

A HISTORY OF TELL EL-YAHUDIYEH TYPOLOGY

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Black-polished incised juglets, the incised decoration often filled with a white pigment, were first collected and excavated by E. Naville, F.L. Griffith and W.M.F. Petrie in the Eastern Delta, at Khata^ana (i.e. Tell el-Dab^a) and Tell el-Yahudiyeh, and were subsequently found by others near the Fayoum entrance and in Middle Egypt.¹ Since most of them were found at Tell el-Yahudiyeh this site gave its name to this particular type of pottery. These vessels belong to a distinct group made from a variety of fabrics, all sharing a red or brown to black burnished surface with white incised decoration. The principal shape of these wares is a juglet with many variations in form and vessel attributes. The distribution of such vessels extends throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, from Cyprus, Coastal Syria-Palestine as far inland as the Jordan Valley, Egypt, including the Red Sea coast and the Oases, and the Northern Sudan as far south as Kerma, with an isolated piece reported from Thera.² Since their first discovery many writers have discussed their place(s) of origin, their decorative styles and their internal chronology, but such comments are widely dispersed throughout numerous books, monographs and articles. Since a complete publication of the more than 650 pieces so far excavated at Tell el-Dab^a is currently planned within the SCIEM 2000 project, it seems worthwhile to review previous research on these enigmatic vessels in the form of an article which may serve as a general introduction to that corpus. Although various writers have sometimes included monochrome red- and black-burnished jugs,³ or even painted jugs⁴ under the heading of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware, Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware as used in this article refers specifically to only those vessels which have incised decoration.

Apart from a few minor observations on Tell el-

Yahudiyeh ware by Petrie who originally thought it derived from Italian inspiration,⁵ a view which he later changed to being brought into Egypt by the Hyksos as a result of his own excavations at Tell el-Yahudiyeh,⁶ the first serious study of this pottery was undertaken by Junker in 1921. He divided the ware into five main types, with several subtypes, based on body shape (Fig. 1):⁷

Typ a: Birnenförmiger Rumpf, das breitere Ende oben. Hierbei lassen sich wieder drei Unterabteilungen feststellen:

- 1) eine gedrungenere Form mit breiter und flacher Schulter, die Seiten jedoch ziemlich jäh abfallend
- 2) eine schlankere Form mit mehr abfallenden Schultern
- 3) eine ovale Form, meist schlank.

Typ b: Birnenförmig, das dicke Ende am Boden, mit folgenden Unterabteilungen:

- 1) sich nach oben stark verjüngend:
- 2) kugeliger
- 3) mit weniger gewölbten Seiten, die Verbindung mit Typ d herstellend.

Typ c: Die breiteste Stelle befindet sich ungefähr in der Mitte des Rumpfes; von dort verläuft die Linie nach oben und unten in gleichem Winkel. Diese Mittelkante ist entweder:

- 1) breiter und rundlich und der Übergang nach Hals und Fuß vollzieht sich in etwas gebogener Linie:
- 2) oder sie zeigt eine schärfere Kante, der Winkel ist kleiner und die Linien nach oben und unten sind weniger geschwungen.

Typ d: Der Rumpf ist zylindrisch, die Schulter ziemlich flach, der Boden flach oder leise gewölbt.

- 1) Breiter niedriger Typ
- 2) Schlanker Typ

¹ NAVILLE, 1887, 21–23; GRIFFITH, 1890, 40, pls. XI, a–b; PETRIE, 1906, 14; For further references of early finds of Tell el-Yahudieh ware, see REISNER, 1923, 386 n.1.

² ÅSTRÖM, 1971b, 415–21.

³ ÅSTRÖM, 1971b, 415–21; BIETAK, 1986, 347.

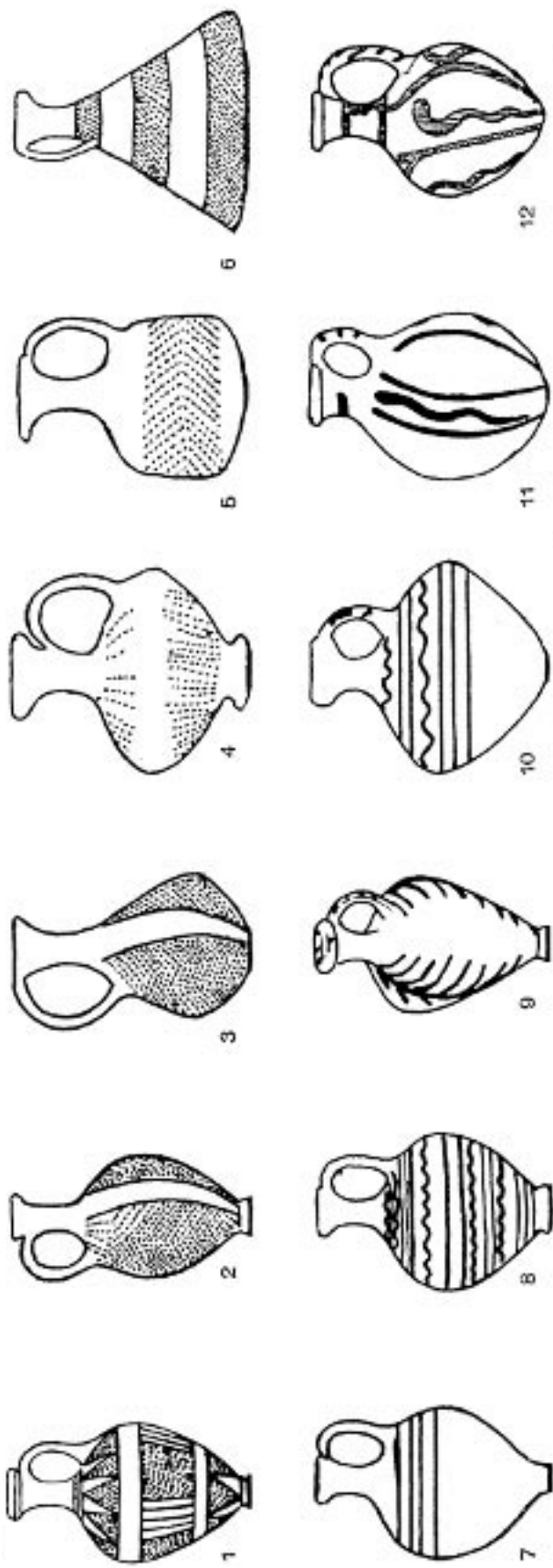
⁴ JUNKER, 1921, 1921, 44–55, fig. 1; BIETAK, 1986, 347.

⁵ PETRIE, 1890a, 276; IDEM, 1890b, 10; IDEM, 1891, 26, 42.

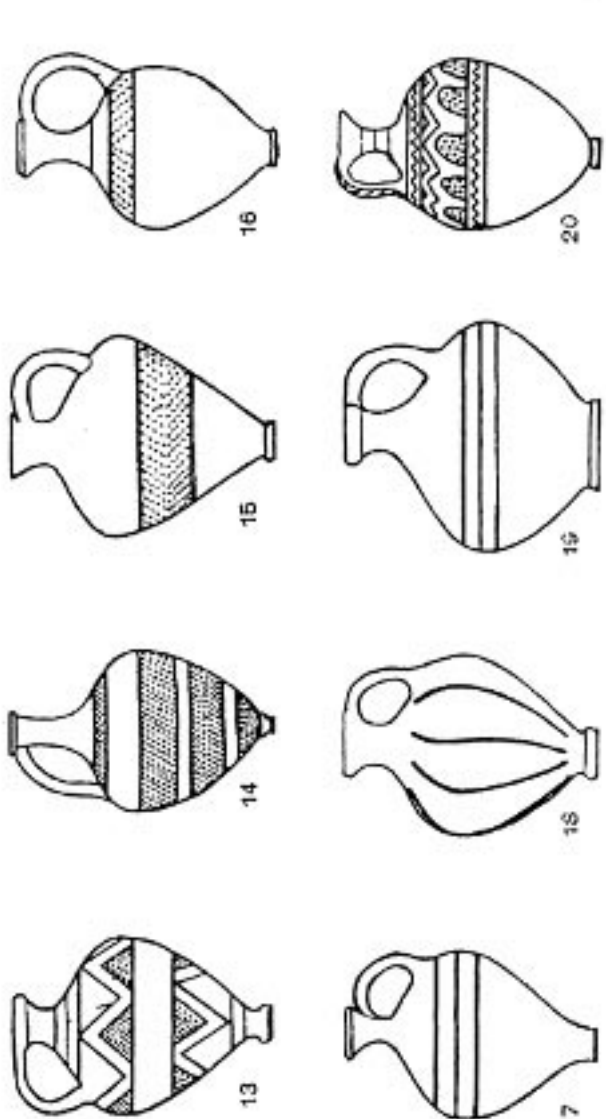
⁶ PETRIE, 1906, 10.

⁷ JUNKER, 1921, 2–5, fig. 1.

Egypt and Nubia



Palestine



Cyprus

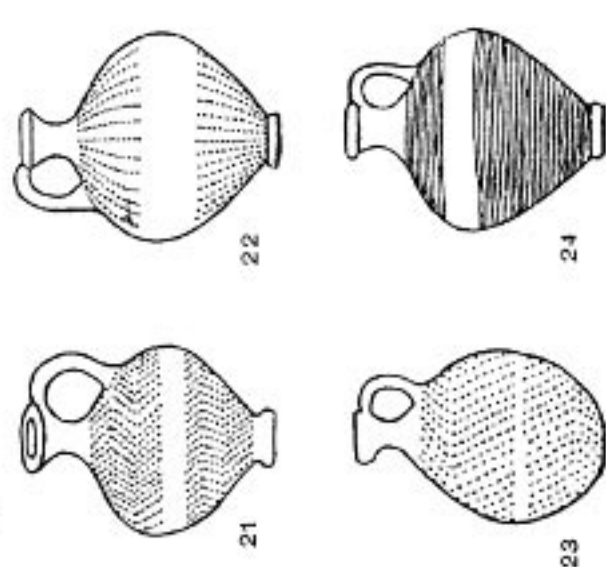


Fig. 1 Tell el-Yahudieh Jug Typology after JUNKER 1921

- 3) Einige Beispiele sind nicht mehr eigentlich zylindrisch, sondern zeigen eine Verbreiterung des Rumpfes nach dem Boden zu
 4) Andere verengen sich nach der Aufsatzfläche zu.

Typ e: Hohe konische Form, ohne Schulter zum Hals übergehend.

Of these types, Type e does not exist – Junker's conical form derives from an incorrect drawing, which, in reality, is nothing more than a beaker typical of Nubian ceramic traditions, which has been falsely reconstructed.⁸ Junker went on to describe the necks, rims, handles and bases of all the vessels then known to him, followed by descriptions of the material, technique and decorative patterns.⁹ He also concluded that Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware was Nubian in origin from whence it was exported to Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine.¹⁰

Unfortunately, owing to Junker's over-fussy classification, his erroneous Type e, and his attribution of the ware to Nubia, his study did not find much favour amongst his colleagues, being systematically criticised by both Bonnet and Dussaud who both produced somewhat more convincing arguments for a Syrian origin for Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware.¹¹

In the meantime Reisner, in a work which appeared too late for Bonnet to take into consideration, attributed an Egyptian origin to Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, indicating that the clay of which they were made was only ordinary alluvial mud, such as is found all along the Nile Valley from Khartoum to Alexandria.¹² He divided the ware into two major types depending on whether or not the punctured decoration occurred within lines of delineation.¹³ By tabulating the two groups he was able to show that group i 'contained pattern', i.e. within lines of delineation occurred at Kerma, Abydos, Hu, Rifeh, Kahun, and rarely in the Delta. They are usually found as isolated examples in graves, and are generally variations of two distinct forms, (a), a shouldered jug with handle (or twin handle) and small ring bases; and (b) an ovoid jug with handle and round base. They are

generally associated in cemeteries with red polished jugs of the same shape. At Kerma, Abydos and Hu such vessels were associated with Kerma-Ware beakers and ordinary Egyptian pottery. At Rifeh such vessels were associated only with Egyptian pottery. On the other hand he pointed out that whilst his jugs of group ii, 'uncontained pattern' also occurred at Hu, Rifeh, Giza, and Abydos, they overwhelmingly prevail in the Delta, where, for example, they occur in groups of three or four in each of many graves at Tell el-Yahudiyeh. They usually comprise variations of three forms, (a) ovoid or shouldered with a ring base; (b) ovoid with round bases and (c) straight-sided with convex bases. They are often found with red-, black- or buff-polished jugs. At Hu and Rifeh they were found in cemeteries with Tell el-Yahudiyeh jugs of group i, Kerma pottery, and Pan-Grave pottery, whilst at Tell el-Yahudiyeh they are associated with ordinary Egyptian pottery of the Second Intermediate Period. Reisner thus concluded that the two groups of jugs (i and ii) were made by two different sets of potters, and moreover, one of these sets of men lived earlier than the other. Yet as examples of both groups of jugs were recorded from the same cemeteries at Hu and Rifeh, the second set of potters must have been in immediate chronological succession to the first. He then suggested that both sets of potters lived at the same place and the makers of the Delta pots (group i) were the successors of the other set (group ii), and that the products of the first group, having once been introduced, were taken up and imitated by another set of potters (those of the Delta jugs) who continued to work after the cessation of the older workshop. Furthermore he argued that the rarity and the widely separated proveniences of the earlier group (which includes the Kerma jugs) indicated it was distributed from a common centre of manufacture as a container of some valuable substances. It is, therefore, to be concluded that the centre of manufacture was not far from Tell el-Yahudiyeh, where the jugs were abundant and apparently cheap. The next question is whether the

⁸ As pointed out by KAPLAN, 1980, 6 n.5. A drawing of this vessel with its section was to appear two years after Junker's book was published. REISNER, 1923, 382, fig. 263.

⁹ JUNKER, 1921, 5–38.

¹⁰ JUNKER, 1921, 93, 113–30.

¹¹ BONNET, 1924, 119–30. In systematically criticising JUNKER, point for point, Bonnet came to the conclusion that Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware must have come from the Near

East, and following Petrie, was brought into Egypt by the Hyksos. DUSSAUD, 1928, 147–50, unconsciously reconfirmed the points made by Bonnet, whose article was seemingly unknown to him, and, based on the shape of Tell el-Yahudiyeh jugs, suggested that the ware actually originated in Syria-Palestine.

¹² REISNER, 1923, 388.

¹³ REISNER, 1923, 385–88.

earlier jugs were made also in the Delta in the period immediately preceding that of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh jugs, and distributed from there as containers of perfume or something similar. In contrast to Junker, Reisner noted that at both Hu and Abydos, Tell el-Yahudiyeh jugs are associated with beakers identical with the Kerma beakers and which were undoubtedly exported from Kerma. Thus a certain plausibility is created for the theory that Kerma was the centre of distribution of this vessel. But the infrequency of its occurrence at Kerma and his ignorance of a substance, requiring such a container, which might have been exported from there, made him hesitate to reach this conclusion.¹⁴

In 1938 Heinz Otto published a long, and almost forgotten, article on Middle Bronze Age pottery from Syria-Palestine, which included a discussion of Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery,¹⁵ though it would appear that he, too, was unaware of Reisner's study:

“Diese Kännchen aus schwarzem bis grauschwarz-braunem, seltener rotem Ton treten in dreierlei Gestalt auf, denen allen der hohe Hals mit der dicken Lippe und der kräftig geschwungene, meist doppelteilige Henkel gemeinsam ist. Die typischste Gestalt ist die ei- oder birnenförmige auf gut durchgebildetem Standring; die Höhe schwankt zwischen 10 und 18 cm. Diesem Kännchen ist das mit zylindrischem Körper eng verwandt, wobei der Durchmesser halb, aber auch doppelt so groß wie die Höhe sein kann, die durchschnittlich 15 cm beträgt. Das sackförmige Kännchen stellt vielleicht nur eine Mischung und Entartung dieser beiden dar (Fig. 2.1–5).

Bezeichnend für die gesamte Gattung sind die eingeritzten geometrischen Ornamente, die in weiß ausgelegt waren und nur in seltenen Fällen, wie bei der Schale aus dem Krug mit der Kinderleiche in Megiddo, auch auf andere Formen übergreifen. In sehr wenigen späteren Fällen ist das Ornament auch aufgemalt; in Byblos wird das geometrische Muster durch ein pflanzliches abgelöst.

Nicht nur in Ägypten, sondern auch in Syrien und Palästina stehen neben den Kännchen mit Ritzmustern solche ohne Ornament, deren Oberfläche rot, braun, oder schwarz überzogen und meist sorgfältig poliert ist (Fig. 2.16–31.)

Bei den beutelförmigen, seltener bei den eiförmigen Typen ist durch am Boden des Gefäßes

zusammenlaufende eingeritzte Bänder eine vertikale Teilung vorgenommen, wogegen die zylindrischen Typen meistens ein breites um den Bauch laufendes Ritzband besitzen. Die eiförmigen Exemplare weisen eine Gliederung um die größte dicht unter der Schulter liegende Gefäßweite durch einen eingeritzten Streifen auf, der sich mitunter über dem Fuß wiederholt. Der Hals bleibt stets frei. Das Ornament besteht aus gepunkteten Zickzack- oder Grätenmustern. In vereinzelt Fällen (*tell el-jehūdīje* Grab 37) treten auch einfache horizontale Ritzbänder in zwei Gruppen unter dem Bauch auf.

Die Verzierungen durch geritzte und mit andersfarbigem Ton ausgelegte Muster, einer Art Tauschierung in Ton, erscheinen ja nicht nur in ganzen Mittelmeergebiet – charakteristisch ist ihre Verbindung mit eben dieser Gefäßform und dem doppelteiligen Henkel. Für die Ermittlung des Ursprungsgebietes dieser Gattung scheinen folgende Tatsachen sehr wichtig zu sein.

Die vollendetste Form mit dem reichsten und vielgestaltigsten Ornament findet sich in Syrien. Die Dekorationsart durch Ritzungen und Stichelungen ist in Syrien und Palästina schon in der FBZ IV in Gebrauch. Zudem ist die Form henkellos, d.h. als Flasche, in Syrien nichts Neues und findet sich um 2000 v. Chr. nicht selten (Katna usw.).

Zur Zeit der 12. Dynastie, der „Hyksoszeit“ und noch im Neuen Reich liegt das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet der Gattung auf kanaanischem Boden und in der kanaanäischen Einflußzone: Unterägypten, Palästina, Syrien und östliches Cypern. In Oberägypten kommt die Ware an zwei Orten vor: Kerma und Buhen. Besonders Buhen enthält schöne und zahlreiche Exemplare, die durch ägyptische Mitfunde in die 12. Dynastie datiert werden.

Die eingehende Untersuchung Junkers über den Ursprung der *tell el-jehūdīje*-Ware, die mit aller Entschiedenheit sich für nubische Herkunft ausspricht, wurde von Bonnet in allen wesentlichen Punkten widerlegt. Gegen den nubischen Ursprung spricht die nicht zu klärende Frage, wie es möglich war, daß die keramische Ware eines selbst von den Ägyptern gering geachteten Volkes einen so riesigen Export auf über tausend Kilometer Entfernung erfahren haben soll. Andererseits ist es ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß nubische Töpfereien z.B. in *rās schamra* bestanden und Syrien, Cypern und Palästina mit ihrer Keramik

¹⁴ REISNER, 1923, 387–88.

¹⁵ OTTO, 1938, 168–74.

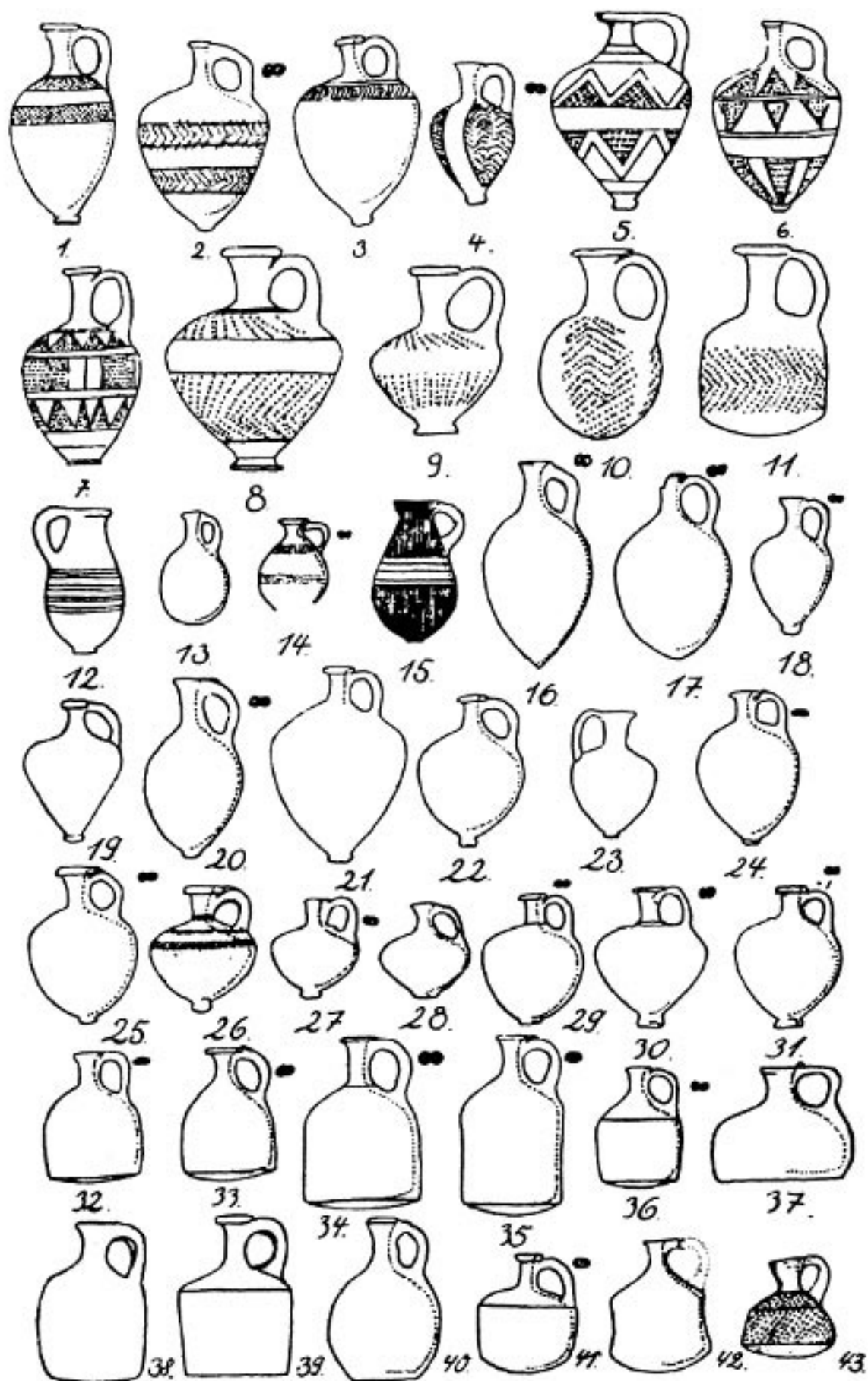


Fig. 2 Tell el-Yahudieh Jug Typology after OTTO 1938

versorgten oder daß die Keramik von nubischen Söldnern über so weite Strecken und in so großer Zahl an vielen Orten verbreitet wurde. Hinzuzufügen wäre noch, daß die nubische Keramik einen ganz andersartigen Charakter aufweist, zu dem die Kännchen in keiner Weise passen. Auffallend ist auch, daß die nubische Tonware dieser Zeit die Scheibe nicht kennt, dagegen alle Kännchen scheibengedreht sind.

Neben den oben genannten drei Hauptformen stehen nun aber doch eine ganze Anzahl Varianten. Grab 2 von *tell el-jehūdīje*, das wegen eines MR-Skarabäus als das älteste angesehen wird, enthält die drei Hauptformen nebeneinander (Fig. 2.9–11). Auffallend ist jedoch, daß der eiförmige Typ hier ebensowenig wie in Grab 407 in seiner vollendeten Form vertreten ist, diese erscheint in dem nach seinen Skarabäen wesentlich jüngeren Grabe 3.

Man wäre nun geneigt, in den Kännchen mit dem scharfen Umbruch der Schulter (Fig. 2.9) den ersten Typ der *tell el-jehūdīje*-Gattung zu sehen, der sich unter Angleichung an die Formwandlung der unten zu besprechenden knieckkurvigen Schalen und Näpfe allmählich zu der schön geschwungenen typischen eiförmigen Gestalt der *tell el-jehūdīje* Kännchen entwickelt hätte. Spräche der schöne MR-Skarabäus für diese Annahme, so widersetzt sich dem zunächst die Tatsache, daß die gleichen geknickten Fläschenformen auch in dem sicher jüngeren Grab 3 in *tell el-jehūdīje* vertreten sind. Hinzu kommt, daß die gleiche stark gebauchte und geknickte Form auch bei Kännchen mit poliertem Überzug auftritt, deren Knopfbasis schon zur Verbreiterung und Ringbasis neigt (Fig. 2.27, 28). Am stärksten spricht jedoch gegen eine so frühe Einordnung des Grabes 2 das eiförmige bemalte Kännchen, das in dieser Form von *tell ʿaddschūl* bis hinauf nach Syrien frühestens dem Ausgang der MBZ II angehört. Indem wir das angeblich älteste Grab der "Hyksos" in *tell el-jehūdīje* in die MBZ II verweisen, müssen wir die anderen ihren Skarabäen nach, unter denen die für den Übergang zur SBZ so charakteristischen Skarabäen mit konzentrischen Ringen vertreten sind, in den gleichen Zusammenhang einordnen.

Auch das zylinderförmige Kännchen erscheint in drei Varianten, von denen jedoch nur die erste und letzte wirkliche Entwicklungsstufen darstellen dürften (Fig. 2.32ff). Neben dem wohlgerundeten Typ auf leicht gerundeter Basis steht ein anderer auf flachem Boden, dessen Linienführung schwer nach unten

gezogen ist, so daß die Gefäße fast einen in sich zusammengesunkenen Eindruck machen (Fig. 2.37). Diese zweite Form erfährt keine Weiterentwicklung, wogegen die erste im weiteren Verlauf durch scharfe Knickung an Schulter und Bodensatz zu einer streng gegliederten Form geführt wird. (Fig. 2.39, 41, 43), ein anderer aber gleichzeitiger Zweig der Entwicklung führt zu einer Überhöhung des Gefäßkörpers, so daß die ursprüngliche Form dahin abgeändert wird, daß nun die Breite geringer ist als die Höhe im Gegensatz zu den früheren Typen (Fig. 2.35). Zahlreiche Zwischenformen vervollständigen das Bild.

Es ist unverkennbar, daß der *tell el-jehūdīje*-Typ die einheimischen roten Kännchen in ihrer Formung stark beeinflusst hat und daß man versuchte, diese elegante Ware nachzubilden. Die Nachahmungen der *tell el-jehūdīje*-Ware erfahren in der MBZ I ihre Blüte und bilden in dieser Epoche die erste große Gruppe. Die schön geschwungenen eiförmigen Körper mit hohem Hals und runder wulstiger Lippe und der charakteristischen Knopfbasis weisen nun immer den zweifachen Henkel der *tell el-jehūdīje*-Kännchen auf; auch der schwarze polierte Überzug wird von dorthin übernommen, besitzt aber bei weitem nicht immer Stich- und Ritzmuster. Wie sehr das Bodenständige erhalten bleibt, zeigt der in zahllosen Fällen auftretende dicke, rote, polierte Überzug der diese Kännchen eben doch an jene der Übergangszeit (FBZ IV) anschließt. Neben diesem roten Überzug ist noch brauner und vereinzelt (Gezer Grab 1) sogar grünlicher Überzug verwendet."

By the time Engberg wrote *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, which was published in 1939, and hence could not have taken Otto's ideas into consideration, the hypotheses of Junker and Reisner had been overcome to such a degree that the Levantine, and by extension, Hyksos origin of this ware had become so entrenched in Egyptological thinking, that Engberg included it in his discussion of that ethnic group.¹⁶ He characterised the ware as 'piriform in shape, with a long constricted neck. The handle, which is characteristically double (ie. figure of eight in cross-section), extends from the shoulder to the rim. The base is often finished with a button effect, and the polished surface is usually deep black or bright orange. If black the surface is often punctured in various designs which are fitted with a white pigment.'¹⁷ As a result of his association of the ware with the Hyksos,

¹⁶ ENGBERG, 1939, 25–28, 50–51.

¹⁷ ENGBERG, 1939, 18.

Engberg postulated that the Hyksos were already present in Egypt in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, though he saw them as peaceful intruders at that time.¹⁸

By 1951, Säve-Söderbergh, however, referring to the article of Otto, with additional references to von Bissing¹⁹ and Stock,²⁰ was arguing against a link with the Hyksos:

It is again and again stated that the so-called Tell el-Yahūdīyah ware should be regarded as Hyksos products and, as the American scholar Engberg puts it, be 'an invaluable aid in the detection of the Hyksos occupation of a site'. This is in my opinion wholly unwarranted. First of all it is a very dangerous method to deduce ethnic movements from the presence of a certain type of ceramic ware only, if there is not at the same time important change in burial customs, and it can often be proved that a change in the archaeological material is simply due to trade.

Moreover, the typical Tell el-Yahūdīyah jugs are gradually developed in Palestine and Syria, and their appearance there marks a no sudden change in the ceramic tradition. In Egyptian territory they were introduced long before the arrival of the Hyksos, and are found in tombs in Lower Nubia dating from a time when the Hyksos had hardly even reached Middle Egypt. The most that can be said about the connexion between the Hyksos and the Tell el-Yahūdīyah jugs is that the Hyksos perhaps liked them, and that possibly greater quantities were imported when the Hyksos rulers controlled the trade than when it was handled by a more conservative Egyptian government. It should also be stressed that these jugs were used in Egypt after the unpopular Hyksos had been expelled."²¹

In 1957 Paul Åström, though concerned primarily with the vessels found in Cyprus, was the first to produce a detailed typology for Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware and divided it into a number of different types, viz:²²

Type a: (swollen piriform with a more or less carinated body) which at that time was represented in Cyprus at Kalopsidha, Klavdhia, Enkomi, and Milia; in Nubia, at Buhen and Aniba; in Egypt at Hu, Abydos, Deir Rifeh, Giza and Tell el-Yahudiyeh; in Palestine at Tell el-Ajjul, Jericho, and Megiddo, and in Syria at Ras Shamra, and Tell Nebi Mend.

Type b: (with oval to globular body) represented in Cyprus at Kalopsidha and Enkomi; found in Egypt at the Fayoum and Tell el-Yahudiyeh; in Palestine at Tell el-Ajjul, Tell Beit Mirsim and Gezer; in Syria at Rhozlāniyé and Majdalouna, with two others of unknown provenance.

Type c: (with ovoid body) found in Cyprus at Milia; in Nubia at Buhen and Aniba; in Egypt at Deir Rifeh, Giza, and Tell el-Yahudiyeh; in Palestine at Jericho and Megiddo, in Syria at Byblos and Kafr Garra, with an unprovenanced vessel, Sydney Nicholson Museum 52.404, assigned to the Lebanon.

Type d: (ovoid with high more or less marked shoulder) found in Cyprus at Milia; in Nubia at Kerma, Buhen and Aniba; in Egypt at Edfu, Hu, Abydos, Harageh, Kahun, Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Khataneh (Tell el-Dab^a); in Palestine at Tell el-Ajjul, Beth Shemesh, Gezer, Jericho, Tel Aviv, Taanach, Afula, and Megiddo; in Syria at Sin el-Fil, Byblos, and Ras Shamra.

Type e: (barrel-shaped body) recorded in Cyprus at Enkomi and Galinoporni; in Egypt at Mostagedda, Deir Rifeh, Sedment, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, Saft el Henneh, and Khataneh (Tell el-Dab^a); in Palestine at Tell el-Ajjul, Beth Shemesh, Jericho, and Megiddo.

Type f: (sack-shaped body with a curved base) found at Enkomi in Cyprus; Aniba in Nubia; Abydos, Deir Rifeh, Harageh, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, in Egypt, and at Tell el-Ajjul in Palestine.

Type g: (fish-shaped) which then occurred only at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, and from Cyprus, site unknown.

In addition Åström was aware of other types which he termed conical, biconical, inverted piriform or quadrilobal, together with jars, a rhyton, and a hawk-shaped jar, but because such types had, at least until then, not been found on Cyprus, he did not include such vessels into his general classification. He rounded off his typology with references to unclassifiable sherds or unillustrated pots recorded from Buhen, Aswan, Hu, Abydos, Deir Rifeh, Gurob, Harageh, Kahun, Lisht, Giza, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, Khataneh (Tell el-Dab^a), Tell el-Ajjul, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-Zur, Askalon, Bethlehem, Jericho, Na^can, Tell Jerisheh, Ras el-^cAin (Tel Aphek), Balata, Afula, Megiddo, Nahariya, Byblos, Hama, Aleppo, and Tell Judeideh.

Thus Åström was able to show that Tell el-

¹⁸ ENGBERG, 1939, 29–30, 33.

¹⁹ VON BISSING, 1944, 85–6.

²⁰ STOCK, 1942, 72.

²¹ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, 1951, 57. Cf. also his earlier study, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 1941, 125.

²² ÅSTRÖM, 1957, 130–32, 233–9, pl. xxx.20–24.

Yahudiyeh ware had a wide distribution range from Kerma in the Sudan to Tell Judeidah in the plain of Antioch. He also pointed out that all the types found in Cyprus find ready parallels at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, and thus the examples from that site and those in Cyprus must be contemporary. In terms of their origin he believed that the ware was probably manufactured at several sites, and concluded that:²³

“Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware occurs at the end of the Second Intermediate Period and at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For an earlier dating of the ware we have some evidence, which at the best only gives *termini post quem*. In view of the homogeneous character of the ware, which remained practically unchanged, while it was popular, it is not likely to have been in use for more than about a century. It is highly improbable that the ware was current in the XIIth Dynasty and nothing warrants such a date. It is not contrary to the evidence if we place the beginning of the ware at c.1700 BC. or later: indeed the finds from Buhen and Khata‘aneh indicate this date. The ware was in vogue in Cyprus for a short period at the end of the M.C.III and the beginning of the L.C.I.; by comparison with the finds at Tell el-Yahudiyeh and occurrences during the XVIIIth Dynasty it is evident that this period should coincide with the last phase of the Hyksos Age and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. An early style of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware, with regular panels of punctured triangles is reflected in Cypriote Black Slip III Ware which hardly antedates the middle of M.C.III.”

In the same year, Ruth Amiran published an article on the Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery found in Syria, in which she indicated that both Syria and Lower Egypt were only peripheral areas, and that the true centre of production should be sought in Palestine,²⁴ a point which she further emphasised in 1963/69,²⁵ when she wrote:

“The distinctive Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware is characterized by the punctured design arranged in geometric patterns. Two important points should be noted: first, this type of decoration has been found, up to the present only on juglets (with the exception of the two small carinated bowls from Megiddo). Secondly, the Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets are similar in form to the two main juglet types of the period and their variants, which usually have a burnished slip. Both facts have a bearing on the problem of the geo-

graphic and ethnic origin of this ware, named after Tell el-Yahudiyeh in the Nile Delta where Petrie first uncovered such juglets.

MB IIA and B-C: Two main types of punctured decoration can be distinguished as well as some unusual forms:

a) The piriform juglets: Oval to start with the juglet becomes gradually more piriform and the shoulder more strongly marked, evolving into the typical MB IIB-C juglet, one of whose hallmarks is the pronounced shoulder. At the same time, a number of features, such as the tendency towards squat shapes point to a certain degeneration of the type. The rim is another feature which differentiates between MB II A and B juglets: the earlier forms have a profiled rim appearing in many variations, and especially a ridge below the rim just like the ordinary juglets; in the later juglets the predominating rim is everted, usually rounded and thickened, and a handle attached just below the rim is one of the marked features of MB II B-C pottery.

b) The cylindrical juglet: Such juglets are found already in MB II A, but it is difficult to differentiate between such early specimens and similar, though later, juglets.

Decoration: The clay of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets is usually grey or light brown, with numerous grits. The burnished slip is grey, brownish black, or yellowish. The decoration consists entirely of punctures made in the clay after slip and burnish had been applied and filled with white chalk, which often is still preserved.

Two main types of punctured decoration can be distinguished; designs delineated by grooves, and areas without delineation filled with straight, diagonal, or zig-zag lines of punctures. In both types horizontal designs are more common, but vertical designs, usually segment-shaped, are also fairly frequent. The predominant motifs are triangles, squares, and rhomboids, and only three instances of concentric circles are known. In all three the concentric circles are contained in a plain horizontal band enclosed by puncture-filled bands.

Distribution: The thirty-three specimens [illustrated by Amiran] show that Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware has been found on the coast of northern Canaan, in all of southern Canaan (Palestine), in eastern Cyprus, and in Egypt, from the Delta to Nubia. It should be

²³ ÅSTRÖM, 1957, 239, with footnotes omitted.

²⁴ AMIRAN, 1957, 96.

²⁵ AMIRAN, 1963/69.

noted that, up to the present [1963], the ware has not been found in inland Syria i.e. on the upper Orontes and farther east.

Date: As we have seen above, the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware first appears in MB II A, and the examples known, though few are dated with a fair measure of certainty by their context. The cylindrical juglet also makes its appearance already at this early stage. The two small carinated bowls are also dated to the MB II A. Interestingly enough, bowls disappear from the repertoire of this ware in MB II B-C. The evidence from Egypt and Phoenicia also points to the first appearance of this ware in the earlier part of the Middle Bronze Age. At Kahun, fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets were found together with other Canaanite vessels characteristic of MB II A. At Sin el-Fil, the context in which two juglets were found, includes vessels which can be dated to MB II A. However the Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware reaches the peak of its popularity in MB II B, and is found very frequently on sites of that period. In LB I, the last descendants of this ware still occur.

Origin: The form of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet is firmly rooted in Canaanite ceramic tradition, and can be traced back through earlier periods to such prototypes as, for instance, the juglets from Tomb A at Jericho.

Of particular significance is the potters kiln excavated at Afula, where both complete vessels and numerous fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware were found, including many fragments of unbaked juglets. Thus it appears that the ware was manufactured in Canaan and exported from there to Egypt and Cyprus."²⁶

Whilst she thus added to the chronological development of the ware, her conclusions regarding its origin echoed those already voiced by Otto several years before, though strangely she seemed unaware of this earlier study.²⁷

In 1975 she returned to the topic of Tell el-Yahudiyeh vessels and offered some notes on the decorative styles of the ware, making a broad division into two classes, geometric and figurative:

"The main element of the geometric pattern is the 'punctured field', be it the triangle, the lozenge or the oblong, and very rarely the circle. There would be some logic in a definition that the puncturing is actually the 'creator' of the pattern by filling in

alternate fields, thus developing the style from the linear to the two-dimensional. However, it seems that the puncturing should rather be considered only as the main means of making up the pattern and that the 'punctured field' is its essence. In the geometric class we can distinguish two orders: the horizontal and the vertical. Being natural to the tectonics of pottery making, the horizontal order is common to most decorative styles. In our style the order is composed of a number of horizontal bands of the forms just enumerated, each containing punctured fields. On the other hand it is of interest to seek the origin of the vertical order of our style, in which the whole surface is divided into into alternately punctured and plain vertical areas. ... We can ... suggest that the 'gaps' in the vertical order are part of the idea behind the pattern itself and are meant to enhance the impression of the deep shadowy 'folds' in the fruit-like vessels.²⁸ Thus the origin of the vertical order should be sought in the fruit-like juglets.

Another aspect relevant to the understanding of the significance of the whole Tell el-Yahudiyeh class of juglet should be pointed out. Botanical identification of the fruit imitated here would supply information far beyond the mere history of the shape. It would constitute the key to the cultural understanding of the whole class. the exclusiveness of the application of this style to one class of containers on the one hand and its great diffusion throughout the whole of the Levant, from Alalakh and Cyprus to Kerma and all the regions in between on the other permit us to assume that the commodity "packed" in these juglets (seeds or powder or liquid?) has something to do with the style of decoration and with the fruit some of these juglets imitate. Unfortunately this identification still eludes us.

The figurative class ... with depictions of figures on juglets of this style is very fragmentary and raises the cardinal question of whether it deserves (or permits) designation as a class or whether these are merely sporadic, whimsical creations."²⁹

In 1966 Van Seters, seemingly unaware of Åström's study, simply followed in the footsteps of Engberg in attributing the ware to the Hyksos, but, going on from Reisner, made the distinction between a Syrian type, which was usually piriform with a button or ring base and a delineated pattern of triangles

²⁶ AMIRAN, 1963/69, 118-120.

²⁷ At least there is no mention of it in the quoted works.

²⁸ That is, what are now commonly called quadrilobal jugs.

²⁹ AMIRAN, 1975, 41.

and diamonds, with all other shapes and decorative styles being Palestinian, writing:

“The place of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware in the ceramic typology of the Levant and in Egyptian chronology is now fairly clear. It belongs to MB II B–C, which corresponds to the Second Intermediate Period. Some scholars have proposed that Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware occurs in Egypt in the Twelfth Dynasty, but the evidence for this is entirely faulty, and the occurrences are actually to be dated later. It is nevertheless possible to arrive at a closer dating within the Second Intermediate Period by differentiating between two styles. The first may be called Syrian; the form of the juglet, piriform with high round shoulders and disc or ring base, is characteristic of coastal Syria in this period. The pattern is contained within lines and consists of a picked design in triangular or diamond zones [Group A]. The second style is Palestinian, and may best be regarded as a degenerate form of the Syrian style. The juglet shapes may be squat piriform, cylindrical with convex bottom, or baggy. The patterns are usually not concentrated in lines, but they may be in simple, parallel horizontal zones. The picking is done in chevron or zig-zag patterning [Group B].

The distribution of these two styles is significant. The Syrian type is found in coastal Syria throughout the whole period. It also occurs in Palestine, particularly at Megiddo, but usually in an imitated form, where the juglets are more globular and the base is button-shaped. The Syrian types are also found in Egypt at Khata^cna in the Delta, at Kahun in Middle Egypt, and at Buhen and Kerma in Nubia. The Palestinian style is found in Egypt primarily in the Delta at Khata^cna and Tell el-Yahudiyeh, with perhaps a few pieces in Middle Egypt, but none in Nubia. This style is also found in Cyprus at Enkomi [Group C].³⁰

Whilst Van Seters’ groups A and B seem clear, his group C is, as described, non-existent, since it is only a combination of vessels of Groups A and B which have, by chance, been found in Egypt and Cyprus. From his accompanying figure, reproduced here as Fig. 3, it is clear, however, that the vessels of Group C all have different decorative schemes to his illustrated vessels of Groups A and B. Since his attribution of Syrian and Palestinian types derive mainly from the places where most vessels were found, ie.

Syrian types come mostly from the northern Levant, and Palestinian types from the southern Levant, the logical next step would be that the juglets of group C, which in terms of their decoration are neither truly Syrian nor Palestinian, should also have been manufactured in the areas where they were found. That is to say that the vessels of Group C ought to be both Cypriot and Egyptian. However Van Seters did not go so far owing to his belief that the ware must be associated with the Hyksos, and thus entirely non-Egyptian.

In a series of articles, mostly written in the 1970’s Robert Merrillees concentrated on Van Seters’ Syrian type which he demonstrated was earlier than, for example, the types discussed by Åström, and proposed to name this earlier variant by the name of another Egyptian site which had produced a substantial number of these vases, El-Lisht; most of which pieces had, at that time, not been published.³¹ Merrillees then proceeded to provide a catalogue of 27 pieces of so-called El-Lisht ware from Lisht, and a further 83 pieces from elsewhere which were then known to him in 1974, with a further eight pieces in 1978.³² His 1974 study led him to the following conclusions:³³

“Nearly all the specimens listed above belong to the piriform juglet type which, after passing through a transitional phase, represented in large part by Van Seters’ group B and by the finds from ‘Afula in Palestine became one of the distinctive forms of the later, Tell el-Yahudiya Ware. Other features which differentiate the El-Lisht juglets from their immediate and ultimate successors are their generally large size, base ring, everted rim, multiple stranded handle, fine manufacture, highly burnished brown or black slipped surface, and elaborate decorative designs. The incised ornamental patterns on these pots fall into two main categories, one naturalistic and the other abstract, mostly geometrical.

The overall date of the El-Lisht Ware has yet to be firmly established. Egyptian evidence suggests that the style had a chronological range from the XIIIth Dynasty, which probably saw its floruit, to half way through the Hyksos period, about the middle of the 17th century BC. Circumstantial indications from Syria and Palestine tend to confirm this dating.”

Merrillees went on to suggest that El-Lisht Ware was probably more common in Cyprus than the num-

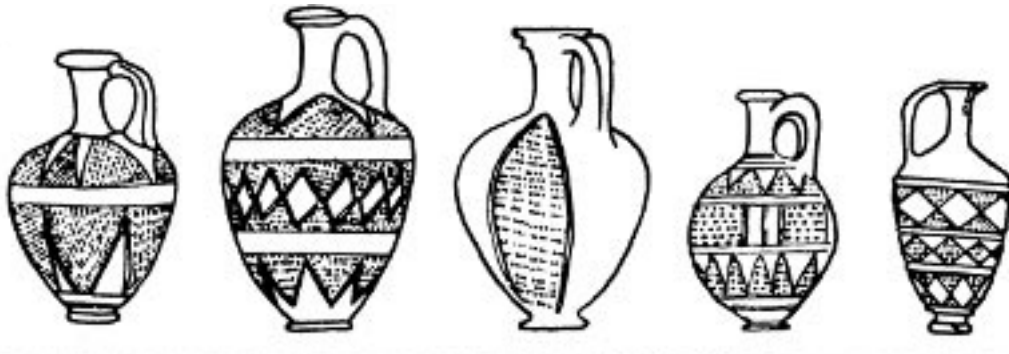
³⁰ VAN SETERS, 1966, 50–51.

³¹ MERRILLEES, 1974b, 59.

³² MERRILLEES, 1978, 76–84.

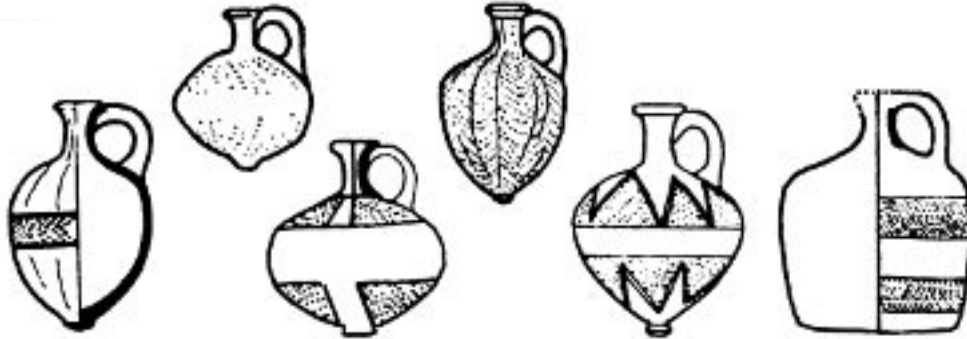
³³ MERRILLEES, 1974b, 73.

Syrian



A

|Palestinian



B

Cypriot and Egyptian



C

Fig. 3 Tell el-Yahudieh Jug Typology after VAN SEETERS 1966

ber of extant examples would tend to indicate since the type was extensively copied in Black Slip III ware, particularly in Åström's jug type II,³⁴ and that moreover the decoration on the vessels found in the tomb at Arpera can be closely matched in Black Slip III vessels from Pendayia Mandres Tomb 1.³⁵ However this

connection with Black Slip III is probably mistaken since Merrillees wished to date the Arpera tomb to a late stage of Middle Cypriot III since the material found in it looks forward to Late Cypriote IA, and thus places it at the transition between Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot IA, c.1650 BC. on his 1974 dates.

³⁴ ÅSTRÖM, 1957, 105-7, 226, 239, fig. xxx.11-14.

³⁵ KARAGEORGHIS, 1965, 30, fig. 10.4, 12, 33, 39, 47, 48, 100, 101, 110, pp. 48ff.

However, as Kaplan points out, nothing in the tomb group is so late,³⁶ and Åström's date in the middle of Middle Cypriot III seems more appropriate, a date, which on the Tell el-Daba evidence (unpublished), would be more likely. As such the Arpera material ought to predate Black Slip III.

Following Merrillees' 1974 publications, Williams enthusiastically adopted the chronological divisions put forward by him in his unpublished Ph.D thesis,³⁷ but referred to Merrillees' El-Lisht ware as Early Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware, and Merrillees' Tell el-Yahudiya Ware as Late Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware. Based on the then published finds from Tell el-Dab'a, he also added a Transitional Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware, (Fig. 4) which is different to, and should not be confused with, Merrillees' Transitional Tell el-Yahudiya Ware of 1978. However, Williams then went on to discuss the dating of Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery by reference to the published finds from Kerma, since for him this provided the only instance that "contained unequivocal historical evidence for the date."³⁸ This led him to suppose that his Early and Transitional Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware should be dated to the late Seventeenth Century BC., and his Late Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware to the early Sixteenth Century BC., and that all groups should date to the Hyksos period. Since he then used these dates, which are now known to be incorrect, to date all other Second Intermediate Period assemblages containing Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery, Williams' thesis, which is an otherwise very valuable gathering of material, has been generally ignored by the academic community.

In 1978, Merrillees, unconsciously reflecting some of the ideas put forward by Otto some forty years earlier (whose article seems also to have been curiously overlooked by him),³⁹ further defined the differences between his El-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya Wares thus:

"Typologically the el-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya jugs, which make up the bulk of their respective Wares, can be readily differentiated on the basis of several criteria. In the first place the majority of el-Lisht jugs are on an average larger in all respects than the mass of closed Tell el-Yahudiya vases. While the former are generally more than 10 cm. tall, ... the latter are mostly less than 10 cm. in height. ... Secondly the range of shapes represented in both Wares

offers significant contrasts. To the el-Lisht Ware belong only two main types, the jug and duck or goose vase. ... On the other hand Tell el-Yahudiya Ware embraces a wide variety of shapes including bird and fish shaped containers.

The morphology of the vases attributable to the el-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya Wares shows certain differences in common features that enable the styles to be identified. Probably the most noteworthy variation between the Wares is the shape of the handle, which in the case of el-Lisht jugs is composed of two or more loops, whereas that on their Tell el-Yahudiya descendants is typically in the form of the strap. There are, however, other diagnostic features of use for classificatory purposes. The bodies of the el-Lisht jugs are usually ovoid with broad, low flat base or base-rings. Their typological successors have less elongated, squatter, piriform bodies and characteristic button base. The necks of the jugs in both Wares are usually extremely constricted but rims do appear to have had some typological and chronological significance. El-Lisht Ware characteristically sports an unusual everted, upright, circular rim, turned over and inset, often giving the appearance of a hollow tyre. This kind occurs in Egypt to the almost complete exclusion of the everted, circular open funnel-shaped rim which is attested predominantly in Syria, where it is closely related to the contemporaneous plain jugs of Black and Red Burnished Ware, and in Cyprus. This inset rim does not recur in Tell el-Yahudiya Ware, where the geographical dimension to the distribution of rim forms appears to have less significance. Attested in this Ware all over the Levant are the solid tyre-shaped rim and the everted, circular, thickened rim, the former presumably a successor of the earlier, hollow form, the latter keeping in step with the evolution of contemporaneous Syro-Palestinian juglets.

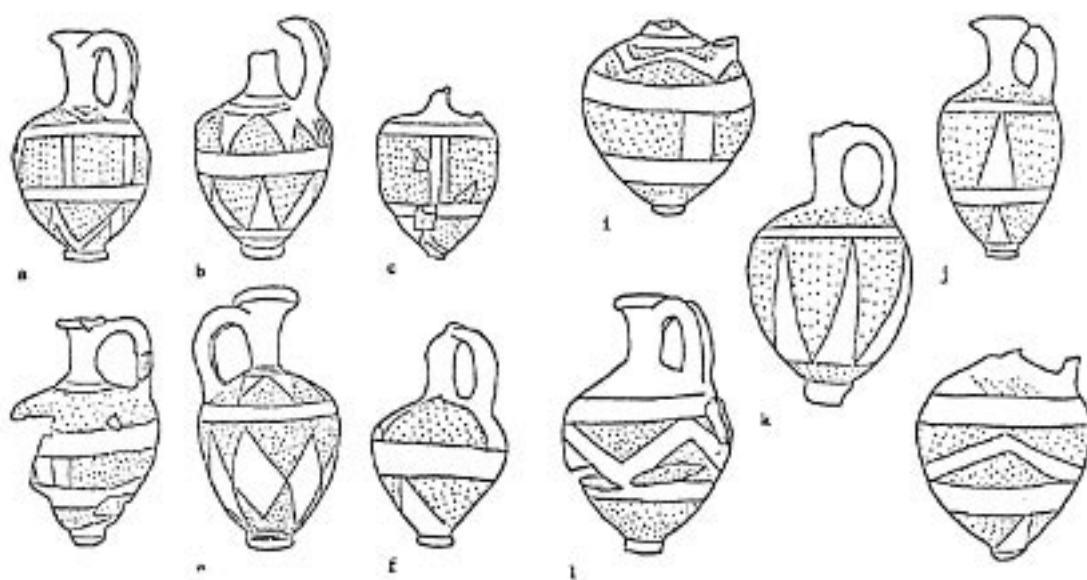
Technically speaking certain divergences in the ways in which the fabrics of el-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya Wares were treated and finished can be detected in specimens of both types. The walls of the former are usually thinner and more finely made. ... the sections of el-Lisht vases are almost always brown or buff while those of the Tell el-Yahudiya containers are seldom anything but grey. Whereas the exterior surfaces of Tell el-Yahudiya vases are

³⁶ KAPLAN, 1980, 76.

³⁷ WILLIAMS, 1975, 83-97.

³⁸ WILLIAMS, 1975, 95.

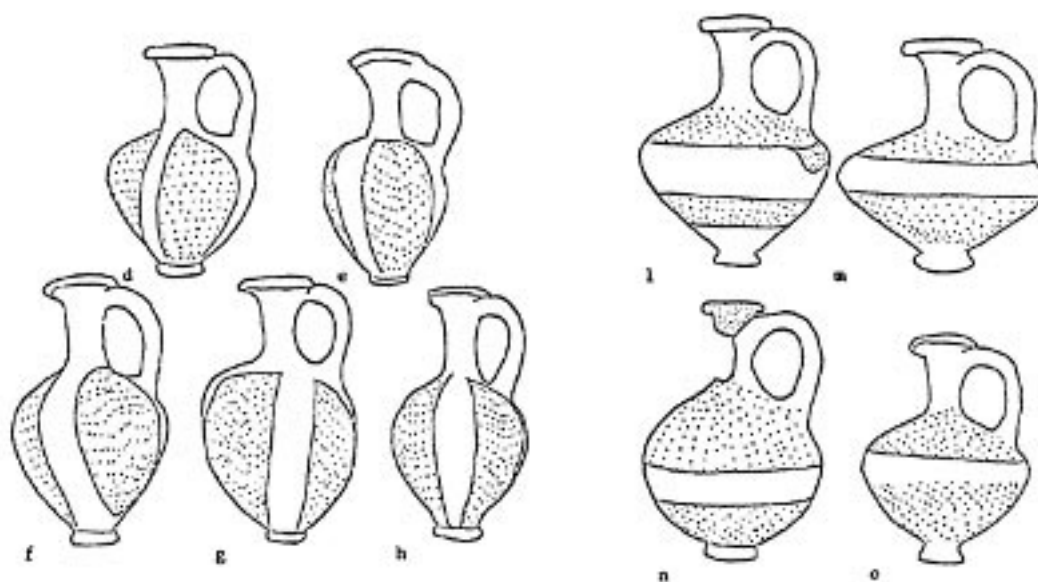
³⁹ At least there are no references to Otto's article in Merrillees' basic works on the subject.



Early Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware



Transitional Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware



Late Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware

Fig. 4 Tell el-Yahudiah Jug Typology after WILLIAMS 1975

invariably black with varying degrees of lustre, el-Lisht Ware generally has a brown and tan as well as black exterior surfaces, which are almost always evenly burnished to a very high finish. There is overall a marked difference in qualities between the two styles, the el-Lisht Ware on the whole being much finer than its successor.

The techniques of incised decoration also reveal important divergences, for the el-Lisht Ware favoured the use of rectilinear or curvilinear elements to form a design into which the punctures were fitted. In the later Tell el-Yahudiya Ware, however, straight lines served almost always to divide up the field rather than create individual patterns, and curved lines are entirely absent. The incised stippling now stands decoratively in its own right, as witnessed by the transitional vases.

The ornamental layouts are themselves particularly instructive, as the naturalistic and geometric motifs that characterise the el-Lisht Ware have disappeared from Tell el-Yahudiya repertory. Birds, fish, quadrupeds, even apparently humans, feather patterns, palm trees, lotus flowers, rectangles, triangles, and interlocking spirals are all included in the field on el-Lisht jugs, whereas the Tell el-Yahudiya Ware has abandoned these elements. The division of the field into horizontal or vertical bands is a feature of both styles, but the arrangement of the various motifs in the earlier is much more formalized than in its successor. Both show a strong attachment to symmetry, which does not, however, detract from the individuality and even idiosyncrasy of the particularly decorative layouts in the el-Lisht Ware. The pricked filling of the el-Lisht motifs is replaced in the Tell el-Yahudiya Ware by stippled designs on their own, such as multiple straight lines, chevrons and zigzags, which give the latter a more stereotyped and mass produced air than their precursors.⁴⁰

Merrillees, however, slightly clouded the issue by introducing a transitional el-Lisht / Tell el-Yahudiya Ware, different to the Transitional Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware introduced by Williams three years before, to which he attributed eight vessels which came from the area of Syria/Lebanon. (Fig. 5).⁴¹ This transitional ware was classified by the fact that:

“the shape, finish and decoration of the juglets which hark back typologically and stylistically to the

el-Lisht Ware but at the same time look forward to the more common and standardized Tell el-Yahudiya Ware. Their bodies look mid-way between the tall ovoid shape of the earlier, and the more bulbous piriform shape of the later examples of this fabric, and they all have double loop handles but peg or button bases. In height they average between 10 to 14 cm., taller than the majority of Tell el-Yahudiya juglets but shorter than the bulk of el-Lisht jugs. Their fabrics in section resemble both the El-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya Wares, particularly in colour, as both brown and grey firings are attested. Their exterior surfaces though nearly always black, are usually highly burnished, and the incised decoration, though simplified in the Tell el-Yahudiya style, shows a more rigorous attachment to precision and symmetry.

A note of caution, however, must be sounded in making this ascription too categorical. Just as the rim types seem to reveal as much a difference in ceramic traditions between Egypt and the Asiatic mainland as a typological and hence chronological development, so certain of the features on the putative el-Lisht/Tell el-Yahudiya vases may reflect more the continuance of morphological and technical customs in an indigeneous industry than an intermediate stage of manufacture. It could be, for instance, that the specimens under review were being made in Syria, more particularly Phoenicia, contemporaneously with the Tell el-Yahudiya Ware proper of Egypt and Palestine which is barely attested in this region.⁴²

By 1980, Merrillees had so crystallised his ideas on El-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets that, although he saw both types as part of a single evolving tradition which also produced specimens ‘transitional’ stylistically between the two types, he was able to write:⁴³

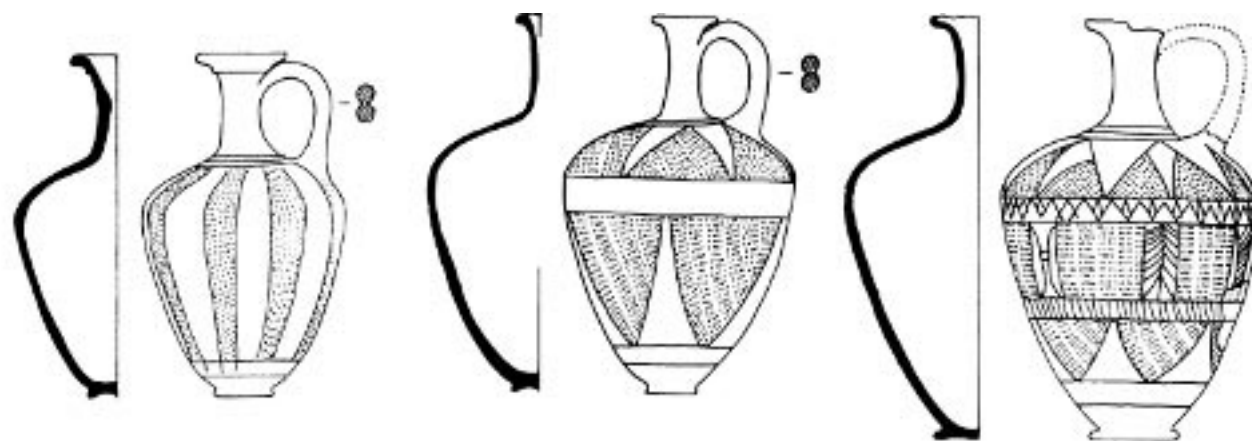
“A convenient source of reference is the chart published in J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos* [here Fig. 3]. The juglets to which the term El-Lisht ware is applied consist of his type A, plus the top right hand specimen of type C, and perhaps the specimen second from the right in type B. These juglets are frequently larger in size than the later ones, and display a disc or ring-shaped base, everted rim, multiple stranded handle, and incised designs. These latter fall into two main categories: one naturalistic, the other consisting

⁴⁰ MERRILLEES, 1978, 89–91

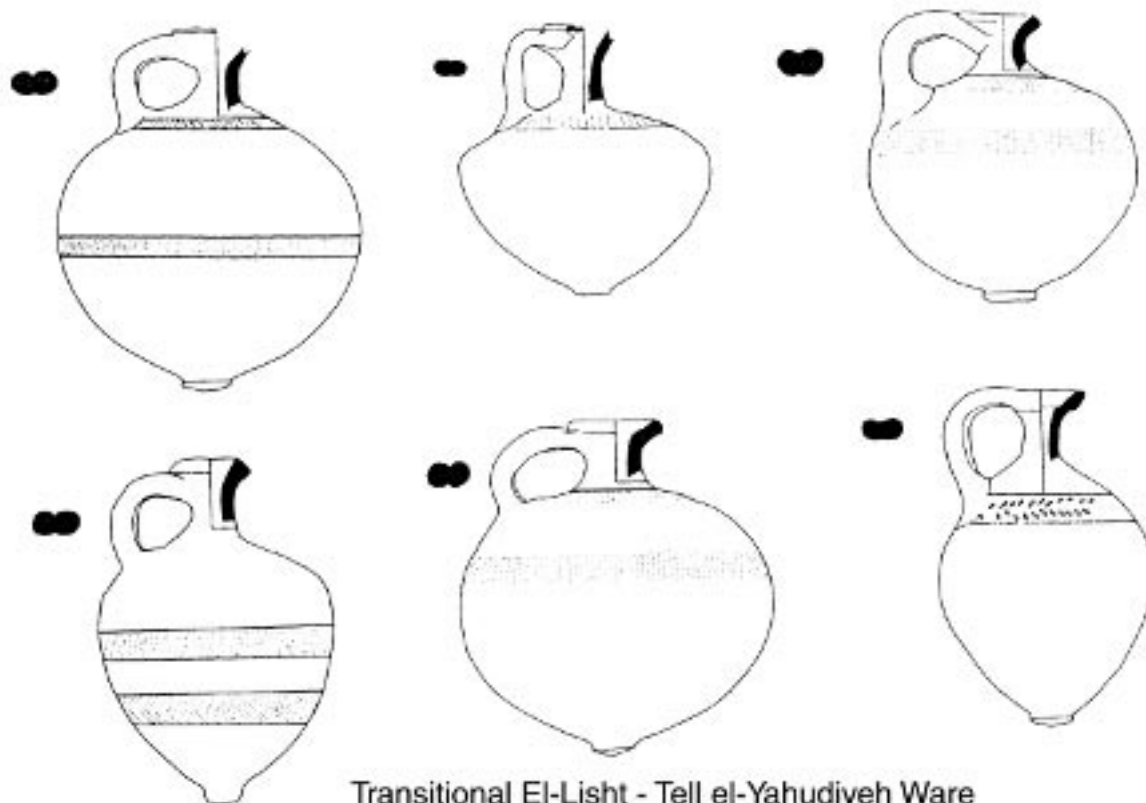
⁴¹ MERRILLEES, 1978, 84–87.

⁴² MERRILLEES, 1978, 91–2. Cf. *idem*, 1974a, 193–5.

⁴³ KEMP and MERRILLEES, 1980, 91–8, with the original footnotes omitted.



El-Lisht Ware



Transitional El-Lisht - Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware



Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware

Fig. 5 Tell el-Yahudiah Jug Typology after MERRILLEES 1974-80

of square or triangular areas framed with incised borders, and filled with punctured stippling. They also possess a highly burnished black or brown slipped surface. G.A. Reisner long ago regarded the fabric as 'only ordinary alluvial mud, such as is found all along the Nile Valley from Khartoum to Alexandria, and whilst the type was ultimately derived from the Syro-Palestinian ceramic repertory, the black burnished fabric had a long though limited history in Egypt, and the quantities of the juglets found in Egypt make it likely that they are, for the most part a local and imitative, or partly imitative, product. A similar fabric and seems occasionally to have been used in Egypt around these times to create other shapes as well. One example is a remarkable carinated bowl with incised spiral patterns found at Kerma, with a hieroglyphic group incised on it as well. Traces of red and yellow pigment are said to survive in the incisions, as well as the usual white.

The advantage of separating the two classes of juglets by terminology is that the Hyksos association of the term 'Tell el-Yahudiya' are not automatically present, even though faint, when the earlier class is considered. The el-Harageh evidence then falls into place very satisfactorily. Two sherds were found in the domestic debris, one of them in house group 530. More importantly two tombs contained them amongst other material which places them securely within the el-Harageh Middle Kingdom sequence though apparently towards the latter end, thus presumably in the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that one of them, from tomb 354, seems to be a transitional type.

Tell ed-Dab^a provides important corroboration here. Juglets which are essentially of el-Lisht ware type, though usually of brown or grey-brown appearance, presumably a local trait, occurred in the lower strata, including at least two from level G, dated by M. Bietak to the Thirteenth Dynasty. All of the illustrated juglets of this type assigned to levels F and E/2 were recovered from tombs, not all of which could be placed in their exact stratigraphic horizon.⁴⁵

In this connection it should be noted that el-Lisht ware appears to have been entirely lacking from the excavated parts of Tell el-Yahudiya itself. The same distinction can also be made for the pan-grave ceme-

teries from Upper Egypt, where mostly Tell el-Yahudiya rather than el-Lisht ware juglets are part of the ceramic repertoire. These facts seem to suggest that el-Lisht ware had its floruit before the middle of the 17th century BC., thus during the Thirteenth Dynasty, after which Tell el-Yahudiya ware proper came into vogue and remained the more popular until the end of the Hyksos Period. The fact that el-Lisht ware juglets do not occur in the court burials of the period, such as the tomb of King Awibre Hor at Dahshur, is probably of no chronological consequence. The very same reluctance to include Minoan and imitation Minoan pottery in tomb groups is very evident from el-Harageh, and although terribly robbed, no trace of anything exotic including el-Lisht juglets was found in the various cemeteries around Kahun itself.

To establish an initial date for el-Lisht ware is a much more difficult proposition, rendered almost intractable by the state of the extant evidence, not least in Egypt from the evident reluctance to include such material in burial groups. A comparison of the distribution patterns of both these types of juglet when viewed against the contemporary historical background in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, reveals what might be interpreted as a correlation between geographical and political aspects, and a contrast overall between the el-Lisht and Tell el-Yahudiya wares, with implications for their chronological ranges. Thus el-Lisht ware juglets occur in western Asia mainly, it would seem in regions where there is other evidence for relations with Egypt, that is the Syrian coast. One might read into this, as others have done, that the bulk of this ware should antedate the presumed eclipse of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Delta.

In the same year there appeared a comprehensive monograph from the pen of Maureen Kaplan, and this is still the standard reference work on the subject.⁴⁶ It also comprised the first attempt to find a systematic classification of this pottery group based on a chemical as well as a typological analysis. The typological approach, using a combination of body shapes and attributes, followed in the footsteps of Åström, but being concerned with all Tell el-Yahudiyeh jugs, rather than those found only in

⁴⁴ See KEMP and MERRILLEES, 1980, 33–36.

⁴⁵ The remainder of this paragraph is omitted since it refers to the dating of the Tell el-Dab^a sequences as given in the preliminary reports, from *MDAIK* 23 and 26, which have since

been revised. The revised dating does not affect Merrillees' argument.

⁴⁶ KAPLAN, 1980.

Cyprus, was, of course, more substantial. As a result she distinguished six main families, Cylindrical, Globular, Quadrilobal, Piriform, Biconical and Ovoid, with other minor families, Miniature, Grooved, Bird-shaped, Ichthyomorphic, Vessels with Naturalistic Designs, and finally a group of Typological Variations to cover everything which could not be readily fitted into any of the others. With the exception of the Globular and Quadrilobal groups, her main groups were subdivided to produce the following basic typology (Fig. 6a–b):⁴⁷

Cylindrical 1: These juglets are small with a size range of 7.6 to 12.6 cms. in height. The bases tend to be rounded, sometimes showing no angle of carination as the vertical plane of the body is reached. The transition from the shoulder to the body of the vessel is also less angular than in Cylindrical 2 vessels. There is no difference in the rim types between the two cylindrical types, both have rolled-over or slightly everted rims. The handle is formed by a single strand of clay, and the decoration is restricted to the vertical plane of the body, which is covered with chevrons or rows of punctures.

Cylindrical 2: The size ranges in height from 9.7 to 15.4 cm., and are noticeably larger than Cylindrical 1. The transitions from the shoulder to the body and from the body to the base are very angular. Bases tend to be flat or very gently curved, and the handle is consistently double-stranded.

Globular: The rim is primarily rolled over, though some straight and slightly everted rims are found. The handle is single, and there is a general progression from globular to squat globular forms, but it is a general progression and does not warrant constituting into two subdivisions. The most common decoration is three or four vertical gores of herringbone incision. Other minor variations in decoration include two bands of triangles, two broad bands of chevrons and random lines of pricking.

Quadrilobal: In body proportion these are similar to the globular type, but what sets them apart is that the body is indented in such a manner as to form four lobes.

Piriform 1: This is the type Merrillees terms El-Lisht ware. The vessels fall into two size groups averaging 12.2 and 15.8 cms. in height. The base may vary from a ring to indented button [disc]. The handle is almost always multiple stranded; double han-

dles are the most common. The rim is usually inverted. The bodies are often burnished all over, in contrast to other types where the burnishing occurs only on the unincised areas. The most frequent comb size has between three and seven teeth. The decoration comes in several variations: three or four bands filled with triangles and rectangles, three bands of rectangles, and two bands of standing and pendant triangles. There seems to be no preference for combining any one style with a particular vessel size, handle or base type.

Piriform 2a: This type of vessel never has an inverted rim, but almost always has a rolled over rim. The handle is always single and may have either a ring or button [disc] base. The decoration invariably consists of three or four gores filled with a herringbone pattern of incised dots. The comb used for the incisions had eight or more points, and the area of incision is usually delineated. The vessel is burnished only on the unincised areas which may have resulted in the obliteration of some of the lines of delineation.

Piriform 2b: This is similar to type 2a, but with a few important differences. The rim seems to have been either drawn up and trimmed without being rolled over on itself, or else it was rolled over and pressed thin. The handle is always double. The button base is quite pronounced and often protrudes to a point.

Piriform 3: The third and final group of piriform jugs is more heterogeneous in form and possibly also in decoration, though there are some unifying factors. The decoration is horizontally orientated, and invariably covers less than half the available body area. The decoration usually consists of one or two narrow delineated bands filled with chevrons, herringbone patterns, triangles or vertical lines, though there are exceptions. The vessels tend to come in two sizes, the smaller averaging 12.0 cms. in height, and the larger 15.9 cms. The larger vessels also tend to have proportionally shorter necks. The rims may be rolled or everted. The handle is usually bipartite though single and triple stranded examples can be found. The base is always a [disc] or button base.

Biconical 1: The height of these vessels varies between 7.8 and 16.0 cms. The rim is always rolled over, the handle single and the base is always a button [disc] though it may be slightly indented [ring]. The decoration invariably covers most of the body,

⁴⁷ KAPLAN, 1980, 15–39, figs. 4–131. She also recognises a grooved variety, and vessels with naturalistic designs, but

this terminology, being based on decorative techniques is inconsequent with her geometric types.



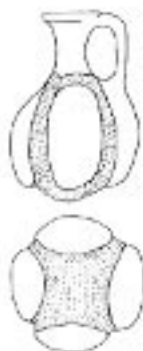
Cylindrical 1



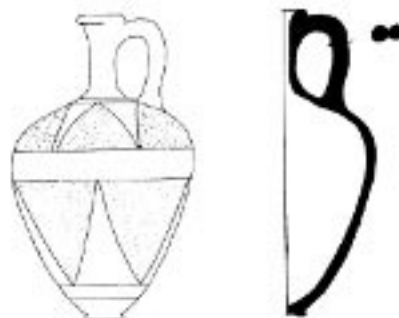
Cylindrical 2



Globular



Quadrilobal



Piriform 1



Piriform 2a



Piriform 2b



Piriform 3

Fig. 6a Tell el-Yahudiah Jug Typology after KAPLAN 1980

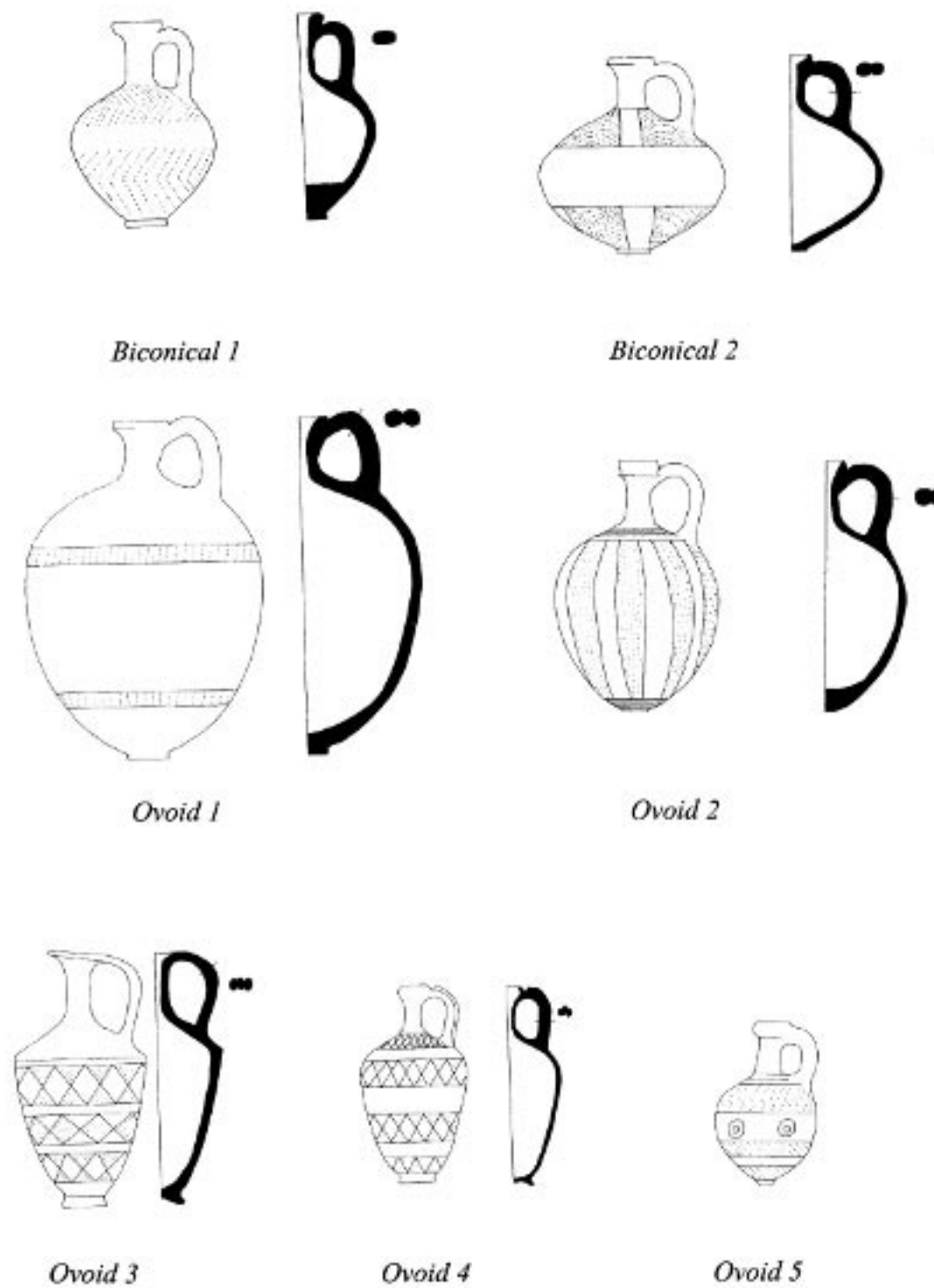


Fig. 6b Tell el-Yahudiah Jug Typology after KAPLAN 1980

leaving only a narrow burnished band around the girth of the vessel. The upper and lower broad bands are usually filled with horizontal chevrons, a herringbone pattern or oblique lines. The areas of incision are consistently delineated, and the incision is done with a comb having eight or more points.

Biconical 2: This encompasses two different types, the first being similar to the Biconical 1 type but having three zones of decoration, and the other being similar to Biconical 1 but having a multi-stranded handle.

Ovoid 1: Ovoid 1 jugs are large with multiple handles and button [disc] bases. The bodies are almost spherical. The rim is everted. Decoration usually consists of two or three narrow delineated bands of straight or oblique lines.

Ovoid 2: In these the rim is never rolled but varies from inverted to straight to slightly everted. The handle is rarely single, it is usually double. Button bases are usually smaller and thinner than those seen on other Ovoid types. Decoration is usually several bands of oblique lines or dots, though the horizontal bands may also be filled with triangles, chevrons or circles.

Ovoid 3: These are distinguished by the sharp angle between the shoulder and body, otherwise they are similar to Ovoid 2.

Ovoid 4: These are related to Piriform 1 vessels but their bodies are slightly wider, and the maximum point is lower. The rim is inverted, the handle triple-stranded and the base is either a ring or a button [disc]. The decoration is in four horizontal rows.

Ovoid 5: These vessels are distinguished from all others of the Ovoid group by the use of circles and spirals as their primary geometric patterns.

Kaplan, whilst discussing the dating of her types, did not attempt the detailed chronological discussion which is needed to understand the development of this type of pottery, the major new point of her work being the NAA analysis of many of these jugs.⁴⁸ Kaplan was thus able to show that certain types were manufactured only in certain areas,⁴⁹ hence her Cylindrical 1, Globular, Quadrilobal, Biconical 1 and Grooved ware were undoubtedly made in Egypt, whilst her Cylindrical 2, Piriform 2a, Piriform 3 and

Ovoid vessels were Levantine productions. Her Piriform 1, however, was made both in Egypt and the Levant. Overall the main conclusions of Kaplan's study can be summarised in the following manner:⁵⁰

- 1) There are several areas of manufacture of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware of which Egypt and the Levant are the most important centres, with Ras Shamra and Nubia as minor ones.
- 2) There are two major families of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware: Egyptian and Levantine.
- 3) The shape of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware is Levantine in origin, but the firing techniques and the incised decoration are foreign to the Levant.⁵¹ Kaplan suggests Nubia as the place of origin for this decoration since this technique was endemic within the A-group, C-group and Kerma cultures.
- 4) The combined evidence of chemical and chronological analysis seems to indicate that the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware was first produced in Egypt, and that the earliest examples in the Levant are of Egyptian origin. The earliest vessels manufactured in the Levant only appeared during the MBIIA–B transitional period.
- 5) Whilst vague about the area of production of the early Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (her Piriform 1 = Merrillies' Lisht ware), she considers the Delta the likely manufacturing area of the later Egyptian types (her Piriform 2a, Biconical, Globular and Quadrilobal jugs).
- 6) In stratum G at Tell el-Dab'a, Kaplan states that Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware occurs in an Egyptian, rather than a MB IIA context and is absent from the earliest foreign burials of stratum F.⁵² Since this ware shows a great efflorescence of new forms from stratum E/1 onwards, she speculates that the Hyksos, who apparently borrowed Egyptian nomenclature, titles, art work and scarabs, may also have borrowed this pottery type as well.

Kaplan's typological classification, however, is not consistent since the shapes within her typological groups do not always follow her own typology, and thus her chronological conclusions are in need of revision. Kaplan's classification of the bodies according to geometrical shapes, Ovoid, Piriform, Biconical,

⁴⁸ See also KAPLAN, HARBOTTLE and SAYRE, 1984, 227–41.

⁴⁹ KAPLAN, 1980, 60–66.

⁵⁰ KAPLAN, 1980, 121–3.

⁵¹ Note, however, AMIRAN, 1963/69, 120, pl. 20/28, photo 73; and ASTRÖM, 1957, 11–18, fig. 30.6.

⁵² This statement is incorrect, though at the time KAPLAN wrote her book, very little material from this stratum had been published.

Globular, Cylindrical, Quadrilobal, Bird-shaped, and Ichthyomorphic cannot, on her definitions, be rigidly enforced.⁵³ Her differentiation between Ovoid and Piriform is not convincing. Not all ovoid jugs are ovoid, not all biconical jugs are biconical; rather it is a combination of features, particularly decorative styles, which better indicate which jugs belong together. As a result Kaplan's conclusions have received a somewhat mixed reception from the academic community.⁵⁴

From stratified excavations at Tell el-Dab^{ca} it was soon obvious that Kaplan's conclusions 3, 4 and 6 were in need of revision, and first steps in this direction were made by Manfred Bietak in two articles written in the early 1980's.⁵⁵ In the first article to be published, in 1986, he divided Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware into the following groups:

1. *Die palästinensische Gruppe*: Krüge, häufig mit ovoider Form, meist hellrot bis hellbraun, manchmal auch schwarzpolierte Oberfläche (meist ohne Hämatitzusatz). Charakteristisch sind schmale horizontale ungegliederte Musterstreifen, die matt belassen und mit Kammstich – oder Einzelstichmuster gefüllt sind. Die Krüge des Frühstadiums besitzen meist drei bis fünf solcher Musterstreifen, manchmal ist die unterste oder oberste Zone in Dreiecke gegliedert. ... Andere Beispiele haben zwischen den Streifen Zonen aus Kreisen.

Die frühesten Exemplare wurden bisher in ^cAfula gefunden; sie haben einen gekröpften Hals und sind zeitgleich mit Stratum G in Tell ed-Dab^{ca}. ... In der späteren Phase haben diese Krüge nur mehr 1–2 Streifen.

Es gibt noch weitere Subgruppen in Palästina wie Krüge mit zwei Zonen, meist aus inkrustierten Dreiecken auf der Schulter. Dieser Typ dürfte im Inland bei Jericho, ^cAin Samiyeh und Malacha beheimatet sein. Ungeklärt ist die Herkunft der kugeligen bis eiförmigen Krüge mit einfacher Strichverzierung mit Dreieckseffekt in Tell ed-Dab^{ca}.

2. *Die syrisch-ägyptische Gruppe* (z.T. identisch mit der Lisch Ware von R. Merrillees). Diese besteht aus einer lückenlosen Serie von Krügen, deren waagrechte Musterzonen von vier (oder mehr) bis auf zwei Zonen abnimmt, die dann in direkter Fortsetzung in einer rein äg. Gruppe ihren Weitergang findet. Auch

in der Größe nimmt die T. kontinuierlich ab, von Formen mit einer Höhe von über 25 cm bis zu Formen mit einer Größe um 10 cm. Vereinfachungen sind auch in der typologischen Entwicklung der Henkel (von dreigeteilten bis zu einfachen Bandhenkeln) und bei den Bodenformen (vom Ringboden bis zum einfachen Bandknopf) feststellbar. Die normale Form der syrisch-ägyptischen Gruppe ist der birnenförmige Krug mit hochgelagertem Schwerpunkt und entspricht größtenteils Kaplans Form piriform 1 und ovoid 4.

a) Vier Musterzonen oder mehr aus stehenden oder hängenden Dreiecken, Rechtecken, Zick-zack-Musterzonen. Die Musterfelder sind auf mattem Grund belassen und mit Einzel- oder Gabelstich gefüllt. Die Henkel sind zwei- oder dreigeteilt, die Innenlippe und der Ringboden typisch, die Politur ist meist dunkelbraun bis schwarz. ...

b) Drei Musterzonen, ähnlich wie a). Höhe immer noch um 20 cm, aber auch in Kleinformen mit etwa 12 cm, dunkelbraun- bis schwarzpolierte Oberfläche, normalerweise zweigeteilte Henkel; die nach innen gelagerte Lippe kommt noch vor. ...

c) Zwei Musterzonen, aus vier bis fünf oder mehr stehenden und hängenden Dreiecken, mit Kammstichreihen gefüllt, zweigeteilter Henkel, meist noch Standring, Innenlippe kommt vereinzelt noch vor, dunkelbraun- bis grauschwarzpoliert, meist äg. Herkunft. ...

3. *Ägyptische Gruppe*: Entwickelt sich direkt aus der syrisch-ägyptischen Gruppe. Weitere Vereinfachungen der Musterzonen in vertikaler oder horizontale Ebene.

a) Fünf oder mehr senkrechte Musterstreifen kommen meist noch mit der späten syrisch-ägyptischen Gruppe c gemeinsam vor, manchmal sogar noch mit archaisierenden Tendenzen wie Innenlippe und Standring. Die Krüge a–d sind birnenförmig (piriform 2a nach Kaplan). Die ovoiden Krüge mit senkrechten Musterstreifen gehören zu den Sonderformen der palästinensischen Gruppe.

b–d) Normalerweise vier, drei oder zwei matte Segmentmusterfelder mit Kammstichmuster gefüllt, dunkelgrau- bis schwarzpolierte Oberfläche, meist Bandhenkel und Standknopf. Eine Sondergruppe bilden Krüge mit 3 oder 4 Segmentmusterfeldern und

⁵³ She also recognises a grooved variety, and vessels with naturalistic designs, but this terminology, being based on decorative techniques is inconsequent with her geometric types.

⁵⁴ They were accepted by BOURRIAU, 1981, 41–2, but criticised by, most notably, WEINSTEIN, *AJA* 86, 1982, 450–52; MERRILLEES, 1983, 188–89; BIETAK, 1989, 7–34.

zweigeteiltem Henkel (Kaplan piriform 2b). Sie sind, soweit beprobt, meist aus palästinensischen Tonen hergestellt und kommen vorwiegend in Südpalästina, dem von den Hyksos beherrschten Bereich vor. ...

e) Breite bis doppelkonische Formen mit ringförmigen Musterstreifen je über und unter dem Bauch, Standknopf. Kleinformen vorherrschend. Ausschließlich äg. Fabrikation. ...

f) Horizontal gekämmte Krüge kommen nur im Delta und in Zypern vor.

Darüber hinaus gibt es sackförmige Krüge (Kaplan: globular) mit meist 3 Segmentfeldern sowie Krüge mit viergeteilter Wandung und zylindrische Formen mit viergeteilter Wandung und zylindrische Formen mit Kammstich rundumher. Sie sind alle, soweit nachgeprüft, rein äg. Provenienz.

4. Sonderformen:

a) Es gibt sowohl in der ägyptische-phönikischen Gruppe als auch in der ägyptischen Gruppe Keramik mit figural eingeritzten Verzierungen, vor allem Lotusblumen, Wellenbändern, Vögeln, Fischen und andere Tieren. Soweit nachprüfbar, ist diese verzierte Keramik vor allem Krüge, in Ägypten entstanden. Diesbezüglich ist auch das Lotusmuster ein Hinweis. Eine Ausnahme bildet der anthropoide Krug mit figuralem Dekor aus Jericho.

b) Tierkörper-, Fruchtkörper- und anthropoide Gefäße: Aus der ägyptischen Gruppe sind Krüge in Fisch, Falken und Entenform bekannt, aus dem Bereich von Palästina Gefäße in Fisch-, Eichel- und Ziegeneuterform sowie in anthropoide Form.⁵⁶

A further two types, Types 5 and 6 were also listed by Bietak in 1986; Type 5 comprising so-called Painted Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, and type 6, red and black burnished juglets, both of which are not considered in this article to be true Tell el-Yahudiyeh types.

In a later article published in 1989, but also originally written in 1985, Bietak concentrated on vessels with incised patterns; his former types 5 and 6 no longer being considered. In essence this was a revised classification, Fig. 7 in which he divided Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware into the following groups:⁵⁷

„Urgruppe ([Kaplan] Ovoid 1).“ Als sogenannte Urgruppe wurden jene Krüge angesehen, die typologisch die ältesten Merkmale (Mittlere Bronzezeit =

MB II/A) aufweisen wie Kragenhals, fallende zwei- oder mehrfach geteilte Henkel und ovoide Körper. Sie kommen in Byblos, ^cAfula und Tell el-Dab^ca vor. In Tell el-Dab^ca ist dieser Krug von der gesamten Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware der älteste und in Str. d/1 = etwa 1. Hälfte 18. Jhd. v. Chr. zu datieren. ... Der makroskopischen Untersuchung nach scheint dieser Krug aus syrisch-palästinensischem Redfield clay angefertigt worden zu sein.

Die Krüge in ^cAfula sind aus Levante-Ton, vermutlich lokaler Provenienz, hergestellt, und es ist bemerkenswert, daß die ältesten Tell el-Yahudiyeh-Krüge offenbar aus dem Bereich Galiläa-Phönizien stammen.

Die inkrustierten Muster dieser ältesten Gruppe der Tell el-Yahudiyeh-Ware weisen sowohl horizontale als auch vertikale ungegliederte Bänder auf, wobei die ersteren auch für die frühe palästinensische Gruppe ([Kaplan] Ovoid 2) charakteristisch sind. Sie haben auch horizontale aus Rechtecken und Dreiecken gegliederte Bänder, wie sie für die Syrische-ägyptische Gruppe typisch sind. Die Ornamentierung ist noch nicht nach einem fixen Schema festgelegt, und es scheint, als ob diese Gruppe sowohl für die Entwicklung der frühen palästinensischen als auch für die Syrisch-ägyptische Gruppe verantwortlich war.

Die frühe palästinensische Gruppe (vor allem [Kaplan] Ovoid 2, aber auch 3 und 4) ist fast ausschließlich in Palästina mit dem Schwerpunkt im Norden zu finden und ist aus palästinensischen Tonen (vor allem Redfield clay) hergestellt. Ihre Verbreitung scheint die Bildung einer eigenen Provinz Palästina innerhalb der MB-Kultur zur Zeit des Überganges von MB II/A zu II/B anzudeuten. ... Die Krüge vom Typ [Kaplan] Ovoid 4 sind als Sondergruppe anzusehen. Sie haben ein Dreiecks oder Schachbrettmuster, einen breiten Standknopf und eine einfache ausgezogene Mündung. Sie kommen nur im Bereiche von Jericho-Malacha vor. Die frühe palästinensische Gruppe der MB II/B-C weiter, vor allem [Kaplan] Piriform 3. Die genannte Subgruppe [Kaplan] Ovoid 4 entwickelt sich direkt in die ebenfalls lokale Subgruppe piriform 4 weiter.⁵⁸

Die syrisch-ägyptische Gruppe ([Kaplan] Piriform 1) läßt sich nach dem Befund von Tell el-Dab^ca in fol-

⁵⁵ BIETAK, 1986, IDEM, 1989, 1989, 7–34. The latter was delivered as a lecture at the Fourth International Congress of Egyptologists, Munich, in 1985, but only appeared in print in 1989.

⁵⁶ BIETAK, 1986, 335–347.

⁵⁷ BIETAK, 1989, 9–17.

⁵⁸ The so-called Piriform 4 type was never described, but from the accompanying illustration, Piriform 4 is to be seen as Piriform jugs with double handles and two rows of hanging or pendant triangles on the shoulder.

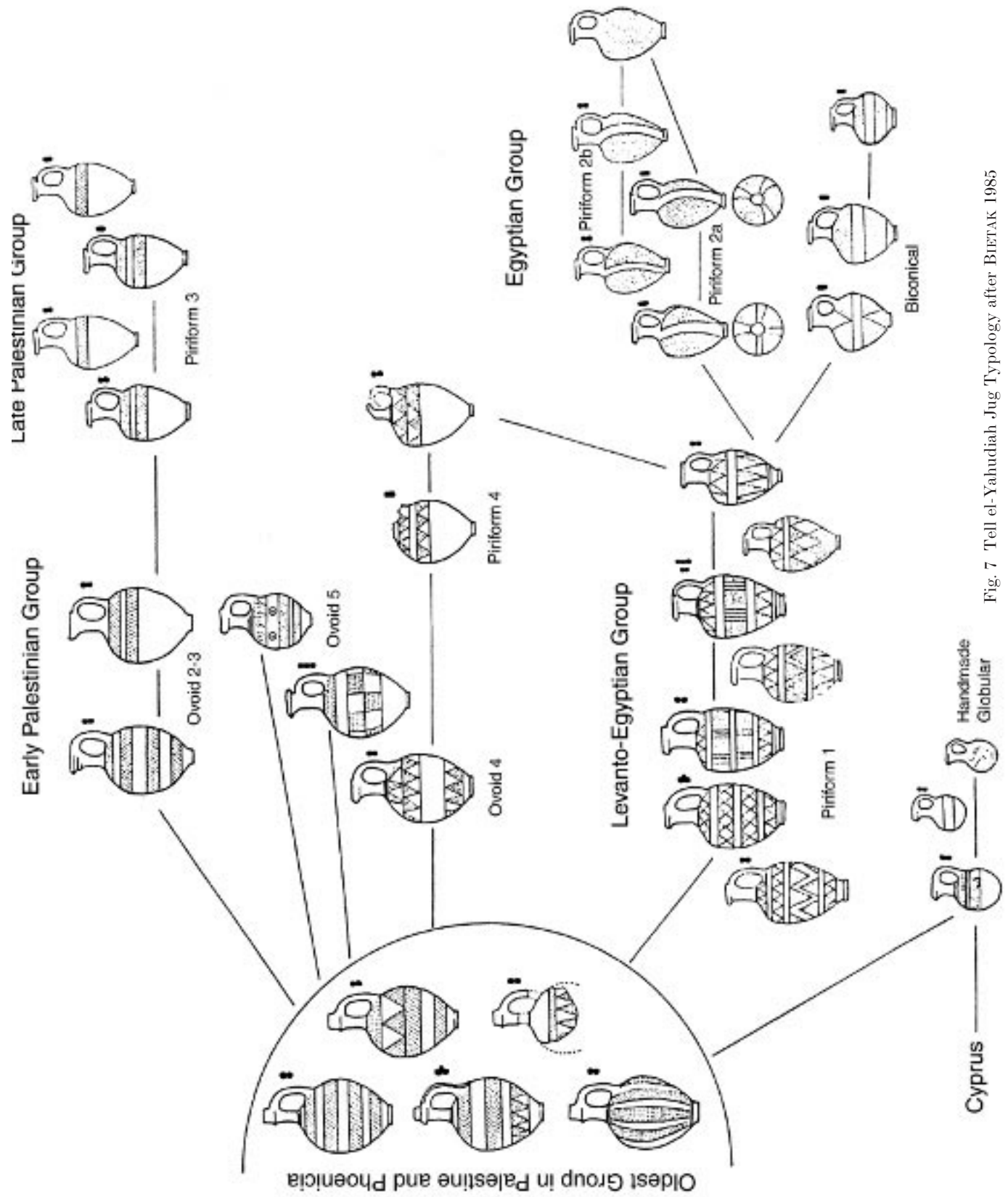


Fig. 7 Tell el-Yahudiyeh Jug Typology after BIETAK 1985

gende chronologische relevanten Gruppen teilen: Piriform 1 a (mit vier und mehr Musterzonen übereinander), piriform 1 b (mit drei Musterzonen) und piriform 1 c (mit zwei Musterzonen übereinander). Die zuerstgenannte ist die älteste, ... sie kommt noch in Nordpalästina (Afula, Megiddo) vor, wo sie aus limestone hill clay, also aus lokalem Ton hergestellt ist. Sie kommt auch in Byblos und in Tell el-Dab'a vor. Hier scheint sie aus lokalem Nilton hergestellt worden zu sein. Die Verbreitung dieser Gattung erreicht im Süden die Gegend des Fayoums, vermutlich den Bereich der Residenz des Mittleren Reiches bei Lischt. In Tell el-Dab'a kommt diese Gruppe ausschließlich in Str. G im Zusammenhang mit Gräbern der späten Mittleren Bronzezeit II/A vor. Auch in Afula ist der Fundzusammenhang der gleichen Chronologiestufe zuzuweisen. ...

Die piriform 1 b-Krüge kommen in Tell el-Dab'a in Str. F und in kleineren Formen in Str. E/3 vor. Sie zeigen nun eine fast ausschließliche Verbreitung in Phönizien und Ägypten und z.T. auch in Zypern. ... Der Raum von Palästina ist aus dieser Verbreitung ausgespart...

Die piriform 1 c-Krüge zeigen in ihrer Verzierung eine weitere Vereinfachung in nur zwei Zonen, meist aus stehenden und hängenden Trapezen auf Schulter und dem unteren Körperbereich. Sie kommen in Tell el-Dab'a in den Schichten F, E/3 und vereinzelt bis E/2 vor. Ihre frühesten Repräsentanten haben noch alte Attribute wie nach innen umgeschlagene Lippe, während späte piriform 1 b-Krüge nach außen umgeschlagene Lippen haben können. Alle besitzen jedoch gewöhnlich einen zweigeteilten Henkel.

Die piriform 1 c-Krüge haben die weiteste Verbreitung; sie kommen sowohl in Phönizien als auch wieder in Palästina vor. Während sie in Nubien gut vertreten sind und jetzt erst Kerma erfassen, beginnt sich das Vorkommen der Tell el-Yahudiya-Ware in Oberägypten zu verdünnen, wenn man von archaischen Typen mit Innenlippe in Abydos und möglicherweise in Karnak absieht ...

Es gibt auch piriform 1-Krüge mit figuraler Verzierung. Die Motive sind sowohl ägaische wie springende Delphine oder Fische und Spiralmäander; Lotusblumen und Vögel lassen auf ägyptischen Einfluß schließen. Der ägaische Einfluß ist aber schon bei den Piriform 1 a-Krügen nachweisbar und konnte auch als Hinweis auf die Herkunft dieser Dekorationstechnik der weißen Inkrustation aufzufassen sein. ...

Ägyptische Motive wie Lotusblumen sind auf der Tell el-Yahudiya-Ware erst auf piriform 1 b und c-Krügen nachweisbar. ... Es gibt aber auch in der

Levante Tell el-Yahudiya-Krüge mit mesopotamischen Motiven in der Verzierung wie Ziegenböcke, die von einem Baum fressen.

Die ägyptische Gruppe zeigt zweierlei Trends in der Vereinfachung der Ornamentik. Bei den doppelkonischen Krügen ist die Vereinfachung in grobe stehende und hängende Dreiecke und schließlich in zwei ringförmige Musterzonen ober- und unterhalb des Bauchumbruches feststellbar. Bei den [Kaplan] piriform 2-Krügen gibt es die Vereinfachung in senkrechte segmentförmige Musterstreifen, anfangs in 5 (selten), dann in 4 und 3 Streifen, später nur mehr in drei Streifen. Die gleiche Verzierung tragen auch die kugeligen Krüge. Zur ägyptischen Gruppe zählen aber auch zylindrische Krüge mit umlaufender Verzierung oder Dreiecksmuster sowie viergeteilte Krüge.

Die Piriform 2-Krüge kann man nach Kaplan in piriform 2 a-Krüge mit Bandhenkel und nach außen umgeschlagener Mündung und in piriform 2 b-Krüge mit zweigeteiltem Henkel und nach außen ausgezogener (nicht umgeschlagener) Mündung einteilen. Letzere Art ist Südpalästinensischer Provenienz. Sie ist jedoch stilistisch mit den piriform 2 a-Krügen, die in Ägypten allein produziert, als Einheit zu betrachten...

Die bikonischen Krüge sind in S-Palästina, besonders in O-Delta, vereinzelt in Oberägypten und besonders stark in Nubien, allerdings nicht in Kerma vertreten. ...

Verteilungskarten der kugeligen, der zylindrischen, der gereiften und der viergeteilten Ägyptischen Gruppe der Tell el-Yahudiya-Ware werden hier aus Raumgründen nicht vorgelegt. Sie zeigen eine besondere Konzentration im O-Delta und sind für Export weniger verwendet worden. Sie werden wohl ausnahmslos aus ägyptischen (Nil-)Tonen hergestellt ...

Die späte palästinensische Gruppe. Von dieser sind die piriform 3-Krüge nach der Terminologie von M. Kaplan eine Weiterentwicklung der ovoid 2-Krüge. Dieser Typ wie auch die anderen Typen der späten palästinensischen Gruppe, vor allem die [Kaplan] zylindrischen 2-Krüge kommen in ihrer Verbreitung ausschließlich in Palästina vor, wobei sich eine Konzentration im Inlandsbereich und eine Verdünnung nach S-Palästina und der Küste zu zeigt."

Over the past twenty years since Bietak's articles were written, much new evidence has been assembled from the excavations at Tell el-Dab'a making a reassessment of several aspects of the typology, origin and distribution of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware desirable. At Tell el-Dab'a more than 600 Tell el-

Yahudiyeh juglets have been found most of them in clear stratified contexts,⁵⁹ which has already led to a preliminary revision of the chronological typology, here reproduced as Fig. 8.⁶⁰ Additionally more vessels have been discovered at a large number of sites

including Tell el-Ghassil,⁶¹ Ain Abdeh,⁶² Jatt,⁶³ Mendes,⁶⁴ Karnak,⁶⁵ and Qaret el Tub,⁶⁶ with many others now known in inland Syria,⁶⁷ whilst a number of completely new types have come to light in recent years. The latter include a remarkable two-necked

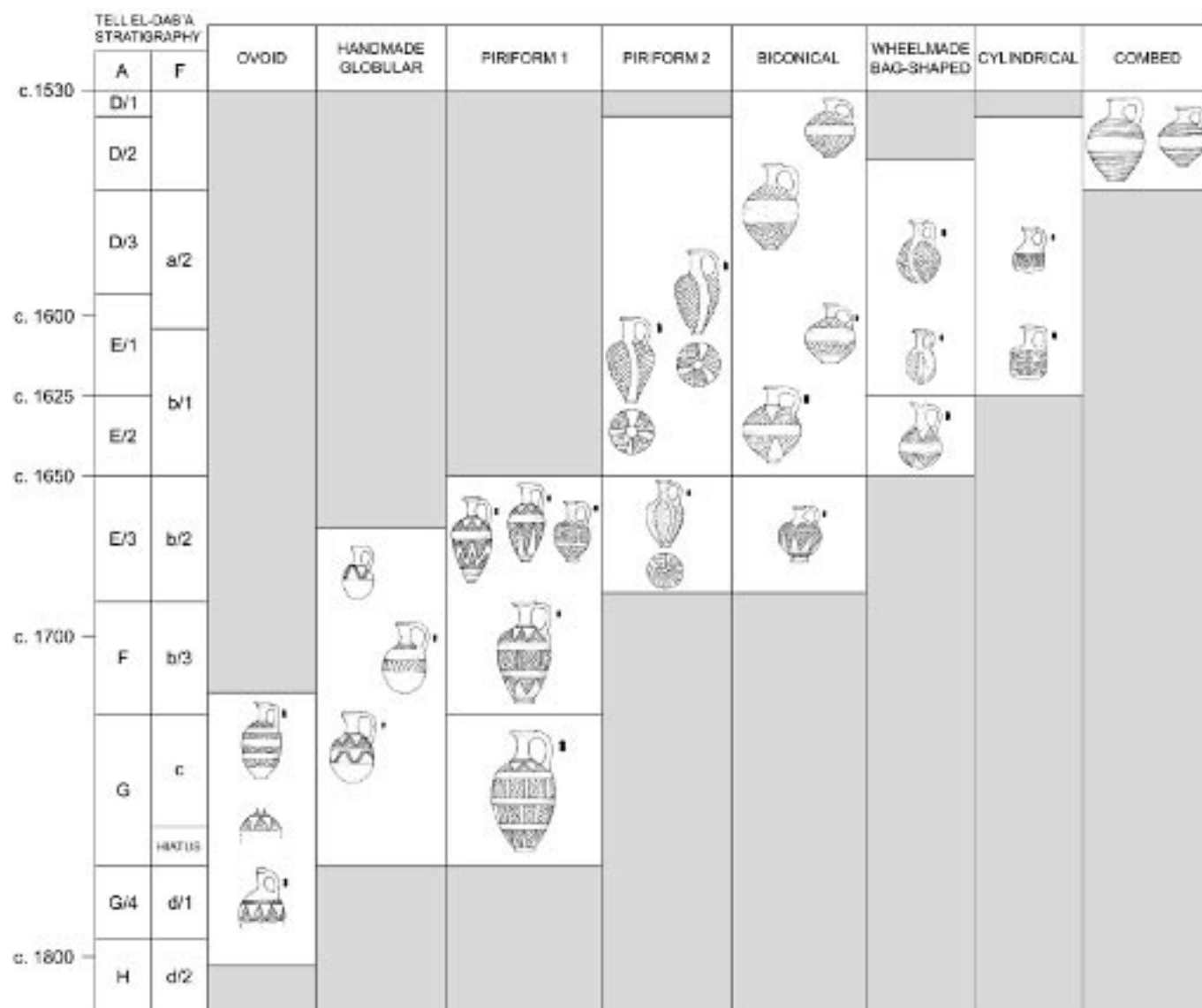


Fig. 8 Tell el-Yahudiah Jug Chronology as revealed at Tell el-Dab^a

⁵⁹ Vessels published since 1989 may be found in BIETAK, 1991, passim, BIETAK and HEIN, 1994, 222-37; FUSCALDO, 2000, 82; FORSTNER-MÜLLER, 2001, 218.

⁶⁰ BIETAK, FORSTNER-MÜLLER, MLINAR, 2001, 176, fig. 4.

⁶¹ C. DOUMET-SERHAL, *Berytus* 42, 1995-96, 37-70.

⁶² P.M. Fischer, personal communication.

⁶³ YANNI, 2000, 69.

⁶⁴ REDFORD, 1996, 682.

⁶⁵ DEBONO 1982, 377-86.

⁶⁶ COLON, LAISNEY, MARCHAND, 2000, 186.

⁶⁷ L. Nigro, personal communication, and cf. TARAQJI, 1999, 41.

jug from the area of Turan,⁶⁸ and an evidently Egyptian fly-shaped jug⁶⁹ whilst many more open forms have been excavated at Ashkelon.⁷⁰

The Tell el-Dab^{ca} juglets, excavated in a finely differentiated stratigraphic sequence in contexts with other finds provide an important new source of information, and bring a well controlled chronological order into a series covering about 200 years of development, and it is perhaps time to combine this largely untapped body of evidence with that already published by Kaplan, to produce a new typology. The wealth of material from Tell el-Dab^{ca} makes it essential to introduce new groups, such as the Globular Handmade Group, which are absent from Kaplan's typology. The combed sub-group of Egyptian Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (Kaplan's grooved ware) should perhaps also be given more weight than she allowed since it is chronologically significant. Indeed, when the vessels from Tell el-Dab^{ca} are arranged in stratigraphic order, it quickly becomes apparent that the ornamental aspect of classification is often more meaningful than one based entirely on shape. A new typology could perhaps thus be developed along the following lines:

In postulating an integrative classification system one has to consider firstly the genetic mainstreams in the development of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, which for terms of argument may be termed Branches A–D, and, secondly those forms which form consistent groups which lie outside of the main development, let us say, Groups E–H. After the earliest examples, which may be termed the Primeval Group, two main branches of development can be noticed – a Palestinian branch, and a Levanto-Egyptian one. Additionally a third branch, which differs from the others in being handmade, thus possibly owing its origins to Cypriot ceramics, can also be recognized. Both the Palestinian and the Levanto-Egyptian Branches can also be differentiated, in that the Palestinian vessels attributable fall into two clear chronological groupings, an Early Palestinian Group and a Late Palestinian Group, with a small number of transitional vessels which fall between both groups, whilst the Levanto-Egyptian Branch can be divided into an earlier Levanto-Egyptian Group (equivalent to Merrillees' el-Lisht ware) and a later Egyptian Group (equivalent to Merrillees' Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware). The primeval

group is primarily of Levantine origin, with at least one kiln site known at Afula.⁷¹ It is also probable that one or more other minor groupings may become evident in the future, particularly within Lebanon and inland Syria, where one might expect to find a Late Levantine Group, but the published material is still insufficient to determine this. The handmade group is so far known only from Egypt but possibly originates from a specific ceramic tradition of Cypriot Black Slip II ware, and, being handmade, copies Cypriot production techniques.

In addition to these main branches a number of vessels incised with naturalistic designs, in contrast to the more usual geometric designs, can, in view of their find spots (primarily Egypt, with the exception of one at Tell Ghassil), and clay type (Nile clay whenever analysed) also be assigned to the Levanto-Egyptian Branch. However since such decorated vessels are not common, and moreover range in time throughout both the earlier Levanto-Egyptian and the later Egyptian group, this group could perhaps be separated out and treated as a separate group. In addition a number of late forms from southern Palestine and northern Egypt show a hybrid mix of Late Palestinian and Egyptian influences, and these are again perhaps worthy of separate note. Finally the Late Egyptian group within the main Levanto-Egyptian Branch, develops during the late Hyksos Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty into a series of vessels which retain the main shapes of the Late Egyptian group, but are decorated solely with parallel incised lines, in which no white pigment is added. These latest forms could be seen either as late variants or could be given their own grouping.

In future the individual types and sub-types within each group could be designated in short as A1, A2, A3....., B1, B2, B3....., C1, C2, C3....., etc. It can be expected that most vessels assignable to the early Palestinian group and the early Levanto-Egyptian group will themselves form individual types. The problem of classification of the Primeval Group and the early types within the Palestinian and Levanto-Egyptian branches arise because at this stage in the development of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, it is not a mass-produced product, the jugs being made individually by very few potters with almost every jug displaying its own peculiar features – witness the variety

⁶⁸ O. MISCH-BRANDL, 1997, 47.

⁶⁹ Hildesheim 6350, Seidel, 1993, 49.

⁷⁰ I am grateful to L. Stager for showing me this material.

⁷¹ ZEVULUN, 1990, 174–90.

of jugs found in the kiln site at Afula. It is only shortly before the onset of the Hyksos Period that this kind of pottery shows signs of mass production and standardisation, a trend which can be observed both

in Palestine and in Egypt. In conclusion one can only say that whilst this article charts the history of Tell el-Yahudiyeh typology, there still remains much that can be done with these fascinating vessels.

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