

**HISTORICAL METHODS AND MISHAPS: FLINDER'S PETRIE'S VIEWS ON INTERCONNECTED  
TELL EL-'AGUL AND THE 'MIDDLE SEA'**

---

This is a pre-publication copy of the chapter, *Historical Methods and Mishaps: FLINDERS PETRIE'S Views on Interconnected Tell el-'Ağūl and the 'Middle Sea'* by Rachael Thyrza Sparks.

To be published in: J. Kamlah and A. Lichtenberger (eds), *The Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant. Archaeological and Historical Perspectives from the Bronze Age to Medieval Times*, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz.

Expected publication date 2021 /early 2022.

Please note that this is the version of the manuscript accepted by the publishers, prior to typesetting, and so does *not* represent the page layout or pagination of the final version that will be published.

This manuscript is for deposition in the UCL research repository, and should be held under embargo until at least 6 months after publication. Researchers are requested to cite the published version of this paper, when available.

---

*30 April 2021*

*Dr Rachael Sparks*

*Associate Professor and Keeper of Collections*

*Institute of Archaeology, University College London.*

## Historical Methods and Mishaps:

### FLINDERS PETRIE'S Views on Interconnected *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* and the 'Middle Sea'

By Rachael Thyrza Sparks

#### Introduction

The site of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*, located north of *Wādī Ġazze* and south of the modern city of Gaza (Figure 1), is well known for the wealth and diversity of its Bronze Age inhabitants. It inhabited a nodal position at the intersection between the flat north–south land corridor along the South Levantine Shephelah and the Mediterranean Sea, a happy circumstance that ensured the economic prosperity of the site. At its peak, cosmopolitan assemblages point to a rich network of regional and international connections, extending around the Eastern Mediterranean from the Levantine coast to Cyprus, mainland Greece and Egypt. This view of the site as a cultural crossroads has developed as a direct result of the archaeological record, primarily from FLINDERS PETRIE's extensive work there between 1930 and 1938, supplemented by the results of the smaller-scale excavations of the Swedish-Palestinian expedition of 1999–2000 (PETRIE 1931a; 1932; 1933; 1934; PETRIE *et al.* 1952; FISCHER/SADEQ 2000; 2002; 2008; see also the contribution by P. FISCHER in this volume).

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Current ideas about the role of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* within its broader Mediterranean setting have evolved as a result of many decades of accumulated data and knowledge sharing, and as one might expect, are often far removed from the views held by its original excavator, FLINDERS PETRIE. And yet, those wishing to explore the site have been heavily reliant on the data he produced, which was a direct result of his field methods, policies, and the interpretative frameworks that he adopted — ideas that were being developed at a time when the connections within and between Mediterranean cultures were still poorly understood.

This paper aims to revisit PETRIE's work at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* in order to explain the intellectual background for PETRIE's ideas, and to make his actual field practices, and the impact of these on the data he produced and presented, more explicit (Figure 2). I

will be exploring PETRIE's views on the role of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* within Mediterranean trade networks, the evidential basis of these views, and the extent to which PETRIE's ideas and methods may have helped, or hindered, later work on the *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* material. I will also consider to what extent PETRIE's ideas have been justified or contradicted by subsequent discoveries and research, and review our current understanding of the place held by *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* within its Mediterranean landscape. While this topic could encompass a range of object types and materials, the focus of this paper will be on imported Cypriot ceramics, as these offer a number of useful case studies to demonstrate PETRIE's intellectual reasoning and methodological approaches.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

### 1. The ancient identity and history of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*

PETRIE was attracted to the site of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* because of its size, location, apparent Bronze Age date and the limited amount of later overburden, describing it as a 'fresh site of more than ordinary importance' (PETRIE 1931b, 33). He then went on to excavate it over five field seasons, devoting more time to it than any of the other Palestinian sites he investigated (Figure 3). Part of the attraction for PETRIE was the potential the site offered to explore issues relating to the chronology and cultural origin of many different types of objects:

“The main value of the Gaza site is not only for its own history. It was a main gathering ground for find work from elsewhere ... here we can sample and put in historic position the arts of which we have not yet found the sources; and our dating here will serve to clear up the future discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean” (PETRIE 1932, 11).

PETRIE identified *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* as the ancient city of Gaza, as demonstrated by his chosen title for the site publications, *Ancient Gaza I–V* (PETRIE 1931a; 1931b, 33; 1932; 1933; 1934; PETRIE *et al.* 1952); it is now thought that ancient Gaza lies further north at *Tell Harūbe*, although its position beneath the modern city of the same name has prevented detailed archaeological investigation of its Bronze Age remains (OVADIAH 1993, 464).

[Insert Figure 3 here]

PETRIE's attribution would have had an obvious impact on his interpretation of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* and its significance on the international stage, as he would have been reading any textual references to the role of Gaza *vis a vis* Egypt as referencing *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*. Alternative identifications for the ancient name of the site have been much discussed, with the frontrunner being the city of Sharuhēn (KEMPINSKI 1974; for opposing views, see RAINEY 1993). This would certainly fit with the strong Middle Bronze Age profile of the site. At its peak, *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* was an estimated 11–12 ha in size (ALBRIGHT 1938, 338; TUFNELL 1984, 8; OREN 2001, 135), protected by fortifications on three sides and the *Wādī Ġazze* to the south (TUFNELL/KEMPINSKI 1993, 50). It was therefore of a similar size to contemporary cities such as Gezer, Lachish and Megiddo (COHEN 2002, 79, 86, 87), and larger than the settlement associated with the port of *Tell Abū Hawām*, further north (BALENSI *et al.* 1993, 7; although *Tell Abū Hawām* may not have been a functional harbour until the end of the 15th century BC (ARTZY 2001b, 112).

An identification as Sharuhēn would also fit with an apparent change in the status of the site, as by Late Bronze II *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* appears to have become home to an Egyptian base (TUFNELL/KEMPINSKI 1993, 53; MORRIS 2005, 63–65, 527), alongside continued Canaanite occupation (FISCHER/SADEQ 2008, 1566, *contra* TUFNELL and KEMPINSKI 1993, 52; DESSEL 1997, 39). Whatever its ancient name, the role of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* during the Late Bronze Age must surely have been connected to its more powerful northern neighbour, Gaza, which was serving as a centre of Egyptian administrative activity at that time (KATZENSTEIN 1982; MORRIS 2005, 39, 55, 248 note 123).

## 2. Framing a cosmopolitan city

PETRIE's initial interest in *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* most probably lay in the richness of its Egyptian connections. He had spent the majority of his career working in Egypt and was of course very familiar with the many aspects of its material culture. Even after moving to work in Palestine in the 1920s, PETRIE often presented his sites through an Egyptian lens — using objects of Egyptian origin such as scarabs to date his material and using Egyptian dynastic terminology to describe his Palestinian contexts — with *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* being no exception. Despite the chronology he adhered to being idiosyncratic and already obsolete (ALBRIGHT 1933, 287; 1938, 338), PETRIE had a good eye for Egyptian, and

Egyptianising material, and was largely successful in identifying these within the broader local assemblages of pottery and finds.

At the same time, PETRIE also found at his new site material that clearly did not fit within his existing Egyptian frame of reference. As might be expected, these unknown aspects intrigued him, and often formed the basis of further investigation, as well as considerable discussion within his publications. PETRIE tended to devote more space to things he did not fully understand, than those he did. And it is here that we see his exploration into understanding other networks of cultural exchange begin. As a survey of the *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* site report indexes shows, his investigations ranged as far as Syria, Babylonia, Anatolia, Cyprus, Crete and Greece, to the Caucasus and even Ireland. As will be seen, his views on the cultural origins of his material were not always correct.

### 3. Exploring painted wares from 'other lands'

When publishing the pottery from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*, PETRIE encountered numerous varieties of painted wares that he recognised as being intrusive to the site, without being able to clearly place their point of origin (e.g. PETRIE 1931b, 38–39). Some of this material was already familiar to him from his previous work in Egypt and Palestine, including Cypriot Base Ring and White Slip ware, and Mycenaean painted pottery. Other wares, such as Bichrome Wheel Made and Chocolate-on-White ware were less well known. More importantly, the quantity of imported pottery found at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* far surpassed that seen in his previous projects, which must in itself have drawn his attention.

As might be expected, these imported wares formed the subject of considerable discussion throughout the *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* publications, with the main issue being where the different styles were coming from. While PETRIE felt fairly secure about the Mycenaean material, based on previous work and his own discoveries at sites like Kahun, Gurob and *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Amārna* (PHILIPS 2006), he seems to have been initially uncertain about the other styles of painted ware, looking to Cyprus, Anatolia and Syria as possible source areas. Lack of excavation 'north of Palestine' was blamed in part for this uncertainty (PETRIE 1932, 11; 1933, 13; PETRIE *et al.* 1952, 21). And so we see origins being described as 'Cyprus or northern Syria' (PETRIE 1931a, 9), or just generically from 'The North' (PETRIE 1931a, headings for pls XXVIII–XXX). However, over time his ideas seem to solidify and become more fixed, particularly with regard to the issue of what he saw as Cilician or Anatolian-derived wares.

To understand PETRIE's role in the presentation of these 'northern' wares to a wider audience, we need to consider how accurate PETRIE was in distinguishing between different styles of painted pottery, whether the methods he used to determine their probable place of origin were valid, and how his ideas related to wider contemporary scholarship.

The way PETRIE describes the *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* material makes it clear that he was taking a range of features into account when forming his different ceramic groupings, including paste, colour and surface finish.

“Nos. 55–62 are of a remarkable class of ware; the surface creamy white and glossy, the body quite white, the colouring chocolate, with burnt sienna bordering in 62. It is the finest ancient fabric known.” (PETRIE 1931a, 10, describing Chocolate-on-White sherds illustrated in pl. XXXII).

These criteria seem unexceptional, and when we look at how they were applied to Cypriot material, PETRIE appears to have achieved the same separation of wares that was being used by colleagues in Cyprus, such as GJERSTAD and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, although their description of fabric, finish, and also technique were far superior and much more clearly articulated (e.g. GJERSTAD 1926; GJERSTAD *et al.* 1934). PETRIE mentions such characteristics only occasionally, although this is enough to make it clear that he was conscious of them. He also appears to have recognised the distinctions between sub-types of some of these wares, such as Base Ring I and II, and White Slip I and II, although his interpretations of what these distinctions signified were not always correct.

PETRIE's presentation of the various styles of imported painted wares is idiosyncratic in many ways. The basic division of these Cypriot wares had been made several decades before (MYERS/OHNEFASLCH-RICHTER 1899), and refined by GJERSTAD only a few years before work began at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* (1926, 185ff). Yet PETRIE avoids using the established terminology, instead opting for much vaguer descriptive terms – so Base Ring ware becomes PETRIE's 'thin brown ware', *Bucchero* is described as 'fluted' (PETRIE 1932, 12; 1933, 12), Red-on-black becomes 'black with red lines' or (PETRIE 1933, 8–9) and White Slip is divided into 'fine Anatolian' and 'late coarse Cypriote' styles of pottery (PETRIE 1933, 3). This contrasts with the practice of some of PETRIE's

contemporaries, who followed the Swedish system of nomenclature for this material (e.g. ALBRIGHT 1930–1931, 25–27, 45–46; MAY 1935, 34).

PETRIE never visited Cyprus himself, although he had been asked to dig there back in 1889 (DROWER 1995, 166). But his field staff at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* included OLGA TUFNELL and NOEL WHEELER, both of whom had worked in Cyprus before coming out to Palestine and who would have had first-hand knowledge of Cypriot wares. TUFNELL, in particular, had spent time in the Cyprus Museum drawing pottery for the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (TUFNELL 1929), and so would have been familiar not only with the appearance and character of Cypriot pottery, but also the terminology that the expedition was using to describe it. Moreover, PETRIE tells us that he has seen Cypriot material in the British Museum (PETRIE 1932, 7, 12) and occasionally references the work of MYERS and GJERSTADT (e.g. PETRIE 1915, 32; 1933, 6). It therefore seems strange that Petrie chose to ignore developments in Cypriot archaeology and follow his own path in presenting and interpreting the Cypriot wares at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*. It would seem to justify ALBRIGHT's claim that PETRIE showed 'complete indifference to the results of other archaeologists' (1938, 338) — although this does not appear to have been through ignorance of them.

This path involved not only using different terminology; it also involved prioritising decorative motif over other aspects of a vessel, such as fabric, form or finish when trying to establish the geographical point of origin of different styles. So while some elements of form are recognised as being regionally distinctive — with features such as 'u-spouts' and 'fork-handles' being singled out as foreign — these take second place to discussions of decoration (e.g. PETRIE 1932, pl. XLII).

PETRIE identified a number of painted pottery motifs that he felt were significant in the repertoire found at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*, including spirals, the hourglass, chequerboard, various fish, birds and animals, a spoked wheel, 'plait', the 'stitch pattern', the 'union-jack', and a row of pendant triangles he called 'the Vandyke' (PETRIE 1932, 11, pl. XLII, with no attempt to match motif to particular wares; see [Figure 4](#)). But his approach to this material was rather eclectic, with motifs being chased around the Mediterranean and elsewhere until he was able to settle on a region where he felt enough occurred together to serve as a point of origin for the style; a similar approach is taken in his [book](#), *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World*, written just before PETRIE began working at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* (PETRIE 1930). Unfortunately, these discussions lacked depth or contextual awareness, and simplistic parallels in design often led PETRIE astray.

[Insert Figure 4 here].

#### 4. The limits of stylistic analysis: investigating the origins of Bichrome Wheel Made Ware

We can see how PETRIE applied his principles of comparative stylistic analysis by examining his discussion of Bichrome Wheel Made (hereafter BWM) ware decorative motifs.

“The weaving plait pattern is almost peculiar to the Mediterranean: it is found in Egypt, Crete, Rhodes, Italy, Spain, and Britain (Dec. Pat. Lxvi), rarely in Sumeria, crudely in Susa, but it does not appear in Cappadocia. The union–jack square, 5, 27, 28, occurs in Cyprus (D.P. YM8); but the shaded diagonal, 30, is both Asiatic and Western (D.P. YO, Q). The disc cut into eights is in Egypt, Cilicia, Crete and Italy (D.P. OB, C), the Maltese Cross, 23–26, is archaic at Susa, and is in Crete and Italy (D.P. SA to L). Therefore, all these are Mediterranean designs, but some may be Asiatic. The latitude is limited by the palm tree, 6, which extended to Cilicia and Assyria, but precludes North Syria or Cappadocia. Altogether Cilicia seems to be the most likely source for this work [...]” (PETRIE 1931a, 10).

This journey, ranging through the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, stopping briefly at Britain, and then returning to Mesopotamia before inexplicably ending up in Cilicia seems both implausible and unsustainable to us now, and never gained wider support. Perhaps PETRIE should have heeded his own advice on the dangers of poorly framed comparative analysis:

“Unfortunately, most people do not see what is really characteristic and weary one with claiming that things are alike when to a trained eye there is no chance of connection” (PETRIE 1925, 13).

It is not surprising that PETRIE was unable to settle the question of the origins of BWM ware satisfactorily, as this issue has continued to plague scholars up to the present day (for an excellent summary of the history of research, see ARTZY 2001a). Ultimately,



PETRIE was hampered in his investigations by a lack of excavated comparanda (PETRIE 1931a, 9) which left him reliant on rather general stylistic analyses of motif as his main analytical tool. Prior to PETRIE's work at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*, this style of pottery was still poorly understood. GJERSTAD saw its decorative scheme as 'quite un-Cypriot' and classified it rather vaguely as a painted ware that was foreign to Cyprus (GJERSTAD 1926, 205, 209), while FRANKFORT suggested a North Syrian origin for the style, which he termed 'Hyksos pottery' (1927, 167).

Subsequent investigations were to cement the significance of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* to an understanding of this ware in its Levantine context. Because of the quantity of BWM ware found at the site, there was an early attempt to define the style as a local product of a specific artist, dubbed the '*Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* Painter', whose work could supposedly be traced to other sites in Palestine, Cyprus and *Rās Šamra* (HEURTLEY 1938). As PETRIE pointed out himself, the stratigraphical distribution of the ware at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* itself made such an interpretation impossible, although he was wrong in thinking its production lasted several centuries (PETRIE *et al.* 1952, 19–20). However, HEURTLEY's work did change perception of this style, by redefining it as a South Levantine, rather than an imported fabric, a view which was generally accepted at the time (SJÖQVIST 1940, 91–2).

CLAIRE EPSTEIN's detailed study on the 'Palestinian Bichrome ware' cemented this view (1966), only to be challenged when clay analyses pointed to a Cypriot rather than the expected Levantine centre of production (ARTZY *et al.* 1973). This was a great surprise at the time, because of the widespread belief that Cypriot pottery workshops did not make use of the wheel; it opened the door to re-evaluation of other problematic styles such as Red Lustrous Wheel Made ware. The subsequent discovery of additional local, South Levantine production of Bichrome Wheel Made Ware at sites such as Megiddo further complicated the issue (ARTZY *et al.* 1978), with the issue of the nature and origin of Bichrome Wheel Made ware being revisited at a conference held in Stockholm in 2000 (ARTZY 2001a; ÅSTRÖM 2001; KARAGEORGHIS 2001; FISCHER 2001a).

Current understanding suggests that this style of pottery originated in Cyprus, where early hand-made versions have been identified, probably under the influence of foreign, Levantine potters — a fact that would explain the mix of Cypriot and Canaanite features exhibited (ÅSTRÖM 2001, 135; KARAGEORGHIS 2001, 152–53). Returning to the material from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*, analysis of a group of six BWM sherds from PETER

FISCHER's renewed excavations at the site suggests these were all imports from southern coastal Cyprus (FISCHER 2001a, 224–5, table 2, *contra* ARTZY *et al.* 1973 who suggested an origin in Eastern Cyprus). To my knowledge, the earliest handmade variety of bichrome has not yet been found at the site, in either PETRIE or FISCHER's material, although it has been reported in *Tell ed-Ḍabʿa* level D/2 (BIETAK 2001, 175); the *Tell el-ʿAğūl* trade in this particular pottery therefore appears to have only begun after the wheel-made variety went into production. PETRIE's view that BWM ware was foreign to the site was therefore, in the end, justified, if his conclusions as to its actual origin were not. One could argue, however, that his main contribution to the study of the ware was the quantity of examples he published, and the framing of this material as a group worthy of further investigation.

#### 5. PETRIE's so-called Anatolian Ware

The application of PETRIE's method of comparative analysis to the question of the origins of his pottery imports is nowhere more evident than in his treatment of one of the most common styles of imported Cypriot pottery at the site: White Slip ware (Figure 5). While he had encountered small quantities of this at *Tell el-Ḥesī* in 1890, then again at *Tell Ḡemme* and *Tell el-Farʿa* (South) in the 1920s, PETRIE cannot have been prepared for the frequency of this ware at *Tell el-ʿAğūl*, and as might be expected, he made it a focal point for discussion. How he goes about this shows that he was aware of Cypriot parallels for the style, and from the beginning he distinguished between the finer painted bichrome examples and the coarser monochrome variants, which we would now identify as Proto White Slip, White Slip I and White Slip II (PETRIE 1931a, 10). However, he interpreted these distinctions as indicative as two different areas of production, believing that the finer version belonged to an original 'Anatolian' version of the style, which was then imitated by Cypriot potters in a coarser fabric:

“The Anatolian bowl is seen in its early stage in the period of palace I at Gaza [...]. The patterns begin with delicate drawing in thin red line. This changed to black line, still finely drawn, and in Hyksos times this decoration was superseded by very rough black bands on much thicker ware [...]. This style gave place to sudden degradation when the Cypriotes copied the delicate ware in a coarser make” (PETRIE *et al.* 1952, 20).

What PETRIE saw as a distinction in point of origin is now viewed differently, as we now know both styles were produced in Cypriot workshops. He did, however, come to recognise that the two styles had distinctive flourishes, and that his 'fine Anatolian' style was stratigraphically earlier than the coarser 'imitation', with a period of overlap between the two. The chronological relationship between the two wares has been upheld by subsequent studies, although PETRIE's understanding of the actual chronology involved was seriously flawed, placing the transition from WSI to II in the 12th dynasty, which we now know is far too early (PETRIE 1933, 12). Rather than the difference between the styles being one of crude imitation, however, it may be that the decline in quality seen in the WSII variety was the result of increasing production to meet the demands of the export trade (ARTZY 2001b, 112). A recent study has also suggested that shifts in the sources of clay led to the use of chlorite-based slips that did not support such fine brushwork (HULIN/HATCHER 2018, 171–172). Either way, one might ask whether the popularity of this ware at *Tell el-ʿAğūl* had been a trigger for these production changes, leading to the stylistic changes observed by PETRIE.

[Insert Figure 5 here].

Most of PETRIE's contemporaries dismissed the idea that White Slip I could be Anatolian: SHIPTON had 'reservations' (1939), ALBRIGHT called the claim 'arbitrary' (1938, 345), and SJÖQVIST was equally blunt (1940, 82). It is interesting, therefore, that Leonard Woolley held similar views to PETRIE, based on his reading of the chronology of the Atchana levels in which the style occurred, which he felt (erroneously) had to pre-date its appearance in Cyprus (WOOLLEY 1942, 13–14; 1953, 87). In his case, he was influenced by the handmade nature of the ware and the colour of clay and pigments to postulate a source 'somewhere in northern or eastern Anatolia', or the presence of Anatolian potters in Syria itself (WOOLLEY 1953, 88). WOOLLEY did not make any reference to PETRIE's comments on the ware, although he can hardly have been unaware of the *Tell el-ʿAğūl* material or PETRIE's earlier interpretation of it. Perhaps this is another example of the intellectual myopia that so-called 'Great Men' acquire towards the end of their careers.

6. The right tools for the job? How classification affects subsequent use

While PETRIE frequently singled out painted wares for discussion in his site reports, evaluating them according to perceived style and motif, more complete vessels were presented to the reader as a series of shapes, mostly undecorated, whose primary role was to serve as visual comparanda. This placed vessels in a sequence, from open to closed forms, in which vessels of similar shape were grouped without reference to manufacture, ware, colour, surface finish, decoration — or crucially — date. This classification system was first devised by PETRIE for his excavations at *Tell Ġemme* in 1926, and then enlarged and published by his colleague J.G. DUNCAN as the *Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery* (1930). PETRIE later expanded the corpus with material from his subsequent excavations at *Tell el-Far<sup>c</sup>a* (South), *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Aġūl*, and *Šēḥ Zuwēyid*, with additions to the corpus appearing across his varied site reports. To PETRIE, this was intended as 'a storage system for keeping the material accessible and comparable', until such a time as 'all varieties are known and dated' (PETRIE 1931a, 9). He viewed his site publications as a vehicle for making this type of reference material quickly available; preparation of his plates always preceded writing the text (PETRIE 1904, 115). PETRIE's typology allowed him to record the different vessel forms recovered without ambiguity, using a system of coded types on the tomb cards and other field records, in place of vaguer and more generic descriptive terms such as 'oil jar'. But while the system worked well for internal use within his projects and was cautiously welcomed by some at the time of its publication (*e.g.* BADÈ 1931, 8; SMITH 1932; cf. HORSFIELD 1931) it proved less satisfactory as a tool for researchers in general, and was never widely adopted, even though there were no published alternative systems available. Part of the difficulty was a lack of articulation of the criteria used for classification. Combined with a lack of consistency in how types were assigned, this made PETRIE's typology cumbersome and difficult to use (ALBRIGHT 1938, note 5). The system also became increasingly complex, which increasing and excessive subdivision of types over time. In her study of tombs at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Aġūl*, BERGOFFEN noted that many of the types identified had only 1 or 2 examples attributed to them, limiting the ability of this system to isolate meaningful groups for analysis. Reassessing these types for her own work led her to reduce the number of variants from 607 to 144 (BERGOFFEN 2001a, 32). Finally, the complete series of types was scattered between ten different publications, published over more than a decade, making it difficult for researchers to gain a holistic view of the entire system. All these factors help explain why PETRIE's attempt to present this typology as a comparative tool to aid fellow researchers ultimately proved

unsuccessful; without a chronological framework for support, it also proved useless for exploring the inter-site and inter-regional patterns that PETRIE himself sought to understand.

With PETRIE relying heavily on decoration as an indicator of foreign style, it is not surprising that plainer classes of import received less attention from him, and in some cases, certain classes appear to have been overlooked entirely. This includes Cypriot Plain White Handmade wares; a handful of LCIA pithoi in this style have been identified from the site in the Institute of Archaeology Collections at UCL, although confirmation of their origin awaits chemical or petrographic analysis (CREWE 2015, 123; **Figure 6**). While PETRIE did publish two of the sherds in this group (PETRIE 193 1a, 9, pl. XXXVI), they were mixed in with a range of locally made vessel fragments, without any suggestion that these represented anything other than a local vessel type.

[insert Figure 6 here]

White Shaved juglets provide another case in point (**Figure 7**). These are a distinctive type of dipper juglet that originated in Cyprus; like most other products of the island in the Late Bronze Age, they were hand-made using distinctive techniques such as insertion of the handle through the body of the vessel wall, and vertical paring of the exterior which has given the ware its name (SJÖQVIST 1940, 33). The form is functionally identical to the local Canaanite style of dipper juglet, but the Cypriot examples were made of finer clays, and have a smoother, more attractive finish (although not everyone agrees: KARAGEORGHIS has described it as a ‘most ugly fabric’; VAGNETTI 2001, 104).

White Shaved juglets were not as common as other Cypriot imports to *Tell el-ʿAğūl*, but at least 34 examples have been noted from PETRIE's work at the site, with all but one appearing in tombs (28 from BERGOFFEN 1989 — her counts have been adjusted to remove a few duplicate objects — and a further 6 fragments from FISCHER's excavations, FISCHER 2009, table 1). This bias is not shared by the locally made dipper juglet form, which seems to be more evenly spread throughout settlement and cemetery. To modern researchers, these represent a small but interesting element in the wider Cypriot LB trade with the Levant, with some debate as to whether they were traded empty, or as containers for some other product (GITTLEN 1981, 54, cf. BERGOFFEN 1989, 225, 270 note 69).

[Insert Figure 7 here].

When PETRIE encountered the White Shaved juglet at *Tell el-ʿAğūl*, he did not single it out for discussion as a distinctive ware, but rather classified examples purely on the basis of their dipper juglet shape. Thus White Shaved ware juglets were subsumed more generally into PETRIE's 'Pointed Juglets' class (Type 51). Even so, DUNCAN's corpus illustrations do depict four subtypes within this group that show a vertical body shaving suggestive of White Shaved ware (DUNCAN 1930, types 51E2, 51E4, 51F2, 51F9). Despite this, throughout the corpus and its later additions, the types attributed to the Cypriot versions vary, and it seems impossible to understand the rationale between the subdivisions imposed. For example, at *Tell el-ʿAğūl* confirmed examples of White Shaved juglets have been classified variously as types 51E4, 51G4, 51K2, 51Q6, 51V2, 51V5 and 51W2 with very little obvious distinction between them. To make things more confusing, both White Shaved ware and local Canaanite dipper juglets were sometimes classified under the same type numbers. Thus type 51G4 was used for both imported (UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections EXIII.61/6) and local dipper juglets (EV.1/10, EV.2/5); similarly type 51V2 has both Cypriot (Ashmolean Museum 1932.962) and locally made forms (UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections EXIII.59/3).

This shows the limitations of PETRIE's corpus: while it acted as a convenient shorthand for recording what was in a deposit, the lack of clear definition of subtypes led to inconsistencies in how the system was applied. Even though the system itself is now obsolete, it continues to impact on how material from the site is used by researchers. Pottery from *Tell el-ʿAğūl* continues to figure in current discussions of production, trade, cultural exchange and identity, and for many, the primary or even sole source of information about these vessels comes from PETRIE's published type series (e.g. GONEN 1992; BAKER 2012, appendix B; STEEL 2002). This is partly due to the widespread distribution of material after excavation under the *partage* system (SPARKS and UCKO 2007, 20–21; STEVENSON 2013), which can make tracking down individual objects difficult, and also to PETRIE's habit of discarding poorly preserved or well-represented forms in the field after recording, making the surviving artefactual record incomplete. It is important, therefore, to be aware when researchers have viewed their material at first hand, and when they have been dependent on the published record, as the sources

of data being used may well impact on the reliability of their results. This is particularly pertinent when dealing with questions of fabric, manufacturing techniques and origin: PETRIE's typology will not work as a tool for distinguishing between shapes that look superficially similar but may be made from different wares (*e.g.* ALBRIGHT 1938, 345, on types 19E–19S), or come from different production areas or traditions (BERGOFFEN 1989, 215 note 15).

#### 7. Beyond PETRIE: subsequent research towards a better understanding of the maritime trade at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*

The finds from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* were published extremely swiftly, with all but the final report coming out within a few months of leaving the field. This made the data from the site easily accessible, which helped give *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* a high profile in subsequent research. Equally, the sheer quantity and quality of imported materials at the site, along with its presence in many different museum collections, have kept it high on the research agenda, forcing people to engage with PETRIE's data and his conclusions, despite all its flaws and limitations. FISCHER's 1999/2000 excavations at the site have certainly improved the quality of data available, but damage to the site PETRIE's day restricted the areas of the site available for investigation, and this, combined with the smaller scale of the work and the early curtailment of the project after only two seasons meant that they were not able to match the quantity of material produced by PETRIE. It has also proved difficult to form direct connections between PETRIE's original strata — whose own cross-site correlations have continued to prove controversial — and the more nuanced stratigraphic sequences recovered in Fischer's work (for a discussion of some of the issues, see section 10 of the contribution by P. FISCHER in this volume). Future excavations will be further limited by the fact that the site is now largely covered with modern housing and olive groves (see the introduction to P. FISCHER'S contribution in this volume). However, despite the difficulties, what the renewed excavations have done is bring a much-needed chronological precision to the phases in which various imports reached the site (FISCHER 2001a; 2001b; 2003; 2009; see also the contribution by P. FISCHER in this volume).

Imported Cypriot wares in particular have received particular attention over the years, perhaps reflecting their prominence in PETRIE's own publications, as well as a likely bias in field collection and recording towards fine painted wares (SPIGELMAN 2015, 329). At the same time, we have already seen how PETRIE's classification system could

act as a barrier to understanding this material, with imports sometimes conflated with local types, type illustrations scattered between multiple publications, and vessels located in many different museum collections. His own, idiosyncratic use of non-standard terminology to describe imported wares has also sometimes obscured existing links. Despite these difficulties, however, significant progress has been made in identifying and classifying the different classes of imports through many subsequent studies including those of EPSTEIN (1966), MERRILLEES (1974), OREN (1969), BERGOFFEN (1989; 2001a; 2001b), FISCHER (2001a; 2001b; 2007) and most recently SPIGELMAN (2015) and MILLEK (2019, 190–199) helping to quantify the extent of this trade, as well as revealing *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* place within wider distribution networks. As the quantity of Cypriot goods found at *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* far outweighs Mycenaean imports (STEEL 2002, 32), it would seem that Cyprus was the main partner with *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* in this East Mediterranean trade. The close links between *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* and its Cypriot suppliers has even led to the suggestion of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* owning some kind of import monopoly over Cypriot trade (FISCHER 2004, 260; see also the contribution by P. FISCHER in this volume). This seems to be supported by the quantity and geographical distribution of these imports, which suggest the site had a dominant role in importing and consuming Cypriot pottery through to the end of the Late Bronze IIA period (MILLEK 2019, 191–2, 194).

More recent trends in these studies have been a move towards contextualisation in evaluating the foreign ceramic assemblages of the site (BERGOFFEN 2001a; STEEL 2002). The fact that the same shapes were used as substrates for a variety of decorative styles acts as a reminder that Cypriot workshops would have produced a range of products simultaneously (CREWE 2015, 126), and the classification of these as distinctive, discrete 'styles' may be obscuring how these products were received and used by consumers. While the role played by visual distinctiveness and vessel content in consumer choice should not be ignored, it can be helpful to consider vessels in terms of their function, if only to consider whether certain forms act in parallel, as functional substitutes, or independently of each other. An apparent preference for imported Cypriot bowls in settlement areas, and jugs and juglets in tombs, is a case in point (BERGOFFEN 2001a, 31). The way these kinds of imports were incorporated into Canaanite cultural practice, with whatever shifts of meaning and value this may involve, is something that can only be explored through a fully contextual approach.



The final issue to consider is what products *Tell el-ʿAğūl* might have supplied in return for its imported Cypriot goods, an aspect of the foreign import trade that PETRIE did not himself address. The main Canaanite pottery form found in Cyprus would seem to be the Canaanite jar, which we know was used as a shipping container for a range of products, including wine, oil and terebinth resin (FISCHER 2004, 261; HALDANE 1993; DEMESTICA/KNAPP 2016). When looking for other ‘invisible’ exports, wool and clothing are also possibilities, while Egyptian booty inscriptions remind us that Canaan was also a potential source for horses and other livestock (*e.g.* PRITCHARD 1969, 237), which, as the Alashiyan correspondence indicates, must sometimes have been transported by sea (MORAN 1992, letters EA 34 and EA 37).

### Conclusions

PETRIE attempted to fit the imported wares at *Tell el-ʿAğūl* into a wider conceptual framework, seeking to use stylistic analysis as a tool for demonstrating shared artistic networks based on a somewhat simplistic comparison of motif across a wide geographical area. As he did so without fully evaluating the cultural or material contexts of the supposedly shared imagery, it should be no surprise that this led him to unsupportable conclusions. This approach was mirrored in the way he managed information about the ceramic vessels from his site, where he focused on shape classification over other characteristics, even though he was clearly aware of the distinctions in manufacture and ware of his material. Combined with a tendency to publish the *Tell el-ʿAğūl* vessels and objects according to materials and types, rather than context, PETRIE's publications ended up compartmentalising his finds, prioritising use of the *Tell el-ʿAğūl* data as visual comparanda, over other types of analysis, including chronological. Ultimately, PETRIE was unable to frame his Cypriot imports correctly, which was partly due to gaps in contemporary knowledge, but also to a certain amount of intellectual myopia.

It was not the intent of this paper to expose PETRIE's errors of understanding or ridicule his methodology, but rather to investigate the way he approached the Mediterranean imports at his site, and consider how his methods and views may have impacted on later scholarship. While not without his critics, what PETRIE did was fairly typical of the archaeological method of his day, and it should be remembered that was forming his views about the interregional links of *Tell el-ʿAğūl* at a time when there was far less comparative data and tools available for investigation. PETRIE was often driven to seek

the sources of his imported wares in areas of the Near East that were, at that time, little excavated and so poorly understood. He felt, perhaps instinctively, that further work in Syria and Turkey would clear up many matters (cf. GJERSTAD 1934, 155), and in this perhaps he has been proven right, if not in the ways he might have expected. Ultimately his views on the quality of Cypriot work — “only original in its clumsiness and poverty of design” (PETRIE 1915, 34) — are what led him to discount Cyprus as a possible source of certain styles of pottery. He would have been better served by a more objective stance.

We can now see considerable irony in PETRIE’s views on the value of foreign imports at *Tell el-ʿAğūl*. He was right in thinking that the site would be of key importance in establishing chronological synchronisms between different parts of the Mediterranean, as shown by continued attempts to use this material for just that purpose (e.g.: BERGOFFEN 2001a; FISCHER 2001a; 2001b; 2003; 2009; 2021). However, despite a high opinion of his own academic rigour, in reality, his methods of comparative archaeology were deeply flawed, leading him to misread material from other sites and develop misleading theories about the origins of some of his wares. Even where he did correctly locate the sources of his imported material, his idiosyncratic chronological framework led to him dating this material in a way that was simply incorrect, leading to bizarre and impossible links, such as between his earliest Cypriot imports and the VIIth dynasty in Egypt (PETRIE 1932, 12), and preventing any real understanding of the nature of his Mediterranean networks.

Since PETRIE’s time, the conceptual frameworks and tools available to us have changed considerably. World-views in which change must have been effected by invasion and the arrival of new populations have been replaced by more nuanced understandings of cultural interaction and agency. Material that was rare and poorly understood has now been added to by decades of excavation around the Mediterranean, including the discovery of trade shipments *en-route*, and supplemented by provenience studies that allow us to trace raw materials to their source. A wider range of written archives are now at hand to help us understand Bronze Age economies and bureaucracies, and the nature of interregional interactions, as well as better understanding of the texts we already have through linguistic and philological advances and the application of improved imaging and analytical techniques. And improved dating techniques have been established that make it easier — if not always simpler — to address questions of primogeniture.

Overlying all of these things has been a more fundamental change in our understanding of the complex nature of interregional interconnections, and the role of the Mediterranean as an entity that connects as well as divides; to understand any one site, one needs to look beyond it to what is happening elsewhere (as convincingly demonstrated by the holistic sweep through pan-Mediterranean history offered in BROODBANK 2013). The underlying cause of many of PETRIE's errors can be traced to his failure to seriously engage with the research being done by his contemporaries, particularly in his latter years.

What is interesting, though, is how many of the issues that interested PETRIE are still at the head of current agendas, and how material that was excavated over 80 years ago, using recovery and recording techniques that we now consider outdated and inadequate still continues to be relevant to current research today. This has much to do with the fortuitous position of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* on the Mediterranean trade circuit, and the resultant diversity of its site assemblages. Because of this, *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* remains a site of key interest to the archaeology of the 'middle sea', and as we have seen from PETER FISCHER's more recent work on the site, is more than capable of raising new problems and research questions to explore.

#### References

ALBRIGHT, W. F.

1930–1 The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim I: The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 12, New Haven).

1933 Review of Ancient Gaza I. Tell el-Ajjul by Flinders Petrie, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 53.3, 285–287.

1938 The Chronology of a South Palestinian City, Tell el-'Ajjul, in: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature 55, 337–359.

ARTZY, M.

2001a A Study of the Cypriot Bichrome Ware: Past, Present and Future, in: P. ÅSTROM (*ed.*), The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 127–174.

2001b White Slip Ware for Export? The Economics of Production, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 20; Vienna), 107–115.

ARTZY, M. / F. ASARO / I. PERLMAN

- 1973 The Origin of the 'Palestinian' Bichrome Ware, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93.4, 447–461.
- ARTZY, M. / I. PERLMAN / F. ASARO  
 1978 Imported and Local Bichrome Ware in Megiddo, in: *Levant* 10, 99–111.
- ÅSTRÖM, P.  
 2001 Bichrome Hand-made Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware on Cyprus, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 131–142.
- BADÉ, W. F.  
 1931 Ceramics and History in Palestine, in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 50.2, 1–19.
- BAKER, J.  
 2012 *The Funeral Kit: Mortuary Practices in the Archaeological Record* (Walnut Creek).
- BALENSI, J. / M. D. HERRERA / M. ARTZY  
 1993 Abu Hawam, Tell, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Volume 1* (Jerusalem), 7–14.
- BERGOFFEN, C.  
 1989 *A Comparative Study of the Regional Distribution of Cypriot Pottery in Canaan and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age* (unpublished doctoral thesis; New York University, New York).
- 2001a The Base Ring Pottery from Tell el-'Ajjul, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 31–50.
- 2001b The Proto White Slip and White Slip I Pottery from Tell el-'Ajjul, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 20; Vienna), 145–155.
- BIETAK, M.,  
 2001 Towards a Chronology of Bichrome Ware? Some Material from 'Ezbet Helmi and Tell el-Dab'a, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 175–202.
- BROOBBANK, C.  
 2013 *The Making of the Middle Sea. A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World* (London).
- COHEN, S.

- 2002 Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze Age IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt (Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Levant 3; Winona Lake).
- CREWE, L.  
2015 Plain Wares and Urban Identities in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in: C. GLATZ (*ed.*), Plain Pottery Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East: Production, Use, and Social Significance (UCL Institute of Archaeology Publications Volume 67; Walnut Creek), 115–134.
- DEMESTICA, S. AND KNAPP, A. B. (*ed.*)  
2016 Mediterranean Connections. Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze–Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 183; Uppsala).
- DESSEL, J. P.  
1997 Ajjul, Tell el, in: E. M. MEYERS (*ed.*), Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East Volume I (Oxford), 38–40.
- DROWER, M. S.  
1995 Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology (Madison, Wisc.).
- DUNCAN, J. G.  
1930 Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery (Publications of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 49; London).
- EPSTEIN, C.  
1966 Palestinian Bichrome Ware (Leiden).
- ERIKSSON, K. O.  
2001 Cypriote Proto White Slip and White Slip I: Chronological Beacons on Relations between Late Cypriot I Cyprus and Contemporary Societies of the Eastern Mediterranean, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 20; Vienna), 51–64.
- FISCHER, P. M.  
2001a Cypriote Bichrome Wheel-made Ware and Base-ring Ware from the New Excavations at Tell el-‘Ajjul: Synchronism and Dating, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*), The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 221–230.  
2001b Cypriot Finds from the Renewed Excavations at Tell el-‘Ajjul: Statistics and Chronology, in: P. M. FISCHER (*ed.*), Contributions to the Archaeology and History of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of Paul Aström (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 39; Vienna), 159–170.  
2003 The Preliminary Chronology of Tell el-‘Ajjul: Results of the Renewed Excavations in 1999 and 2000, in: M. BIETAK (*ed.*), The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the

- Second Millennium B.C., II. Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf, 2<sup>nd</sup> of May – 7<sup>th</sup> of May 2001 (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 4; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 41; Vienna), 263–294.
- 2004 Coast Contra Inland: Tell el-‘Ajjul and Tell Abu Al-Kharaz during the Late Middle and Late Bronze Ages, in: *Egypt and the Levant*, in: *International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 14, 249–263.
- 2007 A Note on the Lustrous Wheel-made Wares from Tell el-‘Ajjul, in: I. HEIN (*ed.*), *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 13; Vienna), 71–78.
- 2009 The Chronology of Tell el-‘Ajjul, Gaza: Stratigraphy, Thera, Pumice and Radiocarbon Dating, in: D. A. WARBURTON (*ed.*), *Time’s Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini*. Acts of the Minoan Eruption Chronology Workshop, Sandbjerg, November 2007 (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 10; Århus), 253–265.
- 2012 SIMA and the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Hala Sultan Tekke, in: J. M. WEBB / D. FRANKEL (*ed.*), *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology: Fifty Years On* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 137; Uppsala), 73–80.
- FISCHER, P. M. / M. SADEQ
- 2000 Tell el-‘Ajjul 1999. A Joint Palestinian-Swedish Field Project: First Season Preliminary Report, in: *Egypt and the Levant*. *International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 10, 211–226.
- 2002 Tell el-‘Ajjul 2000: Second Season Preliminary Report, in: *Egypt and the Levant*. *International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 12, 109–153.
- 2008 ‘Ajjul, Tell el-’, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 5: Supplementary Volume* (Jerusalem), 1565–1566.
- FRANKFORT, H.
- 1927 *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East II Asia, Europe and the Aegean, and their Earliest Interrelations* (London).
- GITTLEN, B. M.
- 1981 The Cultural and Chronological Implications of the Cypro-Palestinian Trade during the Late Bronze Age, in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241, 49–59.
- GJERSTAD, E.
- 1926 *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala).
- 1934 *Cilician Studies*, in: *Revue archéologique (sixième série)* 3, 155–203.
- GJERSTAD, E. / J. LINDOS / E. SJÖQVIST, E. / A. WESTHOLM.

- 1934 Swedish Cyprus Expedition I, II: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931 (Stockholm).
- GONEN, R.  
1992 Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan (American School of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 7; Winona Lake).
- HALDANE, C.  
1993 Direct Evidence for Organic Cargoes in the Late Bronze Age, in: *World Archaeology* 24.3, 348–360.
- HEURTLEY, W. A.  
1938 A Palestinian Vase-painter of the Sixteenth Century B.C, in: *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 8, 21–34.
- HORSFIELD, G.  
1931 Review: *Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery* by J. Garrow Duncan, in: *Antiquity* 5 issue 19, 393–394.
- HULIN, L. / H. W. HATCHER  
2018 Social Aspects of the Production and Distribution of White Slip II Ware, in: L. HULIN, L. CREWE AND J.M. WEBB (*ed.*), *Structures of Inequality on Bronze Age Cyprus: Studies in Honour of Alison K. South* (Studies In Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket Book 187; Nicosia), 169–178.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V.  
2001 Bichrome Wheel-made Ware: Still a Problem?, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 54; Stockholm), 143–155.
- KATZENSTEIN, H. J.  
1982 Gaza in the Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, 111–113.
- KEMPINKSKI, A.  
1974 Tell el-'Ajjul — Beth-Aglayim or Sharuhén?, in: *Israel Exploration Journal* 24.3–4, 145–152.
- MAY, H. G.  
1935 *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (Oriental Institute Publications 26; Chicago).
- MERRILLEES, R. S.  
1974 Fine and Imported Wares, in: H. E. KASSIS (*ed.*), *Tell el-'Ajjul. The Middle Bronze Age Remains* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 38; Göteborg), 86–111.
- MILLEK, J. M.  
2019 Exchange, Destruction, and a Transitioning Society. Interregional Exchange in the Southern Levant from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron I (RessourcenKulturen 9; Tübingen).
- MORAN, W. L.

- 1987 The Amarna Letters (Baltimore / London).
- MORRIS, E. F.  
 2005 The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom (Problem der Agyptologie 22; Leiden).
- MYERS, J. L. / M. OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER  
 1899 A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum with a Chronicle of Excavations Undertaken Since the British Occupation and Introductory Notes on Cypriote Archaeology (Oxford).
- OVADIAH, A.  
 1993 Gaza, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land. Volume 2* (Jerusalem), 464–467.
- OREN, E. D.  
 1969 Cypriot Imports in the Palestinian Late Bronze I Context, in: *Opuscula Atheniensia* 9, 127–150.
- 2001 Early White Slip Pottery in Canaan: Spatial and Chronological Perspectives, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 20; Vienna), 127–144.
- PETRIE, W. M. F.  
 1904 *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (London).  
 1915 Review of *Les Civilisations Prehelleniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Egge* by Rene Dussaud, 1914, in: *Ancient Egypt* 1915, part 1, 29–36.  
 1925 Review of *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East. Volume 1. Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt and their Earliest Inter-relations* by H. Frankfort, in: *Man* 25.4, 13–14.  
 1930 *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World* (London).  
 1931a *Ancient Gaza I. Tell el Ajjūl* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt 53; London).  
 1931b *Tell el Ajjul*, in: *Ancient Egypt* June 1931, 33–41.  
 1932 *Ancient Gaza II. Tell el Ajjūl* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt 54; London).  
 1933 *Ancient Gaza III. Tell el Ajjūl* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt 55; London).  
 1934 *Ancient Gaza IV. Tell el Ajjūl* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt 56; London).
- PETRIE, F. / E. J. H. MACKAY / M. A. MURRAY  
 1952 *City of Shepherd Kings and Ancient Gaza V* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt 64; London).
- PHILLIPS, J. S.



- 2006 Petrie, The 'Outsider Looking On', in: P. DARQUE / M. FOTIADIS / O. POLYCHRONOPOULOU (*ed.*), *Mythos. La préhistoire égéenne du XIXe au XXe siècle après J.-C. Actes de la table ronde internationale d'Athènes (21–23 novembre 2002)* (Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique Supplément 46; Athens), 143–157.
- PRITCHARD, J. B.  
1969 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd edition (Princeton).
- RAINEY, A. F.  
1993 Sharhan/Sharuhen — The Problem of Identification, in: *Eretz Israel* 24, 178\*–187\*.
- SHIPTON, G. M.  
1939 Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata VI–XX (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 17; Chicago).
- SJÖQVIST, E.  
1940 *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age* (Stockholm).
- SMITH, S.  
1932 Review: Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery by J. Garrow Duncan, in: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, 193–194.
- SPARKS, R. T. / P. J. UCKO  
2007 A History of the Petrie Palestinian Collection, in: S. LAIDLAW / R. T. SPARKS (*ed.*), *A Future for the Past: Petrie's Palestinian Collection* (Dorchester).
- SPIGELMAN, M.  
2015 *Red-on-Black Style Ceramics: Production and Trade in Bronze Age Cyprus* (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, New York).
- STEEL, L.  
2002 Consuming Passions: A Contextual Study of the Local Consumption of Mycenaean Pottery at Tell el-'Ajjul, in: *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15.1, 25–51.
- STEVENSON, A.  
2013 Artefacts of Excavation. The British Collection and Distribution of Egyptian Finds to Museums, 1880–1915, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 26.1, 89–102.
- TUFNELL, O.  
1929 Letter from the Palace Hotel, Nicosia, dated 31 December 1929. Palestine Exploration Fund: Tufnell Archive PEF-DA-TUF-147.  
1984 *Studies on Scarab Seals Volume II* (Warminster).
- TUFNELL, O. / A. KEMPINSKI  
1993 Ajjul, Tell el-, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Volume 1* (Jerusalem), 49–53.
- VAGNETTI, L.

- 2001 How Far Did White Slip Pottery Travel? Some Evidence from Italy and from the Libyan Coast, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 20; Vienna)*, 101–105.

WOOLLEY, C. L.

- 1942 North Syria as a Cultural Link in the Ancient World, in: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 72.1–2, 9–18.
- 1953 *A Forgotten Kingdom* (London).

### List of Captions

Fig. 1. Map of the Gaza area, showing the location of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl*. Courtesy of Graham Reed.

Fig. 2. FLINDERS PETRIE at the American School in Jerusalem c. 1935. Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

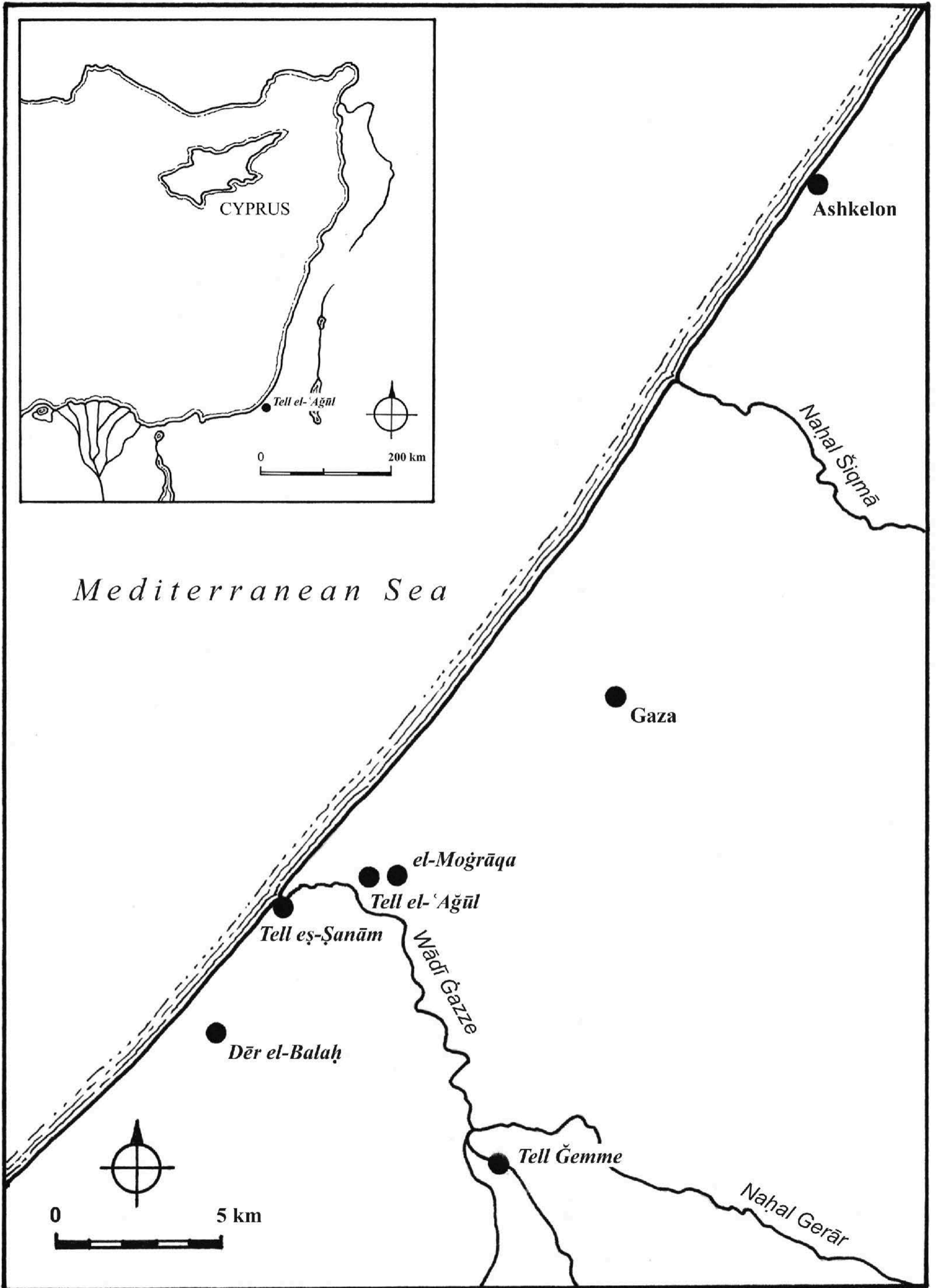
Fig. 3. View of Bronze Age mudbrick housing in the southern part of *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* (area B/D), excavated in the first field season of 1930/31. Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

Fig. 4. PETRIE's chart showing the distribution of painted motifs across the tell. Columns are headed with absolute height of finds in inches above sea level, while the pairs of letters below refer to loci. Originally published in PETRIE 1932, pl. XLII.

Fig. 5. A selection of White Slip I sherds from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* — PETRIE's so-called 'Anatolian ware'. Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

Fig. 6. Unstratified Cypriot LCIA pithoi fragments from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* in the Institute of Archaeology Collections. Left to right: accession numbers 2008/18, 2008/16 and 2008/17. Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

Fig. 7. White Shaved juglet from *Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ağūl* Tomb 1097 (PETRIE type 51K2; Institute of Archaeology Collections EXIII.40/1). Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, UCL.



CYPRUS

Tell el-'Ağul

Ashkelon

Nahal Şiqmā

*Mediterranean Sea*

Gaza

el-Moğrāqa

Tell el-'Ağul

Tell eṣ-Şanām

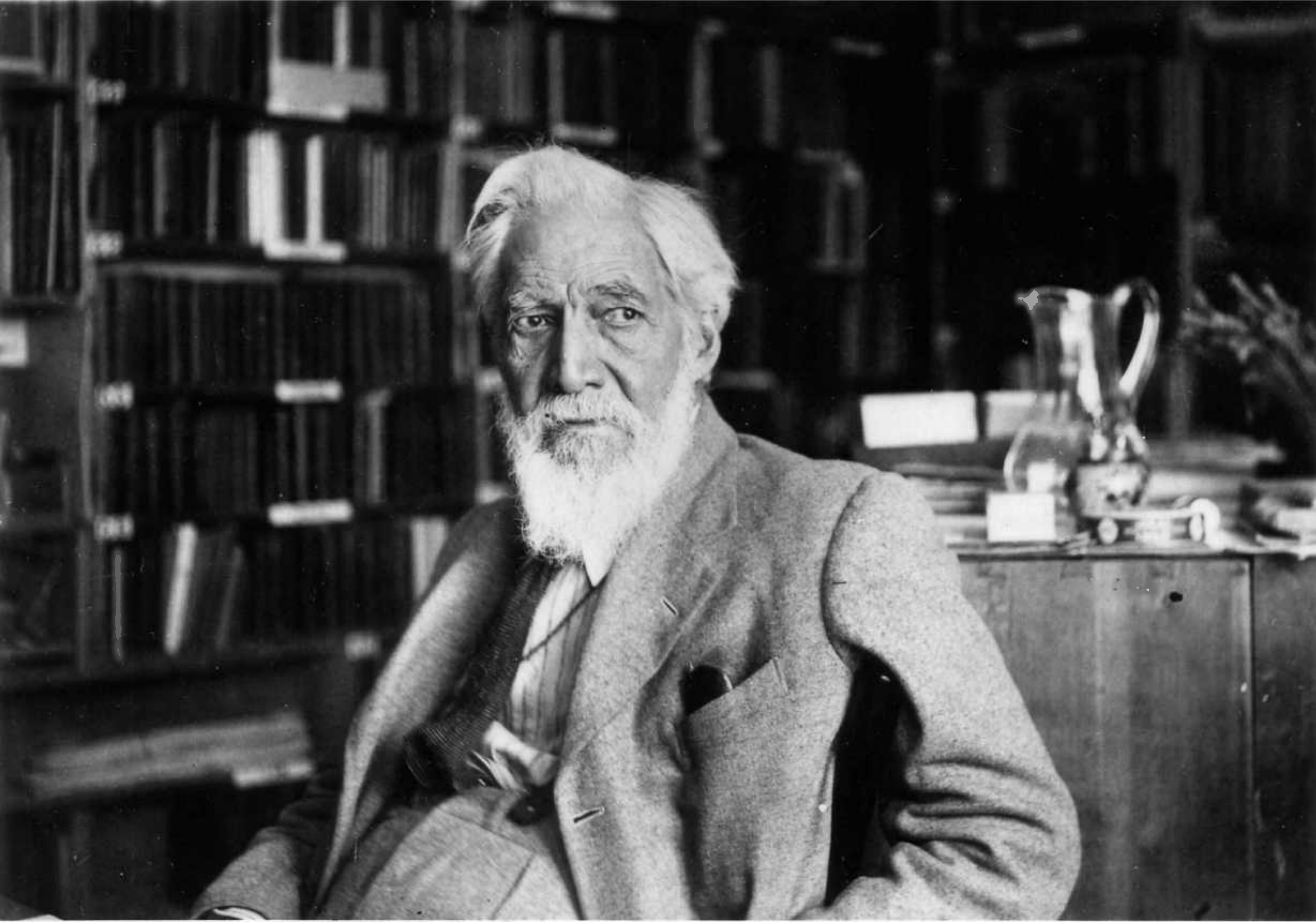
Wādī Ğazze

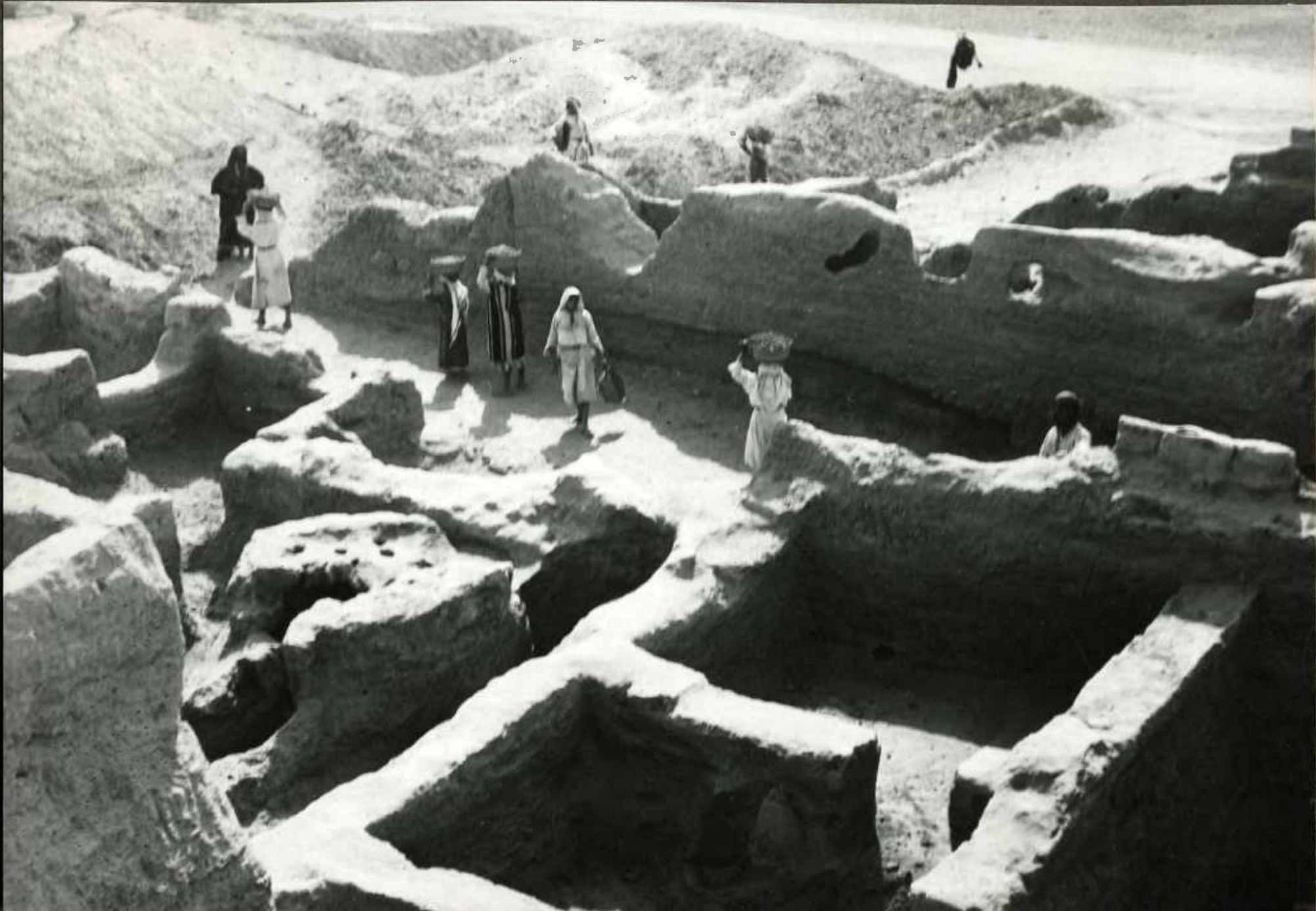
Dēr el-Balaḥ

Tell Ğemme

Nahal Gerār

5 km





XVIII DYNASTY GREY BRICK PALACE BLACK BRICK PALACE YELLOW BRICK PALACE STONE BASEMENT PALACE

	1129-20	1119-10	1109-0	1099-0	1089-0	1079-0	1069-0	1059-0	1049-0	1039-0	1029-0	1019-0	1009-0	999-0	989-0	979-0	969-0	959-0	949-0	939-				
Dull br-bk bands						NH		PE, PL				PL			OF						Dull br-bk bands			
Dull rd-bk bands		MN	MM, MN	MN, MJ			NK in bowl	MS fine	MN		OJ										Dull rd-bk bands			
Parallel bands	MN					MN, OH, N		MH						ON					PK		Parallel bands			
Parallel lines	NC		MN	MN	MN	MG, OJ	MH	PM	PG-MH	MH	MP	MS	OE			PL, MV	OM, PG	MS, OZ		PL, OY	Parallel lines			
MeTopic													OJ	OA	PD, OZ	PL	OF, OM, OY	OY		PE	MeTopic			
Parallel rd-bk								MH	ML	MH					MG, ML, OHV	OE		OJ, OY	OZ, PL		Parallel rd-bk			
White lines on br.		+	MN							PJ				PH							White lines on br.			
Parallel barred		MN				MG, OJ	MK-L, OE								PH						Parallel barred			
Dabs										PJ	OJ										Dabs			
Bowls							NH														Bowls			
Grey shade				MN																	Grey shade			
Cross lines				MN		MH		MS NH					OD OJ OR MN	MP PJ		OM PG	MK	OY	PK OY	OY	Cross lines			
V lines																					V lines			
Wavy					MH		MB, MK	MS	MG, NH	MH, NH				PL	OF	MG	MNJ, OX	PA	PG, PH, OX	MR, OE	Wavy			
Vandyke						OH		PD													Vandyke			
Chequers														MH		ML	OE + {1020 940}			PG	Chequers			
Hour-glass				MB										MH							Hour-glass			
Banded																					Banded			
Plaited						MH VERY ROUGH	OM														Plaited			
Union Jack			MN		ND																Union Jack			
Wheel																					Wheel			
Cross								MS	OJ												Cross			
Standard																					Standard			
Flower							MH LOTUS														Flower			
Fish																					Fish			
Bird				MN																	Bird			
Quadruped						NH															Quadruped			
Chocolate + white						OH	MK, MO, PL	NH, PD	PG							PG, PL	OD, OE	OX, PH	OL, OX	PG, PF	PL, OM, OG	OG, MD, PF	OG, MR, PF	
Thin white bowl								NH	MN	PJ														Thin white bowl
Polished white		MN						PJ	MN, NH															Polished white
Waggles					MN		MK																	Waggles
Anatolian fork handle	M-F-MN	M-F-G-N	M-B-G-M-N	MH	OZ	OH	MG-OH-J	MB-F-H-O	MF-H	MH-L-N	OH	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA	MA
Cypriote																								Cypriote
Thin brown			MN	MN						NL	MN	MN, NE												Thin brown
" " loop	MB, MF																							" " loop
" " reliefs																								" " reliefs
" bk + red lines																								" bk + red lines
Cypriote Usports	MB					OJ		MS																Cypriote Usports
Incised wreaths																								Incised wreaths

UNDERLINES, KEPT AT JERUSALEM

F.P.







