

Were the Sea Peoples at Beth Shan?

Patrick E. McGovern

The Sea Peoples' presence in northern Palestine during the transition from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age is a particularly appropriate *dissideratum* for this *Festschrift*, as John Strange set the stage for it in his dissertation on Late Bronze Age *Caphtor/Keftiu*¹ and dealt with it directly in a recent article². Recent excavations at Tell el-Fukhar in northern Jordan, which were co-directed by John and are presently being prepared for publication, have revealed transitional Late Bronze/early Iron fortifications, domestic and probable palatial installations, and a single Philistine krater rim sherd from the gate area. Intriguingly, an early Iron Age stratum (Lower Level V, ca. 1000-900 B.C.) at Beth Shan, which is approximately 45 km west of Tell el-Fukhar and on approximately the same latitude, also yielded a single Philistine sherd³.

Beth Shan during the 13th Century B.C.

The final publication of the 13th century B.C. levels at Beth Shan⁴ makes it abundantly evident how intense the Egyptian presence at the site was. The Egyptians wholly transformed the site into a military base by dismantling and leveling the earlier Level IX (ca. 1550-1300 B.C.) and constructing typical Egyptian New Kingdom buildings — a residential sector of courtyard houses laid out along a grid pattern of streets, a temple, and the so-called *migdol* ("fortress") and "commandant's house." Matching the architectural changes, the ratio of Egyptian pottery and object types (including duck-headed bowls, "flower pots" and "beerbottles" thought to have been used in bread and beer rituals, cobra figurines, zoomorphic stands, chariot fittings, jewelry pendants, glass and faience vessels⁵, scarabs of 19th Dynasty pharaohs, etc., etc.) to Palestinian types (1:4) is the highest that has ever been recorded at a Palestinian site. At least two monumental stelae of the 19th Dynasty pharaoh Sety I and one of Ramesses II⁶, which had been secondarily set up in a courtyard of the Northern Temple in Lower Level V, detail Egyptian military activity in the area, and can be correlated chronologically with Level VIII (Sety I, 1294-1279 B.C.) and Level VII (Ramesses II, 1279-1213 B.C.)⁷.

In a basalt stela of Year 1 of Sety I, evidently cut from local stone by an

Egyptian stonemason resident at the site, this pharaoh claims to have successfully defended the garrison against the belligerent city-states of Pella and Hamath, located several kilometers to the south. Preparations for a major Palestinian campaign had already begun during the coregency of Sety I with his father, Ramesses I, by the building and strengthening of fortresses along the Sinai portion of "The Ways of Horus," many of which were named after Sety I⁸. Once complete power had devolved to such an energetic pharaoh, a concerted effort to bring Palestine under Egyptian control by moving military, administrative, and craft personnel into the region in large numbers and setting up permanent bases, on the model of Egyptian occupation in Nubia⁹, might be anticipated. The historical context of an undated and incomplete second basalt stela of Sety I, detailing the defeat of the *'apiru* of Mount Yarumtu and the Tamaru, probably occurred during another Asiatic campaign. The campaigning of Sety I in southern Syria and northern Palestine is also attested by stelae found at Tell Nebi Mend, ancient Kadesh¹⁰, and Tell esh-Shihab, east of the Sea of Galilee¹¹.

Sety I's son and successor, Ramesses II, completed the building of the Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan and consolidated Egyptian power in the region. In his Year 18 basalt stela, Ramesses II claims to have crushed the *'amu* ("Asiatics"), as the Egyptian and Hittite accounts of the Battle of Kadesh make clear and as attested by a stela found at Sheikh Sa'id, east of the Sea of Galilee¹².

The combined artifactual and contemporaneous inscriptional evidence from Beth Shan leave little doubt that the Egyptians restructured the site to be a military garrison along the northeastern frontier of Palestine, from which they could protect their interests in the area. Before the site was excavated, this result could hardly have been anticipated, since Beth Shan is located far inland, more than 400 kms from the border of Egypt and even quite distant from the main Egyptian bases in the southwestern coastal region of the country. Yet, the site is strategically located at the eastern terminus of the main east-west trade route through the Palestinian Hill Country; here, where the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys intersect, routes to southern Syria and Jordan branched off after a shallow ford over the Jordan River was crossed. Trade, however, does not appear to have been the main goal of the Egyptians, since relatively few Syrian or North Mesopotamian artifacts were recovered¹³. A less tangible reason for the Egyptian choice of Beth Shan as a base of operations might be that the site most nearly duplicated the conditions of an Egyptian town, with its hot climate and proximity to a major river, into which a

network of waterways flowed and were periodically flooded.

The Transition to the Iron Age

The transition from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age at Beth Shan was not marked by a destruction level or a markedly different archaeological assemblage. Beginning with the erection of an Egyptian military garrison in Level VIII, the architectural layout of the site remained basically unchanged through as many as six phases, from Level VIII down to the construction of Lower Level V, i.e., from ca. 1300 to 1000 B.C. The phases constituted no more than minor alteration and refurbishings, such as would be expected from time to time.

Scarabs, numerous inscribed limestone door fragments from Egyptian center hall buildings¹⁴, and a basalt statue¹⁵ of Ramesses III (1184-1153 B.C.) indicate that a resurgence of Egyptian military activity probably occurred during this pharaoh's reign, following some serious threats to Egyptian control of "The Ways of Horus" at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Dynasty along the coast¹⁶. Particularly noteworthy is a lintel, which shows Ramessesuserkhephesh, referred to as the "Commander of the Troops of the Lord of the Two Lands" on another door jamb, worshipping the cartouches and Horus-name of Ramesses III¹⁷. Following the reign of Ramesses III, however, economic and social problems at home¹⁸ conspired to weaken Egypt's hold on Palestine, and no Egyptian royal objects are found there between the reign of Ramesses VI and Shishak of the 22nd Dynasty. The power vacuum was apparently filled by various people, such as the Israelites, Moabites, and Edomites, which are mentioned for the first time in Egyptian late New Kingdom texts, together with Sea Peoples (e.g., the Peleset [Philistines] along the southwestern coast, and the Tjekker farther north according to the Tale of Wen-Amun). Even with the withdrawal of Egyptian forces, the local inhabitants of Beth Shan must have maintained the spirit, if not necessarily the substance, of Egyptian tradition, since the monuments of Sety I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III were protected and prominently displayed at least down to the time of Shishak.

Archaeological and Chemical Evidence for Sea Peoples at Beth Shan

If artifactual and architectural styles are any indication, cultural influences other than those of the local Palestinians and Egyptians are very rare in the 13th and 12th century B.C. levels at Beth Shan. Northern contacts, as already mentioned, were negligible. A relatively large amount of Mycenaean and

Cypriot pottery was imported, probably overland through the Jezreel Valley¹⁹, and is most plausibly interpreted as being the result of trade.

The only artifacts from Levels VII and VIII on the tell, which are directly relevant to the question of whether Sea Peoples were in contact with or living at Beth Shan in the 13th century B.C., are (1) an anthropomorphic mask²⁰, an appliqué head on a tall cylindrical stand²¹, and a probable figurine head²², all with vertically fluted hair- or headdresses. Similarly, some of the "grotesque" anthropoid coffin lids (see Fig. A) from Tombs 60, 66 and 90 in the Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan have faces with very exaggerated features and which are sometimes surmounted by vertical flutings or triangular depressions²³. Horizontal lines of small circular knobs and plain bands are present on the foreheads of the coffin faces, but lacking on the Level VII/VIII artifacts. Some other minor differences may be noted: the figurine and appliqué head are bearded, and the low fluted modeling of the mask has more the appearance of a coiffure than a headdress.

The significance of these artifacts for the question of whether Sea Peoples were at Beth Shan is that the Sea Peoples represented in the Medinet Habu reliefs of Ramesses III are shown wearing feathered headdresses with plain bands, zigzag bands, and/or lines of circular projections on their foreheads. The "grotesque" coffins at Beth Shan, making allowances for stylization in clay, have been argued to represent similar headdresses²⁴. The implication is that the Egyptians assigned Sea People mercenaries to the Beth Shan garrison, as they did at other sites in the southwestern coastal area, following the defeat of the Peleset and their allies²⁵, and that some of these people, in particular the Tjekker and Denyen, were buried in the coffins of the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan²⁶. Other artifacts (tall cylindrical stands, *kernoi*, "beer strainers," a double pilgrim-flask, bar handles, etc.), which were recovered from Levels VII and VIII and are related to Aegean prototypes and later Philistine examples²⁷, might be cited as confirmatory evidence. On the other hand, the fluted hair/headdresses might be interpreted as belonging to the Syro-Palestinian tradition of fluted conical and cylindrical headgear²⁸, and the artifactual styles could be explained as mostly local imitations of imported prototypes rather than the actual presence of a new people.

One of the strongest arguments in support of Sea Peoples having been buried in the Northern Cemetery is that similar "grotesque" coffins have been found at a site along the southwestern coast, Deir el-Balah²⁹, in the region that was eventually incorporated into the Philistine pentapolis. There, however, "naturalistic" coffins of standard New Kingdom Egyptian type, predominate,

as they do at Beth Shan³⁰ (Fig. B). One of the coffin lid faces was even discovered inside a kiln at Deir el-Balah, confirming that it and other coffins were locally manufactured. Based on the coffins and the associated burial goods, T. Dothan proposed that Sea Peoples formed the majority of the population and had adopted Egyptian burial customs.

Burial customs as a rule are not prone to change, and the hypothesis that Sea Peoples were buried in the Deir el-Balah and Beth Shan coffins would be doubtful *a priori*, except for the "grotesque" coffin lid faces with headdresses resembling those on the Medinet Habu reliefs. Moreover, the very fact that coffins were used for burial points to strong Egyptian influence, which is borne out by the finds from both sites. Therefore, one cannot rule out the possibility that Egyptians themselves were buried in the Northern Cemetery and Deir el-Balah tombs, even though the greatest desire of any Egyptian was to be buried in his/her own land.

Some associated burial goods in the Northern Cemetery anthropoid coffin burials — *shawabtis*³¹, miniature and regular-sized carinated cups³², a jar³³ and Egyptian alabaster vase³⁴, splayed-rim bowls³⁵, a bell-shaped bowl³⁶, etc. — are of Egyptian type. Preliminary Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) data, which were statistically evaluated by Mahalanobis distance probability calculations using a Levantine-Egyptian data bank of 2700 Bronze-Iron Age clay and pottery samples³⁷, confirmed that two of the carinated cups, noted above, are definitely imports made of Nile alluvial clay. The one *shawabti*³⁸ that was tested was of uncertain provenience. However, these small figurines, which carry out work for the deceased in the afterlife, were a standard accompaniment of any legitimate Egyptian burial, and those from Beth Shan are, to this writer's knowledge, the only published examples that have ever been found in Palestine. Since analyses of Egyptian-style artifacts from the the 13th century B.C. levels on the tell have shown them to be made exclusively of local clay and produced at Beth Shan³⁹ (as were the Egyptian-style jar and bell-shaped bowl, noted above), the NAA finding that minimally the carinated cups were imported from Egypt has important implications for who was buried in the anthropoid coffins at Beth Shan.

There are also clear indications of local Palestinian cultural influence in the tomb groups of the Northern Cemetery. The numerous lamps⁴⁰ are exclusively of Palestinian type, as are the pilgrim flasks, most of the juglets and bowls, a krater, pyxis, storage jar, and probably a "beer strainer"⁴¹ and one-handled flask⁴². The long-necked juglet⁴³ is most common farther south in the Jordan Valley and on the central Transjordanian plateau⁴⁴. NAA confirmed that one

lamp was locally made, and that one long-necked juglet was of uncertain provenience.

So-called "imitation" Mycenaean stirrup jars⁴⁵, which have long been thought to be local products that were first produced in this period to offset the decline in imported Greek vessels, are extremely common in the tombs. They are found together with what appear to be genuine Mycenaean⁴⁶ and Cypriote⁴⁷ types. It should be noted that only Mycenaean III B types are represented in the cemetery. However, Mycenaean III C pottery, which precedes the full blossoming of Philistine pottery on the coast, is attested in Level VI⁴⁸. NAA confirmed that two of the "imitation" stirrup jars were probably locally made⁴⁹; another two examples were of uncertain provenience. One probable stirrup jar import⁵⁰ was shown to indeed come from central Mainland Greece. A Cypriote miniature bowl⁵¹, on the other hand, was most likely produced in the southwestern coastal region, as was a long-necked and spouted "beer strainer."⁵²

Turning to a unique group of artifacts of possible Aegean/Sea People inspiration, two rather clumsily handmade figurines⁵³ (Fig. C, left and middle) are definitely females; one of these examples has hands holding breasts in a standard Syro-Palestinian figurine pose. The lobed coiffure of the latter is similar to that of the third example (Fig. C, right) which lack breasts, so possibly all three figurines are female. The NAA results showed them to be made of local Beth Shan clay.

Several "naturalistic" and "grotesque" coffin lid faces and bases⁵⁴ were also tested by NAA. Of the five samples, three examples — a "naturalistic" coffin lid (Fig. B), a base from a "naturalistic" type, and a "grotesque" coffin lid (Fig. A, lower right), each from separate tombs — probably were imported from the southwestern coastal region of Palestine. One "grotesque" coffin lid face (Fig. A, upper left) was possibly locally made, but more statistical evaluation is needed to substantiate this preliminary assignment. Finally, a coffin base, showing well-molded feet, was of uncertain provenience.

Conclusions

While it is true that ethnic affiliation cannot be unequivocally established by determining the stylistic or chemical origin(s) of pottery artifacts, a group of distinctive artifacts from a single tomb or group of graves may have cumulative significance in establishing the cultural background of the buried individual(s). Chemical proveniencing, because it relies on *unintentional* contemporaneous evidence, is an especially sensitive indicator of origin.

Whereas pottery shapes and decorations were readily transferred between cultures and consciously imitated, Late Bronze and early Iron Age potters were generally limited to locally available clays and exercised little control over their chemical makeup. The slipperiness of stylistic arguments can be appreciated by considering the long-standing discussion of the collared-rim jar⁵⁵, which has now been shown to be definitely *not* a marker of "Israelite" settlements, since its form and method of manufacture is tied to Late Bronze prototypes and since the type appears to have been made throughout Transjordan in regions outside of traditionally defined Israelite territory. It needs to be continually stressed that "Pots do not equal People."⁵⁶

Since burial customs are relatively conservative, the percentage of imported pottery vessels and other artifacts in a tomb, as established by NAA, provides some guidance in determining the ethnic background of the deceased. Of course, such imports could rather manifest artistic sensibilities, predilection for whatever the vessels contained, social class, or the time spent abroad of such individuals, especially in the cosmopolitan world of the Late Bronze Age. These qualifications aside, what is striking about the proveniences of the burial goods from the anthropoid coffin burials at Beth Shan is the prominence of material deriving from the southwestern coastal region, together with several Egyptian imports⁵⁷. The coffins themselves apparently were made here, and transported, either by sea to Mount Carmel and overland through the Jezreel or by land the whole way. This would not have been easy, since the coffins weighed hundreds of pounds and are extremely friable (except for their kiln-fired lids).

The scenario of Sea Peoples having been settled as mercenaries in the southwestern coastal region of Palestine, which was later consolidated into the Philistine pentapolis, provides the most parsimonious explanation of the imported and Aegean-inspired pottery and other artifacts of 13th-12th century B.C. sites in this area, preeminently in burial and temple contexts at Deir el-Balah, Ashdod and Tel Qasile. Egyptians would not have preferred to be buried in Palestine, and local Palestinians had never shown any inclination to adopt Egyptian burial practices. The Sea Peoples thus are the most likely candidates for having been buried in anthropoid coffins in this area.

Beth Shan, as an outpost of Egyptian power during an unsettled period, would have needed military reinforcements, and settling some of the Sea Peoples as mercenaries at the site was one possible solution. These people would presumably have been in close contact with the southwestern coastal region, since they either came from there or had friends and relatives there.

Since making the coffins required some expertise, the most efficient way to obtain them might then have been to import them from the southwestern coast, perhaps even from Deir el-Balah.

The main problem in delimiting one ethnic group as the deceased in the Beth Shan coffins is the highly eclectic nature of the burials. However, by the time the Philistine culture, with its distinctive pottery, had emerged in the southwestern coastal region, it had already incorporated Egyptian and Palestinian elements into its stylistic repertoire and, more importantly, into its religion (Dagon, for example, being the Semitic name of the main male deity of the Philistines). The syncretistic process would have begun earlier, and the anthropoid burials at Beth Shan and Deir el-Balah very likely reflect this development.

We may end on the note of how these findings may relate to the Old Testament traditions about Beth Shan. Several biblical references (Joshua 17.11, Judges 1.27, I Samuel 31.12) indicate that the Israelites were unsuccessful at first in taking control of the site from the Canaanites, and that the site was in league with the Philistines as late as the reign of Saul, whose body, along with those of his sons, were hung from the walls of the town following the Battle of Gilboa. In I Chronicles 10.10, we read of the "Temple of Dagon," which Alan Rowe implausibly identified as the southern temple of Level V. Is it possible that these biblical traditions somehow retain the memory of an attack by the *'apiru* at the time of Sety I or of Sea People mercenaries during the Late Bronze/early Iron transitional period, here anachronistically denoted as "Philistines?" "Biblical archaeology" could hardly ask for a more challenging set of problems, which on-going excavations at Beth Shan may eventually help to resolve.

Acknowledgments

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Figure captions

A. "Grotesque" coffin lid faces, Tomb 90, Northern Cemetery, Beth Shan, top left (University Museum no. 29-10-794); top right (Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem), bottom left (University Museum, on exhibit), bottom right (University Museum no. 29-103-781, 782, and 788).

B. "Naturalistic" coffin, Tomb 202A, Northern Cemetery, Beth Shan (University Museum no. 29-103-789).

C. Unique figurines of possible Aegean inspiration, Tomb 241, Northern Cemetery, Beth Shan (University Museum nos. 31-50-108, 31-50-110, and 31-50-109), left to right respectively.



Fig. A

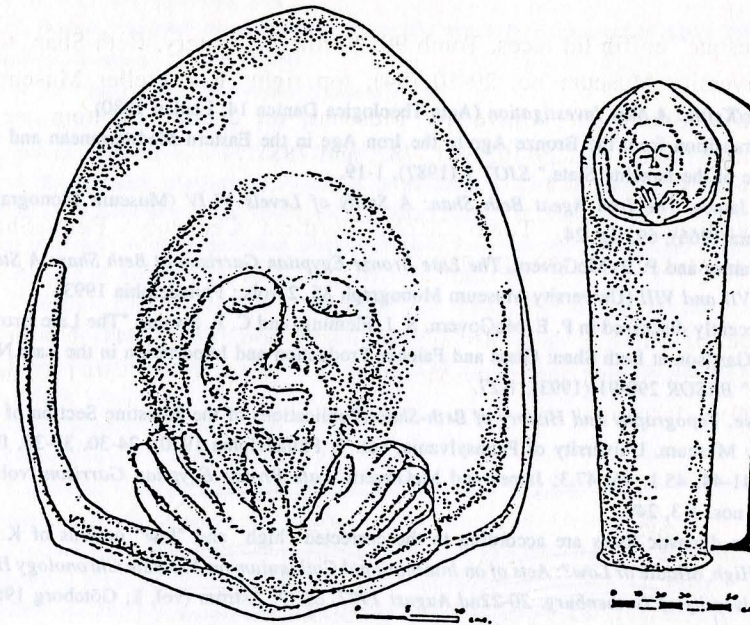


Fig. B

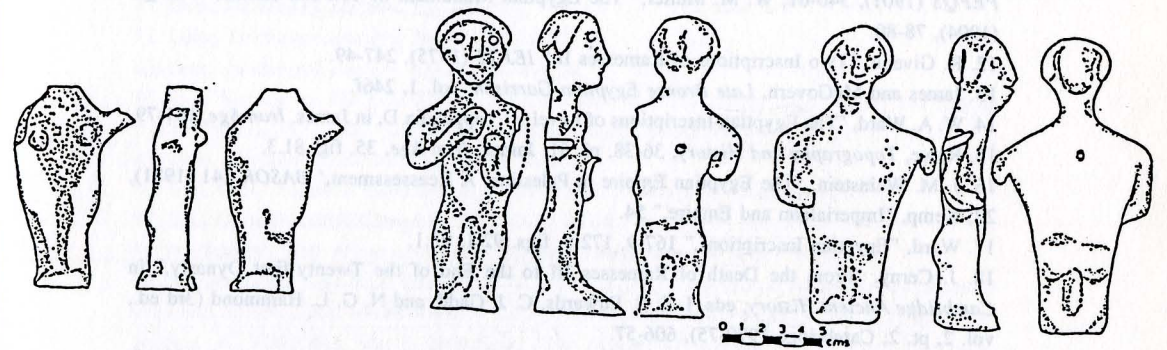


Fig. C

Notes

1. *Caphtor/Keftiu: A New Investigation* (Acta Theologica Danica 14; Leiden 1980).
2. "The Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Emergence of the Israelite State," *SJOT* 1 (1987), 1-19.
3. F. W. James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VI-IV* (Museum Monograph, Philadelphia 1966), 69, fig. 24.
4. F. W. James and P. E. McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII* (University Museum Monograph 85, 2 vols.; Philadelphia 1993).
5. Most recently discussed in P. E. McGovern, S. J. Fleming, and C. P. Swann, "The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: Glass and Faience Production and Importation in the Late New Kingdom," *BASOR* 290-91 (1993), 1-27.
6. A. Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1; Philadelphia 1930), 24-30, 33-36, figs. 5-6, pls. 41-44, 45.1, 46, 47.3; James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1., appendix, nos. 1-3, 249.
7. Egyptian dynastic dates are according to the corrected "high" and "low" options of K. A. Kitchen, *High, Middle or Low?: Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg, 20-22nd August 1987*, ed. P. Åström (vol. 1; Göteborg 1987), 38-40, table 5.
8. R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I," *JEA* 33 (1947), 34f; A. Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA* (1920), 99-116.
9. B. J. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, eds. P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (Cambridge 1978), 7-57.
10. M. Pézard, "Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend," *Syria* 3 (1922), 108-10.
11. G. A. Smith, "Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions Found by the Way," *PEFQS* (1901), 340-61; W. M. Müller, "The Egyptian Monument of Tell esh-Shihab," *PEFQS* (1904), 78-80.
12. R. Giveon, "Two Inscriptions of Ramesses II," *IEJ* 25 (1975), 247-49.
13. James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, 246f.
14. W. A. Ward, "The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," appendix D, in James, *Iron Age*, 161-79.
15. Rowe, *Topography and History*, 36-38, pl. 51; James, *Iron Age*, 35, fig. 81.3.
16. J. M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," *BASOR* 241 (1981), 22; Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire," 54.
17. Ward, "Egyptian Inscriptions," 167-9, 172-9, figs. 92.1, 93.1.
18. J. Cerny, "From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, eds. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond (3rd ed., vol. 2, pt. 2; Cambridge 1970-75), 606-57.
19. V. Hankey, in James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, ch. 3, 103-10; B. M. Gittlen, in James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, ch. 4, 111-24.
20. James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, 168f, fig. 79.2.
21. James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, 169f, fig. 81.2.
22. James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, 169f, fig. 82.1.

23. E. Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan* (University Museum monograph; Leiden 1973), figs. 52, 53.1, and especially 53.4.
24. T. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven, CN 1982), 268-76; Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, 135-39, 146-50.
25. N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples* (London 1978).
26. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, 138, 149.
27. Dothan, *Philistines*, 125-57, 219-29, 249-51.
28. J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature* (American Oriental Series, vol. 24; New Haven, CN 1943), 38-40; O. Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal: An Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines* (Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, no. 5; Tel Aviv 1976), fig. 19.
29. T. Dothan, *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah* (Qedem 10; Jerusalem, 1979).
30. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 53.3, 54-58.
31. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 45.24, 47b.26-8, 49.22-24, 50.13. 32. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 46.19, 47b.21-22.
33. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 45.26.
34. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 50.2.
35. E.g., Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 46.5-6 and 17-18, 48a.2-5.
36. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 47a.7.
37. For analytical procedures and statistical evaluation, with references, see P. E. McGovern, G. Harbottle, J. Huntoon, and C. Wnuk, "Ware Composition, Pyrotechnology, and Surface Treatment," in James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, 80-94; also, P. E. McGovern, "Cross-Cultural Interaction: The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan," in *Cross-Craft and Cross-Cultural Interactions in Ceramics*, ed. P. E. McGovern (Ceramics and Civilization, vol. 4; Westerville, OH 1989), 147-95.
38. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 47b.27.
39. *Supra*, n. 37. The only exception is a cobra figurine, which was most likely an import from the southwestern coastal region.
40. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 41-50, *passim*.
41. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 42b.21.
42. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 47b.19.
43. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 41.11, 44b.20.
44. P. E. McGovern, *The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Central Transjordan: The Baq'ah Valley Project, 1977-1981* (University Museum Monograph 65; Philadelphia 1986), 80f.
45. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 41-50, *passim*.
46. E.g., Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 43.6-7 and 20, 44b.24-25, 48b.18, 50.6.
47. E.g., Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 43.23, 47a.8.
48. V. Hankey, "Late Mycenaean Pottery at Beth Shan," *AJA* 70 (1966), 169f.
49. Similar results have been obtained at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, in the central Jordan Valley, about 25 km south of Beth Shan, where imitation stirrup jars were also made locally — see A. Leonard, M. Hughes, A. Middleton, and L. Schofield, "The Making of Aegean Stirrup Jars: Technique, Tradition, and Trade," *ABSA* 88 (1993), 105-23. A group of stirrup jars from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in the University Museum collection were also tested by NAA, and are in accord with the British Museum results. Intriguingly, the locally made imitation stirrup jars at Beth Shan were apparently not traded down to Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, nor did those made at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh travel the short distance north to Beth Shan. Yet, the cemetery at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, which is contemporaneous

with the coffin burials in the Northern Cemetery, shows very similar cultural influences in almost every respect.

50. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 44b.24.
51. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 47a.8.
52. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 47b.24.
53. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, fig. 50.12, 14-15.
54. Oren, *Northern Cemetery*, figs. 52.1 and 4, 55b, 57b.6 and 8.
55. It is worth mentioning here, pending the final publication, that collared-rim jars are attested in large numbers and a profusion of rim types, in the Late Bronze II, transitional Late Bronze/early Iron, and Iron I levels at Tell el-Fukhar. The type also first appeared in the 13th century B.C. Level VII at Beth Shan — James and McGovern, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*, vol. 1, 74f.
56. P. E. McGovern, review of D. Edelman, ed., *Toward a Consensus on the Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, *SEÅ* 58 (1993).
57. Preliminary NAA results for contemporaneous pottery from Tell el-Fukhar also point to a relatively large number of imports from the southwestern coast of Palestine.