

TELL EL-RETABA FROM THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD TILL THE LATE PERIOD RESULTS OF THE POLISH–SLOVAK ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION, SEASONS 2011–2012

Sławomir Rzepka (SRz), Jozef Hudec (JH), Anna Wodzińska (AW), Łukasz Jarmużek (ŁJ), Lucia Hulková (LH), Veronika Dubcová (VD), Malwina Piorun (MP), Alena Šefčáková (AŠ)

The 5th and 6th seasons of the Polish–Slovak Archaeological Mission in Tell el-Retaba took place in 2011 and 2012.¹ Since the early 20th century excavation of the site by W.M.F. Petrie it has been known as the location of a large Ramesside fortress, guarding the route, which linked Egypt with Syria-Palestine via Wadi Toumilat. Recent discoveries have shown that the site was occupied much earlier, already during the Hyksos Period. Also fragments of a settlement belonging to the first half of the 18th dynasty were excavated. For the first time a fragment of the inner structure of the 20th Dynasty fortress was uncovered – prior to that only its defense walls had been known. Several houses belonging to a Third Intermediate Period settlement were explored as well. No structures of the Late Period have been preserved; they seem to have been completely denuded, but the pottery found on the surface shows that the site was still occupied at the time.

Archaeological works concentrated on both sides of a modern road, which crosses the site from north to south: areas 4 and 7 (on the west side of the road) and areas 9 and 3 (on the east side). Their location is marked in Fig. 1.

The report is divided into two parts. Part I is a general report, containing descriptions and analysis of architectural remains, deposits linked with them and some small finds retrieved from these deposits. Part II concerns the pottery.

PART I. GENERAL REPORT

1. Hyksos Period

1.1. Hyksos cemetery

Four Hyksos tombs were discovered in 2011 and 2012, one in area 9 and three in area 7. They belong to a larger cemetery, of which a fragment was also excavated in 2011 and 2012 by an Egyptian mission directed by Mustafa Nour el-Din.²

1.1.1. Tomb description

1.1.1.1. Tomb [810] (burials [830] and [812]) (MP, SRz)

In area 9 one Hyksos tomb was explored and two others located (for their position cf. Figs. 1 and 48). Exploration of Hyksos layers in this area was limited to a modern trench (apparently bulldozed), which destroyed the Ramesside structures. A layer of coarse-grained reddish gravel was reached under the windblown sand filling the trench. A burial pit measuring ca. 3.5×2.5 m was discovered dug into these layers (Figs. 2–3).³ A pottery cup from the fill must have been left there during burial ceremonies (Fig. 100).⁴ At the bottom of the pit there was a vaulted mud-brick chamber [810].

Tomb construction

The rectangular mud-brick chamber (Figs 2–4) was oriented on a NNW–SSE axis and measured

¹ The mission is working under the auspices of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw; involved are also: Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw; Agyptos Foundation, Bratislava. The works have been also supported by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland (grant N N109 244839) and by the Slovak Research and Development Agency (contract no. APVV-0579-12). Preliminary reports of each season are published in *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean (PAM)*. More extensive reports of the sea-

sons 2007–2010 appeared in *A&L* 19 and 21: RZEPKA *et al.* 2009, RZEPKA *et al.* 2011.

² Report on tombs excavated by Mustafa Nour el-Din will be the subject of a separate contribution; cf. HULKOVÁ, ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, NOUR EL-DIN 2013; HULKOVÁ 2013, 31.

³ Estimated dimensions as the eastern end of the burial pit was not cleared being under a late Ramesside building [834/838] (see below).

⁴ The object was stolen prior to being properly documented.

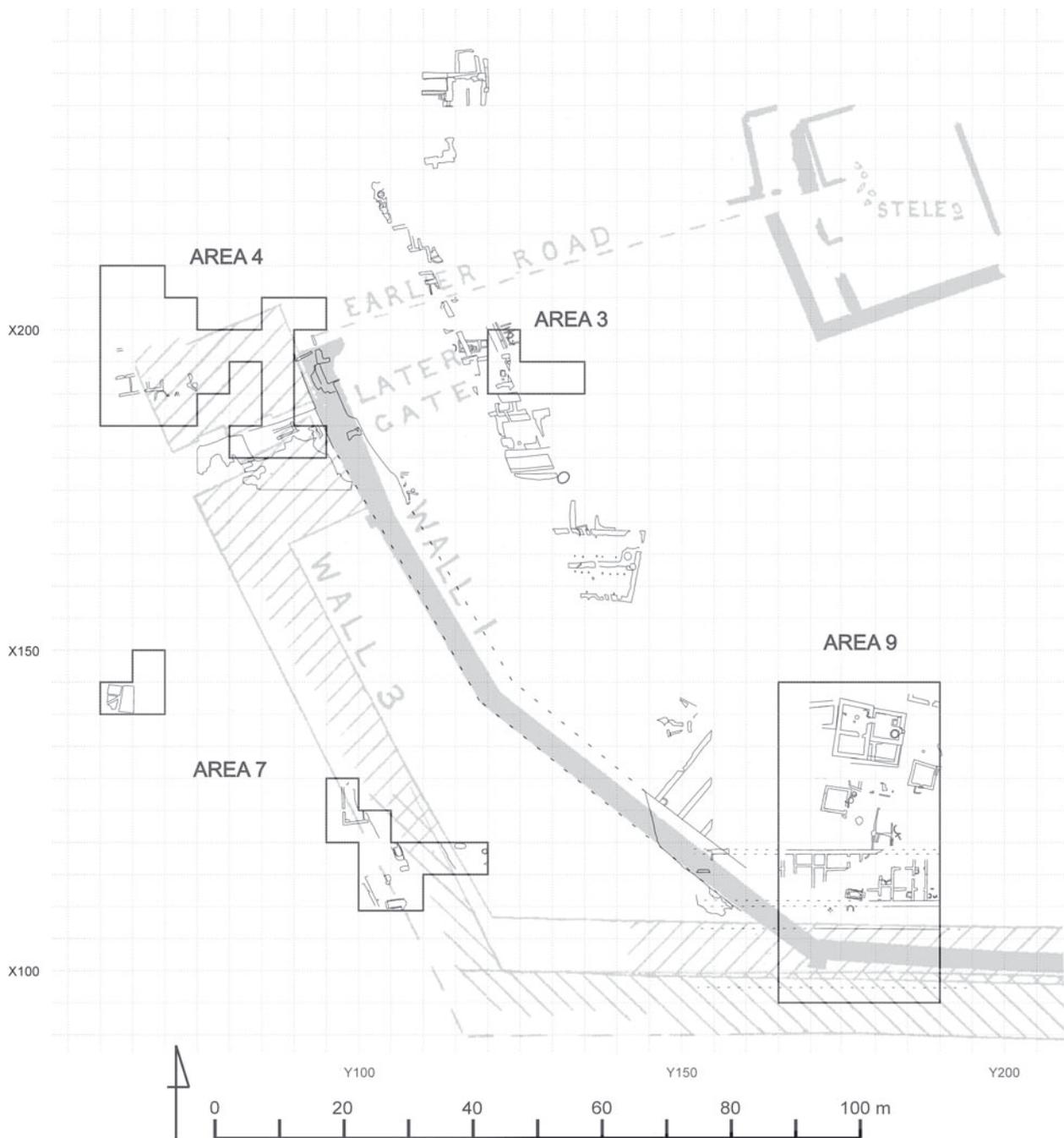


Fig. 1 Areas excavated in 2011 and 2012 (Drawing Ł. Jarmużek, S. Rzepka).

2.9 × 1.2 m. The two longer side walls on the north and south were built in stretcher course, four to a wall, using two kinds of bricks. The first kind measured c. 37×15×9 cm, was of a greenish-gray color and good quality. Seams on their surfaces suggested composite moulds. The second kind measured c. 33×15×6 cm, had a dark grey color and was quite fine-grained. It appeared in the base courses of the side walls, the rest of the chamber

The back (west) wall was higher than the side walls. It had eight courses of bricks, which were laid in steps (pyramidal), corresponding to the vault for which it served as a support. The first course of the vault sprung from the side walls and rested against the back wall in inclined position to increase friction, thus ensuring the stability of the vault and its resistance to pressure. Each course was made of three or four bricks. Bricks were found sticking out from the face of the side walls.



Fig. 2 Burial chamber of the tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka).

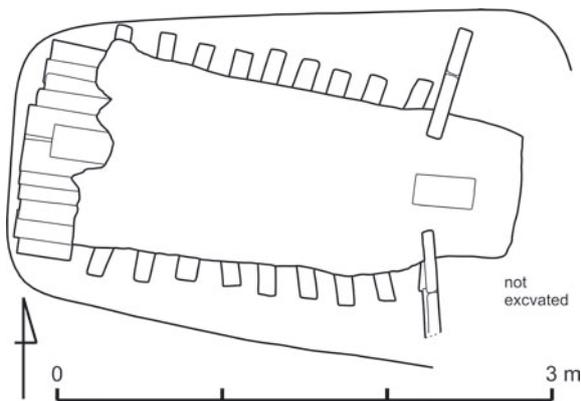


Fig. 3 Plan of tomb [810] (Drawing M. Piorun, Ł. Jarmużek).

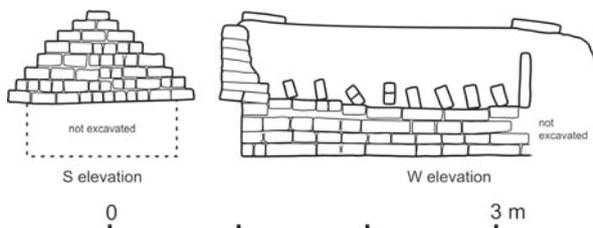


Fig. 4 Elevations of the vaulted chamber of tomb [810] (Drawing M. Piorun, Ł. Jarmużek).

The function of this design is difficult to comprehend unless it was meant to add stability to the construction of the vault by having the gravel layer outside the chamber put pressure on projecting bricks.⁵ The entrance to the burial chamber was through the short east wall (which could not be explored) and was blocked by several mud-bricks laid in a headers course. Two low cross walls on either side of the entrance presumably prevented the fill of the burial pit from sliding inside. Except

for the entrance wall, the inside walls of the tomb chamber were rendered with mud mortar; on the outside only the vault was rendered in similar fashion.

Content of the tomb [812, 830] (Fig. 5)

Two male individuals were buried in the tomb. The primary burial (skeleton [830]) was found in the rear of the tomb, whereas the secondary burial (skeleton [812]) was placed closer to the chamber entrance. Judging by the body arrangement and the position of the bones of the first skeleton, which had been pushed back and out of the way, the secondary burial must have taken place at least several years after the original burial.



Fig. 5 Content of the burial chamber of tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka).

The bones of skeleton [830] were heaped in disarray with some small fragments of textiles appearing between them. A juglet (Fig. 101.1) and a scarab S1044 were found beneath the bones in the northwestern corner of the chamber (Fig. 6). The scarab had a symmetric composition of small signs on the underside, forming a decorative pattern and not a readable inscription: central column (composed of the *ankh* sign surrounded by an oval frame, *ka*, *kheper* and *r*) flanked by ureai, *ankhs*, papyrus stems, red crowns (?).

The other skeleton [812] was placed parallel to the tomb axis, the head toward the entrance and facing north. The body rested in lateral position, on its right side, with slightly contracted legs. The arms were bent at the elbows and located in front of the face. The skull lay on a brick. A hole in the right temporal bone is presumed to be related to the cause of death. The brick under the head was covered with a textile (Fig. 7). Small fragments of

⁵ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 29.

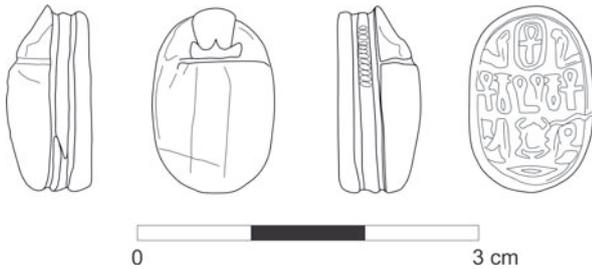


Fig. 6 Scarab S1044 from tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).



Fig. 7 Fragments of linen from tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka).

textiles were preserved also under the right leg indicating that the body had been wrapped in a linen shroud. The skeleton of a sheep/goat was found at the entrance to the burial chamber, near the head of the skeleton [812] (cf. Fig. 5).

Near the pelvis of the skeleton [812] a small ceramic vase was found, very similar in decoration to the above mentioned juglet (Fig. 101.2). A scarab S1058 (Fig. 8) was found near the pelvis as well. The decoration of this scarab is quite unique: it shows a bird (falcon?) perching on a tall conical object.

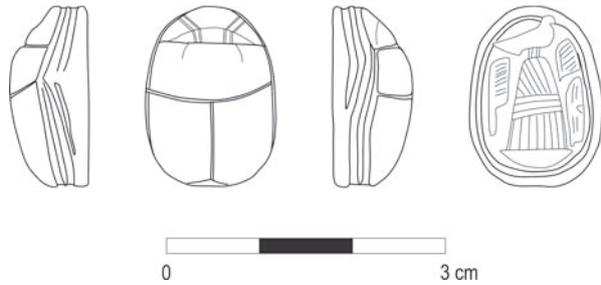


Fig. 8 Scarab S1058 from tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).

Near the hands of skeleton [812] there was a globular bead S1047 (Ø 4mm) made of amethyst and some fragments of bronze wires S1046 (Fig. 9). The wires were once wrapped around an object (not preserved) that was square in section. Similar wires found in Tell el-Dab'a are believed to be part of a belt.⁶

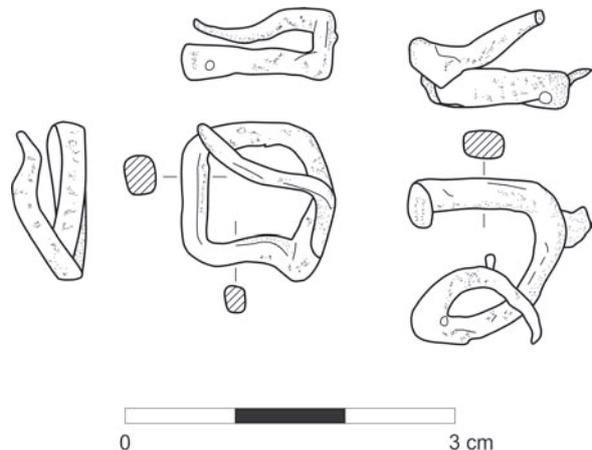


Fig. 9 Bronze wires S1046 from tomb [810] (Photo S. Rzepka).

⁶ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 345 n. 1846.

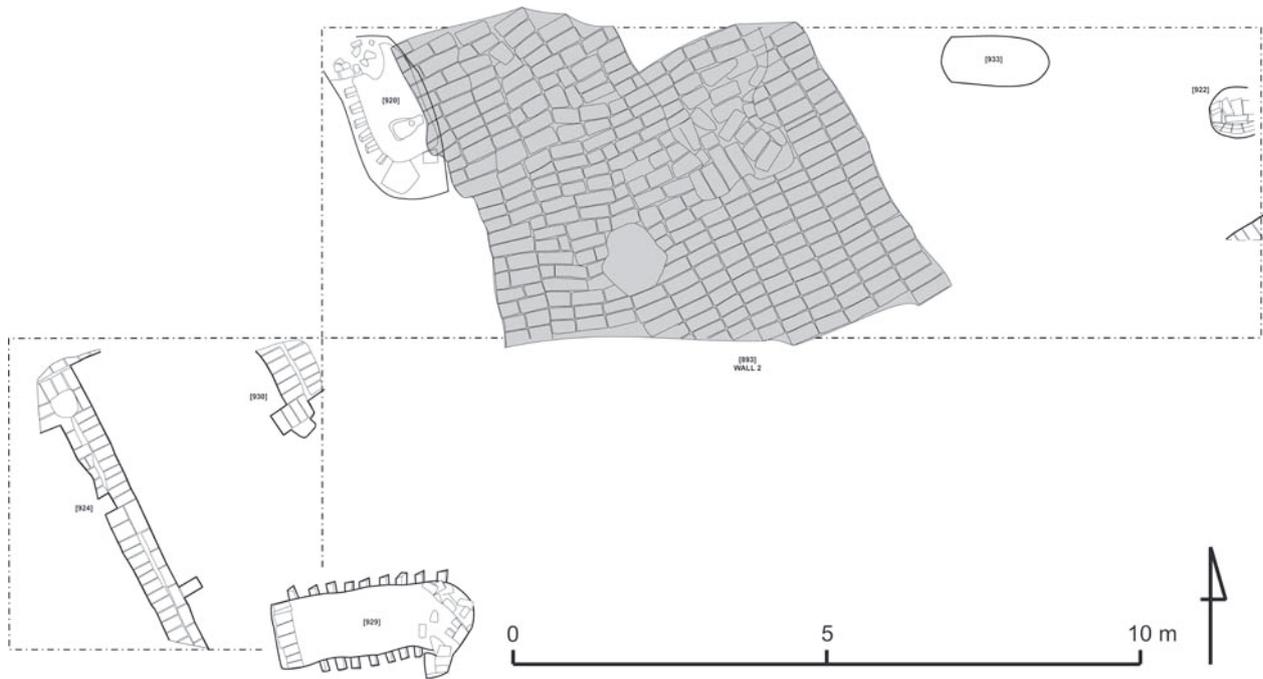


Fig. 10 Area 7: Hyksos cemetery and settlement, partly covered by Ramesside “wall 2” (Drawing V. Dubcová, E. Hudáková, L. Hulková, Ľ. Jarmužek).

It is difficult to separate the equipment of the two burials. The sheep/goat offering could not have been made until after the secondary burial was deposited in place, but most of the above described objects appear to have belonged to the primary burial. The juglet and the scarab S1044 were found in the rear of the burial chamber, together with the bones of skeleton [830] pushed back to make space for the secondary burial. The small vase seems to be decorated by the same hand as the juglet, hence it is likely to have belonged to the primary burial. Also the second scarab must have belonged to the older burial or it would have been found near to the hands of skeleton [812] and not near the pelvis. The only objects that may have belonged to the secondary burial are the amethyst bead and the bronze wires.

1.1.1.2. Tombs [800], [801]

Two other tombs were located in area 9: [800] and [801] (cf. Fig. 48), but could not be explored without dismantling the late Ramesside structures above.

1.1.1.3 Child burial [922] (LH)

The burial [922] located in square Y115-X115 in the eastern part of area 7 (Fig. 10) contained the

skeleton of a child aged between 3 and 4 years. The skeleton was oriented from east to west (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11 Infant burial [922].

The burial was a simple one, placed in a relatively deep but narrow oval pit ([902]). Instead of a proper tomb construction there were two rows of mud bricks stood on end and leaning against the south wall of the burial pit to shelter the body. This kind of structure corresponds to Type 2.2 at

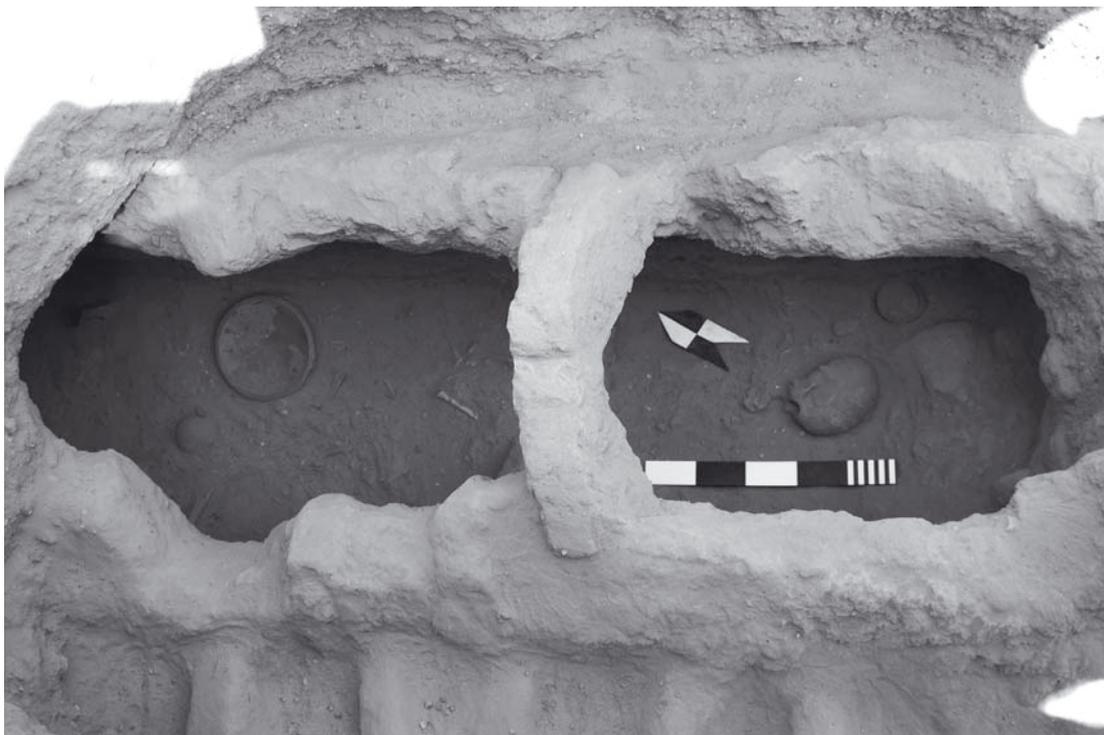


Fig. 12 Tomb [920] (Photo L. Hudáková).

Tell el-Dab^a.⁷ The brick size varied between 38×14×10 cm and 40×20×10 cm. The structure was only 70 cm long and 55 cm wide on the outside, its height reaching approximately 40 cm.

1.1.1.4. Adult burial [927] (LH)

Burial [927] in tomb [920] was located in square Y105-X115 in the middle part of area 7 (cf. Fig. 10). Petrie's "wall 2" stands on top of the northeastern side of this burial, but erosion of the wall made it possible to excavate the tomb almost in its entirety. The building of the wall did not disturb the tomb. The structure and burial were oriented southeast-northwest with the head of the deceased lying to the southeast.

The tomb comprises a rectangular burial chamber (2.5×1.3×1.0 m) built of sandy mud bricks (42×16×10 cm) laid in stretcher bond. The vault over this burial chamber was constructed of a single row of mud bricks (see Fig. 12). It was held in place by backing stones, inserted in alternate rows. The bricks were held together by a coarse bonding material mixed of sand, silt and fine gravel, rather similar to the material used for the mud

bricks. This material was also used as render on the inside walls of the chamber. This type of tomb architecture corresponds with Type 4.3 at Tell el-Dab^a.⁸

This structure was built inside a pit [918] and no part of it was visible on the surface after the internment. No traces of a superstructure were preserved, but the presence of some kind of marker is to be expected considering that the graves were all found looted (including grave [947], cf. below). The robbers entered the tomb from above, making two big holes in the vault, one in the northeastern part, the other in the southern part. The bricks removed by robbers from the vault were found inside the burial chamber.

The skeleton was disturbed and not in anatomic position. Grave goods that the robbers missed included ceramic vessels (cf. "Part II. The pottery"; Fig. 102.2–5), clustered by the feet of the deceased in the northwest corner of the tomb. It is not clear whether this was the original position of the vessels as one of the bowls was discovered in the mouth of the robbers' hole, below Petrie's "wall 2". The bones of several animals were recovered inside the chamber; they are interpreted as

⁷ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 26.

⁸ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 29.

animal offerings intended presumably as food for the afterlife.

1.1.1.5. Adult burial [947] (LH)

The adult burial [947] was placed in tomb [929], which was excavated in the southwestern part of area 7 (cf. Fig. 10). The tomb, oriented east-west, comprises a rectangular burial chamber corresponding with Type 4.3 of Tell el-Dab^a.⁹ (Fig. 13). It measured 3.2 m in length and 1.2 m in width, the height still to be determined.¹⁰ The vault was built of a single layer of mud bricks, again using backing stones in alternating rows. The bricks of



Fig. 13 Tomb [929] (Photo L. Hudáková).

the burial chamber and vault were held together by coarse bonding.

This grave was looted in antiquity. The skeleton, which was deposited in the western part of the tomb with the head to the east, was rather disturbed and mixed with animal bones. The extent of the disturbance of the bones indicates that the process of skeletization must have been completed by the time of the robbery. Therefore, it is to be assumed that the grave had been marked on the surface in some way, even though no trace of this superstructure has been preserved.

1.1.2. Dating of the cemetery (SRz, MP)

The architectural features of tomb chambers, as much as the grave equipment find close analogies among tombs known from other sites in the eastern Delta: Tell el-Dab^a,¹¹ Tell el-Maskhuta,¹² Tell el-Koa, Tell Om-Bordi¹³ dated to the Second Intermediate Period – Middle Bronze Age II (MBII).

Tombs [920], [929] and [810] from Tell el-Retaba represent Type 4 of the Tell el-Dab^a well documented and published typology.¹⁴ This type includes tombs with vaulted chambers, the vault of which was constructed of a single layer of bricks. The architectural layout of the tombs from Tell el-Retaba find close parallels in tombs from stratum D/3 in area A/II at Tell el-Dab^a.¹⁵ This stratum D/3 is dated to the 15th dynasty.¹⁶

The scarabs found in tomb [810] also clearly point to the Hyksos Period and rather to its late phase.¹⁷ Although the type of decoration on scarab S1044 (strictly symmetric patterns composed of hieroglyphs, cf. Fig. 6) occurred first in the late Middle Kingdom (late 12th and 13th Dynasty),¹⁸ it remained very popular during the Second Intermediate Period and the choice of signs and their arrangement clearly dates S1044 to the Hyksos Period. The closest parallels can be found in Tell el-Dab^a, where a production center is presumed to have existed.¹⁹ Decoration on the flat side of the

⁹ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 29.

¹⁰ The grave could not be fully explored due to a shortage of time.

¹¹ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008.

¹² HOLLADAY 1982, 44–47.

¹³ EL-HANGOURY 2003.

¹⁴ VAN DEN BRINK 1982, 21–22; FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 29–30.

¹⁵ Especially A/II-m/15 Grab 3 and A/II-m/15 Grab 4, cf. FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 308–319.

¹⁶ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 21, Abb. 1

¹⁷ We would like to thank Daphna Ben-Tor for her remarks and bibliographical references concerning the two scarabs.

¹⁸ BEN-TOR 2007, pls. 8–10.

¹⁹ MLINAR 2004; BEN-TOR 2007, 78, 81, pl. 33: 41, 42; pl. 34: 2, 15; pl. 35: 9, 15; pl. 42: 4, 8.

scarab as well as on its back point to the second half of the 15th dynasty.²⁰

The other scarab (S1058) (cf. Fig. 8) has confirmed this dating. The back type suggests a final phase of the Second Intermediate Period.²¹ The design is fairly unique: it shows a bird (falcon?) perching on a tall conical object. The fairly deep cutting of the decoration is also typical of the late Hyksos Period.

Nothing but pottery has been preserved from the equipment of the other tombs discovered in area 7. The pottery dating points to an earlier phase of the Hyksos Period (cf. “Part II. The pottery”). Thus, the cemetery was in use throughout the 15th dynasty. It seems that it developed from the west (area 7) to the east (area 9). This provisional assumption should be treated with all due caution until a greater number of tombs has been explored.

1.1.3. Hyksos cemetery – anthropological observations (AŠ)

The remains from several graves from the Hyksos Period cemetery were examined by anthropological methods in 2012. Among them were skeletons from three tombs examined in the field ([922], [927], [947]) and anthropological finds from tomb [810] discovered in 2011. Unfortunately, not all the excavated bones had been preserved for examination. In tomb [810] two human skeletons were found, belonging to the primary (skeleton [830]) and secondary burials (skeleton [812]). Unfortunately, all the bones of [830] and part of the bones of [812] were lost during the Arab Spring-related looting of the storeroom.

1.1.3.1. Tomb [810]; Skeleton [812]

Damaged skeleton of an adult individual.

Morphological characteristics: Fragmentary, medium robust cranium with a feeble to medium MR. The *lamina interna* obliteration is almost open. *Norma frontalis*: *arcus superciliaris* slightly delimited (–1), *margo supraorbitalis* rounded (+2), on the media side of the eye socket *cribra orbitalia* (Fig. 14), *sutura metopica* obliterated, *margo inferior aperturae piriformis* of anthropine form. *Norma lateralis*: glabella 0, *os zygomaticum* high with slightly irregular surface (+1), *processus zygomatici*



Fig. 14 Eye socket *cribra orbitalia* – burial [812]
(Photo A. Šefčáková).

cus high and medium thick, *processus retromarginalis* large (+1), *protuberantia occipitalis externa* flat (–2). *Norma verticalis*: small aperture (5×5 mm) on the back of *os parietale* (?). *Norma occipitalis*: surface of *squama ossis occipitalis* flat (–2), *processus mastoidei* medium (0), *crista supramastoidea* weak (–1).

Mandible robust, fragmentary, with a feeble to medium MR, chin prominent in lateral view, narrow parabolic with a peak in the middle in inferior view, *planum alveolare* as well as *mentum* visible in superior view. *Foramina mentalia* bilateral, simple, *spina mentalis* flat, mandibular angles everted (+1) and with marked eminences (+1), *corpus mandibulae* thick (+1), *processus articularis mandibulae* small (–1), *trigonum mentale* slightly delimited (–1). Dental arch of *maxilla* U-shaped, that of the mandible semicircular, toothwear abrasion degree 0 to 1. Of the total 32 permanent teeth, two mandible M3 are not based. Most of the teeth have broken off bits that are separate.

Vertebrae damaged, medium robust and large-sized. *Sacrum* damaged, moderately developed *linea transversae* partially open; mid-sized *os coccygis* is not grow together. *Sternum* damaged, with a medium large and free *manubrium*, *corpus* medium long and narrow to medium narrow; ribs damaged to fragmentary, medium robust to robust. Mainly thoracic vertebrae *spondylarthrosis* on the bottom part of arches and Schmorl’s nodes especially on thoracic and lumbal vertebrae.

Clavicles damaged to fragmentary, medium robust, with feeble MR, their curvature weak. *Linea trapezoidea* not very significant. Scapulae fragmentary, medium robust to robust, on the left *acromion* not fused epiphysis. Platybrachic humera damaged to fragmentary, medium robust,

²⁰ MLINAR 2004, 129; 132, fig. 14; 134.

²¹ Personal communication of Daphna Ben-Tor.

Table 1. Craniometric characteristics of Hyksose skeletons from Tell el-Retaba (in mm, angles in degrees, capacity in ccm).

Grave		[927]	[947]
Dimensions/Indices	Sex	F	M
(Bräuer 1988)	Age	M2	M2/S
1.	g-op	184	193
1c.	m-op	179	189
1d.	n-op	183	185
3.	g-l	174	185
5.	n-ba	103	
7.	ba-o	33	
8.	eu-eu	125	142
9.	ft-ft	92	92
10.	co-co	106	125
11.	au-au	108	
12.	ast-ast	97	110
13.	ms-ms	92	
16.	fol-fol	23	
17.	ba-b	132	
20.	po-b	109	
23.	g-op-g	504	545
24.	po-b-po	286	
25.	n.o	340	
26.	n.b	132	134
27.	b.l	157	133
29.	n-b	113	
30.	b-l	143	
38. Welcker I	Cranial capacity	1222.0	
38. Lee-Pearson	Cranial capacity	1202.4	
38. Olivier et al. (1978)	Cranial capacity	1228.3	
38. average	Cranial capacity	1217.6	
43.	fmt-fmt	98	105

with feeble MR, right head circumference 126 mm (–1) and left head circumference 127 mm (–1). Radii and only right ulna damaged, robust with medium MR, according to measurements the forearm is of medium length (mesoceric).

Pelvic bones medium robust to robust, damaged to fragmentary, with medium MR.

Sciatic notch major is rather closed, *sulcus preauricularis* narrow and shallow (+2), *arc composité* in the form of a fluent arch, lower margin of *ischiopubic ramus* suddenly deviates into *crista phalica*, *facies auricularis* at a sharper angle without constriction, *tuberculum musculi piriformis* weakly indicated. Relief of *symphysis ossis pubis* III.

Present fragmentary left femur, medium robust to robust, with medium to mighty MR, epiphyses synostosed, presented *trochanter tertius*, *linea aspera* narrow and high (+1), according to some measurements on the femur medium pilaster and

Grave		[927]	[947]
Dimensions/Indices	Sex	F	M
(Bräuer 1988)	Age	M2	M2/S
43(1).	fmo-fmo	90	96
48.	n-pr	54	
51.	mf-ek	32	
52.	spa-sbk	38	
55.	n-ns	43	
57.	simotic chord	14	
57a.	simotic subtense	7	
77.	fmo-n-fmo	123	138
I 1	8 : 1	67,93	73,58
I 2	17 : 1	71,74	
I 3	17 : 8	105,60	
I 4	20 : 1	59,24	
I 5	20 : 8	87,20	
I 9	17 : 23	26,19	
I 11	11 : 24	37,76	
I 12	9 : 10	86,79	73,60
I 13	9 : 8	73,60	64,79
I 14	12 : 8	77,60	77,46
I 16	27 : 26	118,94	99,25
I 19	26 : 25	38,82	
I 20	27 : 25	46,18	
I 22	29 : 26	85,61	
I 24	30 : 27	91,08	
I 33	16 : 7	69,70	
I 37	(1+8+17):3	147,00	111,67
I 42	52 : 51	118,75	
I 42(2)	52 : 48	70,37	
I 48	54 : 55	50,00	
I 72	9 : 43	93,88	87,62

is platymer. Long bones of foreleg damaged to fragmentary, medium robust to robust, with feeble to medium MR. Present only left eurycnemic tibia. Notch on the lateral edge of the patellas (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15 Notch on the lateral edge of the patellas – burial [812] (Photo A. Šefčáková).

Table 2. Postcranial characteristics of Hyksos skeletons from Tell el-Retaba (according to Bräuer 1988; in mm; R – right, L – left).

Grave	[812]	[812]	[927]	[927]	[947]	[947]
Sex	M?	M?	F	F	M	M
Age	A1	A1	M2	M2	M2/S	M2/S
Humerus	R	L	R	L	R	L
1.	322				332	
2.	320					
3.	44				52	
4.	56	57				
5.	21	21			23	
6.	16	16			18	
7.	63	65			65	
8.	126				141?	
9.	38				43	
10.	41	42			46	
6. : 5.	76.2	76.2			78.3	
7. : 1.	19.6				19.6	
Radius	R	L	R	L	R	L
1.	246					
1b.	244					
2.	233					
3.	43					
4.	16	15	16			16
5.	12	12	11			12
3. : 2.	18.5					
5. : 4.	75.0	80.0	68.8			75.0
Ulna	R	L	R	L	R	L
1.	270		243			
2.	238		214			249
3.	37		38			36?
11.	14		12			14
12.	17		14			17
13.	21		22	23		14
14.	21		22	23		19
3. : 2.	15.5		17.8			14.5
11. : 12.	82.4		85.7	104.5		82.4
Femur	R	L	R	L	R	L
6.		31		26		
7.		28		27		
8.						
9.		32		34		
10.		26		24		
13a.		86				
18.				38		
19.				38		
20.				121		
6. : 7.		110.7		96.3		
10. : 9.		81.3		70.6		
19. : 18.				100.0		
Tibia	R	L	R	L	R	L
3.	74	74				

Grave	[812]	[812]	[927]	[927]	[947]	[947]
Sex	M?	M?	F	F	M	M
Age	A1	A1	M2	M2	M2/S	M2/S
6.	43	44				
8.		30			35	
8a.		33			42	
9.		23			24	
9a.		25			25	
10b.					84	
9. : 8.		76.7			68.6	
9a. : 8a.		75.8			59.5	
Fibula	R	L	R	L	R	L
1.	355					
2.	15	17				
3.	13	13				
4a.	38	37				
3. : 2.	86.7	76.5				
4a. : 1.	10.7					
Patella	R	L	R	L	R	L
1.	40	41				41
2.	42	41				49?
1. : 2.	95.2	100.0				83.7
R1. : H2	76.9					

Metric characteristics, see Table 2.

Deviations and pathological changes: On the eye socket roofs *cribra orbitalia*, degenerative changes of the vertebral column, notch on the lateral edge of the patellas.

Judging from the degree of sexualisation (DS) of the skull (−0.24), postcranial skeleton (−0.33), summed up (−0.28), the sex of an individual cannot be unequivocally determined. However some features of the morphology of the damaged *pelvis* and the more robust skeleton are typical of men. It could have been a male of more than average height (ca. 167 cm) who died at the age of adultus I ? (20–29 years).

1.1.3.2. Grave [922]

The grave contained a complete, but damaged skeleton of a child (Fig. 16).

Morphological characteristics: Gracile skeleton with feeble muscular relief (MR), *os occipitale partes laterales* and *pars basilaris* not fused, on the frontal bone *sutura metopica* between orbits (12 mm).

Metric characteristics (diaphysis length): Humerus sin.: 126? mm, radius sin.: 95 mm.

Judging from the morphological characteristics, dental age (degree of development of tempo-



Fig. 16 Skeleton of a child – burial [922]
(Photo A. Šefčáková).

rary and permanent teeth) and the length of measurable long bone diaphyses, the child died at the age of 2–4 years (infans I).

1.1.3.3. Grave [927]

The grave contained a damaged, gracile to medium robust skeleton of an adult individual.

Morphological characteristics: Cranium (Fig. 17) damaged without deformation, gracile to medium robust in structure, MR weaker. *Lamina externa* obliteration complete. *Norma frontalis*: *tubera frontalia* medium to small, *arcus superciliaris* slightly delimited (–1), *margo supraorbitalis* slightly rounded (+1), rather more vertical orbits, almost round (–1), nasal bones biconcave, *sutura metopica* between orbits (6 mm). *Norma lateralis*: Facial relief significant, glabella –1, forehead nearly vertical (–1), nasal bones profile concave in the middle, big nose prominence, on the left side at pterion *sutura sphenoparietalis* broad but on the right side *sutura sphenoparietalis* more accrete, *arcus zygomatici* thin (–1), *os zygomaticum* low with slightly irregular surface (–1), *processus zygomaticus* lower and thinner, *processus retro-marginalis* medium (0), occiput elongate, *protube-*



Fig. 17 Human cranium – burial [927] (Photo A. Šefčáková).



Fig. 18 Double *foramen mentale* – burial [927]
(Photo A. Šefčáková).

rantia occipitalis externa hardly visible (–1). *Norma verticalis*: pentagonoid, *tubera parietalia* medium-sized (–1), foramina parietalia absent. *Norma occipitalis*: high roofed arch with very slightly converging walls, base twice vaulted, surface of *squama ossis occipitalis* with slightly vaulted nuchal lines (–1), *processus mastoidei* very small (–2), *crista supramastoidea* weak (–1). *Norma basalis*: *foramen magnum* ovoid, *torus palatinus* outlined, *sutura palatina transversa* being transversely, with reversed medium tip.

Mandible damaged, medium (0) sized, with weak to medium MR, chin prominent in lateral view, in inferior view narrow with the pick in the middle, *mentum* visible in superior view. On the left side double *foramen mentale* (first under ${}_2P$ and second under ${}_2P - {}_1M$) (Fig. 18), *spina mentalis* elevated, mandibular angles inverted. *Trigonum mentale* inverted T in shape, *corpus mandibulae* thin (–1), mandibular angles with small eminences (0), *processus articularis mandibulae* small (–1).



Fig. 19 Worn upper teeth – burial [927] (Photo A. Šefčáková).

Dental arch of mandible parabolic, most teeth show degree 3 of abrasion (all enamel worn off). Of the total number of mandible permanent teeth, four are carious (P_2 , $1P$, $2P$, $1M$), particularly the upper teeth are also quite worn (Fig. 19) and encrusted with dental calculus.

Vertebrae fragmentary, medium robust and gracile to medium-sized. Degenerative changes particularly in the lumbar vertebral column (*spondylosis deformans* – reach up to 12mm, Schmorl's nodes) and at the edge of the *basis ossis sacri*. Both *fovea articularis superior* of *atlas* folded with bone protrusions. Medium-sized ribs fragmentary.

Presented right clavicle gracile to medium robust, damaged, with medium MR and medially to strongly curved. *Facies articularis acromialis* not adhering. Present only right *scapula* medium robust to robust, fragmentary; humeri fragmentary, medium robust, their MR medium. Radii and ulnae damaged to fragmentary, medium robust, with medium MR. On the edge of *processus coronoideus* and on some carpal and metacarpal bones outgrowth of osteophytes.

Pelvic bones medium robust, fragmentary, with medium MR. *Sulcus praeauricularis* broad and deep (-2), *arcus compositus* in form of fluently joining arch (+2), *facies auricularis* a rather obtuse angle with a constriction (-2). On the edge of *fossa acetabuli* (dex.?) fragment and the right *caput femoris* osteophytes.

Femora damaged to fragmentary, medium robust, with a medium MR, *trochanter tertius* in the shape of *crista hypotrochanterica*, *linea aspera* medium, bilaterally marked (0). Vertical diameter of left *caput femoris* is 38mm (-2).



Fig. 20 Back side of *collum femoris sin.* plate (Photo A. Šefčáková).

Measurable left femur is hyperplatymeric and without pilaster. On the back side of *collum femoris sin.* plate (10×11 mm) (Fig. 20).

Long bones of foreleg damaged to fragmentary, medium robust, with a medium MR. On the lateral side of the presented left patella shown notch and osteophytes. Osteophytes are visible also on the some tarsalia bones.

Metric characteristics, see Table 1, 2.

Deviations and pathological changes: four teeth of the mandible are carious; degenerative changes particularly in the lumbar vertebral column. Osteophytes visible on the *atlas*, edge of *processus coronoideus*, right coxal joint, left *patella*, some carpal, metacarpal and tarsal bones.

Judging from the degree of sexualisation (DS) of the skull (-0.60), postcranial skeleton (-1.2), summed up (-0.90), the skeleton morphology and degenerative changes in the skeleton, this could probably be a tall (ca. 160cm) female who died at age *maturus* II (ca. 50–59 years).

1.1.3.4. Grave [947]

The grave contained the damaged skeleton of an adult individual.

Morphological characteristics: *Cranium* damaged (missing facial part) with postmortal deformation, medium robust, with weak to medium MR. *Norma frontalis*: *tubera frontalia* moderate (+1), *arcus superciliaris* arched (+1), *margo supraorbitalis* rounded (+2), *margo inferior aperturae piriformis* of anthropine form. It seems that nasal bones are fused (Fig. 21). *Norma lateralis*: glabella +1, *frons* is slightly vaulted, *os zygomatici*



Fig. 21 Fused nasal bones (Photo A. Šefčáková).

kum moderately high with erratic surface (0), middle *processus zygomaticus* (0), *processus retro-marginalis* medium (0), occiput elongate, *protuberantia occipitalis externa* weak (0). *Norma verticalis*: pentagonoid, *tubera parietalia* indicated (+1), *foramina parietalia* bilateral. *Norma occipitalis*: high arch with nearly parallel walls, surface of *squama ossis occipitalis* with flatter nuchal lines (-1), *processus mastoidei* and *crista supra-mastoidea* medium (0).

Mandible damaged (the left part is missing), robust, its MR medium to strong, chin prominent in lateral view, wide edge chin in inferior view, *mentum* and *planum alveolare* visible in dorsal view. *Foramina mentalia* bilaterally simple, *spina mentalis* spine-shaped, mandibular angles everted, *Trigonum mentale* inverted T in shape (+1), *corpus mandibulae* medium thick (0), mandibular angles with marked eminences (+1), dental arch of damaged maxilla semicircular and almost all alveolas closed.

Vertebrae damaged to fragmentary, medium to robust and large. Degenerative changes (*spondylosis deformans* – up to 4 mm, Schmorl's nodes, *spondylarthrosis*) of the vertebral column visible mainly on the thoracic vertebrae; *spondylarthrosis* on *processus transversalis* of vertebrae, osteophyte on the *dens epistropheus*, osteoma on the inside of the left *fovea articularis superior* of *atlas*. Fragments of robust ribs, only a small fragment of *os sternum*.

Clavicles damaged, medium robust, medium curved, their MR medium to mighty. Scapulae fragmentary, robust. Medium robust humeri damaged to fragmentary, their MR mighty, right head circumference 142 mm (+1). Measurable right



Fig. 22 Strong ossified *linea musculi solei* on tibiae (Photo A. Šefčáková).

humerus is eurybrachic. Forearm bones damaged to fragmentary, robust, their MR mighty, on the left *ulna brachial tuberosity*, arthritic changes on some metacarpal articulation (left *metacarpalia* and the first order of finger *phalanges*).

Pelvic bones highly fragmented. Femora fragmentary, robust, their MR strong, epiphyses synostosed, *linea aspera* very narrow and very high (+2), vertical diameter of the right *caput femoris* 47? mm (+1). Long bones of foreleg damaged to fragmentary, robust, their MR mighty, on tibiae very strong ossified *linea musculi solei* (Fig. 22), according to measurements right *tibia* is platycnem, on the second left metatarsal bone healed fracture.

Metric characteristics, see Table 1, 2.

Deviations and pathological changes: almost all maxilla alveolas closed, degenerative changes of the vertebral column mainly on the thoracic vertebrae, osteophyte on the *dens epistropheus*, osteoma at *atlas*. Arthritic changes on some left *metacarpalia* and the first order of finger *phalanges*, on tibiae very strong ossified *linea musculi solei*, healed fracture on the second left metatarsal bone.

Judging from the degree of sexualisation (DS) of the skull (+0.67), postcranial skeleton (+1.00),



Fig. 23 Hyksos settlement wall in square Y115-X115 (Photo Ľ. Hudáková).

together (+0.86), morphology and the robust structure of the skeleton, this is a tall male (ca. 172 cm high) who died at the age *maturus* II/ *senilis* (ca. 50 < years).

According to measurements and indices, as well as craniological categories created by ALEKSEEV and DEBEC (1964)²² based on the analysis of 88 ethnic groups from around the world, the skulls of both adult individuals from graves [927] and [947] can be characterized as long and narrow with very little skulls module (basically the mean of the maximum length, maximum width and height of the skull).

The better preserved skull of the woman is long, very narrow, high, with medium horizontal circumference, small transverse arch, very large frontal and parietal arc, medium capacity, with very low upper face, a very small width and a very large height of orbits and very small height of the nose. According to the indices, the skull of the woman is hyperdolichocran (very long), with very small index of *foramen magnum* and with high eye sockets.

The skull of the man is very long, narrow, with very large horizontal circumference, high frontal and parietal arc. According to the indices, it is also dolichocran.

1.2. Hyksos settlement (area 7&4) (JH)

Settlement remains of Hyksos date were explored in squares Y115-X115, Y100-X110 and Y60-X190.

1.2.1. Square Y115-X115

In 2012, after removal of sandy layers, the research in square Y115-X115 reached a hard compact clayey level, covered by ash in its eastern part. An oval shaft (80×70 cm) filled with sand-gravel [902] was found to be sunk in the eastern margin of this level. A mud-brick structure, overlapping the child's grave [922], was found at the foot of the shaft.²³ Another oval pit (140×80 cm), also filled with sand-gravel [933], was located in the north end of square Y115-X115. Mud bricks [942] were also found at its bottom. Exploration of

²² ALEKSEEV and DEBEC 1964.

²³ Cf. chapter 1.1.3.2 above.



Fig. 24 Fragment of a cosmetic vessel lid (Photo L. Hudáková).

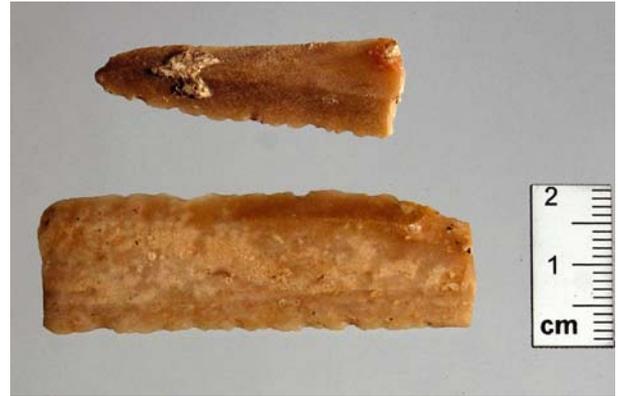


Fig. 25 Examples of flint industry (Photo L. Hudáková).

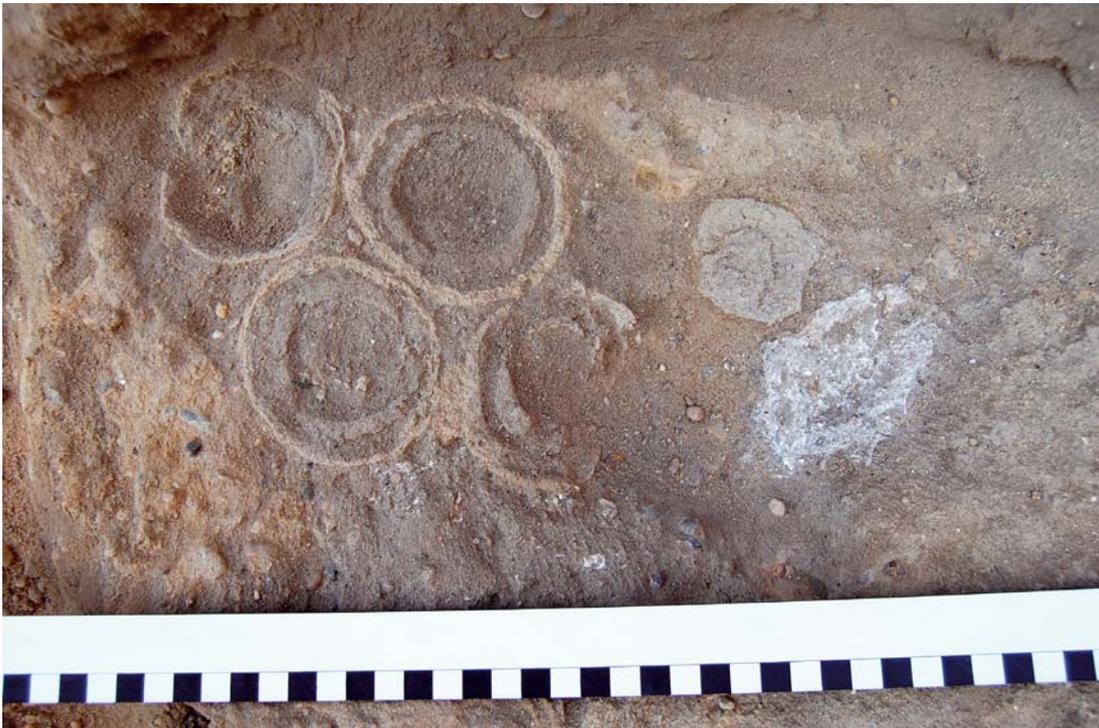


Fig. 26 “Concentric Matrioshka balls” (Photo L. Hudáková).

this feature, likely a tomb, was postponed to the next season due to time constraints.

The burial pits and the shaft [902] of the child grave in particular may be used for *post quem* dating. They were dug into layers that had accumulated gradually against the north side of a wall built of three courses of yellowish mud bricks (33–34×10–13×15–18 cm, irregular bonding). A limited part was uncovered within the trench due to time restraints (Fig. 23). It ran SW–NE and, as far as could be seen in the eastern section of the square Y115-X115 (see Fig. 10), it predated the above-described layers, having been constructed on the underlying pinkish bed of sand-gravel and

being covered by the layer in which the child’s grave was dug. The architecture, of which the wall was part, was already in ruins at the time that the tomb was made.

It is impossible to tell at the present stage of research which wall face corresponded to the interior. A fragment of a cosmetic vessel lid (Fig. 24) was discovered on the southeast side of the wall. On the northwest side a layer of mud brick tumble (most probably from the wall) covered an ashy layer. Underneath this ashy layer was a hard thin layer limited by the wall and disappearing gradually towards the north with a rise in the thick ashy layer. Several pieces of worked flint (exemplified in



Fig. 27 Hyksos settlement walls in square Y100-X110 (Photo L. Hudáková).

Fig. 25) were found in the above mentioned ashy layer. Below these layers was a pinkish bed of sand-gravel.

During the excavation of Hyksos deposits several enigmatic groupings of two to four “concentric Matrioshka balls” were discovered (Fig. 26). No interpretation has been proposed so far for this find.

1.2.2. Square Y100-X110

In 2012, the excavation uncovered remains of settlement architecture also in the square Y100-X110, beside the plundered Hyksos grave [929]. A wall [924], ca 5 m long, constructed of two rows of yellowish mud bricks (33–40×17–20×8–10 cm) was discovered in the western margin of square Y100-X110 (Fig. 27). The wall ran in a NW-SE direction and only one course of bricks has been preserved, set directly on a pinkish bed of sand-gravel without recognizable foundations; a thin horny crust [931] covered the sand-gravel eastward of the wall. The deposit westward of the wall [923] contained several animal bones;²⁴ some bones were found also in the layer covering the mud

bricks of the wall, especially in its northern part. In the northwestern corner of the square, the wall seems to turn westward. Further on, it was connected to a group of mud bricks (another wall?) which disappeared into the northern trench wall of square Y100-X110. The bricks were made of the same material as [924]; they seem to continue in a SW-NE direction at a right angle to the wall [924].

A small section of settlement architecture [930] was also uncovered in the northeastern corner of square Y100-X110. It might be a wall built of two rows of yellowish mud bricks or two parallel walls running in a NW-SE direction.

It is impossible to tell at present whether the walls in square Y100-X110 belonged to larger settlement architecture with several rooms or to several unattached buildings, more or less of the same period. In any case, the remains of the architecture were older than the Hyksos grave [929] in the southeastern corner of the square. As in the case of tomb [922], also the grave in square Y115-X115 was dug into a layer which covered the architecture [924] and [930]. The layer continues in square Y105-X115, where it is cut by the grave [920].

²⁴ A big fish vertebra may have been found beside the bones of cattle (Alena Šefčáková, personal communication). The

bone material has yet to be assessed by an archaeozoologist.



Fig. 28 Yellowish mud-brick walls below “Black House 1”
(Photo J. Hudec).

Further research will be needed also to determine stratigraphic relations between this “Hyksos” covering layer and “Black House 3” of early 18th Dynasty, exposed in squares Y100-X120 and Y100-X125.

1.2.3. Square Y60-X190

Basing on the stratigraphy and the nature of the masonry, some structures observed in square Y60-X190 in area 4 can be interpreted as belonging to the Hyksos phase of the settlement. The remains excavated in 2011²⁵ comprised walls found in the pinkish sand-gravel, observed in a section²⁶ below “Black House 1”.²⁷ The walls, preserved to a height of several yellowish mud-brick courses,²⁸ ran in the direction of square Y65-X190, disappearing into the trench wall (Fig. 28).

As “Black House 1” belongs to the early 18th Dynasty, yellowish mud brick walls underneath (made of similar material as the Hyksos settlement remains in area 7) should probably be dated to the Hyksos Period.



Fig. 29 Greenish mud-bricks walls below “Black House 1” (Photo J. Hudec).

²⁵ RZEPKA *et al.* 2014.

²⁶ The section is a “result” of drainage hole of the contemporary neighbouring house.

²⁷ See below chapter 2.1. “Black Houses” settlement in areas 4&7 by Veronika Dubcová and HUDEC and DUBCOVÁ, 2013.

²⁸ They are generally higher than the “one layer” walls in square Y100-X110.

Between the layer with black brick walls (dating to early 18th Dynasty) and the layer with yellowish bricks (Hyksos Period?), there is also a layer with greenish mud bricks²⁹ (Fig. 29), belonging either to the very beginning of 18th Dynasty, or to the late Hyksos Period.

1.2.4. Conclusions

The graves [922], [927] and [947] were dated by pottery analysis to the Hyksos Period (cf. “Part II. The pottery”). The stratigraphy demonstrates that the remains of yellowish mud brick walls were older than the graves and could be referred to an earlier phase of Hyksos rule,³⁰ although absolute dating is not yet possible at this stage.

Assuming the presence of Hyksos architecture also in square Y60-X190 would extend the area covered by this settlement to at least about 30 m by 90 m, that is, almost 3000 sq. m. The azimuths of walls in Y115-X115 and Y100-X110 appear to be close to 90° or 180°, thus the walls might either meet at the corners or run parallel to one another.

The high position of the Hyksos architecture in the stratigraphy on the western side of Tell el-Retaba, not so deep below the fortifications of Ramses III, is surprising in view of the fact that about 350 years between the end of Hyksos rule and the that of Ramses III is represented in the archaeological record by just about 30–40 cm of deposits. Assuming the validity of Petrie’s observations on sand depositing also for the second millennium BC,³¹ one would expect the preserved stratigraphy to be much higher, even in the case that there was no extensive settlement “*extra muros*” in the 19th Dynasty. Therefore, one is entitled to suppose that the deposits of the late 18th Dynasty and the 19th Dynasty were artificially removed sometime before the construction of the fortifications of Ramses III.³² On the other hand, it is also possible that the natural environment in the

second millennium BC was (slightly) different from the recent one, as indicated by the presence of “wet-loving” botanic species.³³ If so, the dynamics of deposition would be different, being dependent directly on the presence or absence of settlement activities.

2. 18th dynasty

2.1. “Black Houses” settlement in areas 4 & 7 (VD)

2.1.1. Architectural structures

During his excavations in 1906 in the central part of Tell el-Retaba, Petrie uncovered what he called the “*Great House*” of the 18th Dynasty.³⁴ Its remarkable dimensions (ca. 400 m²) and the discovery of some vessels filled with silver could suggest the higher status of its inhabitants and the importance of the whole site already in this period. However, the dating needs to be taken with caution owing to a rather insecure context (scarabs from the 18th – 22nd Dynasty; mixed pottery).³⁵

Although there were some reported finds from the several surveys and excavations undertaken in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s,³⁶ the existence of an 18th Dynasty settlement was not confirmed beyond doubt until the excavations of the Polish-Slovak team in 2009 and 2010.³⁷ The planned extension of a recent asphalt road, which cut further still into the western part of the New Kingdom fortification, forced the mission to concentrate its work on this part of the settlement. The early 18th Dynasty remains of some rather simple domestic or industrial structures (silos, huts) came to light underneath the Late and Third Intermediate Period structures in area 3 and along Petrie’s “wall 1” in area 4, on both sides of the recent road (see Fig. 1).

New light was shed on the 18th Dynasty settlement in effect of the Polish-Slovak and Egyptian

²⁹ They were exposed in walls constructed of a simple single course of stretcher bricks (ca 44×24×10 cm).

³⁰ The contradicting conclusions drawn from the stratigraphy and pottery analysis (cf. part II below) might either reflect a local pottery tradition, or use of older vessels in tombs.

³¹ “*Any pit in this region is quickly filled up with sand from the desert, and the holes made in one year are leveled up again in the next.*” PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 28.

³² Cf. chapter 4.2 below.

³³ Attested by archeobotanist C. Malleson, see RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 176.

³⁴ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 29.

³⁵ The ceramic material published by Petrie as early 18th dynasty contained in fact only one pot which could be dated to the beginning of the New Kingdom; the rest of the vessels were clearly produced much later, during the Third Intermediate Period (Anna Wodzińska, personal communication).

³⁶ For the overview of the earlier work at the site, see RZEPKA *et al.* 2009, 241–245.

³⁷ RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 156–158.

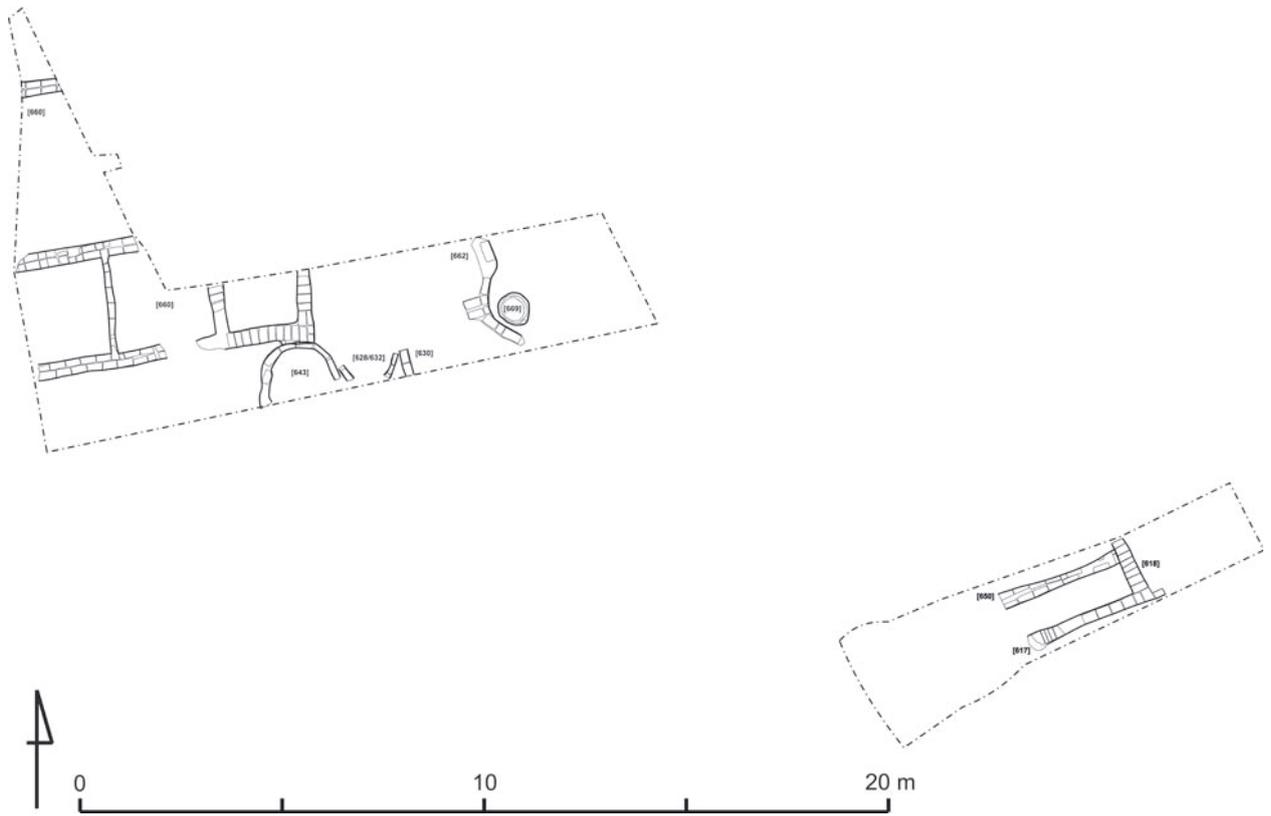


Fig. 30 Area 4: "Black Houses" settlement (Drawing V. Dubcová, L. Hudáková, L. Hulková).



Fig. 31 "Black House 1" [660] (Photo V. Dubcová).



Fig. 32 „Black House 2” in the migdol’s gateway (Photo L. Hudáková).

salvage excavations in 2011 and 2012. Domestic and industrial structures, such as several silos, an oven and a large house with courtyard surrounded by a sinusoidal wall were found in a trench (ca. 200×10 m) running alongside the modern road; this work was headed by Mustafa Nour ed-Din for the SCA.³⁸ Several building phases could be traced and dated by the pottery to the early 18th Dynasty.

Remains of buildings uncovered by the Slovak team on the opposite (western) side of the modern road were also made of similar black mud bricks. The so-called “Black Houses” were discovered in area 4 in 2011 by cleaning E. Naville’s old trench through the northern tower of the Ramesside migdol.³⁹ The first house [660] (Figs. 30–31) consisted of a minimum of four rooms, the walls being of 1–1½ bricks thick (wall thickness 35–40 cm). The excavated part measures 7.2 m from N to S and about 7 m from E to W, but the structure was evidently bigger as its western side has been truncated by modern drainage, whereas the eastern part is still concealed under the northern tower of the migdol and Petrie’s “wall 2”.⁴⁰

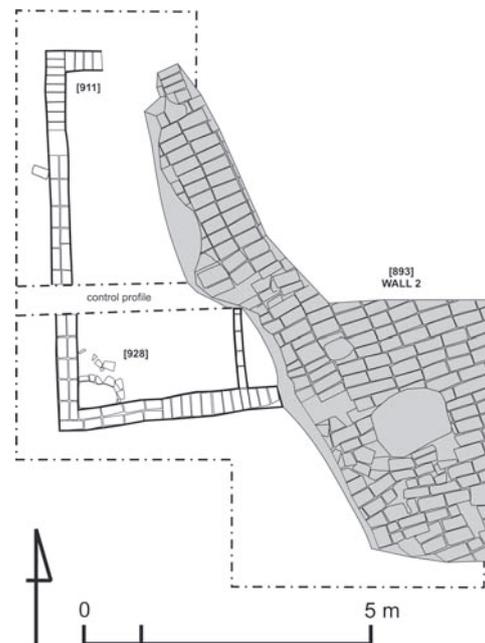


Fig. 33 Area 7: „Black House 3” partly covered by Ramesside „wall 2” (Drawing V. Dubcová, L. Hudáková, L. Hulková).

³⁸ RZEPKA *et al.* 2013a.

³⁹ NAVILLE 1887, 24–25, Pl. xi.

⁴⁰ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 29.



Fig. 34 „Black House 3” [911] (Photo E. Hudáková).

A part of the second “Black House” [617] was uncovered under the gateway of the migdol (Fig. 32). Finally, in 2012, a third house [911] of similar character, with at least two rooms, was uncovered in area 7, partly underneath Petrie’s “wall 2” of Ramesses III date. It was 6.85 m long from north to south and 4 m wide (Figs. 33–34).

Like the large house excavated by the Egyptian team,⁴¹ so “Black House 1” in Naville’s old trench was connected with a number of domestic and industrial installations (Fig. 30). There were two silos, one of them (diameter ca. 1.5 m) abutting the southeastern corner of the house [628], [642]. Farther to the east, a rounded mud-brick enclosure [662] separated the house from a kind of industrial area with at least two ovens, constructed of mud bricks and ceramic liners [664], [709];⁴² one of these was only partly preserved in the trench wall. The enclosure may have once been connected with the house, as suggested by the protruding mud bricks in its central part. One of the ovens and the surrounding layers appear to have been intentionally removed, either prior to the construction of the foundation for Petrie’s “wall 2” and the migdol⁴³ or during some recent excavations.⁴⁴ The only installation discovered so far inside the “Black Houses” was a small mud brick oven in the southwestern corner of “Black House 3”.

2.1.2. Stratigraphy

The stratigraphic position of Petrie’s “Great House” is not clear, since there is no information on the overlying and underlying structures. The same is true of the overlying strata of the large house discovered by the Egyptian team in 2011. However, a control trench made in this area (area 3, cf. Fig. 1) has demonstrated that the settlement was founded on bedrock (*gezira* sand).

In the case of areas 4 and 7, it is clear that all three “Black Houses” were covered by later Ramesside fortifications (“wall 2”, a kind of platform and/or migdol), separated only by some sandy, alluvial or artificial layers. Considering the flatness of uncovered remains and missing rubble from their fill,⁴⁵ it may be assumed that the architecture was leveled under the fortification. Part of the older layers would thus have been removed as suggested by the missing late 18th Dynasty and early 19th Dynasty material. Sand was used to level the area under the foundations of the later structures.

It was impossible to estimate the extent of the houses and determine a full phasing owing to limited excavation and time constraints. Three or four building phases were identified. One of the silos [628], partly underneath the Ramesside platform, lay about 15 cm higher than the second one [642], implying that the latter was older, probably contem-

⁴¹ RZEPKA *et al.* 2013a.

⁴² For similar oven construction, see e.g. Tell el-Amarna, Grid 12, the oven court south of 50.36 (KEMP and STEVENS

2010a, 314–318) and industrial zones (Phase V) in Sais, WILSON 2011, 65–84.

porary with the main phase of “Black House 1”. There were also at least two older layers below that, namely (greenish) mud brick structures directly underlying “Black House 1” and (yellowish) mud bricks visible in the section of modern drainage, interfering with structures on the western side.

“Black House 1” [660] alone could have been rebuilt as suggested by a one-row partition wall of mud brick inside one of the rooms. The longer usage of the industrial part is indicated by the evident rebuilding of the oven, as well as by a sequence of accumulated ash-rich layers surrounding it. “Black Houses” 2 and 3 have yet to be fully investigated.

The relationship between the early 18th Dynasty and the older Hyksos settlement remains unresolved. The very beginning of the New Kingdom (Ahmose – Thutmosis II) is not represented in the corpus of ceramics. One could speculate that there was a Hyksos population on the site through the times of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III, but the evidence for this hypothesis is still forthcoming.

2.1.3. Small finds

There was a rather limited number of artifacts recovered from the 18th Dynasty “Black Houses” and surrounding installations, but their diversity and character indicate the role and function of this part of the settlement. Flint tools, which were very frequent in the record, were an essential element of domestic assemblages and of everyday activities at the site, as in many New Kingdom settlements.⁴⁶



Fig. 35 Sickle blade S763 (Photo E. Hudáková).

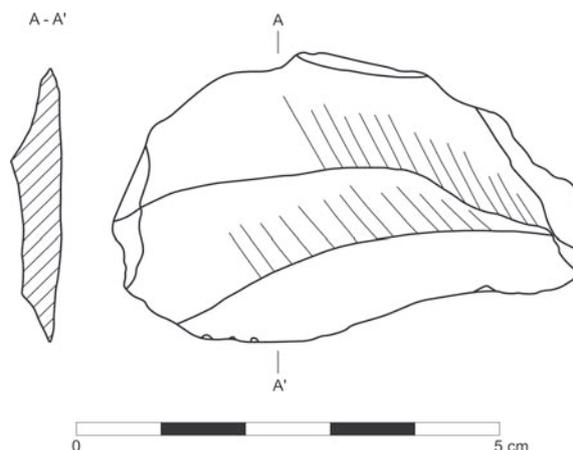


Fig. 36 Scraper S776 (Drawing L. Hudáková).

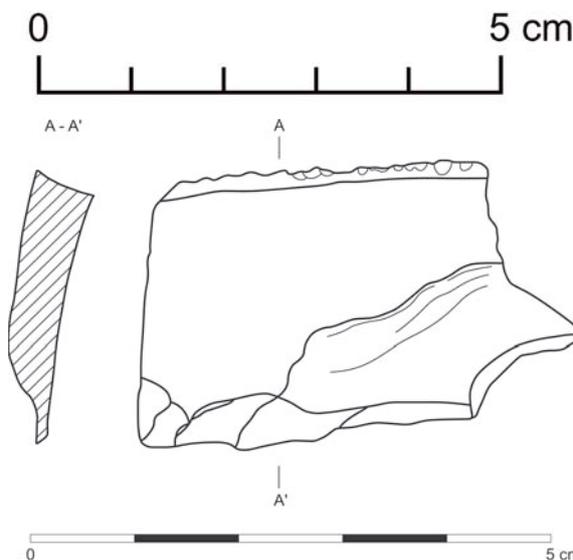


Fig. 37 Borer S784 (Photo E. Hudáková, Drawing L. Hulková).

⁴³ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 30, Pl. XXXV; RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 139–142.

⁴⁴ Hitherto no reports from excavations in 1999–2002, of which the mission was informed, have been found in the SCA archives.

⁴⁵ There are some ashy layers, but none is sufficiently thick and widespread to be interpreted as a destruction horizon.

⁴⁶ In Egypt, they are documented in large quantities from sites, such as Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir (TILLMANN 2007, 29–81); Tell Borg (HOFMEIER and ABD EL-MAKSOUH 2003, 175); Memphis (GIDDY 1999, 226–243, Pl. 51–52); Sais (WILSON 2011, 104–108, Pl. 7–10); Gurob (THOMAS 1981, Pl. 1, Nos. 4–6, Pl. 24, Nos. 522–526), Amarna (KEMP and STEVENS 2010b, 445–447); Thebes (DEBONO 1994) etc.



Fig. 38 Saddle-backed quern S742 (Photo L. Hudáková).



Fig. 40 Kohl tube of bone S764 (Photo L. Hudáková).



Fig. 39 Traces of red colour on a grinder S737 (Photo L. Hudáková).



Fig. 41 Kohl stick S733 (Photo L. Hudáková).

Found at Tell el-Retaba during surveys in the 1930s and 1970s,⁴⁷ flint tools have appeared in number from stratified 18th and 19th Dynasty contexts in the past four seasons.⁴⁸ The abundance and clustering of the finds in the “Black Houses” and their surroundings are unusual for such a small area and build a representative pattern of tool types: sickle blades (S763; Fig. 35), scrapers (S776; Fig. 36) and borers (S784; Fig. 37).

Milling, grinding or polishing are activities documented by assemblages of other tools, such as

various grinders, pounders, hammerstones and fragments of querns, including a saddle-backed quern (S742; Fig. 38) and others of irregular shape.⁴⁹ Raw materials and lumps of red, yellow and brown ochre or galena and mica, which were worked as suggested by traces of red color on one of the grinders (S737; Fig. 39), were also found. The evidence is indicative of some artistic or cosmetic activities or production. A lump of pumice also appeared, but its provenience has yet to be analyzed.

Finds of cosmetic equipment, such as a cylindrical kohl tube of bone with geometrical decoration (S764; Fig. 40)⁵⁰, a kohl stick (S733; Fig. 41) and a disk-shaped alabaster lid of a kohl or ointment jar with a plug fitted to close the mouth of the vessel (S769; Fig. 42), corroborated the idea of at least some of the raw materials being used for cosmetic purposes.⁵¹

Other occupations of the inhabitants of the 18th Dynasty settlement included textile production,

⁴⁷ SCHOTT *et al.* 1932, 45–54; REDMOUNT 1989, 125.

⁴⁸ There were two specimens from seasons 2009 and 2010 (S481, S507) and some specimens from the Egyptian excavations in 2011, RZEPKA *et al.* 2013a, 266–268.

⁴⁹ See similar types in GIDDY 1999, type D, flat quern, 202, Pl. 43, 3107 and type C, Pl. 43, 2009.

⁵⁰ See similar items in PETRIE 1927, Pl. XXII.30, 26–30; VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1972, Nos. 189–196, 200–216.

⁵¹ Kohl pots were found already by Petrie, PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 33, Pl. XXXVIc, 4–5; for exemplars from the New Kingdom settlements, see, e.g., VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1972, 73–91, e.g. Nos. 267–269; LILYQUIST 1995, 51–52, Cat. O, P, R, S, V, X, Fig. 139.

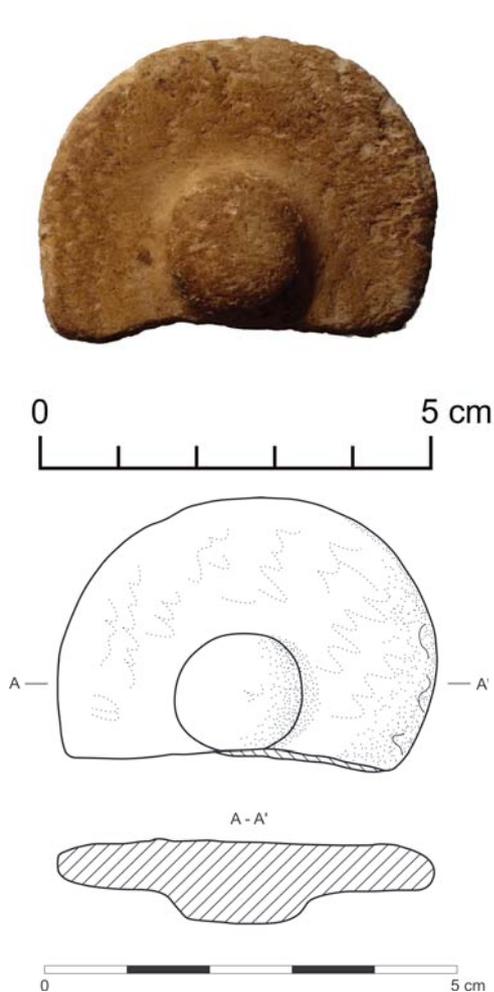


Fig. 42 Disk-shaped alabaster lid S769 (Photo E. Hudáková, Drawing L. Hulková).

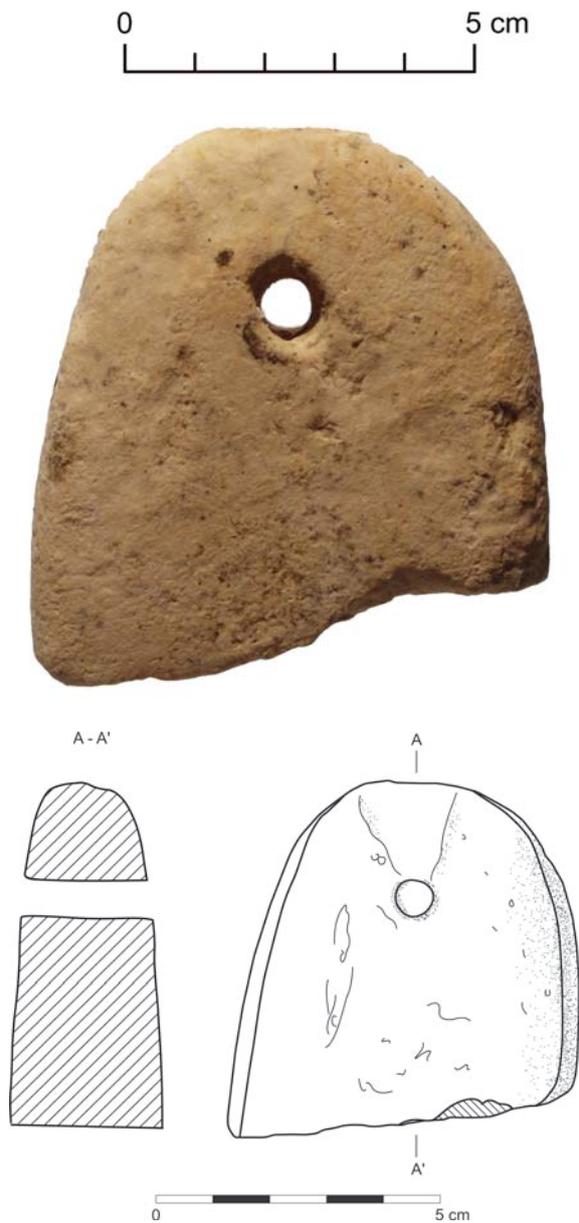


Fig. 43 Limestone loom weight S761 (Photo E. Hudáková, Drawing L. Hulková).

attested by the find of two limestone loom weights (S761; Fig. 43, S754)⁵² and a needle (S1216).

A collection of circular clay objects with two depressions on each side (S1156, 1197, 1198, 1208, Fig. 44) may have been used as a kind of loom weight⁵³ or more probably net sinkers.⁵⁴ Fishing, netting and weaving activities were documented also during previous seasons at the site by diverse other finds from different time periods and contexts.⁵⁵

Two daggers (knives? S747, Fig. 45 and S1214, Fig. 46) are by far the most astonishing finds from the “Black Houses”. Both of them were found in the floor level of the houses, underneath the destruction level. Their state of preservation (both are badly corroded) makes it very difficult to



Fig. 44 Circular clay object S1156 (Photo E. Hudáková).

⁵² Type I and IV according to Ł. Jarmużek, JARMUŻEK 2010, 17–20, Fig. 1 and Fig. 4.

⁵³ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 34, Pl. XXXVIc, 47.

⁵⁴ Examples from Matmar, BRUNTON 1948, Pl. LII, 18–19; and Elephantine, VON PILGRIM 1996, 276–278, Abb. 121, c.

⁵⁵ RZEPKA *et al.* 2009, 264–266; JARMUŻEK 2010.



Fig. 45 Dagger S747 from „Black House 1” (Photo V. Dubcová).



Fig. 46 Dagger S1214 from „Black House 3” (Photo L. Hudáková).

observe any technological details, decoration or inscription, if any, at least before full conservation. However, they appear to be daggers with a cast hilt, from 28 to 33 cm long and about 5 cm wide. The tip of the hilt has an arch-shaped ridge and the shaft is concave and rather straight at the base, the blade is lanceolate. The connection between the hilt and the blade cannot be observed, so they were probably cast together.

Similar daggers and knives are known from the 18th Dynasty. The Retaba finds clearly appear to be related to Susanne Petschel’s Type VII, that is, daggers with fan-, goblet-, T-shaped or cylindrical hilt-tip.⁵⁶ The earliest possible prototypes come from Canaan and Egypt from late Middle Bronze Age levels (17th century BC). Their origin is not certain, they were distributed throughout the Med-

iterranean (Greece, Syria, Canaan) and probably influenced Egyptian forms, which occur in Egypt from the Second Intermediate Period to the 19th Dynasty. Examples from Fadrus (early 18th Dynasty) and Qantir (19th Dynasty) are very similar,⁵⁷ as are those from various Canaanite sites, such as Beth Shean, Akko and Dan (15th–14th century BC).⁵⁸

There are also simpler and thinner daggers, without the protruding points on the lower part of the hilt, but with a more rounded blade than on the Retaba pieces. These are Petrie’s “symmetrical knives” or “dagger knives”.⁵⁹ He found a few fragments of similar knives at Tell el-Retaba and attributed them to the 18th Dynasty.⁶⁰ Other pieces are known mostly from the later 18th and 19th Dynasty from Amarna⁶¹ and Qantir⁶² and other

⁵⁶ Also German *Leisten/Flanchengriffdolche*, PETSCHER 2011, 191–221.

⁵⁷ PETSCHER 2011, Cat. Nos 184, 202.

⁵⁸ Called also “Cast Hilt Daggers” by S. Shalev, SHALEV 2004, 41–54, Pl. 15–18.

⁵⁹ PETRIE 1917, 26–27; PETSCHER 2011, 267–269.

⁶⁰ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 33, Pl. XXXV B.

⁶¹ FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY 1933, Pl. XXXIV, 1, Pl. XL, 3; PENDLEBURY 1951, Pl. LXXVI, 8.220, 9.70a–b, 10.288a–c.

⁶² PHILIP 2006, 54–55, Fig. 20.2.

sites.⁶³ They appear also in Canaan (Megiddo, ‘Beth-Yanai Coast’, Tell el-Ajjul), where they were integrated into a special type of “Daggers of Egyptian Influence”.⁶⁴

Unlike elaborate daggers, which were found mostly in tombs, “dagger knives” occur rather in settlements. Their simpler, rounded, not so richly decorated form and smaller dimensions suggest their utilitarian rather than combat function. Some connection to the military sphere is indicated in the tomb of *Qn-Jmn*, where such knives are depicted together with other types of weapons and armor.⁶⁵ The relationship of the two objects from Tell el-Retaba to these two types of daggers/knives is clear, but the differences are also apparent. Considering their early date based on contextual dating, they can be said to represent a development stage or an individual group.

2.1.4. Conclusions

The limited scope of the excavation and the fact that none of the houses was fully uncovered has made it rather difficult to interpret the 18th Dynasty settlement. Two building phases were recognized, although there could have been more. No regular arrangement was observed, the houses being probably oriented independently and most likely freestanding.

Neither the form nor the extent of the houses could be reconstructed; the brickwork (½–1 brick thick walls) suggested that the inhabitants had a different function or social status compared to the people living in the huts (½ brick thick walls) discovered in area 3 in 2009 or the large house (1–1½ brick thick walls) discovered by the Egyptian mission.

The material culture confirms the mainly domestic character of the settlement indicated by the preserved architectural structures. The objects are typical of 18th Dynasty settlement assemblages. The architecture may be compared to similar 18th Dynasty installations at Elephantine,⁶⁶ Deir el-Ballas,⁶⁷ Amarna,⁶⁸ Gurob,⁶⁹ Memphis (Kom Rabia),⁷⁰ Tell el-Dab^a-Ezbet Helmi⁷¹ and Tell Heboua I.⁷²

The diverse activities of its inhabitants and their apparently higher status illustrated by the pottery,⁷³ luxury items and international connections (Cypriote pottery) testify to the importance of the settlement in this period. There is no real indication of its military function; so far no fortifications have been identified as belonging to this period. However, the settlement’s strategic position, storage facilities and finds, such as the two daggers, may indicate a connection with the army. This settlement can be compared with other sites such as Tell Heboua⁷⁴ and Tell Borg,⁷⁵ which served as military bases or logistic/departure points for various expeditions heading east.

3. 19th dynasty

3.1. *Fortress of Ramesses II (area 9)* (SRz)

Excavations in area 9 were aimed, among others, at uncovering more of the fortress of Ramesses II. A fragment of defense wall (Petrie’s “wall 1”) and barracks/workshops abutting the inner face of this wall were unearthed in the western part of the area in 2010.⁷⁶ The level of the fortress of Ramesses II was reached also in 2011, as confirmed by pottery and stratigraphical observations, but no structures were observed on this level. There was apparently a large open court in this part of the fortress.

⁶³ Other similar objects: PETRIE 1917, 29, Pl. XXXIII, D15 from the cemetery of Hu (Diospolis Parva) or without a known context in BM, Pl. XXX, D30.

⁶⁴ SHALEV 2004, 65–69, Pl. 23, 181–189.

⁶⁵ PETSCHER 2011, 267–268; DAVIES 1930, Pl. XVI.

⁶⁶ VON PILGRIM 1996, 68–72 (H20 and H21), Abb. 16: early 18th Dynasty – Thutmosis III, 181–183, Abb. 65 – H49: 17th Dynasty.

⁶⁷ LACOVARA 1997, 9–13: e.g. the various domestic and administrative houses by the North Palace, in the North and South Wadi, Fig. 9, 10, 17.

⁶⁸ KEMP and STEVENS 2010a: complexes of main buildings surrounded by various industrial areas are known from Amarna, e.g. House of Ranefer – 73–85, Fig. 2.45, or houses from Grid 12 – Fig. 3.22.

⁶⁹ THOMAS 1981, 6–11.

⁷⁰ JEFFREYS 2006, 12–30, Plan 4 and 5 (Levels II – 19th Dynasty, Level III – mid 18th Dynasty).

⁷¹ JANOSI 1996, 89–92; JANOSI 2002; JANKOVICH 2008: Area H/1, Phase C/2.

⁷² ABD EL-MAKSOUH 1998, 144, Fig. 19: various domestic and industrial structures built originally in the Second Intermediate Period were reused and incorporated into the 18th Dynasty settlement.

⁷³ See Part II by A. WODZIŃSKA below.

⁷⁴ ABD EL-MAKSOUH 1998.

⁷⁵ HOFFMEIER and ABD EL-MAKSOUH 2003.

⁷⁶ Cf. RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 142–152; RZEPKA *et al.* 2013b, 67–69.

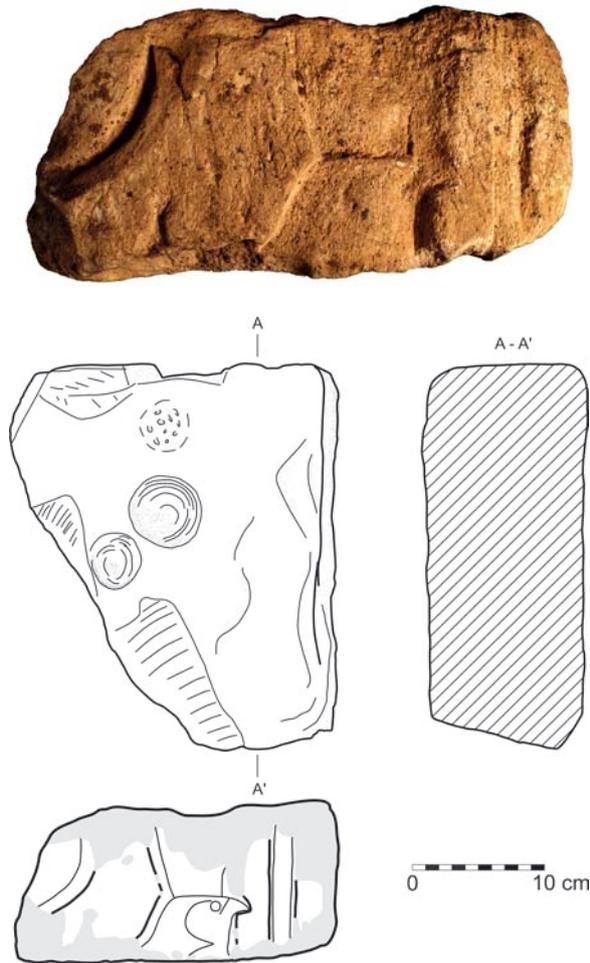


Fig. 47 Limestone block S980 with Ramesside decoration, reused as a door pivot (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing B. Adamski, S. Rzepka Ł. Jarmużek).

A fragmentary limestone block with relief decoration S980, found on the surface in area 9, should probably be linked with building activity by Ramesses II (Fig. 47). The preserved decoration comprises a fragment of a falcon's head in double crown and a section of a solar disc on the left. It is undoubtedly a fragment of an inscription with the royal protocol, namely, a fragment of the royal Horus name. The vertical framing line on the right side shows that the inscription was written in a column, which must have been 25–30 cm wide. The relief is cut very deeply, in a manner typical of the Ramesside period.

The block was reused as a door pivot, most probably in one of the later, Third Intermediate Period houses. The discovery in 2010 of several decorated blocks, reused as tethering stones in a stable,⁷⁷ demonstrated that a Ramesside temple, most probably that of Atum built by Ramesses II,⁷⁸ had been dismantled during the Third Intermediate Period.

3.2. Late 19th dynasty settlement and cemetery on the ruins of the fortress (area 9) (SRz, ŁJ)

So far there is no clear archaeological evidence as to how long the fortress of Ramesses II was in use.⁷⁹ It must have lost its military function some time before Ramesses III built a new stronghold with its walls “2” and “3”. The theory was corroborated in 2012 with the discovery of two burials, [1097] (Fig. 49) and [1098] (for their location, see Fig. 48). They were found under building [834/838] from the fortress of Ramesses III (cf. below), dug into the debris of the fortress of Ramesses II. Neither of them could be fully explored owing to the superposition of later architecture. The upper part of the skeleton in burial [1097] was cleared, whereas only a fragment of the skull was recorded in burial [1098]. No grave goods were found with the skeletons. The burials were located in an area once surrounded by “wall 1”. This wall (and surely other installations of the fortress of Ramesses II) must have been in ruins when the place started to be used as a cemetery. Obviously, the site could not have been completely depopulated, since those buried in the cemetery must have lived somewhere in vicinity. Also the temple of Atum, built by Ramesses II, probably remained in use. But the defense walls were not functional anymore. It is plausible to think that the site ceased to be a military outpost during the late 19th dynasty when the Egyptian state was rocked by serious internal trouble.

Approximately 10 m to the north of burials [1097] and [1098] there were some remains of domestic structures apparently belonging to the same phase. Building [815/825] (cf. Fig. 48) was only partly excavated and is rather poorly preserved. The excavated southern part of the struc-

⁷⁷ Cf. RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 129–135, 153–155.

⁷⁸ W.M.F. Petrie had already discovered several blocks belonging to this temple, cf. PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pls. XXIX–XXXI.

⁷⁹ Pap. Anastasi V suggests that the fortress of Tjeku, which can be identified most probably with Tell el-Retaba, continued to serve as a military outpost at least until the reign of Seti II, cf. CAMINOS 1954, 255.

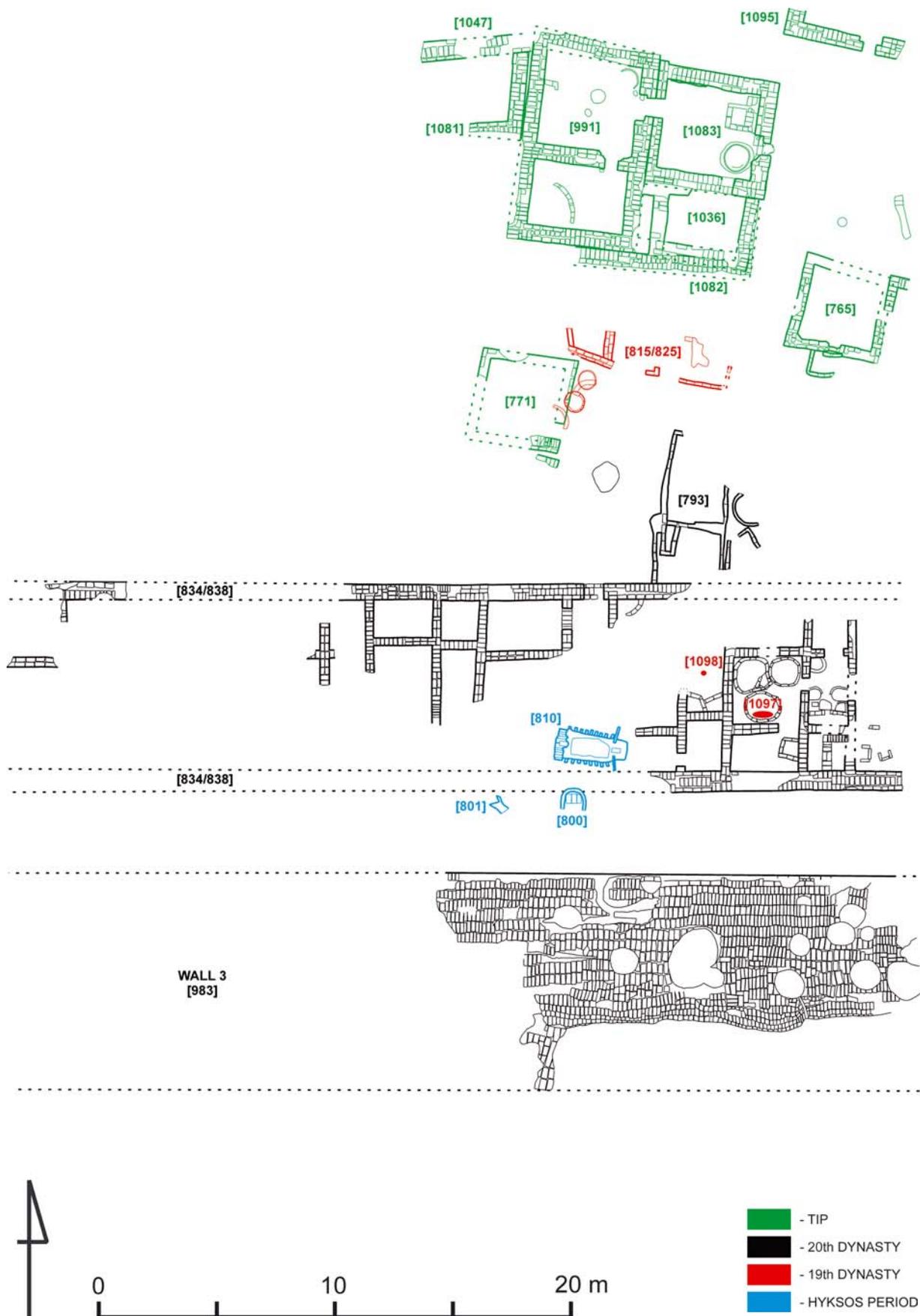


Fig. 48 Plan of structures excavated in area 9 (Drawing Ł. Jarmużek).



Fig. 49 Burial [1097] (Photo L. Gidzińska).



Fig. 51 Infant burial in a jar (Photo L. Hudáková).

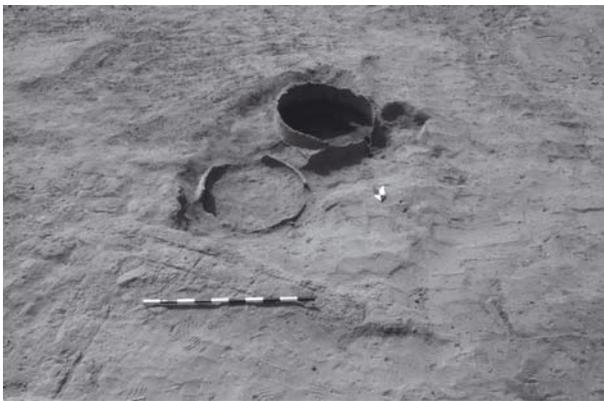


Fig. 50 Remains of the late 19th Dynasty settlement: building [815/825] and two kilns [805] and [809] (Photo S. Rzepka).



Fig. 52 Infant skeleton with compact brownish substance (Photo L. Hudáková).

ture may have been divided into three rooms. Two kilns and a silo were found to the south of the structure (Fig. 50). The kiln [809] is of fired clay, its diameter 0.74 m and walls 2 cm thick. It was replaced by a new and slightly bigger kiln [805], about 0.84 m in diameter. This kiln was placed on a platform of mud bricks. There was also a low, rounded, mud-brick wall [816] attached to its outer face. Next to the kiln [805] there was a fragment of a round structure [820], probably a silo. Altogether, the remains appear to be a rather poor settlement: a house with thin walls, small irregular rooms and some installations for bread-baking and storage outside.

4. 20th Dynasty

4.1. Early 20th dynasty infant burial (area 4) (LH)

An infant burial in a jar [609] was discovered in area 4 in 2011. It lay in the gateway of the *migdol*,

roughly on the axis of the entrance (Fig. 51) between the towers. The burial was cut into a thick layer of fine yellow sand [608] containing, among other remains, pottery of the 18th dynasty. The sand was relatively loose, hence no grave pit could be discerned.

The jar (Fig. 108) was lying on its side, the opening to the northwest. The neck of the vessel had been broken off, possibly intentionally, in order to facilitate the insertion of the infant's body. The vessel itself was also broken into several larger sherds, but this can be attributed to the load of superimposed layers pressing down on the burial. No architectural remains connected with the burial were observed and there were no grave goods in or around the vessel.

The skeleton lay in loose yellowish sand that filled also the mouth of the jar. Directly over the body there was a darker compact material, which is thought to be the remains of some organic mat-

ter covering the body of the infant at the time of the burial; it has yet to be identified. No such substance was found underneath the body (Fig. 52).

The body was placed at the bottom of the jar; it was deposited in strongly contracted position on its right side, the head towards the opening of the vessel (Fig. 53). The skull pointed northwest and probably faced west, the right arm seemingly under the skull. The legs were strongly contracted and pulled to the chest. The skeleton was almost complete, but the bones were very fragile. The bones of the skull and vertebrae had not yet fused. The approximate age at death was 3–6 months.⁸⁰



Fig. 53 Position of the infant skeleton (Photo L. Hudáková).

Infant burials in ceramic vessels are well attested all over Egypt from the Hyksos Period onwards.⁸¹ They were found in cemeteries in Bubastis,⁸² Gurob,⁸³ Saft el-Henneh⁸⁴ and Tell el-Yahudiya,⁸⁵ to name but a few, and are attributed to the lower social classes. At Tell el-Retaba several such internments from the early 19th Dynasty were discovered (some of them in close proximity

to burial [609]).⁸⁶ It is possible that there had once been a large infant cemetery⁸⁷ in the western part of the site.

Grave [609] seems to be of slightly later date, however. The jar can be dated either to the 19th Dynasty or to the early 20th Dynasty (see the pottery report below). The fine yellow sand, in which the jar was buried, seems to be of a kind used for building foundations rather than naturally deposited material.⁸⁸ Considerable amounts of this sand had filled an artificial ditch below the migdol of Ramesses III.⁸⁹ In fineness and texture, it is not comparable to the sand below “wall 2” in Y105-X115 (area 7), which is in stratified layers and was definitely accumulated over a longer time span. For this reason, it is possible to assume that the sand below the migdol was deposited in a single event (hence no layers) to fill a ditch in preparation for constructing the migdol of Ramesses III. Consequently, grave [609] could not have preceded the migdol by any length of time. Ceramics from the 19th Dynasty period recovered from the gateway area between the northern and southern migdol towers could suggest that the sand had been brought from an area already in use during the 19th Dynasty. However, analysis of the burial jar and stratigraphic considerations lead us to suggest that this particular infant grave should be dated to the times of Ramesses III, that is, the early 20th Dynasty.

4.2. Migdol and “wall 2” (areas 4&7) (JH)

The exploration of the migdol area was continued in 2011: 21 squares, each 5×5 m, were excavated in part or in full, in Area 4.⁹⁰ The research was focused primarily on the northern tower of the migdol. A trench cut into the body of the tower (Fig. 54) was interpreted as the result of excavations by E. Naville⁹¹ in 1885 (Fig. 55) and com-

⁸⁰ A. ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, personal communication.

⁸¹ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 25–26, footnotes 74 and 75.

⁸² EL-SAWY 1979, 15ff., Burial Nos. 5, 8, 11, 28, 38, 41, 45, 48, 55, 62, 70, 71, 72, 74, 77, 91, 97, 98, 102, 109, 110, 112, 121, 122, 126, 131, 169, 170, 173, 174, 176, 179, 181, 184, 190, 191.

⁸³ THOMAS 1981, 21.

⁸⁴ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 36.

⁸⁵ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 16.

⁸⁶ For more details on these burials, see PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 29; FULLER, <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/>

Retaba 1981pots.html online, cited 15.7.2013; RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 155–156.

⁸⁷ Such as was found, for example, in Gurob, see THOMAS 1981, 21.

⁸⁸ The sand beneath foundations possibly had not only practical, but also symbolical meaning, cf. ARNOLD 1991, 110, 202, note 10.

⁸⁹ Cf. chapter 4.2.3. below.

⁹⁰ RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 139–142.

⁹¹ NAVILLE 1887, Pl. xi, section E–F



Fig. 54 Naville's trench before cleaning (Photo V. Dubcová).

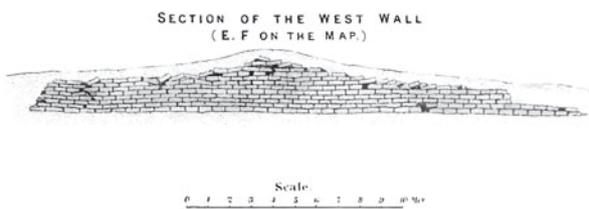


Fig. 55 Section through the northern tower of the migdol, dug by É. Naville in 1885 (after NAVILLE, 1887, Pl. xi, section E-F).

mented on by W.M.F. Petrie.⁹² Naville's excavations in the trench, according to his sketch (the reliability of which might be questioned also due to the very schematic plan of the site and its defense walls), probably did not reach the base of the tower. Nonetheless, cleaning of this trench revealed recent deposits at a depth below the level of the base. Egyptian excavations seem also to have been carried out in this trench; they are attested not only by modern deposits and a newspaper scrap from 1999, but also in oral reports from local inhabitants.⁹³ Work inside and adjacent to Naville's trench (squares Y60-70/X185; Y60-75/X190 and Y60-85/X195) reached layers from the early New Kingdom (Fig. 56).

The present excavations were continued also in the gateway between the migdol towers;⁹⁴ parts of the sand deposit were removed to uncover an infant burial of early 20th Dynasty date (cf. above) and, on a deeper level, the walls of "Black House



Fig. 56 Layers from the early New Kingdom after cleaning (Photo L. Hudáková).

2", which were disturbed by a westward sloping ditch.

4.2.1. Northern tower of the migdol

Cleaning of the surface of the northern tower was focused on its part northwards of Naville's trench. The western edge of the tower was found considerably eroded. Several shallow pits had already been excavated and holes filled with ceramics, but mixed with modern sherds, were found along the northern edge of the tower. This recent digging is probably related in time to Naville's trench.⁹⁵ Mudbrick architecture of later date was uncovered at the eastern edge of the tower, northward of Naville's trench.⁹⁶ Despite the degree of erosion of

⁹² "... the very thick wall at the west of it is really the thickness of the gateway bastions, one of which was cut through instead of tracing the face of it"; PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 28.

⁹³ Unfortunately, no report of these works is available to the authors at present.

⁹⁴ Cf. chapter 2.1.

⁹⁵ No documentation of this is available to the authors at present.

⁹⁶ Cf. chapter 5.2 below.

the tower masonry at its western edge, it was possible to ascertain that the dimensions of the northern tower were a “mirror image” of the southern tower (ca. 22.5×14 m).⁹⁷ The dimensions of bricks from the top of the tower averaged 42–45×15–16×10 cm.

4.2.2. Petrie’s “wall 2”

Sections on both the northern and the southern side of Naville’s trench were cleaned to get an idea of the construction phases of the Ramesses III architecture. Approximately two third of the cut at its western end was finished in the time available.



Fig. 57 Mud-brick platform (Photo L. Hudáková).

The western base of the tower was constructed on a kind of platform formed of a layer of mud-bricks instead of the yellow-sand deposit found under the core of the northern tower (Fig. 57). The platform was 10 m long (or wide) and 13–48 cm thick. Its western half was made of one course of mud bricks standing on end, diagonally oriented towards the western edge of the platform (Fig. 58) and two courses of “cross” bonded mud bricks; the eastern half was constructed of four courses of irregularly bonded mud-bricks, gradually run low on the sand layer eastwards to one course. The bricks of the platform were quite hard and very well preserved, in contrast to the eroded masonry of the adjacent tower. Actually, the western edge of the tower does not correspond here to the western edge of the platform, the platform being wider. Either the “V” orientation of the towers is responsible for this⁹⁸ or erosion following the uncovering of the walls in the past century, or both.



Fig. 58 Diagonally oriented bricks of the platform (Photo L. Hudáková).



Fig. 59 Northern part of the platform/foundation of “wall 2” (Photo L. Hudáková).

The mud-brick platform/foundation was also disclosed in areas Y60-70/X200 and Y60-70/X205 northwards of the migdol, in the place of the expected continuation of “wall 2” (Fig. 59), even though no bricks of “wall 2” were preserved here. Bricks of this part of the platform/foundation

⁹⁷ RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 139.

⁹⁸ RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 140.

measured 46–50×22×10–11 cm. The width of the platform was 10.4 m, i.e., about 20 Egyptian cubits. Several recent disturbances were observed, such as digging or cleaning alongside the eastern inner edge of the platform and its corner with the northern migdol tower, which had exposed a deposit of fine yellow sand continuing on the internal side of “wall 2” further to the north.

Experimental alignment with a piece of rope demonstrated that the internal side of the northern platform ran in a straight line with both the internal side of the platform in Naville’s trench and the internal side of the gateway threshold.⁹⁹

4.2.3. Ditch underneath the migdol

Regardless of the negative consequences that Naville’s trench had for the preservation of the northern tower, it turned up significant archaeological and stratigraphical data. A massive deposit of fine yellow sand, up to 2.5 m thick, was unearthed below the tower in Naville’s trench. The bottom of this deposit sat on a reddish bed of sand-



Fig. 60 Individual mud bricks on the slope of the ditch (Photo E. Hudáková).

gravel. The edge of this depression was recorded in Naville’s trench, the accumulated deposits in it, including the ash layers on top, showed a tendency to slope down to the east and under the gateway. Several loose mud bricks marked the brink (Fig. 60). The depression was observed also in the gateway of the migdol, where it slopes down to the west. It appears to be of roughly oval shape, extending more or less along a north-south axis. The western edge disappears underneath the threshold of the gateway and it is not clear how far it may run underneath the southern tower. Fine sand of similar quality and texture was noted in the internal corner of the northern tower and “wall 2”. However, the full extent of the deposit to the north was not ascertained.

4.2.4. Conclusions

At least three different hypotheses can be put forward rationalizing the existence of the ditch and the order in which they are presented here does not reflect any degree of probability.

1. Construction pit for the migdol.

As attested in contemporary architecture in Medinet Habu, the architects of Ramesses III used large construction pits filled with sand to stabilize the foundations of massive constructions.¹⁰⁰ This is only partly the case in Retaba. The western side of the northern tower (and as far as it can be observed, also of the southern tower) stands on a platform, which was used to level the ground and/or support “wall 2”. The eastern side overlies older cultural layers. Only the core of the tower stands on what seems to be a rather flat sandy hill (Fig. 61). Several single bricks, probably from the



Fig. 61 Northern tower on sand deposit.

⁹⁹ RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 141.

¹⁰⁰ CAVILLIER 2008, 55.

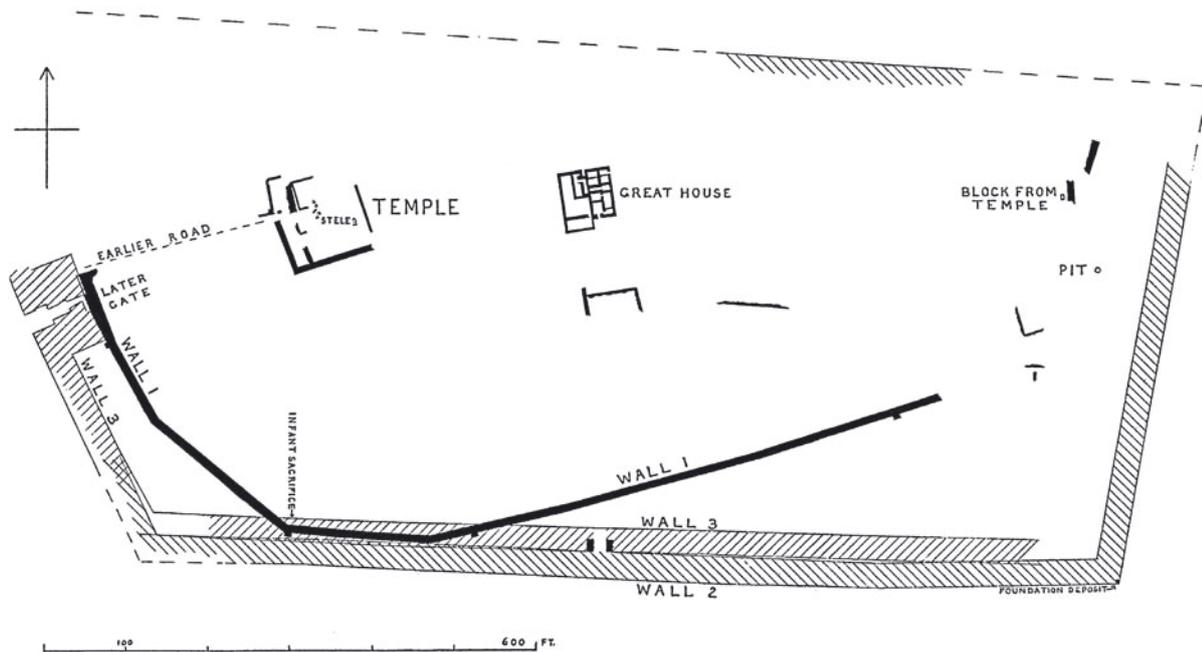


Fig. 62 Petrie's plan of Tell el-Retaba: "wall 1" of the fortress of Ramesses II, "wall 2" and "wall 3" of the fortress of Ramesses III (after PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pl. XXXV).

tower platform or foundation, were found on the brink of the ditch. They could have been there already at the time that the sand was deposited.

2. Source of mud-brick material.

As said already, there is no cultural layer of late 18th and 19th Dynasty date below the northern tower and "wall 2" in area 7. Either there was no contemporary settlement in the area or the layers were intentionally removed and used for mud-brick production. Crushed pottery is a typical brick additive and small sherds have been observed in the mud bricks found on site. So far, however, no sherds of late 18th and 19th Dynasty have been attested in bricks from the Ramesses III buildings. This naturally does not exclude the use of the excavated space as a construction pit.

3. Moat defending a gate in "wall 1".

Petrie¹⁰¹ had indicated an older gate in "wall 1" and the excavations in 2010 unearthed parts of a structure that could be associated with such function.¹⁰² Moats have been attested in New Kingdom forts,¹⁰³ but in this case it is not a true moat that

surrounded the entire fortress. It has not been attested southward of the *migdol*, in area 7, and it was not observed in the construction trench of the new road (area 9) on the southern side of "wall 2". A large depression full of sand has been traced alongside the northern Ramesside defense wall(s), not far from the northwestern corner of the fortress, but there is no attested relation between this depression and the trench below the *migdol*. Short defense trenches do not have parallels known to the author. This hypothesis does not exclude either of the first two ideas, but it has different chronological implications.

From the point of view of building management, the construction of the Ramesses III fortress in the *migdol* area proceeded in the following steps:

1. Preparing the ground (removing older layer or using sand, if necessary)
2. Constructing the foundation platform under the wall
3. Building the towers of the *migdol*
4. Completing the details (threshold, gateway, etc.)

¹⁰¹ PETRIE and DUNCAN, 1906, 29, Pl. XXXV.

¹⁰² RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 142.

¹⁰³ HOFFMAIER and ABD EL-MAKSOUH 2003.



Fig. 63 “Wall 3” [983] and street running along its inner face, looking southwest (Photo L. Gidzińska).

4.3. “Wall 3” (area 9) (SRz)

During the 2012 season a fragment of Petrie’s “wall 3” [983] was cleared in area 9 (Figs. 48, 62, 63). According to Petrie, it was the latest of the defense walls in Tell el-Retaba. It was definitely later than his “wall 2”, which was partly covered by “wall 3” on Petrie’s plan.¹⁰⁴ The dating of “wall 2” is secure: a foundation deposit found by Petrie contained objects inscribed with the name of Ramesses III.¹⁰⁵ The dating of “wall 3” was less evident. Also the functional relation between these walls was not obvious.

“Wall 3” is a massive structure, built of very large mud bricks, which measured 42×18×14 cm each. The southern face of the wall was almost completely destroyed, only a very short fragment of the original width (given by Petrie as 8.8 m)¹⁰⁶ could be observed. The preserved fragment of the wall is about 1 m high, but most of it is the wall foundation; no more than two or three layers of bricks have been preserved above the foundation.



Fig. 64 Inner face of “wall 3” [983] (Photo L. Gidzińska).

Courses of headers alternated with courses of stretchers, the bond also including a course of erect headers (Fig. 64). A street 3.6 m wide ran along the inner face of the wall. On the northern side of this street there was a long building [834/838] (cf. below), which featured the same orientation as “wall 3” and was founded on the same level, hence was presumably contemporary. Pottery found in building [834/838] proved that “wall 3” was constructed in the first half of the 20th dynasty (see the pottery report in part II below, including Fig. 109). Thus “wall 3” was contemporary with or only slightly later than “wall 2”.

¹⁰⁴ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 30, pl. XXXV.

¹⁰⁵ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pl. XXXIV.

¹⁰⁶ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 30.

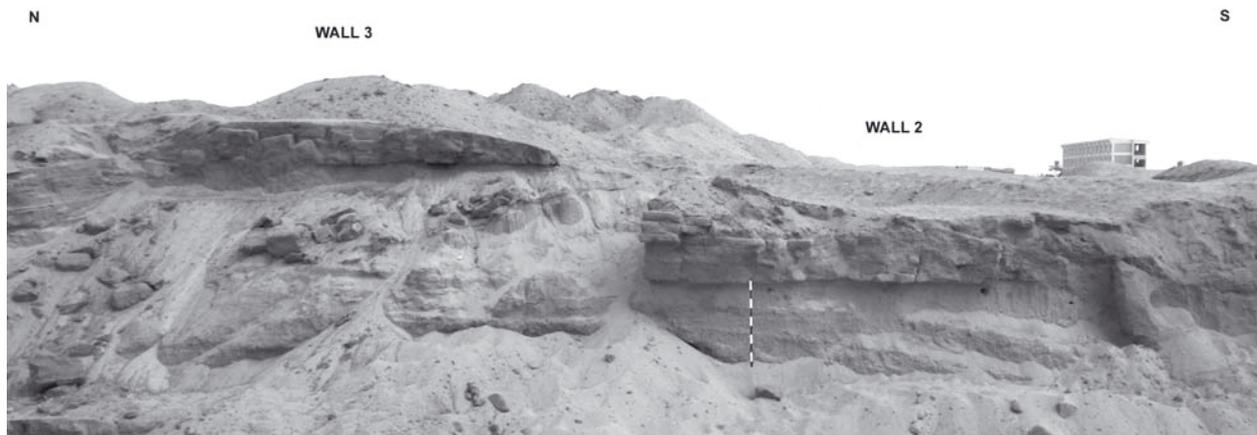


Fig. 65 Section through walls “2” and “3” made during preparations for a reconstruction of the asphalt road crossing the site (Photo S. Rzepka).

4.3.1. Excursus 1: “wall 2” as a revetment wall? (SRz)

The relation between walls “2” and “3” is all the more puzzling now that their virtual contemporaneity has been demonstrated. It has come to be accepted in the writing on the subject that “wall 3 was built directly against the inner face of wall 2” and that “[...] this extra addition nearly doubled the width of the town’s already massive enclosure wall”.¹⁰⁷ This opinion, however, contradicts Petrie’s documentation which leaves no doubt that “wall 3”, partly (in the southern part of the fortress) or completely (in the west), covers “wall 2”.¹⁰⁸ Thus, when “wall 3” was built, “wall 2” could not have been 15 m (or more?)¹⁰⁹ high; its top could have reached no higher than the foundation level of “wall 3”. A section through walls “2” and “3”, which was caused by the reconstruction of the asphalt road crossing the site, is shown in Fig. 65. The foundation level of “wall 3” appears about 1.3 m higher than the foundation level of “wall 2”. Thus, “wall 3” covered “wall 2”, which was at this point no more than 1.3 m high. Why was it so low? Two answers are possible:

- 1) it was high once, but was destroyed;
- 2) it was never high, because it was not a defense wall.

Concerning the first theory, it is hard to imagine the kind of cataclysm that would be necessary

to damage massive walls within a short period of time (keep in mind that “wall 3” still belongs to the first half of the 20th dynasty) to an extent that would make it not repairable and in need of replacement.

As for the second idea, a wall just 1.3 m high could not have been a defense wall. But what was it then? A possible solution is suggested by a comparison of the plans of the fortress of Ramesses II (Petrie’s “wall 1”) and the fortress of Ramesses III (Fig. 62). The former is smaller and quite irregular in plan, the latter is larger and (more or less) rectangular. It is justifiable to assume that the irregularity of the plan of the older fortress was due to the topography, the walls following the ground relief of a hill(s?) on which it was founded.¹¹⁰ When Ramesses III decided to build a new and much larger fortress, the ground was leveled and an artificial platform was raised at least in the southern part of the site. “Wall 2” was therefore merely a low revetment wall for this platform, on which the actual defense wall, “wall 3”, was constructed.

4.3.2. Excursus 2: “wall 2” as a defense wall? (JH)

The situation between the walls cannot be studied owing to the fact that nothing has been preserved on the western side (in area 4) and that the depos-

¹⁰⁷ MORRIS 2005, 741.

¹⁰⁸ This relation could not be confirmed in the course of clearing the fragment of “wall 3” in Area 9, because the outer face of this wall was almost completely destroyed, possibly by previous excavations along “wall 2” carried out by different Egyptian missions in the 1990s.

¹⁰⁹ For the height of defense walls built during the reign of Ramesses III, cf. MORRIS 2005, 719, quoting P. Harris I.

¹¹⁰ Auger drilling in 2013 was aimed at providing data for a reconstruction of the site’s palaeotopography.

its were damaged heavily by recent digging on the southern side (area 9). Prior to checking the situation on the eastern side, where a geophysical survey has suggested the existence of two thick parallel walls, it should be noted that the width of the “wall 2” foundation uncovered in area 4 is 10.4 m, that is, about three Egyptian cubits more than the width of “wall 3”. Therefore, “wall 2” seems much too strong for a simple casing structure. In interpreting this particular feature, military purpose and effectiveness should be considered first of all. In the section alongside the new road one can observe a considerable fine yellow sand deposit on the inside of “wall 2”, about 130 cm high. This is therefore the difference between the bases of both walls and this should be the minimum height of “wall 2”. Even if “wall 3” overlapped “wall 2”, one should take into account the notion of double defenses. A similar situation, despite the larger distance between the defense walls, was attested in Medinet Habu¹¹¹ (where military purpose and effectiveness is not the condition *sine qua non*) and also on some ancient Egyptian reliefs.¹¹² The width of “wall 2” would allow for the construction of a higher narrow wall atop the external side of “wall 2” with enough space left for military logistics.

4.4. Fortified town of Ramesses III (area 9) (SRz, LJ)

A fragment of the inner structure of the 20th dynasty fortress was revealed for the first time in the 2011 and 2012 seasons. So far, neither Petrie’s excavations nor the first seasons of the Polish-Slovak Mission in Tell el-Retaba had shed any light on the spatial organization within the defense walls that Petrie had discovered. Petrie believed that Tell el-Retaba was not a fortress (or strongly fortified town), but rather a fortified camping ground: “the area seems to have been largely left open, [...] the place was rather a fortified camping ground, for the shelter of troops, than an ordinary town”.¹¹³ This idea was quite unconvincing from the beginning: New Kingdom fortresses in Nubia (e. g., Sesebi and Sai) and in the Delta (Tell Hebua I, Zawiyet Umm er-Rakham) were densely packed with barracks, dwellings, storerooms etc.¹¹⁴ The idea that massive defense walls would have been built to protect an empty space to camp some troops from time to time is highly improbable.

Excavations in 2011 and 2012 have proved Petrie wrong, uncovering a street 3.6 m wide running along the inner face of “wall 3” and a large building [834/838] to the north of this street

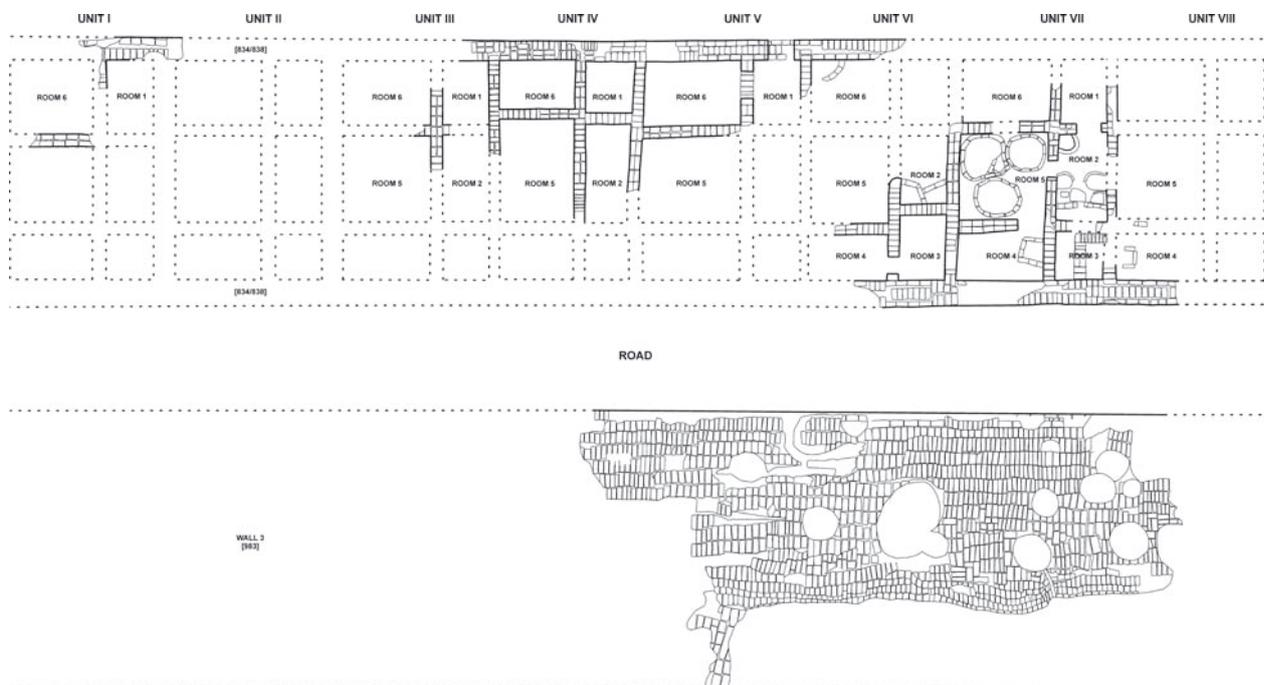


Fig. 66 Plan of the building [834/838] (Drawing Ł. Jarmużek).

¹¹¹ HOELSCHER 1921, 61–62; CAVILLIER 2008, 53.

¹¹² BAINES and MÁLEK 2005, 203.

¹¹³ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, 28.

¹¹⁴ For an overview of these and other New Kingdom fortresses, cf. MORRIS 2005.



Fig. 67 Building [834/838], looking west (Photo L. Gidzińska).

(Figs. 66–67). The structure is of significant dimensions: the excavated fragment extends (from east to west) approximately 37.6 m, but it must have been longer, as neither its western nor eastern limits have been reached; its width (N-S) was 8.8 m. The width of this building matched the thickness of “wall 3”, corroborating the stratigraphical evidence for the homogeneity and contemporaneity of the structures. A defense wall 17 cubits wide (8.8 m is almost exactly 17 cubits) was planned and a street 7 cubits wide (3.6 m \approx 7 cubits) was foreseen along its inner face, as well as a building 17 cubits wide on the northern side of the street.

The outer walls of building [834/838] measured 67 cm (northern) and 88 cm (southern) in thickness. The wall structure presented a regular bonding pattern consisting of a series of alternate courses of headers and stretchers. The inner walls were much thinner (37–39 cm); in their case both

headers and stretchers were used at the same level. The bricks had regular dimensions (38×19×12 cm).

Unfortunately, building [834/838] was rather poorly preserved and has not been fully excavated, thus all the interpretations concerning its function and spatial organization are still preliminary. Denudation in the western part of the excavated fragment has resulted in no floor levels being preserved and only some remains of foundations. In the eastern part, where the walls stand higher and floor levels have been preserved, significant damage was caused by a large modern trench, apparently made with a bulldozer, 14 m long and 4 m wide, running from the southwest to the northeast.

4.4.1. First occupation phase

In spite of the rather poor state of preservation of the building, the layout of the walls appears to be regular. At first it was probably divided into a

series of uniform units marked in Fig. 66 as I, II, III, etc. At least eight such units were noted in the part of the building that has been excavated so far. Each unit comprised six rooms: three narrow ones (1, 2 and 3) which were about 1.5 m wide and three larger ones (4, 5 and 6), the width of which ranged between 2.50–3.20 m. Each unit had an area of about 30 m². The fact that not a single unit is fully preserved makes the reconstruction of the original layout difficult; however the proposed scheme fits the ruins discovered so far.

Remains of unit I were found during the 2010 season. Only a small fragment of the outer wall and one inner wall were preserved. The bonding pattern and orientation of walls left no doubt that they belonged to building [834/838]. Unit II was probably completely denuded; however, its eastern part was in the unexcavated part of the two squares.¹¹⁵ The western part of unit III was also in the unexcavated area. The eastern part was almost completely denuded and only small fragments of inner walls were preserved.

Four rooms of unit IV were preserved. No floors were found in rooms IV.1 and IV.2, one floor in room IV.5 [1007] and two floors in room IV.6 [995, 1008]. All deposits and walls in this unit were preserved more or less to the same height. The absence of occupation levels in the two eastern rooms indicates that there were significant differences between floor levels, even within a single unit. A similar situation was noted in the case of other units. It should be assumed therefore that the surface under building [834/838] was quite irregular and was not leveled under this construction.

Similar differences between walking levels were noted in unit V. An occupation level [986] was found in only one room (V.6) of the three preserved units. It was a thin ash-rich layer and there were three stone objects on it: a quern S1276 (Fig. 68), a mortar S1277 (Fig. 69) and probably a door pivot stone S1274. In the north wall of room V.1 there is an entrance to the unit, about 80 cm wide (Fig. 70). In the later phase, this entrance was either completely blocked or at least the level of the threshold was raised. No other entrance was located, but most of the excavated part of the northern outer wall is preserved too low to expect traces of other thresholds. It is reasonable to assume that each unit had a separate entrance

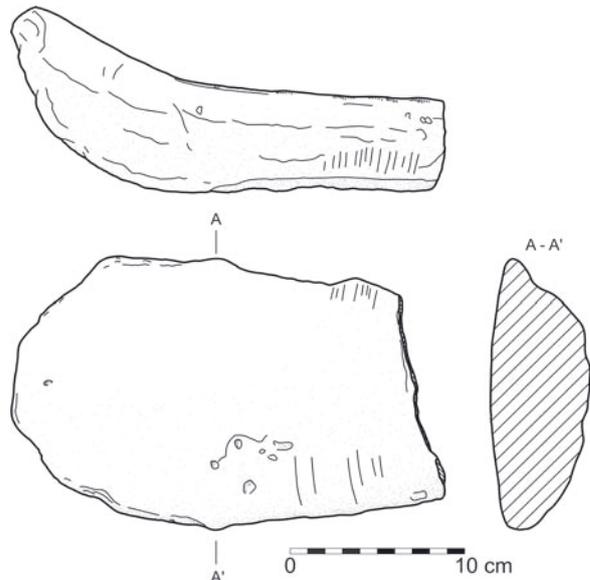


Fig. 68 Quern S1276 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing B. Adamski).

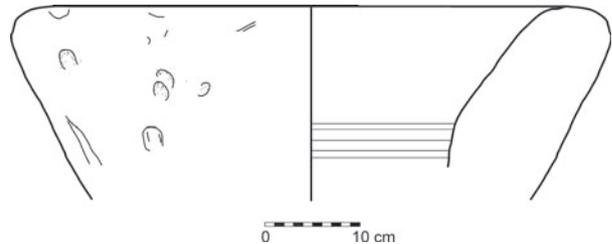


Fig. 69 Mortar S1277 (Drawing B. Adamski, L. Jarmużek).

from the north and room 1 served in each unit as an antechamber. Whether each unit had another entrance from the south, from the street running along “wall 3”, remains unclear. No traces of such entrances could be observed in the southern outer wall, but the possibility of the units being accessed from the south cannot be excluded in view of the poor preservation of this wall. Two entrances from

¹¹⁵ This area, adjacent to a very deep trench dug for the new line of the asphalt road crossing the site, could not be excavated due to safety concerns.

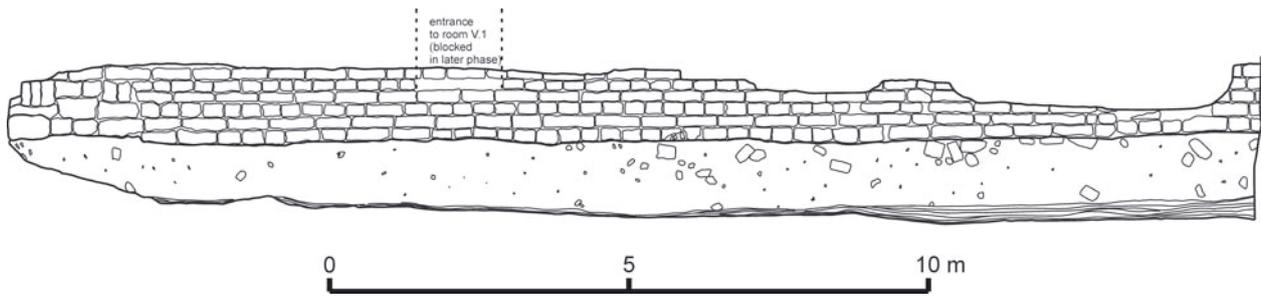


Fig. 70 Elevation of the northern outer wall of the building [834/838]; marked entrance leading to room V.1, blocked in a later phase (Drawing P. Sójka, Ł. Jarmużek).

opposite sides seem, however, improbable assuming the units were flats (see below), as there would have been no privacy for those living inside.

Two of five preserved rooms of unit VI contained remains of occupations levels. In the southern part of room VI.2, two thin mud-brick walls were found [SU 1066]. They enclosed a space in the corner of the room, forming a kind of bin. A thin grayish floor was found [978] in the preserved corner of room VI.6. On this floor another bin [979] was constructed by adding a small, rounded wall in the corner of the room. The bin [979], filled with ashes, contained numerous potsherds, which turned out to belong to a single, complete amphora (cf. Fig. 109.1.)

Unit VII is the best preserved, but has not been fully excavated yet (Figs. 71–72). In rooms VII.1 and VII.6 no traces of floors could be found. A doorway in the south wall of room VII.1 (ante-chamber?) led to room VII.2, which probably served as a kitchen. There was a fireplace/kiln [1092] in the northwestern corner, enclosed by a rounded ceramic wall, filled with ashes [1091]. Nearby walls bore traces of fire. Three rounded structures found further to the south [1088, 1089, 1090] had mud walls about 3–5 cm thick. They were either bins or stands for storage vessels. A deposit of ashes [1073] was found between these structures. A thin mud-brick wall [1087] ran 40 cm away from and parallel to the south wall of the room; it could have served as a kind of bin. A doorway in the west wall of the kitchen led to room VII.5, which was a magazine. It enclosed three mud-brick silos [1061, 1063, 1068], tightly fitted in between the walls of the room. All were badly preserved, filled with collapsed mud bricks [1060, 1062, 1067]. Their diameter varied from 1.10 to 1.30 m. Room VII.4, to the south of the magazine, was equipped with a rectangular structure [1057], lined with mud bricks, attached to the east wall of the room. The structure was filled

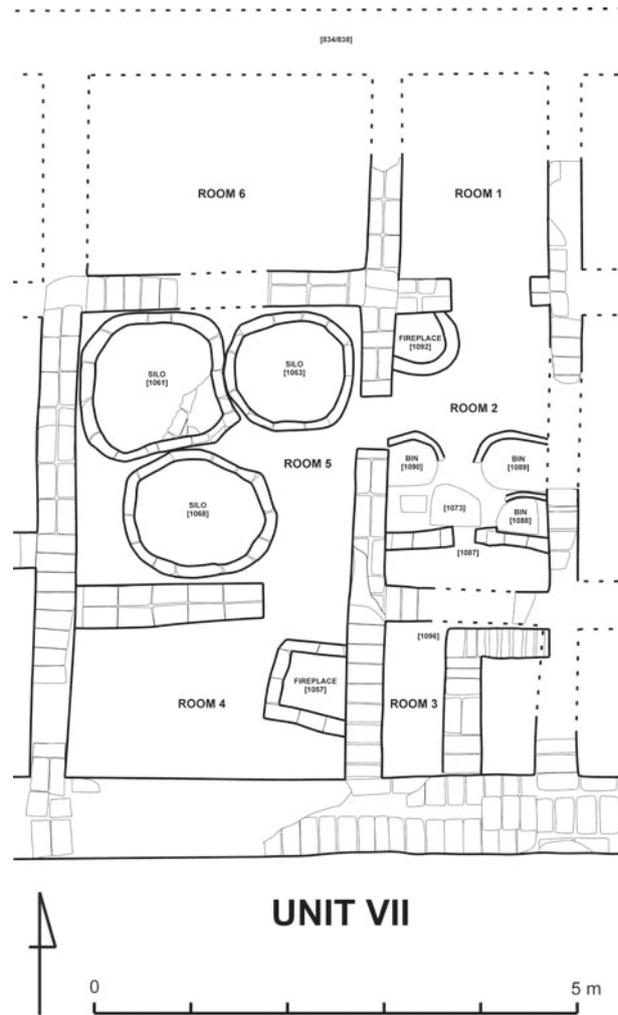


Fig. 71 Plan of unit VII in the building [834/838], first occupation phase (Drawing Ł. Jarmużek).

with ashes, bones, pottery and some fragments of mud bricks [1056]. It is either a fireplace (the floor of the room [1058] included ashes), or a platform for a quern (?). Room VII.3 appeared to have no doors and indeed it was difficult to imagine a place for the doorway: a passage to room VII.4 would have led through a fireplace, while a door to room VII.2 would have been blocked by kitchen



Fig. 72 Unit VII in the building [834/838], first occupation phase (Photo L. Gidzińska).

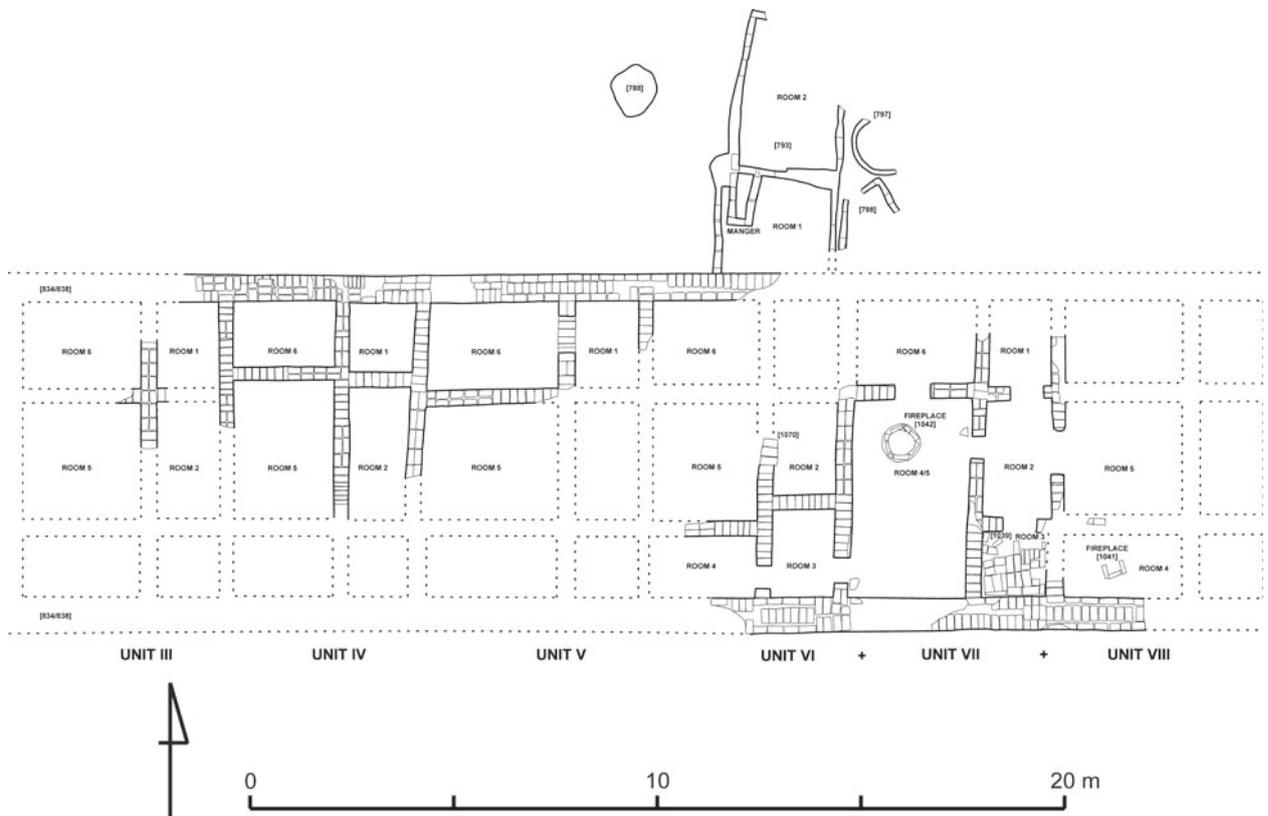


Fig. 73 Plan of the building [834/838] with annexes, later occupation phase (Drawing L. Jarmużek).

installations. Remains of an L-shaped mud-brick feature, possibly a bench, were found in the middle of this room.

Unit VIII was only partly excavated. Small sections of two rooms were found. Inside room VIII.4 there was a small fireplace surrounded by three bricks [1043].

4.4.2. Second occupation phase

In a later occupation phase a significant rearrangement took place inside building [834/838] (Fig. 73). In general, it seems that the original six-room units were replaced by larger entities.

Units VI, VII and VIII may have been merged into one big compound. New doorways were cut between rooms VI.3 and VII.4, VII.2 and VIII.5. A wall separating rooms VII.4 and VII.5 was removed, creating one large room. The size of this new, large compound is impossible to determine, because the area to the west has been completely destroyed and the area to the east has not been excavated. The position of the main entrance is also unknown. Floors were noted in all rooms [1016, 1017, 1018, 1030, 1033, 1034, 1040, 1045, 1046]. They were thin, compact, grayish-white layers, sometimes mixed with ashes. A rather unusual floor [1039] was found in room VII.3. It was made of mud bricks, arranged in somewhat irregular fashion. The number of internal installations was significantly smaller in comparison to the previous phase of the building. The function of some rooms surely changed: the previous magazine with three large silos (room VII.5) now became part of a large room (room VII.4/VII.5 – living room?) with a large round fireplace [1042], lined with a single layer of bricks and found filled with ashes [1031] (Fig. 74). A much smaller fireplace, lined with only three bricks [1041], was discovered in room VIII.4.



Fig. 74 Unit VII in the building [834/838], later occupation phase (Photo L. Gidzińska).

Next to the doorways connecting rooms VI.3 – VII.4 and VII.4 – VIII.5 door pivot stones were found. The second doorway was blocked at a later time.

Modest remains of the second phase were found in the western part of building [834/838].



Fig. 75 Flint sickle blade S1287 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Rys, Ł. Jarmużek).



Fig. 76 Two bronze fishing hooks S1423 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Pawlikowska, Ł. Jarmużek).



Fig. 77 Lead net sinker S1424, cast in a shell (Photo L. Gidzińska).

Probably only two floors [974, 982] of rooms V.1 and V.6 can be dated to this period. In both cases fishbones were recorded in context.

Small finds from floor levels of the second occupation phase have given us some idea of the kind of activities, which the inhabitants of the building had engaged in. A significant part of these activities was linked with food acquisition and processing.

From the floor of room V.1 [974] came a flint sickle blade (Fig. 75),¹¹⁶ which suggested that the fortress was not (or at least not entirely) supplied with grain from the Nile valley, but that at least some fields were cropped and harvested by the inhabitants. Moreover, several grinders and fragments of querns were found in rooms VI.2 [1017], VII.6 [1018] and VII.2 [1033]. Fishbones were quite common in some of the floor layers and a

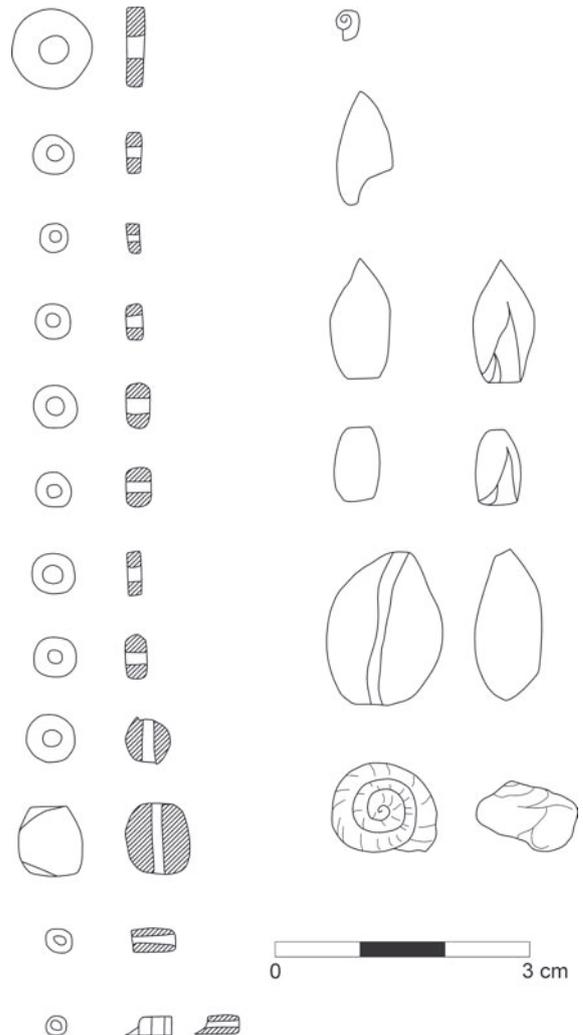


Fig. 78 Beads S1414, made of shells, faience and glass (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Ryś, Ł. Jarmużek).

range of small finds also testifies to the importance of fishing. Two corroded metal fishing hooks (Fig. 76) were found in room VI.4 [1030], along with a lead net sinker, apparently also linked to fishing (Fig. 77). This net weight was produced

¹¹⁶ On the development of this type of tools in dynastic Egypt, cf. TILLMANN 2007, 129–132; for a typology of New Kingdom sickle flints, cf. TILLMANN 2007, 70–73

apparently by casting in a snail shell. The natural casting mold was then broken, leaving a curved piece of lead ready to be fixed to a fishing net. A large set of beads (about 50 in number) was found in the same room (Fig. 78). The beads were of various materials (faience, glass) and shape (ring and globular beads). It is noteworthy that a set of small snail shells was found together with the beads; some but not all of these shells had threading holes. The owners of these items, who left them in room VI.4, appear to have angled (using fishing hooks), fished (using fishnets with lead net sinkers) and collected shells to be used for personal adornment among others.

The local residents' occupations included crafts, as indicated by a quartzite drill S1286 found on the floor of room V.1 [974]. The drill may have been used to produce stone vessels (Fig. 79).¹¹⁷

Coming from the same place was a small find of entirely different character, an earplug (Fig. 80) of a kind that became a fairly common form of personal adornment from the beginning of the New Kingdom.¹¹⁸ The Tell el-Retaba example is made of rather cheap material (limestone) and lacks any ornamentation.

4.4.3. Annexes to building [834/838]

In a later phase of its use, building [834/838] was furnished with some annexes added on the north (Fig. 73). The structure [793] was built quite carelessly with crooked walls ranging in thickness from 17 cm to 30 cm. At least two rooms could be identified in the preserved part of the building. Room 1 measured 2.2 m by 2.4 m. On the western side there was a manger (or stand for a manger?) made of mud bricks. The floor of the room was covered with two layers of dung [792, 786].¹¹⁹ The unit had obviously served as a stable for animals. Judging by the rather limited space, small animals, like sheep or goat, were kept inside. Room 2 was relatively bigger, 3.6 m by 2.4 m. Its southeastern corner was completely destroyed. The floor [787] was covered with a thin layer of ashes and charcoal. To the west of room 2 there was a contempo-

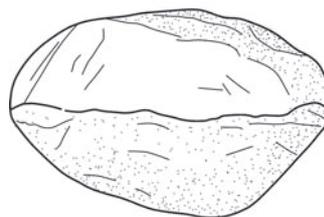
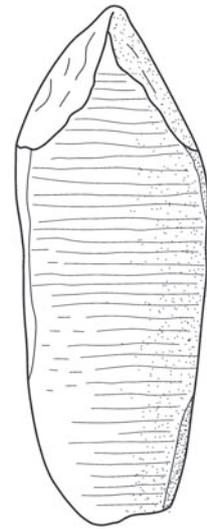
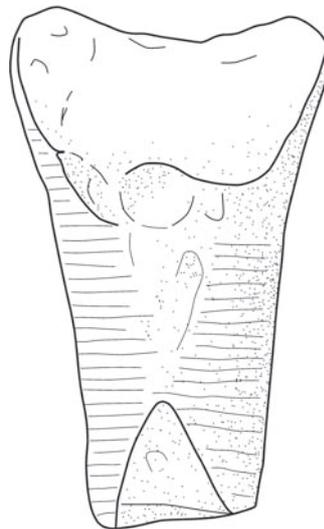
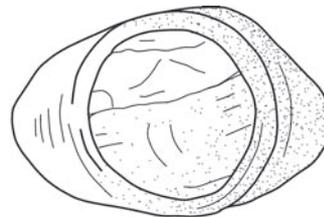


Fig. 79 Quartzite drill S1286 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Pawlikowska, Ł. Jarmużek).

¹¹⁷ A set of comparable quartzite drill heads is known from Amarna, for example, cf. SEYFRIED 2012, 362, Cat. no. 142.

¹¹⁸ FREED 1982, 231–233, nos 301–303.

¹¹⁹ Similar layers of whitish soil mixed with organic material were found in a large stable discovered in 2010, RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 129.

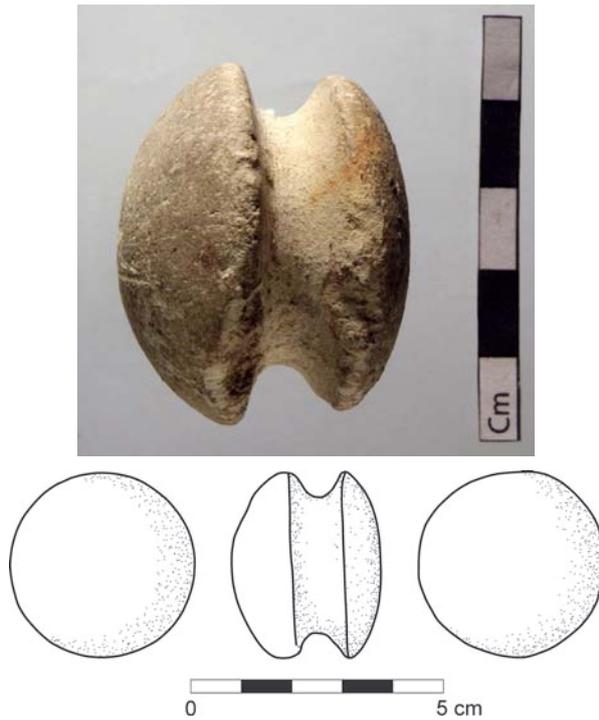


Fig. 80 Limestone earplug S1294 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Ryś, Ł. Jarmużek).

rary walking level [791] that was partly preserved. Its western part was largely disturbed by large cuts from superimposed layers, thus it cannot be ascertained whether it was the surface of an open court or the floor of another room, the walls of which have not been preserved. A storage pit [788] was discovered at the western edge of this “floor”. The pit contained 14 pots, most of them fully preserved (Fig. 81, 110–112).

Remains of two other structures were found to the east of the structure [793]. The original layout of structure [798], which was made up of thin walls, could not be determined. The silo [797] was also heavily damaged. The original internal diameter of the silo was about 1.2 m.

4.4.4. Refuse dump

North of building [834/838] and west of the above described annexes [793] and the storage pit [788], there was a depression, which was gradually filled with refuse, probably discarded from building [834/838] during a later usage phase. Large quanti-



Fig. 81 Cache with pottery vessels [788] (Photo S. Rzepka).

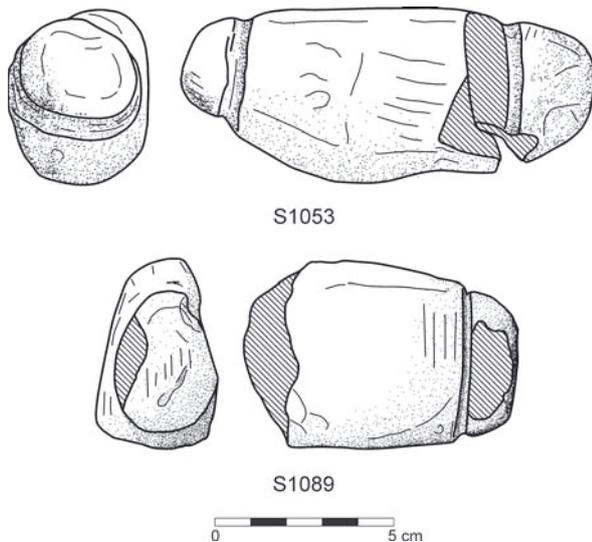


Fig. 82 Net weights S1053 and S1089 (Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).

ties of pottery and animal bones and a number of small finds were retrieved from the dump layers [814, 829].

Further confirmation of the importance of fishing as an occupation of the inhabitants of building [834/835] came with the discovery in the dump layer [829] of two limestone net-sinkers: S1053 and S1089 (Fig. 82). A bone spatula S1037 from layer [814] may also be connected with fishing: it may have served as a netter (Fig. 83),¹²⁰ although it just as well could have been a weaving knife, for example.¹²¹ Two loom-weights S1069 and S1070 from layer [829] can surely be linked to weaving (Fig. 84).

The dump layer [829] yielded also some objects that can be considered as indicative of personal piety. A pottery cobra figurine S1118 (Fig. 85), of rather crude quality, find parallels in objects known from a number of sites, e.g. Amarna, Memphis, Kom Firin.¹²² Another pottery figurine S1081 (Fig. 86), which seems to belong to the sphere of domestic cults, is quite schematic (only the upper part has been preserved), but it can be interpreted as a representation of a deity (Hathor?) with horns and a sun disc on its head.

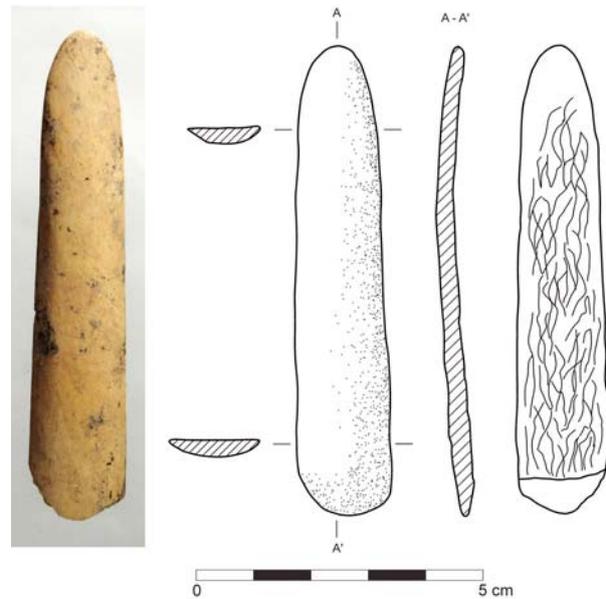


Fig. 83 Bone spatula S1037 (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing Ł. Jarmużek).

4.4.5. Function of building [834/838]

The domestic character of building [834/838] was suggested by the repertoire of small finds as well as the installations preserved in some of the rooms. There was a predominance of objects used in food production (sickle blade, fishing hooks, net weights) and food processing (querns, grinders, fireplaces, bins); also attested were the crafts of weaving, possibly stone vessel production (loom weights, weaving knife, drill). There are no indications that the building may have contained offices instead of flats (e.g. no seal impressions were found). There is no military equipment to speak of. The residents here appear to have been fairly low status (judging by flat size,¹²³ as well as by the scarcity of luxury goods among the small finds).

The well planned and highly regular building containing a series of small uniform flats is ample proof that the buildings were state-commissioned. Had they been private, the houses would have

¹²⁰ This interpretation was proposed by Petrie for similar objects found in Gurob, cf. PETRIE 1917, 53.

¹²¹ For a discussion of various interpretations of bone spatulae, see ARIEL *et al.* 1990, 127–134.

¹²² For a full list of sites and bibliographical references, see: SZPAKOWSKA 2003, 113–114. Several other examples of cobra figurines are known from Tell el-Retaba, all preserved fragmentarily. They were found in stratigraphic

units dated to the late New Kingdom (S1105, S1107, S1108 found in [783]) or the Third Intermediate Period (S1028 [767], S1113 [769]) or disturbed surface layers (S1029, S1039). An article on these figurines is being prepared by Sylwia Gromadzka.

¹²³ Applying Tietze's classification of Amarna houses, flats of 30m² should have belonged to the lower class. TIETZE 1985, 48–84.

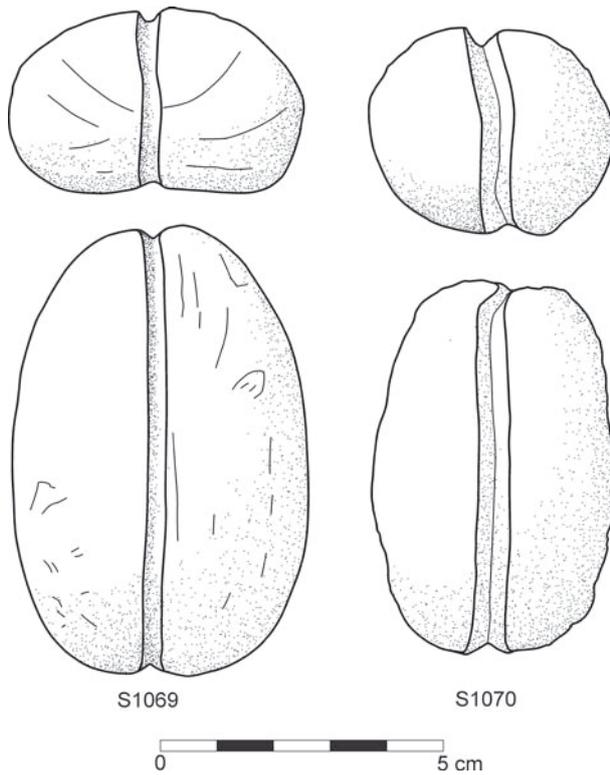


Fig. 84 Loom weights S1069 and S1070 from layer [829] (Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).

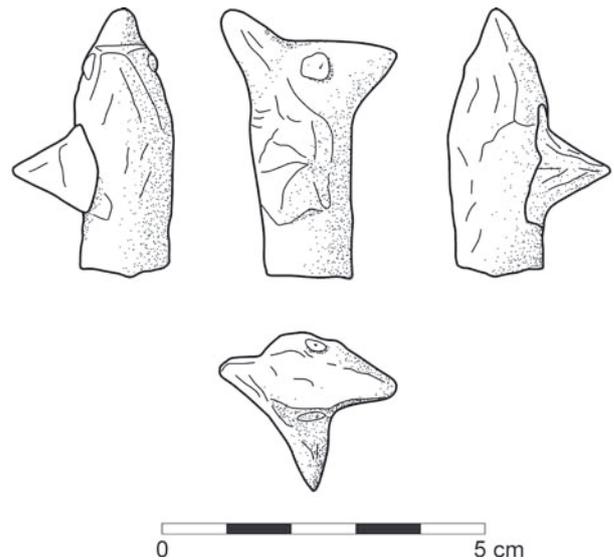


Fig. 86 Terracotta figure S1081 (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).

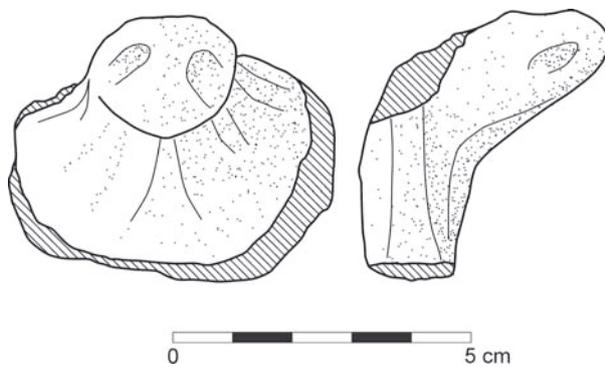


Fig. 85 Terracotta cobra figure S1118 (Photo S. Rzepka, Drawing S. Gromadzka, Ł. Jarmużek).

formed a group of separate, more or less irregularly spaced and surely much more differentiated buildings. Good parallels for this kind of architecture can be found in Amarna. The so-called Clerks' Houses¹²⁴ and Workmen's Village¹²⁵ show

¹²⁴ PENDLEBURY 1951, 122–130, pl. XX.

¹²⁵ PEET and WOOLLEY 1923, 51–91, pl. XVI; cf. also SPENCE 2012, 74–76.

similarities with building [834/838], comprising long, rectangular blocks of small, regularly planned flats. But there are also differences. Considered as single units/flats, the ones from building [834/838] seem to be similar to the typical tripartite Amarna house. In size and plan these units resemble a house of Tietze's type 1c, i.e., small house with central hall surrounded on three sides by subsidiary rooms.¹²⁶ A closer look at unit VII (the best preserved in the part of building [834/838] that has been excavated to date) shows that this similarity is only superficial. Room VII.5, which in a typical Amarna house would have been the main hall focusing family and social life, here took on the function of a magazine, almost completely filled with three silos. It is difficult to be sure owing to the state of preservation of the other units whether unit VII was an exception or whether it represented a regular scheme followed in the whole building. Thus the question whether the "Amarna house model" was also applied in building [834/838] remains open.¹²⁷

Some phenomena known from Amarna can be observed in Tell el-Retaba. The state-built Clerks' Houses were later modified, transformed and adapted by their inhabitants.¹²⁸ As shown above, also in Tell el-Retaba the well planned, regular state-commissioned building [834/838] was significantly altered at a later stage, probably to better accommodate the private needs of its inhabitants. It was also augmented by some poorly constructed, apparently privately-commissioned additions [793, 797, 798] satisfying the personal needs of the residents.

5. Third Intermediate Period

5.1. Settlement (area 9)

(ŁJ, SRz)

A section of the Third Intermediate Period settlement was uncovered in the northern part of area 9 (Figs. 48, 87). Five occupation phases were recognized; they are numbered 2–6 according to a still preliminary phasing system applied to this part of the site. Pottery from these phases has been placed in the Third Intermediate Period, but a more precise absolute date is not possible as yet.

5.1.1. Phase 6

One of the earliest Third Intermediate Period structures is building [1082], which has not been fully excavated. Some of its walls served as a base for later construction (see below, Phase 5). The average width of the walls was about 70 cm; they were made of sandy mud bricks, each brick being about 40×18×10 cm in size. The spatial layout of the building changed over time. It comprised two rooms initially, room 1 measuring approximately 3×3 m. These two rooms were merged into one in the next phase, when the center wall between them was covered by a thick ash-rich layer [1029], which probably served as a walking level. At least one post replaced the center wall in order to support the roof. A posthole [1048] was found in the middle of the unearthened part of the room. About one meter to the west a fireplace [1044] was noticed. A silo [1049] to the west and a kiln [1094] to the north of building [1082] may have originated from the same period as the building.

Structure [771] was found about 4 m to the south of building [1082]. The layout and orientation of this building were similar to the above-described one, although the state of preservation in this case was rather poor. The southwestern part of the building was completely destroyed by *sebbakhin* pits. The building, square in shape, measured 4×4 m, and comprised one room only (its surface was 3.1×3.1 m). The walls were preserved to a height of 45 cm, the thickness being about 40 cm. The bonding pattern was hardly traceable. In all the noted instances a stretcher bond was used. Bricks were of regular size, about 37×20×12 cm. The entrance, 70 cm wide, was situated in the southern part of the east wall. Floor [784] was placed 32 cm above the level of the foundation. In later phases, the building was abandoned and the ruins were used as a dumping place. The room was filled with large quantities of pottery sherds and bones [769].

A fragment of wall [790] found just to the south of building [771] probably originated from the same period.

¹²⁶ TIETZE 1985, 60–66; TIETZE 2012, 66, Fig. 9.3.

¹²⁷ A recent short overview of the discussion on typicality (or atypicality) of Amarna houses can be found in: SPENCE 2010, 293.

¹²⁸ SPENCE 2012, 75.



Fig. 87 Third Intermediate Period settlement plan (Drawing Ł. Jarmużek).

5.1.2. Phase 5

Building [991] (Figs. 87–88) was built on the ruins of building [1082] (see above). Some walls of the older structure were used for raising the new one. The south wall of building [991] abutted the south wall of the older building. Building [991] was about 9 m long and 5.4 m wide. Wall thickness was about 70 cm, the bonding pattern was quite regular, consisting of courses of headers and stretchers. The building comprised two rooms. The main entrance, 80 cm wide, was placed in the east wall of room 1. A door pivot stone was found in place next to the doorway (Fig. 89). The room was almost square; it measured 4×3.75 m. There was a fireplace [1077] and a posthole [1053] in the middle of the room. Room 2 measured 4×2.75 m. A doorway between the two rooms was 55 cm wide;

the door opened into room 2 (the door pivot is preserved) (Fig. 90). On the face of the north wall a fragment of the mud plaster coat has been preserved. Many small artifacts were found on the floor [1023]. Meriting note is a set of five ovoid loom-weights (Fig. 91) made of limestone. A groove was incised around the circumference of every weight in order to fix the yarn in place. Similar objects have been found before in Tell el-Retaba, but so far it was not completely clear whether they represented loom- or net-weights.¹²⁹ A spindle whorl S1404 found in the same layer (Fig. 92) strongly suggest that textile production was taking place in room 2 and that the weights had been used for weaving. Other crafts apparently took place in the same room: three small quartzite querns S1406, S1407 (Fig. 93), S1408 and two grinders S1405, S1410 were found on the floor lev-

¹²⁹ JARMUŹEK 2010.

el [1023]. One theory is that they may have been used for pulverizing pigments (however, no traces of pigments were observed on any of them). Also, a complete bronze ring S1415 and a fragment of a faience ring S1413 were found on the floor of room 2.

On the east side of building [991] there was an open space where a round kiln [1065] was found. It was preserved to a height of 20 cm. The kiln had thin walls made of fired clay, about 4 cm thick; its diameter was 1 m. It was filled with a layer of ashes and charcoal [1064].



Fig. 88 House [991], looking east (Photo L. Gidzińska).



Fig. 89 Doorway from room 1 to room 3 in the house [991/1083] (Photo L. Gidzińska).



Fig. 90 Doorway from room 2 to room 1 in the house [991] (Photo L. Gidzińska).

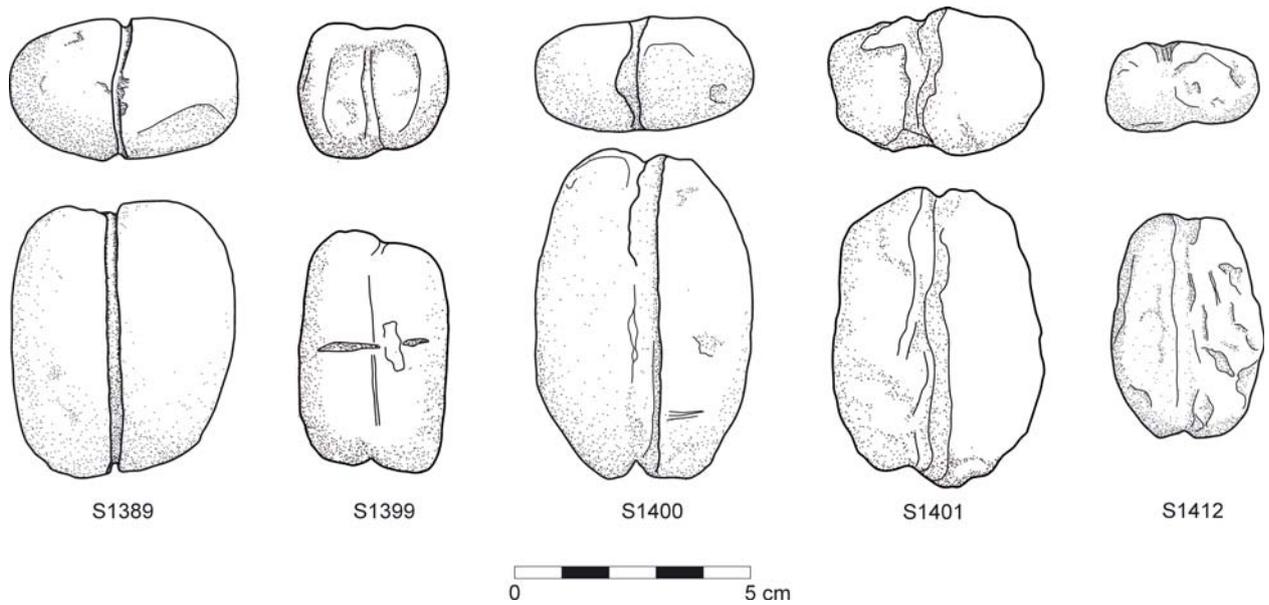


Fig. 91 Set of five loom weights from room 2 in the house [991] (Drawing A. Pawlikowska, Ł. Jarmużek).

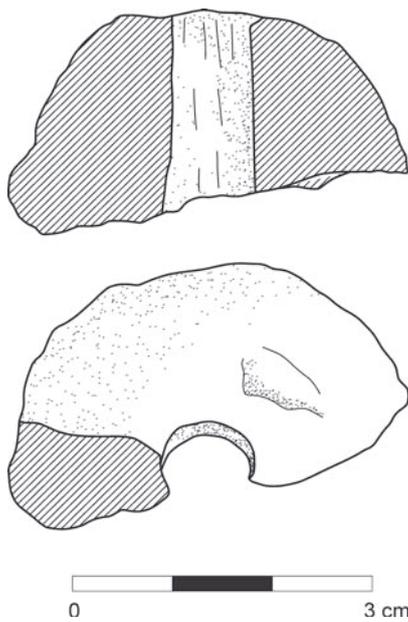


Fig. 92 Spindle whorl S1404 (Drawing A. Pawlikowska, Ł. Jarmużek).

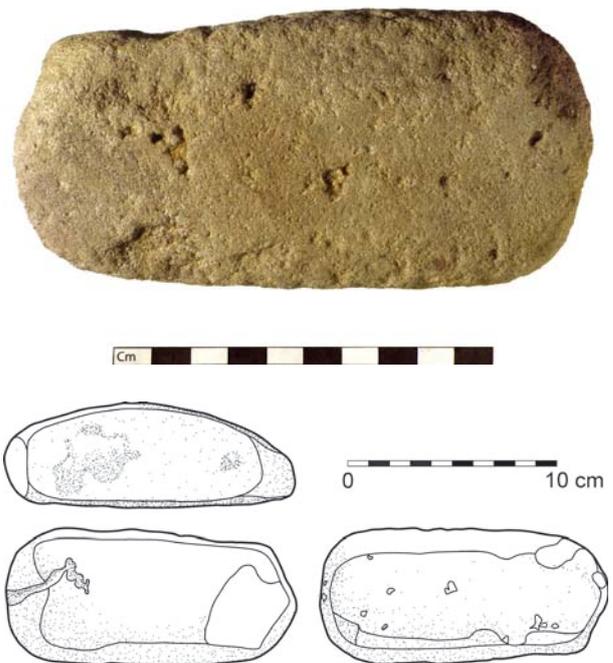


Fig. 93 Small quartzite quern S1407 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing A. Poniewierska, Ł. Jarmużek).

5.1.3. Phase 4

During the second phase of use, building [991] changed shape considerably. The doorway between the two rooms was blocked, so there was no access to room 2. Some of its walls had probably collapsed and it was used as a dump [992] for rubbish, which included a large amount of animal bones (Fig. 94). Donkey and cattle legs in articulated position indicate that entire limbs of large

animals were discarded. Why, is a puzzling question to say the least. Donkey jaws were also found, as well as bones of catfish and of other mammals and birds. Material finds included an abundance of well preserved and fragmented pottery vessels, as well as pieces of stone vessels.

A new room was constructed, room 3 [1083] (cf. Figs. 87–88), to replace room 2 which was no

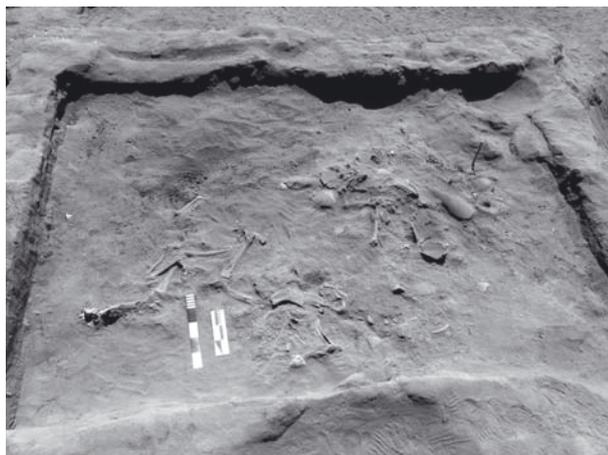


Fig. 94 Accumulation of animal bones in a dump layer [992] (Photo L. Gidzińska).

longer suitable for dwelling. It was added to the eastern wall of room 1. Room 3 measured 3.7×3.9 m and was built in the same fashion as other rooms. On the inside the walls were plastered with mud, remains of which were preserved on the eastern and northern walls. The new, main entrance to the building was set in the eastern wall of the room; it was about 50 cm wide. In the doorway there was a limestone block, which served as a threshold. A stone found in place on the inner side of the doorway acted as a door pivot. In the northeastern corner of the room there was a mud-brick bench [1051]. Beside it a rectangular fireplace was constructed of mud bricks; it was found full of ashes [1010]. A few grinders and fragments of stone vessels were found on the floor [1052]. A small, rounded depression (33 cm in diameter) in the floor in the southwestern part of the room could have been used to hold vessels.

In this phase some changes took place also in room 1. Over time the level of the previous floor [1085] was raised. A new door pivot was placed on a higher level, above the threshold of the doorway between rooms 1 and 3 (cf. Fig. 89). It is noteworthy that the inhabitants did not use the old stone; it was covered by the new floor [1020]. Two features, a bin and a fireplace, were found on this floor. The partly preserved, rounded bin was situated in the northeastern corner of the room [1055, fill 1054]. Its wall, 4 cm thick, was made of mud. The original diameter was probably around 95 cm. The fireplace [1022, ashes 1021] stood by the west wall. It was lined with mud bricks. Small finds abounded in the floor layers, including fragments of limestone vessels, a quartzite quern, a grinder, a limestone mortar and an iron knife.

Room 1 clearly served as a kitchen with food processing activities being indicated by the fireplace and the furnishings in the form of the quern, grinder and mortar. But the most characteristic set of objects was constituted by the limestone bowls of various sizes (Fig. 95). The bowls were quite crude with chisel marks frequently apparent on the unsmoothed outer surface. The usually smoother inner surface can be attributed to prolonged usage. The clustering of these limestone bowls in this location is striking: no vessels of the kind were found in the floor layer [1023] of room 2 (this is the floor belonging to phase 5, when room 2 was still used for dwelling purposes and not as a dump) and only single fragments were recorded from the floor of room 3 [1052].

Another building [765] was partly cleared southeast of the house [991/1082]. The two structures have the same orientation. The space between them has not been fully excavated, but it seems that this could be a street, about 2 m wide. Building [765] probably consisted of one room only. It was built on the plan of square, 4×4 m. The walls were about 43 cm thick. The construction technique was quite irregular, mud bricks being of diverse size. Inside the building there were two occupation levels. The lower one [768] contained a great deal of ashes mixed with fishbones and burnt shells. Pottery sherds were scarce. The next level [770] yielded abundant pottery sherds interspersed with thin layers of ashes containing fishbones.

A small annex [837] was added slightly later on the southern side of the house [765]. The three preserved walls encompassed a space 1.1×1.1 m. Only one course of bricks was preserved. The thickness of walls was about 15 cm.

5.1.4. Phase 3

In the next phase, building [991/1083] was enlarged. Room 4 was added to the south of room 3 and to the east of room 2. The walls [1036] of the room were built directly on top of the ruins of building [1082]. The room measured 4.30×2.4 m. The entrance was placed probably in the south wall of room 3. The doorway has not been preserved, but its location is marked by a threshold stone. Floor [1037] contained ashes and fragments of bones.

Two structures to the east of building [991] probably originated from the same period. Wall [999] was found at the edge of the excavation trench. It was probably the corner of a building.

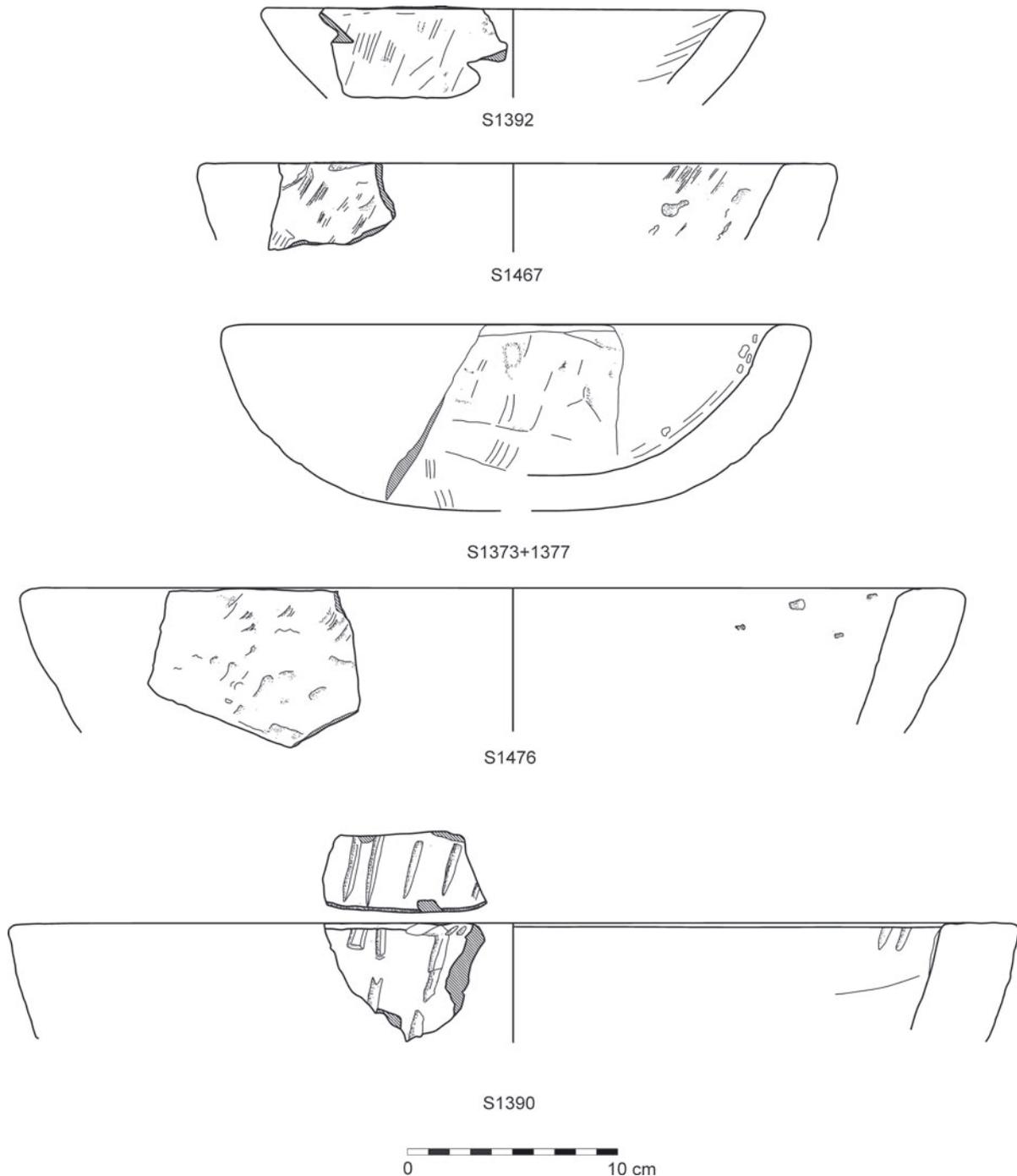


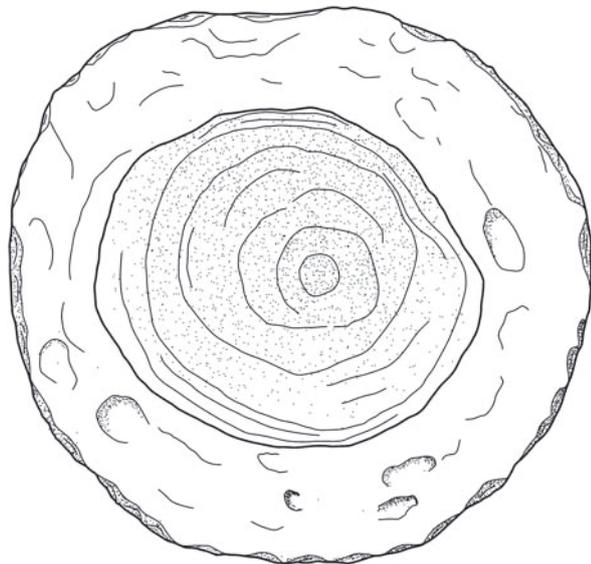
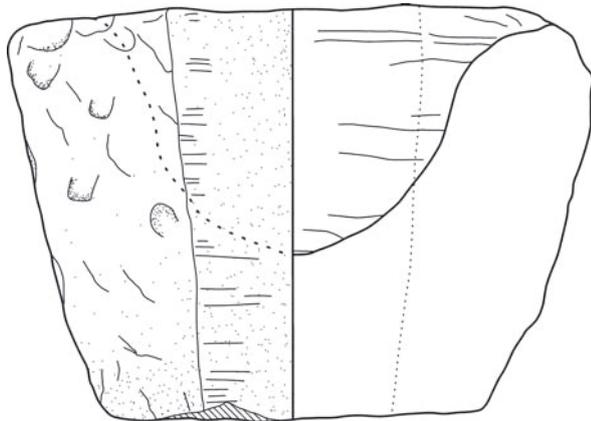
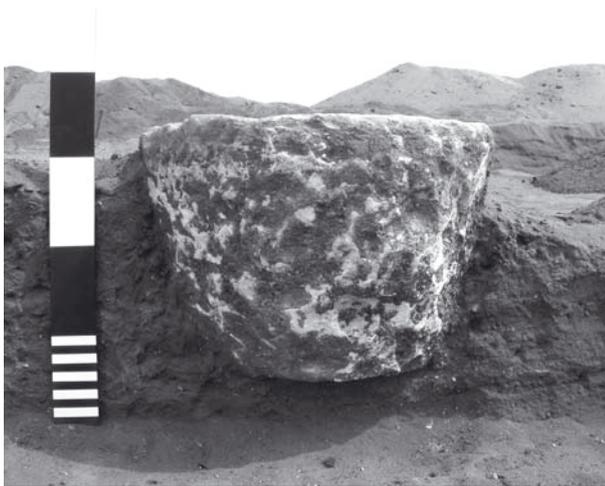
Fig. 95 Limestone bowls of different sizes from room 1 in the house [991] (Drawing B. Jakubowska, A. Pawlikowska, P. Sójka, Ł. Jarmużek).

The wall was about 40 cm thick. An ash-rich layer [1003] had accumulated on the inside of this wall. The other structure was a very poorly preserved fragment of wall [1002]. A thick and extensive ash-rich layer [993] was found on the western side of this feature. A limestone mortar was found in the middle of the layer, preserved completely and in its original location (Fig. 96). It was produced from a reused limestone block with a fragment of

the smoothed surface of the original block still visible on one side. The block probably originated from a Ramesside building, maybe the Atum temple built by Ramesses II (cf. above, chapter 3.1).

5.1.5. Phase 2

Building [991/1083/1036] stopped being used in this phase. Broken brick rubble [997, 1000, 1001]



0 20 cm

Fig. 96 Limestone mortar S1278, found in place
(Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing B. Adamski, Ł. Jarmużek).

covered the floors in all of the rooms, initiating prolonged use of the area as a rubbish dump. Several ash-rich layers [976, 1006, 1009] were observed, each one containing large quantities of bones, pottery sherds and small finds. One should mention a limestone kohl vessel S1275 (Fig. 97) with parallels for the shape and the engraved floral decoration in 18th Dynasty material.¹³⁰ It is either an object of 18th dynasty date that was in use for several centuries or a late imitation of an early New Kingdom model.

5.1.6. Conclusions

Although the explored area is quite small, there is evidence of significant changes of the settlement pattern and spatial organization between late Ramesside times and the Third Intermediate Period. Inhabitants of the fortified town of Ramesses III lived in a large state-built house [834/838], which was divided into small flats. The settlement of the Third Intermediate Period consisted of small, one to three room houses, planned and executed with less care. There is also an observable change in building orientation. The structure [834/838] was oriented E-W, following the orientation of the southern defense wall ("wall 3"). Buildings of the Third Intermediate Period had a different orientation; by that time, the late Ramesside defense walls were no longer apparently the main factor organizing space in the settlement.

5.2. *Third Intermediate Period remains on top of the northern tower of the migdol (area 4)* (JH)

Cleaning the surface of the northern tower in squares Y75-85/X195 disclosed several refuse pits alongside the northern edge of the structure, as well as a construction in the northeastern corner of the tower (square Y85/X200). A N-S wall stood on a thick ashy layer. A piece of textile was among the finds from the layer. A Third Intermediate Period drinking bowl was found between wall [661] and the Ramesside tower masonry [687]. Due to time constraints the excavation could not be completed. It can be concluded, however, that the height of the northern tower in the Third Intermediate Period was roughly similar to the present one.

¹³⁰ ASTON 1994, fig. 166. All the parallels listed by Aston date to the 18th dynasty. For these references I would like to thank Aleksandra Pawlikowska.

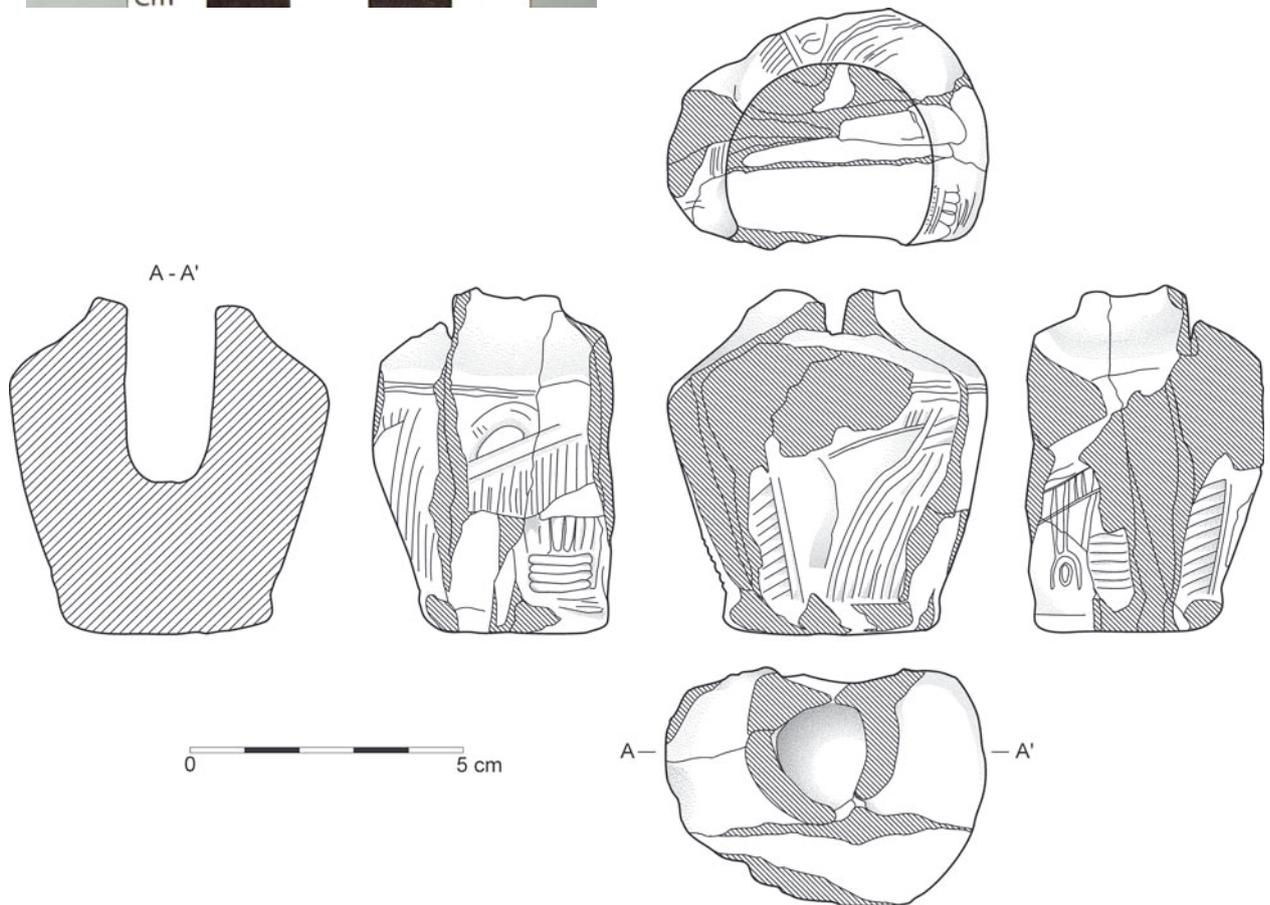


Fig. 97 Limestone kohl vessel S1275 (Photo L. Gidzińska, Drawing B. Adamski, A. Pawlikowska).

PART II. THE POTTERY

Anna Wodzińska

Introduction

The Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission working at Tell el-Retaba during the 2011 and 2012 seasons discovered the earliest occupation levels, located in area 7, dated to the beginning of the Hyksos Period. It has thus been confirmed that the site was one of many Hyksos settlements in Wadi Tumilat. The archaeological material has also shown that Tell el-Retaba was resettled during the early 18th dynasty, probably during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. A fragment of the settlement from this period was located near layers of Hyksos date.

Previously unknown structures from the 20th dynasty, associated with Petrie's walls "2" and "3", were discovered in area 9. A house from the Third Intermediate Period was found in the close vicinity. Loose ceramic material belonging to the Late Period was collected from surface layers in

areas 7 and 9. The assemblage contained Egyptian pottery, but also a few fragments of imported vessels, especially Greek transport amphorae.

In total, 6584 diagnostic pottery sherds were processed during the 2011 and 2012 seasons. The diagram in Fig. 98 shows the relative quantities of vessels from the two seasons, divided by chronological periods.

Late 13th–early 15th dynasty tombs, area 7

Three tombs from the Hyksos Period were excavated in area 7. All of them contained pottery. Tomb [922] contained a child skeleton accompanied by only one pot – a beaker made of Nile B2 fabric with red slipped both surfaces (Fig. 99.1).¹³¹ Its base was cut off from a potter's wheel with a string. The pot, "Modelvase" according to Bietak, is well known in the Hyksos material¹³² and can be dated to the 15th dynasty in general.¹³³ The shape of the vessel, especially the narrow base and wide rim unfortunately have no direct parallels.

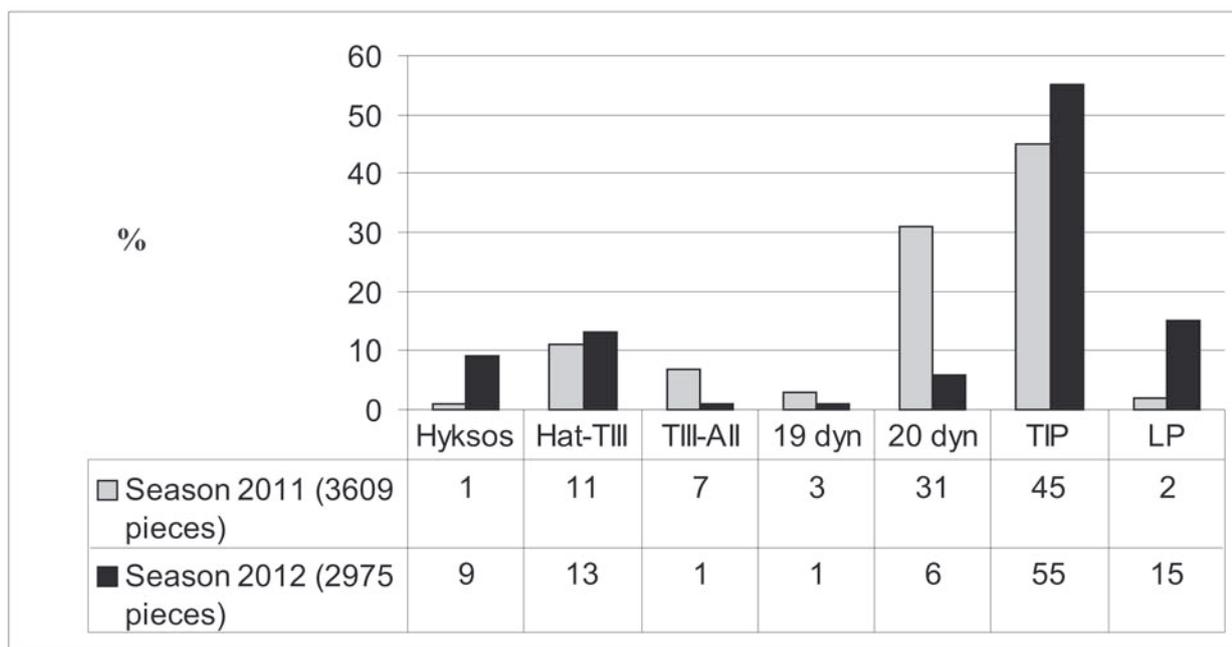


Fig. 98 Diagram showing relative occurrence of vessels by dating (Hyksos – domestic and funerary; Hat-TIII – Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III; TIII-AII – Thutmosis III–Amenophis II; 19 dyn – probably the reign of Ramesses III; 20 dyn; TIP – Third Intermediate Period; and LP – Late Period) and season (Processing A. Wodzińska).

¹³¹ Each pot number consists of two parts: number of the stratigraphic unit and an individual consecutive number given to each diagnostic ceramic sherd; e.g., 922–10423 where 922 is the unit (Hyksos tomb [922]) and 10423 the number of the vessel. All pottery drawings in the field by Sylwia Gromadzka, Barbara Jakubowska, Aleksandra

Pawlikowska, Malwina Piorun, Agnieszka Poniewierska, Agnieszka Ryś, and Anna Wodzińska; digitalization Anna Wodzińska.

¹³² BIETAK 1991a, 42 Fig. 10, votive pottery no. 5.

¹³³ KOPETZKY 2010, 111–112.

The second burial [947] contained four vessels made of Nile fabric B2 (Fig. 99.2–5): a round base of a small jar red-slipped on the outside (Fig. 99.2); two low pot stands also red-slipped outside (Fig. 99.3–4); and a red-slipped shallow plate with incurved rim (Fig. 99.5). The plate can be dated to the very beginning of the 15th dynasty¹³⁴ and it

seems that the tomb was constructed in that period.

The third grave [927] contained possibly ten vessels, some much eroded (Fig. 99.6–15). The grave had been robbed already in antiquity, but the pots were left behind. The assemblage included possibly five small juglets with a characteristic

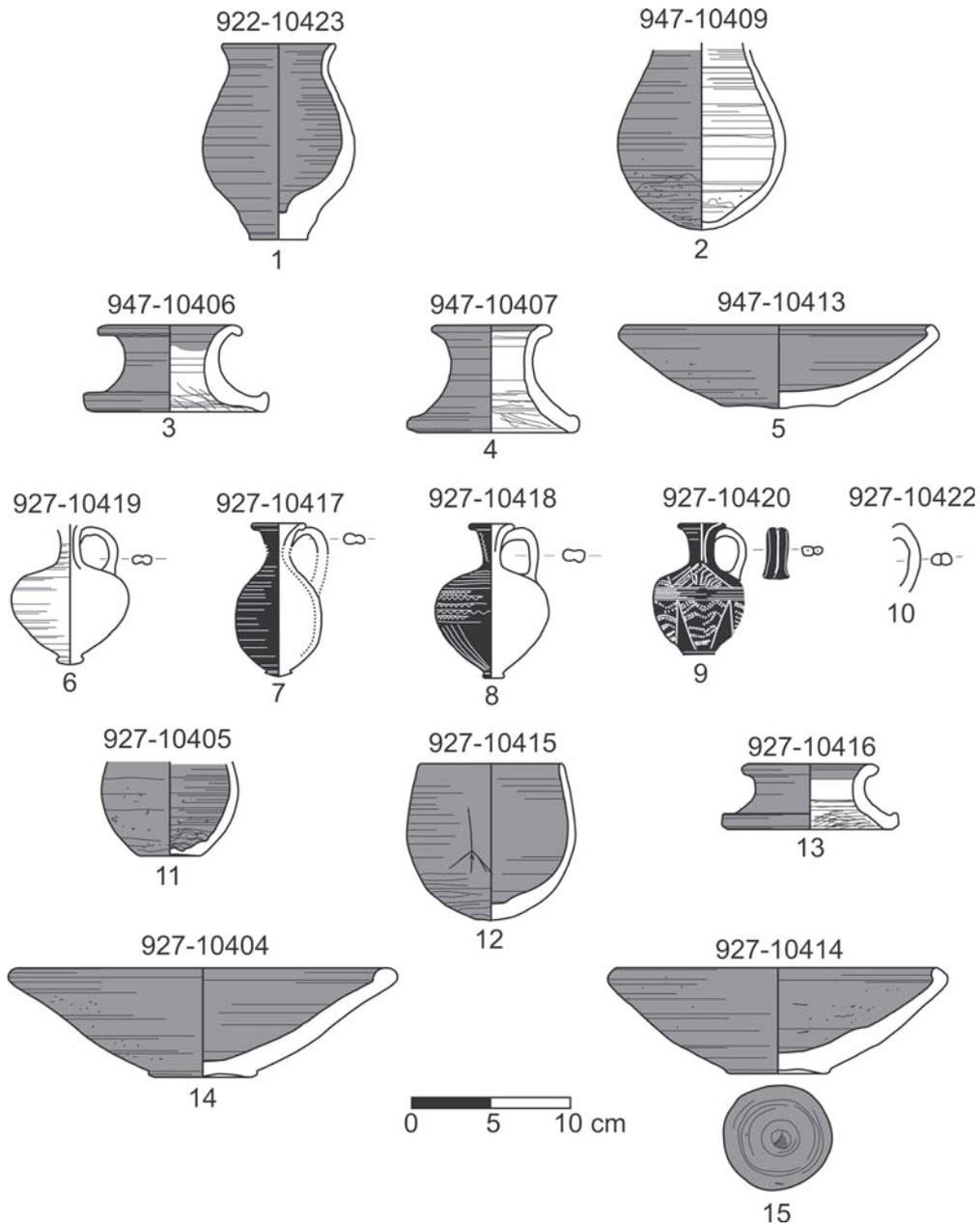


Fig. 99 Pots from Hyksos tombs found in area 7.*

* All pottery drawings in the field by Sylwia Gromadzka, Barbara Jakubowska, Aleksandra Pawlikowska, Malwina Piorun, Agnieszka Poniewierska, Agnieszka Ryś, and Anna Wodzińska; digitalization Anna Wodzińska.

¹³⁴ ASTON 2004b, 105, pl. 82, no. 245 – stratum F–E/3.

handle made of two coils of clay: piriform juglet with knob base and smoothed surface (Fig. 99.6);¹³⁵ two piriform juglets with black-slipped and burnished external surface, one with knob (Fig. 99.7),¹³⁶ the other with a flat button base (Fig. 99.8);¹³⁷ a Yahudiya ware juglet (Fig. 99.9)¹³⁸ and a double-coiled handle of a juglet (Fig. 99.10). In the Aston and Bietak typology, the Tell el-Yahudiya juglet is type I.3.2c and can be placed among pots from the late 13th dynasty.¹³⁹

Handles made of two coils of clays appear in Tel el-Dab^a only in three strata: F, E/3 and E/2 corresponding to the mid, late 13th and beginning of the 15th dynasty respectively.¹⁴⁰

Two cups made of Nile B1 fabric were also found inside the tomb. Both of them were red slipped and well smoothed. A flat base remained of the first cup (Fig. 99.11), but the other one is complete (Fig. 99.12). It has an incurved simple rim and round base. A potmark was lightly scratched after firing on its external surface. Such cups were standard grave goods of the late 13th–beginning of the 15th dynasty in Tell el-Dab^a.¹⁴¹

A complete low pot stand made of Nile B2 was also located in the tomb (Fig. 99.13).¹⁴² It was wheel-made, but its lower part was trimmed with a hard tool. Its external surface was red slipped and well smoothed.

The assemblage also comprised two complete shallow plates with incurved rims and ring bases (Fig. 99.14–15). Both of them were made of the same fabric, Nile B2, equally covered with red slip and well smoothed. The type is well known from Tell el-Dab^a, from both funerary and domestic contexts.¹⁴³

Overall, the pottery from tomb [927] well fits the period of a very late 13th through early 15th dynasty.

Late 15th dynasty tomb, area 9

A Hyksos grave found in 2011 in area 9¹⁴⁴ belonged to the same cemetery as tombs [922],



Fig. 100 Small cup found above a Hyksos tomb [810] in area 9 (Photo Ł. Kumkowski).

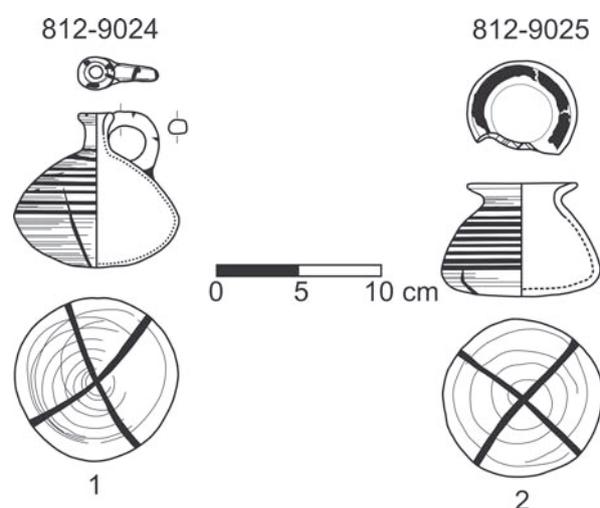


Fig. 101 Hyksos-period vessels from a tomb found in area 9.

[927], [947] and a number of tombs discovered by an Egyptian mission.¹⁴⁵

A small cup lay directly above the tomb (Fig. 100). It was thin walled and covered with red slip in a manner typical of Hyksos-period ceramics, but a more precise dating is impossible owing to theft of the object directly after its discovery.

Inside the tomb there were, apart from other objects (see above), two closed vessels, that is, a

¹³⁵ Shape like in ASTON 2004b, 141, pl. 132, no. 476, black slipped – stratum F–E/3.

¹³⁶ BIETAK 1991b, for instance 86–87, 124–125, 150, Abb. 46 – no. 1883, Abb. 80 – no. 1639, see also Abb. 112 – no. 2070; FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 76.

¹³⁷ ASTON 2004b, 141, pl. 131, no. 482 – stratum E/3–2.

¹³⁸ Bietak 1991b, 91, Abb. 48, no. 2, stratum E/3; see also Aston 2004b, 139, pl. 130, no. 466, red slipped – stratum F–E/3.

¹³⁹ ASTON AND BIETAK 2012, 169, 555.

¹⁴⁰ BIETAK 1991b, for instance 68, 103, 124, Abb. 35 – stratum F, Abb. 60 – stratum E/3, Abb. 80 – stratum E/3.

¹⁴¹ BIETAK 1991b, 83, 99, Abb. 44, no. 16 and Abb. 56, nrs 14–15, stratum E/3; 144, Abb. 103, stratum E/2.

¹⁴² See KOPETZKY 2010, 155, stratum E3.

¹⁴³ See BIETAK 1991b, 85, 87, Abb. 46, no. 1878; ASTON 2004b, pls. 81–82, Groups 73A–C; FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2009, 209–210, no. 8844B.

¹⁴⁴ See RZEPKA above.

¹⁴⁵ See Hudec above.

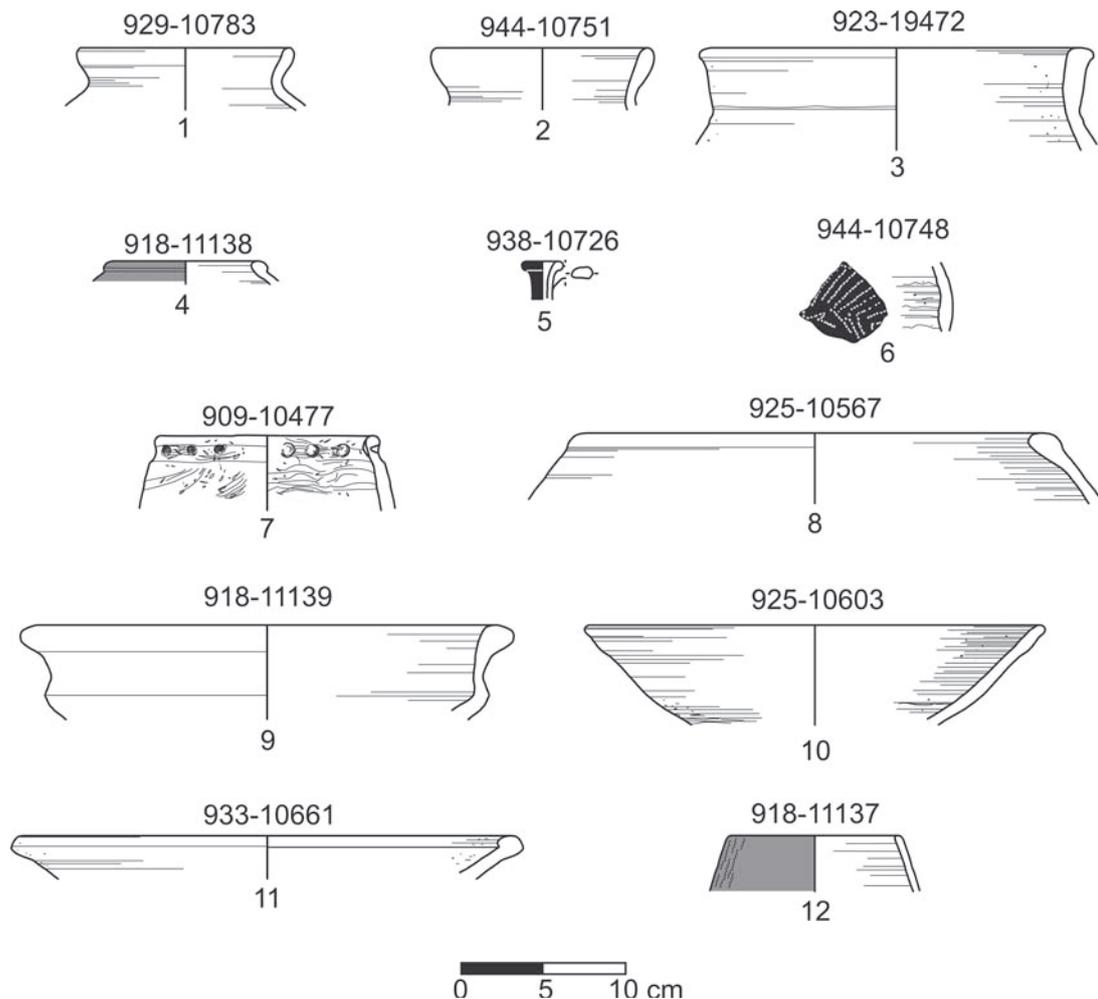


Fig. 102 Hyksos domestic vessels from area 7.

juglet with one handle and a vase with wide recurved rim (Fig. 101). The vessels were made of the same fabric, Nile B1, covered with orange slip and black painted. The juglet (Fig. 101.1) was painted spirally on the upper part of its body. There was a black cross on its base and short strokes on the rim and handle. The vase (Fig. 101.2) also had black-painted spiral lines on its body and a large cross on its base. The rim had a wide band painted on the inside. Comparative material was found only for the juglet in the form of a number of similar vessels discovered by Egyptian teams working in Kom el-Koa and Tell Om-Bordi,¹⁴⁶ sites located in Wadi Tumilat, near Tell el-Retaba. The pots are not known from Tell el-Dab^a, but it seems that they can be dated to the end of the Fifteenth Dynasty.¹⁴⁷ The similarity of

manufacturing technique indicates that the vessels may have been manufactured in the same workshop, perhaps even by the same potter.

Mid-late 15th dynasty settlement, areas 4 and 7

A settlement dated to the Hyksos Period was first excavated in the 2012 season. A general date to the mid-late 15th dynasty based on the pottery is secure despite the limited area that was uncovered. Only 228 diagnostic ceramic fragments in nine stratigraphic units were found and the material was very fragmentary, but certain characteristic forms were recognized without difficulty.

Two vessels represented jars with short recurved rim (Fig. 102.1–2). Both of them were made of marl C fabric.¹⁴⁸ Five fragments of large

¹⁴⁶ EL-HANGOURY 2003.

¹⁴⁷ Karin Kopetzky, personal communication, October 2011.

¹⁴⁸ BADER 2009, maybe 484–485, Abb. 270, type 181a, made of marl F.

storage jars, found in the settlement context, were made of marl C fabric.¹⁴⁹ The best preserved example is presented in Fig. 102.3.

A small jar with triangular incurved rim was made of Nile B2 fabric (Fig. 102.4). Its external surface was covered with red slip.¹⁵⁰

A few fragments of Tell el-Yahudiya ware were also recovered. A rim fragment with traces of a band handle (Fig. 102.5) could be dated to the mid and late phase of the 15th dynasty.¹⁵¹ A body sherd of another juglet (Fig. 102.6) with impressed decoration could also be dated to the same period based on Bietak's and Aston's study.¹⁵²

Two types of cooking pots were recognized. The first type is a handmade Nile C vessel with impressed decoration placed below the rim (Fig. 102.7). Such vessels were common in Tell el-Maskhuta and according to Carol Redmount they seem to be more characteristic of the early stages of the Hyksos occupation.¹⁵³ The second is a Nile E pot made on the wheel with round incurved rim (Fig. 102.8). This type is well known in Tell el-Dab^a¹⁵⁴ and according to Redmount it can be associated with the later 15th dynasty, at least in Tell el-Maskhuta.¹⁵⁵ In total, fourteen fragments of handmade and eleven wheel-made cooking vessels were collected from the Hyksos settlement in Tell el-Retaba. The diagram in Fig. 103 shows their occurrence within excavated units presented in stratigraphic order, from unit [1] which represents the top surface layer to unit [944] which stands for the deepest excavated context in the Hyksos settlement. Chronologically later units marked in orange and yellow contained five fragments of handmade and nine of wheel-made vessels. Units marked in blue, early in the stratigraphy, included nine pieces of handmade and only two fragments of wheel-made vessels. It follows from this diagram that handmade cooking pots were evidently more numerous in earlier units and this would coincide with Redmount's suggestions. More conclusive observations will be possible after more

Unit	Pottery type	Sum
1	RNCJ-100	2
910	RNCJ-100	2
910	RNEJ-100	1
917	RNEJ-100	2
923	RNCJ-100	1
925	RNEJ-100	6
929	RNCJ-100	1
933	RNEJ-100	1
938	RNCJ-100	4
940	RNCJ-100	2
940	RNEJ-100	1
944	RNCJ-100	1

Fig. 103 Occurrence of Hyksos cooking pots (RNCJ-100 – handmade vessel, RNEJ-100 – wheel-made vessel with incurved rim) in the Hyksos settlement (Processing A. Wodzińska).

evidence will have appeared from further excavations in the settlement.

Carinated bowls with triangular thickened rim, made of marl F fabric (Fig. 102.9), are very characteristic of the Hyksos Period and are well known from Tell el-Dab^a.¹⁵⁶ There were also bowls with flaring walls and slight carination (Fig. 102.10), made of marl C fabric.

The domestic material also included shallow bowls with ledge rim made of Nile B2 (Fig. 102.11), similar to the grave ceramics. These occurred in phases F–E/1 at Tell el-Dab^a, becoming more common over time.¹⁵⁷

Cups with simple incurved rims covered with red slip (Fig. 102.12) were common in funerary (see above) as well as domestic contexts.¹⁵⁸

Early 18th dynasty, areas 4 and 7

An early 18th dynasty settlement was discovered near the Hyksos domestic remains. Based on the pottery, the so-called “Black Houses 1–3” can be dated to the Hatshepsut/Thutmose III horizon

¹⁴⁹ BADER 2009, 239, Abb. 156, especially type 10 made of marl D fabric, which occurred in Tell el-Dab^a in strata E/1 and D/2.

¹⁵⁰ Similar pots are known from Tell el-Dab^a from earlier phases G/3–1 (BADER 2009, 302–303, Abb. 183, type 35c), but it is not clear, if these can be associated with the vessel from Tell el-Retaba.

¹⁵¹ FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2009, 391, Abb. 318; ASTON 2008, 189, Fig. 8; ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 206–295, branch L – late Egyptian.

¹⁵² ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 231–239, probably part of Late Egyptian juglets L5.1–2 or L5.3a.

¹⁵³ REDMOUNT 1989, 825–827, fig. 137; 1995: 186.

¹⁵⁴ BADER 2009, 403–409, Abb. 232–233.

¹⁵⁵ REDMOUNT 1989, 828, 830, fig. 138.

¹⁵⁶ BADER 2009, 482–483, Abb. 269, type 178b, see especially pot D1033 from strata D/2 and D/3.

¹⁵⁷ BADER 2009, 273, 275–276, type 26g, especially pot in Abb. 171 (D199).

¹⁵⁸ REDMOUNT 1989, 816, 818–820, fig. 135.

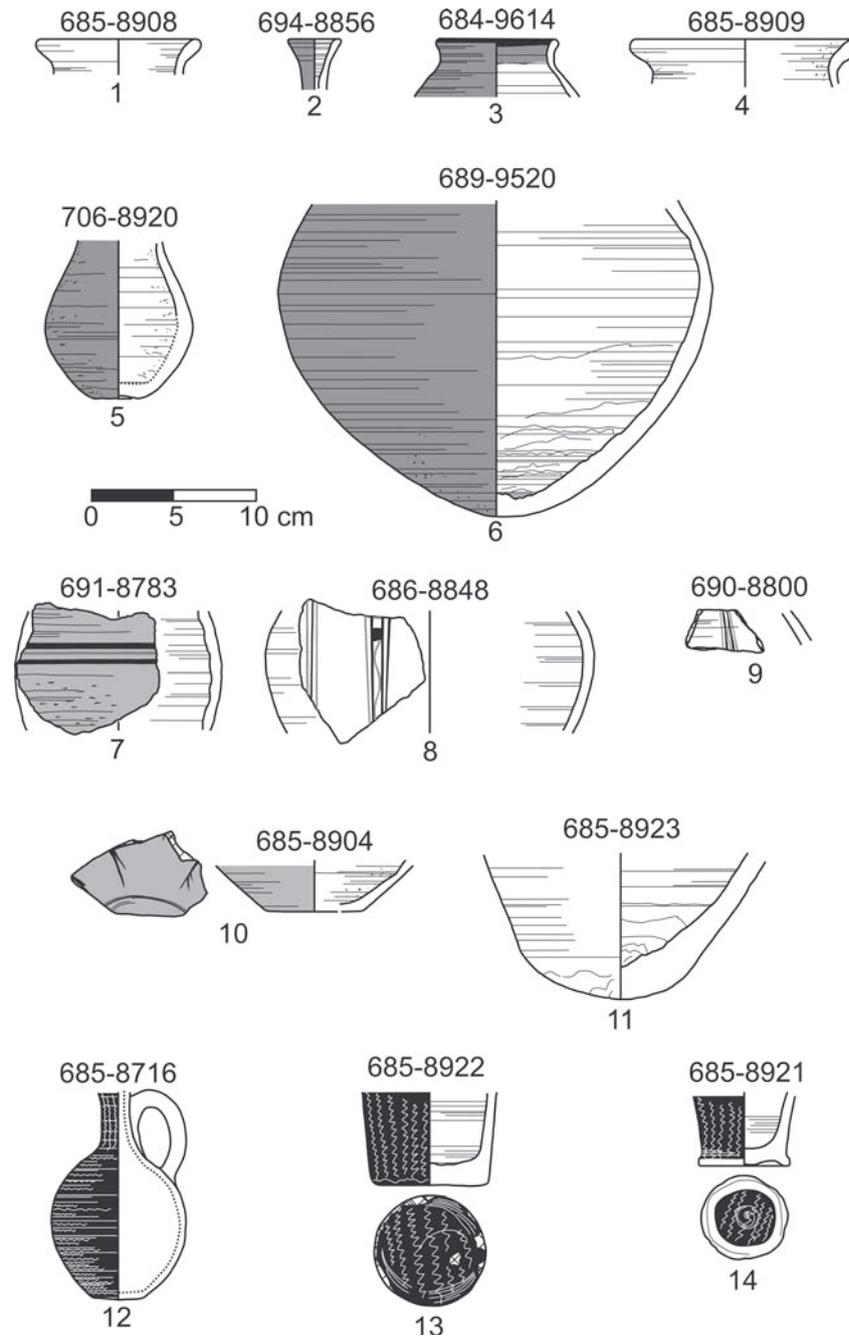


Fig. 104 Ceramic closed vessels found in the so-called Black House 1, early 18th Dynasty (Hatshepsut–Thutmose III).

with some later alterations dated to the Thutmose III–Amenophis II period.

A large assemblage of pots came from “Black House 1” (Figs. 104–105). The material comprised open forms (24.3%), including jars made of marl A3 fabric (Fig. 104.1) and jars made of fine Nile B1 fabric (Fig. 104.2). Jars made of Nile B2 fabric covered with red slip and with a black painted rim

(Fig. 104.3) were very common in this period. There were also some Nile B2 jars with well smoothed surface (Fig. 104.4).¹⁵⁹ A base of a small red slipped juglet made of Nile B2 (Fig. 104.5) was part of the assemblage, as was the base of a large storage jar (Fig. 104.6).

Among the closed vessels there was a group of painted pots with simple, straight or wavy lines

¹⁵⁹ BOURRIAU 2010, 129, fig. 27, types 11.8.6–7.

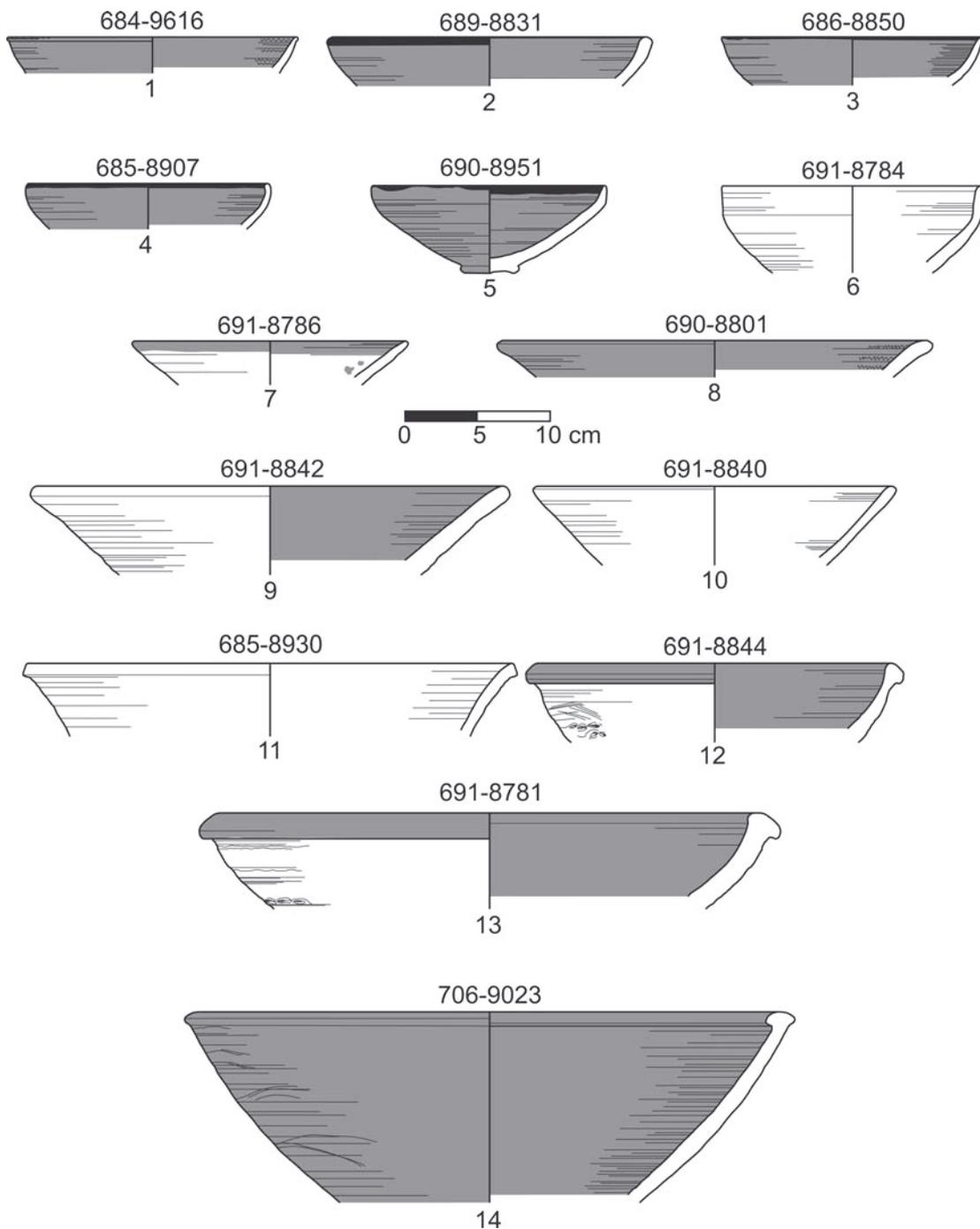


Fig. 105 Ceramic open vessels found in the so-called Black House 1, early 18th Dynasty (Hatshepsut–Thutmose III).

rendered in red (brown) and black, sometimes with additional dots (Fig. 104.7–10). These can be recognized as imitations of Cypriot Bichrome ware vessels.¹⁶⁰ Imported vessels were represented by the base of a Levantine amphora (Fig. 104.11) and by Black Lustrous Wheel-made Ware pots from Cyprus (Fig. 104.12–14).¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ BOURRIAU 2010, Fig. 35d–g.

The “Black House 1” material contained many open forms (75.7% of all vessels from “Black House 1”), including small and middle-size bowls and large and deep basins.

Small red slipped bowls made of Nile B2 fabric with slightly flaring or incurved walls (Fig. 105.1–5) were extremely numerous (21% of all vessels

¹⁶¹ HÖRBURGER 2007.

from “Black House 1”). They probably functioned as drinking cups. Many of them had black painted rims (Fig. 105.2–5).¹⁶² A number of such bowls were just smoothed, there being no slip or paint (Fig. 105.6).

Another common group of open-form vessels were the large plates with flaring walls made of Nile B2 fabric¹⁶³ (20% of all vessels from “Black House 1”). The plates can have red painted rims (Fig. 105.7), red slipped either both surfaces (Fig. 105.8) or just the internal one (Fig. 105.9). Some of the bowls have a well smoothed surface without slip (Fig. 105.10–11¹⁶⁴). The house also contained deep basins with hemispherical bodies and recurved rim, made of Nile B2 (14% of all vessels from “Black House 1”). The internal surface was red slipped (Fig. 105.12–13).¹⁶⁵ There were also deep hemispherical basins with ledge rim made of Nile B2 fabric with both surfaces red slipped (7% of all vessels from “Black House 1”) (Fig. 105.14).

The “Black House 1” ceramic assemblage featured mostly drinking cups (Fig. 105.1–6) and serving bowls (Fig. 105.7–10). Some of them may be identified as basins used for food preparation (Fig. 105.11–14). Only some fragments of storage jars were found, including a few sherds of wine amphorae. Based on this evidence it can be said that the uncovered architecture did not have a storage function. Four small fragments of cooking pots are an indication of cooking activities taking place, although on a rather modest scale.

A number of bowls made of Nile B2 fabric with so-called splashed decoration (Fig. 106) were excavated in area 7, in the so-called “Black House 3”, in 2012. In his study, Aston dated them to the times of Thutmose III–Amenophis II.¹⁶⁶

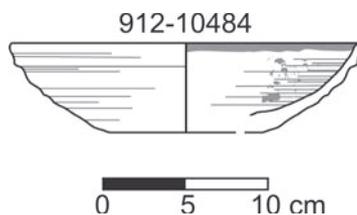


Fig. 106 Bowl with splashed decoration found in Black House 3, dated probably to the Thutmose III–Amenophis II phase.

¹⁶² BOURRIAU 2010, 123–125, fig. 21, type 3.1.1, fig. 22, type 4.1.4, fig. 125, type 4.8.6.

¹⁶³ BOURRIAU 2010, 124, fig. 22, type 3.10.11.

¹⁶⁴ BOURRIAU 2010, 126, fig. 24, type 4.10.7.

¹⁶⁵ BOURRIAU 2010, 124, fig. 22, types 3.13.1–2.

19th dynasty, area 9

A few units excavated during the 2011 and 2012 seasons and dated to the 19th dynasty contained a very small pottery assemblage, but one that included some forms typical of the period. A rim made of marl D and covered with cream slip (Fig. 107.1) belonged to an amphora.¹⁶⁷ Shallow plates with wavy body, made of Nile B2 sandy fabric coated with red slip and smoothed (Fig. 107.2), are also well known from 19th-dynasty contexts in Tell el-Retaba.¹⁶⁸

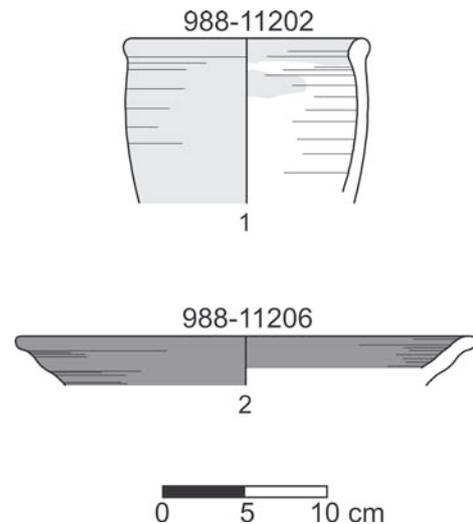


Fig. 107 19th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

19th–early 20th dynasties (?) infant burial, area 4

A large storage jar with ovoid body and relatively narrow round rim was used as a coffin for an infant burial in area 4 (Fig. 108).¹⁶⁹ It was a vessel made of Nile B2 fabric covered with red slip on the outside and smoothed. Jars of this type are known from early 20th-dynasty contexts. A complete jar was found near Medinet Habu, in a foundation deposit of Ramesses IV.¹⁷⁰ The Ramesses IV jar is more slender than the one from Tell el-Retaba, making the dating of the latter less clear. It could be dated to the 19th dynasty in similarity to the large marl amphorae used as coffins for oth-

¹⁶⁶ ASTON 2006.

¹⁶⁷ cf. WODZIŃSKA 2011, 1020–1021, 1033, fig. 8.

¹⁶⁸ WODZIŃSKA 2011, 1020, 1033, fig. 7.2.

¹⁶⁹ For more details of the burial, see Hudec above.

¹⁷⁰ After ASTON 2006, 17, 110, fig. 8b.a.

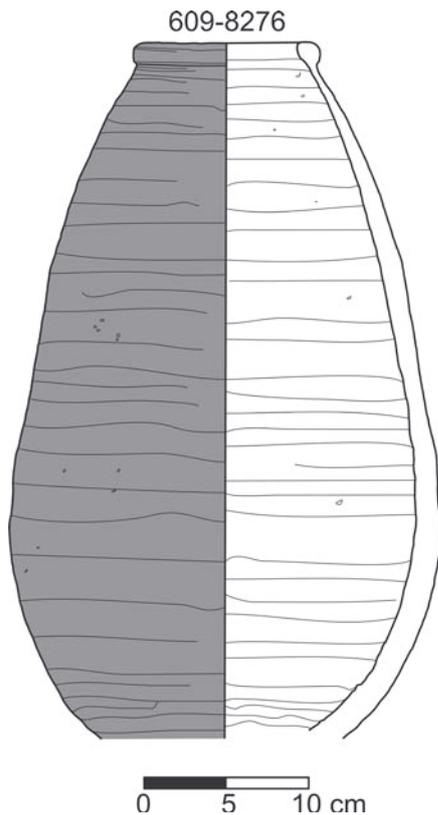


Fig. 108 Large storage jar used as a coffin, area 4.

er infant burials discovered in the vicinity of the present find.¹⁷¹

Early 20th dynasty, area 9

Units dated to the 20th dynasty were discovered for the first time in the 2011 and 2012 seasons. Based on site stratigraphy and pottery finds, the material was divided between the early and late stages of the 20th dynasty.

Early 20th dynasty pottery was found generally inside a large mud brick structure [834/838] built along the enclosure wall of Ramesses III, in its units V, VI, VII and VIII.¹⁷² Only 82 diagnostic pieces were collected from the building; of these 73% were bowls, 25.4% jars, and 1.6% bread trays.

Marl amphorae were very typical among the closed forms. A large amphora, unfortunately with missing rim, made of marl D, covered with cream

slip and well smoothed (Fig. 109.1), was found in VI.1. It has a long conical body, flat narrow base, and two small vertical handles located below the shoulder. Amphorae of this particular shape fit well among pots dated to the early 20th dynasty.¹⁷³ Rims of similar amphorae were also found in the building (see Fig. 109.2).

Two pilgrim flasks were also made of marl D fabric, covered with cream slip, well smoothed (Fig. 109.3) and burnished (Fig. 109.4).¹⁷⁴ One of the flasks was red-painted: horizontal bands on the rim and neck, short horizontal strokes on the handles (Fig. 109.3).

There was also a hemispherical cup with round base made of Nile B2 fabric (Fig. 109.5). Its rim was red painted.¹⁷⁵

Late 20th dynasty, area 9

One of the features assigned to the late 20th-dynasty period was a round hole dug in the ground and filled with fourteen vessels (stratigraphic unit [788]) (Fig. 81): one large plate (Fig. 110.1) and thirteen jars (Fig. 110.2–4, and Figs. 111–112).

The plate (Fig. 110.1), made of Nile C fabric on the wheel, has a conical body, slightly flaring rim and pointed base. The jars were all made of marl D fabric, covered with cream slip and well smoothed. Their shoulders bear traces of burnishing. Three groups were distinguished based on shape:

- jars with conical body, cylindrical neck, straight rim and round base (Fig. 110.2–4);
- large jars with ovoid body, round base and two small handles (Figs. 111 and 112.1–2);
- large jar with ovoid body, round base and three handles (Fig. 112.3).

Jars with cylindrical necks were found in Tell el-Retaba already by Petrie.¹⁷⁶ A tall amphora from Qantir, made of marl D fabric and cream slipped, was dated by Aston to a similar period.¹⁷⁷

Large storage jars with three handles are known from other parts of Egypt. The type from Tell el-Retaba is very similar to a jar from Tanis dated probably to the early Third Intermediate Period and a pot from Medinet Habu from the 22nd dynasty.¹⁷⁸ It seems that this type of vessel was

¹⁷¹ WODZIŃSKA 2011, 1020–1021, 1033, Fig. 8.

¹⁷² See Rzepka above.

¹⁷³ ASTON 1998, 518–519, no. 2080; ASTON 2004a, 195–196, fig. 11.

¹⁷⁴ ASTON 1998, 492, nos 1944–1945.

¹⁷⁵ See WILSON 2011, pl. 28, nos 10–21, bowls from phase III (house of the 20th dynasty).

¹⁷⁶ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pl. 36B, no. 44.

¹⁷⁷ ASTON 1998, 614, no. 2498.

¹⁷⁸ MYŚLIWIEC 1989, 244, 246, pl. 27.

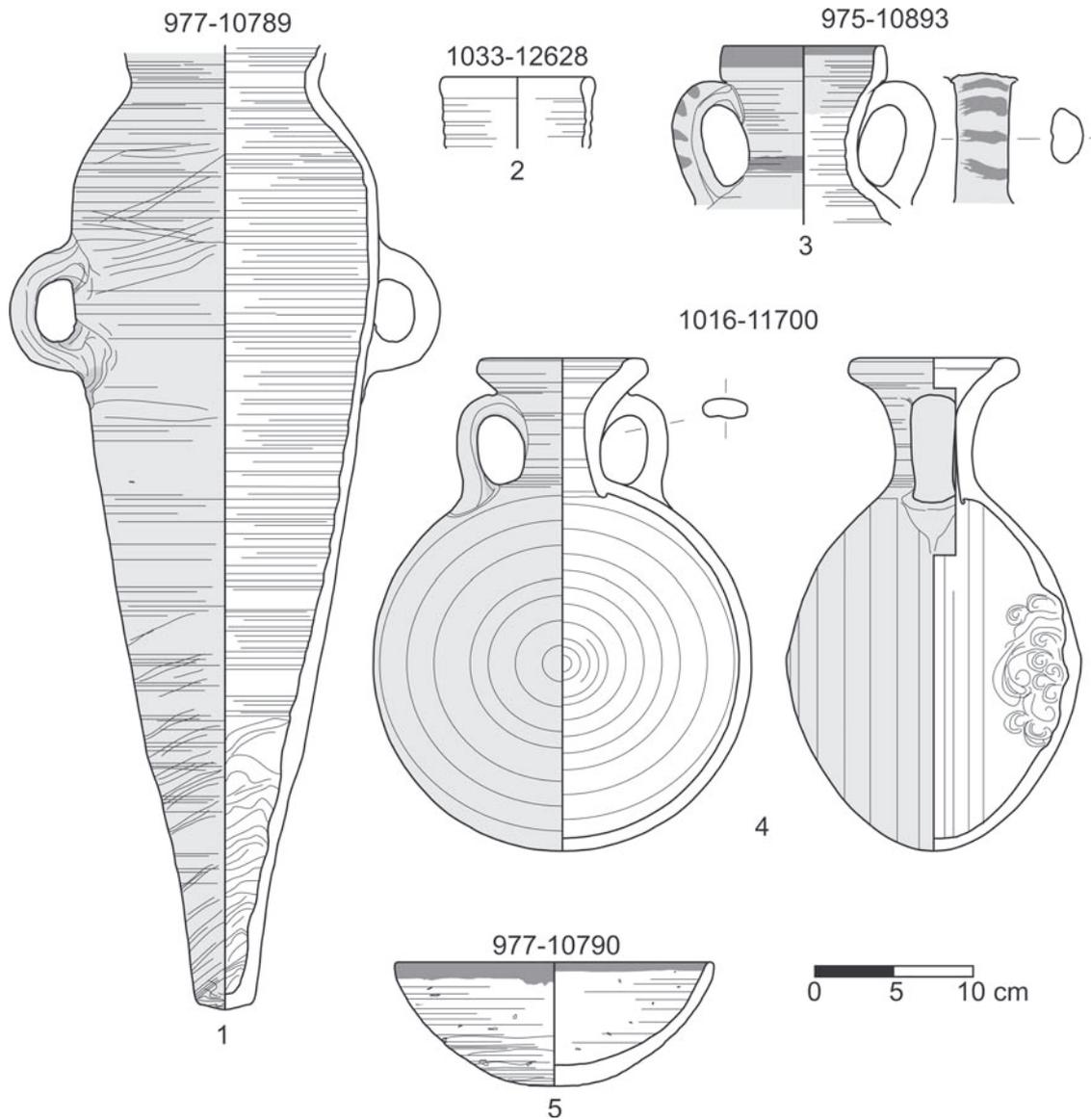


Fig. 109 Early 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

used at the very end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st dynasty.

Four jars carry potmarks scratched after firing on the shoulders (Figs. 110.4, 111.2, 112.3). In one case there were two potmarks, one scratched above the handle and the other below it (Fig. 112.1).

More than 1000 fragments of pottery representing many different types were located in rubbish heaps (especially [829]). A selection of the discovered vessels is presented in Figs. 113–115.

Open forms included rims of large amphorae made of marl D and coated with cream slip

(Fig. 113.1–2);¹⁷⁹ amphorae like the ones described above were found in a cache (Figs. 111–112). There was also a complete jar made of marl D with simple, slightly flaring rim, biconical body and pointed base (Fig. 113.3). Its body was covered with cream slip. A potmark was scratched after firing on the shoulder.

Good quality vessels made of Nile B1 fabric, covered with red slip and burnished, formed a very interesting group (Fig. 113.4–7). The shapes were all unique: jar with cylindrical neck, recurved rim and two large vertical handles (Fig. 113.4); small jar with globular body and two

¹⁷⁹ ASTON 2007, 32, fig. 24, no. 100.

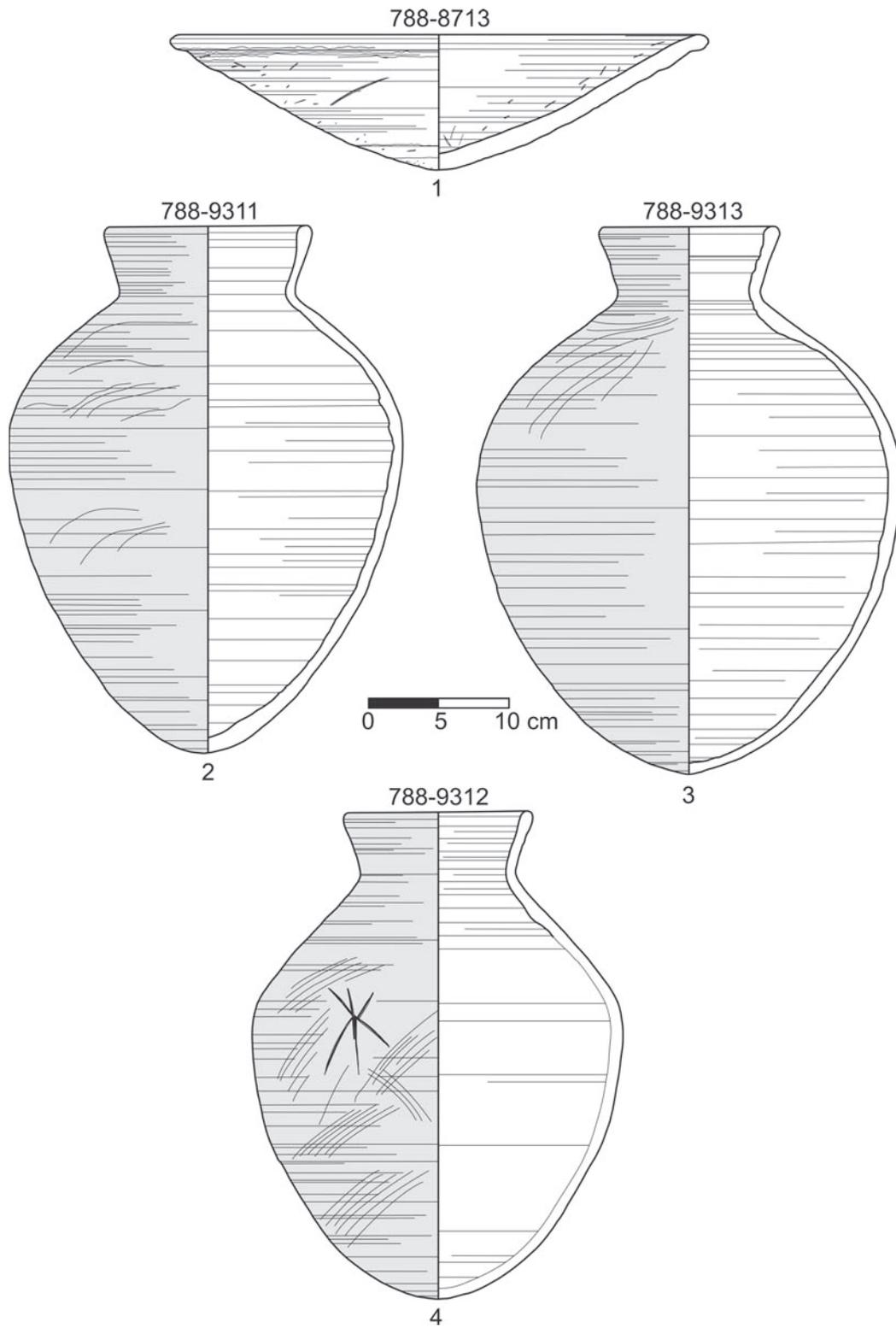


Fig. 110 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

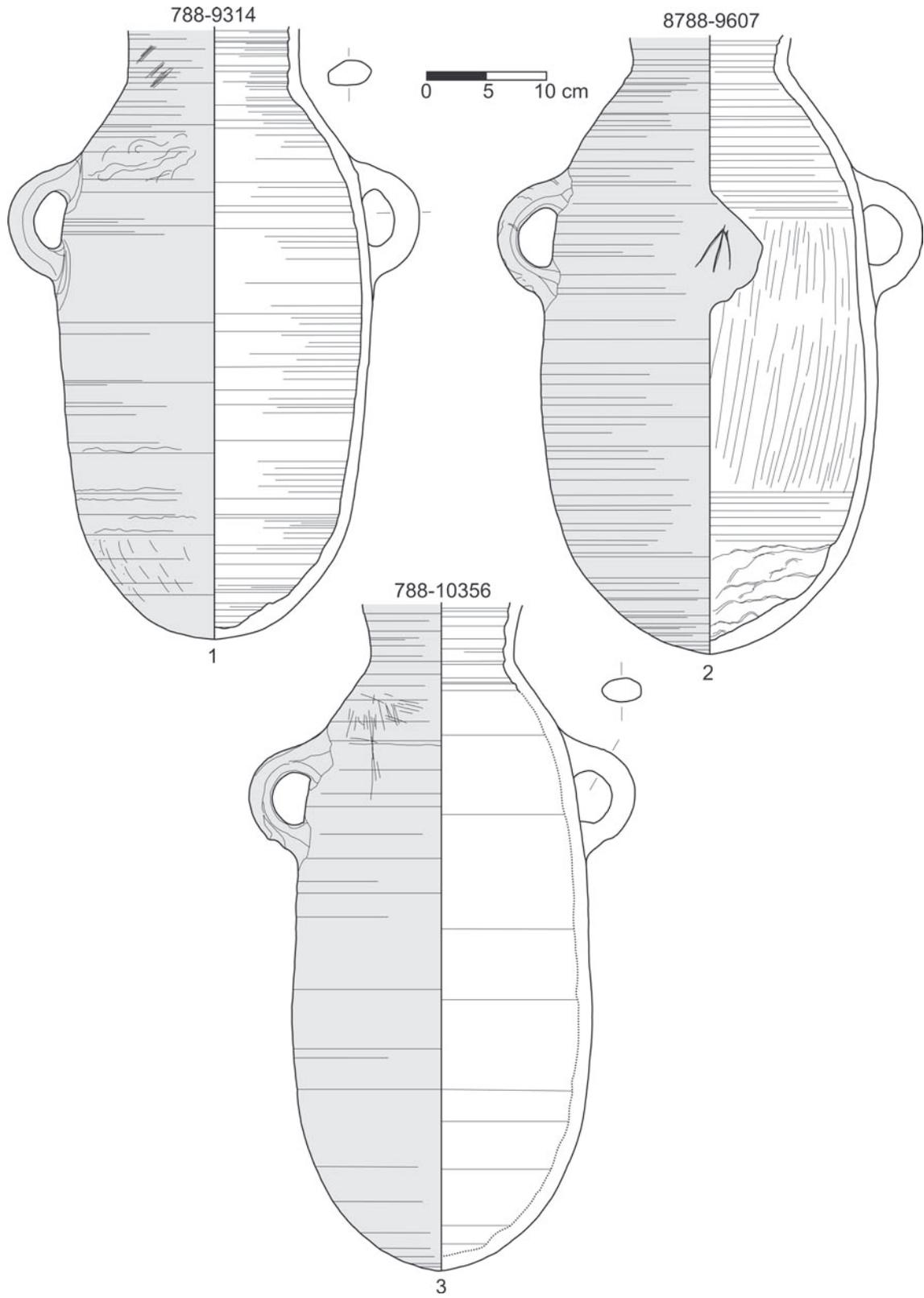


Fig. 111 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

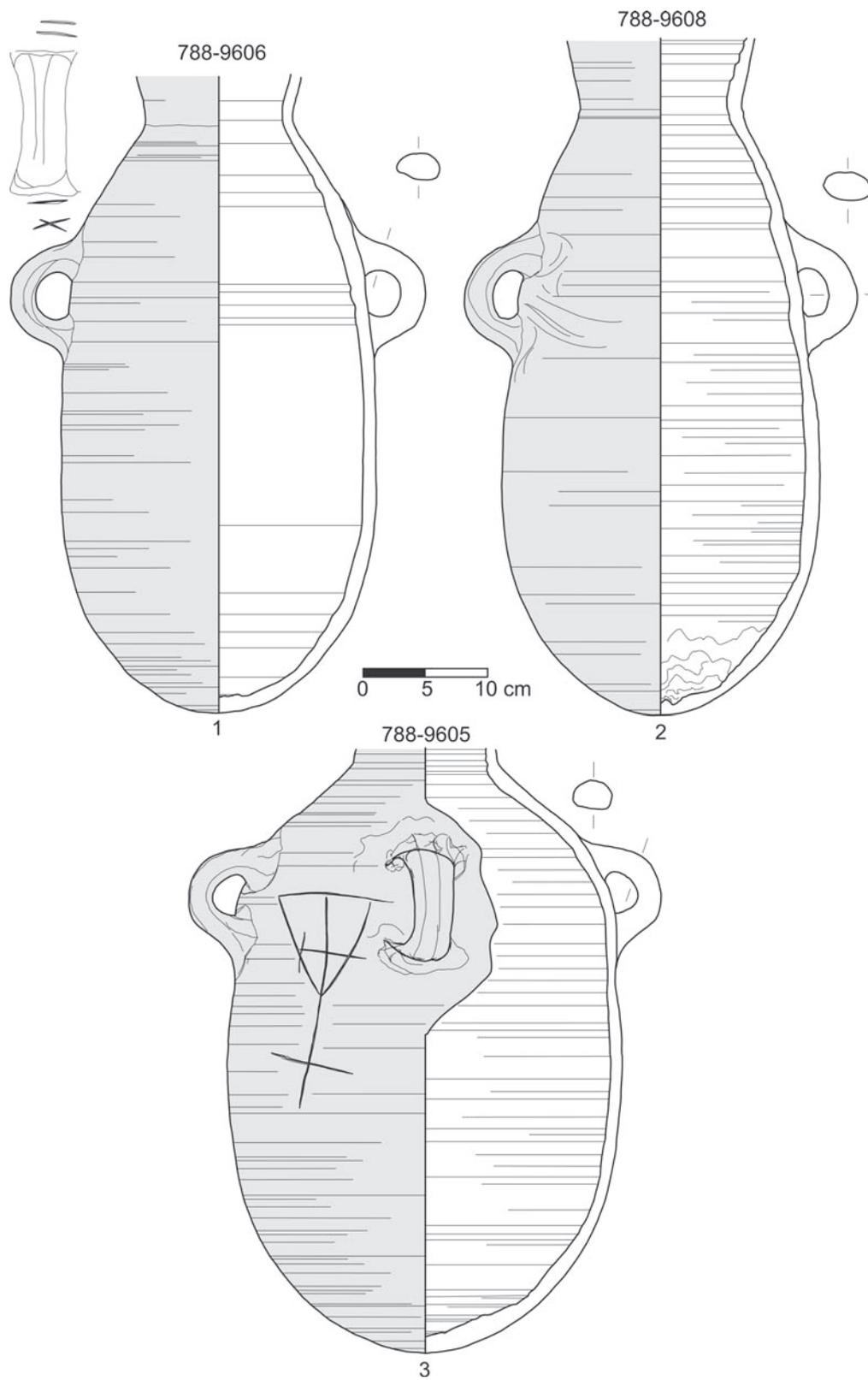
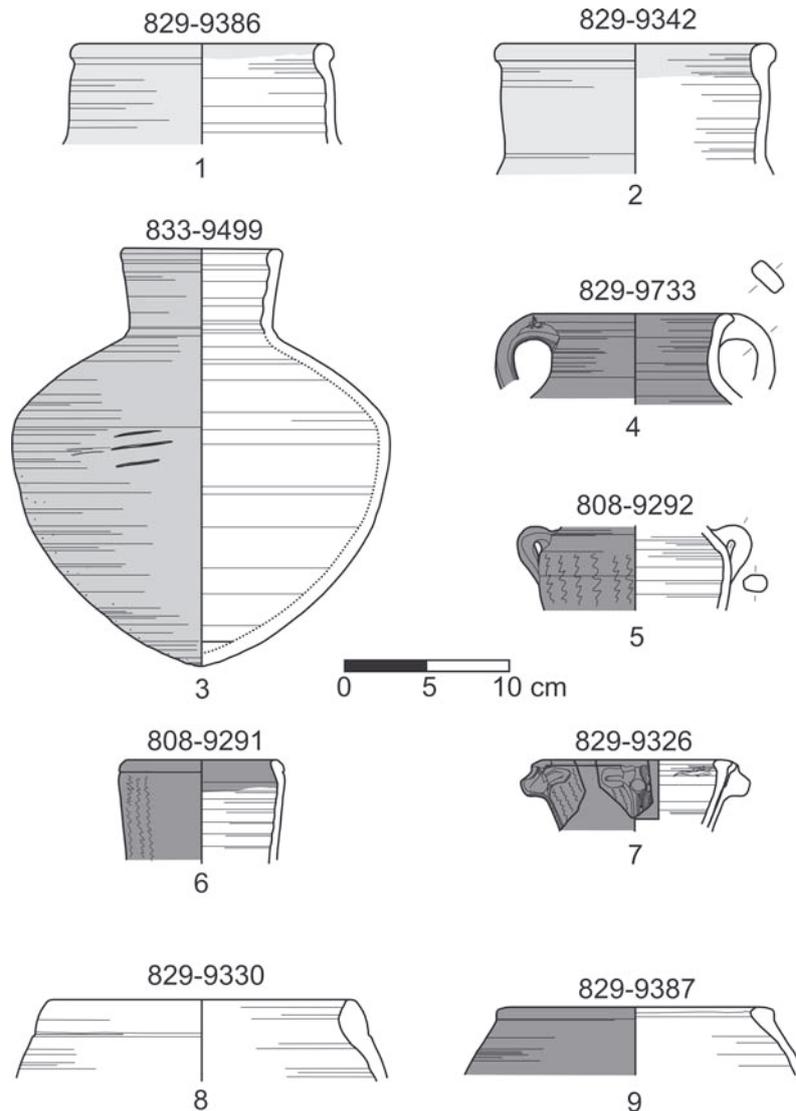


Fig. 112 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

Fig. 113 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

small handles attached to the shoulder (Fig. 113.5); jar with slightly flaring neck and incurved rim (Fig. 113.6). One of the pots is especially remarkable. It has a flaring neck, ledge rim and applied decoration in the shape of a cow's head, possibly depicting Hathor.

There were also jars made of Nile E (Fig. 113.8)¹⁸⁰ and Nile B2 (Fig. 113.9) with incurved rims. The latter jar was red slipped and well smoothed on the outside.

Open forms from the rubbish heaps are shown in Figs. 114–115.

A carinated bowl with triangular thickened rim was made of marl B fabric (Fig. 114.1). Small cups

made of Nile B2 sandy fabric were also present (Fig. 114.2). Such cups are very common later in the Third Intermediate Period layers (see Fig. 117.1–3).

Goblets with narrow ring bases made of Nile B2 sandy fabric were present in late 20th dynasty contexts (Fig. 114.3), as also in the later period.

Bowls with conical bodies and flaring rims were very numerous (Fig. 114.4–6). Their surface was well smoothed commonly (Fig. 114.6), but during the late 20th dynasty some of the vessels were covered with light red/orange slip inside and black painted. The painted patterns were very simple: schematic floral designs (Fig. 114.4) and sim-

¹⁸⁰ ASTON 1998, 594, jar no. 2444.

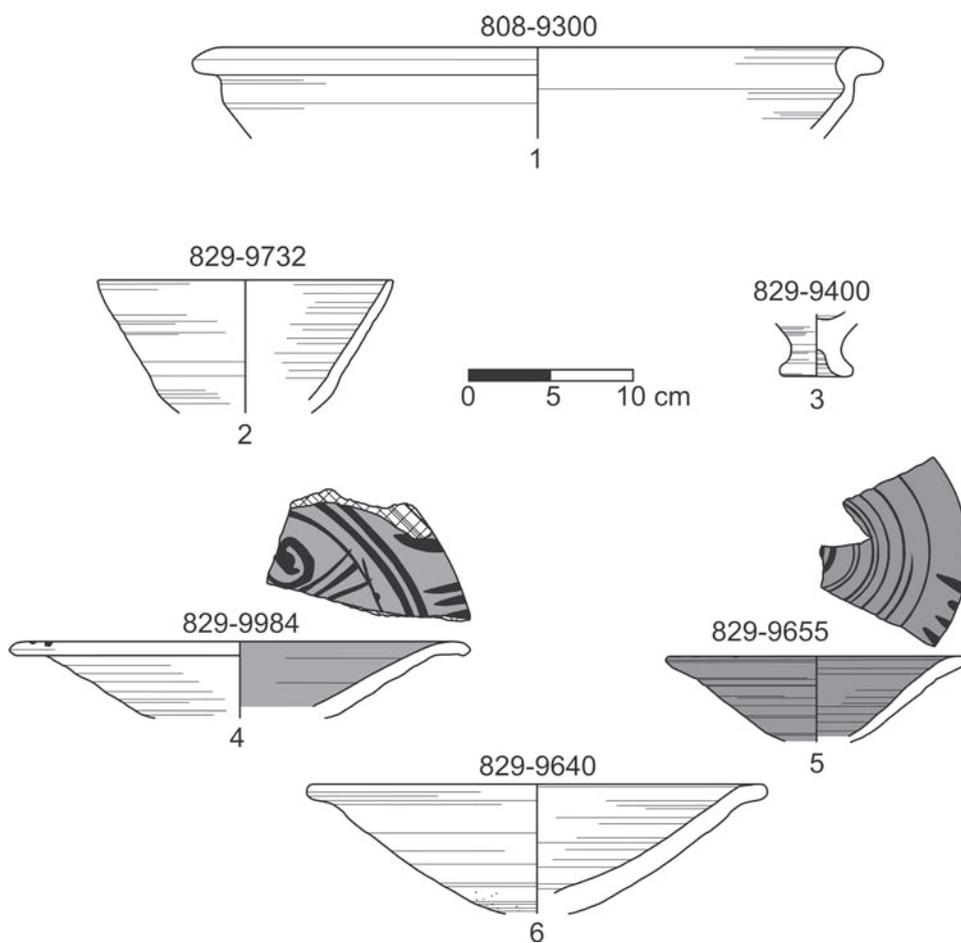


Fig. 114 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

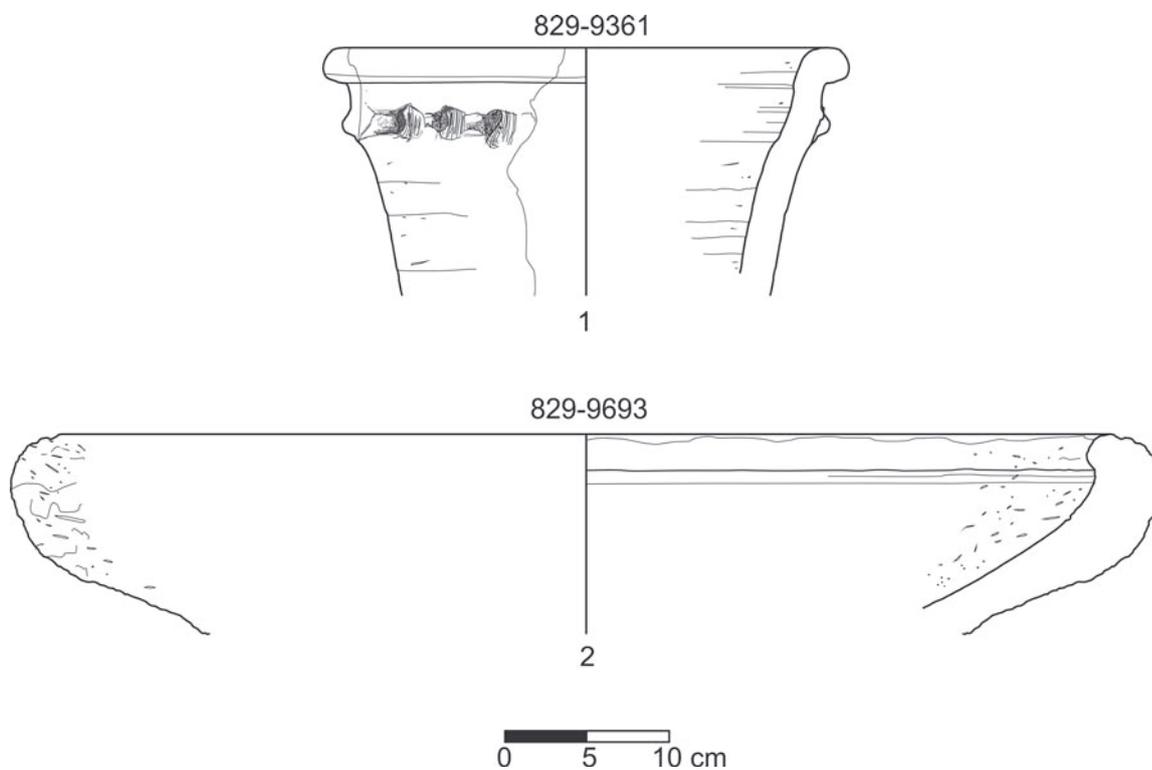


Fig. 115 Late 20th Dynasty pottery from area 9.

ple parallel lines (Fig. 114.5). These bowls seem to have been produced locally, since the only known parallels are from Tell el-Retaba.¹⁸¹

The late 20th dynasty material also contained basins made of Nile C fabric (Fig. 115). One of them is a deep basin with steep walls and flaring rim (Fig. 115.1). The vessel was decorated with an applied band dotted with impressed-finger marks. Only two pots of this type have been found in Tell el-Retaba so far, the other one coming from a Third Intermediate Period context.

Large handmade basins (Fig. 115.2) occurred in the late 20th dynasty, but also in the Third Intermediate Period. Their rim lines are usually very irregular making a reconstruction of the stance difficult at best, but it seems that the vessels had flaring walls and incurved rims.

Third Intermediate Period, area 9

A very rich pottery collection was found in the context of the Third Intermediate Period domestic structures. It included forms of various qualities.

Closed forms made of Nile B1 fabric formed a small group which consisted of a red slipped burnished jar with funnel neck and an applied spout (?) with a small hole pierced before firing (Fig. 116.1). There were also fragments and one more or less complete pilgrim flask coated with red slip and well smoothed. The external surface of the flasks was painted black with a simple pattern of circles (Fig. 116.2).¹⁸²

Rims of large storage jars were common in the material. There was a jar with cylindrical neck, very steep shoulder and round recurved rim made of very fine Nile B1 fabric (Fig. 116.3).¹⁸³ Its external surface was covered with thin red slip and smoothed. There were also jars made of Nile B2 fabric with well smoothed external surface, featuring an incurved neck, triangular rim and two large vertical handles (Fig. 116.4 and similar 116.5).¹⁸⁴

A large group comprises cooking pots: jars with simple rim, more or less cylindrical necks, biconical bodies and round bases made of Nile B2 sandy fabric (Fig. 116.6–8).¹⁸⁵ These vessels were produced in various sizes, although very often only the rims have been preserved. The external surfaces were often covered with soot (Fig. 116.8).

Open forms were very numerous in Third Intermediate Period contexts. Cups with round bases were made of Nile B2 sandy fabric (Fig. 117.1–3).¹⁸⁶ This type of vessel was very common and seems to have been a local product produced on a mass scale. Likewise the large bowls, also made of Nile B2 sandy fabric, which had sharply recurved rims, conical bodies and round almost pointed bases (Fig. 117.5–6).¹⁸⁷

A fragment of a goblet made of the same Nile B2 fabric (Fig. 117.4) was identified despite a missing rim. The body shape and narrow ring base found parallels among types known from other sites.¹⁸⁸

The Nile B2 sandy fabric is extremely characteristic of pots of the Third Intermediate Period. Bowls were commonly made of this fabric, for instance a large cup with conical body and pointed base (Fig. 117.7);¹⁸⁹ also bowls with conical body, small carinated shoulder, and flat base (Fig. 117.8).¹⁹⁰

Moreover the material included large wheel-made basins with hemispherical body and round recurved rim made of Nile C fabric (Fig. 117.9).

Other bowls made of Nile C fabric had thick walls and sharply recurved long rims (Fig. 117.10). Bread trays with thick flaring walls and flat projected bases, made of Nile C as well, were also recorded (Fig. 117.11).¹⁹¹

The so-called pigeon pots made of Nile E fabric were very characteristic of the period. Only fragments of such were found, but their identification is clear. They do not have bases – rather narrow open endings (Fig. 118.1).¹⁹²

At least three large base fragments of so-called chamber pots were found (Fig. 118.2).¹⁹³ The ves-

¹⁸¹ PETRIE and DUNCAN, pl. XXXVI, no. 2.

¹⁸² A similar flask was found in Medinet Habu; it was dated to the 22nd–24th dynasties, after ASTON 1996, 54, 273, fig. 171, pot U6. For painted body sherds of pilgrim flasks, see ASTON 2007, fig. 51, nos. 589–590; also BAVAY 1998, 321–322, fig. 33, no. 22.

¹⁸³ ASTON 2007, fig. 51, no. 594.

¹⁸⁴ ASTON 2007, fig. 48, no. 561

¹⁸⁵ ASTON 2007, figs 45–46.

¹⁸⁶ ASTON 2007, fig. 42, nos 446–481.

¹⁸⁷ ASTON 2007, fig. 40, nos 414–422, fig. 41, nos 423–438.

¹⁸⁸ ASTON 2007, fig. 44, nos 514–517.

¹⁸⁹ ASTON 2007, similar in fig. 43, nos 487–492.

¹⁹⁰ ASTON 1998, 538, no. 2278

¹⁹¹ ASTON 2007, fig. 40, no. 408.

¹⁹² BAVAY 1998, 323–324, fig. 34, no. 41; ASTON 2007, fig. 50, no. 584.

¹⁹³ PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pl. XXXVIB, nos 36; WODZIŃSKA in RZEPKA *et al.* 2009, 271, fig. 31.17.

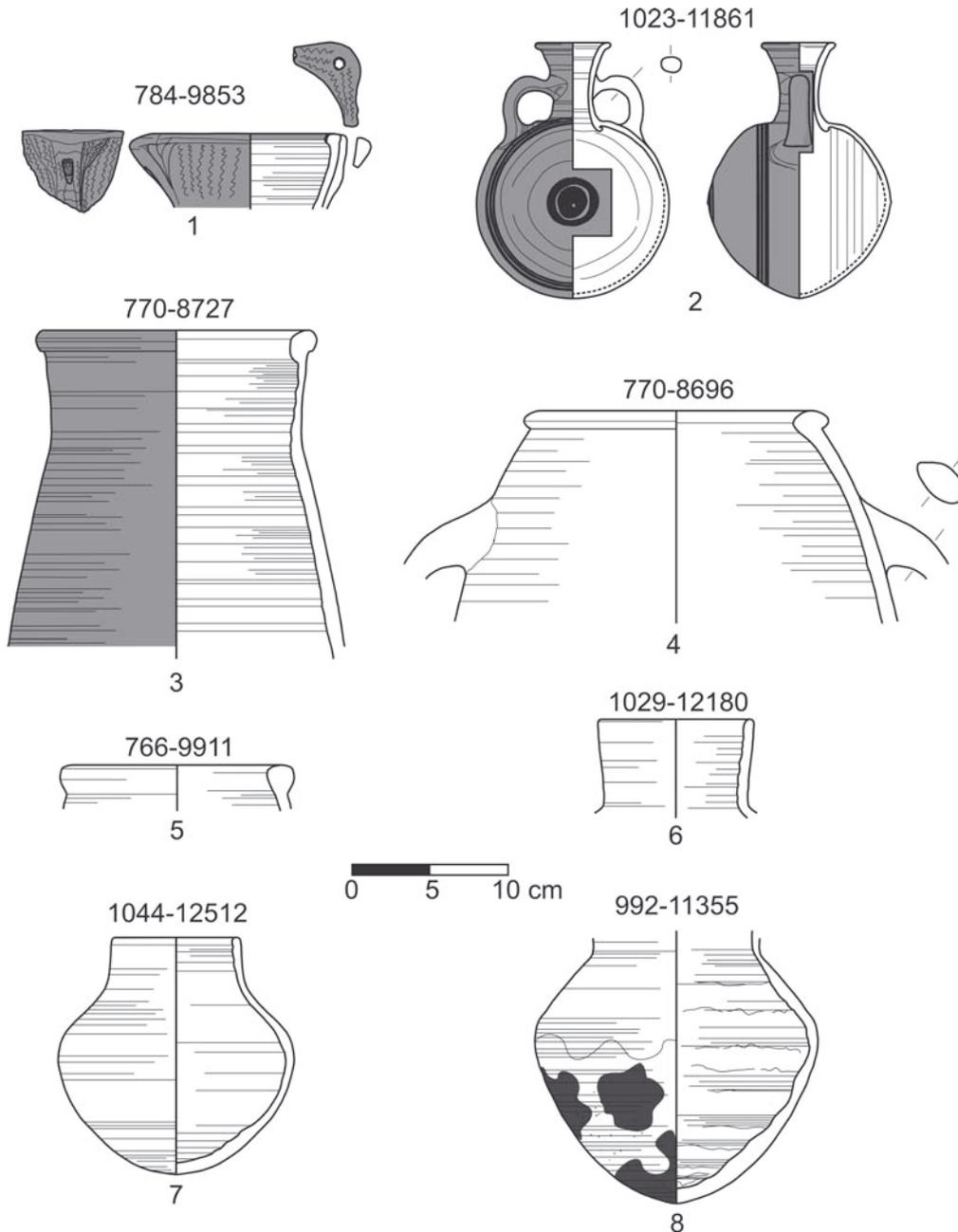


Fig. 116 Third Intermediate Period pottery from area 9.

sels with biconical body, ring bases and small vertical handle were made of Nile B2 fabric. All of the discovered vessels contained a yellow substance deposited inside on the very bottom. A pot of this type also containing a yellow substance, found in Edfu, is now located in the Warsaw National Museum (inv. number 138630). A sample of the substance was taken for identification, but the results of the analysis are not yet available.

A large fragment of a pot made of Nile C fabric was found in building [765] (deposit [770]). It has a ledge rim, biconical body, large ring base and two vertical solid handles placed near the rim (Fig. 118.3). Previously only one fragment of a handle of this type was found in Tell el-Retaba.

The Third Intermediate Period layers usually contained a number of fire-dog fragments.¹⁹⁴ During the 2012 season a very large fragment of a fire

¹⁹⁴ Well known in Tell el-Retaba, PETRIE and DUNCAN 1906, pl. XXXVIB, nos 53–55; WODZIŃSKA 2010, 155, fig. 4.

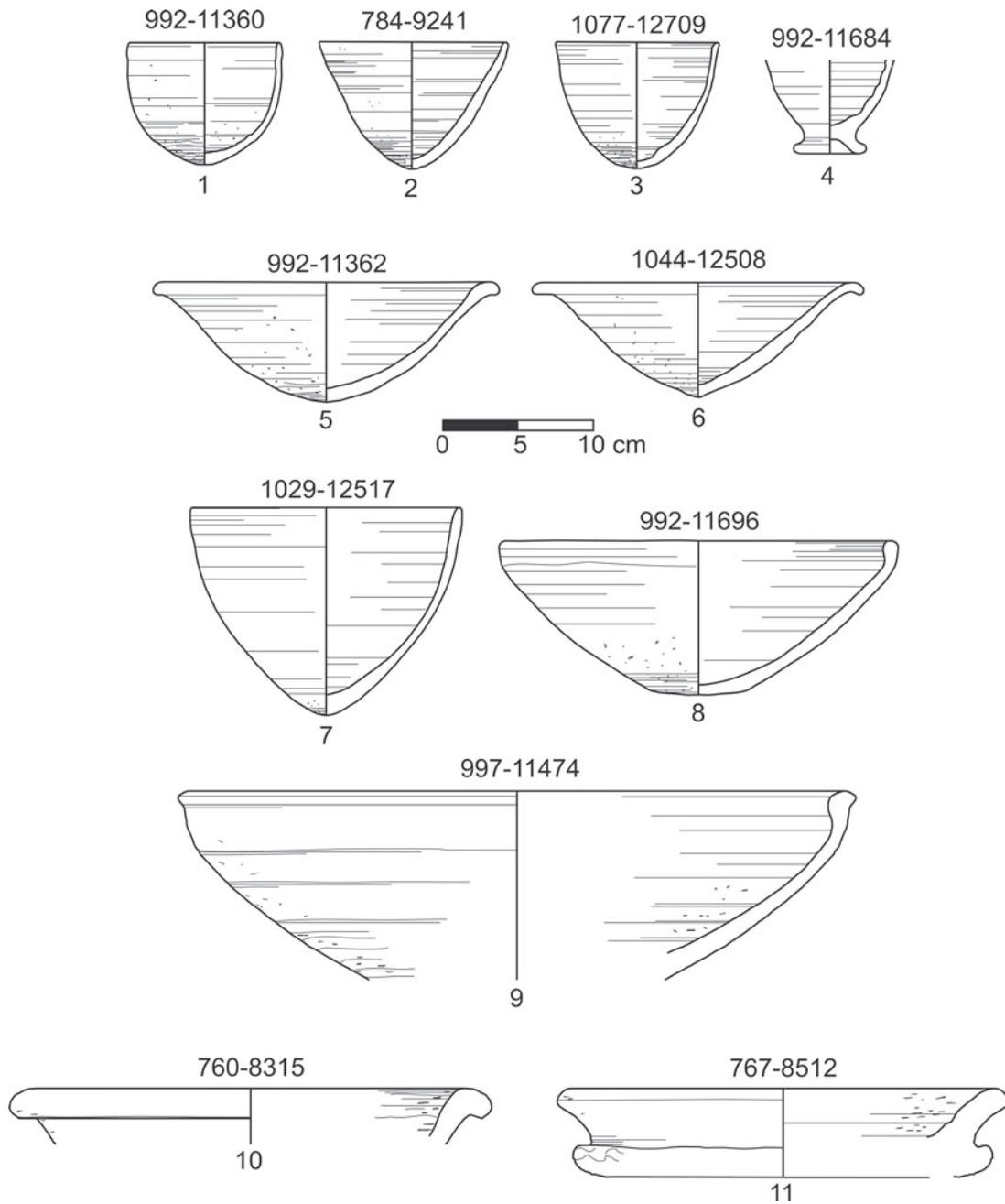


Fig. 117 Third Intermediate Period pottery from area 9.

dog made of Nile B2 fabric was uncovered (Fig. 118.4). It had a flaring rim, two feet, one vertical handle and two holes at the bottom, made before firing.

Imported vessels in the Third Intermediate Period units in Tell el-Retaba were for the most part from the Levant, whereas two vessels were found to be from the Egyptian Western Oases. The

Levantine Torpedo amphorae fragments are presented in Fig. 119.1–2,¹⁹⁵ possibly also Fig. 119.3. The Oasis-ware vessels are represented by a cream-coated and burnished juglet with one vertical handle made of two coils¹⁹⁶ (Fig. 119.4) and a fragment of a keg with two handles (Fig. 119.5).

The Third Intermediate Period pottery came from eight units, including four rooms of one

¹⁹⁵ See SAGONA 1982, fig. 1.2.

¹⁹⁶ David Aston, personal communication, May 2013.

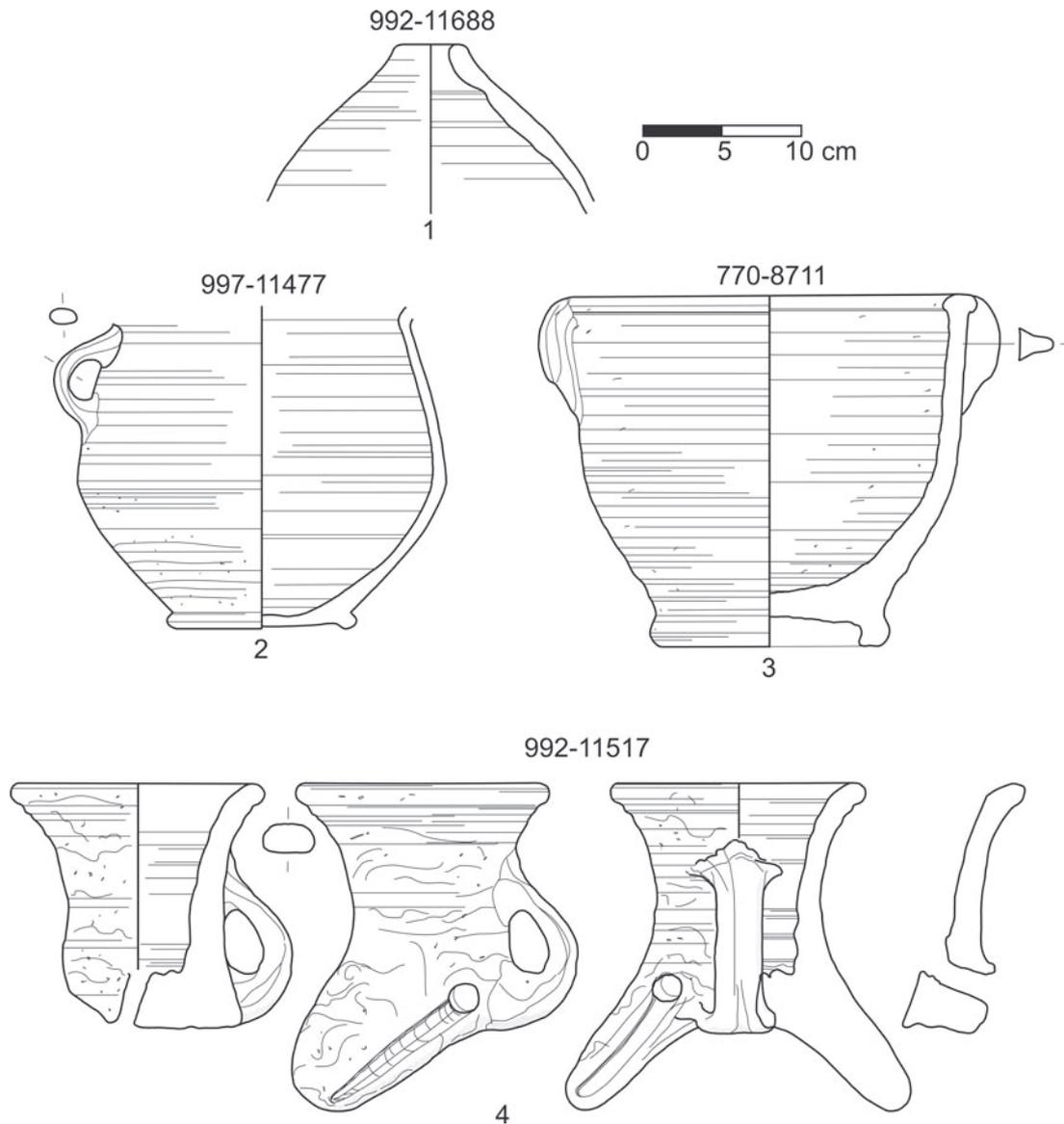


Fig. 118 Third Intermediate Period pottery from area 9.

building. The diagram in Fig. 120 shows the relative occurrence of general pottery classes within the excavated units:

- Unit A consists of ashy deposits around the mortar S1278;
- Units B (room 1), C (room 2), D (room 3), and E (room 4) formed a single house [991/1083/1036], but the rooms did not all function concurrently (see above);
- Units F, G and H were small independent rooms [765], [771] and [782] respectively.

While the general percentages were very similar for all of the distinguished areas of excavation, some differences could be observed. Unit E contained only 15 diagnostic fragments, which all came from a secondary context, so it was not via-

ble to compare it with other rooms. Three groups based on similar ceramic group occurrences could be distinguished:

- Units A and B: approx. 55% bowls, 36% jars, 8–9% bread trays;
- Units D, F, G, and H: 61–68% bowls, 28–31% jars, 7–8% bread trays (except room G with only 2.3%)
- Unit C: 54.5% bowls, 38.1% jars, 74% bread trays.

It is not clear whether the small differences are proof of different functions of the excavated rooms, possibly with the exception of room 2 (unit C), the contents of which varies from that of other rooms, probably due to the fact that it was later reused as a rubbish dumping place.

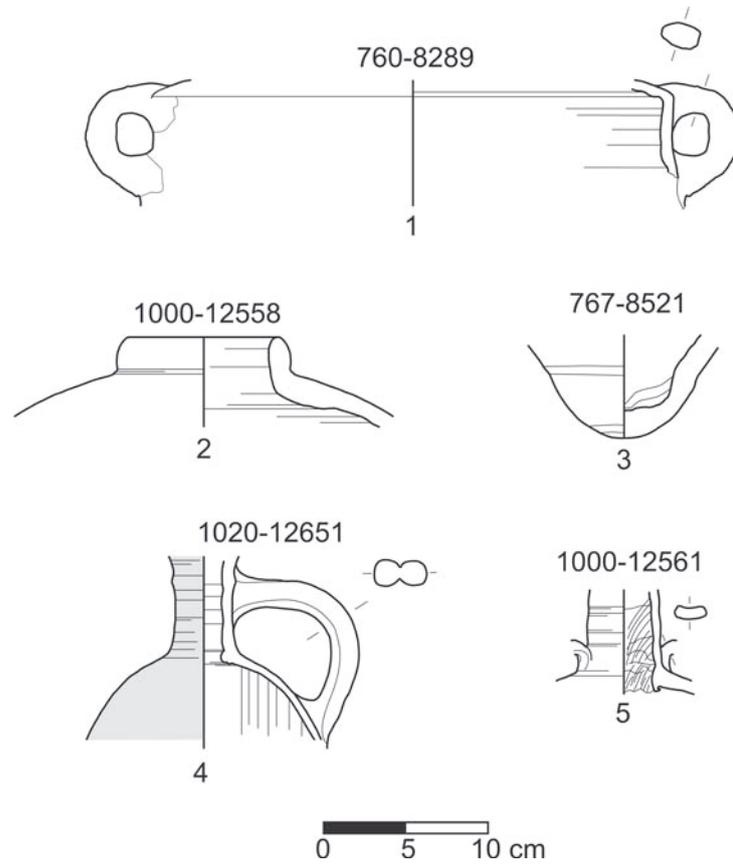


Fig. 119 Third Intermediate Period pottery from area 9, imported vessels.

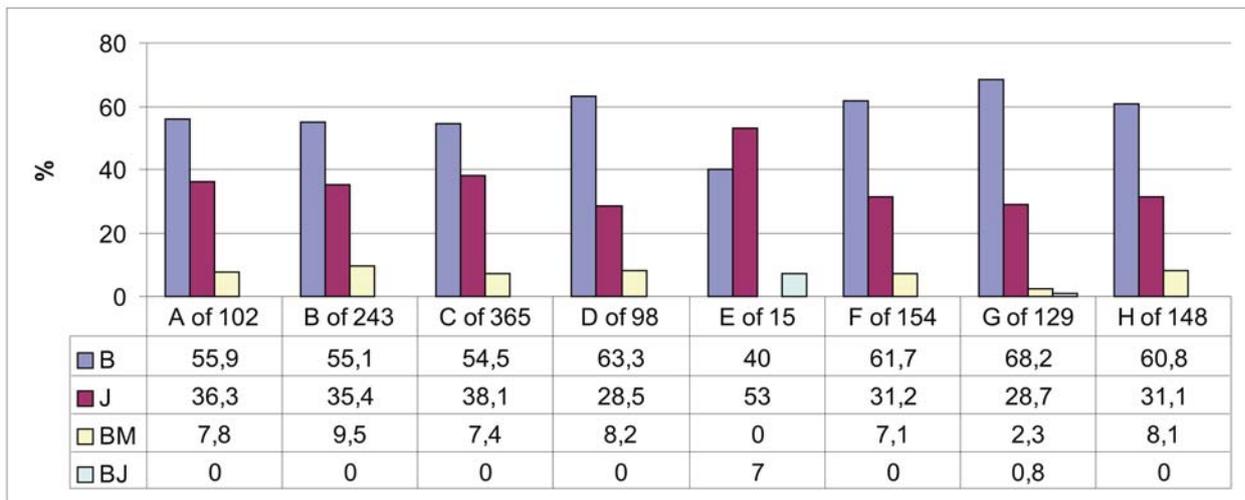


Fig. 120 Relative occurrence of general pottery classes (B: open forms, J: closed forms, BM: bread trays, BJ: unidentified forms) within excavated units from the Third Intermediate Period (Processing A. Wodzińska).

Late Period, areas 4 and 7

Surface material from areas 4 and 7 was dated to the Late Period, the 26th and 27th dynasties in all likelihood. Ceramic fragments came from loose units without any substantial structure, damaged

by the destruction of the top layers. Fig. 121 shows a selection of Late Period vessels.

A jar with globular body and short simple, somewhat flaring rim was made of Nile B1 fabric (Fig. 121.1).¹⁹⁷ Its surface was well smoothed. A small juglet with one small vertical handle (Fig. 121.2) was made of fine marl.¹⁹⁸

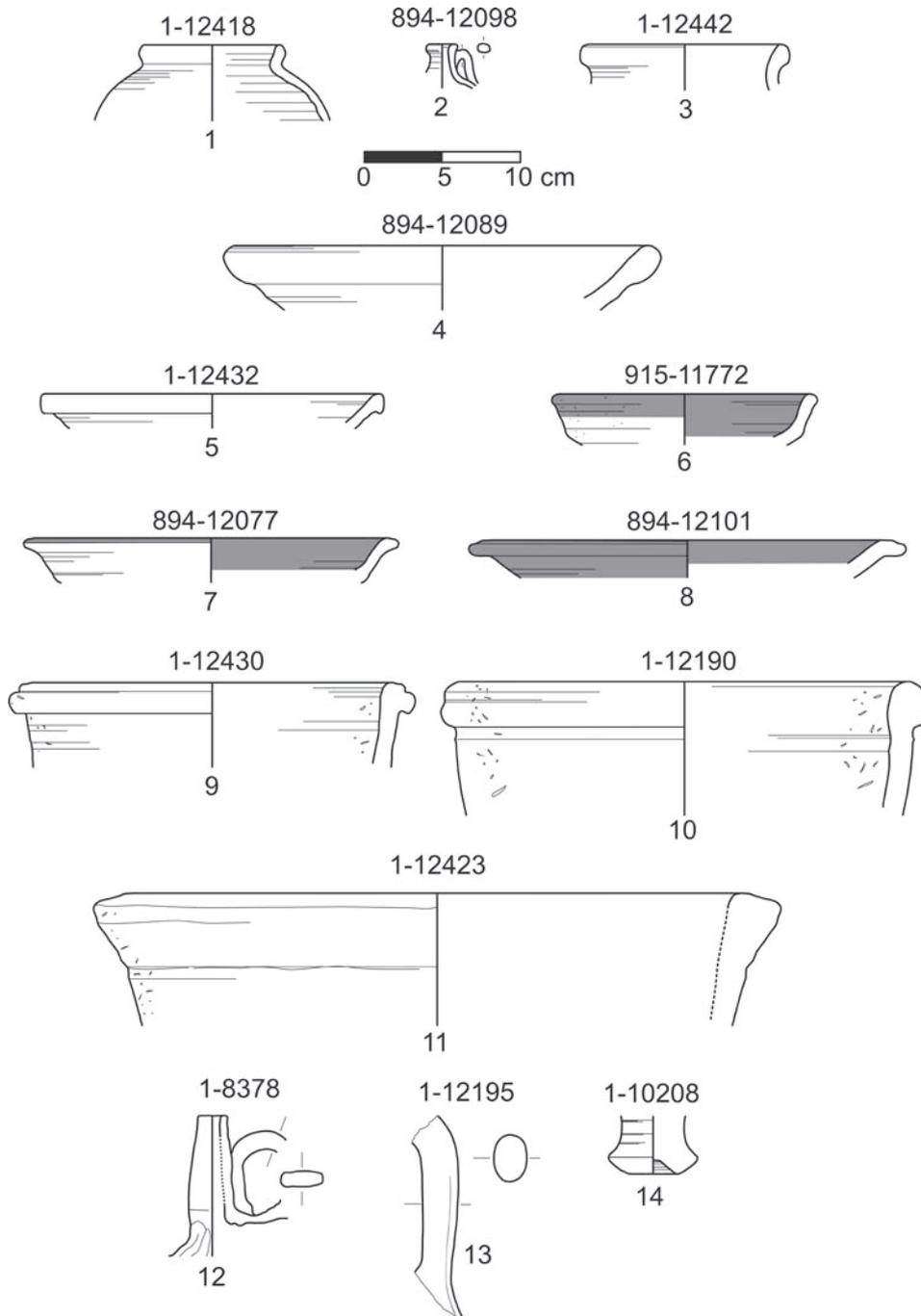


Fig. 121 Selection of ceramic vessels found in top layers of areas 4 and 7, dated to the Late Period.

¹⁹⁷ DEFERNEZ 2003, pl. XXV, no. 65.

¹⁹⁸ Shape similar to vessel published in ASTON and ASTON 2010, pl. 18, no. 143; see also FRENCH 1992, 91, fig. 29, no.

32 from Saqqara, and no. 33 from Mendes; DEFERNEZ 2003, pl. XXIX, no. 76, pl. LV, no. 151, pl. LXXV, no. 219.

Jars made of Nile B2 fabric with a flaring, slightly thickened rim were also present (Fig. 121.3).¹⁹⁹ Open forms were represented by large basins made of marl (Fig. 121.4), which came probably from the Levant.²⁰⁰ Bowls made of Nile B2 fabrics are shown in Fig. 121.5–8: bowl with flaring walls and recurved rim (Fig. 121.5); red slipped bowl with bent walls (Fig. 121.6);²⁰¹ red slipped bowls with flaring walls (Fig. 121.7–8).²⁰²

Deep basins made of Nile C fabric are extremely characteristic of vessels dated to the Late Period, especially the 27th dynasty. These vessels have a thickened grooved rim (Fig. 121.9–10). Such pots, probably funnels, are well known from Tell el-Retaba as well as other Egyptian sites.²⁰³ There was also a very deep basin made of fabric Nile C with flaring triangular rim (Fig. 121.11).²⁰⁴

The Late Period units included some sherds of imported pots. A fragment deformed in fire, probably of an Oasis ware vessel, is presented in Fig. 121.12. There was also a handle probably from a Chian amphora with smoothed surface and traces of a red line painted along the handle (Fig. 121.13)²⁰⁵ and a base from an Aegean amphora (Fig. 121.14).

Late Period, area 9

Some Late Period pottery was found in area 9, attesting to the presence of some unpreserved Late Period structures. The small assemblage included vessels of types already known from area 7, for instance, basins made of Nile C fabric, like in Fig. 121.9–10.

Discussion

The diagram in Fig. 122 shows the relative occurrence of general ceramic classes within periods represented in Tell el-Retaba: 15 dyn dom = 15 dynasty domestic material; Hat–TIII = Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III; TIII = Thutmosis III–Amenophis II; 19 dyn = probably the reign of Ramesses II; early 20 dyn = probably the reign of Ramesses III; TIP = Third Intermediate Period; and LP = Late Period. Similarly defined assemblages can be distinguished based on the general pottery statistics:

- Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III, Thutmosis III–Amenophis II, 19th dynasty, early 20th dynasty – predominance of open forms (73–75%) and respectively less closed forms (23–26%); almost no bread trays (0.2–1.5%)

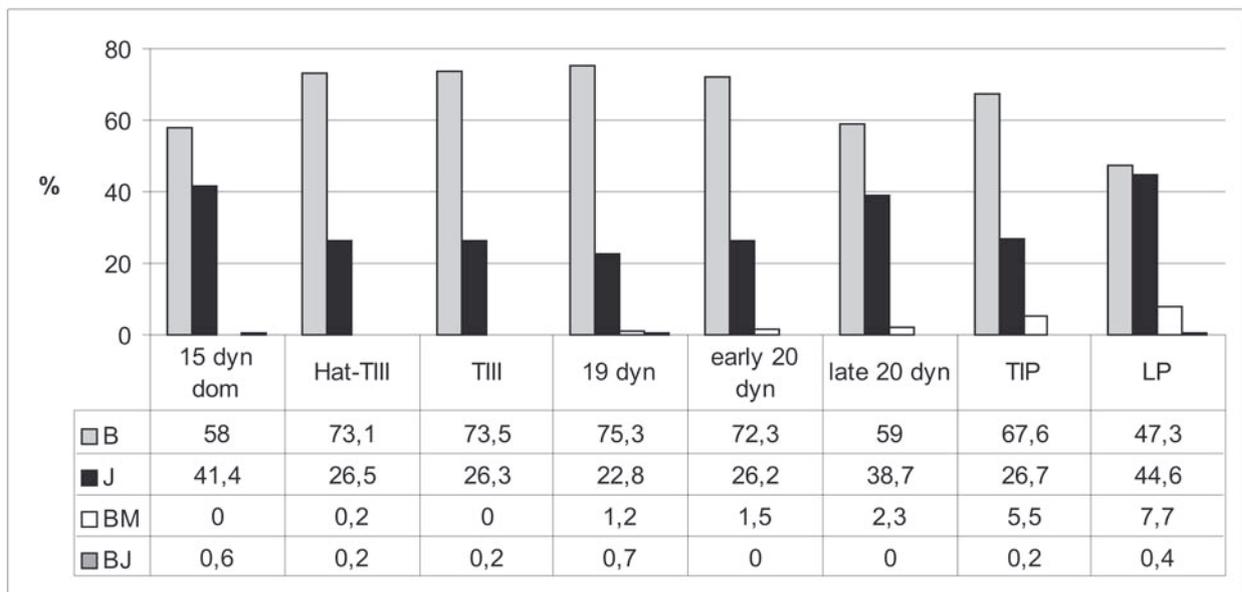


Fig. 122 Relative occurrence of general ceramic classes: open forms (B), closed forms (J), bread trays (BM) and unidentified forms (BJ), within periods represented at the site (Processing A. Wodzińska).

¹⁹⁹ HOLLADAY 1982, Plate 5, nos 13–15.

²⁰⁰ See HOLLADAY 1982, pl. 16, no. 1; also FRENCH 1992, 91, fig. 29, no. 34, bowl from Mendes; ASTON 1999, 238–239, no. 2082; DEFERNEZ 2003, pls XCI–II.

²⁰¹ DEFERNEZ 2003, pl. XLIV, no. 114.

²⁰² Similar to DEFERNEZ 2003, pl. XIII, no. 32.

²⁰³ ASTON and ASTON 2010, 33, 19, fig. 3.38, pl. 3.38, dated to 550–400 BC; WODZIŃSKA 2011, 1023, fig. 12.5.

²⁰⁴ HOLLADAY 1982, similar vessel on pl. 9, no. 6; DEFERNEZ 2003, pl. LX, nos 172a and b.

²⁰⁵ DUPONT 1998, 148–150, fig. 23.2, generally dated to the 6th century BC.

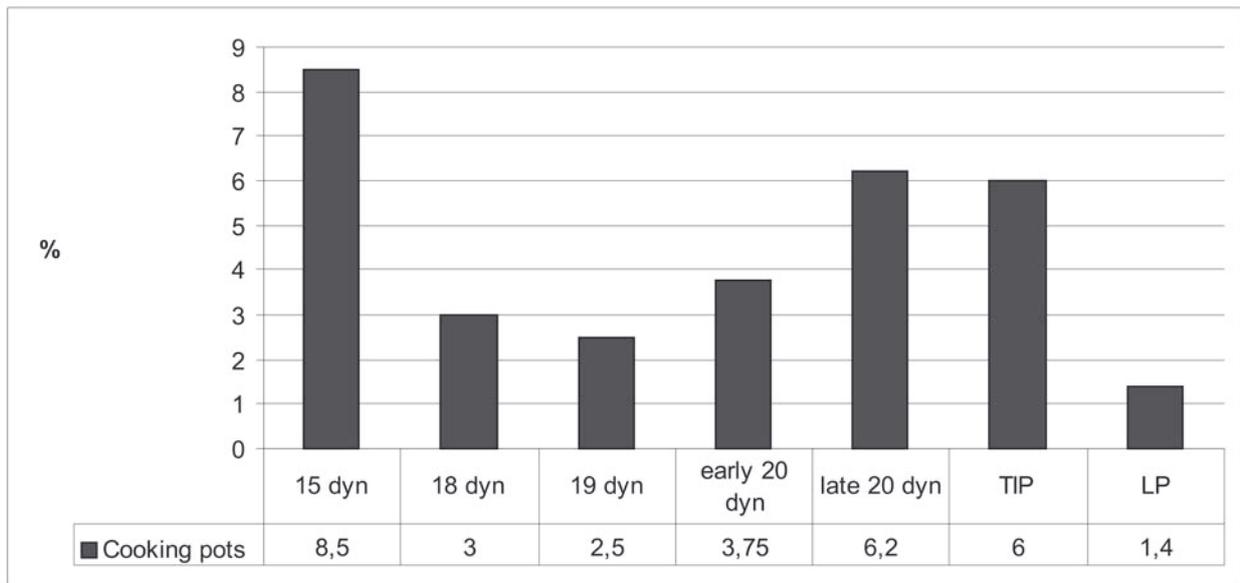


Fig. 123 Diagram showing occurrence of cooking pots within periods represented at the site (Processing A. Wodzińska).

and no conical bread molds that are so typical of New Kingdom contexts;²⁰⁶

- Third Intermediate Period – very similar to the New Kingdom pattern, although the material contained more bread trays (5.5%);
- 15th dynasty, late 20th dynasty – 58–59% open forms, more jars than in previous groups (at the level of 39–41%);
- Late Period – material much different from other assemblages with open and closed at almost the same level, approx. 50%; it also contained more bread trays (7.7%).

It is also interesting to compare the occurrence of cooking pots within represented periods (see Fig. 123). They were relatively the most common in 15th dynasty contexts. A very small amount was found in contexts from the 18th, 19th and early 20th dynasties. The late 20th dynasty and Third Intermediate Period contained almost the same amount. The least number of cooking pots was found in Late Period layers.

Based on the diagrams (Figs. 120, 122–123) it can be proposed that similar pottery assemblages characterized the four phases from the New Kingdom: Hatshepsut–Thutmose III, Thutmose III–Amenophis II, 19th dynasty, early 20th dynasty. Briefly, there was an abundance of open forms – mostly drinking cups, serving bowls and plates,

some basins used for food preparation; relatively few closed forms consisting primarily of middle-sized jars, some storage jars and very little amphorae. There were very little cooking activities and almost no bread baking, at least in bread molds.

Ceramic material from other periods differed in character reflecting different activities and hence also presumably a different function of the settlement in Tell el-Retaba.

Conclusions

The analysis of the ceramic material excavated in the 2011 and 2012 seasons proves that Tell el-Retaba was settled during the early stage of the 15th dynasty. Only a very small fragment of the Hyksos settlement has been uncovered, but the pottery found in graves demonstrates that the site was occupied throughout the 15th dynasty.

The transition between the late 15th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty is still not clear. The site was apparently abandoned by the Hyksos and later re-occupied by the Egyptians, probably towards the end of the reign of Hatshepsut. However, there are no written sources to prove the case.

Tell el-Retaba is known for its military character, especially during the reigns of Ramesses II

²⁰⁶ ROSE 2007, 287–288, types HB2, HC1-2; BOURRIAU 2010, 131, 219, 279, 343, 410, figs 29, 53, 68, 86, 109; WILSON 2011, pls 73–75.

and later Ramesses III. Pottery patterns from the early 18th dynasty resembled those from the 19th and early 20th dynasties, hence I would suggest that the first fortress was built sometime during the early 18th dynasty, even if there are still no archaeologically explored enclosure walls to attest

to its presence. Very little evidence of cooking and baking in the pottery record indicates that the inhabitants of the Tell el-Retaba fortresses would have had to be provisioned with at least some of the edible goods.²⁰⁷

Bibliography

- ABD EL-MAKSOU, M.
1998 *Tell Heboua (1981–1991). Enquête archéologique sur la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire et le Nouvel Empire à l'extrémité orientale du Delta*. Paris.
- ALEKSEEV, V.P., DEBEC, G.F.
1964 *Kraniometrija. Metodika antropologičeskich issledovanij*, Moskva.
- ARIEL, D.T.
1990 *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985*, vol. 2, Qedem 30, Jerusalem.
- ARNOLD, D.
1991 *Building in Egypt. Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, Oxford.
- ASTON, B.G.
1994 *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels. Materials and forms*, SAGA 5, Heidelberg.
- ASTON, D.A.
1996 *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth–Seventh Centuries BC)*, SAGA 13, Heidelberg.
1998 *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q 1, I. Corpus of Fabrics, Wares and Shapes*, Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir-Piramesse 1, Mainz am Rhein.
1999 *Elephantine XIX: Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*, AV 95, Mainz am Rhein.
2004a Amphorae in New Kingdom Egypt, *Ä&L* 14, 175–213.
2004b *Tell el-Dab'a XII. A Corpus of late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Pottery*, UZK 23, Wien.
2006 Making a Splash: Ceramic Decoration in the Reigns of Tuhtmosis III and Amenophis II, 65–74, in: E. CZERNY, I. HEIN, H. HUNGER, D. MELMAN, A. SCHWAB (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honor of Manfred Bietak*, vol. 1, OLA 149, Leuven.
2007 Pottery of the Twelfth to Seventh Centuries BC, 17–59, in: D.A. ASTON, D.G. JEFFREYS (eds.), *The Survey of Memphis III. Excavations at Kom Rabia (site RAT). Post-Ramesside Levels and Pottery*, EES Excavation Memoir 81, London.
2008 A History of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Typology, 165–194, in: M. BIETAK, E. CZERNY (eds.), *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon. Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt*, Contribution to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 17, Wien.
- ASTON, D.A., ASTON, B.G.
2010 *Late Period Pottery from the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqâra. Egypt Exploration Society–National Museum of Antiquities. Leiden, Excavations 1975–1995*, EES Excavations Memoire 92, London/Leiden.
- ASTON, D., BIETAK, M.
2012 *Tell el-Dab'a VIII. The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*, UZK 12, Wien.
- BADER, B.
2009 *Tell el-Dab'a XIX. Auaris und Memphis im Mittleren Reich und in der Hyksoszeit. Vergleichsanalyse der materiellen Kultur*, UZK 31, Wien.
- BAINES, J., MÁLEK, J.
2005 *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo.
- BAVAY, L.
1998 La céramique dans le secteur du parvis de la porte monumentale, 316–332, in: Ph. BRISSAUD, C. ZIVIE-COCHE (eds.), *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sâ el-Hagar: Mission française des fouilles de Tanis*, Paris.
- BEN-TOR, D.
2007 *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*, OBO 27, Fribourg–Göttingen.
- BIETAK, M.
1991a Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age, *BASOR* 281, 27–72.
1991b *Tell el-Dab'a V. Ein Friedhofsbezirk der Mittleren Bronzezeitkultur mit Totentempel und Siedlungsschichten*, UZK 8, Wien.
- BOURRIAU, J.
2010 *The Survey of Memphis IV. Kom Rabia: the New Kingdom Pottery, Excavations Memoirs* 93, London.
- BÄURER, G.
1988 Osteometrie, 160–232, in: KNUSSMANN, R. (ed.): *Anthropologie: Handbuch der vergleichenden Biologie des Menschen*. Band I, Stuttgart–New York.
- BRUNTON, G.
1948 *Matmar*, London.

²⁰⁷ See also WODZIŃSKA in RZEPKA *et al.* 2011, 169.

- CAMINOS, R.
1954 *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, London.
- CAVILLIER, G.
2008 *Migdol. Ricerche su modelli di architettura militare di età ramesside (Medinet Habu)*. BAR International Series 1755, Oxford.
- DAVIES, N.G.
1930 *Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York.
- DEBONO, F.
1994 Un Atelier d'Artisans au Ramesseum, *Memnonia* 4–5, 37–53.
- DEFERNEZ, C.
2003 *La céramique d'époque perse à Tell el-Herr. Étude chrono-typologique et comparative*, CRIPEL Supplément N°5/1–2, Lille.
- DUPONT, P.
1998 Archaic East Greek Trade Amphoras, 142–190, in: R.M. COOK, P. DUPONT (eds.), *East Greek Pottery*, London–New York.
- EL-HANGOURY, M.S.
2003 *Eighth Nome of Lower Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. Archaeological Research* (unpublished PhD dissertation in Arabic), University of Tanta.
- EL-SAWY, A.
1979 *Excavations at Tell Basta, Report of Seasons 1967–1971 and Catalogue of Finds*, Prague.
- FORSTNER-MÜLLER, I.
2008 *Tell el-Dab'a XVI. Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab'a*, UZK 28, Wien.
- FRANKFORT, H., and PENDLEBURY, J.D.S.
1933 *The City of Akhenaten. Part II. The North Suburb and the Desert Altars. The Excavations at Tell el Amarna during the Seasons 1926–1932*, London.
- FREED, R. (ed.)
1982 *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.*, Boston.
- FRENCH, P.
1992 A Preliminary Study on Pottery in Lower Egypt in the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods, *CCE* 3, 83–93.
- FULLER, M.
[http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba 1981pots.html](http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba%201981pots.html)
- GIDDY, L.
1999 *Kom Rabi'a. The New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects. The Survey of Memphis II*, London.
- HÖLSCHER, U.
1921 *Die Wiedergewinnung von Medinet Habu*, Tübingen.
- HOFFMEIER, J., ABD EL-MAKSOUND, M.
2003 A New Military Site on 'The Ways of Horus': Tell el-Borg 1999–2001: A Preliminary Report, *JEA* 89: 169–197.
- HOLLADAY, J.S.
1982 *Cities of the Delta, Part III. Tell el-Maskhuta. Preliminary Report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978–1979*, ARCE Reports 6, Malibu.
- HÖRBURGER, J.O.
2007 Black Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware in Egypt: The Distribution of a Cypriot Import, 107–113, in: I. HEIN (ed.), *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Contribution to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 13, Wien.
- HUDEEC, J., DUBCOVÁ, V.
2013 *Some discoveries of the early New Kingdom's architecture in Tell el-Retaba-West*, Delta and Sinai. Current research, April 25–27, 2013, Warsaw.
<http://www.archo.uw.edu.pl/zalaczniki/upload1272.pdf>
- HULKOVÁ, L.
2013 *Cultural and Chronological Boundaries: The Hyksos Graves of Tell el-Retaba*, Current Research in Egyptology XIV, March 19–22, 2013, Cambridge, 31. wpv20.user.srcf.net/cre.pdf online July 10, 2013.
- HULKOVÁ, L., ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, A., NOUR ED-DIN, M.
2013 *Preliminary Report on Some Hyksos Graves of Tell el-Retaba, Delta and Sinai. Current Research, April 25–27, 2013, Warsaw*.
<http://www.archo.uw.edu.pl/zalaczniki/upload1271.pdf>
- JANKOVICH, K.
2008 *Ezbet Helmi, Palastbezirk der Hyksoszeit und des Neuen Reichs: nichtkeramische Funde: (Areale Helmi I, III und IV)* (unpublished Master thesis), University of Vienna.
- JÁNOSI, P.
1996 Hausanlagen der späten Hyksoszeit und der 18. Dynastie in Tell el-Dab'a und Ezbet Helmi, 85–92, in: M. BIETAK (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten. Internationales Symposium 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo*, UZK 14, Wien.
- 2002 Bericht über die im Frühjahr 2001 erfolgten Sondagen im Dorf Ezbet Helmi (Grabungsfläche H/I). *Ä&L* 12, 195–210.
- JARMUŽEK, Ł.
2010 Loom-weights or net-weights? *GM* 226, 17–23.
- JEFFREYS, D.G.
2006 *Survey of Memphis. Kom Rabi'a: the New Kingdom Settlement (Levels II–V)*, London.
- KEMP, B., STEVENS, A.
2010a *Busy lives at Amarna: Excavations in the Main City (Grid 12 and the house of Ranefer, N49.18, vol. I: The Excavations, Architecture and Environmental Remains*, London.

- 2010b *Busy lives at Amarna: Excavations in the Main City (Grid 12 and the house of Ranefer, N49.18, vol. II: The Objects*, London.
- KOPETZKY, K.
- 2010 *Tell el-Dab'a XX. Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik der Zweiten Zwischenzeit aus Tell el-Dab'a*, UZK 32, Wien.
- LACOVARA, P.
- 1997 *The New Kingdom Royal City*, London, New York.
- LILYQUIST, CH.
- 1995 *Egyptian Sone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV*, New York.
- MLINAR, CH.
- 2004 The Scarab Workshops of Tell el-Dab'a, 107–140, in: M. BIETAK, E. CZERNY (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant. Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna, 10th–13th of January 2002*, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 8, Wien.
- MORRIS, E.F.
- 2005 *The Architecture of Imperialism. Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 22, Leiden–Boston.
- MYŚLIWIEC, K.
- 1989 Dreihenklige Gefäße in Ägypten, *MDAIK* 45, 239–247.
- NAVILLE, E.
- 1887 *The Shrine of Saft-El-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 5, London.
- PEET, T.E. and WOOLLEY, C.L.
- 1923 *The City of Akhenaten I. Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-Amarnah*, *MEES* 38, London.
- PENDLEBURY, J.D.S.
- 1951 *The City of Akhenaten III. The Central City and the Officials Quarters. The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Seasons 1926–1936*, *MEES* 44, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F.
- 1917 *Tools and Weapons*, London.
- 1927 *Objects of Daily Use*, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., DUNCAN, J.G.
- 1906 *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, London: Office of School of Archaeology, London.
- PETSCHER, S.
- 2011 *Den Dolch betreffend: Typologie der Stichwaffen in Ägypten von der prädynastischen Zeit bis zur 3. Zwischenzeit*, Wiesbaden.
- PHILIP, G.
- 2006 *Tell el-Dab'a XV. Metalwork and Metalworking Evidence of the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*. UZK 26, Vienna.
- REDMOUNT, C.A.
- 1989 *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier: an Archaeological History of the Wadi Tumilat*, (unpublished PhD dissertation), University of Chicago.
- 1995 Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58 (4), 182–190.
- ROSE, P.
- 2007 *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, EES Excavations Memoire 83, London.
- RZEPKA, S., WODZIŃSKA, A., HUDEC, J., HERBICH, T.
- 2009 Tell el Retaba 2007–2008, *Ä&L* 19, 241–280.
- RZEPKA, S., WODZIŃSKA, MALLESON C., HUDEC J., L. JARMUZEK, MISIEWICZ K., MAŁKOWSKI W., BOGACKI M.
- 2011 New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba, *Ä&L* 21: 129–184.
- RZEPKA S., NUR EL-DIN M., WODZIŃSKA A, JARMUZEK, Ł.
- 2013a Egyptian Mission Rescue Excavations in Tell el-Retaba. Part 1: New Kingdom Remains, *Ä&L* 22/23, 253–288.
- RZEPKA, S., HUDEC, J., JARMUZEK, Ł.
- 2013b Tell el-Retaba – season 2010, *PAM* 22, 79–95.
- RZEPKA, S., HUDEC J., JARMUZEK, Ł., PIORUN M.
- 2014 Tell el-Retaba – season 2011, *PAM* 23/1.
- SAGONA, A.G.
- 1982 Levantine Storage Jars of the 13th to 4th Century BC, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14:7, 73–110.
- SCHOTT, S., BITTEL, K., and NEUFFER, E.
- 1932 Bericht über die zweite vom Deutschen Institut für Ägyptische Altertumskunde nach dem Ostdelta-Rand und in das Wadi Tumilat unternommene Erkundungsfahrt, *MDAIK* 2, 39–73.
- SEYFRIED, F. (ed.)
- 2012 *In the Light of Amarna. 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery*, Berlin.
- SHALEV, S.
- 2004 *Swords and Daggers in Late Bronze Age Canaan*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde 13, Stuttgart.
- SPENCE, K.
- 2010 Settlement Structure and Social Interaction at El-Amarna, 289–298, in: M. BIETAK, E. CZERNY, I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, Vienna.
- SPENCE, K.
- 2012 Amarna: Palaces, Houses and Outlying Settlements, 71–77, in: F. SEYFRIED (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna. 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery*, Berlin.
- SZPAKOWSKA, K.
- 2003 Playing with Fire: Initial Observations on the Religious Uses of Clay Cobras from Amarna, *JARCE* 40, 113–122.

THOMAS, A.P.

1981 *Gurob: A New Kingdom Town*. *Egyptology Today* 5, Warminster.

TIETZE, Ch.

1985 Amarna. Analyse der Wohnhäuser und soziale Struktur der Stadtbewohner, *ZÄS* 112, 48–84.

1986 Amarna (Teil II). Analyse der ökonomischen Beziehungen der Stadtbewohner, *ZÄS* 113, 44–55.

2012 Amarna – the city and the surrounding area, 57–70, in: F. SEYFRIED (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna. 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery*, Berlin.

TILLMANN, A.

2007 *Neolithikum in der Späten Bronzezeit. Steingeräte des 2. Jahrtausends aus Auaris-Piramesse*, Die Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim in Qantir-Piramesse, Band 4, Hildesheim.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M.

1982 *Tombs and burials customs at Tell el-Dab'a and their Cultural Relationship to Syria – Palestine during the Second Intermediate Period*, Vienna.

VANDIER D'ABBADIE, J.

1972 *An Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des Objets de Toilette Égyptiens*. Paris.

VON PILGRIM, C.

1996 *Elephantine XVIII. Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, AV 91, Mainz am Rhein.

WILSON, P.

2011 *Sais I. The Ramesside–Third Intermediate Period at Kom Rebwa*, EES Excavations Memoire 98, London.

WODZIŃSKA, A.

2010 Tell el-Retaba. Ceramic survey, 2007, *PAM* 19, 152–159.

2011 Pottery and Chronology. Preliminary Remarks on Ceramic Material from Tell el-Retaba, 1015–1036, in: D. ASTON, B. BADER, C. GALLORINI, P. NICHOLSON AND S. BUCKINGHAM (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, OLA 204, Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Ma.