

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
DENKSCHRIFTEN DER GESAMTAKADEMIE, BAND XXVI

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# THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IN THE LEVANT

Proceedings of an International Conference  
on MB IIA Ceramic Material  
Vienna, 24<sup>th</sup>–26<sup>th</sup> of January 2001

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VERLAG DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
WIEN 2002

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SOME LINKS BETWEEN A LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM CEMETERY AT TELL EL  
DAB<sup>ca</sup> AND SYRIA-PALESTINE:  
THE NECROPOLIS OF F/I, STRATA d/2 AND d/1 (= H AND G/4)

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It is in the area of F/I that the oldest cemeteries at Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup> unearthed to date have been found, and from the perspective of the later capital city of the Hyksos it seems appropriate that with the earliest necropolis of stratum d/2 (H) the "Asiatic sequence" at this site begins. An older cemetery of a Levantine population at Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup> may yet be discovered; earlier MB IIA imports have already been found at <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Rushdi,<sup>1</sup> about 1 km to the northeast of area F/I.

The high level of "Egyptianisation" portrayed by the tombs under discussion could be an indicator for a preceding phase, archaeologically not yet uncovered, accommodating a process of assimilation. However, thus far, the settlement and cemetery of str. d/2 (H) mark the beginning of the, for us, observable development. Potential earlier Asiatics would have to be located in some other part of Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup>, as the str. d/2 living areas and tombs were built on top of an abandoned planned Egyptian workers' settlement of the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dyn (str. e).<sup>2</sup>

The cemetery of F/I was excavated by the Austrian Archaeological Institute under the direction of M. BIETAK from 1984 to 1989, proceeding, in very general terms, from north to south (squares i to p).<sup>3</sup>

Within the framework of the heated chronological debate, it has been in the past frequently and justifiably demanded to fully publish the material of the Strata H and G/4.<sup>4</sup> This presentation will show five tomb contexts of the strata d/2 and d/1. Synchronization between cultures primarily needs pots (and other remains of material culture), not people, and for the purely chronological discussion the ethnic ori-

gin of the people discussed is irrelevant. Yet it is only through the analysis of whole tomb contexts, units not defined by archaeologists, that questions about all aspects of mortuary culture, including the physically not tangible, can be asked. These questions are not only simply interesting, they might also lead to new possibilities for linking cultures chronologically.

### 1. STRATUM d/2

In stratum d/2 a residential area was built in the north of area F/I, centering around a building of the Syrian "Mittelsaalhaus" type.<sup>5</sup> Located immediately outside of this residence is a small group of four tombs, built slightly later than the buildings they are associated with. They were completely plundered and contained no imported grave goods.<sup>6</sup> The greater part of the tombs excavated is found in the south, in an area that seems to have been used exclusively for funerary purposes. However, the full extent of the cemetery and its boundaries are not known. 200 m to the east, in the excavations area of A/IV, settlement layers of str. d/2 (H)<sup>7</sup> have been reached. A gap remains, yet eventually the eastern border of the cemetery of F/I and the western border of the settlement of A/IV must meet.

From an Upper Egyptian (and to a high degree Egyptological) perspective,<sup>8</sup> the proximity of tombs to the settlement seems non-Egyptian and possible Levantine links have been put forward (e.g. E. VAN DEN BRINK 1982, 61f.). Before considering these external links, three facts should be reiterated: the fundamentally different environment of the Nile Delta as compared to the Nile valley, the dearth of

<sup>1</sup> T. BAGH 1998, 47–49.

<sup>2</sup> E. CZERNY 1999.

<sup>3</sup> See map by D. EIGNER in M. BIETAK and J. DORNER 1994, Abb. 2; M. BIETAK 1991c, 47–75.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. P. BECK and U. ZEVULUN 1996, 68.

<sup>5</sup> M. BIETAK 1984a, Abb. 3.

<sup>6</sup> K. KOPETZKY 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Information kindly provided by K. KOPETZKY, who is working on the convolute (sherd) material of this area. Results are only preliminary as of yet.

<sup>8</sup> Egyptological concepts of Egyptian mortuary culture are

almost exclusively based on excavations of Upper Egyptian sites, due to the emphasis of archaeological activity there. By excluding Lower Egypt, however, half the evidence is ignored. It is only for the predynastic period that possible Delta traditions, such as intramural burials, have been suggested (H. JUNKER 1929, 185–202) and rebutted (B. KEMP 1968, 22; J. EIWANGER 1980, 75). KEMP (1968, 30–33) contested the Delta tradition theory by showing Upper Egyptian examples of close proximity of towns and tombs, such as Mostagedda, Abydos Cemetery M and Tell Edfu.

archaeological information on the spatial relationship of tombs and settlements in the Delta and new archaeological evidence emerging from both Upper<sup>9</sup> and Lower Egypt,<sup>10</sup> which requires reassessing the previously held axioms. The emerging picture, still very much incomplete, presents a wider variety of options for depositing the body – Egyptology seems to have followed the “Egyptian canon” more rigidly than the Egyptians themselves.

In area F/I, str. d/2 and d/1, there are no burials of adults beneath the floors of buildings and only one instance of a jar burial of a foetus,<sup>11</sup> a practice widespread in MK Egypt.<sup>12</sup> There seems at this point no cogent reason to assume a Levantine origin for the layout of the necropolis – it could very well be a local tradition.<sup>13</sup>

While most tombs maintain an approximate ESE–WNW orientation, generally following the underlying layout of the str. e settlement, the direction is not adhered to rigidly, and some tombs deviate completely, showing a NNE–SSW orientation. Tombs tend to cluster around each other, but not in an evidently systematic manner. A southern cluster (in o/19–20) seems to focus on the large tomb p/19-Nr. 1. Only this tomb, the largest of str. d/2, shows clear evidence of a superstructure.<sup>14</sup> The eastern half of the cemetery was bounded by a rectangular enclosure,<sup>15</sup> built of simple undulating walls, a common feature of Egyptian MK domestic, cultic and funerary architecture.<sup>16</sup> Occasionally, tomb pits slightly cut into each other, yet without damaging the tomb construction. That these disturbances occurred unintentionally is shown by the subtle adaptation of an intrusive pit, which was not abandoned, but was shifted slightly to the north to avoid further interference. However, pos-

sibly some of the tombs lacked any above ground markings. On an organizational level, this also emphasizes the lack of coordinated planning.

The most typical tomb (29 examples or 64.5 % of all d/2 tombs) is a rectangular chamber built of sandy mud bricks covered with a mud brick vault of one or two courses. In 11 % (5 examples) of all tombs, simple pits were used for burials. Two very large constructions stand out – one consisting of five parallel chambers (n/18-tombs 2–6), and the huge construction in the south (p/19-Nr. 1) in which the well known larger than life size statue of a Canaanite dignitary was found.<sup>17</sup> Tomb types and sizes vary considerably. Most children and infants are buried separately from the adults: 16 tombs (33 %) are separate internments in small rectangular or oval cist tombs built of sandy mud brick, covered with bricks laid flat.<sup>18</sup> Small chamber tombs can be covered with a gabled roof. These comparatively inconspicuous tombs tend to be less frequently robbed. Separate burials of infants all but disappear in the following stratum, where children and infants are buried together with adults.

The above mentioned Syrian architecture in the northern domestic area was already an indicator of foreign links of the population – a connection which was supported by those burials which had not been completely plundered. This cemetery showed many non-Egyptian features which were familiar from 2<sup>nd</sup> Intermediate Period tombs<sup>19</sup> but appear here in their earliest context at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>.

In four cases, we find the ritual deposition of donkeys: if associated directly with a tomb, the donkeys, goats and sheep are deposited in its entrance pit (as in o/19-Nr. 8, discussed below), or in separate pits

<sup>9</sup> Elephantine, intramural MK tomb for an adult (C. v. PILGRIM 1996, 81–83, Abb. 23 and 24). Compilation by C. v. PILGRIM 1996, footnote 226, of other sites with intramural burials: Lisht North (Middle Kingdom – Second Intermediate Period, J. BOURRIAU 1997, 166). Hermopolis (New Kingdom, G. ROEDER 1932, 98–99)

<sup>10</sup> Tell Ibrahim Awad (Dyn. 1 tomb adjacent to contemporaneous temple, D. EIGNER 2000, 29; FIP and MK tombs built in immediate vicinity and contemporaneity of a temple, W. v. HAARLEM 1998, 14–15, fig. 2).

Kom el-Hisn (possible OK intramural burial: R.J. WENKE 1986, 27).

Mendes (FIP domestic use of necropolis/ squatting, D. REDFORD 1996, 679, G. MUMFORD 1996, 3–4);

Bubastis (MK tombs immediately adjacent to contemporaneous palace, separated by a wall, S. FARID 1964, 86–90. C. VAN SICLEN 1990, 187–194.)

<sup>11</sup> Str. d/1, in a hemispherical cup (4571) in the corner of a

room (F/I-i/20-tomb 15). In the cemetery of str. d/2 a newborn was buried in a Nile-C “beer jar” (6007 E, F/I-o/19-tomb 18) in the entrance pit of o/19-tomb 8, see Fig. 1.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Abu Ghalib (H. LARSEN 1941, 13–14), Lisht-N (F. ARNOLD in M. BIETAK (ed.) 1996, 15), Kahun (W.M.F. PETRIE 1890, 24), Abydos (J. RICHARDS 1992, 284; M. ADAMS in: C. EYRE (ed.) 1998, 25), Elephantine (C. v. PILGRIM in: W. KAISER *et al.* 1993, 168).

<sup>13</sup> M. BIETAK 1994d, 1–18.

<sup>14</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, Abb. 7.

<sup>15</sup> M. BIETAK 1996, fig. 7.

<sup>16</sup> J. SLIWA 1992.

<sup>17</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c; Abb. 7, 8, 9, Taf. 13–16. *idem*, in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (eds.) 1994, 93–94. M. BIETAK 1996, fig. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Compare the cist tombs built of stone in Tel Dan, D. ILAN in S. CAMPBELL and A. GREEN (eds.) 1995, 124, fig. 15.9 and 15.10.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. M. BIETAK 1991b.

in front of the tomb (o/21-Nr. 6; possibly p/19-Nr. 1). Pit o/19-Nr. 3, containing two donkeys and four goats/lambs,<sup>20</sup> positioned in the midst and at approximately equal distance to a group of five tombs, seems to have served as a collective funerary pit.

The architecture of the tombs, however, is Egyptian, yet inside the tomb chambers the contracted position of the bodies interred, is an indicator of a non-Egyptian cultural background.<sup>21</sup>

The bronzes from the tombs are exclusively Levantine, and mark their owners as members of the group of MB IIA "Levantine warrior burials".<sup>22</sup> Its typical features are a standardized set of weapons, consisting of a pair of socketted javelin heads (Fig. 6, showing all 7 javelin heads found in str. d/2 tombs), a duckbill axe (see Fig. 3.1) and a dagger with two midribs and a crescent shaped pommel (Fig. 5.4 and Fig. 5 a).

The only dagger (6141) found in a str. d/2 tomb<sup>23</sup>

has a blade with two prominent ribs separated by central groove, and a crescent shaped pommel.<sup>24</sup> This is a well established Levantine type with numerous parallels, predominantly from northern and coastal sites.<sup>25</sup> The southern most parallel comes from Tell el Farah N.<sup>26</sup> The Levantine blades are generally associated with the crescent shaped pommel,<sup>27</sup> however no complete dagger of this type, illustrating the mode of linking blade and pommel, is known from the Levant. Despite this lack of evidence for metal or composite handles from the Levant,<sup>28</sup> an Egyptian type or influence does not necessarily need to be assumed.<sup>29</sup>

Based on the evidence of the (remains of) bronzes, four such "warrior tombs" could be identified in this cemetery. In three cases, where enough of the skeleton remained to be analyzed, the owners of the tombs were mature men, between 40 and 60 years of age.<sup>30</sup> From overall 26 chamber tombs for adults,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>20</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, Taf. 9B; J. BOESSNECK and A. VON DEN DRIESCH 1992, 18.

<sup>21</sup> Exceptions to "the trend towards straightening" of the body (S. SEIDLMEYER 1990, 426) observed through the OK and the FIP are known in the MK (S. SEIDLMEYER 1990, 217). By the late MK a stretched out body had, however, become the standard for adults. Different rules seem to apply to the burials of children, as shown e. g. by the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dyn. cemetery MX. TC at Mirgissa. While all adults are buried in a straightened position, most children are in a contracted position (J. MALEY in J. VERCUTTER 1975, 252, 261–262, 267–268). This might serve as a cautionary note for the str. d/2 data discussed here, which, due to the robbing of adult burials, is primarily based on children and infant tombs.

<sup>22</sup> G. PHILIP 1995, 140–154.

<sup>23</sup> From tomb o/20-Nr.17. I. HEIN in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (eds.) 1994, 104–105, Catalogue number 39; M. BIETAK 1996, pl. 2 D.

<sup>24</sup> The metal handle and the (hippopotamus tooth?) pommel unfortunately disintegrated after salvaging the dagger. The reconstruction offered here is based on the photographs (see Fig. 5 a) made of the freshly recovered dagger, before disintegration and restoration.

<sup>25</sup> Byblos, "Champ des offrandes", *Dépôt β*, M. DUNAND 1954, 188, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LVIII (Nr. 8343), 290, *Dépôt η*, M. DUNAND 1954, 287, fig. 317 (Nr. 9483), *Dépôt ι*, M. DUNAND 1954, 290–291, fig. 320 (Nr. 9525), fig. 321 (Nr. 9531), M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXIV (Nr. 9527–9531), *Dépôt κ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 299, fig. 330, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXVI (Nr. 9619, 9620), *Dépôt λ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 301, fig. 333 (Nr. 9652), 302, fig. 334 (Nr. 9653, 9658), M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXVIII (Nr. 9652, 9657, 9660, 9666), *Dépôt ξ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 338, Nr. 10096–10098, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXX (Nr. 10096), *Dépôt π*, M. DUNAND 1954, 349, pl. LXX (Nr. 10234), *Dépôt χ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 392, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXXVIII (Nr. 10828–10830), *Dépôt of the "Temple aux Obélisques"*, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. CXVII (Nr.

14450), pl. CXVIII (Nr. 14442), M. DUNAND 1958, 696, 698, 739, fig. 872 (Nr. 15086, 15087). Ugarit (C.F.A. SCHAEFFER 1949, fig. 18), Amrit (G. PHILIP 1989, 428, Cat.nr. 624–626), Sin el Fill, tomb (M. CHEHAB 1939, 807, fig.10 c), Tell el Tin (G. PHILIP 1989, 435, Cat.nr. 623), Ebla (G. PHILIP 1989, 434, Cat.nr. 622), Megiddo, tomb I100 D (P.L.O. GUY 1938, 164–165, fig. 171, Nr.7, pl. 149, Nr. 6 und 7), Beth Shan, tomb 92 (E. OREN 1971, 116, fig. 2, Nr.1), Hama, (E. FUGMANN 1958, 1, pl.X, 5B420); Tel Rehov, tomb 2 (O. YOGEV 1985, 107, fig.4, 1). The dagger from Lebea, tomb 1 (P.E. GUIGES 1937, fig.4e) is considered to be of the two rib type (E. OREN 1971, 116). Based on the photograph it is difficult to decide with certainty if the dagger has two or five ribs. Yet GUIGES' (1937, 39) description of „*multiples nervures médianes*“ most likely means more than two ribs.

<sup>26</sup> R. DE VAUX and A.M. STEVE 1949, fig. 4.8.

<sup>27</sup> G. PHILIP 1989, 427–435, Type 12.

<sup>28</sup> Most handles seem to have been made of wood (H.W. MÜLLER 1987, 58, footnote 8), see e.g. the well preserved examples from Kerma (D. DUNHAM 1982, pl. XXXVIII a and b). There are, however, exceptions, such as a pommel with metal traces from Byblos (Temple aux obélisques, dépôt du mur nord de la cour: M. DUNAND 1955, pl. CXXVII, Nr. 15093) and one complete example, with a different, but approximately contemporary blade (*Champs des offrandes*, dépôt ζ, M. DUNAND 1955, pl. LXII, Nr. 9158).

<sup>29</sup> Contra I. HEIN in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (eds.) 1994, 104. I thank S. PETSCHER, whose Ph.D. thesis on Egyptian daggers should be published shortly, for discussing this issue with me. The conclusions are, however, my own.

<sup>30</sup> Information kindly provided by K. GROSSSCHMIDT and his team.

<sup>31</sup> Chambers without skeletal remains with an inside length over 1.6 m were included. There is in str. d/2 no evidence of children being buried by themselves in adult size tombs. This can, however, be the case in later strata (I thank I. Forstner-Müller for this information).

15 contained identifiable human remains, namely 6 single burials of women and men each; in two cases women and men were found together in one chamber, in one case the bones of 2 women were found together. The high degree of plundering calls for great caution in evaluating these numbers. Based on tomb size alone, there seems to be no basic difference between male and female burials. Undisturbed data is too limited to exclude a particular set of objects associated with female burials, but none is evident. While weapons constitute the most conspicuous insignia of the buried men, and thus could justify the characterization as a "warrior cemetery"<sup>32</sup> this puts the emphasis on only a third of the tombs in what is actually a family cemetery.<sup>33</sup>

A prime example for the equipment of a warrior tomb is o/19-Nr. 8<sup>34</sup> (Figs. 1–3).

### 1.1. F/I-o/19-tomb 8

In the entrance pit to this tomb, we find the oldest instance of a ritual donkey burial, here combined with a young goat and a lamb (Fig. 2). The donkey, an adult female,<sup>35</sup> was laid on her right side, at a right angle to the axis of the tomb, the head in the north, facing west. The kid and the lamb were deposited to its east, partially on top of the donkey. The tomb chamber (2.12–2.55 m by 1.4 m) is built of sandy mud bricks, and covered by a parabolic vault of a single course of bricks. The vault's courses are strongly slanted (45 degrees, Fig. 1) to the west, ultimately declining to the western chamber wall. While the central robbers' pit covered almost the whole tomb and nothing of the interred body remained, in the west, piled above each other, ceramics (Fig. 3:5–11) and bronzes (Fig. 3:1–4) remained in the tomb. Sticking in the entrance wall in the east, was a pair of socketted

javelin heads, their tips pointing out of the tomb. The most prominent finds are the well known duckbill axe and the decorated bronze belt.<sup>36</sup>

The ceramic remains (Fig. 3:5–11) are all of Egyptian shape and fabric and, unfortunately, of a highly non diagnostic type: round-bottomed dishes, made of chaff-tempered Nile clay (I-c-2, for the clay classification used here see H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM and J. BOURRIAU 1993, 168–182, and M. BIETAK 1991b, 324–331). This type constitutes the majority of all ceramic finds from the tombs of this cemetery (60 % of all ceramics from tombs are medium to large sized dishes, of which most are of Nile C 2).

Chronological links to Syria Palestine based on bronzes alone are as of yet not precise enough: Both bronze belts and duckbill axes have long sequences, here showing one of the rare instances of overlapping. Other examples of the combination of duck bill axe and belts are possibly from the tomb at Tell et-Tin, Syria<sup>37</sup> and from the deposits of the *Champ des Offrandes* at Byblos,<sup>38</sup> no combinations are known from Palestine.<sup>39</sup> These early Syrian prototypes of belts consist of round metal shields, presumably originally sewn onto a leather base. The earliest Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> belt is also unusual in being the only one from that site not showing any perforations on its border to sew the metal onto leather. Otherwise very similar embossed belts do not appear until clear MB IIB contexts in Palestine and Syria, for example, at Jericho,<sup>40</sup> Tell el-Farah N<sup>41</sup> and Ugarit,<sup>42</sup> in Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, after a lacuna in str. d/1, they continue till str. F–E/3.<sup>43</sup>

The duckbill axe also has a long sequence, of approximately 100–150 years. As this is the only occurrence of the duckbill axe in Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup><sup>44</sup> and by the next stratum the notched narrow bladed axe appears, it would seem most likely to place the Dab<sup>a</sup>

<sup>32</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, 54; idem, in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (eds.) 1994, 39.

<sup>33</sup> While there is no epigraphic or natural scientific basis for designating the men, women and children as relatives, it is, based on Egyptian traditions of family tombs, considered the most plausible explanation.

<sup>34</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, Abb. 6, Taf. 3, 4.

<sup>35</sup> J. BOESSNECK and A. VON DEN DRIESCH 1992, 18.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. M. BIETAK 1991c, Abb. 6.

<sup>37</sup> J. E. GAUTIER 1895, 459. G. PHILIP 1995, 72.

<sup>38</sup> Belt discs: *Dépôt β* and *Dépôt ξ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 189–190, 338, Nr. 8354–8358, 10093–10094, duck bill axes: *Dépôt σ*, M. DUNAND 1954, 380, Nr. 10645–10646. G. PHILIP 1995, 72.

<sup>39</sup> The "strip of metal (belt?)" mentioned by E. MIRON 1992,

54, as an associated find to the duckbill axe from tomb 1 at Meron, is not a belt, but a plaque (IAA 1961–503). The ensemble also seems to be mixed with MB I material. I thank B. BRANDL, IAA, for kindly providing me with this information.

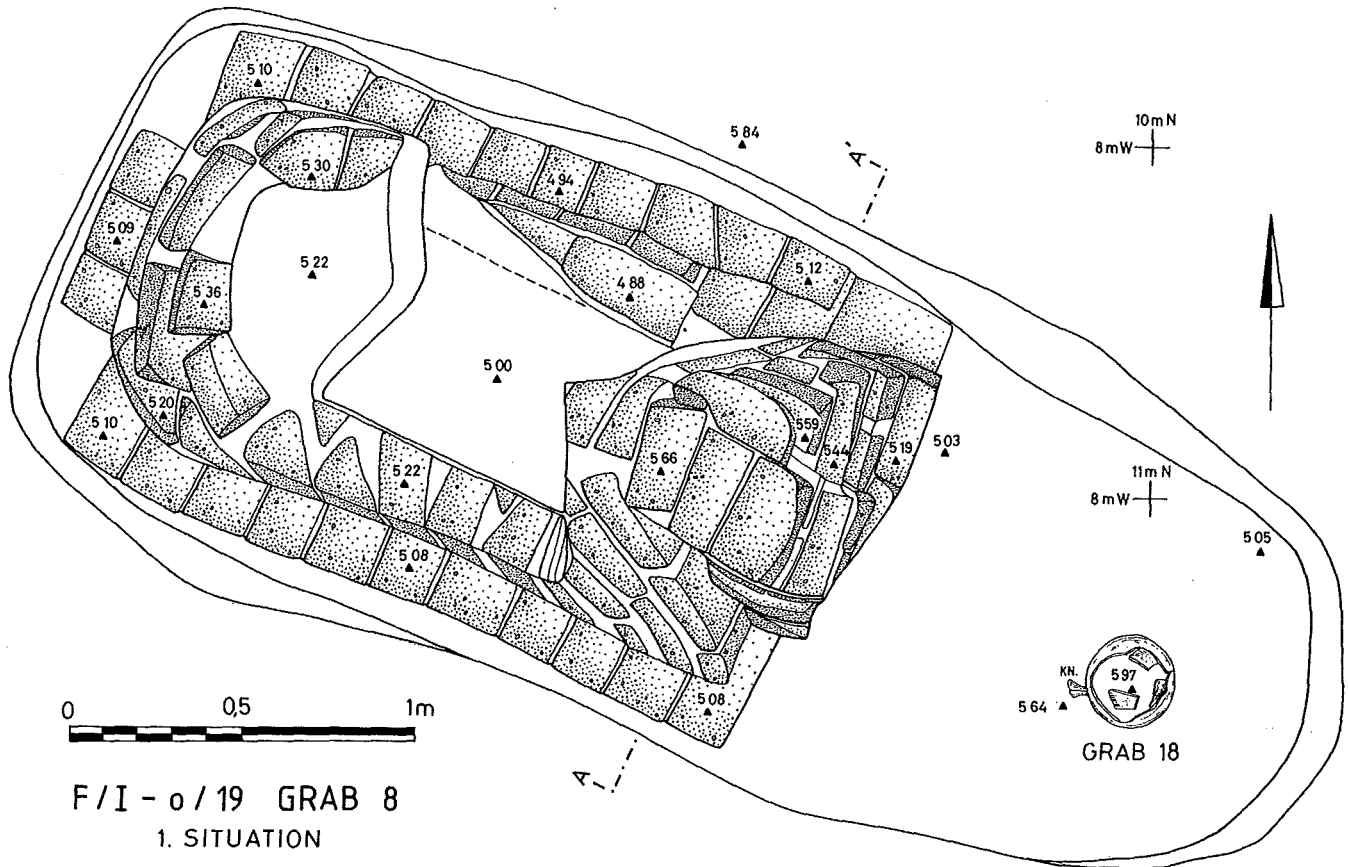
<sup>40</sup> K. KENYON 1960, 313, fig. 117.3.

<sup>41</sup> R. DE VAUX 1954, 432, pl. XX, 1.

<sup>42</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER 1938, 240, fig. 32 W and V, the latter looking very much like two buckles, not bracelets.

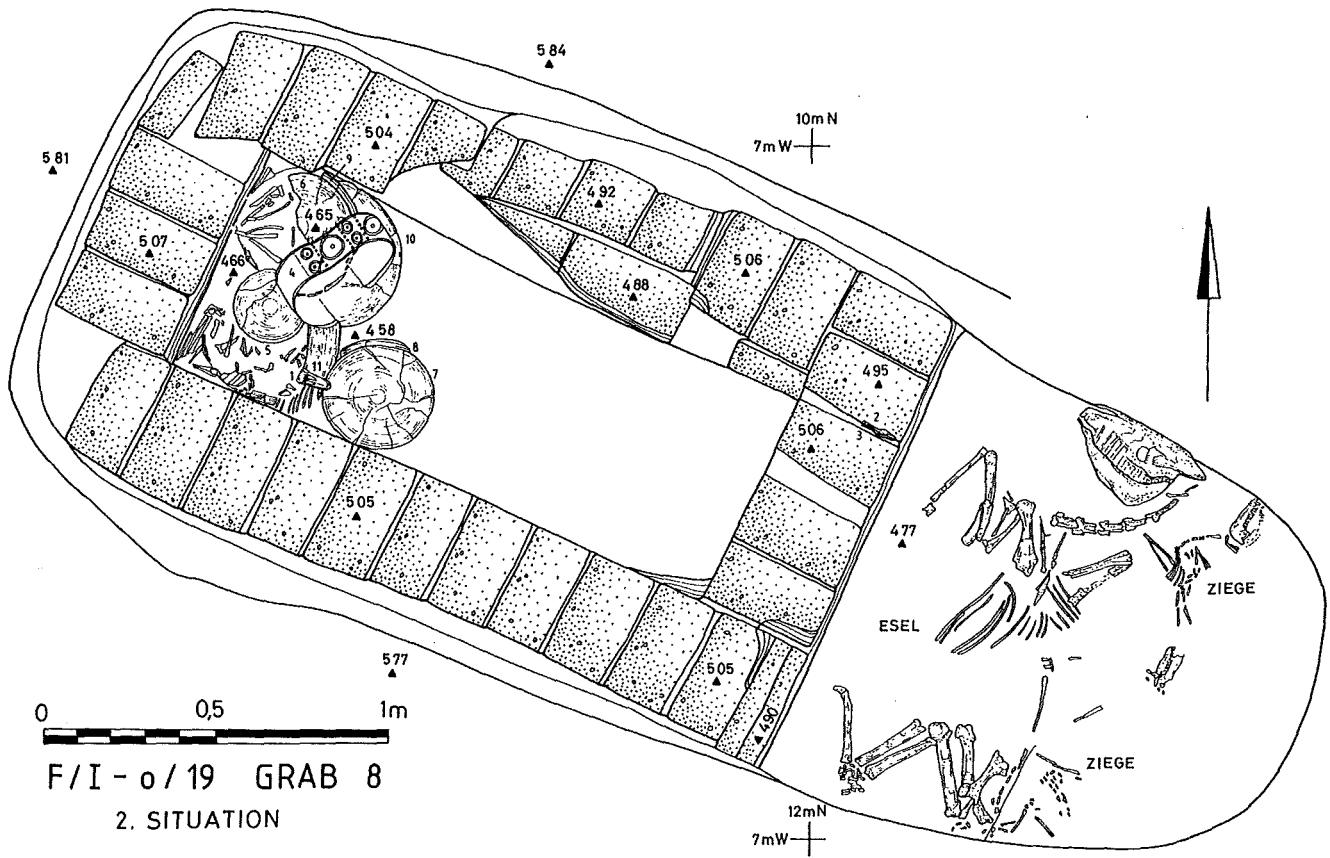
<sup>43</sup> M. BIETAK 1991a, fig. 16. M. BIETAK, I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER and C. MLINAR 2001, fig. 2.

<sup>44</sup> It is not clear whether the other possible example from Egypt, supposedly from Achmim, mentioned, however not published, by W. GREENWELL 1902, 14, is a broad fenestrated or a duckbill axe.



F/I - o/19 GRAB 8  
1. SITUATION

Fig. 1



F/I - o/19 GRAB 8  
2. SITUATION

Fig. 2

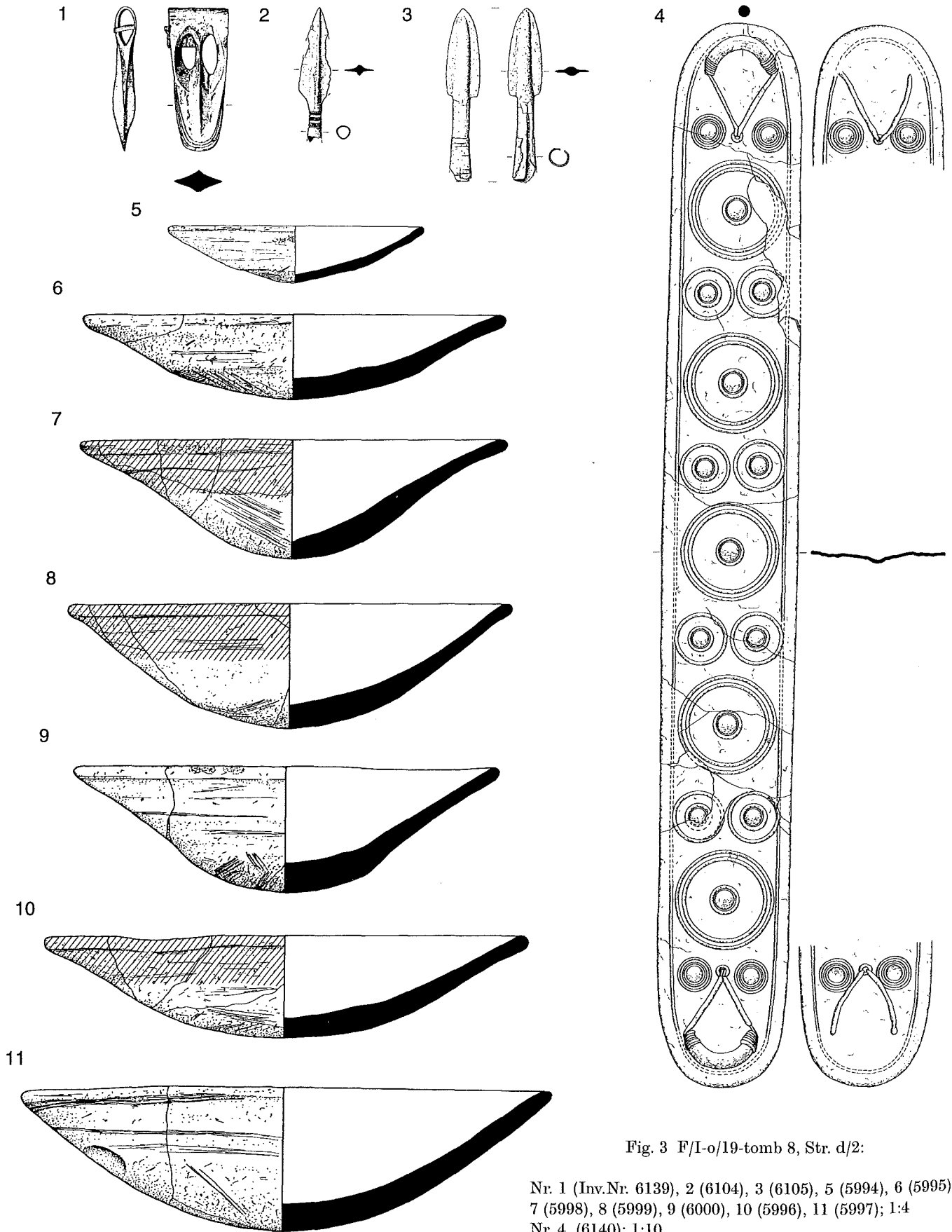


Fig. 3 F/I-o/19-tomb 8, Str. d/2:

Nr. 1 (Inv.Nr. 6139), 2 (6104), 3 (6105), 5 (5994), 6 (5995),  
 7 (5998), 8 (5999), 9 (6000), 10 (5996), 11 (5997); 1:4  
 Nr. 4 (6140); 1:10  
 Numbers on this figure equal numbers in tomb, see Fig. 2

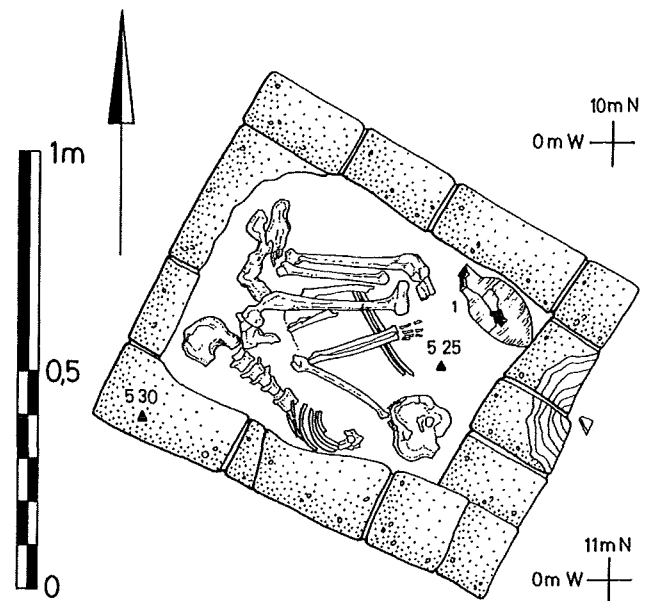


axe in a late stage of the sequence. The best parallel in size, shape and décor comes from the multiple use burial cave at Safed.<sup>45</sup> The edge of both blades shows a décor of engraved lines, the eyes are set in depressions distinctly outlined by pointed almond shapes. The arched lines decorating the blade are also found on examples from Gesher,<sup>46</sup> Esh-Shejara,<sup>47</sup> Yabrud<sup>48</sup> and Baghouz.<sup>49</sup> Both the Dab<sup>a</sup> and Safed blades show a sinuous profile,<sup>50</sup> have the same absolute length (10.8 cm) as well as a similar proportion between maximum width of the blade and maximum length of the blade.

It was O. YOGEV<sup>51</sup> who first suggested using this proportional relationship, a sort of „duckbill index“, to numerically express the widely assumed development of duckbill axes from wider to narrower shapes and thus possibly develop finer chronological divisions.<sup>52</sup> Using this index (maximum length divided through maximum width times 100),<sup>53</sup> a very gradual development appears, forming no clear clusters.<sup>54</sup> The Dab<sup>a</sup> sample (index 229) falls towards the end of the middle „group“, whose indices range between 220–240 together with Amrith, Byblos, *tombeau de particuliers* 3, Gesher tomb 2 and Kabri tomb 990. The lowest indices, from about 150–210 are shown by

the blades from Hama tomb I, Beth Shan tomb 92, Rehov tomb 2 and Gesher tombs 12 and 13, the group with the highest indices (240–280) consists of Aphek tombs A and C, Tel Dan-cache and an axe from Tell et Tin.<sup>55</sup>

Corroboration of potential chronological implications is limited by the dearth of clearly associated



F/I-o/20 GRAB 20

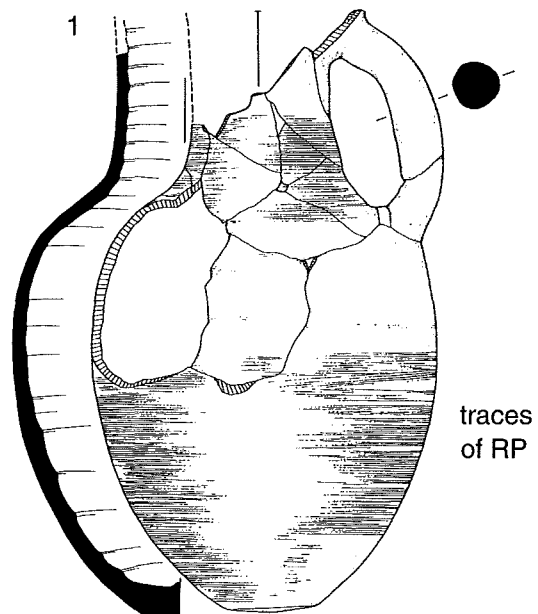


Fig. 4 Nr. 1: from F/I-o/20-tomb 20, Inv.Nr. 7027A; 1: 3

<sup>45</sup> E. DAMATI and Y. STEPANSKI 1996, fig.10:1, Nr. 91.

<sup>46</sup> Tomb 2. Y. GARFINKEL and R. BONFIL 1990, fig. 1:6.

<sup>47</sup> G. SCHUMACHER 1889, fig. 15.

<sup>48</sup> Tomb 4. A. A. ASSAF 1967, 57.

<sup>49</sup> Tomb Z 143. R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON 1948, pl. LX.

<sup>50</sup> G. PHILIP 1989, 282.

<sup>51</sup> O. YOGEV 1985, 105.

<sup>52</sup> See also G. PHILIP 1989, 50. E. MIRON 1992, 51–53.

<sup>53</sup> Baghouz tombs Z 67, 95, 102, 103, 121, 123, 141, 143, 305, 309; R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON 1948, pl. XLV, LX. Hama, tomb I (FUGMANN 1958, pl. X), Ebla tomb „Lord of the Goats“, (P. MATTHIAE 1980 e, fig. 11 a–b), Amrith *tombe-silo* 4 (M. DUNAND, N. SALIBY and A. KHIRICHIAN 1954/1955, pl. III, 2), Gibala/ Tell Tweini tomb 5523 (J. BRETTSCHEIDER *et al.* 2000, fig. 23), Byblos, *tombeau des particuliers* 3 (P. MONTET 1928, 247, pl. CXLIX), Kabri tomb 990 (L. GERSHUNY in A. KEMPINSKI 1989, V–VI, fig. 14, Nr. 2), Dan cache (D. ILAN 1992, fig. 12, Nr. 3), Rehov tomb 2 (O. YOGEV 1985, fig. 4, Nr. 3), Beth Shan tomb 92 (E. OREN 1973, fig. 24), Gesher tombs 2, 12, 13 (Y. GARFINKEL and R. BONFIL 1990, fig. 1:6, fig.4: 10, fig. 5: 3), Meron tomb 1 (E. MIRON 1992, pl.15, Nr. 236), Aphek tombs A and C (E. MIRON 1992, pl. 16, Nr. 247, 248, S. BUNIMOVITZ in M. KOCHAVI, P. BECK and E. YADIN 2000, 267, fig. 13. 2 and 3). Measurements, where not available, were taken from photographs and are therefore often not exact.

<sup>54</sup> The indices range from 145 to 275. See also G. PHILIP 1989, fig. 59.

<sup>55</sup> G. PHILIP 1989, Nr. 482.

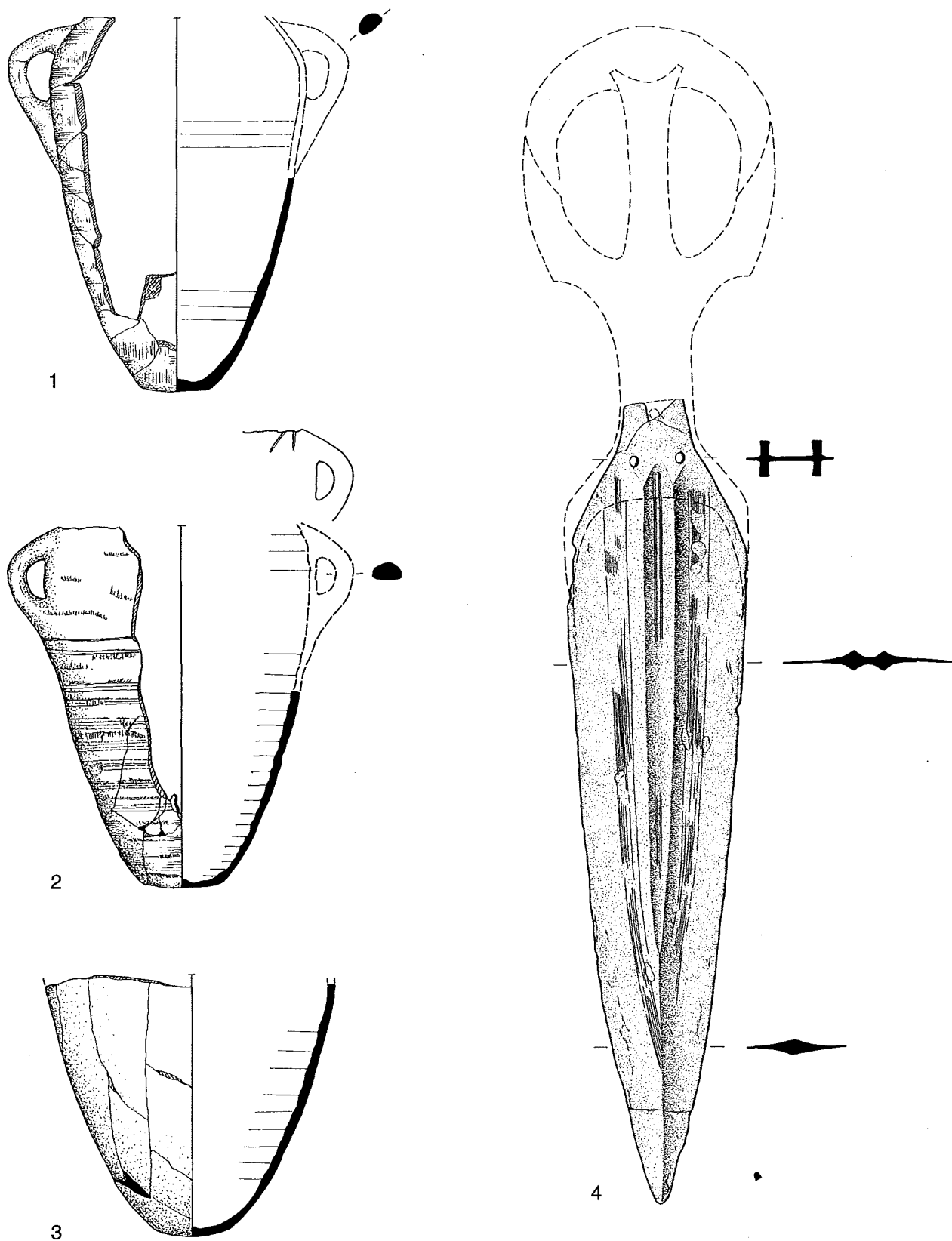


Fig. 5 Levantine Imports from Tombs, Str. d/2

Nr. 1: from F/I-n/18-tomb 5, Inv.Nr. 7082D, 1: 6  
 Nr. 2: from F/I-n/18-tomb 6, Inv.Nr. 7025L, 1:6

Nr. 3: from F/I-o/21-tomb 21, Inv.Nr. 7029B, 1:6  
 Nr. 4: from F/I-o/20-tomb 17, Inv.Nr. 6141, 1:2



Fig. 5 a Dagger 6141 from F/1-o/20-tomb 17, with handle and pommel before disintegration

ceramic material, as some of these tombs are reused or the tomb assemblages seem to have been collected over a long period.<sup>56</sup>

As mentioned above, the warrior tomb both in Egypt and the Levant is poor in ceramics at this time. One intact warrior tomb (o/20-Nr. 17) actually contained none,<sup>57</sup> while undisturbed burials in Syria-Palestine often only include one to four ceramic vessels. More precise than bronzes are indirect correlations using diagnostic ceramics found in the contemporary settlement of str. d/2<sup>58</sup> and in stratified Syro-Palestinian sites or tombs with single burials. Serving as an example are the jars with “*internal concave rim*”, found in contexts of the settlement of str. d/2,<sup>59</sup> also in context with a duckbill axe in the single burial Geshur tomb 13<sup>60</sup> and appearing in Aphek not later than Phase 2 (=area A Pre-Palace II, area X Palace I)<sup>61</sup> or in Tel Ifshar Area C, Phase C.<sup>62</sup>

Among the ceramic tomb goods from str. d/2 tombs in general, Levantine imports (Fig. 4:1, 5:1-3) have remained only in very small numbers. Some fragments of Levantine Painted Ware,<sup>63</sup> fragments of a red burnished juglet with a collared rim possibly belonging to the tomb, another red polished jug discussed below, a dipper juglet<sup>64</sup> and some fragmented Canaanite jars, of which two partially reassembled ones from very disturbed contexts are shown on Fig. 5:1-2. The lower half of a jar (Fig. 5:3) was found *in situ* (tomb o/21-Nr. 21) in front of the face of the buried. This might indicate possible reuse as a drinking cup. Overall, Levantine ceramic imports constitute approximately 10 % of all the ceramics goods from the tombs, but statistics are of little value in such disturbed circumstances; In particular, the fact that the share of imports among the contemporary settlement material is higher (15-20 %), should be noted as a warning in this context.

<sup>56</sup> E. g. Ebla, tomb “*Lord of the Goats*”, P. MATTHIAE 1980e, 53-62, fig. 11-12.

<sup>57</sup> M. BIETAK 1996, fig. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Currently under study by K. Kopetzky.

<sup>59</sup> T. BAGH 2000, fig. 99, TD 008, 010, 011.

<sup>60</sup> Y. GARFINKEL and R. BONFIL 1990, 132-147, \*106.

<sup>61</sup> J. ORY 1938, 114, Nr. 58A; P. BECK 1975, 47, 51, fig. 1, Nr. 17, fig. 3, Nr. 5; P. BECK 1985, 187, 194, fig. 2, Nr. 16, fig. 4, Nr. 17, fig. 5, Nr. 16. NB 194: *In Phase 3 medium sized storage jars with internally concave rim are no longer present.*

<sup>62</sup> S. PALEY and Y. PORAT 1997, 369-378, fig. 13.5 and 6.

<sup>63</sup> T. BAGH, this volume.

<sup>64</sup> K. KOPETZKY, this volume.

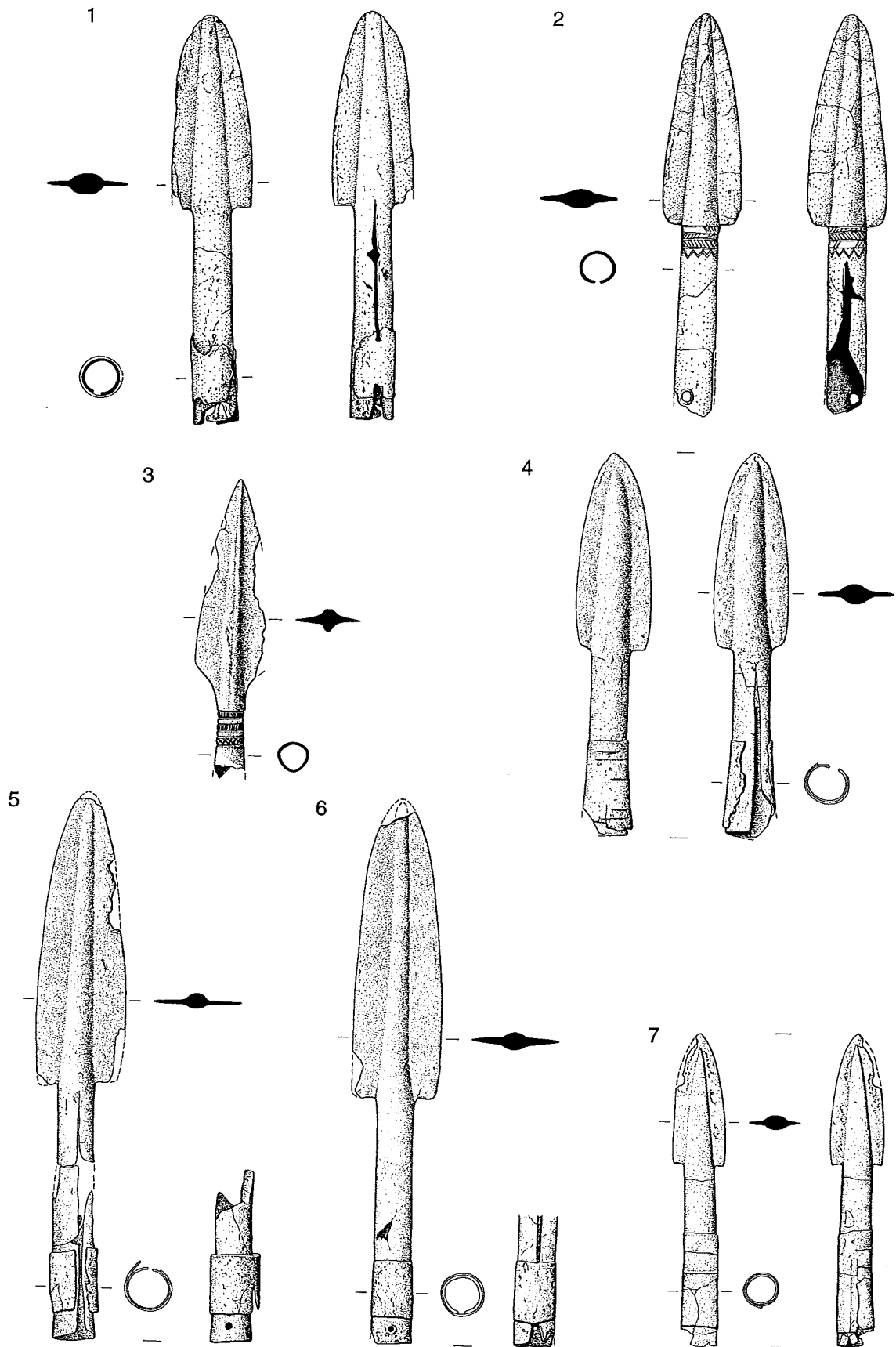


Fig. 6 Socketted Javelin Heads, Str. d/2

Nr. 1 and 2: from F/I-n/21-tomb 10, Inv.Nr. 6106 and 6107; 1:2  
 Nr. 3 and 4: from F/I-o/19-tomb 8, Inv.Nr. 6104 and 6105; 1:2

Nr. 5 and 6: from F/I-o/20-tomb 17, Inv.Nr. 6109 and 6108; 1: 2  
 Nr. 7: from F/I-o/21-tomb 6, Inv.Nr. 6103; 1: 2

### 1.2. F/I-o/20-tomb 20

This very modest tomb (Fig. 4), which had not been robbed, contained the body of a child of around 7 to 12 years of age. It was buried in a strongly contracted position, in a simple, small (1 m by 75 cm), rectangular chamber, built of sandy mud bricks. The covering of the tomb and part of the child's skull had been cut off by the construction of a silo in str. c, but otherwise the tomb was undisturbed. In the eastern corner, in front of the face and the hands, the only grave good was deposited: an imported jug (7027A, see Fig. 4:1), 23.5 cm tall, with distinct fine horizontal combing on the lower half of the body and on the neck. Very fine traces of red color had remained on various parts of the vessel, which originally had been considered to be vestiges of a painted décor. Upon further examination, it seems most likely that the whole jug had originally been red burnished. The jug contained a dark encrustation inside, possible remains of the original content.<sup>65</sup> This tomb context might serve as a reminder that the focus on imports implicitly confers a special status on these objects, which does not necessarily accurately reflect the ancient perspective.

### 1.3. F/I-n/21-tomb 1

This small rectangular tomb chamber was constructed for an infant. The covering of the chamber consisted of a gabled roof, and, unusual for this cemetery, was not robbed. The infant lay in a strongly contracted position, its head in the east. Around the body traces of red color were detected in the chamber, possibly indicating the original wrapping. Comparable traces of red color around the body of the deceased were found in another str. d/2 tomb of an adult man (F/I-o/20-tomb 17) and the chamber of a str. d/1 tomb was painted red on the inside. Traces of red shrouds were also observed in the MK cemetery at Mirgissa,<sup>66</sup> while red in general seems comparably rare in Egyptian MK funerary contexts.<sup>67</sup> Early Dynastic parallels from the NE Delta can however be cited.<sup>68</sup>

The grave goods were few and purely Egyptian. Around the neck the child wore a necklace of faience

beads: disk shaped, globular and one star shaped (Fig. 7:1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). The star was the five pointed Egyptian star,<sup>69</sup> not the generally eight pointed Near Eastern variety. In the west, at the child's feet, 2 hemispherical cups had been deposited. They were made of Nile B 2 and covered with a red wash, inside and outside (Fig. 7:2 and 7:3). Common shapes like these hemispherical drinking cups and, from other tombs of this stratum, the locally produced Nile-C "beer jars"<sup>70</sup> serve as the best link of this site to the pyramid complex of *Amenemhet* III. at Dahshur, of the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>71</sup> The drinking cups of stratum d/2 tombs found *in situ* have an average vessel index (maximum diameter divided by the height of the vessel multiplied by 100) of 170 as compared to the average index of 177 of the cups from Dahshur complex 6.<sup>72</sup> The Dahshur material is closely linked to the continuous cult of the pyramid temple of *Amenemhet* III. and is dated by DO. ARNOLD in the time frame of 1800 to 1760. BC.<sup>73</sup>

In Egypt, a continuous development of vessel-indices from higher to lower has been observed through the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> dynasties. Consequently, the d/2 cups should be placed somewhat later in the sequence, post *Amenemhet* III. However, some cups from the d/2 tombs, like these from tomb n/21-Nr. 1, are of a slightly different fabric (I-b-2 as opposed to the finer I-b-1), their surface is completely red washed (as opposed to uncoated with only a red rim) and they are noticeably larger with rim diameters of 14 and 14.7 cm and heights of 8.6 and 9.8 cm (the maximum rim diameter of a published Dahshur cup is 13.2 cm, most range from 11.5–12.5, the maximum height is around 8.4).<sup>74</sup> Possibly some of these late MK hemispherical cups are typologically different and show slightly varying developments. The red-wash inside and out may in itself be chronologically significant (as DO. ARNOLD in D. ARNOLD 1988, 135, already noted). By str. d/1 hemispherical cups with a red coating are no longer present among the tomb offerings. Two cups of this type were found in deposits built in the brick walls of tombs, one of which dates to str. d/1. Certainly, comparisons between two functionally basically different areas, as the refuse of administrative and cultic

<sup>65</sup> A sample is to be analysed.

<sup>66</sup> Necropolis MX. TC, J. MALEY, in J. VERCOUTTER 1975, 289.

<sup>67</sup> See for example the colors of coffins, H. WILLEMS 1988, 118.

<sup>68</sup> K. KROEPER in E. VAN DEN BRINK (ed.) 1992, 130, 131, 134.

<sup>69</sup> GARDINER sign list N 14. A MK parallel from Kahun published by W. M. F. PETRIE 1914, 51, pl. XLV, 275.

<sup>70</sup> Z. SZAFRANSKI 1998.

<sup>71</sup> DO. ARNOLD 1982, Abb. 17; M. BIETAK 1984, 481, Ill. 2.

<sup>72</sup> DO. ARNOLD in D. ARNOLD 1988, fig. 75.

<sup>73</sup> DO. ARNOLD 1982, 38–39.

<sup>74</sup> All measurements were taken from the published drawings, in DO. ARNOLD 1982, Abb. 17 and 18.

F/I-n/21 GRAB 1

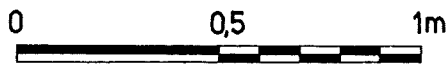
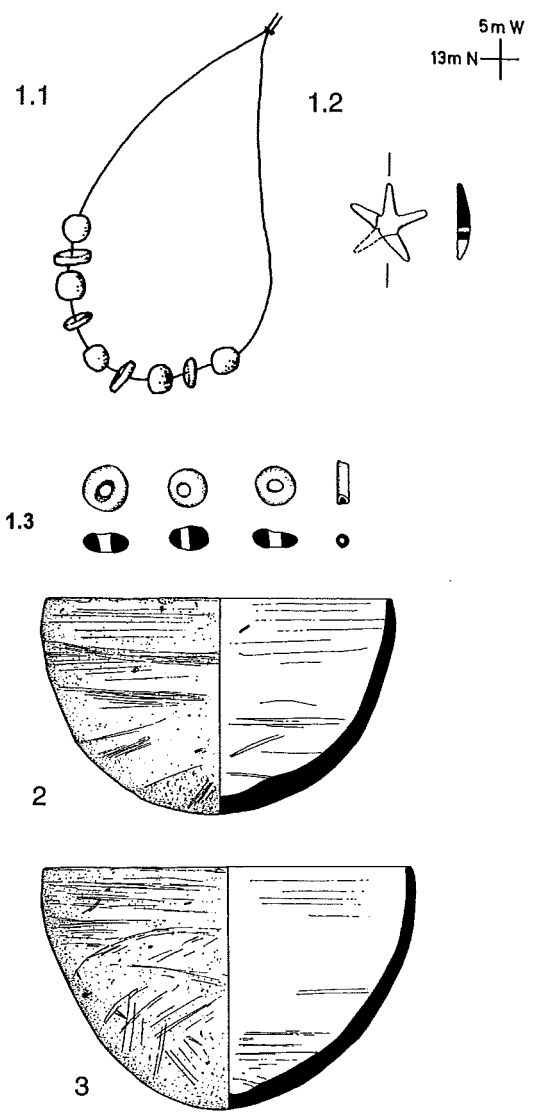
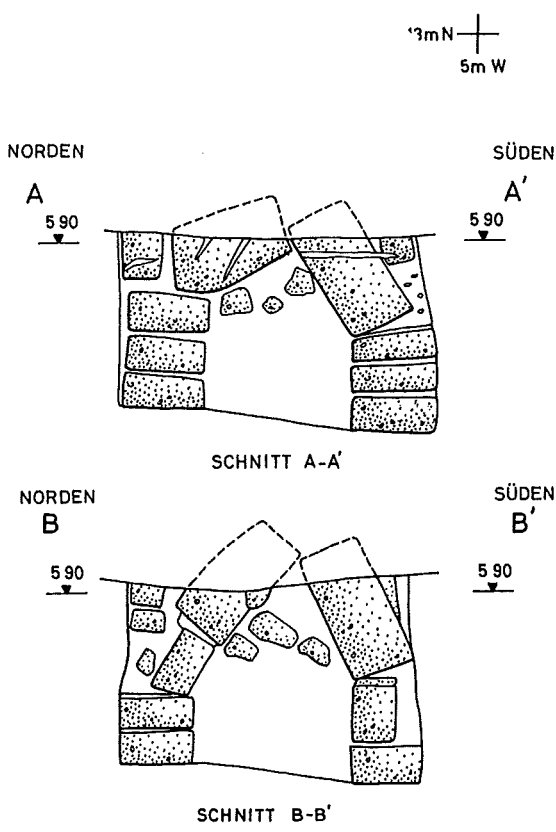
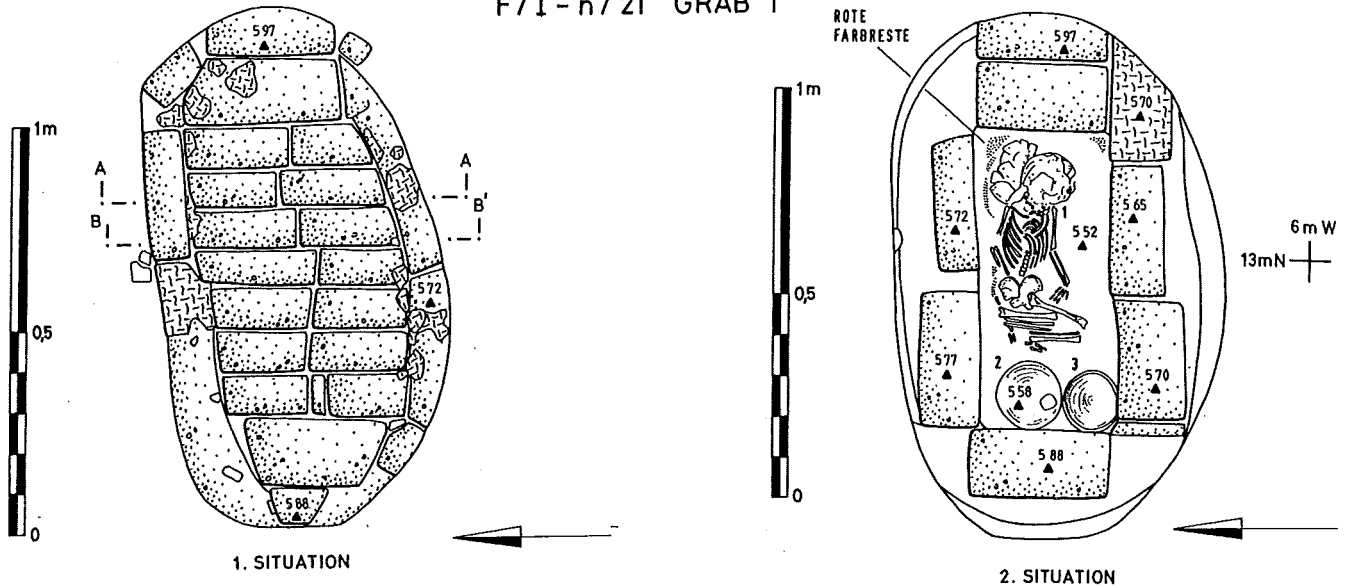


Fig. 7 F/I-n/21-tomb 1  
 Nr. 1.1: Inv.Nr. 8432C (1:1), 1.2 and 1.3: Inv.Nr. 6437 (1:2)  
 Nr. 2: Inv.Nr. 5984, 1:3  
 Nr. 3: Inv.Nr. 5983, 1:3

buildings associated with a royal funerary complex, in the case of Dahshur, and objects from private tombs in the case of Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, have to be cautious.

However, the remarkably close link between some very diagnostic shapes positions str. d/2 not far from the Dahshur complexes 3 and 6, hence at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, around 1820–1780 BC.

## 2. STRATUM d/1

The cemetery of stratum d/1 is clearly focused on the monumental residential buildings in the north, a massive complex consisting of two separate residential units, a large scale court flanked by columns and reception/entrance hall and numerous subsidiary rooms. Based on the sheer size of the only partially excavated building and certain constructional features, such as the stone doorways, wooden columns and wall-paintings, D. EIGNER interpreted the complex as a palace.<sup>75</sup> Lacking epigraphic evidence and indisputable architectural features, such as a throne room, the royal status of the set of buildings has been questioned<sup>76</sup> and ultimately proof is missing. M. BIETAK initially emphasized the “*private, non-official character*” of the “palace”<sup>77</sup> and with the discovery of the cemetery to its south, proposals as to who resided in the “palatial residence” have focused on these tombs. In a possible parallel to the MK “palace” and *h3tj*- cemetery at Bubastis,<sup>78</sup> high level state functionaries have been suggested as palace residents and successive builders of tombs.<sup>79</sup>

The tombs are built in the gardens of the residence, cutting into the original garden layout which was abandoned. To date, one clear row, running NE–SW, and possibly up to four parallel rows of tombs, showing, more or less, the same orientation as the residence in the North, can be distinguished.<sup>80</sup> Existing structures of the preceding stratum were respected and the layout adapted accordingly around them. It should be kept in mind that already the original garden layout, however, had a funerary aspect, as the commanding superstructure of p/19-Nr. 1 in the south was prominently visible. Possibly the “palace” layout was also influenced by the older cemetery layout: No rooms of the “palace” were built

on top of older tombs – the northern group of d/2 tombs lies beneath the columned court-yard.

The picture of a planned, homogenous necropolis emerges, whose owners constituted an elite, clearly associated with the palatial residence. Pit burials have disappeared completely, children are generally buried together with adults in the large mud brick chamber tombs. Only one example of a separate tomb construction for a child exists.<sup>81</sup>

Adherence to certain standards, such as a regularity in layout, minimum tomb size or donkey burials in front of tombs is evident, yet apparently continuous expansion of the necropolis was necessary, requiring the western delimiting wall to be moved further west. It seems very likely that the str. d/1 cemetery continued to be used after the residence was abandoned. Actually having lived in the residence can hardly have been a condition of admission into the necropolis. The growth of the cemetery might reflect a wish by wider circles to be associated with the “palatial complex” and what it represented. The actual residents, and their immediate families, may (if at all) be limited to the first six tombs to the south of the Eastern unit: tombs F/I-1/19 Nr. 6 and 1; m/19-Nr. 22; m/18-Nr. 12, Nr. 3 (see below) and 2.

Despite the extremely heavy plundering of this necropolis, the remaining grave goods, including many luxury items and the increased amount of imported jars, reflect some of the wealth and diversity of the original tomb contexts.

### 2.1. Overview of Levantine imports from the tombs

Bronzes continue to be exclusively Levantine. The socketted javelin heads (Fig. 8) continue, thus closing the evidential gap between str. d/2 and the following str. c (G/1–3).<sup>82</sup> However, only in this stratum are some weapons made of precious metals, such as the large silver pair of javelin heads (Fig. 8:1 and 2).<sup>83</sup> First appearances are made by the dagger with five midribs, in an unusual luxurious version, with spiral engravings and using gold foil.<sup>84</sup> Three globular pommels of limestone probably originally belonged to daggers with with five midribs, replacing the older crescent shaped pommel associated with str. d/2.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>75</sup> D. EIGNER 1985, 19–25; idem 1996, 73–80.

<sup>76</sup> D. O’CONNOR 1997, 53; J. WEGNER 1998, 25.

<sup>77</sup> M. BIETAK 1984a, 331.

<sup>78</sup> C. VAN SICLEN 1990, 187–194. idem in M. BIETAK (ed.) 1996, 239–246.

<sup>79</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, 64–71.

<sup>80</sup> M. BIETAK and J. DORNER 1994, Abb. 2.

<sup>81</sup> F/I-1/20-tomb 57.

<sup>82</sup> Compare M. BIETAK 1989a, fig. 5; M. BIETAK, I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER and C. MLINAR 2001, fig. 2.

<sup>83</sup> Remains of a silver javelin socket sheath were found in tomb l/19-Nr. 6.

<sup>84</sup> M. BIETAK 1996, fig. 22, Nr. 8.

<sup>85</sup> G. PHILIP in: W.V. DAVIES and L. SCHOFIELD (eds.) 1995, 71.

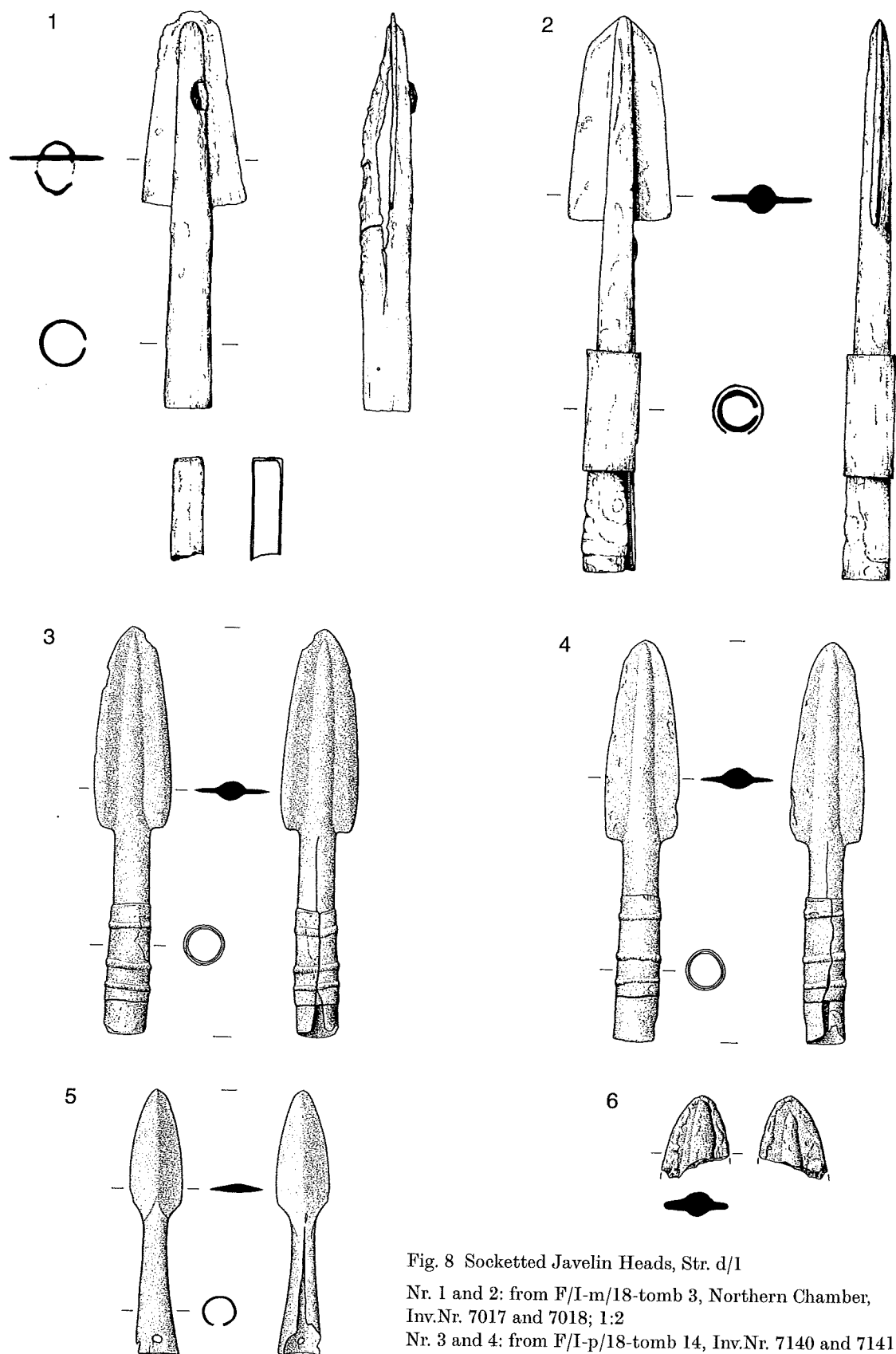


Fig. 8 Socketed Javelin Heads, Str. d/1

Nr. 1 and 2: from F/I-m/18-tomb 3, Northern Chamber, Inv.Nr. 7017 and 7018; 1:2

Nr. 3 and 4: from F/I-p/18-tomb 14, Inv.Nr. 7140 and 7141; 1:2

Nr. 5: from F/I-m/17-tomb 2, Inv.Nr. 7326; 1:2

Nr. 6: from F/I-p/21-tomb 1, Inv.Nr. 7177; 1:2



Also new is the notched narrow bladed axe, of which two examples have been found – one from tomb m/18-Nr. 3, North chamber,<sup>86</sup> and one in tomb, o/17-Nr. 1 (see Fig. 15:3). This type remains in use for the next three strata, until Stratum F.<sup>87</sup>

Among the ceramic Levantine imports some groups continue from str. d/2, like the Levantine Painted Ware<sup>88</sup> and the dipper juglets<sup>89</sup> (see also Fig. 15:6). Of the former only two, fragmented, jugs with red painted décor<sup>90</sup> have been found in disturbed contexts – no *in situ* pieces come from tombs. Five complete dipper juglets have been found in str. d/1 tombs. Four very similar pieces, with a wide body and an uncoated, horizontally combed surface, were found in two pairs,<sup>91</sup> lying close to each other. One of these (7341) was found still inside a Canaanite jar (7345) leaning against the Northern wall of the tomb chamber, the other (7340) was deposited next to that jar.

Two types make their first appearance in the tomb repertoire: the dish with incurved rim,<sup>92</sup> and the tankard or goblet.<sup>93</sup> Both, however, are singular pieces within the tomb material of str. d/1 and were found only in fragments in disturbed tombs. However, corroborating data for the attribution of these types to str. d/1 comes from the sherd material from the contemporary settlement layers.<sup>94</sup> Tankards or goblets<sup>95</sup> are present, as are dishes with incurved rims.<sup>96</sup> Amongst all ceramic goods from the tombs, the amount of Syro-Palestinian imports rises from the previous approximately 10 % in str. d/2 to approximately 24 %. This significant growth is solely due to the increase in the amounts of Canaanite jars. In the following, two tomb contexts which contained Canaanite jars are presented:

## 2.2. F/I-m/18-tomb 3

With a superstructure measuring over 7 m length and 4.5 m width, it was one of the largest tombs of str.

d/1 (Fig. 9). It belongs to the group of six prominent tombs, built immediately south of the palatial residence. Originally all these tombs had an above-ground structure – possibly a form of offering chapel – of which only one or two layers of bricks remained. In the case of tomb m/18-Nr. 3, the remnants of large amounts of offering ceramics were found in the rubble of the superstructure. The repertoire of these offerings contrasted strongly with the grave goods in the chambers below: The ceramics from the superstructure consist almost entirely of Egyptian types and were locally produced – mainly hemispherical cups (made of fine Nile clay, with little or some tempering: I-b-1 and I-b-2), large dishes, footed bowls, so called “beer jars” and stands, all made of rough Nile clay with chaff tempering (I-c-2). The shapes of the cups and “beer jars” are homogenous, presumably reflecting a relatively short period of deposition. Amongst the masses of locally produced pots, no imported vessels were found aboveground,<sup>97</sup> while imports dominated in the tomb chambers below.

This tomb consisted of two separate chambers (northern and southern chamber, Fig. 10), each 4.5 m long and 90 cm wide; each chamber had originally been covered by a semicircular vault of two (?) courses.<sup>98</sup> Both chambers combined, the tomb contained the partial skeletal remains of 5 adults, 2 men and 3 women, 1 juvenile and 1 infant. Corresponding to the two chambers were two pits in front of the tomb, containing in the north two donkeys, in the southern pit one, and all in all five goats or sheep.<sup>99</sup>

From the northern chamber, with the sarcophagus, made of soft limestone or stucco, still *in situ*, comes a well-known ensemble of jewelry and weapons, some of precious metals.<sup>100</sup> One ring bears a broken inscribed scarab, presumably naming his owner and his titles: [jmj] r3 h3swt [rn]tn Sbk-m-h3.t,<sup>101</sup> or, as suggested by G. MARTIN,<sup>102</sup> [hk3 n (?) R] tnw Dj-sbk-m-h3t.

<sup>86</sup> M. BIETAK 1996, fig. 22, Nr. 7.

<sup>87</sup> See article by I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER, this volume.

<sup>88</sup> See T. BAGH, this volume.

<sup>89</sup> See K. KOPETZKY, this volume.

<sup>90</sup> 7258A from F/I-o/17-tomb 5 and 7062 K from F/I-p/21-tomb 1, superstructure.

<sup>91</sup> From F/I-o/17-tomb 5: 7259 and 7260, and F/I-p/17-tomb 14, 7340 and 7341. See K. KOPETZKY, this volume.

<sup>92</sup> 7062G, from tomb p/21-Nr. 1, superstructure. The fragment has an uncoated, burnished surface inside, and no burnish on the outside.

<sup>93</sup> See D. ASTON, this volume.

<sup>94</sup> Currently being analyzed by K. KOPETZKY.

<sup>95</sup> E. g. F/I-l/20 pit 40. I thank K. Kopetzky for this information.

<sup>96</sup> According to K. Kopetzky dishes with incurved rims might already have been locally produced in str. d/1. I thank her for his information.

<sup>97</sup> The fragment of a LPW jug (61140) from the superstructure is a possible exception.

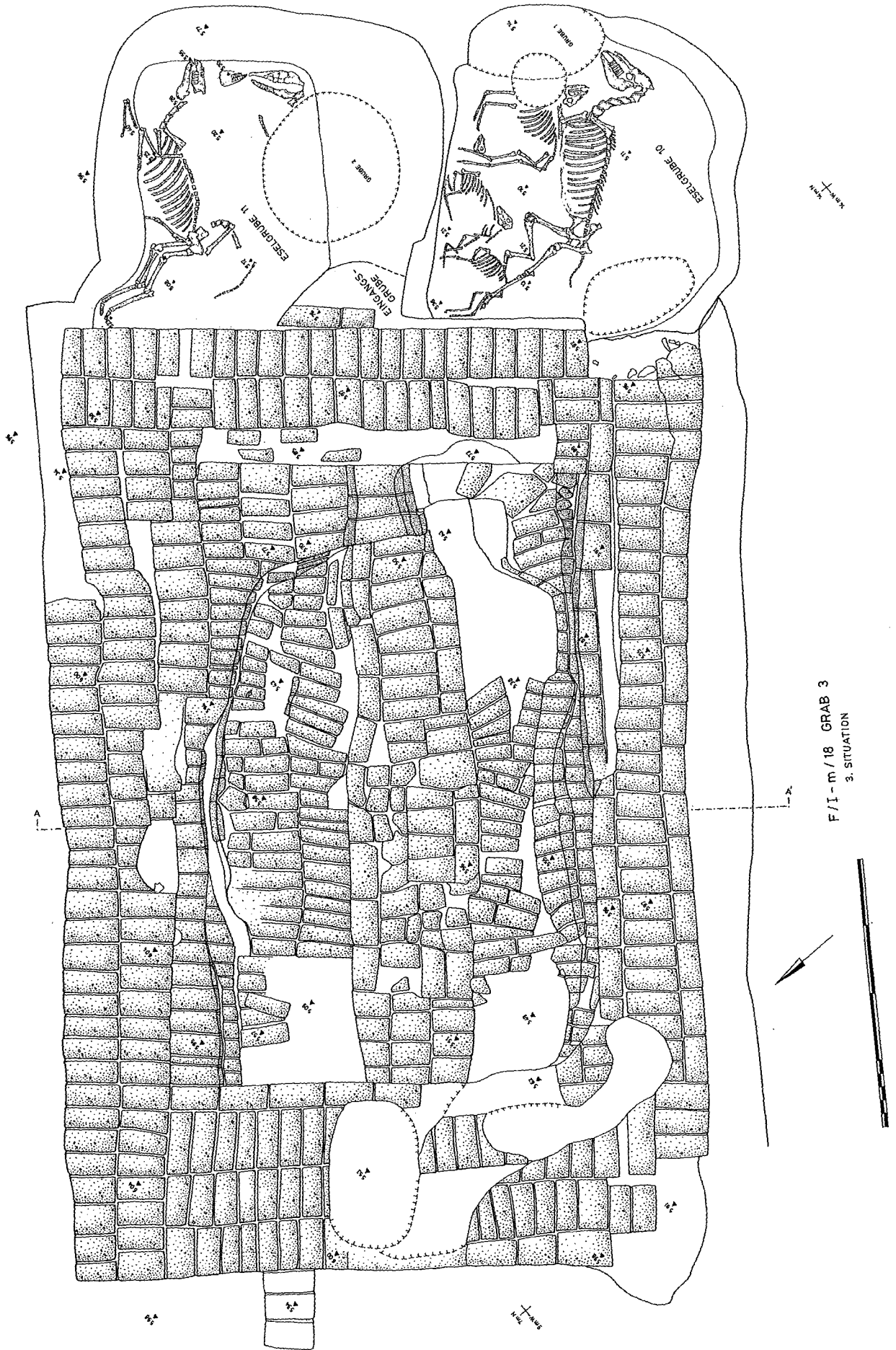
<sup>98</sup> See reconstruction in M. Bietak 1991c, Abb. 14.

<sup>99</sup> J. BOESSNECK and A. VON DEN DRIESCH 1992, 17.

<sup>100</sup> Published by M. BIETAK 1991c, Taf. 22–24. idem 1996, fig. 22.

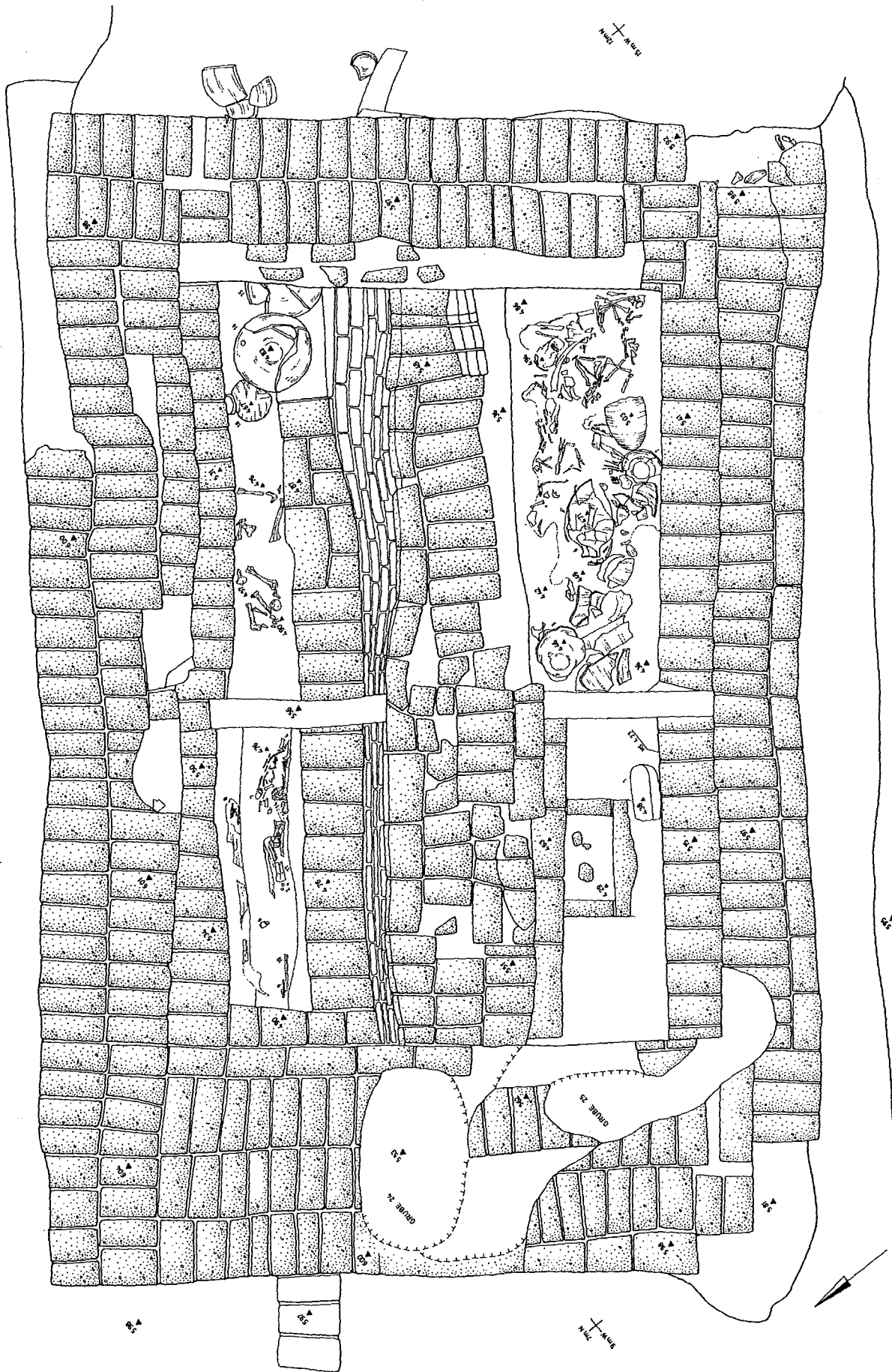
<sup>101</sup> M. BIETAK 1991c, 67, Taf. 22 A, B; I. HEIN and C. MLINAR, in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (eds.) 1994, 97, Kat.Nr. 22.

<sup>102</sup> G. MARTIN 1998, 109–112.



F/1-m/18 GRAB 3  
3. SITUATION

Fig. 9



F/I - m / 18 GRAB 3  
4. SITUATION

Fig. 10

As the small finds have been dealt with extensively in publications, it is only the ceramic finds that shall be presented here. Near the eastern entrance to the northern chamber, a small ensemble of grave goods had remained *in situ*: Next to two Nile C 2 dishes (Fig. 11: 1 and 2), containing meat offerings, and one unusually small Nile C 2 "beer jar"<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 11: 3), one imported jar (Fig. 11: 4) was found leaning against the northern wall. Of a typical piriform shape, its body shows a very distinctive combing pattern: the upper half in fine horizontal lines, a narrow middle zone of vertical or slanted strokes and the lower half consisting of irregular horizontal to oblique lines, interspersed with small areas of vertical combing. Reminiscent of the EB tradition of pattern combing,<sup>104</sup> it is, however, difficult to judge MB continuation and possible local differentiations based on published material, as MB jar surfaces tend, at best, to be indicated,<sup>105</sup> but hardly ever shown in full.

In the southern chamber, the contents and the burials were completely disarranged. Before the tomb was plundered, the vault had collapsed, already causing considerable damage which had been roughly repaired.<sup>106</sup> The robbers seem to have concentrated their efforts on the southern chamber, whose original situation is very difficult to discern. In the west, a small mud brick box had been erected, which contained the remains of an infant. To its south lay an undecorated, plain lime stone stele, which had possibly fallen down from the superstructure. In the east, the skeletal remains of four adults (three women and one man) and one juvenile were discovered.<sup>107</sup> Intertwined with the human bones were the grave goods, which, apart from one small dish of Egyptian fabric (Nile C 2, Fig. 12:1), consisted of at least seven imported Canaanite jars, four of which could be

reassembled completely (Fig. 12:2–4, 13:1). Apart from the contents of the other even larger palatial tomb 1/19-Nr. 1, this constitutes the largest assemblage of Canaanite jars from a str. d/1 tomb. Based on comparisons with less disturbed tombs, it is likely that most of the jars had been originally been set up in the Eastern half of the chamber. The disjoined human bones, mixed with animal bones,<sup>108</sup> had been moved at least three times: when the vault collapsed, when repairs were undertaken and when the tomb was robbed. Under these disordered circumstances, the evidence of bones of a gazelle and two dogs from one of the jars<sup>109</sup> (Fig. 12:2) should not be over evaluated. While it is likely that these jars served multi-purpose container functions during their span of usage, including possibly for meat and wheat,<sup>110</sup> some jars from the d/1 tombs show remains of residue inside, probably from oil or wine, the generally assumed, yet up to date only rarely scientifically proven primary filling.<sup>111</sup> Other reuses of Canaanite jars in str. d/1 are as buckets to mix paint for restoring the palatial residence.<sup>112</sup> There is no evidence, however, for the one final usage of these jars so generally common in the MB IIA and in later phases at Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup>, namely as burial containers. The two jar burials from str. d/2 and d/1 use locally produced vessels.<sup>113</sup>

The shapes of the Canaanite jars are all roughly ovoid to piriform, yet the fabrics, the sizes, body- and rim shapes, as well as combing patterns are quite diverse. Not one exactly equals the other.

Among the rarer shapes is a handle-less jar (Fig. 13:1) which is a singular piece from the tomb material. It has a slender shape, no neck and a simple flaring rim. With a height of 55.5 cm it falls within the normal range of Canaanite jars with handles and is distinctly separate from the group of oversize MB IIA

<sup>103</sup> Z. SZAFRANSKI 1998, 106, pl.1, Nr. 7.

<sup>104</sup> E. g. C. F. A. SCHAEFFER 1949, pl. XVI.

<sup>105</sup> E. g. G. LOUD 1949, pl. 16, Nr. 10.

<sup>106</sup> J. DORNER, in M. BIETAK and I. HEIN (ed.) 1994, 94–95.

<sup>107</sup> Information kindly provided by K. GROSSSCHMIDT and his team.

<sup>108</sup> J. BOESSNECK and A. VON DEN DRIESCH 1992, 17.

<sup>109</sup> J. BOESSNECK and A. VON DEN DRIESCH 1992, 17.

<sup>110</sup> Compare also possible evidence of jars being used as grain containers, M. BIETAK 1996, 63, quoting U. THANHEISER 1987).

<sup>111</sup> P. McGovern's analyses, using Fourier-transform infrared spectrometry (FTIR), high-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) and spot tests, obtained positive results for

wine (tartaric acid/ calcium tartrate and terebinth tree (*pistacia*) resin) from Canaanite jars from Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup> F/I tomb and residential contexts of str. c and b/1 (P. MCGOVERN 2000, 75–76). MCGOVERN (2000, 76–77) suggests resin was added to flavour and preserve the wine, and thus confirms the latter presence. As resin was traded as a commodity by itself (M. SERPICO and R. WHITE in C. EYRE (ed.) 1998, 1038), was used to line vessel jars (N. BOULTON and C. HERON in P. NICHOLSON and I. SHAW (eds.) 2000, 601) and as reuse of jars is also possible, further analysis on residues, including from jars from str. d/1 tombs, is needed.

<sup>112</sup> M. BIETAK 1984a, 332.

<sup>113</sup> See footnote 11.

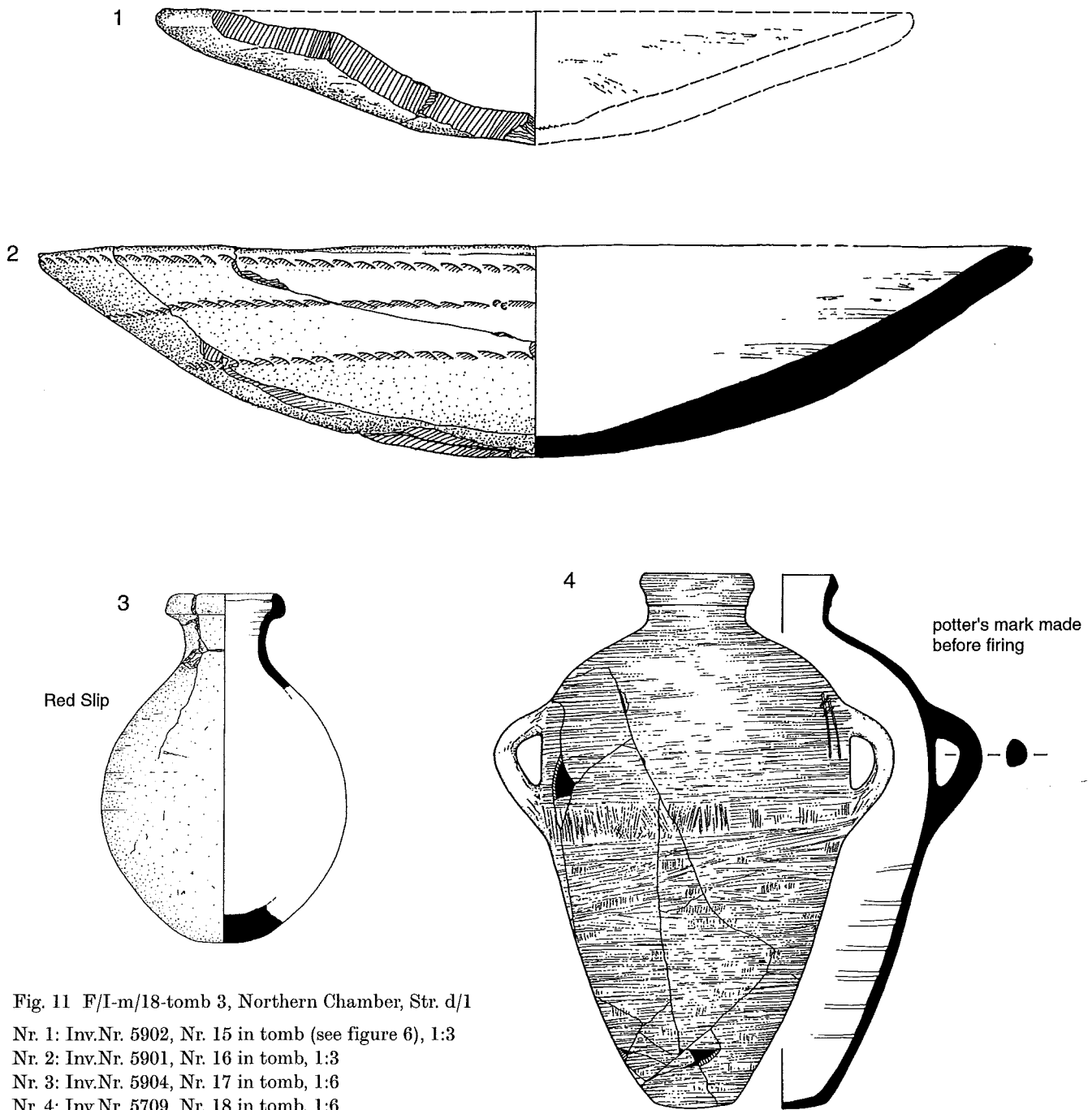


Fig. 11 F/I-m/18-tomb 3, Northern Chamber, Str. d/1

Nr. 1: Inv.Nr. 5902, Nr. 15 in tomb (see figure 6), 1:3

Nr. 2: Inv.Nr. 5901, Nr. 16 in tomb, 1:3

Nr. 3: Inv.Nr. 5904, Nr. 17 in tomb, 1:6

Nr. 4: Inv.Nr. 5709, Nr. 18 in tomb, 1:6

handle-less jars, frequently used as containers for burials in storage jars.<sup>114</sup> Following the Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> piece in Fig. 13:2-6 are assorted comparisons from the Levant. At Tel Ifshar, the slender, conical examples without handles tend to predate the ovoid jars

with two handles.<sup>115</sup> The fabric of the Tel Aphek vessel is definitely not local,<sup>116</sup> and preliminary petrographic results of the very similar distinctly creamy, whitish yellowish fabric of the Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> jar clearly point to the north.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> M. DOTHAN 1990, 148-151, \*106. R. BONFIL 1992, 26-37, \*146.

<sup>115</sup> S. PALEY and Y. PORAT 1997, 373.

<sup>116</sup> P. BECK in M. KOCHAVI, P. BECK and E. YADIN (eds.) 2000, 180. E. Yadin, personal communication.

<sup>117</sup> Y. GOREN and A. COHEN-WEINBERGER, forthcoming.

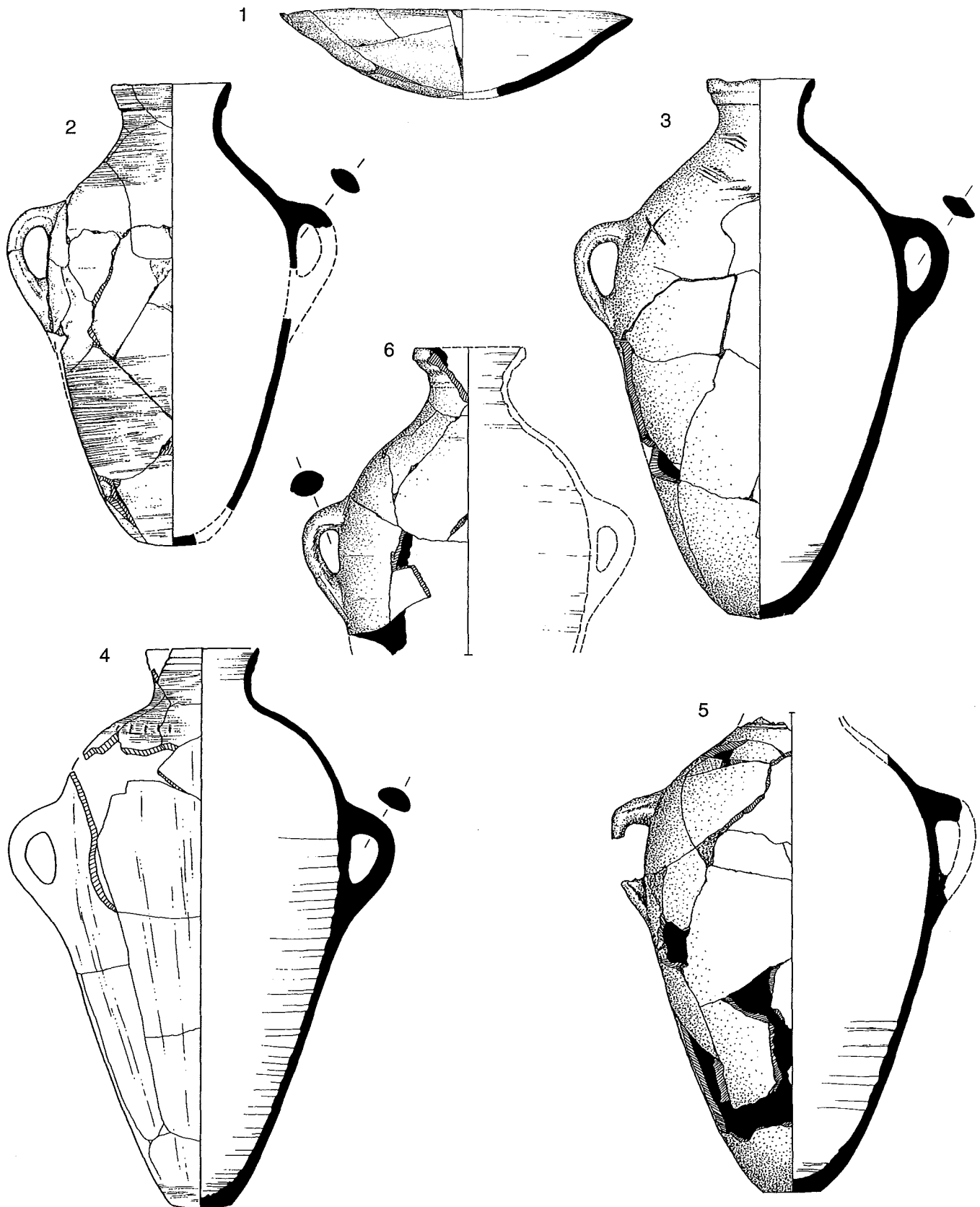


Fig. 12 F/I-m/18-tomb 3, Southern Chamber, Str. d/1

Nr. 1: Inv.Nr. 5903, Nr. 2 in tomb, 1:3  
 Nr. 2: Inv.Nr. 5825, Nr. 3 in tomb, 1:6  
 Nr. 3: Inv.Nr. 5828, Nr. 4 in tomb, 1:6

Nr. 4: Inv.Nr. 5824, Nr. 5 in tomb, 1:6  
 Nr. 5: Inv.Nr. 5826, Nr. 6 in tomb, 1:6  
 Nr. 6: Inv.Nr. 5827, Nr. 7 in tomb, 1:6

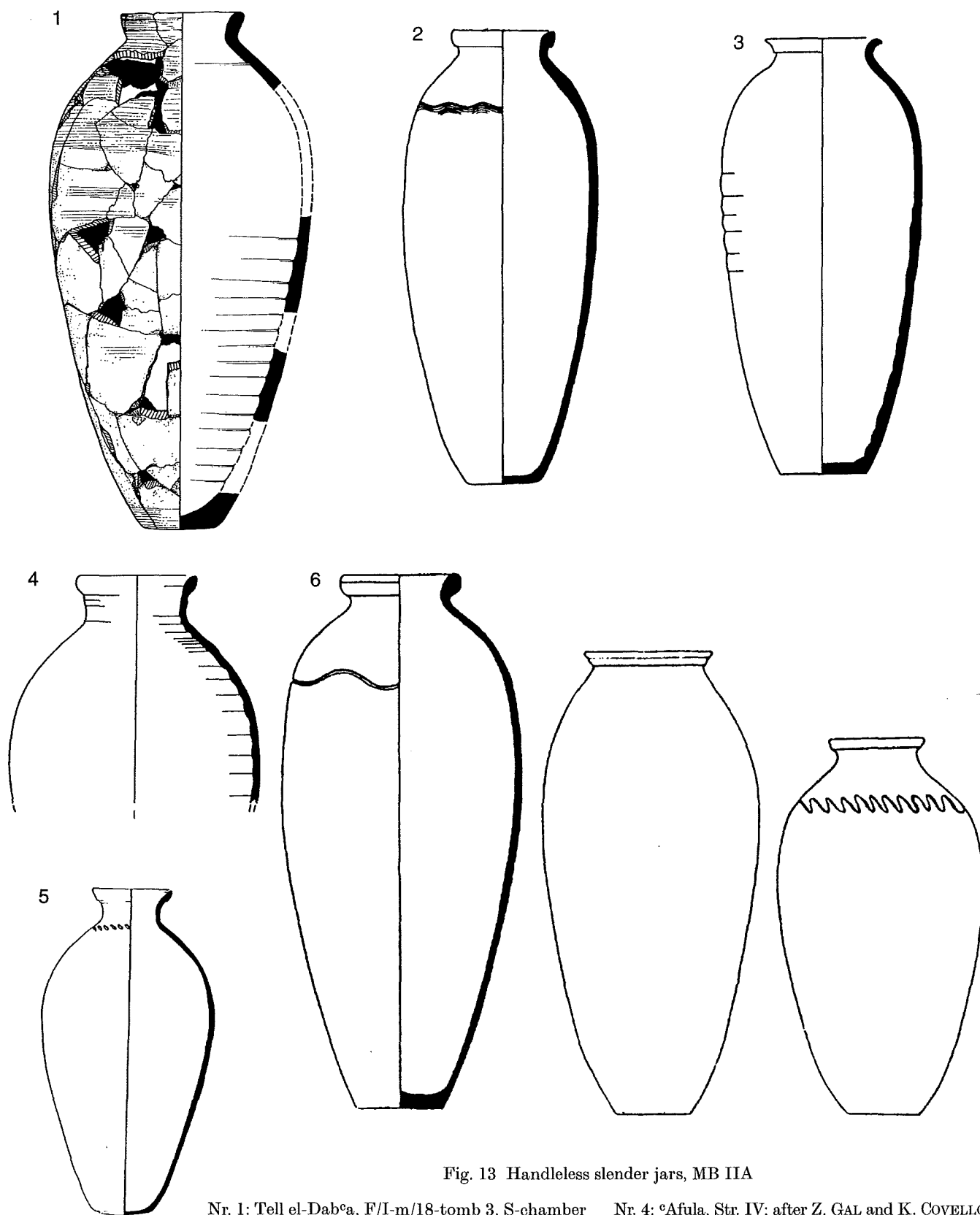


Fig. 13 Handleless slender jars, MB IIA

Nr. 1: Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, F/I-m/18-tomb 3, S-chamber  
 Nr. 9, Inv. Nr. 5894, Str. d/1 (H 55.5 cm), 1:6  
 Nr. 2: Ras el °Ain/Aphek, T 589, Str. XVII-XVI  
 (XV), Phase B; after M. KOCHAVI, P. BECK, E.  
 YADIN 2000 (eds.), fig. 10.6, Nr. 4, appr. 1:6  
 Nr. 3: Tel Ifshar, Area C, Phase B; after S. PALEY  
 and Y. PORAT 1997, fig. 13.6, Nr. 3, no scale

Nr. 4: °Afula, Str. IV; after Z. GAL and K. COVELLO-  
 PARAN 1996, fig. 22, Nr. 10, appr. 1:6  
 Nr. 5: Kabri, C2; after A. KEMPINSKI 1988, fig. 20,  
 Nr. 6, appr. 1:6  
 Nr. 6: Ugarit, IIe niveau, Ugarit Moyen 2; after  
 C.F.A. SCHAEFFER 1949, fig. 100, Nr. 28, 31, 32,  
 appr. 1:6

To stress the point of diversity of types (see also D. ASTON, this volume), the discovery of fragments of large storage jars with red painted linear decoration (from tomb l/19-Nr. 1) should be mentioned.

Diversity of forms possibly indicates, as supported by our clay analysis and by preliminary petrographic results, diverse provenance. Whatever the mechanisms of trade, one individual source for Levantine imports seems out of the question.

### 2.3. F/I-o/17-tomb 1

The tomb (Fig. 14) is situated in the same row of tombs as m/18-Nr. 3, about 30 m to its south. The tomb pit cuts into a square two room "kiosk", erected as part of the original garden layout.<sup>118</sup>

Fronting the rectangular, WNW-ESE oriented tomb pit (appr. 5.2 m long and 2.7 m wide), is a roughly trapezoid shaped entrance pit (appr. 1.6 m long and 1.2 m wide at its widest point), which had been dug together with the tomb pit. In the upper layers of this entrance pit, which had the same filling of unclean sand as the tomb pit, many fragments of "beer bottles" of Nile C 2 clay were found (Fig. 14a). Below, two donkeys (one adult male and one juvenile female), lying on their right side, heads in the east and facing north, had been deposited (Fig. 14b). They had been laid on top of each other and partially under them and to their north, four young sheep or lambs had been packed into the small space.<sup>119</sup> Deposited with the animals were locally produced vessels: a hemispherical cup of fine Nile B 1 and a bowl made of chaff tempered Nile C 2 clay (Fig. 15:1-2).

Set in the tomb pit was the chamber built of sandy mud bricks, covered by a semicircular double vault, consisting of an inner course of bricks layed perpendicular to the tomb's axis and an outer course of bricks running parallel to it.<sup>120</sup> Roughly a third of all str. d/1 tombs whose vaulting was identifiable had this form of vault, making it the most frequently used type. The tomb was cut by many pits and thoroughly robbed, leaving no skeletal remains of its owner. Yet despite these, unfortunately typical, cir-

cumstances for the str. d/1 tombs, an interesting group of objects remained, partially *in situ*. In the western part of the chamber, alongside the southern longitudinal wall, remains of pinkish stucco on the floor indicated the original position of the coffin (remaining length 1.9 m). Among the six cases where traces of coffins could be discerned in str. d/1 chambers, the western position next to the southern wall was the most common one.

Lying on the floor of the coffin remains was a notched narrow bladed axe (7329, length 12 cm; height 1.5 cm; max width 1.7 cm; Fig. 15:3) with a trapezoid section. A very close parallel to the shape of the axe comes again, remarkably, from the burial cave in Safed.<sup>121</sup> The rivet across the shaft is paralleled only by axes from Sukhas,<sup>122</sup> Megiddo<sup>123</sup> and possibly from a tomb in Na'an (Shephela).<sup>124</sup>

Two globular limestone pommels (maximum width 3.9 and 4.1 cm; Fig. 15:4-5) were also found among the remains of the coffin, east of the axe. They originally were fastened to daggers, probably of the veined, five mid-rib type.

Of the ceramic grave goods, three hemispherical cups of Nile clay (I-b-1 and I-b-2, Fig. 12:7-9) and two imports, a dipper juglet (Fig. 15:6) and a Canaanite jar (Fig. 15:10) remained. Only the Canaanite jar had remained *in situ*, under a collapsed section of the vault near the Eastern entrance to the tomb.

Compared with the following strata, the corpus of imports from both discussed strata is limited and very slim. The closest and most frequent parallels for both bronzes and ceramics show links to northern Israel-Palestine, the northern Israeli, Lebanese and Syrian coast. However, when interpreting this relative dearth of imports, it needs to be emphasized how distorted the picture from these heavily plundered tombs might be. While there is not one tomb of str. d/1 (G/4) that escaped ancient looting, the situation does change somewhat with str. c (G/1-3). And it is precisely with the beginning of that stratum that a major new influx of types has been postulated.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>118</sup> M. BIETAK and J. DORNER 1994, 16.

<sup>119</sup> The animal bones have been analyzed by A. VON DEN DRIESCH. I thank her for her kindly providing me with this information.

<sup>120</sup> E. VAN DEN BRINK 1982, 35f., fig. 28, type Vb.

<sup>121</sup> E. DAMATI and Y. STEPANSKI 1996, fig. 11: 2.

<sup>122</sup> Tomb IV, level 3: H. THRANE 1978, 38-39, fig. 86.

<sup>123</sup> Tomb 912 D: P.L.O. GUY 1938, pl. 133, Nr. 4.

<sup>124</sup> E. MIRON 1992, 74, pl. 17, Nr. 277.

<sup>125</sup> E. g. M. BIETAK 1996, 55.



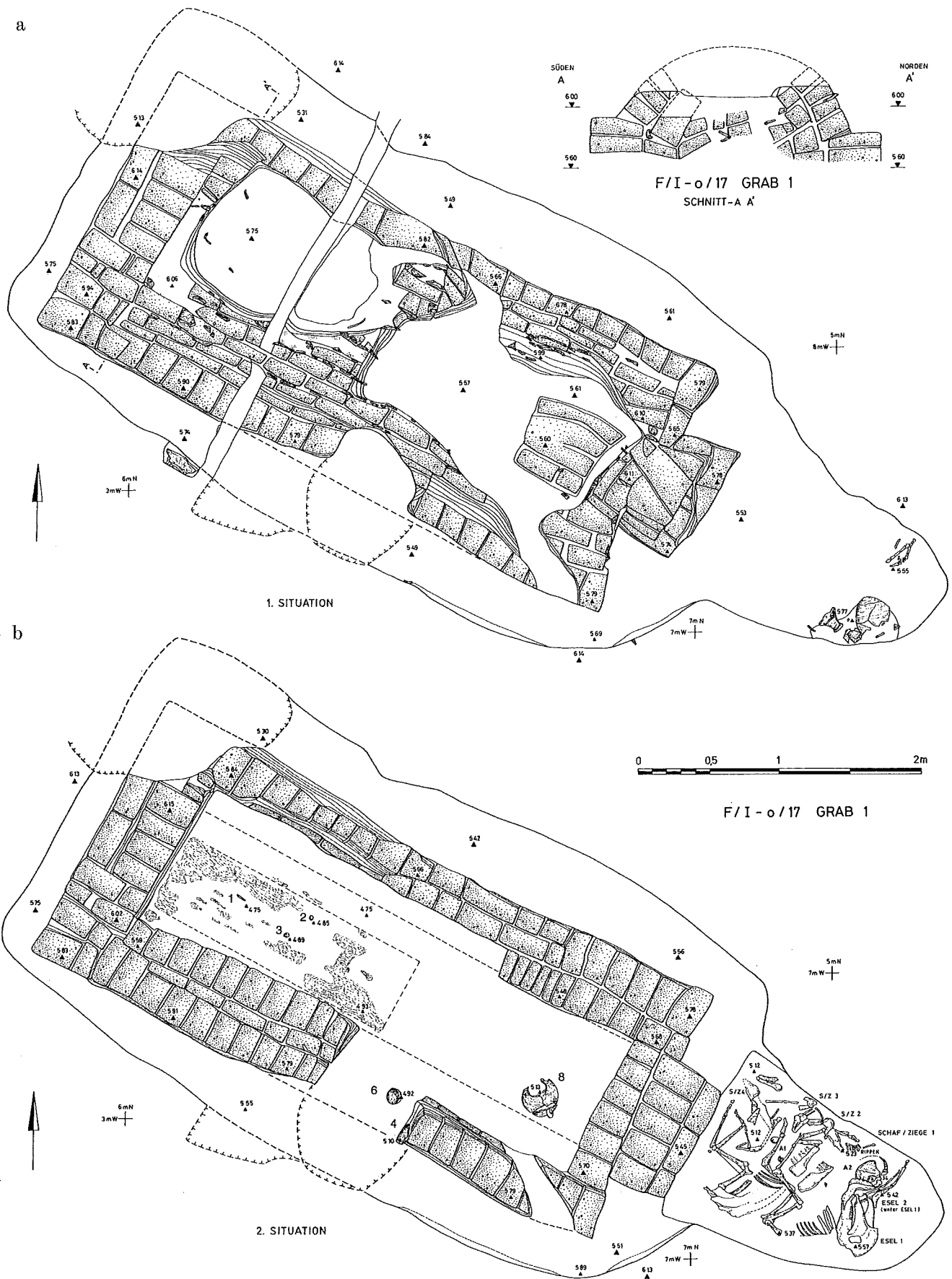


Fig. 14

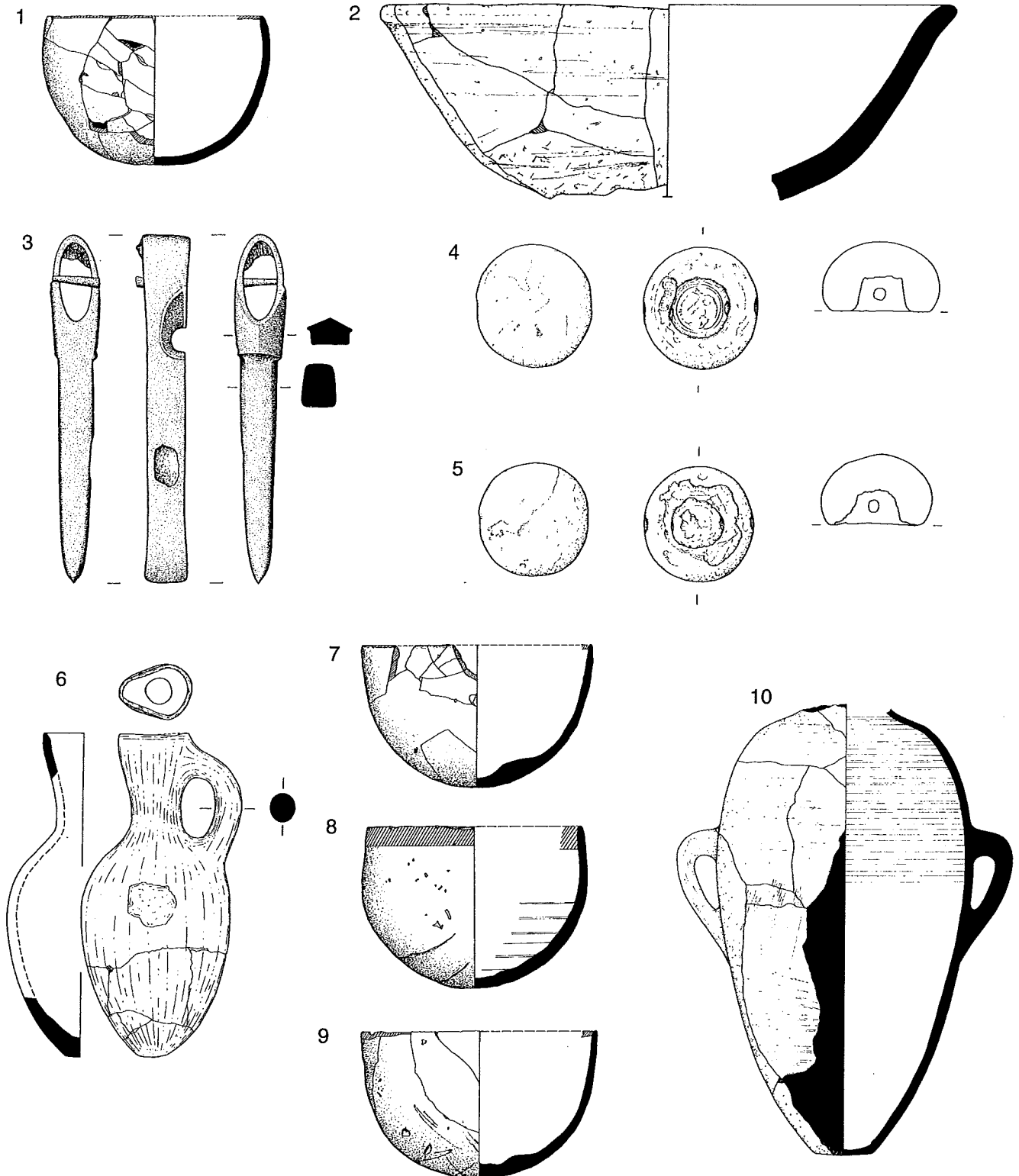


Fig. 15 F/I-o/17-tomb 1, Str. d/1

Nr. 1 and 2: from entrance pit with donkey burials,  
Inv.Nr. 7282A and 7282B, 1:3

Nr. 3-8: from tomb chamber, Nr. 3: Inv.Nr. 7329 is  
Nr. 1 in tomb, 1:2

Nr. 4 and 5: Inv.Nr. 7306 and 7307, are Nr. 2 and 3  
in tomb, 1:2

Nr. 6: Inv.Nr. 7280, is Nr. 4 in tomb, 1:3

Nr. 7: Inv.Nr. 7282, is Nr. 5 in tomb, 1:3

Nr. 8: Inv.Nr. 7279, is Nr. 6 in tomb, 1:3

Nr. 9: Inv.Nr. 7281, is Nr. 7 in tomb, 1:3

Nr. 10: Inv.Nr. 7280, is Nr. 8 in tomb, 1:6