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Shifting Relations in Bronze Age Gaza

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‘[C]ulture contact is a basic human fact’ (Gosden 2004: 5)

The Gaza region (**Figure 1**) has long been an arena of intense cultural contact. It lies at the interface between the African and Asiatic landmasses and the Mediterranean world, and during antiquity acted as a gateway community to the southern Levant. Over the millennia countless traders, nomadic tribesmen, soldiers and other travellers have transversed the Ways of Horus, the sandy desert route along the north Sinai connecting the Nile delta and the wadi Gaza, carrying with them goods, social practices and ideas. Gaza therefore is an excellent place to explore colonial encounters and how these affect different communities, in particular due to the presumed cultural pre-eminence of Egypt. Previously I have discussed culture contact in the region through the lens of Mycenaean pottery (Steel 2002); this discussion will focus on Egyptian(ising) material culture to explore hybridisation within a shared cultural milieu.

Egypto-Canaan Relations in the Bronze Age

Communications between Egypt and the Levant were particularly close and stretch back several millennia, over which time they underwent many changes. The earliest demonstrable contacts date to the Levantine Chalcolithic (conterminous with the later Predynastic period); these are illustrated by the widespread distribution of Egyptian slate palettes throughout the southern Levant (Jacobs 1996), perhaps exchanged as greeting gifts between chiefs. More unusual is the Proto-Dynastic ceremonial palette (c. 3300-3100 BCE) recently discovered at Bet Yerah (Greeneberg *et al* 2010), an object which has been used to give further credence to the establishment of Egyptian colonies in the region during the Proto-Dynastic period (Early Bronze I). One such colony has been identified at Tell es-Sakan, just north of the wadi Gaza (Miroschedji *et al* 2001). Finds from the site included a pot sherd inscribed with the *serekh* of Narmer, providing evidence for Egyptian royal activity at the site. Very early on in the history of cultural contact therefore there is clear evidence for the some form of Egyptian colonial settlement in the southern coastal plain contact (van Brink and Levy 2002). These settlements however, were short-lived; nonetheless the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom state maintained diplomatic and economic ties with the region; exemplified by the presentation of tribute (*inw*) to the pharaoh by Asiatics (Bleiberg 1996).

During the second millennium BCE (Middle-Late Bronze Age) contact between Egypt and the Levant intensified. In the Middle Bronze Age the Levant was seemingly independent from Egypt. Numerous wealthy city-states flourished and there is extensive evidence for diplomatic and trading links with Egypt. The scarab, itself a novelty in Egypt, became popular throughout Syro-Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age (Ben-Tor 2007; Tufnell 1984) and depictions of brightly clothed Asiatics bringing gifts famously adorn the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Goedicke 1984). Following the collapse of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, there is some evidence for the establishment of an Asiatic royal dynasty in the Egyptian Delta (Fifteenth Dynasty– the Hyksos). Evidence for close cultural connections between the Delta and Southern Levant is evident from the Middle Kingdom (Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties); hybrid ceramic traditions have been identified at Tell el-Maskhuta (Redmount 1995) and excavations at Tell ed-Dab'a have revealed evidence for shared cultural practices, including warrior burials, child burials in Canaanite Jars and horse burials (Bietak 1997). The Delta was therefore a contact situation equal to the southern Levant, and a place where mobile communities, each with their own cultural traditions, mingled and exchanged ideas.

A destruction horizon separates the Middle and Late Bronze Age levels in the Levant, usually attributed to Egyptian military activity following the expulsion of the Hyksos. Culturally there is no significant change – the same daily utensils were being used within the household and there is likewise continuity in the use of space, both public and private. Even so, the flourishing urban centres were greatly diminished, especially following the establishment of the Egyptian Empire during the Thutmosid period (Weinstein 1981). The extent of Egyptian administrative practices in the Levant is unclear, but this appears to have been distinct from the more structured imperial activity in Nubia (Smith 1997). In contrast to Nubia there are no extant monumental Egyptian constructions, such as temples, in the Levant, although there is a reference to a temple of Amen at *Pa-Canaan* (possibly Gaza) in the Papyrus Harris. Even so, a number of Egyptian residencies and military establishments have been identified (Higginbotham 2000), including one at Deir el-Balah (Dothan 1973, 1979, 2008; Killebrew *et al* 2006) south of the Wadi Gaza. Although Egyptian officials were undoubtedly active at many sites in the southern Levant, for the most part imperial rule was mediated via the local petty rulers, many of whom are recorded in the Amarna letters.

The Gaza region was of prime importance during the second millennium BC. It was a major nexus of communication between Egypt and the Levant, lying at the Palestinian terminus of the 'Ways of Horus' and was crucial for the movement of traded commodities as well as military and administrative personnel between Egypt and Palestine. The pre-eminent site during the earlier second millennium was Tell el-'Ajjul (Petrie 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934; Petrie *et al* 1952). Here excavations have revealed a wealthy town with extensive trading relations not only with Egypt – the source of many Middle Kingdom scarabs (Tufnell 1984) – but also with Cyprus (Bergoffen 2001a, 2001b) and the Aegean (Steel 2002). 'Ajjul stands out in particular for its wealth in gold, found in many hoards across the city (Negbi 1970). The wide range

of imported goods found both in the settlement and in the adjacent cemeteries clearly show how the exotic was incorporated within the daily practices of the site's inhabitants. Some 500 m to the north of 'Ajjul was the lesser known satellite settlement of el-Moghraqa (Steel *et al* 2002, 2004a; 2004b). The main period of occupation at el-Moghraqa dates to MB IIB-c period, contemporary with nearby 'Ajjul. There is only limited evidence for LB I activity at both sites and by fourteenth century the main focus of occupation around the wadi Gaza had shifted south to Deir el-Balah, which remained the leading settlement in the Gaza region to the end of the Bronze Age. New centres developed in the Iron Age at Tell es-Sannam and Tell Ruqeish, but these sites lie outside this narrative.

Hybridisation

Gaza was the ultimate contact situation – a place where individuals from different communities, and with very different social practices, come into close contact with each other. Postcolonial theory, specifically recent discussion of hybridisation and creolisation, allows us to move beyond the bold reality that colonialism was imposed upon a passive native population and to explore the material consequences of this contact. The emphasis is on the local context, exploring interaction, social relations and negotiations of identity not only on the part of the newcomers but also the native population; thus it recognises the agency of both the coloniser and the colonised. Colonisation is shaped by the entangled connections between different communities (Gosden 2004; Silliman 2005; van Dommelen 1997). Hybridisation considers the experience and agency of the colonised and explores how people in colonial situations actively rework their social identities drawing upon existing practices and new ideas. Structuration theory (Giddens 1984) helps us to place this cultural interaction within a social context; one where the influence of new customs and objects might bring about many small and daily acts of change in repeated activities, resulting in new and hybrid practices. Conversely, creolisation examines the world as a continuum of cultures, which are neither distinct nor bounded but instead merge into and mutually change each other (Eriksen 2007; Stewart 2007). Colonial situations therefore are a complex mix of both local and intrusive cultural elements which combine together to create something new and which potentially subverted cultural norms. This might be manifested in the development of new or modified customs and social practices, or in the adoption of new items of material culture; 'cultural mix... is the effect of the practice of mixed origins' (Friedman 1997: 88). Even so, while the inventiveness and agency of the native population is highlighted within such approaches, we should not overlook the physical reality of the colonial world, which remains essentially a power relationship, on one side the assertion of authority and on the other varied responses, including marginalisation, resistance and submission (Gosden 2004: 25; see also Silliman 2005).

This melding of cultures has become known as the 'middle ground' (Gosden 2004; White 1991) – a creative space where people of diverse cultural backgrounds with different social practices and ideologies, come into contact with each other and,

perhaps more importantly, in which no one group is subordinate or predominant. A significant element of the middle ground is the inability of either side to obtain what they want through the application of force (White 1991: 52); instead people learn to accommodate very different values whilst at the same time applying their own. Accordingly they adopt, reinterpret and frequently misconstrue each other's social practices, values and ideologies, a process which gradually results in the creation of shared new social structures and practices. Thus, the middle ground assumes a mutually beneficial social interaction between the native and the incomer and the formation of a new system of values. In addition we might expect the exchange of culturally appropriate gifts legitimising the social ties between both parties, and at the same time impacting upon their material world. Another sphere of colonial interaction, which might be appropriate to the situation in Bronze Age Gaza, is the 'shared cultural milieu' (Gosden 2004: 32-3). Rather than a contact situation where the unknown meets the unknown, the shared cultural milieu refers to interaction between communities who share similar cultural values, social practices and material culture. In this specific contact situation it is the local elites who benefit; they acquire exclusive access to new forms of social and cultural capital which they then manipulate in internal social strategies of differentiation and power. Giddens highlights the connection between agency and power, namely the ability "to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention" (1984: 14) to achieve a desirable social outcome and so to effect change. Such power relations are mediated through the manipulation of resource (or capital), which might be expressed through privileged access to, or control of exotic or enchanted objects (cf. Helms 1988; Gell 1992), or otherwise be symbolised architecturally within the social production of space (Maran 2006a; 2006b). Even within the middle ground access to, and equally exclusion from, exotic power symbols therefore might be controlled physically or spatially, thus placing limitations on cultural coalescence within the wider community beyond the elites.

The following discussion will examine how specific aspects of Egyptian material culture were incorporated within social practices in Gaza during the second millennium. These objects will be examined as evidence for hybridization and the creation of a new social world. As a result of increased contact with Egyptians from the mid-second millennium BCE the local population becoming increasingly familiar with different ideologies and different ways of doing things; moreover, Egyptian practices and the associated paraphernalia were particularly prized because of the perceived superiority of the Egyptian way of life. Thus these exotic new practices were increasingly adopted and adapted by the native population which ultimately resulted in the development of Egyptianised objects in Gaza.

'Funerary' Cones

A large number of terracotta cone fragments have been recovered from the upper deposits at el-Moghraqa (**Figure 2**; Steel *et al* 2004a: 62-4; 2004b). To date the cones are unique in the Levant; however, they closely resemble Egyptian funerary cones

typical of Eighteenth Dynasty Thebes (Davies and MacAdam 1957). The Gaza cones, which were made from coarse, reddish-yellow clay and covered with a red slip, were stamped on the round face and upper side with a single cartouche before firing. In most cases the cartouche encloses the *prenomen*, or 'throne-name', of Tuthmosis III (mn-xpr-ra, Menkheperre) but two fragments are inscribed with the *prenomen* of Hatshepsut (mAat-kA-ra, Maatkare), indicating that the cones date to the co-regency (c.1473-1458 BCE). It is unclear whether the cones can also be related to Thutmosis III's Gaza campaign in years 22-23 of his reign (Steel *et al.* 2004b: 327-9). The cones were consistently broken off at a length of around 10 cm; moreover, while projecting round stamped faces have survived in large numbers, only two of the cone tips survive. This implies that the cones had been employed as an architectural feature projecting from the facade. They were dismantled from this architectural structure and dumped over the debris of the Middle Bronze Age settlement at el-Moghraqa at a later date.

These cones demonstrate either the introduction of elite Egyptian practices to Gaza or otherwise some knowledge or understanding of these practices. Within the Egyptian social world funerary cones were exclusively associated with Upper Egypt and for the most part with Thebes, home of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Davies and MacAdam 1957; Kampp 1996: 66-8), where they were used from the Eleventh Dynasty (Hayes 1959: 34). A small number have also been identified in the New Kingdom cemetery at Tombos, in Nubia (Buzon 2006: 687). In Egypt the cones had a specifically funerary function and in some way marked ownership of an official's tomb. From the Seventeenth Dynasty they were typically stamped on the circular face with the name and titles of the tomb owner and it is accepted that they were inserted in large numbers into the tomb's façade, although in only two cases have they been found *in situ* (Davies 1938; Dibley and Lipkin 2009: 4; Hayes 1959: 34; Reeves and Ryan 1987). Although we do not fully understand what these objects signified in Egypt we can explicitly link them in time and place to a specific group of individuals; within Egypt they were intrinsically associated with the Theban elite and administrative hierarchy. The funerary cones from Tombos have been interpreted as a deliberate expression of Egyptian identity in Nubia, an interpretation which gains credence given the associated pyramidal tomb structure, resembling contemporary tombs of the nobles from Thebes (Buzon 2006: 687).

Should we then interpret the cones from el-Moghraqa as the funerary equipment of an Egyptian official in Gaza, presumably from Thebes, who chose to adorn his tomb with specifically Theban funerary equipment? Within such a narrative we might then view the subsequent dismantling of the tomb structure and dumping of the cones as a deliberate act of resistance against the Egyptian administration. Certainly contemporary sources suggest the presence of an Egyptian governor at Gaza during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Redford 1992: 199-203), but physical evidence for this official's tomb has yet to be identified (Steel 2002: 41-4). Instead, while the el-Moghraqa cones might in fact be the clearest and most convincing evidence for the existence of an Egyptian governor's tomb in the Gaza region, there is perhaps more evidence that the cones reflect hybrid cultural practices – the adaptation of

specifically Theban materials and actions by local resident elite. There are in fact a number of substantive distinctions between these cones and the Theban (and Nubian) material which might suggest the Moghraqa objects were used by individuals who did not have the cultural competence to fully understand their signification and function. The cones from el-Moghraqa were stamped twice – on the round end and the upper side – but the Egyptian cones were only ever stamped on the round face. Moreover, the Egyptian inscriptions listed the name of the tomb owner, his titles and sometimes his parentage, but none of the Egyptian examples were stamped on the side, or had an inscription which solely comprised the pharaoh's name. These distinctions suggest that the cones were not created for an Egyptian but rather for a Canaanite, who might perhaps have visited Thebes and viewed some of the tombs adorned with cones, and who consequently had some understanding of Theban demonstrations of status and wished to emulate them.

We cannot in fact be sure that these cones were intended to mark a tomb and there is certainly no evidence for elaborate built funerary structures anywhere in Gaza. The function of these objects might well have been misconstrued outside their Theban context; rather than a marker of an individual's persona in death they were reinterpreted as a symbol of prestige and authority, which had specific associations with Egyptian royal power. I would suggest that the Moghraqa cones in fact were intended to seal some other type of building, presumably located in a prominent public place (perhaps at nearby 'Ajjul) and proclaimed its owner to be a significant personage within the newly established Egyptian administration. Closer inspection of the inscription likewise suggests the cones had been deliberately altered for a Canaanite audience. The written message is straightforward and uncomplicated; the signs simply convey the throne name of Tuthmosis III (and Hatshepsut) without use of the royal title (*nisw bity*). These cones were designed to convey Egyptian royal authority succinctly for a non-Egyptian and largely non-literate audience. Thutmosis' *prenomen* would probably have been widely recognised as a mark of his authority, even if the actual signs could not be read. Presumably the owner of the building aspired to acquire prestige and standing by means of the use of the royal name, and through which they claimed some association with the Egyptian ruling dynasty. The cones from el-Moghraqa then display some degree of cultural hybridity. An originally Theban funerary object was taken out of its social context to be manipulated and reinvented within the changing social world of the southern Levant.

Burials at Deir el-Balah

Further evidence for hybridised social practices and the reshaping of the material world is evident in the Late Bronze Age cemetery at Deir el-Balah (Dothan 1972, 1973, 1979). Here there was significant change in local traditions surrounding the disposal of the dead and the introduction of new elements which mimicked Egyptian practices. In contrast to the posited Egyptian burials at Tombos in Nubia, which were equipped with a typical range of Egyptian funerary equipment and

placed in Egyptian style pyramidal tombs (Buzon 2006), the Deir el-Balah burials were not provided with certain items necessary to prepare an Egyptian for the afterlife. There was for example only one *ushabti* (Dothan 2008: 149) and there were no canopic jars. Moreover, although burials were typically placed within clay coffins there is no evidence for the mummification of the body, nor was the body adorned with the array of amulets that might be expected in the wrappings of an Egyptian mummy (Taylor 2001, 201-6). The simple pit graves recall those from the Late Bronze Age cemetery at nearby 'Ajjul. Deposition of the grave goods was structured; the coffin was placed in a shaft at the bottom of a larger shallow pit and large storage vessels containing dipper juglets were placed above the coffin (Dothan 1979: 71). Smaller vessels were placed within the coffin. As is typical for burials throughout the wider East Mediterranean at this time, the pottery was a mix of local Canaanite wares and imports from Cyprus and the Aegean – truly a reflection of a shared cultural milieu. This blending of cultural traditions at the site is further reiterated by the number of locally manufactured vessels which imitate Cypriot and Egyptian forms (Dothan 2008: 132-40). Given the full complement of grave goods at Deir el-Balah, which was not fully in keeping with Egyptian funerary practices, I would suggest that these were the burials of native Canaanites rather than of a resident Egyptian population; however the people buried in these tombs had access to some Egyptian materials which they actively incorporated within the creation and expression of their own hybrid identity.

Typically the deceased at Deir el Balah were buried in anthropoid coffins of clay (**Figure 3**), which were produced locally. There were two main types: the first were mummy-shaped coffins with clearly delineated head and shoulders, whereas the head and shoulder of the second were not delineated. Some were naturalistic and closely mimicked their Egyptian prototypes, while others were more stylised and seemingly 'grotesque' (Dothan 2008: 94-5). Anthropoid coffins were an intrusive tradition in the Levant, but become widespread during the latter part of the Late Bronze Age and are attested at sites such as Tell Far-'a, Lachish and Beth Shan (Dothan 1982: 60-79). These are later than the coffins from Deir el-Balah and at none of these sites was there such a wide variety of coffin types. Anthropoid coffins developed in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom (Hayes 1953: 303-12), where they were typically made of sycamore wood or cartonnage. From the Eighteenth Dynasty they were also made from clay. For the most part anthropomorphic coffins are a northern phenomenon, being concentrated in the Nile Delta, but some are also attested in Nubia (Dothan 1982: 279). These objects therefore belong to the periphery of Egyptian society and represent adaptations of an established Egyptian practice in social worlds where there were blurred cultural boundaries. In this respect I would suggest that the anthropomorphic coffins in the Delta, Nubia and also those from Deir el-Balah, are more a manifestation of creolisation than hybridity. They illustrate the fluidity of cultural boundaries at the periphery of Egyptian society and merging social practices.

Egyptian objects and Egyptianising objects were commonly selected for inclusion in the burials at Deir el-Balah. As noted above, the pottery found placed in the tombs

was of varied origin from around the East Mediterranean. The typical range of Canaanite vases were an important element of the funerary equipment, but the inhabitants of the site also chose to use more exotic items in ritual performance at the graveside and also to provide for the afterlife. Amongst these were numerous local imitations of Egyptian ceramic forms such as V-shaped bowls, frequently perforated at the base, perhaps for use in libation rituals, drop-shaped jars and most commonly the so-called 'beer bottle'. Clearly the material world of southern Gaza was transformed through contact with Egypt at various levels. The pottery assemblage illustrates the integration of Egyptian-style materials in quotidian traditions associated with household activities. The bronze lotus jug and platter from Tomb 114 and wine set, comprising a bowl strainer and jar (Dothan 2008: 34-5 from Tomb 118 (**Figure 4**)) demonstrate the adoption of Egyptian customs of wine consumption by certain individuals; similar objects are also attested at other Late Bronze Age sites in the southern Levant and Cyprus (Higginbotham 2000: 182-3), illustrating the spread of common cultural practices within a shared cultural milieu in the East Mediterranean.

Items of personal adornment also illustrate the assimilation of Egyptian materials and ideologies at Deir el Balah. Quantities of beads, necklaces and amulets fashioned from gold and carnelian can be attributed to the site and were probably placed in tombs (Dothan 2008: 150-1). The range of Egyptian items was largely restricted to necklaces with lotus seed beads, *Wadjet* eyes, scarabs, gold embossed palmettes and a single gold Hathor pendant (with a very Nubian-style face). This is far from the full range of amulets and protective funerary jewellery might be expected in an Egyptian burial. Instead, we might then conclude that the inhabitants of Deir el-Balah only had access to a small range of Egyptian style jewellery or that their preference was for certain types of bead. These might be considered potent or symbolically-charged objects for their Egyptian associations, but there is no evidence that their amuletic connotations were transmitted. The hoop and drop earrings were more typically an expression of local Canaanite identity. The combination of Egyptian and indigenous in personal adornment further reiterates the hybridity of this funerary material.

Although extremely rare, four Egyptian funerary stelae are also attested at Deir el-Balah (Dothan 2008: 155-7; Ventura 1987). These limestone or *kurkar* stelae, dating to the Ramesside period, were dedicated to the cult of Osiris; typically they depict the named deceased worshipping Osiris and making offerings. They were designed to be freestanding objects embedded in to the ground and facilitated not only a cult of the dead but also the cult of Osiris. Stelae were an essential item of Egyptian funerary furniture with an ancient pedigree. Frequently they record offerings to the tomb owner and from the New Kingdom depictions of the funerary deities Anubis or Osiris receiving offerings from the deceased were common (Taylor 2001: 155-62). Possibly these objects attest the presence of Egyptian burials at Deir el-Balah; certainly the recorded names are of the deceased are Egyptian rather than Canaanite. These objects therefore proclaimed a distinctively Egyptian identity for at least some of the community of Deir el-Balah. This evidence for colonial encounter at the site

allows us to explore how certain cultural practices could be observed by the local elite, who were thus able to select certain elements to incorporate within their own funerary ritual.

The way in which objects and social practices were manipulated within the social context of Late Bronze Age Gaza is distinct from earlier reception of Egyptian materials in this part of the southern Levant. Early Bronze Age activity at sites such as Tell Sakkan (Miroschedji et al. 2001) comprise a colonial layer of control which was to all intents restricted to Egyptian incomers to the region; however, the Dynasty 0 paraphernalia had limited, if any, impact on daily life within the wider Early Bronze I communities of the Gaza region. There is an horizon of Egyptian scarabs (Tufnell 1984) within the Middle Bronze Age settlement at 'Ajjul; while these were eagerly consumed as status markers there is no clear evidence for their cumulative impact on lifeways and social practice. Instead, the scarabs circulated within the settlement and were placed in tombs as prized possessions which retained their Egyptian character and mystique. Nonetheless, Late Bronze Age Gaza is not unique within the Levant as a third space or middle ground; there is clear evidence for hybrid social practices amongst the elites of Middle Bronze Age Byblos, most particularly expressed in the development of Egyptianising burial practices in the royal tombs. Flammini proposes that Egyptian aspects of these burials were "adopted by the Byblos rulers were a means of differentiating themselves from other local rulers and of garnering prestige from their association with the highly-valuated Egyptian elite" (2010: 154). Although certain features, such as the inclusion of Egyptian pectorals and pendants, certainly reflect consumption of exotic imports, I would argue that the selective adoption of Egyptian features within local funerary ritual demonstrates privileged knowledge and understanding of Egyptian funerary ritual. One such example is the alabaster vase inscribed with an offering formula found in Tomb IV (Flammini 2010: 160); similarly the faience fragments from an Egyptian style coffin "probably adapted to local requirements" found in Tomb I (Flammini 2010, 160) suggests a combination of local and Egyptian typical of hybrid social action. Likewise, the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs and titles, such as on the gold scimitar from Tomb II inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs naming Yapishemuabi and his father as the 'high officials' of Byblos (Flammini 2010: 160) demonstrates the middle ground of Middle Bronze Age Gaza.

Conclusions

The communities in Gaza during the Late Bronze Age drew heavily upon Egyptian cultural traditions, which consequently played a key role in reshaping their experience of the material world. To some degree the communities at either terminal of the Ways of Horus, both in the Nile Delta and around the mouth of the wadi Gaza, were creolised; their traditions and materials occupied a cultural continuum albeit at one end with a stronger Egyptian identity and at the other with a Canaanite character. Gaza therefore was a contact zone where people engaged with and learnt from each other. Hybrid practices are evident in various aspects of the material

world, for example in pottery production and personal adornment. The cones from el-Moghraqa appear to illustrate a degree of ambiguity in the adoption of new social elements, whilst 'cultural appropriation and admixture' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001: 113) are perhaps more evident in the commemoration of the dead at Deir el-Balah; here, alongside the integration of Egyptian practices within existing rituals, the local community also selected Egyptian materials amongst their multi-cultural grave goods. The resulting cultural hybridity of funerary ritual demonstrates how the 'exotic' was incorporated within daily activities to reshape the local Canaanite social world.

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Figures

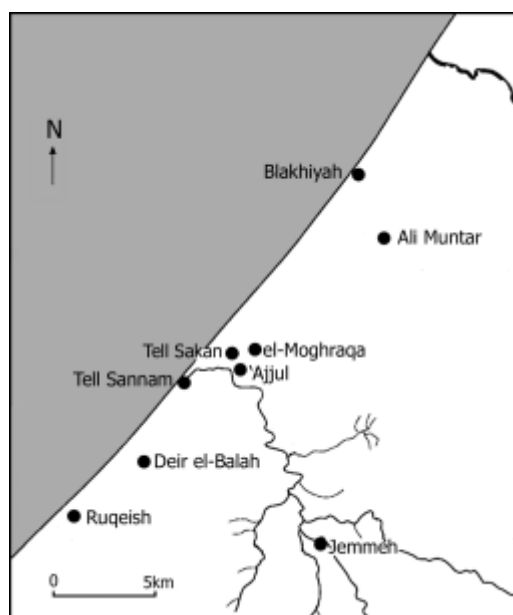


Figure 1: map of the Gaza region (L. Steel)

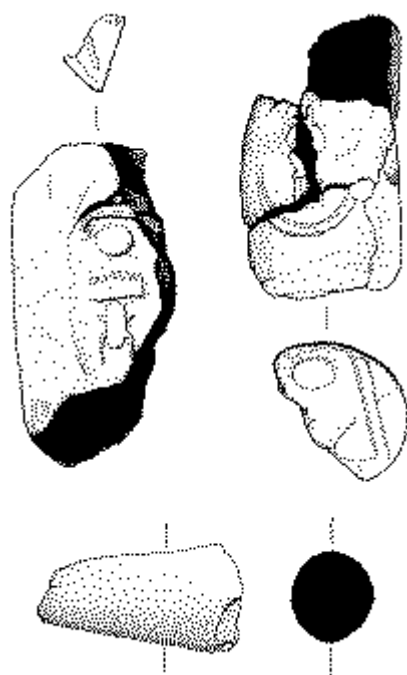


Figure 2: Examples of cones from Gaza (drawing: Mark Roughley)



Figure 3: Anthropoid Sarcophagi from Deir el Balah, Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, by Nahum Slapak



Figure 4a.



Figure 4b.

Figure 4a: lotus jug from Deir el Balah Tomb 114; Figure 4b: Lotus bowl from Deir el Balah Tomb 114. Staff Archaeological Officer in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, Photos © The Israel Museum.