

TIMELINES
STUDIES IN HONOUR OF MANFRED BIETAK

VOLUME II

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UITGEVERIJ PEETERS en DEPARTEMENT OOSTERSE STUDIES
LEUVEN — PARIS — DUDLEY, MA

2006

CONTENTS

VOLUME II

Contents	5
Contributions to Egyptian Pre-history and Early Dynasties	
Tine Bagh, 'Tributes' and the Earliest Pictorial representations of Foreign Oil and Wine Vessels	9
Eva-Maria Engel, Die Siegelabrollungen von Hetepsechemui und Raneb aus Saqqara	25
Ulrich Hartung, Bemerkungen zur Architektur und Chronologie der unterirdischen und halbunterirdischen Bauten in der prädynastischen Siedlung von Maadi	35
Nicola Ch. Math, Die Tulpenbecher und ihre Verwandten	45
Edwin C.M. van den Brink, A Baking Plate for Bread Loaves from the late Maadi-Buto Settlement at Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Eastern Nile Delta, Egypt	55
Thomas von der Way, Zur zeitlichen Korrelierung der Buto-Ma'âdi-Kultur mit dem kanaanäischen Raum	59
Interconnections between Egypt, the Levant, Cyprus and the Aegean	
Katherina Aslanidou, Eine 'Priesterdarstellung' aus Tell el-Dab'a/Ezbet Helmi (Grabungsareal H/IV)	67
Paul Åström, Hala Sultan Tekke and Egypt	73
Daphna Ben-Tor, Chronological and Historical implications of the Early Egyptian Scarabs on Crete	77
Annie Caubet et Marguerite Yon, Ougarit et l'Égypte	87
Dominique Collon, New Seal Impressions from Tell el-Dab'a	97
Peter M. Fischer, Chocolate-on-White Ware from Tell el-Dab'a	103
Perla Fuscaldo, The Egyptian Painted Wares from Tell el-Ghaba, North Sinai (Early 26 th Dynasty)	111
Hans Goedicke, A Bamah at the First Cataract	119
Orly Goldwasser, King Apophis of Avaris and the Emergence of Monotheism	129
Irmgard Hein, Die Fundpositionen zweier syrischer Siegelabformungen aus Tell el-Dab'a	135
Stefan Hiller, Spätminoische Pyriden aus SM II/IIIA:1 und die Fresken aus dem Palast von Amenophis III. in Malkata (Theben West)	149
James K. Hoffmeier and Stephen O. Moshier, New Paleo-Environmental Evidence from North Sinai to Complement Manfred Bietak's Map of the Eastern Delta and Some Historical Implications	167
Karin Kopetzky, Gefäße im Tell el-Yahudiya Stil	177
Ezra S. Marcus, Venice on the Nile? On the Maritime Character of Tell Dab'a/Avaris	187
Geoffrey T. Martin, The Lapis Lazuli Scarab from Grave Circle B at Mycenae	191
Mario A.S. Martin, Cream Slipped Egyptian Imports in Late Bronze Age Canaan	197
Christa Mlinar, Palästinensische Skarabäen aus einem Grab der frühen Hyksoszeit in Tell el-Dab'a	213
Lyvia Morgan, Art and International Relations: the East Frieze at Tell el-Dab'a	249
Vera Müller, Die Entwicklung der Gefäßform 'Cup-and-Saucer' in Ägypten und Palästina	259
Eliezer D. Oren, The Establishment of Egyptian Imperial Administration on the 'Ways of Horus': An Archaeological Perspective from North Sinai	279
Jacke Phillips, Why?... And Why Not? Misconception and Perceptions of Egyptian Influence	293

Rainer Stadelmann, <i>Riding the Donkey: a Means of Transportation for Foreign Rulers</i>	301
Peter Warren, <i>The Date of the Thera Eruption in Relation to Aegean-Egyptian Interconnections and the Egyptian Historical Chronology</i>	305
Studies on the Levant and Phoenicia	
Michal Artzy and Ron Beeri, <i>Mended Storage Jars and Colored Plaster: A Middle Bronze IIa Practice?</i>	325
Celia Bergoffen, <i>Canaanite Wheelmade Imitations of Late Cypriot Base Ring II Jugs</i>	331
Stephen J. Bourke and Kathryn O. Eriksson, <i>Pella in Jordan, Royal Name Scarabs and the Hyksos Empire: A View from the Margins</i>	339
Israel Finkelstein, <i>Shechem in the Late Bronze and the Iron I</i>	349
Aren M. Maeir and Itzhaq Shai, <i>Iron Age IIA Chalices from Tell es-Şâfî/Gath</i>	357
Maria Antonia Negrete Martinez und Hermann Ulreich, <i>Die orientalisierende Stierfigur aus Bronze vom Cerro del Prado, San Roque (Cádiz) in Spanien</i>	367
Robert Schiestl, Birgit Bühler, Katharina Uhler und Manfred Schreiner, <i>Eine silberne Entenschnabelaxt</i>	391
Lawrence E. Stager, <i>The House of the Silver Calf of Ashkelon</i>	403
David Ussishkin, <i>On the History of the High Place at Gezer</i>	411
Irit Ziffer, <i>Further Thoughts on the Cult Stele from Arad</i>	417
Studies on Cyprus, Crete and the Aegean	
Philip P. Betancourt and James D. Muhly, <i>The Sistra from the Minoan Burial Cave at Hagios Charalambos</i> . . .	429
Walter Gauß, <i>Minos auf Ägina – Beobachtungen zu den Beziehungen Äginas zu Kreta</i>	437
Sophocles Hadsjavvas, <i>Aspects of Late Bronze Age Trade as seen from Alassa-Pano Mandilaris</i>	449
Vassos Karageorghis and Toulia Marketou, <i>Late Bronze IA/IB Rhodian Imitations of Cypriote Ceramics. The Evidence from Trianda (Ialysos)</i>	455
Sturt W. Manning, Lindy Crewe and David A. Sewell, <i>Further Light on Early LCI Connections at Maroni</i> . . .	471
Edith Trnka, <i>Zur archäologischen Evidenz der Textilproduktion in der Ägäischen Bronzezeit</i>	489



PEETERS

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I would like to express my gratitude to Manfred Bietak for inviting me to participate in the SCIEM 2000 project and for supporting my scholarly endeavors these past four years, also for his wonderful hospitality at Tell ed Dab^a. I hope this small tribute may be of some interest to him.¹

No compelling explanation that could fully account for the phenomenon of Canaanite, wheel made imitations of Late Cypriot handmade shapes has as yet been advanced in the scholarly literature. To start with, two fundamental questions need to be addressed: first, were the Canaanite potters in fact trying to create imitations or were they merely adopting certain elements of Cypriot style, and second, why imitate at all – if that's what it was?² A survey of the published material reveals that the classification "Cypriot imitation" is applied broadly and loosely. We have no clear notion of what elements of shape

or decoration would qualify a vessel as an imitation because, beyond Olga Tufnell's observations (TUFNELL 1958, 209–211) on the imitation Base Ring jugs from Lachish, there is no typological study based on a descriptive catalogue of material from sites across Canaan. And while it's recognized that a variety of Cypriot wares were imitated – including White Slip bowls and several Base Ring shapes – it's not known how common these vessels actually were, much less whether there were differences in the geographic or chronological distribution of the various classes.

The most commonly imitated Cypriot form in Canaan was the Base Ring jug, and these vessels also form a relatively coherent stylistic group. The present observations on imitations therefore focuses on this shape, based on a sample of over one hundred and fifty-eight vessels from seventeen sites.³ It's possible, based on this representative sample, to draw

¹ I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Irmgard Hein, who has coordinated my projects and provided invaluable assistance and support throughout my association with the SCIEM 2000. I am indebted to Alegre Savariego, Curator, Israel Antiquities Authority, and to Shannon C. White, Keeper, University of Pennsylvania Museum, for allowing me to gain access to the materials on which the present study is based, and for their kind and patient assistance.

² By "Canaanite" potters is meant only potters working in Canaan. Their actual ethnicity is purely a matter of conjecture. In the case of vessels that represent an amalgam of stylistic and technical features from diverse regions, a host of ethnic permutations is possible, see ÅSTRÖM 1991, 261.

³ *Tell el Ajjul*: tomb 1166: ten jugs, (eight type 89H13, two type 89H12), 13th c.; tomb 419: three jugs, 13th c.; tomb 1696: one jug; tomb 1508: one jug, 14th c., PETRIE 1932, pls. XXXVI, LVIII, PETRIE 1933, pls. X, XI, L, and tomb cards, Archives, University College London. *Tell Aphek*: governor's residency Str. X12: one small jug, 13th c., BECK and KOCHAVI 1985, 39, fig. 4:2; unpublished tomb, numerous jugs, 13th c., KOCHAVI 1990, 32–33. *Tell Beit Mirsim*: room SE22C: 8-one jug, ALBRIGHT 1930–31, 141, pl. 47(c):10. *Beth Shemesh*: tomb 1: eighteen jugs, nos. 387, 388, 405, 406, 414, 556, 407, 406, 483, 485, 502, 503, 528, 529, 531, 527, 530, 556, 13th c., GRANT 1929, 165, 169, 181, 183, 193; east grotto sepulchre: 2 jugs, nos. 12, 19, LB IIB, MACKENZIE 1913, 46, pl. XX. *Tell Dan*: "Mycenaean tomb": 3 jugs, nos. 49, 50, 52, LB IIA or IIB, BIRAN, BEN-DOV, *et*

al. 2002, 74, 226, pl. IVb. *Tell Eitun*: tomb B/I: four jugs, 14th–13th c., TZAFERIS and HESS 1992, 11, nos. 1–4. *Tell Far'ah South*: fosse tombs – tomb 905: two jugs, tomb 922: one jug, tomb 936: one jug, tomb 949: one jug, tomb 957: one jug, tomb 958: one jug, tomb 95: one jug, types 59W1, 59W1', 59W2', 68B3, 68C, 68B5, 68C, all 13th century contexts, STARKEY and HARDING 1932, 23, 25, pls. XLVII, LXXXVII, XCI, XCII. *Gezer*: tomb 31: one jug, tomb 59: one jug, and tomb 28: possibly one jug all LB II, MACALISTER 1912, 315, 327, pls. LXXIII: 6, LXXVI: 4, LXXXIV: 1, and one jug, excavated by R. Weil, bichrome painted, Louvre AO 6996. *Gibeon*: tomb 10A: two jugs, tomb 10B: four jugs, 14th c., possibly beginning in the later 15th c. and continuing into the early 13th c., and tomb 18: one jug, late 15th–14th c., PRITCHARD 1963, 13, 17, 36, fig. 8:20, 21 (and possibly 23, not illustrated), fig. 12, 262, unnumbered, 64, 65, and fig. 26, 19. *Hazor*: tomb 8144: three jugs, level IB, Area F, LB II, YADIN *et al.* 1956, 148, pl. CXXXIV: 1, 2, and 3. *Tell Jedur*: tomb: one jug, LB II, BEN-ARIEH, 122, fig. 5:8. *Jericho*: tomb 4: fourteen jugs, nine illustrated, nos. 59, 87, 80, 82, 111 (less clearly a member of this group), 173, 158, 170 and 134, 15th c., GARSTANG 1939, pl. XI. KENYON 1951, 136–138, fig. 12. *Jerusalem*: tomb at Dominus Flevit-nine jugs, "late 14th c.", SALLER 1964, 134–137, fig. 50:1–6, and fig. 51: 1–3. *Tell Mor*: A475/1, very debased, I am indebted to Tristram Barako for this information, and for kindly sending me a drawing and photograph of the vessel. *Qubeibeh*: tomb: two jugs published as imitations, one does not conform closely enough to the morphological

certain preliminary conclusions regarding the contextual, geographic and chronological distribution of the imitations and to define, on the basis of stylistic analysis, what constitutes an imitation, as opposed to a copy or an adaptation. To answer the question "why imitate", we consider the possible intentions and perceptions of the potters and consumers, respectively, drawing on explanatory models from the world of marketing, particularly in the areas of brand imitation and consumer behavior.

The Lachish tombs have yielded the largest single assemblage of imitation Base Ring vessels with some sixty-four imitation Base Ring jugs, one imitation Base Ring flask, two imitation Base Ring bowls and one imitation Base Ring juglet.⁴ TUFNELL (1958, 210–211) divided the jugs into three main groups: class A, with a ridge around the base of the neck, class B, without the ridge, and class C, with a "swollen" neck. Class B was the most common both at Lachish and elsewhere. Only one of the jugs, from fosse temple III, was *not* found in a tomb (TUFNELL 1940, pl. LIB, 284), and this distribution pattern parallels the situation at other sites in Canaan. It's possible of course that additional jug imitations were found in settlement contexts but not recognized in sherd form, however, with few exceptions (see n. 2, *infra*.) the vast majority of the jugs collected for this study all came from non-elite tombs, many containing multiple burials. This distribution, heavily weighted to ordinary, "middle class" burials, follows the pattern of the Base Ring jugs. Given the similarity in form and the parallel social and contextual distribution of imported and imitation Base Ring jugs, it is likely that they performed a similar function.

Regarding the chronological and geographic distribution of the imitations, wherever they turned up, imported Cypriot vessels might also be found, and very often the two were deposited in the same tombs, largely in 14th and especially in 13th century interments. This evidence, adumbrated in Tufnell's influential study, has resulted in the dating of imitation Base Ring II painted jugs and their contexts not ear-

lier than the time of Amenophis III. But 15th century occurrences have been documented (GARSTANG 1939, 25 – considered the latest objects in the tomb – and Saller's *ad quem* date for the largely 15th century Jebusite burial was based on the imitations, 1964, 137). The appearance of imitation Base Ring II jugs in 15th century Canaan should come as no surprise, since the Cypriot versions had already begun arriving during that period (BERGOFFEN 2001, 35–37, fig. 1B). It is important to emphasize, however, that the imitations appear as early as the first Cypriot Base Ring II imports. The conventional dating for the beginning of LC II and Base Ring II, from ca. 1425 (ÅSTRÖM 1972, 759–762, with Gibeon tombs 10A/B among the evidence cited), and its preponderance in 14th century contexts in Canaan, has tended to undermine the importance of the earliest imitations, as well as the rare instances of imported, painted Base Ring II in 15th century contexts for establishing the earlier end of the temporal range of this ware.

Future research may reveal distinct regional patterns in the distribution of imitation Base Ring, as for instance between the coast and the interior, but for the moment, no such pattern is discernable: the imitations, like their Cypriot counterparts, were apparently not confined to any particular area, but were widely distributed throughout Canaan. This contrasts with the situation in the western Mediterranean where Mycenaean pottery was both more frequently imported as well as more often imitated than Cypriot – evidently because Mycenaean traders were the more active there. In Sicily, moreover, the imitation Mycenaean vessels have so far been found in greater numbers at peripheral sites in the center of the island than in the ports along the coast, which traded directly with the Mycenaeans. This suggested to D'AGATA (2000, 64) that the imitations "arose more easily" in areas where the imports were less readily obtainable. In this instance, the notion of substitution explains a hypothetical deficit arising from geographic factors.

The concept of import substitution has also been

criteria enunciated in this article to be included, for the other, see below, BEN-ARIEH, BEN-TOR, and GODOVITZ 1993, 78, fig. 9:1, 2, fig. 2:7. *Tinnah*: stratum VII: one jug, LB IIA, KELM and MAZAR 1995, 59, fig. 4.26B.

⁴ Four of Tufnell's imitation Base Ring jug types were eliminated from consideration here: 887, whose collar rim and high handle attachment depart from the basic Base Ring jug form; 897, a narrow-necked, squat form with a biconical body related to MB piriform juglet shapes viz. in Tell el

Yehudiyah ware; 898, a BR juglet, rather than jug, imitation, and 902, whose neck is too short and narrow to evoke the BR jug shape. Note that of the original seventy-one types of Base Ring imitation in Tufnell's corpus, all but three were jug forms. I am uncertain whether TUFNELL 1958, pl. 81, type 878 is indeed an imitation rather than a Cypriot vessel. The remaining types of Base Ring jug imitations and the quantities of each are listed in TUFNELL 1958, pls. 81 and 82, and TUFNELL 1940, pl. LIB, type 284.

invoked to account for perceived differences in chronological distribution: Tufnell applied it to the corpus of imitations from Lachish to explain the preponderance of these vessels in 13th century contexts. She proposed that they were created to replace the imported vessels, which by that time were no longer as prevalent as they had been in the 14th century, the peak period of Cypriot pottery imports (TUFNELL 1958, 210). As PRAG (1985, 160, 162) pointed out, however, the fact that the imitations did occur in 14th century burials side-by-side with imports (and also in 15th c. tombs, above), rather weakened Tufnell's argument. According to Tufnell's own dating of the Lachish tombs in which the imitations were found, Class B was prevalent during the second half of the 14th century, while class C was popular between ca. 1350 and 1250. Only class A clustered after ca. 1300, with most of the vessels probably deposited in the second half of the 13th or early 12th centuries. Since, therefore, the imitations of painted Base Ring II jugs were already in circulation during the later 15th and 14th centuries, they were not created merely in response to a decrease in the availability of the imported versions. Instead, according to PRAG (1985, 163) they were initially inspired by the desire to "exploit a fashion and achieve a ready sale".

The above reconstructions propose that locally manufactured goods were introduced in order to replace imports. In the case of pottery production, SHERRATT (1999, 177–179) has observed that import substitution would have originated at the level of a non-elite, mass market because of the items' low intrinsic value. Whether imported or local, pottery was generally not of importance in high level gift exchange, and its production or distribution was therefore largely decentralized (BERGOFFEN 1991: A. and S. SHERRATT 2001, 29). Imitations would have been introduced at the grass roots level once the imports, arriving in quantity, had acquired an added, cultural value through frequency of usage across a broad spectrum of society (SHERRATT, *op.cit.*). Generally, the goal behind import substitution is to persuade consumers that the local product is interchangeable with the import. It is not necessary to make the imitation identical to the model to achieve this end, only that visually, the imitation remind buyers strongly of the "original". Indeed, the Canaanite imitations were by no means identical to the Base Ring jugs. As PRAG (1985, 160–161, 163) noted, the Canaanite potters "adopted or adapted only those features which could readily be produced within the traditions of their own craft": their imitations were always wheel made – never handmade like

the Cypriot vessels; they were not thin walled, and the Canaanite potters did not try to reproduce the dark surfaces or the relief decorations of Base Ring ware. As for the vessels' morphological features, PRAG felt these could just as easily be found in the Canaanite potting tradition. Thus, there wasn't "any real effort at imitation" (PRAG 1985, 161); rather, a foreign influence was absorbed, digested and transformed to produce vessels that fell within the Canaanite technical and stylistic repertoire. Yet in spite of the above-cited shortcomings, the imitations still evoke Base Ring II jugs, which is why they have been labeled as "imitations" since at least 1929, when GRANT (1929, 194), commenting on some specimens from Beth Shemesh tomb 1, noted "These types are a late form of "bilbil" of local manufacture and heavier fabric".

What are the visual cues or key stylistic features that define certain jugs as "imitation Base Ring ware"? The actual ware, that is, the fabric, has nothing to do with Base Ring, and in all but one or two rare jugs, the color of the surface and paint also depart from the models. What is similar – or should be, if a vessel is to be classified as an imitation – are certain elements of proportion and shape, and in many instances, the designs of the painted decoration, although not the color. The essential morphological features are: a wide, cylindrical or upwards-flaring neck that is not less than about 40% of the overall height of the vessel and not less than approximately a third of its maximum width; a prominent foot – preferably a splayed ring base, and a handle running from the neck to the shoulder that is attached no lower than half of the neck's height below the rim – preferably higher – and is pulled out a short distance horizontally from the vessel's wall before beginning its downwards curve. Although an emphatic horizontally extended rim with a straight, beveled, or profiled edge, is closest to the Base Ring jug shape, a simple flaring or everted rim will satisfy the eye, providing the handle is attached below the curved section and doesn't interrupt its line (Figs. 1, 2). The sharp angle between neck and body resulting, in the handmade versions, from the method of slotting the neck into the body is very distinctive; a flowing, organic curve at this juncture in the wheel made imitations would not fit the bill.

Cypriot Base Ring II jugs might be decorated in white paint on the neck and body with single or grouped horizontal bands circling the neck and groups of vertical, diagonal, arcing, or horizontal lines crossing or not on the body. The vessel body is almost always treated as a single field, rather than

divided up into horizontal zones or registers, and the ground is most often a mat, dark grey slip. The imitations were also decorated with painted line groups arranged in similar compositions, for instance single or grouped horizontal lines on the neck and single or grouped vertical lines on the body (Fig. 1). A favorite pattern was diagonal lines groups forming a zigzag around the body (Fig. 3; TUFNELL 1958, pl. 81: 880, 881, 883, 885, 892, etc.). Another common set of designs, but which does not belong to the Base Ring II repertoire, consists of framed wavy lines arranged in vertical groups, diagonals or zigzags (TUFNELL 1958, pl. 876, 877, 886, 891, 894, 895, etc.)

The most important dissimilarity between Cypriot Base Ring and its Canaanite imitations is in the colors of the surface and paint. Many imitations, especially of type C, were painted in red, rather than white, while others, usually of type A or B, were decorated in bichrome red and black paint sometimes on a white or pale brown burnished slip (Fig. 3). It might be thought that this latter decorative technique, like the shape of the imitations, was also influenced by Cypriot styles, specifically by Cypriot Bichrome ware. In the case of a vessel like Fig. 1, one reacts in particular to the compact, pale, and well levigated fabric that is comparable in quality to Cypriot Bichrome but unlike the coarse fabric that was normally used for these vessels in Canaan. The origin of bichrome paint on a pale slip, however, is not *per se* related to Cypriot influence. On the contrary, such decoration – also associated with fine fabrics – had a long history in Canaan going back into the Middle Bronze age and is well attested among Canaanite Late Bronze Age wares (ILAN 1996, 158–159, figs. 3–5). Motifs such as the open “necklace” and the lattice, both found on an elaborately decorated Base-Ring-shaped jug from Qubeibeh, also have their origins in Middle Bronze Age painted wares, rather than in Cyprus (BEN-ARIEH, BEN-TOR, and GODOVITZ 1993, 78, figs. 9: 1, 2: 7).⁵ In any event, the proportions and the handle placement of Cypriot Bichrome jugs as well as the composition and density of their painted designs distinguish them quite neatly from typical Base Ring jugs or their imitations.⁶

Stylistic differences, above all in surface treatment, make it clear that the Canaanite potters were

not attempting to produce direct copies of Cypriot Base Ring ware. But we should nevertheless retain the notion of imitation with respect to these vessels. This is a critical distinction because it goes to the intention of the potter or the seller or distributor of the objects. If the intention is either to give the appearance of a standardized product or perhaps even to mislead the customer into thinking he was buying the “real thing”, then all products of a certain class should follow a recognized original design fairly closely: they should, in fact, copy. Without getting into the complicated question of origins, there were several wares in circulation in the late Middle Bronze to early Late Bronze periods that were manufactured in more than one region and were virtually identical from place to place. These included Cypriot and Canaanite dipper juglets, Black Lustrous Wheel made juglets, and especially Red Lustrous Wheel made spindle bottles, this last having the widest geographical distribution of such vessels. In all these instances, imports or local products were apparently used indiscriminately at the same sites and in the same contexts. And each type adhered fairly closely to an international canon, making it very difficult to determine merely on visual examination whether a vessel was produced in Cyprus, Canaan, Syria, or Anatolia.

Returning to the Base Ring imitations, the fact that the Late Bronze Age Canaanite potters were not accustomed to hand building and apparently didn’t have access to clays as fine and plastic as the Cypriots, need not have prevented them from making reasonably convincing, if somewhat clumsier, copies. Some Canaanite potters could and did produce fine-walled vessels: the neck of a Base Ring jug imitation from Gibeon tomb 10B is 4 mm. thick – not exactly a clunker. The characteristic backwards-tilting neck of the Base Ring jugs, which Prag observed was noticeably lacking in the imitations, could have been easily achieved simply by shaping the thrown pot before it got dry. The neck of one radically off-center jug, leaning no doubt unintentionally and in the wrong direction, nevertheless demonstrates how easily this effect could be achieved (Fig. 2). A dark surface just needs the application of a dark slip or reduction firing, either of which was well within the technical and styl-

⁵ ILAN (1996, 159, 162, figs. 3:5, 4:1, 7:5) puts the origins of the open “necklace” possibly in the southern Levant and of the lattice in the northern Levant or Amuq / Cilician sphere.

⁶ For the distinction between Cypriot and Canaanite

Bichrome ware see ARTZY, PERLMAN and ASARO 1978. The fine variety of Bichrome ware is now considered largely of Cypriot origin (M. Artzy, pers. comm.)

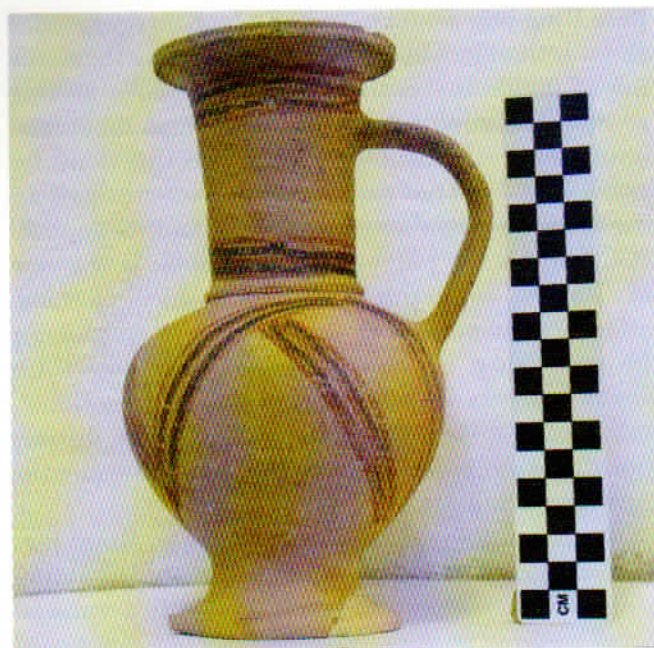


Fig. 1 Imitation Base Ring jug from Lachish, on vessel: D4013 5969; courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority, accession no. 37.807

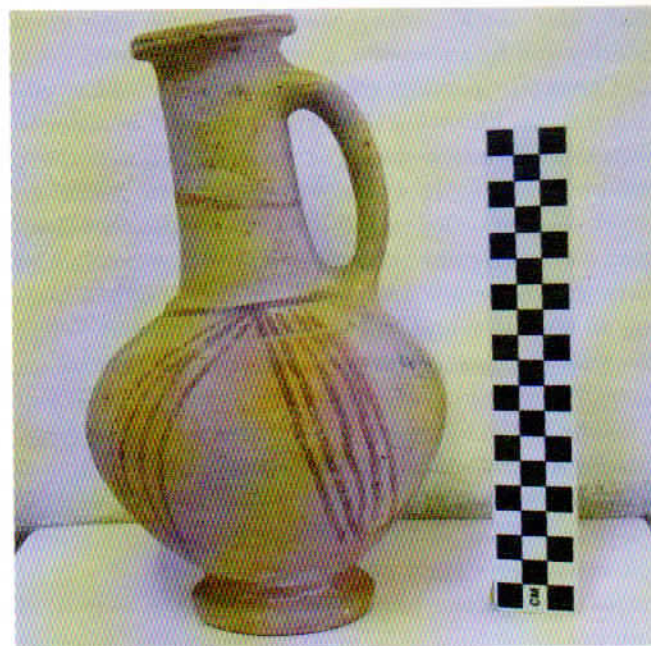


Fig. 2 Imitation Base Ring jug from Gibeon tomb 10B, 1543 / P 1348. (PRITCHARD 1963, figs. 12; 62 and 99; 15), courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum, accession no. 62-30-1525

istic repertoire of Canaanite potters. The virtual – though not complete – absence of relief decoration is not significant because this type of decoration was present only in Base Ring I, while almost all the imitations were in the style of painted Base Ring II.⁷

The over-riding impression one has of the imitations – their Base Ring “look” – does not depend on their color but rather, arises from their shape and the general design of their painted decoration. Evidently, the goal of the Canaanite potters was to make imitations similar enough to the popular Cypriot products to be lumped together with them in the minds of buyers and so be more saleable. But this idea, essentially Prag’s hypothesis, enfolds several assumptions that she did not state: firstly, Cypriot Base Ring II jugs and their contents will have been established in the Canaanite marketplace before the imitations were introduced, this means, before the end of the 15th century; secondly, the “look” of a Base Ring jug was by that time recognized by the customer, and thirdly, enough time had elapsed so that that “look” had been connected in the minds of buyers to a set of positive associations, expectations, and meanings. Based on past experience, consumers had learned to expect satisfaction from products possessing that

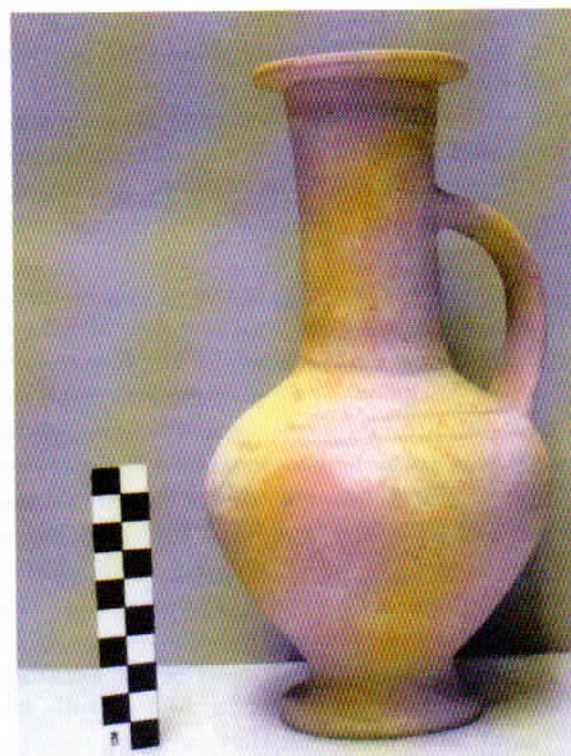


Fig. 3 Imitation Base Ring jug from Beth Shemesh tomb 1. (GRANT 1929, 193, 196), courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority, accession no. 405. I 64

⁷ See KARAGEORGHIS and MARKETOU, this volume, fig. 2: 11, for a rare example of an imitation Base Ring I jug from Trianda, Rhodes, decorated in relief.

particular "look", which they associated with good quality and by extension, a reputable producer.

Canaanite potters took advantage of these circumstances, imitating the Cypriote "look" in order to save the expense and risk of introducing something completely new. It was not necessary to create an exact copy in order to sell in the same product category as the original. As studies of consumer behavior have shown, people may be aware that they are buying an imitation and still be perfectly satisfied. Why? Because the perception between two objects of an overall similarity – a grouping of features, or *Gestalt* – results in the linking of two products in consumers' minds. And, because human perception is influenced by experience and the tendency to generalize from it – a phenomenon known as "stimulus generalization" – a consumer's good opinion of the original will be transferred to the imitation, even to the extent of judging its *contents* to be of a similar quality, whether they are or not (WARD, LOKEN and HASAPOPOULOS 1986; ZAICHKOWSKY 1995, 5–6, 35–36, 44). This type of mental association between two different products is termed "consumer confusion". Stylistic deviations in packaging from the original do not entail sacrificing the marketing benefits of imitating providing that the overall "look" of the original is preserved. Indeed, small variations in packaging or labeling may be introduced precisely in order to distinguish one's product from an original while still taking advantage of the consumer behaviors just described (ZAICHKOWSKY 1995, 7).

Did Canaanite consumers notice or care about the differences in surface treatment and weight between the imitations and the "originals"? The fact that the vessels' distribution was primarily funerary and that they were often found together in the same burials indicates that users had a first-hand experience of both and were therefore able to distinguish between them as easily as any similarly informed person today. The degree to which they cared about these noticeable differences, however, or applied knowledge in their purchase decisions, are other issues. It has been observed that modern consumers' discernment of differences is a result of a high intellectual involvement with products, that is, the amount of time spent paying attention to, and learning about them (ZAICHKOWSKY 1995, 19–21, 37). This type of attention may be brought to bear in buying something new, or an expensive item like a house or a car. Involvement will be low in the case of products acquired habitually, such as food or household items. As discussed above, neither imported nor imitation

Base Ring jugs would have had a high intrinsic value and it is therefore likely that in purchasing them, the role of intellectual evaluation in the decision-making process was minimal. A consumer's high emotional involvement – a possible factor in selecting items for grave gifts – will not necessarily promote the gathering of information about a product and its application towards the purchase. For instance, in the case of jewelry, cosmetics, and high fashion clothing, affect – or impulse – motivates modern consumers. In sum, when consumers do not seek knowledge about products – whether or not they are emotionally involved in their purchase – a blurring of distinctions between objects will result, and consequently, customer confusion.

In conclusion, once imported Base Ring jugs became popular and familiar and Canaanite consumers had invested these objects with a cultural value by using them as grave gifts, potters saw a good opportunity – and had the freedom – to introduce a new product that would reproduce the "look" of the imported object and so attract the same set of customers. Base Ring II jug imitations appeared in LB I, together with the first Base Ring II jug imports, became steadily more common as the latter peaked in frequency after 1400, and continued to be produced into the late 13th to early 12th centuries after the imported versions were no longer available. Canaanite potters did not need to make exact copies of the Base Ring jugs in order to sell in the same market. In fact, there is a great deal of variation in surface treatment and decoration among the Canaanite imitations, showing that there was no attempt to produce a standard type. Because of the phenomenon of stimulus generalization, the similarity in overall appearance between imports and imitations ensured the latter's acceptance by consumers. It is suggested however, that the low involvement of buyers with these products would have resulted in some level of consumer confusion. Although they were not "duped" by the imitations, imports and local versions may have become associated in the consumers' minds to the extent that they may have perceived them to be equivalent in worth and quality and therefore equally suitable for the same uses. Consumers may even have received the impression that the vessels were made or filled by the same or closely related producers. Thus, they would not have distinguished between the Base Ring imports and their Canaanite imitations the way archaeologists do, who are intellectually highly involved with these objects and intent upon their classification.

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