrie and Brunton were at first at a loss as to how to thread the beads they discovered. De Morgan opted for presenting the Dahshur pendants without any suspension.<sup>92</sup> Brunton's excavation of the treasure of Sithathoryunet at Lahun<sup>93</sup> remains the most careful excavation of pendant beads to date. Nevertheless, Petrie<sup>94</sup> and Brunton<sup>95</sup> were both initially uncertain of the mode of suspension and the latter was not convinced of his own suggestion of a necklace of spherical amethyst beads. Pendants found in non-royal Middle Kingdom burials offered little clarification. The tombs with pendants at Riqqeh<sup>96</sup> and Harageh<sup>97</sup> were both disturbed, but it should be noted that among the assorted beads no drop beads were found in either. Middle Kingdom depictions show pendants<sup>98</sup> suspended from wide bands, presumably a continuation of the Old Kingdom fashion. It was Winlock<sup>99</sup> who, based on Brunton's documentation,<sup>100</sup> sorted Sithathoryunet's beads out and presented the stringing of alternating drop beads (37 per pendant) and spherical beads. As Brunton<sup>101</sup> had already noted, Sithathor's Dahshur pendant was also associated with, among other beads, thirty-seven drop beads,<sup>102</sup> making the same suspension very likely. Subsequently, this has become the standard suspension for all Middle Kingdom royal pendants. While by no means certain, the same stringing, in accordance with the royal examples, is tentatively suggested here (Fig. 212).

The remaining finds from the tomb include a simple dagger blade, which was found near the tomb's entrance, next to offerings represented by sheep and goat bones. Of the ceramics,<sup>103</sup> thirteen vessels remained (Fig. 201), of which nine are of Egyptian clay and shape (Fig. 201, nos 1–5) and four are Syro-Palestinian imports (Fig. 201, nos 6–7). Of Egyptian manufacture are the hemispherical drinking cup (Fig. 201, no. 1)<sup>104</sup> and the ring stands of Nile B 2 (Fig. 201, no. 2) associated with the donkey burials in the entrance pit, along with the dishes (Fig. 201, nos 3, 4) and a 'beer jar' (Fig. 201, no. 5)<sup>105</sup> made of coarse Nile clay from the tomb-chamber. Of imported ware are two dipper juglets, with a finely combed surface and no coating or polish (Fig. 201, no. 6). The globular baggy shape has its best parallels in tombs from the Lebanese coast, for example Lebea Tomb 1,<sup>106</sup> Sin el Fil,<sup>107</sup> Beirut Kharji Tomb 1<sup>108</sup> and Byblos.<sup>109</sup> Similar examples are also known from Ras el-<sup>10</sup>Ain/Tel Aphek<sup>110</sup> and Megiddo<sup>111</sup> and as exports to Nubia – for example at Mirgissa.<sup>112</sup> One dipper juglet was found still inside a Canaanite jar (Fig. 201, no. 7) for which a very close parallel in shape and size, and with the very same pottery mark on the shoulder, was also discovered in Megiddo<sup>113</sup> and the Beirut Kharji Tomb 1.<sup>114</sup> The same tomb, which was, however, reused as late as the LB, contained an MM IIA polychrome cup.<sup>115</sup> These links based on formal criteria have recently received petrographic support, which indicates that two imported vessels analysed from tomb 14 were produced at 'the Northernmost Israeli coast or the Lebanese coast' and one in the '(undetermined) Northern Levant'.<sup>116</sup>

#### Local production?

This sample of pottery, even though from a disturbed tomb, happens to reflect roughly the statistical distribution of Egyptian



and foreign vessels in stratum d/1. Of the overall tomb material analysed so far, Syro-Palestinian imported wares constitute around 20 per cent, and Egyptian wares around 80 per cent of the ceramic corpus.<sup>117</sup> The Egyptian pottery of stratum d/1 fits well into the relatively homogeneous corpus of the late Middle Kingdom;<sup>118</sup> the Egyptian material culture still seems fully integrated into the Egyptian state/culture of the late Middle Kingdom. While the earliest Asiatics living at Tell el-Dab'a, documented in the preceding stratum d/2, mark the tangible beginning of a continuous Asiatic presence at this site, their role need not necessarily be a continuous one and the site's evolution into the later Hyksos capital was not necessarily linear. The 13th Dynasty cannot be reduced to a period of invariable and steady decline of central government and royal power,<sup>119</sup> mirrored by an increasing secession of influence to 'foreigners' in the eastern Delta. There are, for example, some indicators that the people buried in the cemetery of stratum d/1 had been employed as Egyptian officials dealing with expeditions to Sinai and possibly further afield,<sup>120</sup> the Egyptian central government taking advantage specifically of their ties to Syria-Palestine. The economic success of the community is documented by undisputed imports of luxury goods such as the Kamares ware.

The establishment of a local identity, expressing itself in local production of symbolic goods, is closely linked to the question of integration into and identification with the Egyptian state. However, the level of Egyptianization by itself is no reliable indicator of ethnicity, and different parameters may apply to different groups of artefacts. For example, most extant Hyksos monuments display no non-Egyptian features.<sup>121</sup>

Detailed analyses of various groups of artefacts from Tell el-Dab'a are currently under way or have recently been completed. Thus, diachronic observations of the technological and stylistic development of individual artefacts can be made. Imports of pottery are very limited in stratum d/1 – despite being higher than even in the region of the capital<sup>122</sup> – and local imitations of imported ceramic goods are only just beginning. During the MB IIA phases represented at Tell el-Dab'a (stratum d/2=H to b/3=F; see Fig. 198), other categories of material culture offer a similar pattern of measured local adaptations of imported goods. Apart from ceramics, weaponry and scarabs will be discussed in slightly greater detail. Among the earliest ceramic shapes being produced locally are relatively simple, everyday household forms such as Syro-Palestinian cooking pots<sup>123</sup> (as of stratum d/2 or phase H) and dishes with incurved rims (as of stratum d/1 or phase G/4).<sup>124</sup> With the growth in the amount of imports in stratum c and in particular b/3<sup>125</sup> (phases G/1–3 and F respectively, mid-13th Dynasty to the advanced 13th Dynasty or approximately 1760–1680 BC), large-scale local production of a variety of Syro-Palestinian shapes may be noted.<sup>126</sup>

These observations also seem to apply to the more sophisticated production of weaponry. The weapons found in stratum d/1 tombs – narrow-bladed axes, socketed javelin heads and ribbed daggers<sup>127</sup> – have very close parallels in the Levant and are in this phase most probably exclusively imported from Syria-Palestine.<sup>128</sup> Again it is the 'post-palace' stratum c (G/1–3) that offers the first indication for local metallurgy, with the discovery of limestone moulds for casting weapons and tools, interestingly of Egyptian types.<sup>129</sup> Moulds for producing Syro-Palestinian types of weapons, as were found in tombs, have only been found in later contexts.<sup>130</sup> The distinctly different alloy

composition of the earlier (stratum d/2 to c or H–G) from the later metalwork<sup>131</sup> could also be interpreted as corroborating a shift from imports to local production.

In the case of the scarabs, the following observations may be made. The very small group of scarabs of stratum d/1 (4 pieces) display no Canaanite features. Based on an analysis of typological features<sup>132</sup> of the Tell el-Dab'a scarabs, local production or workshops for scarabs is evidenced as of stratum c (G/1–3), though still in a purely Egyptian tradition.<sup>133</sup> Only in stratum b/3 (F) do Syro-Palestinian features and elements such as twigs, figures shown in an un-Egyptian stance<sup>134</sup> or other 'un-Egyptian' features<sup>135</sup> first appear on locally produced scarabs. Via this detour through ceramics, weapons and scarabs, it is here argued that a comparable chronological development applies to a potential local production of jewellery at Tell el-Dab'a. In the pendant phase (stratum d/1 or G/4), we have found as yet no artefacts visually expressing the *de facto* blend of Egyptian and Near Eastern cultures.

Summing up, I suggest 'removing' the Petrie pendant from his *Catalogue of Egyptian Objects (of Daily Use)*, and tentatively including it in a corpus of Middle Minoan jewels, together with the Dab'a and the Aigina pendants.

#### Notes

- I would like to thank Stephen Quirke, assistant curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, and Lesley Fitton, keeper, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum, who both have been instrumental in having the pendant restored and have been very helpful to me.
1. Petrie 1927, pl. 8, no. 110.
  2. Petrie 1927, 9.
  3. UC 34342, currently on display at the British Museum. Schiestl 2000, 127–8.
  4. Information kindly provided by Stephen Quirke. The acquisition is recorded in Petrie Notebook 99 (CD-Rom page 45, price marked as '50') and a photograph of the pendant, amid other objects, can be found on Petrie Museum Archive Negative no. 3579.
  5. Andrews 1990, 88–90.
  6. For example a pendant from Hildesheim; Schmitz 1994, 255–63.
  7. Compare, for example, a pendant in the Antikenmuseum Basel; Wiese 2001, 88, no. 50. Middle Kingdom exceptions are 'amuletic' pendants, such as individual metal hawk amulets (Andrews 1981, 95, Appendix Q), which can be made from sheet metal alone.
  8. See in particular Walberg 1991a, and Aruz 1995a, 33–48.
  9. Barta 1967–74, 337.
  10. De Morgan 1895, table 19, 1. See also Andrews 1990, 128–9, fig. 112.
  11. The reliefs were placed in the lower part of the causeway connecting the valley temple and the mortuary temple. Jequier 1941, pl. 15.
  12. For example, the sphinxes on a carved wooden panel from a chair of Thutmose IV, MMA 30.8.45a–c; Hayes 1990, fig. 84; sphinxes on painted chest (no. 21) of Tutankhamun, Carter and Mace 1923, pl. 54.
  13. De Morgan 1903, 64, pl. 5, no. 48.
  14. Andrews 1981, note 396, appendix D.
  15. Only known from depictions; Wilkinson 1971, fig. 49.
  16. For Minoan 'iconographical transfer' see, for example, Warren 1995, 2.
  17. Teissier 1996, 144–9; Otto 2000, 251–2, 257–8.
  18. Higgins 1980, pl. 6a.
  19. Spurr *et al.* 1999, 16, cat. no. 8.
  20. Xénaki-Sakellariou 1958, pl. 4, 111b.
  21. Levi 1957–8, 122, figs 308 and 309. *CMS* II, 5, nos 317 and 318.
  22. Poursat 1973, 111–14, table 10, 3.
  23. cf. Teissier 1996, nos 133, 134, 256.
  24. Bissing 1900–8, table 1.
  25. Frankfort 1935–7, 117, fig. 19. Teissier 1996, 146–8, nos 39, 153, 163–4.
  26. Aruz 1993, 35–54.
  27. Dessenne 1957, 45–6, proposes a route via Syria; Aruz 1993, 37–8, via Anatolia and Syria.
  28. Higgins 1980, pl. 7a.
  29. Crowley 1989, 109. For the most recent discussion of spirals in Egypt see Fitton and Quirke 1997, 421–44.

30. CMS II 1, nos 249, 312; CMS II 5, no. 281.
31. Caubet 1998, 84–5.
32. Evans 1892–3, 198–9.
33. Evans 1892–3, 198, note 5.
34. Higgins 1957a, 46 and note 35.
35. Higgins 1979, 22.
36. Hayes 1990, 1, fig. 108.
37. De Graeve 1981, pl. 6, no. 22, pl. 7, no. 26. Note that the latter 'boat' (PML 872) stands upright and was considered a staff by Porada 1948, III.
38. Landström 1970, 94–7.
39. Andrews 1990, 131–2, fig. 115.
40. Another royal example being, for example, from Tutanchamun, Andrews 1990, 137, fig. 119.
41. Feucht 1971, 4, table 1, 3–15, nos 25, 33a, 34, 35, 38, 43, 46–51, 56–81.
42. Wiese 1990, 59–69.
43. Feucht 1971, table 7, 15, nos 63, 67, 92, 105a.
44. Feucht 1971, table 14, 15, 99a, 105a. Wiese 1990, 68–9, Abb. 87. Compare also boat on chair of Sitamon, Quibell 1908, pl. 36.
45. Feucht 1971, table 14, 97.
46. Hornung 1963, I, 4.
47. Feucht 1971, table 14, 99a.
48. Bernabò-Brea 1976, 285–6, table 240. Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, fig. 42.
49. Schliemann 1881, 544, no. 834. Tolstikov and Treister 1996, 182, no. 239.
50. Mellink 1986, 139–52. Buchholz 1999, 110. Broodbank 2000.
51. Higgins 1979, 22.
52. As Bietak suggested; Bietak 1995, 19.
53. Morris 1998, 283.
54. Higgins 1957a, 45–6.
55. De Morgan 1903, pl. 12. The position that tombs lying within royal precincts should be dated as contemporaneous with the reign of the king has been abandoned in Egyptology (see Williams 1977, 41–55). However, the dating of many of these Middle Kingdom burials is still under debate. For a recent redating of Khnumet's neighbouring tomb of Keminub, who had previously been considered a wife of Amenemhat II, to the 13th Dynasty, see Jánosi 1994, 94–101.
56. Montet 1928, 185–6, pl. 94, 707.
57. Higgins 1957a, 56, pl. 15g. L. Fitton in Bietak and Hein 1994, 214.
58. The literature on this topic is vast and only a selection is cited: Kantor 1947; Smith 1965; Crowley 1989; Cline and Harris-Cline 1998; Lilyquist 1999, 25–33. Note also Cadogan's suggestion of Middle Bronze Age cultural *koiné*: Cadogan 1983, 515–16.
59. Walberg 1991a, III–12.
60. Walberg 1991a, III–12.
61. Bietak and Hein 1994, 211–12, cat. no. 238; Warren 1995, 3; Helck 1995, 38; Fitton 1996, 142–3; Laffineur 1998, 57.
62. Aruz 1995a, 46.
63. Morris 1998, 283.
64. Morris 1998, 282.
65. Morris 1998, 284.
66. Cline 1998, 207–8.
67. Bietak 1975; Bietak 1996.
68. Eigner 1985, 19–25; Eigner 1996, 73–80. The designation as palace has been questioned lately: see, for example, O'Connor 1997, 53. Wegner 1998, 25. On the other hand, K. Ryholt has based wide-reaching historical conclusions on the definition of the residence as a palace, the seat of his 14th Dynasty: Ryholt 1997, 295.
69. Walberg 1991b, 115–17. MacGillivray 1995, 81–4. Walberg 1998, 107–8. No Kamare ware has been found in the tombs of the 'palace cemetery'.
70. Bietak 1991a, 47–75. Bietak and Dorner 1994, 15–19. Schiestl 2003.
71. For the location of the tomb see lower left corner of map by D. Eigner in Bietak and Dorner 1994, 17, Abb. 2.
72. Compare the reconstruction by M. Bietak in Bietak and Hien 1994, 40, fig. 24.
73. Boessneck and Driesch 1992, 16–19, plans 2–7, 9. Wapnish 1997, 335–67.
74. I thank K. Grossschmidt and his team for providing me with the information on the human remains. The burials were numbered when discovered; the numbering does not suggest a sequence of deposition in the tomb.
75. Inv. no. 8432a.
76. Note the depiction of a woman riding a donkey on a scarab, Berlin inv. no. 9517; D. Wildung in Bietak and Hein 1994, 165, cat. no. 151.
77. When analysing the women's bones, a foetus was also discovered. It is not clear, however, whether it was associated with burial 2 or 3.
78. Tell el-Dab'a inv. no. 7316/1–11, Museum Cairo JE 98563. Published by I. Hein in Bietak and Hein 1994, 110, no. 42.
79. Aston *et al.* 2000, 26–7, 31–2.
80. For example, spheroid garnet beads from MK tombs: Abydos, tombs E 30 and E 45, Garstang 1901, 4–5, pl. I; and Thebes, tomb 24, Carter and Earl of Carnavon 1912, 53, pl. 45, 2b.
81. For example Abydos tomb 416: Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 153, fig. 46; Denderah: Petrie 1900, pl. 20.
82. Harageh: Engelbach 1923, pl. 52, type 70; Beni Hasan, tomb 487: Garstang 1907, 113, fig. 104; Lisht, Senwosret I: Arnold 1992, 67, pl. 79, nos 106–7.
83. Engelbach 1923, pl. 52, type 73 L2.
84. Tomb III: Montet 1928, 170, no. 630, pl. 95, no. 630.
85. Harageh: Engelbach 1923, pl. 51, type 47b and f. Abydos, tomb 416, Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 151, no. 119, 6.2.
86. Harageh, tomb 72: Engelbach 1923, pl. 22, 5, pl. 51, 47. Aldred 1978, 117, pl. 34.
87. For example Ebla: Matthiae 1981, figs 47a–b, 50a–b, 51–4. Favissae 5327: Marchetti and Nigro 1997, fig. 13. Mari, tomb 809: Jean-Marie 1999, pl. 149, no. 7. Assur, tomb 20: J. Aruz in Harper *et al.* 1995, 50–1, fig. 14, no. 3, pl. 6.
88. Montet 1928, 170, nos 631–2, 209, nos 830–1, pl. 95, 631–2, pl. 121, no. 832. 'Depot b' in Temple Syrien: Dunand 1939, 156, pl. 136, no. 2316.
89. Effinger 1996, 25, 'Kugelförmige Perlen Variante C'.
90. M. Bietak suggests 'globular amethyst beads most probably mounted between golden tunnel-beads' (Bietak 1995, 19). The garnet beads were originally thought to be amethyst.
91. Sithathor, Mereret, Sithathoryunet: see, for example, Aldred 1978, nos 19, 29, 30; Andrews 1990, 6, 24, 59, 128–9, fig. 1, 15, 43, III–12. Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, nos 109, 110.
92. Premier trésor, Sithathor, second trésor, Mereret: De Morgan 1895, pl. 19, 1, 20, 2, 21. For location of treasures, De Morgan 1903, pls 15–16, 1.
93. Brunton 1920, 23–4.
94. Petrie 1914, 98.
95. Brunton 1920, 28, pls 1, 7.
96. Tomb 124: Engelbach 1915, II–13, pl. 1.
97. Tomb 124: Engelbach 1923, 15–16, pl. 15.
98. For example El Bersheh, tomb of Djehutj-hetep: Newberry 1895, 29, pl. I. Statues of Nofret: Borchardt 1925, 1–2, f. 60, nos 381–2.
99. Winlock 1934, 29–32, pls 5–7. Before the publication of Brunton's report, Winlock had suggested a suspension from all the drop beads in the tomb: Winlock 1920, 76.
100. Note Brunton's drawing of the tomb chamber, showing the pendant in area B surrounded by drop-shaped and spherical beads. Brunton 1920; pl. 12.
101. Brunton 1920, 29.
102. De Morgan 1895, 63.
103. The clays are classified according to the 'Vienna System'; see Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 168–86.
104. The vessel index of the hemispherical cup (height of the vessel divided by the maximum diameter and multiplied by 100) is 175 putting it in the range of the late 12th Dynasty/early 13th Dynasty (cf. Dominique Arnold in Dieter Arnold 1988, 140–1; Bietak 1991b, fig. 14; Bourriau 1991, 16–20).
105. For the discussion of this shape, see Dominique Arnold in Dieter Arnold 1988, 141–3; Bietak 1991b, 36, fig. 7. Szafranski 1998, 95–119.
106. Guiges 1937, fig. 3d.
107. Chéhab 1939, 804, fig. 2d.
108. Saidah 1993–4, pl. 12, 3.
109. Tombeaux des Particuliers 3: Montet 1928, 247, pl. 147, no. 932. A group of vessels from a cave tomb discovered 1955; Baramki 1973, 28–9, pl. 4, no. 3, 4.
110. Stratum II and tomb 4: Ory 1938, 113–14, 118, nos 47–8, 53, 56, 91.
111. Stratum XIII: Loud 1948, pl. 20, nos 12, 13.
112. Dunham 1967, pls 87b and 88a and e.
113. Tomb 5114: Loud 1948, pl. 16, no. 10.
114. Saidah 1993–4, 150–1, pl. 7. Bagh 2000, 91–2, 148, fig. 115.
115. Warren and Hankey 1989, 134–5, pl. 12; Hankey 1991/2, 16–17.
116. Goren and Cohen-Weinberger 2004, 74, 93, samples nos 39–41, Groups B 2 and B 3. I thank the authors for providing me with their data.
117. Here: 70 per cent local made, 30 per cent imports. Bietak 1991b, 34–6.
118. Bourriau 1991, 3–20.
119. Quirke 1991, 123–39.
120. Bietak 1991a, 64–72.
121. Compare Bietak *et al.* 2001, figs 16–18.
122. Dorothea Arnold *et al.* 1995, fig. 3.

123. Aston *et al.* 2004, 167–9.  
124. Preliminary results of analysis of the settlement material; information kindly provided by K. Kopetzky, Vienna.  
125. Bietak 1991b, 40.  
126. Kopetzky 2000, in print.  
127. Philip 1995, 66–83.  
128. G. Philip, in his analysis of the Dab'a weapons, does not address the question of place of production directly, while emphasizing the close connection of the earlier Dab'a material with Byblos: Philip 1989, 209–10.  
129. Bietak 1984, 339–41, Abb. 10. Bietak 1996, 31, fig. 28.  
130. For example Hein in Bietak and Hein 1994, 162–3, cat. no. 146.  
131. Philip 1995, 77.  
132. Mlinar 2001, part I, 261.  
133. Mlinar 2004, 133–4.  
134. Mlinar in Bietak and Hein 1994, 101, no. 32.  
135. Keel 1994c, Abb. 23. Mlinar 2004, no. 103: the male figure holding a stave is unique. The figure's hair seems reminiscent of the Canaanite dignitary's 'mushroom'-shaped coiffure (see Bietak 1996, fig. 17); his skirt shows an un-Egyptian diagonal hatching. The use of 'Füllzeichen' can also be considered un-Egyptian. I thank C. Mlinar for this information.



**Figure 190** Gold pendant from Tell el Dab'a, F/1-p/17-tomb 14 (TD 7315, Cairo Museum, JdE 98553)

**Figure 191** Back view of the Tell el Dab'a pendant.



**Figure 192** Silver pendant from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (UC 34342). Publication courtesy of the Petrie Museum and the British Museum.



**Figure 193** Prism (from Sitea?), Giamalakis Collection. (A. Xénaki-Sakellariou, *Les Cachets Minoens de la Collection Giamalakis*, Études Crétoises 10, Paris, 1958, pl. IV, 111b).



**Figure 194** Phaistos sealing. (CMS II, 5, Berlin, 1970, no. 318).



**Figure 195** Phaistos sealing. (CMS II, 5, Berlin 1970, no. 317).



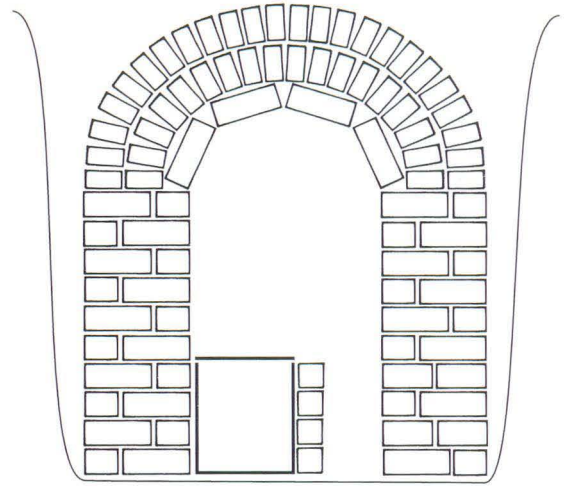
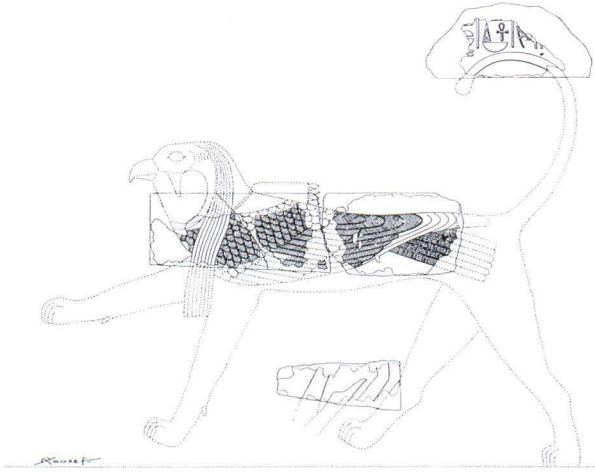
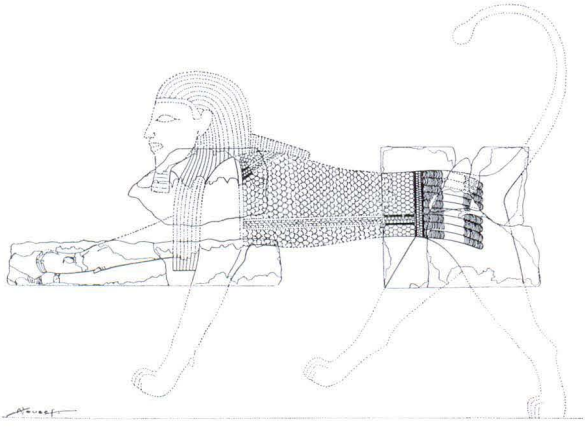
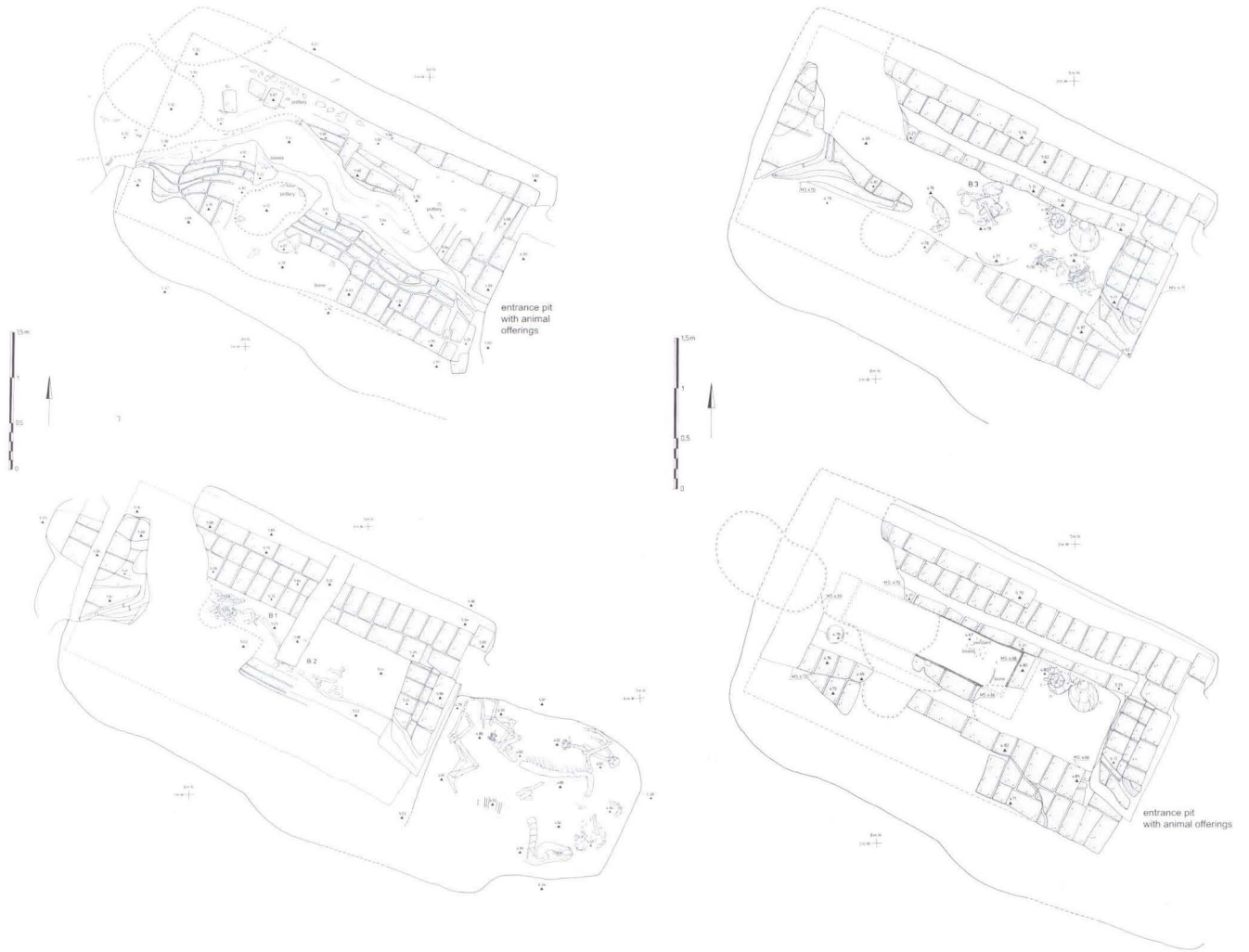


Figure 197 F/l-p/17-tomb 14, N-S section through tomb chamber. Reconstructed (not to scale).

Figure 196 (left) Saqqara, causeway of pyramid complex of Pepi II, 6th Dynasty, reliefs showing winged sphinx (top) and griffin (bottom). Jequier, 1941, pl. 15.

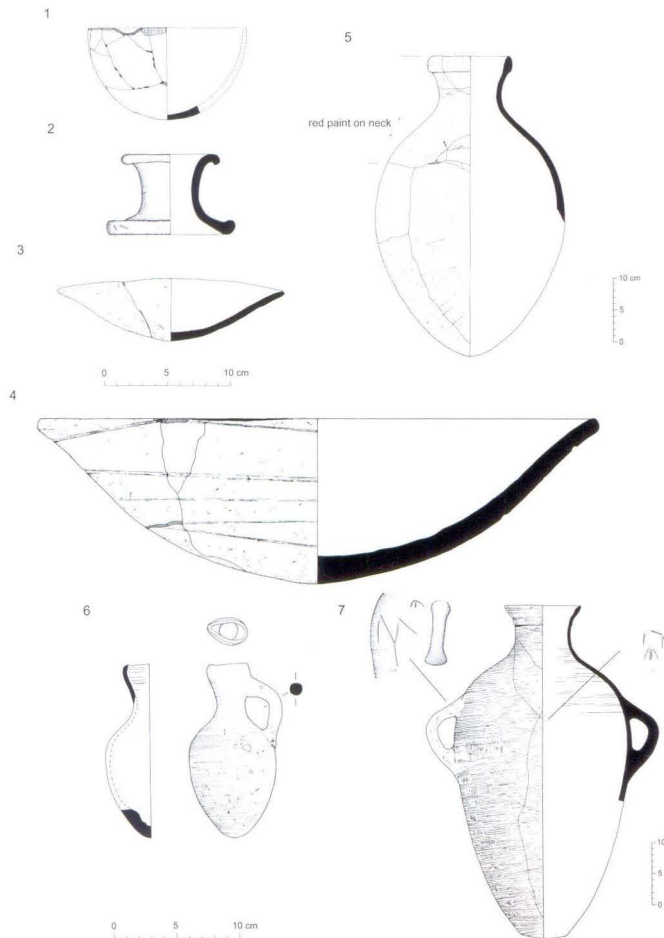
| MB-PHASES | B.C. | EGYPT<br>RELATIVE<br>CHRONOLOGY               | TELL EL - DAB <sup>a</sup>                     |                               |                 |                      |                               | GENERAL<br>PHASES |       |  |
|-----------|------|---|--|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------|--|
|           |      |   | TOWN CENTRE<br>(Middle Kingdom)<br>'Ez. Rushdi | NEW CENTRE<br>MB-Population   | EASTERN<br>TOWN | NORTHEASTERN<br>TOWN | PALACE DISTRICT<br>'Ez. HELMI |                   |       |  |
|           | 1410 | Dyn.  | R / I  | F / I                         | A / I-IV        | A / V                | H / I-VI                      |                   |       |  |
| LB I      | 1440 | XVIII<br>H TIII<br>TII ITI<br>AI              | HIATUS   |                               | TEMPLE OF SETH  | HIATUS               |                               | Pumice c          | C / 2 |  |
| MB II C   | 1530 |   | AHMOSE   | CONQUEST OF AVARIS            |                 |                      |                               | Paintings d       | C / 3 |  |
|           | 1560 |   |  | DENUDED                       |                 | D / 2                | D / 2                         | e / 1             | D / 1 |  |
| MB II B   | 1590 | XV HYKSOS                                     | DENUDED  |                               | D / 3           | D / 3                | g · h                         | D / 2             |       |  |
|           | 1620 | ↑<br>KING-<br>DOM<br>OF<br>AVARIS<br>(NEHESI) | DENUDED<br>a<br>PITS                           | a / 2                         | E / 1           | E / 1                |                               | D / 3             | E / 1 |  |
|           | 1650 |   | b / 1  | E / 2                         | E / 2           | E / 2                |                               | E / 2             |       |  |
| MB II A-B | 1680 |   | b / 2  | E / 3                         |                 |                      | E / 3                         |                   |       |  |
| MB II A   | 1710 |   | DENUDED<br>a<br>STORAGE<br>PITS                | b / 3                         | F               |                      |                               | F                 |       |  |
|           | 1740 | XIII  |  | EPIDEMIC<br>c<br>HIATUS       | G / 1-3         |                      |                               | G                 |       |  |
|           | 1770 |   |  | d / 1                         | G / 4           |                      |                               | G / 4             |       |  |
|           | 1800 | So  | b / 1  | d / 2                         | d / 2a          | H                    |                               | H                 |       |  |
|           | 1830 | A III   | b / 2  | d / 2b                        |                 |                      |                               | H                 |       |  |
| ?         | 1860 |   | c / 1-2<br>5th year S III<br>d                 | HIATUS                        |                 |                      |                               | I                 |       |  |
| MB I      | 1890 | XII   | e / 1-4  |                               |                 |                      |                               | K                 |       |  |
|           | 1920 |   | f  |                               |                 |                      |                               | L                 |       |  |
|           | 1950 | S I   | e / 1  |                               |                 |                      |                               | M                 |       |  |
|           | 1980 | A I   | ?  | e / 2-3                       |                 |                      |                               | N                 |       |  |
|           | 2000 | XI  |  |                               |                 |                      |                               | N / 2-3           |       |  |
|           | 2050 | X   | ?  |                               |                 |                      |                               |                   |       |  |
|           |      |   | HERACLEO-<br>POLITAN<br>FOUNDATION             | EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENT → |                 |                      |                               |                   |       |  |

Figure 198 Tell el-Dab'a stratigraphy.



**Figure 199 (above left)** Tell el-Dab'a, F/I-p/17-tomb 14; (top) 1st situation, (bottom) 2nd situation.

**Figure 200 (above right)** Tell el-Dab'a, F/I-p/17-tomb 14; (top) 3rd situation, (bottom) 4th situation.



**Figure 201** Ceramic grave goods from F/I-p/17-tomb 14: nos 1 (Inv. no. TD 7275A) and 2 (TD 7274) Nile B2, from entrance pit with animal offerings, no. 3 (TD 7343) Nile C1, = no. 6 in tomb; no. 4 (TD 7339) Nile C2; no. 5 (TD 7344) Nile C2, = no. 11 in tomb; nos 6 (TD 7341) and 7 (TD 7345), Syro-Palestinian imports (IV-1), = nos 5 and 13 in tomb





Figure 202 Spherical garnet beads (221) (TD 7316/10).



Figure 203 Spherical garnet beads (180) (TD 7316/10).



Figure 204 Barrel-shaped agate beads (31) (TD 7316/3 + 4).



Figure 205 Barrel and drop shaped agate beads (13) (TD 7316/1, 3 + 4).



Figure 206 Barrel-shaped agate beads (94) (TD 7316/5).



Figure 207 Agate beads, spherical and barrel shaped with ribbed thickened mid-section (11) (TD 7316/2 + 6).



**Figure 208** Drop-, barrel- and double-conic-shaped electrum beads (30) (TD 7316/8 + 9).



**Figure 209** Ribbed electrum beads (31) (TD 7316/7)



**Figure 210** All beads assembled (TD 7316/1-10).

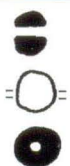
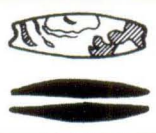
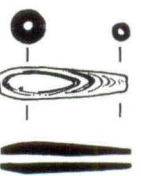



| type  |   | stone         | metal        |
|---|---|---------------|--------------|
|    | spheroid  | agate, garnet | gold         |
|    | barrel shaped   | agate         | electrum     |
| <p>A</p>  <p>B</p>  | drop shaped   | agate (A)     | electrum (B) |
|   | barrel shaped,<br>with wide,<br>ribbed mid<br>section | agate         |              |
|    | flattened,<br>ribbed<br>spheroid                      |               | electrum     |

Figure 211 Bead types from tomb p/17-no. 14.



Figure 212 Tell el-Dab'a pendant with suggested reconstructed of suspension; scale 2:1.