

HARD TO PIN DOWN – CLOTHING PINS IN THE EASTERN DELTA OF EGYPT AND THEIR DIFFUSION IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

Silvia Prell¹

Abstract: So-called ‘toggle pins’ are a common find, not only in the Middle, but already in the Early Bronze Age. When found in tombs, they can accompany males and females and the common opinion is that they held together a burial shroud, or specifically the garment of the deceased. The first metal toggle pins appear in the Chalcolithic Period, mainly in south-eastern Anatolia. They became common in Syro-Mesopotamia from the middle of the Early Bronze Age onwards. Most of the earliest examples are unperforated, but a few perforated specimens are attested already from the end of the 4th millennium BCE. Clothing pins were introduced into the southern Levant at the end of the Early Bronze Age, but perforated pins are few in number, getting common only at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age and are then widely diffused in the region until the end of the period. Plain pins and pins with cylindrical heads and ribbed decoration are the most common types at Tell el-Dab’a and the rest of the Eastern Delta, where pins do not show as much variety as those from the southern Levant. In all, forms are quite comparable and spread across a wide area, which is not astonishing as the shape is designed for a specific practical use. Nonetheless, distinct forms, decorations or materials might point to a common cultural background of the owners, especially as clothing pins are an entirely non-Egyptian type of object.

Keywords: clothing pins, Tell el-Dab’a, Eastern Delta, Levant, foreign relations

Introduction

So-called ‘toggle pins’ are a common grave good in the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) Levant and can be found in female as well in male interments. They sometimes come in pairs,² although seldom identical, and can even be of different materials.³ Common opinion is that they served to hold together a burial shroud, or specifically the garment of the deceased, as they are often found near the shoulders or the head.⁴ In addition to their position within tombs, a statue of a royal female found at Ebla depicts the way how these pins were worn. The pin is decorated with a ducks head, the spiky end points towards the shoulder.⁵ Bone inlays from Mari show the pins worn in the same fashion.⁶ Such clothing pins are usually of copper alloy, although bone, silver and gold specimens are also attested.⁷

The term ‘toggle pin’, introduced by Petrie,⁸ is a little misleading as already Henschel-Simon remarked.⁹ Actually, they are maybe better simply termed clothing pins, in this case characterized by an eyelet shank. This eyelet most likely served to affix the pin to the clothing in order to secure it.¹⁰ Examples of various layouts with different head types and decoration, with or without eyelet, are diffused across Mesopotamia, Syria,¹¹ Palestine,¹² Anatolia¹³ and Cyprus.¹⁴ Comparable pins are also attested in Europe, albeit perforated specimens are not known in Europe before the MBA.¹⁵ Clothing pins made from metal are also a common find in Transcaucasia,¹⁶ disclosing the immense range of

¹ Austrian Academy of Sciences; ‘The Enigma of the Hyksos’ Project.

² See STORK 2014, 326 f. for some examples of burials with more than two pins.

³ PHILIP 2006, 222.

⁴ SINGER-AVITZ 2004, 1005; MONTERO FENOLLÓS 2001, 25; HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 171 f.

⁵ PINNOCK 2014/2015, 52, fig. 13.

⁶ PARROT 1962, pls. XI–XII. See as well below.

⁷ KLEIN 1992, 229 f.

⁸ PETRIE 1906, 12.

⁹ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 169. See as well BIANCHI and FRANKE 2011, 204.

¹⁰ See HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 172, fig. 3.

¹¹ KLEIN 1992.

¹² HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938.

¹³ SELOVER 2010, 147; EGELI 1995; LAZZARI 1986.

¹⁴ WEINSTEIN BALTHAZAR 1990, 380–383; CATLING 1964, figs. 5.12–22, 6.1–8.

¹⁵ SCHLOR 1994, 25–28.

¹⁶ HANČAR 1932.

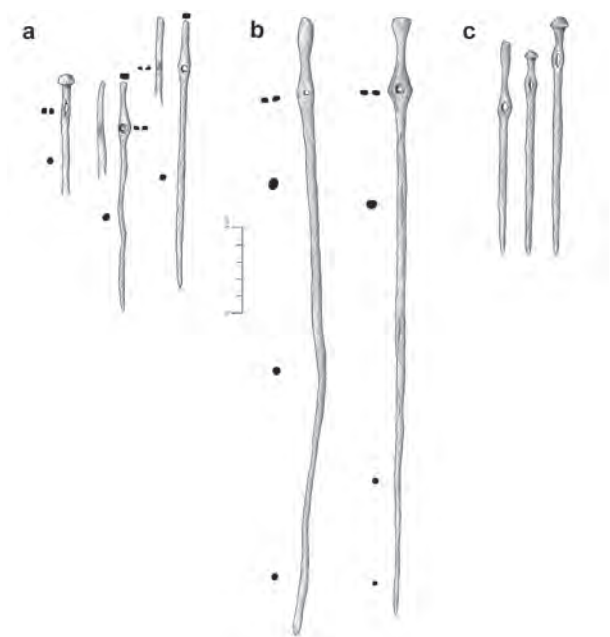


Fig. 1 Early perforated clothing pins in the Southern Levant dating to EB IV/transitional EBA–MBA: **a** 'Enan (redrawn by S. Prell after EISENBERG 1985, 70 f., fig. 10.59–61) **b** Ma'ayan Barukh (redrawn by S. Prell after AMIRAN 1961, 91, fig. 8.22–23) **c** Megiddo (redrawn by S. Prell after GUY 1938, 169, fig. 173.1–3)



Fig. 2 Distribution of early perforated and unperforated clothing pins (EB IV/transitional EBA–MBA) in the Southern Levant (plot S. Prell)

their general distribution, although types and décor differ from region to region.

The first metal pins appear in the Chalcolithic Period, mainly in south-eastern Anatolia.¹⁷ They are more frequently attested in Syro-Mesopotamia from the middle of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) onwards,¹⁸ as in the A-Cemetery at Kish or the tombs at Ur.¹⁹ In the Upper Euphrates Valley, unperforated specimens occur mainly in mortuary contexts as early as EB I–II.²⁰ The earliest metal examples are mainly unperforated, but those with eyelet shanks are documented as early as the end of the 4th millennium BCE in tombs at Susa²¹ and are also known from early layers at Tepe Gawra.²² Perforated specimens became common in Mesopotamia from the Early Dynastic I–II onwards,²³ but unperforated clothing pins remained widely diffused.

Except for possible decoration, the differing head types especially mark the pins' regional distribution throughout time and space. Pins with simple, club-shaped or conical heads are often encountered in Syria and the Levant in the late EBA. Types with flattened heads are currently dated to the transitional period between the EBA and MBA.²⁴ The earliest known examples for perforated pins from the southern Levant were recovered among 14 undecorated pins of different shape in a tomb at 'Enan²⁵ (EB IV, Fig. 1a), not all of which are perforated and in this case equipped with coiled heads. An early example for perforated, otherwise undecorated clothing pins was also found in tomb III at Ma'ayan Barukh (Fig. 1 b).²⁶ These specimens are only paralleled by three pins from the transitional EBA to MBA period from Megiddo (Fig. 1c).²⁷ All are plain and belong to Henschel-Simon's types 1–3,²⁸ bearing a semi-globular, club-shaped head or no head at all. Some unperforated plain pins, dating to the end of the EBA and sometimes equipped with a coiled head, might very well be clothing pins; however, despite first impressions gained from the distribution map (Fig. 2), they are rather rare in the region, the

¹⁷ LAZZARI 1986; EGELI 1995, 182–191.

¹⁸ MELLINK 1956, 33.

¹⁹ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 170 f.

²⁰ STORK 2014.

²¹ BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1984, 8, pl. 3.20.

²² KLEIN 1992, 235.

²³ KLEIN 1992, 291.

²⁴ IAMONI 2012, 357.

²⁵ EISENBERG 1985, 70 f., fig. 10. Additionally, a perforated pin was found in EB I layers at Yiftah'el, but might be a simple needle, see SHALEV and BRAUN 1997, 92, fig. 11.1.

²⁶ AMIRAN 1961, 91, fig. 8.22–23, pl. XII.8.3–4; it has to be emphasized that these specimens are extraordinarily long.

²⁷ GUY 1938, 169 f., fig. 173.1–3, pls. 86.2, 102.7–10.

²⁸ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 192, pls. LXVII, LXVIII.6, 10, 14.

southernmost site at which they are documented being Lachish.²⁹ Except for the few examples mentioned above, perforated clothing pins were only introduced to the southern Levant at the beginning of the MBA,³⁰ occurring until MB IIB–C in large quantities and at many sites. Clothing pins are still in use in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) but are gradually replaced by fibulae,³¹ completely disappearing in the Iron Age.

As confirmed by metallurgical analyses, the more elaborate forms of clothing pins are certainly cast.³² The use of this technique for their production is supported by the matrices of some preserved moulds.³³ Simpler types can also be cast and hammered, the heads attached separately.³⁴ If not already executed while casting the pin, perforations could be made by piercing the shank with a sharp tool, with a round punch producing a circular perforation and a chisel-like tool a more oval perforation.³⁵

As clothing pins are often found in tombs lying close to scarabs, normally considered as a protective element for the deceased, some authors concluded that they might also have had a special meaning besides their practical usage as fasteners for garments.³⁶ Although seemingly impractical for daily use, an example from Ur was found with a ring threaded through the pin-hole, to which a chain was suspended and, through the latter, a cylinder seal was affixed.³⁷ The already mentioned

bone inlays from Mari further show cylinder seals attached to one of the two pins fastening the garment of the depicted women, as well as other elements of additional decoration.³⁸ So, one could assume that scarabs or other seals might have been attached, at least occasionally, directly to pins.³⁹ That these pins certainly are items of daily use, not produced solely to accompany the deceased into the tomb, is demonstrated, apart from the known depictions,⁴⁰ by their occurrence within settlements, most likely representing lost items when found within occupational layers.⁴¹ Occasionally they can also occur in deposits of cultic nature,⁴² as for instance at Tell Dan,⁴³ the foundation deposit of the temple of Byblos,⁴⁴ in *favissa* L.5238 at Ebla,⁴⁵ or at the temple of Nahariya.⁴⁶

It is not the aim of this article to comprehensively present all available data concerning clothing pins, even not in the MBA only, although this attempt would be desirable. Only comparisons to the types of pins found at Tell el-Dab'a were collected as thoroughly as possible and herein assessed to give the reader at least a broad overview about the material at hand. As such, the inventory certainly is incomplete and as only pins akin to the ones found in the Eastern Delta were collected, some sites, e.g. Ebla, might seem under-represented, but simply did not yield material suitable for direct comparison. For further information, clothing pins from Syria and Mesopotamia

²⁹ AZOR: BEN-TOR 1975, 24, pl. 22.7; Dhahr Mirzbaneh: LAPP 1966, 54–56, fig. 27.11; 'Ay: PRAG 1974, 93, fig. 9.4; Lachish: TUFNELL 1958, pl. 22.10; Hazore'a: ANATI 1963, 369; el-Husn: HARDING 1953, pl. I.81–82; Qadesh: TADMOR 1978, pl. 11B; Jericho: LAPP 1966, 55; Jerusalem: SAAD 1964, pl. XXXVI.9–11; Gal'ed: MEIR 1974, 32, fig. 7.9–10; Gibeon: PRITCHARD 1963, 60, fig. 62.47; Beth-Shean: MAZAR and ROTEM 2012, 361, figs. 9.4.1, 9.9; OREN 1973, 40, 172, fig. 19.11; Golan: EPSTEIN 1985, 3, fig. 2; Tell Ashir: GOPHNA and AYALON 2003, 62, fig. 12; el-Atan: NIGRO et al. 2017, 228, 251, fig. 17; Jebel Qa'aqir: DEVER 1970, 148, fig. 3.10–12; DEVER 2014, 284, fig. IE3.9; el-'Umayri: WAHEEB and PALUMBO 1993, 152, 160, fig. 7.5–6.

³⁰ GERSTENBLITH 1983, 94 f.

³¹ PEDDE 2000; STRONACH 1959.

³² E.g. SHALEV 2010, 47.

³³ KLEIN 1992, 231, pl. 191.6–7; Alalakh: SELOVER 2010, 148; Homs Museum: MOUSLI 1989/1990 (KLEIN 1992, 231, fn. 38, type I.12B2c); Tell el-Dhiba'i: DAVEY 1983, 178 f., fig. 5.19; Ain Shams: HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 174, pl. LXX.I 8671c; Zincirli: MÜLLER-KARPE 1994, 152, pl. 53.1.

³⁴ SHALEV 2010, 47; KLEIN 1992, 232.

³⁵ KLEIN 1992, 236.

³⁶ STORK 2014, 326–328; BAKER 2012, 33; BAKER 2006, 2; KLEIN 1992, 254 f.

³⁷ KLEIN 1992, 252–254; HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 170 f.; WOOLLEY 1934, pl. 231.1d.

³⁸ PARROT 1962, pls. XI–XII.

³⁹ For instance, scarabs at Rishon le-Zion were often found close to the pin, see KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 493. The close positioning of two pins and a ring mounted scarab in an MB IIB burial at Tell Abel Beth Maacah also points to this possibility, see PANITZ-COHEN et al. 2018, 137 f. At Tell el-Dab'a, though, it seems that scarabs were regularly placed close to one hand of the deceased, FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 46; BIETAK 1991, 46, 133, 156, 171.

⁴⁰ KLEIN 1992, pls. 192–195; PINNOCK 2014/2015, 52, fig. 13.

⁴¹ For example, 44% of the clothing pins unearthed at Tell el-Dab'a derive from settlement layers (see below).

⁴² KLEIN 1992, 254–257.

⁴³ ILAN 1992, 252 f., figs. 6–7, called 'stick pins' by him.

⁴⁴ For the clothing pins included, see HUBERT 1925, 18, pl. II; TUFNELL and WARD 1966, 217–220, fig. 10. For the disputed date of the finds see BEN-TOR 1998 with further literature.

⁴⁵ MARCHETTI and NIGRO 1998, 25, fig. 13; MATTHIAE 1993, 658, fig. 24.

⁴⁶ DOTHAN 1956, 20, pl. 3E.

are discussed extensively in Klein's publication,⁴⁷ which unfortunately does not include the specimens deriving from the southern Levant. Commonly used as a reference for such southern Levantine objects is Henschel-Simon's publication which is, although thorough, rather out of date.⁴⁸ For typologies, Kenyon divides the clothing pins found by her in the Jericho tombs into eight groups (A–G and miscellaneous).⁴⁹ Lazzari presents clothing pins from Anatolia in his article⁵⁰ and the classifications of Lazzari and Henschel-Simon are compared in Klein's publication with his own assessment.⁵¹

Except for one example,⁵² only perforated specimens are accounted for at Tell el-Dab'a. The perforation with a circular or oval eyelet is a distinct typological feature on its own, although perforated and non-perforated pins can also occur as a set.⁵³ In all, forms are quite comparable and spread across a wide area, which is not astonishing as a pin's shape is designed for a specific practical use. Nonetheless, distinct forms, decorations or materials might point to a common cultural background of the owners,⁵⁴ especially as those pins are an entirely non-Egyptian type of object.⁵⁵ Therefore comparisons might lead to a better understanding from where the people settling down in the Eastern Delta of Egypt during the MBA came. Together with Tell el-Dab'a, pins are only found at the following sites in Egypt: Tell el Yahudiye,⁵⁶ Tell el-Retabe,⁵⁷ Tell el-Mansheya,⁵⁸ Tell el-Maskhoutha,⁵⁹ Tell Hebwa,⁶⁰ Memphis⁶¹ and Gurob.⁶² According

to Schaeffer, similar pins also derive from "les tombes dites Hyksos" at Sedment and Qau el-Kebir,⁶³ which are either not published,⁶⁴ or have been incorrectly attributed to these sites.

Clothing pins in Tell el-Dab'a-Avaris and in the Eastern Delta of Egypt

As already stated, clothing pins are relatively rare in Egypt and occur exclusively in the Eastern Delta with only a few examples documented further south. One clothing pin came to light in grave 4 in Tell el-Retabe bearing a ribbed decoration above the eyelet.⁶⁵ Its thick, club-like head does not find a direct comparison at Tell el-Dab'a and this shape seems to be rather unique. According to associated pottery, the tomb is assigned to Tell el-Dab'a stratum D/3–2,⁶⁶ or the end of the MBA, although the form of the pin rather seems 'archaic'.⁶⁷ Remains of a badly corroded, incomplete pin were also found in grave 13.⁶⁸ Another pin with a club-shaped head came to light in grave 5 (again Tell el-Dab'a stratum D/3–2), which also contained a dagger amongst its inventory.⁶⁹ Tomb 11 at Tell el-Mansheya, also dating to the end of the Second Intermediate Period (SIP), yielded a pin that most likely is broken at the top, but shows a ribbed decoration below the preserved eyelet,⁷⁰ so one could assume that it was also decorated above the eyelet. At Tell el-Yahudiye, toggle pins are known from graves 2, 5 and 37 and are, according to the drawings, undecorated.⁷¹ The tombs at Tell el-Maskhou-

⁴⁷ KLEIN 1992. See as well TALLON 1987, 227–251.

⁴⁸ HENSCHHEL-SIMON 1938.

⁴⁹ KENYON 1960, 297 f.

⁵⁰ LAZZARI 1986. For Anatolian pins see also EGELI 1995.

⁵¹ KLEIN 1992, 285–288.

⁵² PHILLIP 2006, 102, no. 173, 97, fig. 46.14. See also Fig. 20b of this article.

⁵³ KLEIN 1992, 235 f., 287.

⁵⁴ GERSTENBLITH 1983, 94.

⁵⁵ Already noted by BIETAK 2016, 270–272; SPARKS 2004, 33 f.

⁵⁶ PETRIE 1906, pl. VI.10–14.

⁵⁷ NOUR EL-DIN et al. 2016, 83 f., pl. II.617, 95, pl. VI.13a; HUDEC et al. 2018, 103 f., fig. 6.

⁵⁸ AHMED et al. 2018, 45, pl. V.47.

⁵⁹ HOLLADAY 1997, 197, fig. 7.9.19.

⁶⁰ MAKSOUUD 1998, 263, fig. 46.476.

⁶¹ GIDDY 1999, 168, pl. 36.88a–c, 2023.

⁶² PETRIE 1891, pl. XXII.1–3.

⁶³ SCHAEFFER 1938, 220. He does not indicate his source for this statement.

⁶⁴ PETRIE and BRUNTON 1924a+b; PETRIE 1930b.

⁶⁵ NOUR EL-DIN et al. 2016, 83 f., pl. II.617.

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Anna Wodzińska for providing me with this information based on the associated pottery.

⁶⁷ Undecorated pins with this head shape are known from Megiddo dating to the transitional EBA to MBA, see HENSCHHEL-SIMON 1938, 192, type 2. Klein (Typ I.6A3) lists only examples from Byblos dating to the EBA, see KLEIN 1992, 69. Comparable pins, also dating to the EBA, are known from Tell Arqa, see GERNEZ 2008, 260. For a comparable pin from a mixed EBA–MBA context in Moughret el-Hourryieh, see EL-MORR and MÖDLINGER 2014, 31, fig. 3.

⁶⁸ NOUR EL-DIN et al. 2016, 95, pl. VI.13a.

⁶⁹ NOUR EL-DIN et al. 2016, 86, not illustrated. I am grateful to Mostafa Nour el-Din and Jozef Hudec to provide me with a photograph of this pin showing that its head is indeed club-shaped.

⁷⁰ AHMED et al. 2018, 45, pl. V.47.

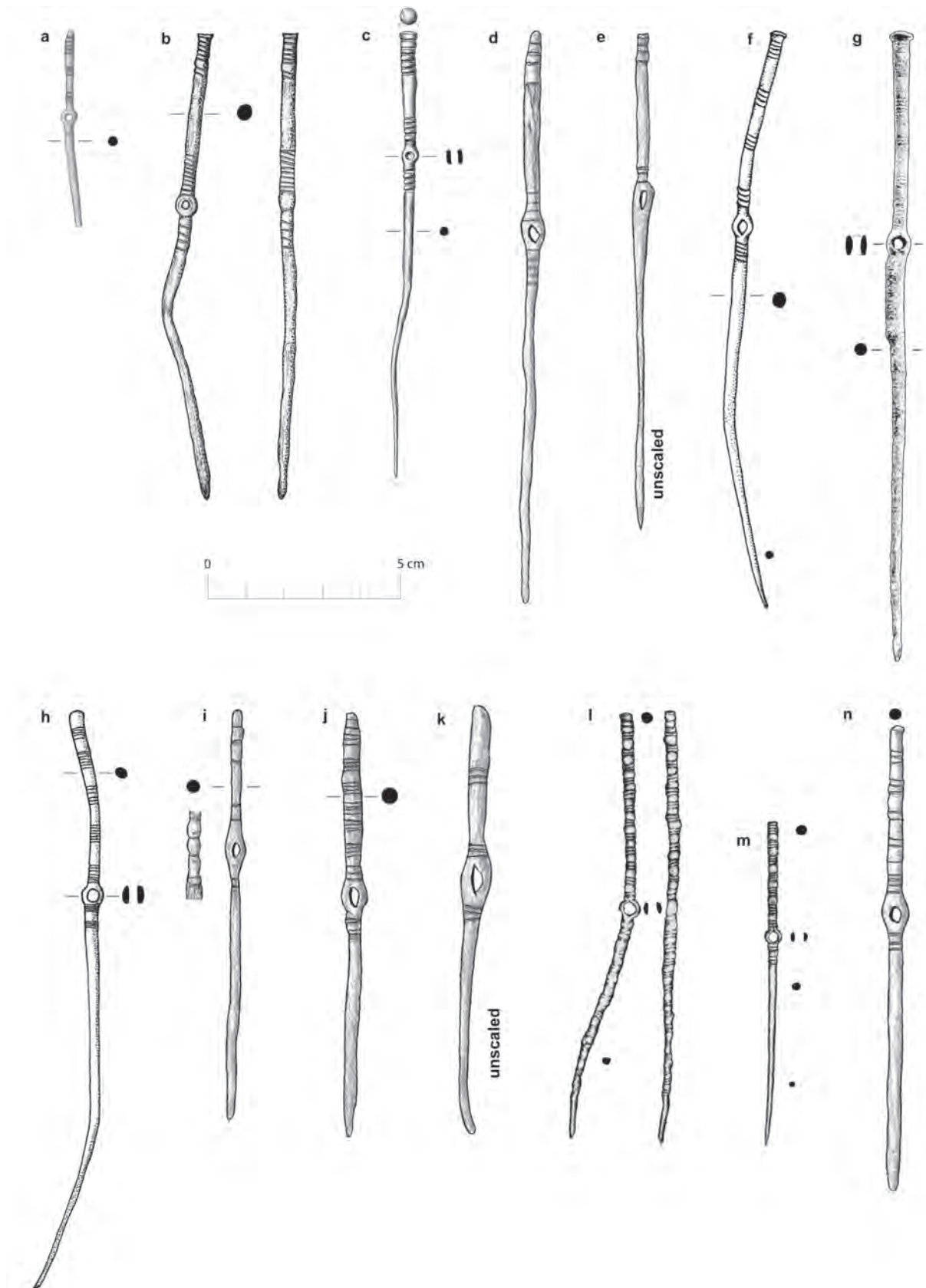


Fig. 3 Clothing pins with grouped decoration: **a** Tell el-Dab'a inv.-no. 9658F (after PRELL 2015, 34, fig. 29) **b** Tell el-Dab'a inv.-no. 4132 (© ÖAI-OREA archive) **c** Tell el-Dab'a inv.-no. 9352S (© ÖAI-OREA archive) **d** Gurob, 18th dynasty (redrawn by S. Prell after PETRIE 1891, pl. XXII.1) **e** Tell el Far'ah (N) (redrawn by S. Prell after DE VAUX 1962, 244, fig. 4.2) **f** Qiryat Shemona (S) (after NATIV 2012, 186, fig. 14.4.6; drawing R. Penhas) **g** Sidon (© Sidon excavation) **h** Safed (after DAMATI and STEPANSKY 1996, 18*, fig. 19.6–7; by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority) **i–j** Gibeon (redrawn by S. Prell after PRITCHARD 1963, figs. 24.96, 41.39) **k** Alalakh (redrawn by S. Prell after WOOLLEY 1955, pl. LXXIII.P2) **l–m** Sasa (after BEN ARIEH 2004, 11*, fig. 10.1–2; by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority) **n** Jericho (redrawn by S. Prell after KENYON 1965, 464, fig. 245.1)

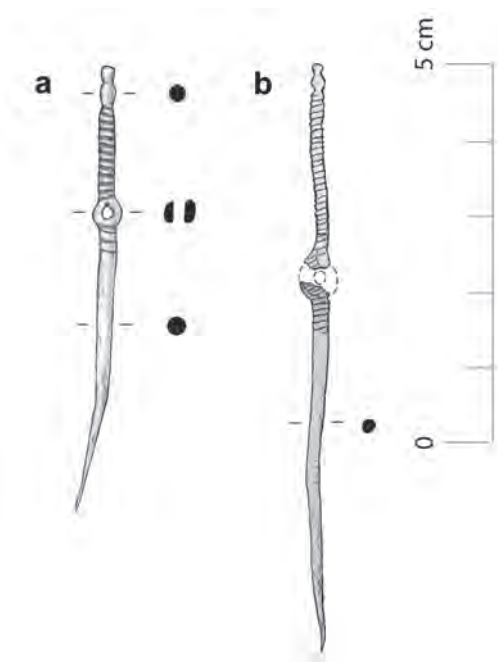


Fig. 4 Clothing pins with vasiform head from Tell el-Dab'a
a inv.-no 9616 (© ÖAI-OREA archive; drawing R. Scheibl)
b inv.-no 5510 (© ÖAI-OREA archive)

ta also yielded some toggle pins with ribbed decoration above and below the eyelet.⁷² Tomb 117 at Tell Hebwa additionally produced a toggle pin as part of its inventory.⁷³ According to the drawing, it might be ribbed above the eyelet. As the grave goods further included a juglet of 'White Painted

VI Ware', this tomb can be dated either very late in the SIP or to the beginning of the 18th dynasty.⁷⁴ Some 'toggle pin' fragments from settlement layers at Memphis⁷⁵ and some specimens found at Gurob⁷⁶ also date to the beginning of the New Kingdom.⁷⁷

Philip lists 69 clothing pins deriving from Tell el-Dab'a.⁷⁸ Six more examples were found in settlement contexts during the excavation of area R/III.⁷⁹ The pin inv.-no. 9658F⁸⁰ has to be highlighted as it shows a ribbed decoration above the eyelet that is grouped in three zones (Fig. 3a), a type of decoration that is so far unique for pins at Tell el-Dab'a.⁸¹ Comparable, but not identical, are pins inv.-no. 4132⁸² and inv.-no. 9352S (Figs. 3b–c), showing a ribbed decoration directly below and above the eyelet and then again on the uppermost part of the cylindrical head, while the space in between is plain. The latter decoration finds a parallel in a pin excavated by Petrie at Gurob (Fig. 3d).⁸³ Another comparable object derives from a tomb at Tell Far'ah (N) (Fig. 3e).⁸⁴ Another close, but unstratified parallel, ribbed below the eyelet and showing four ribbed groups above, was found in L1149 at Qiryat Shemona (S) (Fig. 3f).⁸⁵ A pin with six groups of ribbed decoration is known from level 8 in Sidon (Fig. 3g).⁸⁶ Examples with grouped decoration are also documented at Safed,⁸⁷ Gibeon,⁸⁸ Alalakh,⁸⁹ Sasa⁹⁰ and Jericho⁹¹ (see Fig. 3h–n and Fig. 19 for distribution).

⁷¹ TUFNELL 1978, 86, 91, fig. 9; PETRIE 1906, 12 f., pl. VI.

⁷² HOLLADAY 1997, fig. 7.9.19–20. I am grateful to Aleksandra Ksiezak to inform me that altogether ten pins of similar layout were found in graves and one more derives from the settlement.

⁷³ MAKSOUH 1998, 97, 263, fig. 46.476.

⁷⁴ White Painted VI occurs in Tell el-Dab'a already in stratum D/2, see MAGUIRE 2009, 40 f., table 2–3. See as well VILAIN 2019, 394 f.

⁷⁵ GIDDY 1999, 168, pl. 36.88a–c, 2023.

⁷⁶ PETRIE 1891, pl. XXII.1–3.

⁷⁷ For another early 18th dynasty tomb with a silver toggle pin at Tell el-Retabe, see below and HUDEC et al. 2018, 103 f., fig. 6.

⁷⁸ PHILIP 2006, 157, tab. 8.

⁷⁹ PRELL 2015, 34 f.

⁸⁰ PRELL 2015, 34, fig. 29.

⁸¹ The other pins from area R/III are badly preserved. One (inv.-no. 9651Y) has a ribbed decoration above the eyelet, the lower part is missing. Inv.-no. 9657X shows ribbed decoration below the eyelet, the upper part is missing. The three other fragments of toggle pins do not preserve any decoration.

⁸² PHILIP 2006, 96, fig. 45.7, 98, cat.-no. 160.

⁸³ PETRIE 1891, 19, pl. XXII.1. For another clothing pin in an early 18th dynasty context see HUDEC et al. 2018, 103 f., fig. 6. Toggle pins are also still attested at the beginning of the 18th dynasty at Tell el Far'ah (S), PETRIE 1930a, 4, 7, pl. XI.83–85, 87. A possible clothing pin with coiled head is further known from a burial in Fadrus, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1991, 142, pl. 30.4. Another such pin is known from Beth-Shean, see JAMES and MCGOVERN 1993, 214, fig. 161.1. Two possible moulds for such pins found at Amarna further confirm that some wearers of 'toggle pins' were still present in Egypt during the 18th dynasty (see PEET and WOOLLEY 1923, pl. LIV.586, 559).

⁸⁴ DE VAUX 1962, 244, fig. 4.2.

⁸⁵ NATIV 2012, 186, fig. 14.4.6.

⁸⁶ DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 37.

⁸⁷ DAMATI and STEPANSKY 1996, fig. 196.7.

⁸⁸ PRITCHARD 1963, figs. 24.96, 41.39.

⁸⁹ WOOLLEY 1955, pl. LXXIII.P2.

⁹⁰ BEN ARIEH 2004, 11*, fig. 10.1–2.

⁹¹ KENYON 1965, 464, fig. 245.1.

Another pin was part of the inventory of tomb 46 in area A/II-o/14 and shows ribbed decoration above and below the eyelet.⁹² Three comparable pieces were also unearthed in the pit complex L81 in the Hyksos Palace in area F/II.⁹³ Three more pins came to light in area H/VI at 'Ezbet Helmi and are thus far unpublished. The already mentioned pin inv.-no. 9352S (Fig. 3c) was found in L4694 in square H/VI-u/16, pl. 4–5 in a setting of bricks that, according to the stratigraphy, predates the Thutmosid palace and can be attributed to stratum D/2.⁹⁴ Inv.-no. 9616 (Fig. 4) was found directly below wall M4025 in square H/VI-s.t/18 in an embankment above which is a Thutmosid wall, indicating that it most certainly derives originally from earlier layers.⁹⁵ The specimen is interesting as it confirms a type of needle with vasiform head (see below), known at Tell el-Dab'a only with one other example (inv.-no. 5510, Fig. 4).⁹⁶ The third pin, inv.-no. 9619 (Fig. 5), derives from a huge disturbance (L6728) of archaeological layers in square H/VI-t/26 and belongs to the type with cylindrical head, showing ribbed decoration above and below the eyelet, a type that is well attested at Tell el-Dab'a (see below).⁹⁷

From these 82 pieces in total, 44% were unearthed in settlement layers, the others were found in tombs or funerary contexts.⁹⁸ Plain examples occur as early as stratum H.⁹⁹ They became more common and partly decorated from stratum F or E/3 onwards and can be traced until the end of the SIP.¹⁰⁰ Philip divides the pins from Tell el-Dab'a into six categories, but only categories relevant for comparison are further discussed here.

Silver pins

The first type of pin unearthed at Tell el-Dab'a is not only marked by a very specific form, but also by its material: silver. Pins made from silver are

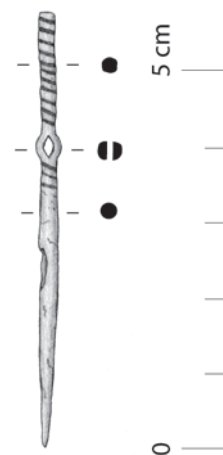


Fig. 5 Pin inv.-no. 9619 from L6728 in square H/VI-t/26 in 'Ezbet Helmi (© ÖAI-OREA archive; drawing R. Scheibl)

altogether not very common, leading Philip to conclude that Tell el-Dab'a's silver pins might have been produced in the Eastern Delta exclusively.¹⁰¹ As there is enough metalworking evidence at Tell el-Dab'a, like crucibles, tuyeres and moulds,¹⁰² this speculation certainly is within the realms of the possible, although it cannot be confirmed.

Due to the rarity of silver pins at Tell el-Dab'a, an exact comparison for their shapes is not possible. As such, the different types of silver pins are not given consideration in this study, but are listed in Table 1 according to Klein's and Henschel-Simon's typology. Nevertheless, a few observations may be made. Some of the silver pins are plain, but three pieces showing a flange at the middle of the shank are very distinctive in their form (inv.-nos. 375, 2324 and 2923, fig. 6a–c). They all derive from graves dating to Stratum E/2–D/3, so well inside the Hyksos Period. With their tiny piercing, the Tell el-Dab'a objects parallel pins known from the EBA as at Ur and Kish. There are

⁹² FORSTNER-MÜLLER 2008, 244, fig. 179.

⁹³ ASTON, BADER and KUNST 2009, 68 f., fig. 12.110.

⁹⁴ According to the excavation protocol written by Manfred Bietak.

⁹⁵ It has to be noted that some pins at Tell el-Dab'a derive from walls and might be part of foundation deposits. E.g. inv.-no. 404 was found together with a potstand in a wall in A/I-g/3–4, pl. 3–4 (Stratum D/3). Inv.-no. 4281c was found in a brick of the wall of a villa in F/I-j/22, pl. 2–3 (stratum b/3 = F). Also inv.-no. 4460 was unearthed directly below a wall together with some animal bones in F/I-k/21, pl. 2–3 (stratum b/3 = F) and pin inv.-no. 4558 was part of a possible foundation deposit in square F/I-j/22

(stratum b/2 = E/3). Found in a wall was also pin inv.-no. 343 (stratum E/2), see BIETAK 1991, 116. See as well MÜLLER 2018, 184, 187, fig. 10 and KLEIN 1992, 256 on the topic.

⁹⁶ PHILIP 2006, 95, 97, fig. 46.1. Called 'vasenförmig' by KLEIN 1992, 116.

⁹⁷ PHILIP 2006, 96, fig. 45.2.

⁹⁸ Already PHILIP 2006, 157, tab. 8 listed over a third of pins as deriving from settlement context.

⁹⁹ PHILIP 2006, 99.

¹⁰⁰ PHILIP 2006, 157.

¹⁰¹ PHILIP 2006, 158.

¹⁰² PHILIP 2006, 169–204.

Tab. 1 List (alphabetical) of silver clothing pins in the EBA and MBA (* published by KLEIN 1992)

site	head	eyelet	decoration of shank	length (in mm)	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	H.-S. 1938
Arslantepe	quadruple spiral	-	-	147	tomb	EB I	FRANGIPANE et al. 2001, 108, 117, fig. 19.19	-	
Arslantepe	quadruple spiral	-	-	161	tomb	EB I	FRANGIPANE et al. 2001, 108, 117, fig. 19.20	-	
Arslantepe	unknown	-	-	c. 80-100	hoard	late Chalcolithic	CANEVA and PALMIERI 1983, 650, sample no. 33	-	
Babylon, 'Gruff' 32	slightly thickened	soldered	-	90	tomb	MB IIC	REUTHER 1926, pl. 54p	I.1A1c*	
Bakr Awa	vasiform	oval	-	119	tomb	MB II	MIGLUS et al. 2013, 57 f., fig. 21.BA 1108/5	I.14A3a	
Byblos	flat	oval	spirally twisted above eyelet	x + 67	temple	MB IIB	DUNAND 1939, 237, fig. 211, no. 3494	I.1A2c*	
Carchemish, KCG13	lentil-shaped	round	-	155	tomb	EB I-II	WOOLLEY and BARNETT 1952, pl. 61 top	I.4A3a*	
Chagar Bazar	-	round	-	50 + x	tomb	MB IIA	McMAHON 2009, 118, pl. 1.	-	
Dinkha Tepe, tomb B28	nail with flat head	oval	-	76	tomb	MB II	MUSCARELLA 1968, 195, fig. 21	I.4A6a	
El-Jsir	flat	unclear, if pierced	unclear	87	tomb	MB II	ORY 1946, 37, pl. XIII.45	-	
Eshnunna	unknown	-	unknown	unknown	settlement	EB III	FRANKE 1988, 63	I.B.*	
Gezer, Cave 28 II	flat	round	spirally twisted above eyelet	103 + x	tomb	MB II	MACALISTER 1911, 126, pl. XXXI.12	-	7
Kara Hassan	snake-head, incised	oval	-	150	tomb	EB I-II	WOOLLEY 1914, pl. 19.c.1.	I.18A5a*	
Kharjiy	spherical	round	-	130	tomb	MB II	SAIDAH 1993-94, 186, pl. 1.1	I.8A	
Kharjiy	flat	-	none, possibly broken	58	tomb	MB II	SAIDAH 1993-94, 186, pl. 1.2	-	
Korucutepe	red bead	-	-	unknown	tomb	late Chalcolithic	BRANDT 1978, 61-62	?	
Kültepe	duck's head	-	-	unknown	settlement	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1955, fig. 86	I.18B3a*	
Kültepe, cist tomb 2	spherical	-	-	66	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1950, pl. 63, no. 379	I.8B1b*	
Kültepe, cist tomb 3	segmented, flattened on top	-	-	23	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57, no. 619	I.12B4a*	
Kültepe, tomb 14	segmented	round	ribbed above eyelet, pronounced	109	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57.617	I.12A2a*	
Kültepe, tomb 14	segmented	round	ribbed above eyelet, pronounced	109	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57.618	I.12A2a*	
Lachish	-	oval	-	59	tomb	MB IIC-LB	TUFNELL 1958, 80, pl. 24.31	-	3

site	head	eyelet	decoration of shank	length (in mm)	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	H.-S. 1938
Lapithos	nail with flat head	-	-	125	tomb	EC III	GRACE 1940, 45, 48, fig. 31.26, pl. XII	I.A4B1a	
Mari	spherical	round	ribbed in groups above and below eyelet	215	hoard	EB II	PARROT 1978, fig. 17, pl. 13.1	I.8A2a*	
Mari	hemispherical	round	ribbed in groups above and below eyelet	215	hoard	EB II	PARROT 1978, fig. 17, pl. 13.1	I.9A1c*	
Mari	hemispherical	oval	ribbed above eyelet	124	hoard	EB II	PARROT 1978, fig. 20, pl. 13.4	I.9A1a*	
Mari	hemispherical	oval	ribbed above and below eyelet	128	hoard	EB II	PARROT 1978, fig. 20, pl. 13.4	I.9A1a*	
Mari	conical	round	-	105	tomb	MB IIA	MARGUERON 1983, 34, pl. 5c	I.10A1c*	
Mari	conical	round	-	105	tomb	MB IIA	MARGUERON 1983, 34, pl. 5c	I.10A1c*	
Nahariya	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	temple	MB IIA	DOTHAN 1956, 20, not illustrated	?	
Nimive	spherical on top of ring segments	-	ring segments	55	settlement	EB I	THOMSON and MALLOWAN 1933, pl. 68.7	I.8B3b*	
Öylum Höyük, burial 25	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	tomb	EB III-IV	ÖZGEN and CARTER 1991, 262	?	
Rishon le-Zion	segmented globular	-	thickened in middle of pin	130	tomb	MB IIA-B	KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 497, fig. 7.1.2	I.A123b	
Sin el-Fil	slightly oval	round	-	130	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1948, fig. 73, no. 12 left	I.1A1b*	
Susa, tomb 299	spherical	round, ring	-	126	tomb	EB III-IV	MECQUENEM 1943, 114, fig. 84.16	I.8A2a*	
Susa, tomb	bird	-	-	74	tomb	EB III-IV	TALLON 1987, 95, no. 975	I.18B3a*	
Tell Agrab	nail with flat head	round	-	76	temple	EB II	DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 266	I.3A3a*	
Tell Agrab	nail with flat head	round	-	130	temple	EB II	DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 267	I.3A3a*	
Tell Agrab	leaf-shaped	round	-	90	temple	EB II	DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 267	I.17A2a*	
Tell Agrab	segmented, flattened on top	-	-	89	temple	EB II	DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 268	I.12B4b*	
Tell Agrab	vase-shaped	round	-	92	temple	EB II	DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 268	I.13.A1a*	

site	head	eyelet	decoration of shank	length (in mm)	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	H.-S. 1938
Tell Billa	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	tomb	EB III-IV	SPEISER 1931, 12	?	
Tell Brak	vase-shaped	oval	ribbed below head	84	settlement	EB III	MALLOWAN 1947, pl. 32.2	I.13.A1a*	
Tell Dan	rounded	round	twisted	78	tomb	MB IIA-B	ILAN 1996, 316 f., fig. 4.100.14		7
Tell el-Ajjul, E750	flat	unknown	spirally twisted above eyelet	57 + x	settlement?	MB II	HENSCHHEL-SIMON 1938, 196, no. 48		7
Tell el-Ajjul, F800	spherical	round	ribbed above eyelet	28 + x	settlement?	MB-LB	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXXIII, 440		9a
Tell el-Ajjul, group I312	flat	unknown	spirally twisted above eyelet	122	hoard	MB II	PETRIE 1934, 5, pl. XII		7
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 12	pointed	round	-	67 + x	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1931, pl. XXI, 89		4
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 12 I4D	flat	round	spirally twisted above eyelet	126	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXXIII, 435		7
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 1214	flat	unknown	spirally twisted above eyelet	62 + x	tomb	MB II	HENSCHHEL-SIMON 1938, 196, no. 45		7
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 1307	flat	round	ribbed above eyelet	40	tomb	MB-LB	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXXIII, 469		15
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 1507	nail with flat head	round	incised with hering bone pattern above eyelet	75 + x	tomb	LB I	PETRIE 1932, 7, pl. III, 16		8b
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 1551	flat	round	spirally twisted above eyelet	54	tomb	MB IIC	PETRIE 1934, 9, pl. XXI, 223		7
Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 435	spherical	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	40 + x	tomb	MB-LB	HENSCHHEL-SIMON 1938, 200, no. 104, pl. LXX		9a
Tell el-Retabe	flat	round?	-	75	tomb	LB I	HUDEC et al. 2018, 103 f., fig. 6		3
Tell Taannek	flat	oval	twisted	unknown	tomb	MB IIC	TAHA 1990, 172, pl. II.9		7
Tell Tello, tomb 7	spherical	-	-	90	tomb	EB III	CROS 1910, 127, fig. D	I.10B2a*	
Ugarit, tomb LIII	slightly oval	round	-	45	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 214 fig. 13b	I.6A1b*	
Ugarit, tomb LIII	duck's head	-	-	127	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 214 fig. 13e	I.18B3c*	
Ugarit, tomb LIII	spherical	round	-	75	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 214 fig. 13d	I.8A1b*	
Ugarit, tomb LIV	slightly oval	round	-	40	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 228, Fig. 23 C	I.6A1b*	
Ugarit, tomb LIV	flat	round	-	33	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 228, Fig. 23 D	I.1A2b*	
Ugarit, tomb LV	nail with flat head	round	-	134	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 232, fig. 27A	I.4A6c*	
Ugarit, tomb LV	coiled	-	-	61	tomb	MB IIB	SCHAEFFER 1938, 232, fig. 27G	I.14B1a*	

site	head	eyelet	decoration of shank	length (in mm)	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	H.-S. 1938
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	hemispherical	round	-	150	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 613, fn. 34	I.9A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	hemispherical	round	-	150	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 613, fn. 34	I.9A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	long flat	round	-	101	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 613, fn. 34	I.6A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	slightly oval	round	-	102	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 613, fn. 34	I.6A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	lentil-shaped	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	81.5	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 619	I.4A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	lentil-shaped	round	-	93	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 619	I.4A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	lentil-shaped	round	-	75	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 619	I.4A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	lentil-shaped	round	-	94	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 619	I.4A1a ?	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	spherical	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	125	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 620	I.8A2a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	dome-shaped	round	-	173	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 620	I.4A1a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	spherical	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	143	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 620	I.8A2a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	spherical	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	12 + x	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 620	I.8A2a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 4	spherical	round	ribbed above and below eyelet	145	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 620	I.8A2a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 6	spherical, bent	round	-	133	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 610, fig. 8	I.8A3a	
Umm el-Marra, tomb 7	-	-	-	-	tomb	EB III-IV	SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 624	only point	
Ur, Grab A1	slightly thickened	-	-	89	tomb	MB IIA	HALL 1930, 174, fig. 131	I.1B1a*	
Ur, Grab A1	slightly thickened	-	-	89	tomb	MB IIA	HALL 1930, 174, fig. 131	I.1B1a*	
Ur, P.G.333	spatula, rolled on top	-	-	110	tomb	EB II	WOOLLEY 1934, pl. 159	I.14B6a*	
Ur, P.G.55	human fist	-	-	190	tomb	EB II	WOOLLEY 1934, pl. 231, type 6a	I.18B1d*	
Ur, P.G.55	bovid head	-	-	76	tomb	EB II	WOOLLEY 1934, pl. 231, 168b	I.18B5b*	

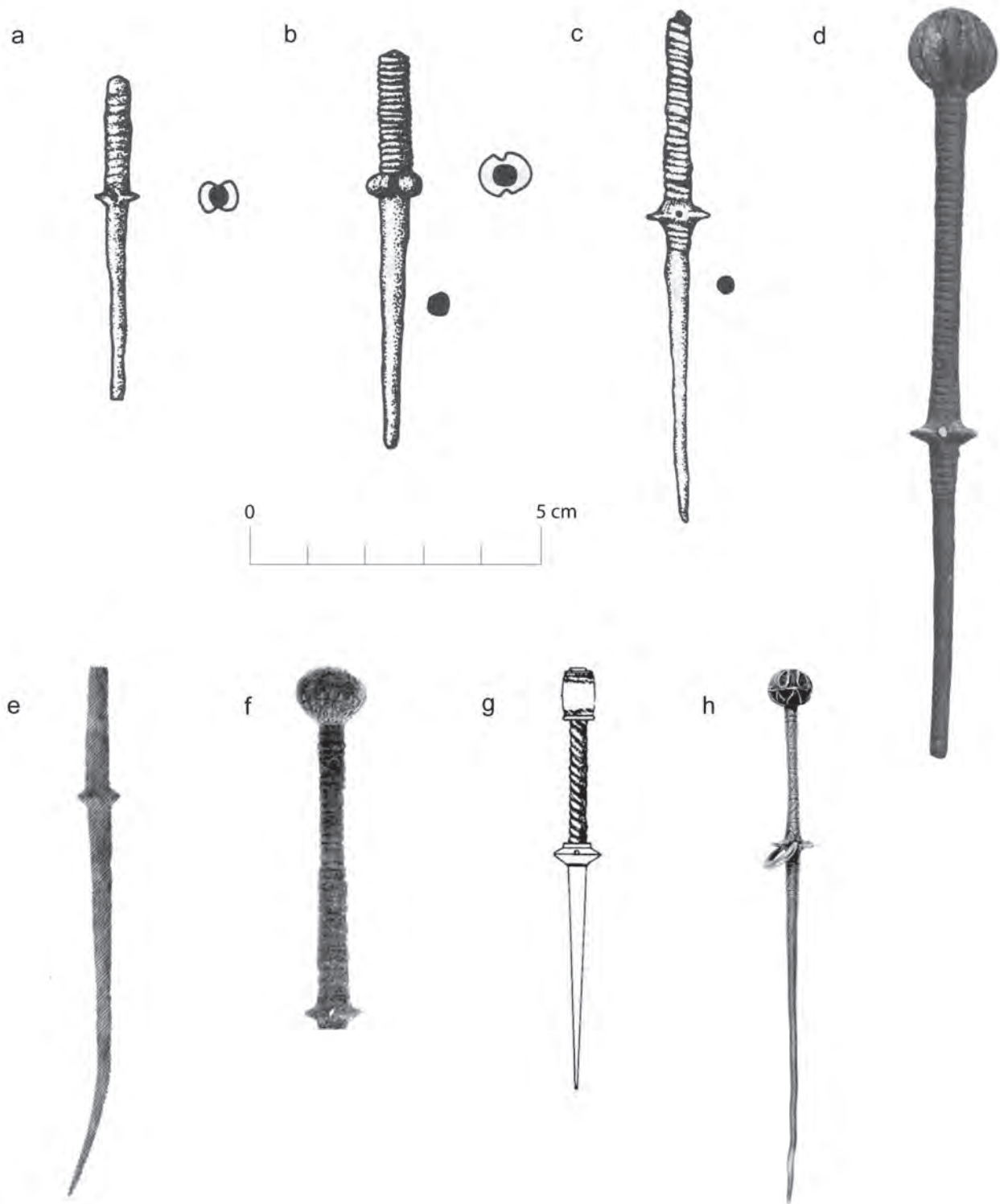


Fig. 6 **a–c** Tell el-Dab'a inv.-no. 2324, 2923 and 375 (after PHILIP 2006, 94, fig. 44) **d** Kültepe-Kanesh (after ÖZGÜÇ 1986, pl. 125.13) **e** el-Jisr (after ORY 1946, pl. XIII.45) **f** Jericho (after HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, pl. LXX.98) **g** Tell el-'Ajjul (after PETRIE 1934, pl. XVIII.456, 110) **h** 'Salhiye Treasure' ([OA] Metropolitan Museum of Art)

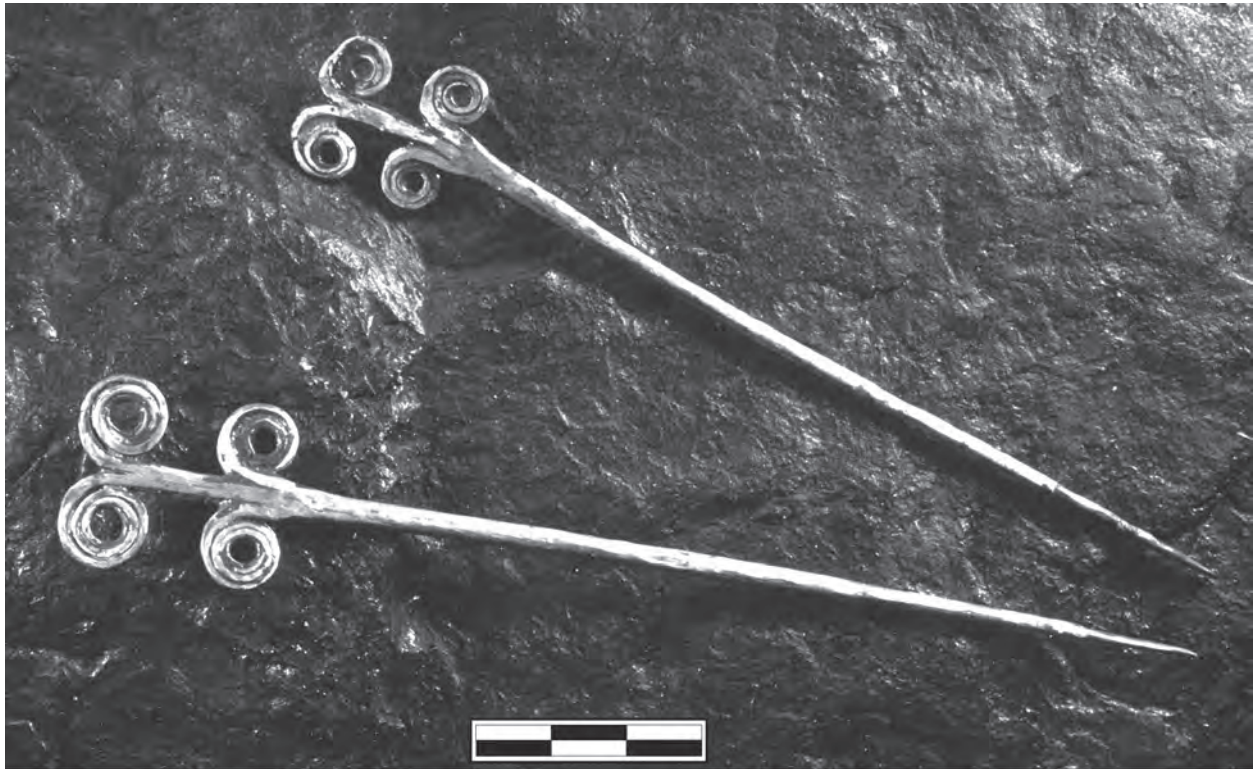


Fig. 7 Example for early silver clothing pins from the so-called 'Royal Tomb' in Arslantepe (after FRANGIPANE 2004, 139)

no exact parallels as comparable pieces showing flanges are executed differently, are equipped with elaborate shaped heads and, most of all, are normally not perforated.¹⁰³ Of MB II date is a comparison from el-Jisr (Fig. 6 e). One of the silver pins found here bears similar flanges, but it remains unclear from its publication whether or not it is perforated.¹⁰⁴ Another similar piece from Kültepe-Kanesh, but with segmented globular head, is most likely made from copper alloy, but also shows a piercing through the flanges (Fig. 6 d).¹⁰⁵ Like the pin from Kültepe-Kanesh and also of copper alloy is a pin deriving from tomb 9e at Jericho (Fig. 6f).¹⁰⁶ Another comparable pin without provenance is stored in the Nicosia museum.¹⁰⁷ A gold specimen from Tell el-'Ajjul also has pierced flanges, but a barrel-shaped, decorated head

(Fig. 6g)¹⁰⁸ and the golden pin from the so called 'Salhiye Treasure' shows a spherical head with glass inlays (Fig. 6h).¹⁰⁹

More information may be gained when assessing the distribution of silver clothing pins. Indeed, silver as a material for jewellery or other objects is only seldom used in Egypt before the New Kingdom,¹¹⁰ but common at Tell el-Dab'a (earrings, rings and bracelets)¹¹¹ and also in Tell el-Maskhuta.¹¹² This points again to a foreign origin, simply due to the choice of material, even if the Tell el-Dab'a pins might actually have been produced on site.

The earliest clothing pins made from silver are known from Korucutepe (tomb K12, no. 3, late Chalcolithic)¹¹³ and Ninive (EB I).¹¹⁴ Of the late Chalcolithic period is also a silver pin found in

¹⁰³ Already stated by PHILIP 2006, 158, comparing them to KLEIN 1992, 105, pl. 112.9–12 and 111 f., pl. 115.12–18.

¹⁰⁴ ORY 1946, 37, pl. XIII.45. The other silver pin is not illustrated; a third pin was made from bronze.

¹⁰⁵ ÖZGÜÇ 1986, pl. 125.13. For a similar form, but without the piercing, see KLEIN 1992, pl. 17, type I.12B2c. The pins showing this form all date to the MBA, see KLEIN 1992, 112.

¹⁰⁶ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 200, no. 98, pl. LXX.98.

¹⁰⁷ CATLING 1964, fig. 6.8.

¹⁰⁸ PETRIE 1934, pl. XVIII.456, 110.

¹⁰⁹ LILYQUIST and BRILL 1995, 32, no. A, 48, fig. 20.

¹¹⁰ GALE and STOS-GALE 1981, 104; ALDRED 1971, 32 f.

¹¹¹ PHILIP 2006, 109–114.

¹¹² HOLLADAY 1997, 196.

¹¹³ BRANDT 1978, 61 f. A red bead is mounted on one side of the pin.

¹¹⁴ THOMSON and MALLOWAN 1933, 146, pl. 68.7.

hoard A113 at Arslantepe,¹¹⁵ with additional silver pins (Fig. 7) deriving from the so-called ‘Royal Tomb’ at the same site (EB I).¹¹⁶ One pin attributed to the looted tombs at Kara Hassan (EB I–II) also consists of silver;¹¹⁷ one silver specimen in tomb KCG13 at Carchemish was found together with four other clothing pins made from copper alloy.¹¹⁸ In the Šara-temple at Tell Agrab, five silver pins were unearthed in three different rooms of the temple (EB II).¹¹⁹

Several early examples of silver pins are also known from the Royal Cemetery at Ur.¹²⁰ The so-called ‘treasure of Ur’, found in a jar in a pre-sargonid palace in Mari (EB II), contained quite a variety of objects: figurines, bracelets, pendants, beads, cylinder seals, but also eight clothing pins, four of them made from silver, two of those gilded at the upper part.¹²¹ Among the five tombs of Tell H at Tell Tello, grouped around a large building that might have served for rituals during and after the interments,¹²² is Tomb 7, which also yielded a silver pin (EB III). A possible silver pin, connected with a seal, was also found at Eshnunna (EB III).¹²³ At Tell Brak, a silver clothing pin was unearthed within the settlement (site C.H., EB III).¹²⁴

In the elite mortuary complex at Umm el-Marra (EB III–IV), clothing pins made from silver were discovered in tomb 6, tomb 4 and tomb 7.¹²⁵ In EB IV tombs at Oylum Höyük, clothing pins are quite common and usually made from copper

alloy.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, one of the richest burials also yielded a silver pin.¹²⁷ In a richly furnished tomb at Tell Billa, another silver pin was discovered.¹²⁸ From the tombs in the ‘Ville Royale’ at Susa, altogether two silver pins are attested, one from tomb 299 and another from an unknown tomb.¹²⁹ A tomb at Lapithos/Cyprus, dating to EC III, yielded a pair of unperforated silver pins¹³⁰ and is to the author’s knowledge the only example for silver clothing pins outside Syro-Mesopotamia in the EBA.

During the MBA, silver pins become scarce in the Upper Euphrates. Only tomb R.W.1 of the ‘inner town wall’ of Carchemish produced a silver pin¹³¹ and another pin is known from tomb 4 at Chagar Bazar.¹³² Silver examples are, however, still attested in southern Mesopotamia. In tomb A1 at Ur, two clothing pins made of silver were found (MB IIA).¹³³ ‘Gruft’ 32 at Babylon yielded two gold and one silver ‘toggle pin’ (MB IIC).¹³⁴ At Dinkha Tepe, a silver pin was amongst the grave goods of tomb B28 (Dinkha period IV).¹³⁵ In the intramural burial BA 1108 at Bakr Awa, another silver pin was discovered (Old Babylonian).¹³⁶ In a tomb in chantier B at Mari, a pair of silver clothing pins was unearthed (MB IIA).¹³⁷

A silver pin with a perched bird’s head is also known from a tomb at Kültepe-Kanesh (Karum Ib).¹³⁸ Cist tomb 2 yielded another silver pin equipped with a spherical head.¹³⁹ A further silver pin was part of the grave goods of cist tomb 3, and

¹¹⁵ CANEVA and PALMIERI 1983, 650, sample no. 33. See PILLER 2009, who thinks that the cache does not date to Arslantepe VIa, but prefers a later intrusion. I am grateful to Marcella Frangipane for providing information about this otherwise unpublished pin.

¹¹⁶ FRANGIPANE et al. 2001, 108, 117, fig. 19.19–20.

¹¹⁷ KLEIN 1992, 339; WOOLLEY 1914, pl. 19.c.1.

¹¹⁸ KLEIN 1992, 339; WOOLLEY and BARNETT 1952, pl. 61.

¹¹⁹ DELOUGAZ and LLOYD 1942, 266–268.

¹²⁰ WOOLLEY 1934, pl. 231, to illustrate only some examples; check <http://www.ur-online.org> for more pins made from silver bearing a globular head of lapis lazuli.

¹²¹ PARROT 1968, 25–27, fig. 17, fig. 20, pl. 13, pl. B4 (colour); KLEIN 1992, 84.

¹²² CROS 1910, 126–128, fig. D.

¹²³ FRANKE 1977, 63.

¹²⁴ KLEIN 1992, 353; MALLOWAN 1947, 170, pl. 32.2.

¹²⁵ SCHWARTZ et al. 2006, 610, fig. 8, 613, 619–622, 624. In addition, silver spirals, bracelets, headbands and vessels were found in the tombs.

¹²⁶ ÖZGEN, HELWING and TEKIN 1997, 71, fig. 12, 89, fig. 30.

¹²⁷ ÖZGEN and CARTER 1991, 262.

¹²⁸ SPEISER 1931, 12; SPEISER 1935, 110. The pin is not part of the Penn Museum collection and its whereabouts are unknown. Two other Tell Billa pins actually stored in the Penn Museum (33-4-275 and 33-4-276) seem to be made from lead, so that one cannot exclude the possibility that also the pin mentioned by Speiser actually consisted of lead. I am grateful to Katherine Blanchard to check the museum’s records in search for the pin referenced by Speiser.

¹²⁹ MECQUENEM 1943, 55, fig. 47.14 (with a bird mounted on top), 114, fig. 84.16 (with spherical head and ring through perforation).

¹³⁰ GRACE 1940, 45, 48, fig. 31, pl. XII.

¹³¹ WOOLLEY 1921, 133, pl. 27.a.7.

¹³² McMAHON 2009, 118, pl. 1.CB 992.

¹³³ HALL 1930, 173 f., fig. 131.

¹³⁴ REUTHER 1926, 180, pl. 54p.

¹³⁵ MUSCARELLA 1968, 195, fig. 21.

¹³⁶ MIGLUS et al. 2013, 57 f., fig. 21.BA 1108/5.

¹³⁷ MARGUERON 1983, 34, pl. 5c.

¹³⁸ ÖZGÜÇ 1955, 71, fig. 86.

¹³⁹ ÖZGÜÇ 1950, 199, pl. LXIII.379.

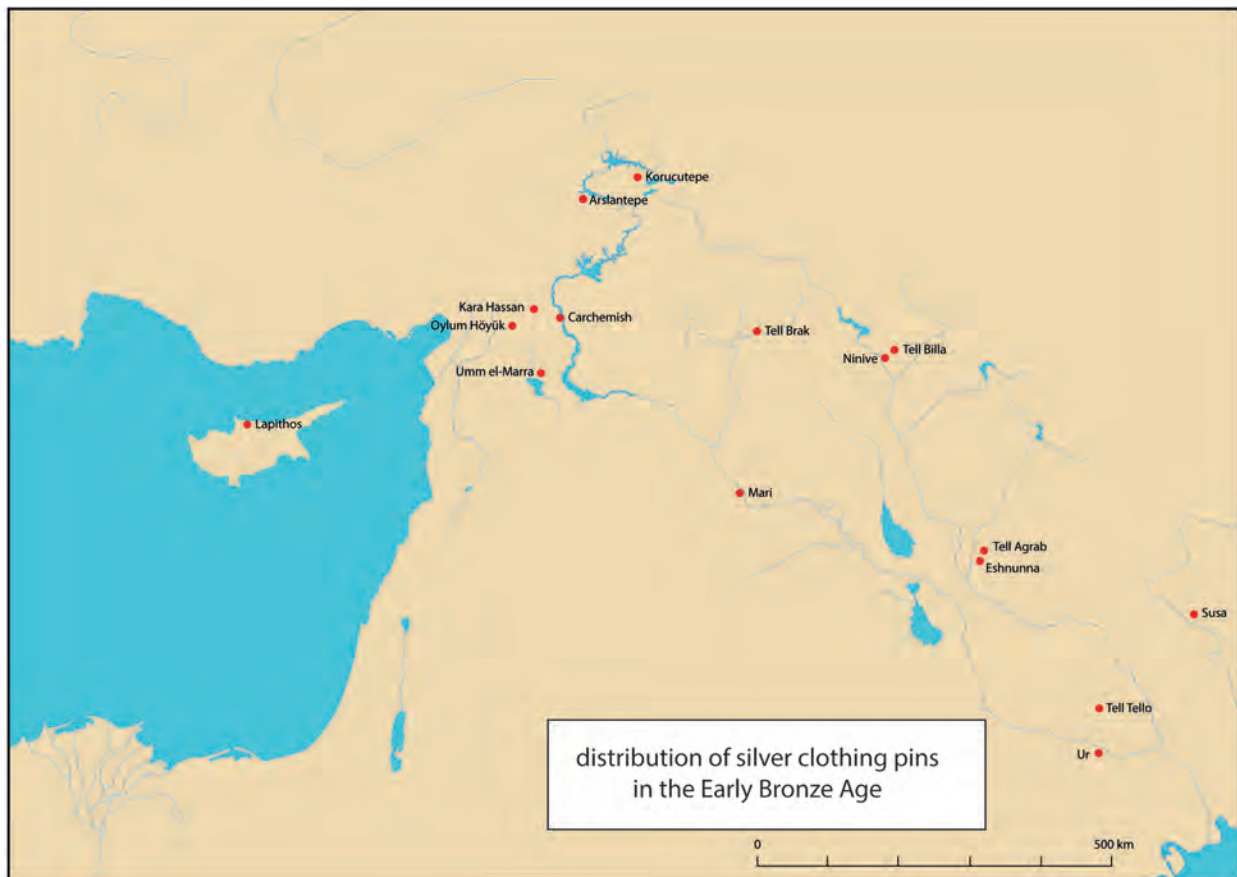


Fig. 8 Distribution of silver clothing pins in the EBA (plot S. Prell)

two more derive from cist tomb 14.¹⁴⁰ The latter two are in addition comparable in form to a clothing pin with segmented spherical head found at Tell el-Dab'a (see below).

Along the Levantine coast, silver pins were excavated at Ugarit. In tomb LV, two silver pins of different type and size were found together with examples made from copper alloy.¹⁴¹ Three more specimens were amongst the grave goods of tomb LIII.¹⁴² Tomb LIV yielded two additional pins.¹⁴³ A fragment of a silver pin with twisted head was also unearthed in the 'temple of obelisks' at Byblos.¹⁴⁴ Silver pins were also discovered in the temple of Nahariya.¹⁴⁵ In a tomb in Sin el Fil, a silver pin was part of the grave's inventory.¹⁴⁶ Further examples

are attested from the MBA Kharjy tombs; one undecorated pin is equipped with a globular head and has a fastening ring threaded through the pin-hole, and another is only partly preserved.¹⁴⁷

Further south, Tomb T8096 at Tell Dan yielded a silver pin.¹⁴⁸ A silver pin with grooved globular head was unearthed in tomb B92 at Rishon le-Zion.¹⁴⁹ A silver pin, twisted above the eyelet, also came to light in burial 39 in Tell Taannek.¹⁵⁰ Cave 28 II at Gezer, chamber b, group A, yielded another silver pin, twisted above the eyelet, found together with a specimen made from copper alloy.¹⁵¹ A simple, undecorated silver pin is known from a tomb at Lachish.¹⁵² From Tell el-'Ajjul are silver pins from tomb 12, tomb 1214, tomb 1551,

¹⁴⁰ ÖZGÜÇ 1953, 199, pl. 57.617–618.

¹⁴¹ SCHAEFFER 1938, 224, 232, fig. 27A+G.

¹⁴² SCHAEFFER 1938, 214, fig. 13b, d, e. Made from silver according to KLEIN 1992, 365, nos. 57–59.

¹⁴³ SCHAEFFER 1938, 220, 228, fig. 23 C+D, pl. XXII.1.

¹⁴⁴ DUNAND 1939, 237, fig. 211, no. 3494.

¹⁴⁵ DOTHAN 1956, 20.

¹⁴⁶ CHEHAB 1939, 808, fig. 10d, no. 32; SCHAEFFER 1948, 78, fig. 73.12 left.

¹⁴⁷ SAIDAH 1993/1994, 186, pl. 1.1–2.

¹⁴⁸ ILAN 1996, 316 f., fig. 4.100.14.

¹⁴⁹ KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494, tab. 7.1.

¹⁵⁰ TAHA 1990, 172, 178, pl. II.9.

¹⁵¹ MACALISTER 1911, 126, pl. XXXI.12.

¹⁵² TUFNELL 1958, pl. 24.31.

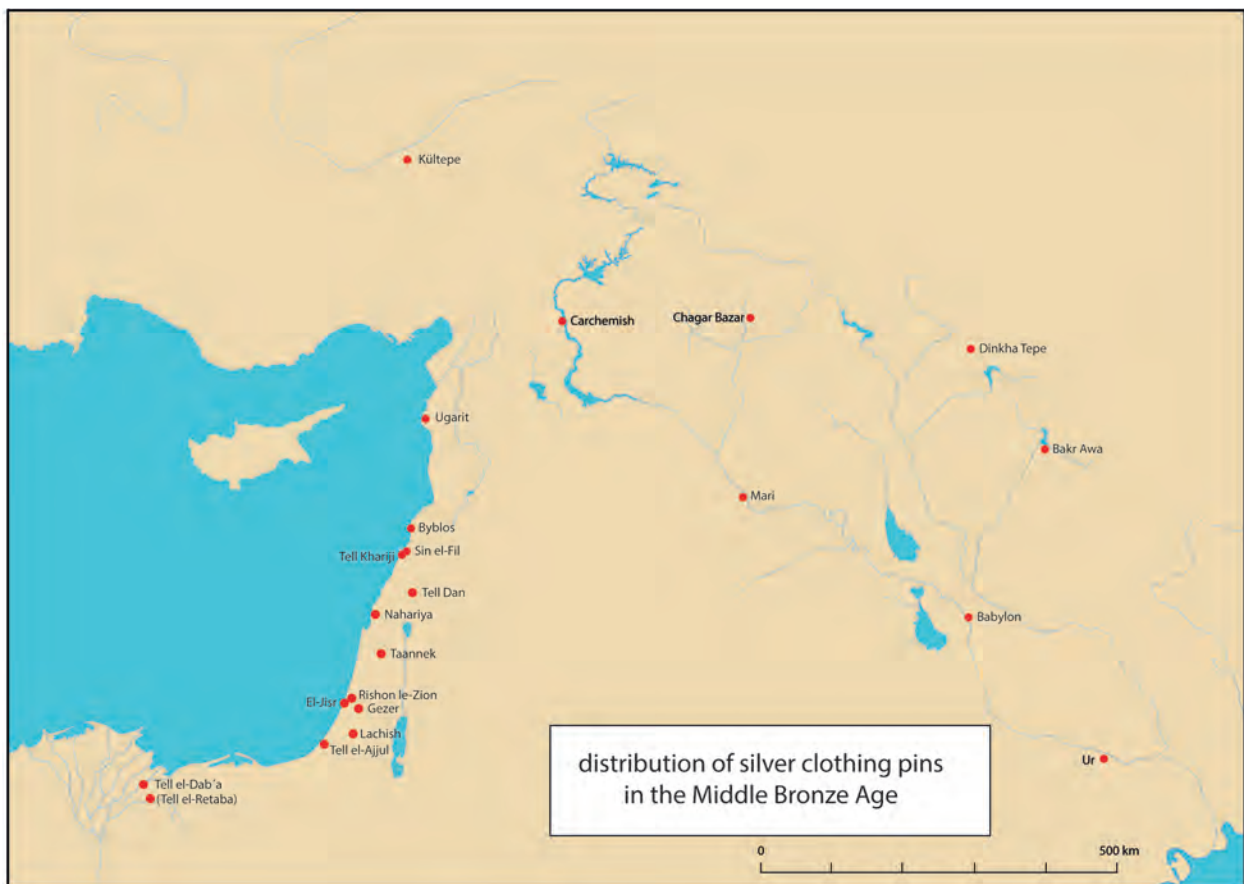


Fig. 9 Distribution of silver clothing pins in the MBA (plot S. Prell)

E750, group 1312, tomb 1507, tomb 435, F800 and tomb 1307.¹⁵³

In Egypt, one silver pin was unearthed in burial 2458 at Tell el-Retabe.¹⁵⁴ Dating to the early 18th dynasty, as suggested by other pieces of the grave's inventory, the pin attests to a certain continuity on site from the end of the SIP to the New Kingdom.

Overall, the use of silver for clothing pins is attested for the first time in the Late Chalcolithic south-eastern Anatolia, spreading into northern Syria and Mesopotamia soon after (Fig. 8), with no known examples in the southern Levant dating before the MBA.¹⁵⁵ Except for the specimens attested in Carchemish and Kültepe, silver pins are not documented in the MBA Upper Euphrates Valley, also becoming scarce in Mesopotamia. They, however, are attested in various forms in the southern Levant (Fig. 9) across the complete MBA

(MB IIA–C). The silver specimen from Tell el-Retabe, collected from an early 18th dynasty context, as well as possible late examples from Tell el-Ajjul, Megiddo and Lachish (Tab. 1), indicate that silver pins were kept in use until the LBA.

Pins with segmented spherical heads

One unique pin at Tell el-Dab'a (inv.-no. 4966, Fig. 10) bears a segmented globular head with ribbed decoration of the shank above and below the eyelet. It was found in a mudbrick tomb in stratum F (area F/I-k/21, tomb 24), lying at the left shoulder of an interred female.¹⁵⁶ It belongs to Klein's type I.12A2, although Klein obviously did not know examples simply incised above and below the eyelet. His types I.12A2a and type I.12A2b show a much more pronounced ribbing than most of the pieces discussed below.¹⁵⁷ Accord-

¹⁵³ HENSCHÉL-SIMON 1938, 194, 196, 200, 208.

¹⁵⁴ HUDEC et al. 2018, 103 f., fig. 6.

¹⁵⁵ See D'ANDREA 2014, 236 for the few items made from silver in the southern Levant dating to the EBA.

¹⁵⁶ DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 36.

¹⁵⁷ KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17.

ing to Henschel-Simon's typology, this specimen can be assigned to type 9a.¹⁵⁸ If indicated in the publications, the spherical heads are divided into seven to nine segments. Their shanks can be plain (type 1), ribbed above the eyelet (type 2) or above and below (type 3, Tab. 2). Comparable pins that are not perforated are also attested, but are not examined in the scope of this article. It should be underlined, though, that most of the examples also date to the MBA.¹⁵⁹

Only two perforated pins, albeit from insecure context, can possibly be dated to the EBA. They were collected from a spoil heap in area ST at Tell Brak that yielded no other MBA finds.¹⁶⁰ Two slightly differing pins with segmented, but bent heads and otherwise undecorated were additionally part of the inventory of tomb 66 at Wreide (EB III–IV)¹⁶¹ and find a parallel in a tomb at Abu Salabikh.¹⁶²

All the other comparable pieces date to the MBA with few possibly later examples.¹⁶³ A clothing pin with segmented head, ribbed above the eyelet, was found in the intramural jar burial F167 (stratum IX, analogous in material culture to Alalakh level VII) at Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar, Fig. 11a).¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, a seal was found lying beside it,¹⁶⁵ again a confirmation that some people probably wore their seal attached to the pin (see above).

In a MBA tomb at Ugarit, altogether four pins were part of the inventory, two of which have segmented heads. Both have a ring threaded through the eyelet and are decorated differently from each other;¹⁶⁶ one is twisted above the pin-hole, the other shows groups of ribbed decoration above and

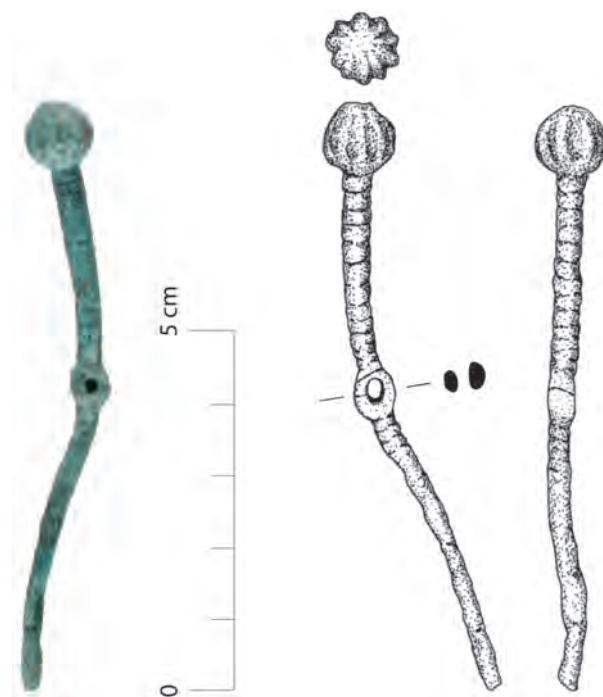


Fig. 10 Clothing pin with globular segmented head inv.-no. 4966 from area F/I-k/21, tomb 24 (stratum F); © ÖAI-OREA archive

below.¹⁶⁷ The pieces are comparable, though different to the pin found at Tell el-Dab'a, on the one hand because of their decoration and on the other because of the ring threaded through the very small eyelet.¹⁶⁸ They are nevertheless mentioned here as parallels as a quite similar pin to the one from Tell el-Dab'a is also attested at Ugarit, as well part of the grave inventory of a MB IIA tomb.¹⁶⁹

Tomb G 151 at Chagar Bazar (MB IIA) yielded a pin that is quite comparable in layout, form and

¹⁵⁸ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 200, pl. LXX98, 99, 104. Not all of the pins listed by her actually seem to belong to this type, especially the pins from Tell el-'Ajjul and the pin from tomb 1018 at Tell el-Far'ah (S).

¹⁵⁹ See KLEIN 1992, 111–116, pl. 17, sub-types of I.12B.

¹⁶⁰ OATES, OATES and McDONALD 2001, 241, 572 f., fig. 478, no. 61 and no. 63.

¹⁶¹ ORTHMANN and ROVA 1991, fig. 26.W66.40; KLEIN 1992, 108, pl. 17, type I.12A3a. A similar pin is also known from a tomb at Selenkahiye: KLEIN 1992, 360.

¹⁶² MARTIN, MOON and POSTGATE 1985, 216, fig. 144, Gr. 61:17. Assigned by KLEIN 1992, 367, no. 18 to his type I.8A3a.

¹⁶³ At Mumbaqqat, a clothing pin with globular segmented head and ribbed decoration of the shank was found 15 cm above a floor of 'Schicht 4' in square 4931–IV, most likely dating to the LBA, see ORTHMANN and KÜHNE 1974, 92, fig. 37, 94. See as well CZICHON and WERNER 1998, 129, no. 1195, pl. 111.1195 attributed by them to the MBA because

of comparative pieces, while a similar, but plain piece is dated to the LBA: CZICHON and WERNER 1998, 133, no. 1260, pl. 113.1260; Alaca Höyük: KOSAY and AKOK 1966, 189, fig. 123.6; Deve Höyük: MOOREY 1980, 89, fig. 14.360, 91, named by him a "Bronze Age intruder" into Iron Age layers.

¹⁶⁴ ROOBAERT 1998, 99, 105, fig. 4. Comparable to KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A2a.

¹⁶⁵ ROOBAERT 1998, 103, fig. 2.

¹⁶⁶ SCHAEFFER 1962, 308, fig. 6, pl. XVII.4.

¹⁶⁷ A comparable golden pin with a ring threaded through the eyelet was also part of the "trésor du Liban", most likely deriving from the Byblos region, SCHAEFFER 1948, 79, fig. 78E.

¹⁶⁸ They both belong to Klein's „Formgruppe 12“, type I.12A6c and I.12A6a: KLEIN 1992, 109 f., pl. 17.

¹⁶⁹ SCHAEFFER 1932, 19, pl. XIII.3; KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A1a.

Tab. 2 List (alphabetical) of clothing pins with spherical segmented head; type 1: plain, type 2: ribbed above the eyelet, type 3: ribbed above and below the eyelet (* published by KLEIN 1992)

site	head	eyelet	length (in mm)	material	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	type
Abu Salabikh	segmented	round	104	copper alloy	tomb	EB III–IV	MARTIN, MOON and POSTGATE 1985, 216, fig. 144, Gr. 61:17	I.8A3a*	1
Alalakh	8 segments	oval	38 + x	copper alloy	settlement	surface find	YENER 2010, 270, no. A03-R1125	I.12A2b	2
Alalakh	segmented	round	unknown	copper alloy	settlement	MB II–LB	WOOLLEY 1955, 280, pl. LXXIII. P4	I.12A2b*	3
Carchemish	segmented	oval	109	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	WOOLLEY 1921, 133 f., pl. 27.a.8	I.12A1a*	2
Chagar Bazar	segmented	round	128	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	McMAHON 2009, 212, pl. 8.CB2080	I.12A2a	2
Chagar Bazar	segmented	round	94 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	MALLOWAN 1937, 98, 122, 133 f., fig. 12.9	I.12A1a*	3
Chagar Bazar	8 segments	round	118	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	LÉON 2018, 148, CB 5942, pl. 28	I.12A2a	3
Fassuta	segmented	round	85	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	GERSHUNY and AVIAM 2010, 34, fig. 13.5, 35	I.12A2a	2
Hama	segmented	round	170	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	FUGMAN 1958, pl. X. 5B420.13	I.12A2b*	3
Hammam et-Turkman	segmented	oval	96	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	VAN LOON 1988, 164 f., pl. 57.23	I.12A1b	1
Jericho	segmented	round	540 + x + 540	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB–C	KENYON 1960, fig. 128.12	I.12A1b	1
Jericho	segmented	round	250?	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	GARSTANG 1933, 7, fig. 2.19.C16	I.12A2a	2
Jerusalem	segmented	round	116	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB	MILEVSKI, GREENTHUT and AGHA 2010, 414, fig. 7.9	I.12A	unknown
Kültepe	segmented	round	x + 67	copper alloy	tomb?	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.20	I.12A2a	2
Kültepe	segmented	oval	107	copper alloy	tomb?	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.10	I.12A2a	2
Kültepe	segmented	round	109	silver	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57.617	I.12A2a*	2
Kültepe	segmented	round	109	silver	tomb	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57.618	I.12A2a*	2
Kültepe	segmented	flanges, round, small	147	copper alloy	tomb?	MB IIA	ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.13	like I.12B2c, but pierced	3
Lachish	segmented	round	134	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIC	TUFNELL 1958, 80, pl. 24.17	I.12A2a	2
Muriqu	segmented	round	100	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	RUIS und BUHL 2007, 115, Tf. XXIV	I.12A6a	2/3
no provenance	segmented	oval	unknown	gold	unknown	unknown	ZIFFER 1990, 60*, fig. 32	I.12A2b	3
no provenance	segmented	oval	95	copper alloy	unknown	unknown	CATLING 1964, fig. 6.6	I.12A2b	3
Qatna	8 segments	round	143	copper alloy	palace	MB IIB–C	IAMONI 2012, 358, fig. 9	I.12A2b	3

site	head	eyelet	length (in mm)	material	context	date	bibliography	Klein 1992	type
Rishon le-Zion	segmented	round	84 + x + 58	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494, 497, fig. 7.1.1	I.12A2a	2
Rishon le-Zion	segmented	round	95	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494, 497, fig. 7.1.3	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	round	146 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.1	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	round	66 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.2	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	round	82 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.3	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	round	156	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.4	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	oval	90 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.5	I.12A2b	3
Safed	segmented	oval	82 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.6	I.12A2b	3
Sasa	segmented	oval	66 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	BEN ARIEH 2004, 15*, fig. 14.1.	I.12A2a	2
Sidon	9 segments	form unclear	98	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 36	I.12A	2/3
Sidon	9 segments	form unclear	120	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 36	I.12A	2/3
Tell Ahmar	8 segments	oval	86	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	ROOBAERT 1998, 99, 105, fig. 4	I.12A2a	2
Tell Arqa	7 segments	oval	129	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	GERNEZ 2008, 254 f., pl. 14.2	I.12A2a	2
Tell Barri	segmented	round	136	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	VALENTINI 2003, 302, fig. 11a	I.12A2a	2
Tell Brak	segmented	round	116	copper alloy	settlement	EB	OATES, OATES and McDONALD 2001, 252 f., no. 63	I.12A1b	1
Tell Brak	segmented	round	44 + x	copper alloy	settlement	EB?	OATES, OATES and McDONALD 2001, 252 f., no. 61	I.12A2b	3
Tell el-Dab'a	9 segments	round	83	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	PHILIP 2006, 95, 97, fig. 46.4	I.12A2b	3
Tell el-Fara (S)	segmented	round	98	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	STARKEY and HARDING 1932, pl. XLIV.1002	I.12A2a	2
Tell el-Fara (S)	segmented	oval	172	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	STARKEY and HARDING 1932, pl. XLIV.1015	I.12A2b	3
Tell el-Farah (S)	segmented	oval	111	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1930, pl. XI.69.	I.12A2a	2
Tell et-Tin	segmented	round	348?	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	GAUTIER 1895, 456, fig. 9	I.12A2a*	2
Ugarit	segmented	round	unknown	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	SCHAEFFER 1932, pl. XIII.6	I.12A2b*	3
Wreide	segmented	round	221	copper alloy	tomb	EB III-IV	ORTHMANN and ROVA 1991, fig. 26.W66.40	I.12A3a*	1
Yabroud	segmented	oval	114	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	ABU ASSAF 1967, 59, pl. 1.10, fig. 8	I.12A1b*	1

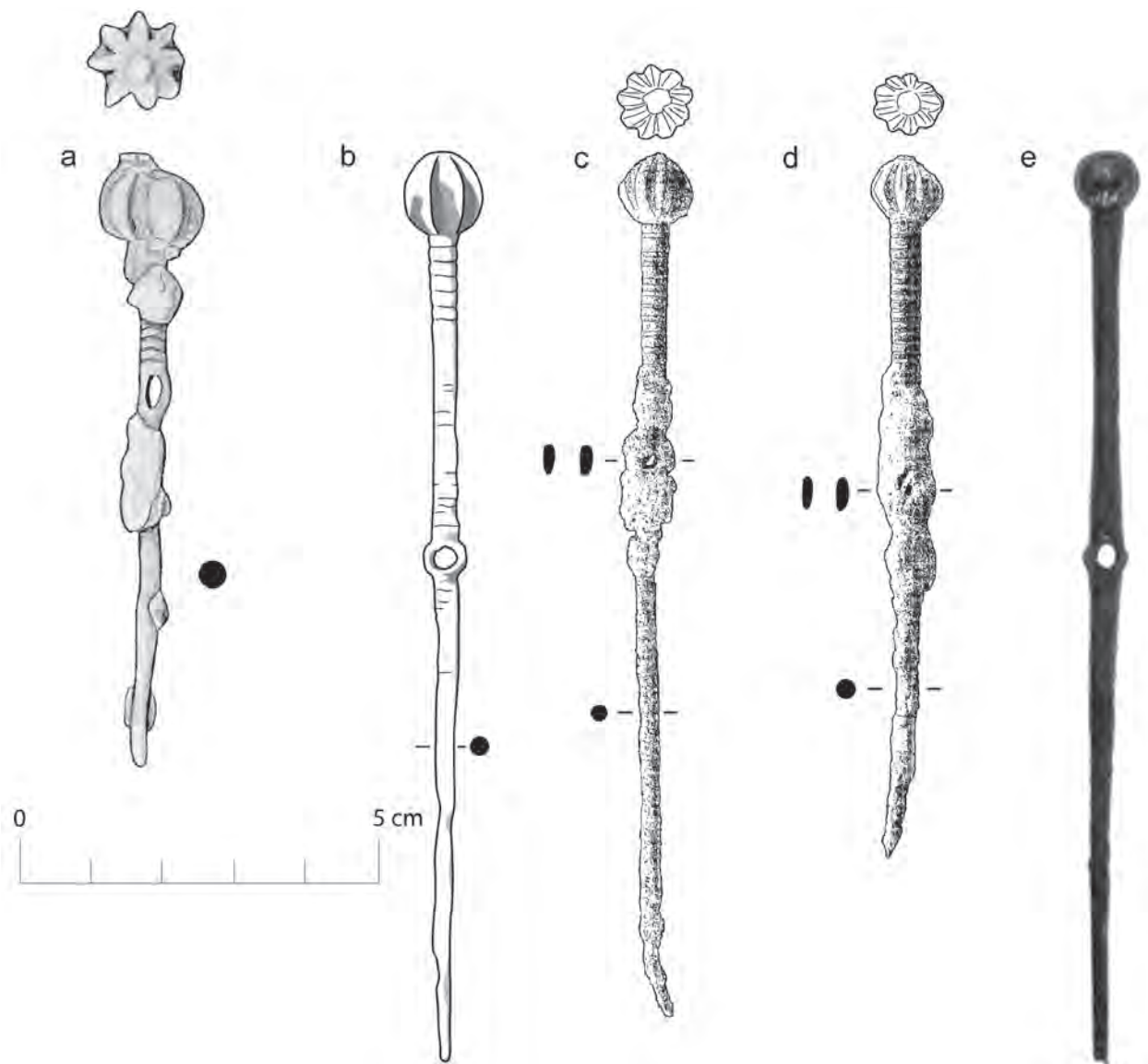


Fig. 11 Examples for clothing pins with spherical segmented head: **a** Til Barsip (redrawn by S. Prell after ROOBAERT 1998, 105, fig. 4) **b** Chagar Bazar (after McMAHON 2009, 212, pl. 8.CB2080; by courtesy of Augusta McMahon, Chagar Bazar Project) **c–d** Clothing pins with segmented globular head from Sidon, burial 67 and burial 109 (© Sidon excavation) **e** Jerusalem (after MILEVSKI, GREENHUT and AGHA 2008; by courtesy of Zvi Greenhut and Ianir Milevski, Israel Antiquities Authority)

decoration, but also shows a ring threaded through the eyelet.¹⁷⁰ One should consider that other pins might have been equipped with such a feature too, but the fine ring might not always be preserved due to corrosion. Another pin without a ring (Fig. 11b) was unearthed in tomb 13¹⁷¹ a further specimen also derives from a tomb.¹⁷² In tomb 580

at Tell Barri an additional pin of this shape was discovered.¹⁷³

The tombs at Tell et-Tin, excavated at the end of the 19th century, yielded weapons, pottery, pins and food offerings. Interestingly, the deceased were buried in jars within a cist chamber. In one of the tombs, a needle with a globular segmented

¹⁷⁰ MALLOWAN 1947, 98, 122, 133 f., fig. 12.9; KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A1a.

¹⁷¹ McMAHON 2009, 212, pl. 8.CB2080.

¹⁷² LÉON 2018, 148, CB 5942, pl. 28.

¹⁷³ VALENTINI 2003, 302, fig. 11a.

head came to light, ribbed above the eyelet and showing again a ring threaded through the pin-hole.¹⁷⁴ According to the finds, especially the duck-bill axes, the tombs can be dated to MB IIA.¹⁷⁵

The upper part of a pin quite similar to that found at Tell el-Dab'a came to light at Kültepe-Kanesh.¹⁷⁶ Another pin (Fig. 6e) with segmented spherical head shows the flanges characteristic for the silver pins of Tell el-Dab'a. It is also perforated and bears ribbed decoration below and above the very small eyelet.¹⁷⁷ Another similar pin is also ribbed above the eyelet although this ribbing is much more pronounced.¹⁷⁸ This parallels two already mentioned silver pins which are perforated.¹⁷⁹

A further pin of this type derives from Tell Arqa as part of the inventory of tomb T13.87. It is incised with a ribbed decoration between the segmented globular head and the eyelet.¹⁸⁰ Tomb R.W.1 in the 'inner town wall' of Carchemish also yielded a clothing pin that is quite similar to the piece found at Tell el-Dab'a.¹⁸¹ The MBA tombs in Hammam et-Turkman also yielded such a pin that is otherwise undecorated.¹⁸² From Alalakh, four comparable pins of this type are documented and derive from levels III, IV, V and VII, signifying that this type is attested in the MBA as well as the LBA.¹⁸³ Another similar pin was found in surface layers.¹⁸⁴ One of the pins from tomb 6 at Hama (MB II) also has this very characteristic form; it is pierced and a ring is threaded through the pin-hole.¹⁸⁵ Another example is attested in a nearby tomb at Muriq.¹⁸⁶

In the stone cist tombs at Yabroud (MB IIA), several toggle pins were unearthed, according to the excavator most of them from tomb 4.¹⁸⁷ One of the pins closely resembles the Tell el-Dab'a pin, although it is undecorated.¹⁸⁸ Interestingly three more pins of Klein's type A.12B2 with the characteristic flange, segmented globular heads, but unperforated were associated with it. In the Eastern palace of Qatna, altogether 18 clothing pins were excavated, amongst them a specimen with a segmented globular head and ribbed decoration below and above the eyelet (MB IIB–C).¹⁸⁹ Two similar pins were found at Sidon (Fig. 11c–d). One derives from burial 67, the other one from burial 109.¹⁹⁰ Both tombs can be dated to MB IIB–C. A tomb at Safed yielded several different pins, amongst them six pins with a segmented globular head and a ribbed decoration above and below the eyelet.¹⁹¹ Their lengths and sizes of heads vary, so is the shape of their eyelets (round or oval), clearly indicating that they most likely were produced in different workshops or at least by different workmen and/or in different moulds.

The tombs at Rishon le-Zion also had similar pins ribbed above the eyelet, with one also featuring a ring threaded through.¹⁹² Tomb 1 at Fassuta additionally produced such a pin.¹⁹³ Further, a pin of this type was unearthed in tomb 1 at Kibbutz Sasa.¹⁹⁴ Another pin derives from a tomb excavated during a salvage excavation in the Holy Land Compound of Jerusalem (Fig. 11e).¹⁹⁵ Amongst the finds excavated from shaft-tomb 19 at Jericho (MB IIA) were three toggle pins, one of them with

¹⁷⁴ GAUTIER 1895, 456, fig. 9; KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A1a. According to the scale given in the figure, the pin would be nearly 35 cm long, which is rare, but finds comparisons in the EBA, see KLEIN 1992, 237. As GAUTIER 1895, 459 states that those pins are up to 20 cm long, one has to assume that the scale given for the figure is wrong or refers to the weapons only.

¹⁷⁵ OREN 1971, 122.

¹⁷⁶ ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.20.

¹⁷⁷ ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.13. The form resembles type I.12B2c of KLEIN, but these are not perforated. Klein 1992 does not list this object.

¹⁷⁸ ÖZGÜC 1986, pl. 125.10.

¹⁷⁹ ÖZGÜC 1953, pl. 57.617–618.

¹⁸⁰ GERNEZ 2008, 254 f., pl. 14.2. Furthermore, a pin with comparable, though not similar shape was found here, see GERNEZ 2008, 253, 255, pl. 14.1.

¹⁸¹ WOOLLEY 1921, 133 f., pl. 27.a.8.

¹⁸² VAN LOON 1988, 164 f., pl. 57.23. For two more pins of Klein's "Formgruppe 12", but with jolted segmented head

(I.12A5a–b) found in Hammam et-Turkman, see KLEIN 1992, 357, pl. 114.4–5.

¹⁸³ Woolley 1955, 280, pl. LXXIII.P4.

¹⁸⁴ YENER 2010, 270, A03–R1125.

¹⁸⁵ FUGMAN 1958, pl. X.5B420.13.

¹⁸⁶ RIIS and BUHL 2007, 84, pl. XIV.h.13.

¹⁸⁷ ABU ASSAF 1967, 59, pl. 1.10, fig. 8. The excavator claims that not all the toggle pins are published in his article as their forms are too diverse.

¹⁸⁸ KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A1b.

¹⁸⁹ IAMONI 2012, 358, fig. 9.

¹⁹⁰ DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 36.

¹⁹¹ DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.1–6; KLEIN 1992, 107, pl. 17, type I.12A2b.

¹⁹² KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494 with tab. 7.1, 497, fig. 7.1.

¹⁹³ GERSHUNY and AVIAM 2010, 34, fig. 13.5, 35.

¹⁹⁴ BEN ARIEH 2004, 15*, fig. 14.1.

¹⁹⁵ MILEVSKI, GREENHUT and AGHA 2010, 414, fig. 7.9.

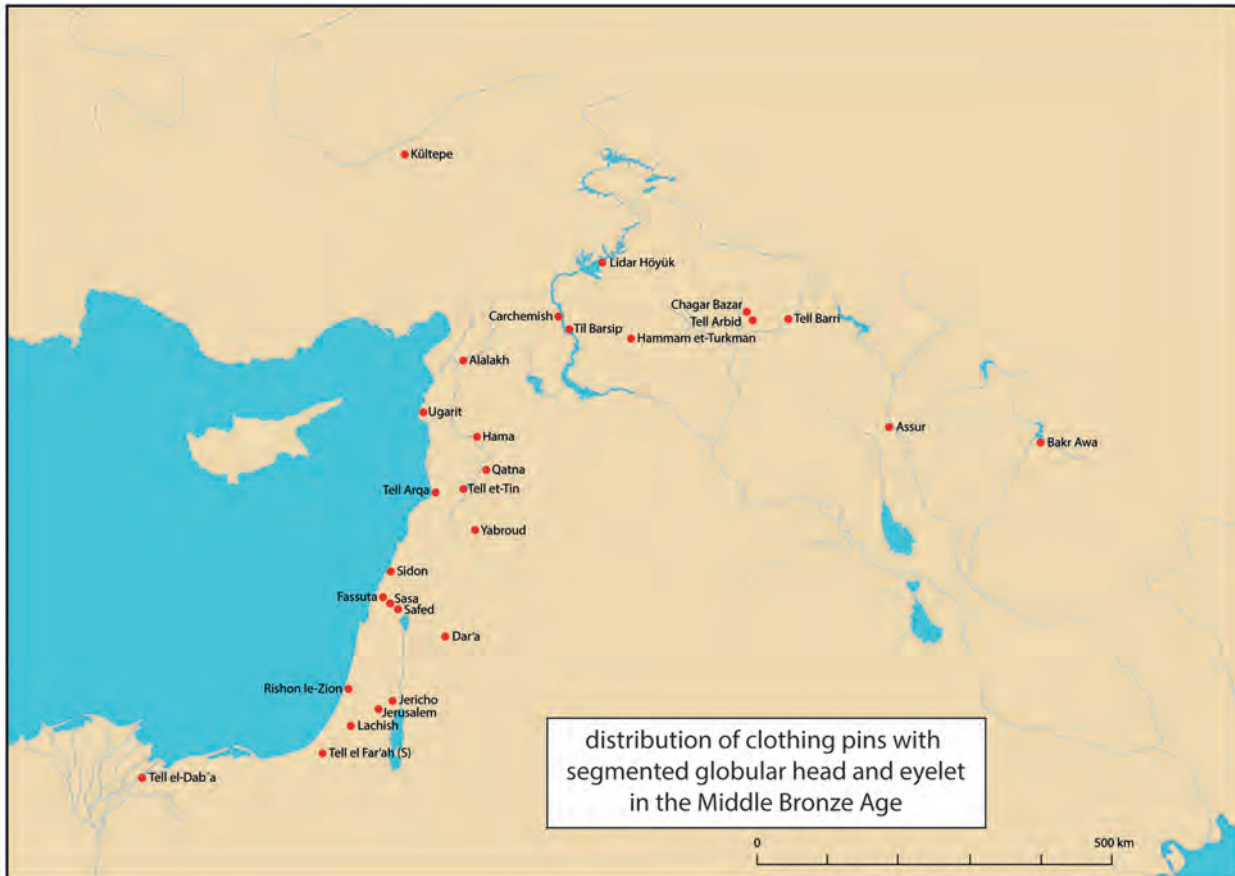


Fig. 12 Distribution of clothing pins with segmented globular head and eyelet (plot S. Prell)

a segmented spherical head and ribbed decoration above the eyelet.¹⁹⁶ Tomb A34 also yielded such a pin, equipped with a ring threaded through the eyelet.¹⁹⁷ Three similar pins were each collected from tomb 569,¹⁹⁸ tomb 1002 and 1015 at Tell el-Farah (S).¹⁹⁹ Also at Lachish, a comparable pin was part of the grave goods of tomb 4004.²⁰⁰ For a golden pin in the Eretz Israel Museum²⁰¹ and a bronze pin in the Nicosia Museum the provenance is unfortunately unknown.²⁰²

Except for the few examples with comparable shape dating to the end of the EBA found at the Upper Euphrates, the Khabur triangle and Mesopotamia, this type of pin became common only in the MBA. Interestingly, other than silver pins,

which more or less completely disappear in the Upper Euphrates region at the beginning of the MBA, this type of pin is evenly spread across the region and is also known from the Khabur and the southern Levant, but is not attested in Mesopotamia (Fig. 12). It seems to have its origin in Northern Syria,²⁰³ spreading from here further south. It is attested throughout the MBA with some possible later examples dating to the LBA.

The plain pins of type 1 are few (six objects) and three of them possibly date to the EBA (see above). So, this type might represent the archetype of these pins, although the other two types span the entire MBA. The 18 pins of type 2 can all be dated to MB IIA–C. They are evenly spread in the

¹⁹⁶ GARSTANG 1933, 7, fig. 2.19.C16. According to the scale given for the figure (2:5) the pin would be about 25 cm long, which is rare but attested. For documented sizes of clothing pins see KLEIN 1992, 237. Another specimen with similar characteristics and flanged shaft was found in tomb 9, GARSTANG 1932, 47, fig. 10. As it is broken, it is unclear, if it once was perforated.

¹⁹⁷ KENYON 1960, fig. 128.12.

¹⁹⁸ PETRIE 1930a, pl. XI.69.

¹⁹⁹ STARKEY and HARDING 1932, pl. XLIV.

²⁰⁰ TUFNELL 1958, 80, pl. 24.17.

²⁰¹ ZIFFER 1990, 60*, fig. 32.

²⁰² CATLING 1964, fig. 6.6.

²⁰³ MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1971, 98 even considers the unpierced variants to be a native Anatolian type and also does not exclude probable Anatolian influence for the pierced specimen, MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1971, 100.

region with Tell el-Far'ah (S) being the southernmost, Kültepe-Kanish the northernmost and Bakr Awa the easternmost recorded sites for their occurrences. From the 18 pins of type 3, one might be dated to the EBA (Tell Brak), the rest can again be attributed to the entire MBA period.²⁰⁴ They are spread in a comparable manner as type 2, again with Kültepe-Kanish as the northernmost, Tell el-Dab'a as the southernmost and Chagar Bazar as the easternmost site at which they are documented. As their distribution shows no explicit clusters when plotted by type, they are all presented on the same map (Fig. 12).

Pins with vasiform head

As above mentioned, the two pins with vasiform head from Tell el-Dab'a are inv.-nos. 5510 and 9616 (Fig. 4). As stated by Philip,²⁰⁵ they find their closest parallel in Klein's type I.13A3c,²⁰⁶ although the heads of the Tell el-Dab'a pins are smaller and shaped a little differently. They adhere to type 9b of Henschel-Simon's typology and are comparable to Kenyon's type E.²⁰⁷ Philip mentions only two comparisons for this type from Byblos, both dating to the EBA.²⁰⁸ Also types I.13A3a and b are exclusively known from Byblos, dating to the EBA and only one example to MB IIA.²⁰⁹ So, at first sight, one is tempted to reason that the former owner once migrated from the Byblos region to Tell el-Dab'a, a statement that certainly is purely hypothetical. The apparently cultic character of depositions, with the Byblos pins mainly deriving from the 'champ des offrandes' or the obelisk temple, and inv.-no. 5510 from a deposit within a courtyard (stratum D/2) might represent a further connection

between the two sites.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, a few examples Klein did not account for as they were out of the scope of his research are also attested in the southern Levant. Pins with vasiform head are known from several tombs at Jericho (tomb 3, 5, 9, 19, 30, 31,²¹¹ P23, J14,²¹² J9, J12²¹³ and H13,²¹⁴ Fig. 13a–d), tombs 101 and 1551 (Fig. 13e) at Tell el-'Ajjul,²¹⁵ one tomb at Tell Abel Beth Maacah (Fig. 13f),²¹⁶ Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Fig. 13g),²¹⁷ Gibeon (Fig. 13h)²¹⁸ and the Holy Land Compound of Jerusalem (Fig. 13i),²¹⁹ confuting the connection to Byblos hypothesized by Philip. In addition, several of those pins were found in MB II graves in Chagar Bazar and were only recently published.²²⁰ Similar clothing pins derive also from Haradum.²²¹ Other comparable examples, dating again to the EBA (EB III–IV), are also known from Tell Arqa,²²² Terqa, burial 1 in SG 5²²³ and the already discussed silver pin from Tell Brak.²²⁴ Some undecorated EBA examples with a similar head form are attested at Tell Brak,²²⁵ Tepe Gawra,²²⁶ Tell Barri,²²⁷ Qara Quzak²²⁸ and Chagar Bazar.²²⁹

In all, clothing pins with vasiform head are not very common and are documented in the EBA Northern Mesopotamia. At the beginning of the MBA they seem to find their way to the southern Levant via Tell Arqa and Byblos (Fig. 14), but remain rare and are attested in Syro-Mesopotamia in the MBA only in Chagar Bazar and Haradum. The closest comparison to the Tell el-Dab'a pins is that from Tell Abel Beth Maacah, but as both Tell el-Dab'a pins were found in settlement layers, further comparison of the grave goods is not possible. However, that both Tell el-Dab'a pins derive from layers attributed to stratum D/2 fits well with the late date for the Tell Abel Beth Maacah burial.

²⁰⁴ See fn. 163 for some possible LBA examples.

²⁰⁵ PHILIP 2006, 158.

²⁰⁶ KLEIN 1992, 118.

²⁰⁷ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 202, pl. LXX.109, 110; KENYON 1960, 298.

²⁰⁸ KLEIN 1992, 347, no. 96, 350, no. 164.

²⁰⁹ KLEIN 1992, 348, no. 121.

²¹⁰ Already noted by PHILIP 2006, 158.

²¹¹ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 202, type 9b, pl. LXX.109–110.

²¹² KENYON 1965, 241, fig. 114.11, 12, 15.

²¹³ KENYON 1960, 424, fig. 177.3, 7–9, 11.

²¹⁴ KENYON 1960, 479, fig. 207.16–18, 22.

²¹⁵ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 202, nos. 112, 114; PETRIE 1934, pl. XXI.225.

²¹⁶ PANITZ-COHEN et al. 2018, 140, fig. 13a.

²¹⁷ PETRIE 1930a, pl. XI.72.

²¹⁸ PRITCHARD 1963, 35, 114 f., fig. 26.11.

²¹⁹ MILEVSKI, GREENHUT and AGHA 2010, 414, fig. 7.7.

²²⁰ LÉON 2018, 147–149, CB 5005, CB 5006, CB 5131, CB 5415, CB 5939, CB 7708, pl. 27–28.

²²¹ KEPINSKI-LECOMTE 1992, 379 f., m 574 and m 562, fig. 164.1–2.

²²² GERNEZ 2008, 247, 249, 251, pl. 12.2–3, type Ep 9.A and 9.B.

²²³ KELLY-BUCCELLATI and MOUNT WILLIAMS 1977, 10 f., fig. 3, pl. II.

²²⁴ MALLOWAN 1947, 170, pl. XXXII.2.

²²⁵ BIANCHI and FRANKE 2011, 206, pl. 4, 104–105.

²²⁶ SPEISER 1935, pl. L.1.

²²⁷ PECORELLA 1998, 71, fig. 4.

²²⁸ WOOLLEY 1914, pl. 25c.

²²⁹ SCHAEFFER 1948, fig. 86.T159.1.

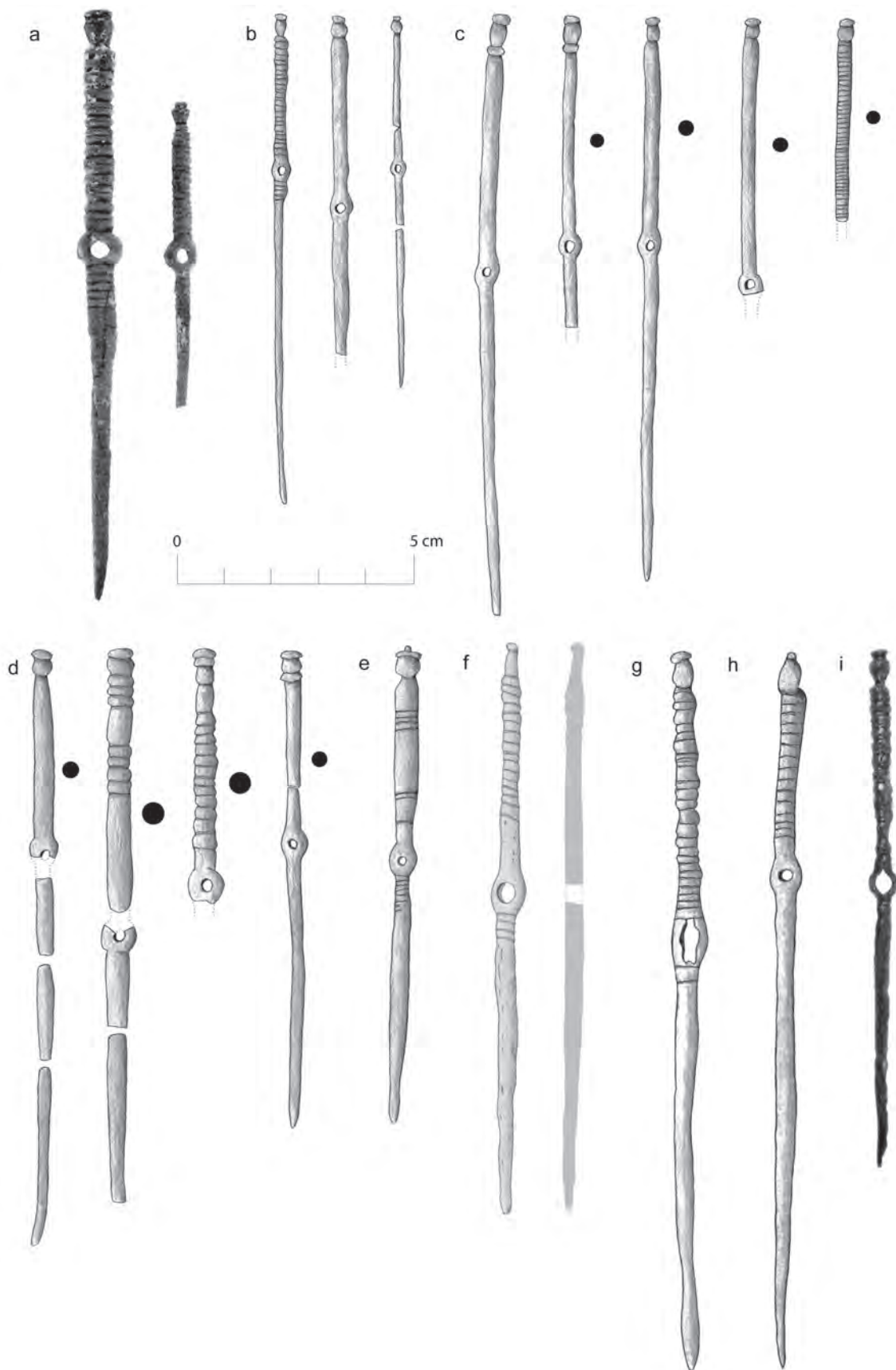


Fig. 13 Clothing pins with vasiform head from Jericho: **a** tombs 30b and 31 (after HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, pl. LXX. 109–110) **b** tombs P23 and J14 (redrawn by S. Prell after KENYON 1965, 241, fig. 114.11, 12, 15) **c** tombs J9 and J12 (redrawn by S. Prell after KENYON 1960, 424, fig. 177.3, 7–9, 11) **d** tomb H13 (redrawn by S. Prell after KENYON 1960, 479, fig. 207.16–18, 22) **e** Tell el-Ajjul, tomb 1551 (redrawn by S. Prell after PETRIE 1934, pl. XXI.225) **f** Tell Abel Beth Maacah (redrawn by S. Prell after PANITZ-COHEN et al. 2018, 140, fig. 13a) **g** Tell Farah (S) (redrawn by S. Prell after PETRIE 1930a, pl. XI.72) **h** Gibeon (redrawn by S. Prell after PRITCHARD 1963, 115, fig. 26.11) **i** Jerusalem (after MILEVSKI, GREENHUT and AGHA 2008; by courtesy of Zvi Greenhut and Ianir Milevski, Israel Antiquities Authority)

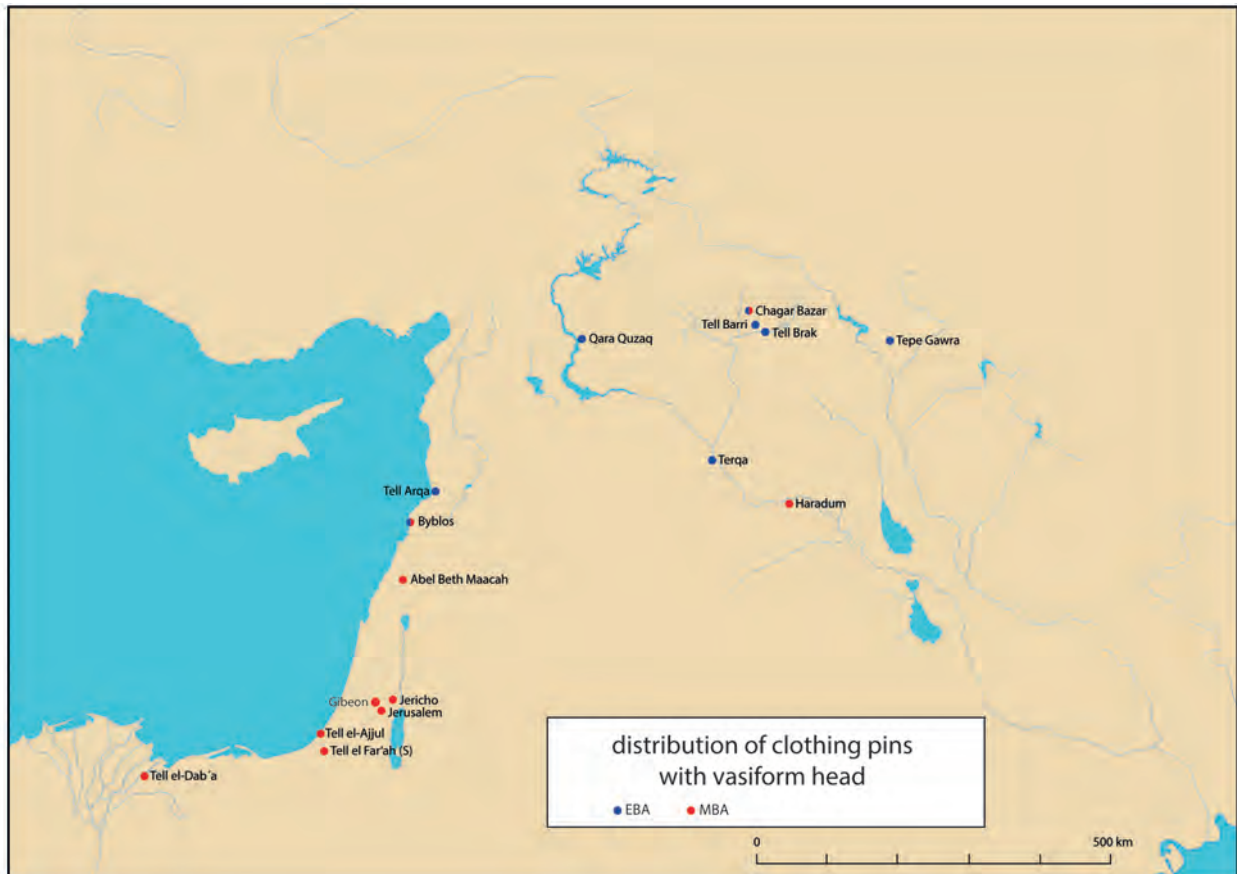


Fig. 14 Distribution of clothing pins with vasiform head in the EBA and MBA (plot S. Prell)

Pins with cylindrical head and ribbed decoration

Pins with cylindrical head and ribbed decoration are quite common at Tell el-Dab'a (Fig. 15) and occur from stratum E/3 onwards.²³⁰ They do not show heads, but end in a flattened, rounded or slightly thin shank. Eyelets can be round or oval; the length of the shank above the eyelet varies. They can be decorated with ribbings just above the eyelet or a few ribbings below. In addition, groups of ribbings are attested. Their beaded or incised decoration normally runs helical around the shaft while portraying a 'false' horizontal decoration (e.g. inv.-no. 340, Fig. 15), but can also diagonally spiral upwards (inv.-no. 9619, Fig. 5). In one case (inv.-no. 928, Fig. 15), the decoration consists of 21

individual circumferential grooves.²³¹ The examples with grouped decoration and comparable pieces were already discussed above.

Checking through Klein's plates, the closest comparisons are assigned by him to type I.1A2a–c, not differentiating between decorated and undecorated pins in this group.²³² Also pins of group I.3A1b find parallels at Tell el-Dab'a.²³³ The Tell el-Dab'a pins belong to Henschel-Simon's types 6a and 6c, "without head, ribbed regularly" or "spirally ribbed", and can be correlated with Kenyon's type F and G.²³⁴ Henschel-Simon's type 6b "without head, ribbed, with rhythmical change" might be correlated with the pins ribbed in groups, although the three pieces quoted by her are different in design.²³⁵ In expansion of Hen-

²³⁰ PHILIP 2006, 99.

²³¹ PHILIP 2006, 98.

²³² PHILIP 2006, 159 sees the closest parallel in Klein's type I.4A6, but the shanks of these pins slightly change in thickness towards the terminal end and their eyelets are mainly very tiny and often show a ring threaded through it. As such, the present author does not agree with this classification.

²³³ KLEIN 1992, 42, pl. 9. He also correlates Henschel-Simon's type 6c with his type I.3A1b and her type 6a with I.4A7a, although the form of the head is different, see KLEIN 1992, 285.

²³⁴ KENYON 1960, 298.

²³⁵ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 194–196, pl. LXVIII.23, 26, 32, 37.

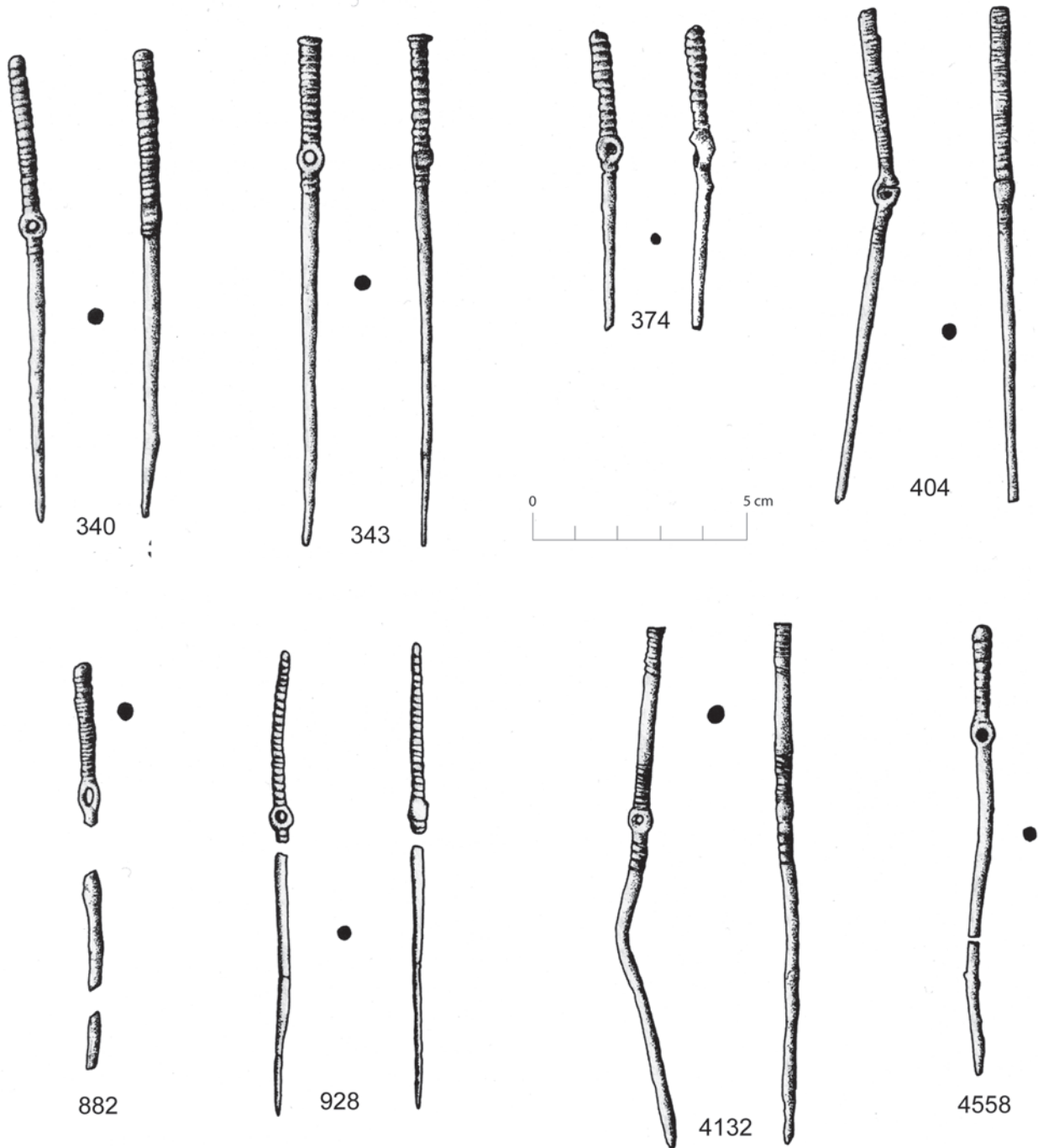


Fig. 15 Clothing pins with cylindrical head and ribbed decoration as found in Tell el-Dab'a (after PHILLIP 2006, 96, fig. 45)

schel-Simon's groups one should further introduce new sub-groupings for the pins from Tell el-Dab'a according to their decoration: (1) Ribbed regularly above eyelet; (2) Ribbed regularly above and below eyelet; (3) Ribbed spirally above eyelet; (4) Ribbed spirally above and below eyelet; (5) Ribbed in groups above and below eyelet; and (6) Ribbed in groups above eyelet.

Clothing pins similar to those at Tell el-Dab'a are known from several sites in the Levant (Tab. 3) and do not occur before the MB IIA. Compared to the variety of pin types as, for instance, those from the tombs at Tell el-'Ajjul, the Tell el-Dab'a specimens are quite simple and there is not much diversity.²³⁶ This can also be stated for the clothing pins from other sites in Egypt's Eastern Delta.

²³⁶ Already stated by PHILLIP 2006, 159.

Tab. 3 List (alphabetical) of clothing pins with cylindrical head and ribbed decoration: type 1: Ribbed regularly above eyelet, type 2: ribbed regularly above and below eyelet, type 3: ribbed spirally above eyelet, type 4: ribbed spirally above and below eyelet, type 5: ribbed in groups above and below eyelet, type 6: ribbed in groups above eyelet

site	head	eyelet	length (in mm)	material	context	date	bibliography	Prell
Alalakh	rounded	oval	unknown	copper alloy	settlement	LBI	WOOLLEY 1955, pl. LXXIII.P2	5
Amman	flat	oval	unknown	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	HARDINGS 1953, pl. II.114	1
Barqai	flat	round	100	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	GOPHNA und SUSSMANN 1969, 11, Abb. 9.5	6
Dara'a	flat	round	110	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	NASRALLAH 1950, 324, fig. 11, 327 f.	1
Dahrat el-Humraiya	flat	unclear	x + 68	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	ORY 1948, 81 f., pl. XXXIII.22	1
Dahrat el-Humraiya	flat	unclear	142	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	ORY 1948, 81 f., pl. XXXIII.23	1
Gezer	flat	round	unknown	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	MACALISTER 1911, 303, fig. 160.7	1
Gibeon	flat	round	105	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PRITCHARD 1963, fig. 24.95	3
Gibeon	flat	round	82	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PRITCHARD 1963, fig. 24.98	3
Gibeon	flat	oval	105	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PRITCHARD 1963, fig. 24.96	5
Gibeon	rounded	oval	129	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PRITCHARD 1963, fig. 41.39	5
Ginosar	not preserved	round	x + 94 + y	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	EPSTEIN 1974, 32, fig. 13.2	2
Ginosar	not preserved	round	x + 88 + y	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	EPSTEIN 1974, 32, fig. 13.3	2
Ginosar	rounded	round	132	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	EPSTEIN 1974, 32, fig. 13.4	2
Ginosar	not preserved	round	x + 58 + y	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	EPSTEIN 1974, 32, fig. 13.8	2
Ginosar	rounded	oval	132	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	EPSTEIN 1974, 32, fig. 13.5	3
Gurob	flat	round	99	gold	settlement	LB I	PETRIE 1891, 19, pl. XXII.3	2
Gurob	rounded	oval	147	copper alloy	settlement	LB I	PETRIE 1891, 19, pl. XXII.1	5
Jericho	flat	round	106	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	KENYON 1960, 424, fig. 177.10	1
Jericho	flat	round	118	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	KENYON 1965, 464, fig. 245.1	6
Lachish	flat	oval	103	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	USSISHKIN 2004, 1498 f., fig. 23.21.3	1
Lachish	flat	round	100	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	USSISHKIN 2004, 1498 f., fig. 23.21.3	2
Megiddo	flat	oval	163	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	GUY 1938, 169, fig. 174.6	1
Megiddo	flat	round	130	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	GUY 1938, 169, fig. 174.5	2
Pella	flat	round	-	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	SMITH 1973, pl. 57.28, pl. 62.218; MCNICOLL, SMITH and HENNESSY 1982, pl. 103.26	1
Pella	flat	round	-	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA	SMITH 1973, pl. 57.28	2
Qatna	rounded	round	125 (bent)	copper alloy	palace	MB IIB-C	IAMONI 2012, 358, fig. 9	2
Qiryat Shemona (S)	flat	oval	150	copper alloy	unstratified	unstratified	NATIV 2012, 186, fig. 14.4.6	5
Rishon le-Zion	flat	round/oval	-	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494-499, fig. 7.2-7.4	1
								several specimen

site	head	eyelet	length (in mm)	material	context	date	bibliography	Prell	
Rishon le-Zion	flat	round/oval	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	KAN-CIPOR-MERON and SHALEV 2018, 494–499, fig. 7.2–7.4	2	several specimen
Safed	flat	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIA-B	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 17*, fig. 18.10, 18*, fig. 19.1–3, 5.	2	5 specimen
Safed	flat	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB	DAMATI und STEPANSKY 1996, 18*, fig. 19.6–7	5	2 specimen
Sasa	flat	round	120	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	BEN ARIEH 2004, 15*, fig. 14.5	2	
Sasa	flat	oval	128	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	BEN ARIEH 2004, 15*, fig. 14.3	4	
Sasa	flat	round	92	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	BEN ARIEH 2004, 11*, fig. 10.3	5	
Sasa	flat	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	BEN ARIEH 2004, 11*, fig. 10.1–2	5	2 specimen
Sidon	flat	round	162	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	DOUMET-SERHAL and KOPETZKY 2011/2012, 37	5	
Tel Aviv Harbour	flat	round	122	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	KAPLAN 1955, 11, fig. 5.5	2	
Tel Aviv Harbour	flat	round	102	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	KAPLAN 1955, 11, fig. 5.7	4	
Tell Abel Beth Maacah	rounded	round	48	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB	PANITZ-COHEN et al. 2018, 140, fig. 13b	1	
Tell Arqa	not preserved	round	111 + x	copper alloy	settlement	MB IIA	GERNEZ 2008, 253, 255, fig. 14.9	2	
Tell Arqa	flat	oval	134	copper alloy	settlement	MB IIC-LBI	GERNEZ 2008, 256, 257, fig. 15.4	3	
Tell Dan	flat	round	87	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	ILAN 1996, 316 f., fig. 4.100.15	1	
Tell Dan	flat	oval	190	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	ILAN 1996, 306 f., fig. 4.95.13	3	
Tell el-Ajjul	rounded	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXI.205, pl. XXXIII.E.433, 479, H690, 1754, 854, 1548, 1946	1	8 specimen
Tell el-Ajjul	rounded	oval	86	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1932, pl. XVIII.214	1	
Tell el-Ajjul	flat	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXXIII.E.429, 460, 1934	2	3 specimen
Tell el-Ajjul	flat	round	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1934, pl. XXXIII.A	3	8 specimen
Tell el-Farah (N)	flat	oval	unknown	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	DE VAUX 1962, 244, fig. 4.2–3	6	
Tell el-Farah (S)	flat	oval	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1930a, pl. VI.16, pl. XI.83–85	1	4 specimen
Tell el-Farah (S)	flat	round/oval	–	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1930, pl. VI.6, 8, 25, 32, Pl. IX, 45, 54	3	6 specimen
Tell el-Farah (S)	flat	round	91	copper alloy	tomb	MB II	PETRIE 1930a, pl. XI.77	5	
Tell el-Mansheya	broken off	round	90 + x	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	AHMED et al. 2018, 45, pl. V.47	2	
Tell el-Maskhoutha	flat	round	128	copper alloy	tomb + settlement	MB IIB-C	HOLLADAY 1997, fig. 7.9.19–20	2	
Tell el-Retabe	knob	round	114	copper alloy	tomb	MB IIB-C	NOUR EL-DIN et al. 2016, 83 f., pl. II.617	3	
Tell Kabri	flat	round	65	copper alloy	settlement	MB IIA	SHALEV 2002, 312, fig. 8.3.1	1	



Fig. 16 Distribution of clothing pins with cylindrical head, type 1 (plot S. Prell)



Fig. 17 Distribution of clothing pins with cylindrical head, type 2 (plot S. Prell)



Fig. 18 Distribution of clothing pins with cylindrical head, type 3 + 4 (plot S. Prell)



Fig. 19 Distribution of clothing pins with cylindrical head, type 5 + 6 (plot S. Prell)

Except for the Tell el-Dab'a pin with segmented spherical head and the two pins with vasiform head, only the pins from Tell el-Retabe, tomb 4 + 5, vary with their club-shaped heads (see above).

Overall, type 1 pins are quite common in the southern Levant and do not spread further north than Tell Abel Beth Maacah (Fig. 16). Type 2 pins are attested further north, and are documented at Tell Arqa and Qatna (Fig. 17). Both types are confirmed throughout the MBA. Types 3–6 do not

seem to appear before MB IIB. Types 3 and 4 are less frequent and spread to Tell Arqa in the north (Fig. 18), while the northernmost site at which types 5 and 6 occur is Alalakh, but with a huge gap between this and Sidon (Fig. 19). These pin types might very well be a southern Levantine invention, developed at the beginning of the MBA and, with some variation, in use throughout the whole MBA.

Plain pins and pins with coiled head

Plain pins and pins with coiled head (Fig. 20) are widely distributed throughout time and space and therefore seem too common for a meaningful comparison. The plain pins can best be correlated with Klein's type I.3A.1 a–b with an either steady thickness of the shank above the eyelet or slightly thickening towards the top.²³⁷ There are some examples known from Northern Mesopotamia already in the EBA, but most of the documented specimens can be dated to the MBA.²³⁸ In the latter, they are evenly distributed throughout the Levant with Tell el-Yahudieh²³⁹ being the southernmost and Alalakh²⁴⁰ and Tell Tuqan²⁴¹ the northernmost sites for their occurrences. At Tell

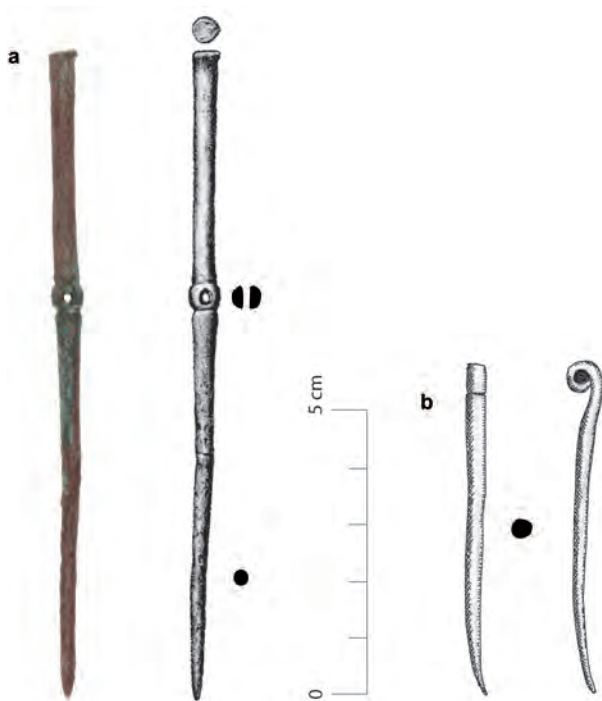


Fig. 20 **a** Plain pin inv.-no. 4786 as example for this type from Tell el-Dab'a (© ÖAI-OREA archive) **b** pin with coiled head inv.-no. 927 (© ÖAI-OREA archive)

el-Dab'a, they remain in use until the end of the SIP.²⁴²

Similar observations may be made for pins with coiled head, also a very common type.²⁴³ These pins can be attributed to Klein's type I.14B1.²⁴⁴ They occur in south-eastern Anatolia already in the Chalcolithic, are commonly found in EBA contexts and spread into Syria, Mesopotamia and even Iran to reach the southern Levant by the end of the period (see above, fig. 2).²⁴⁵ They became less common in the MBA, during which they are more or less confined to south-eastern Anatolia, the northern Levant and Northern Mesopotamia, but can be documented in the region until the LBA.²⁴⁶ As they are, to the author's knowledge, not documented anymore in the southern Levant in the MBA, one could assume a northern origin of the former owner of this pin that unfortunately was found in Tell el-Dab'a as a surface find.²⁴⁷

Conclusions

Perforated clothing pins are more or less unknown in the southern Levant before the MBA and are represented only by a few, slightly earlier specimens from 'Enan,²⁴⁸ Megiddo²⁴⁹ and Ma'ayan Barukh (Fig. 1).²⁵⁰ As they are well documented in Northern Mesopotamia in the EBA, one can assume that the idea of perforating a pin in order to secure it to clothing reached the southern Levant from the north. Indeed, the concept of clothing pins in general seems to be a northern invention and spread via Syria further south.

Already Petrie, followed by Frankfort, Henschel-Simon and others, assumed a general origin of the 'toggle pins' and their diffusion south from the region of Transcaucasia,²⁵¹ where this pins, although of differing craftsmanship and décor were quite common already in the EBA. Nevertheless, the general type is so universal that a

²³⁷ KLEIN 1992, 41 f., pl. 9. PHILIP 2006, 159 assigns them to Klein's type I.6A1, but the heads of this group are more club-shaped. Thus, the present author does not agree with this classification.

²³⁸ KLEIN 1992, 42. As also Klein's type I.6A1 that was assigned to the pins by Philip already finds examples in the EBA, it is clear that the form developed in the EBA and continued into the MBA.

²³⁹ PETRIE 1906, pl. VI.12–14.

²⁴⁰ WOOLLEY 1955, pl. LXXIII.P1.

²⁴¹ ASCALONE 2014, 224, fig. 38.

²⁴² PHILIP 2006, 102.

²⁴³ PHILIP 2006, 159.

²⁴⁴ KLEIN 1992, pl. 19.

²⁴⁵ KLEIN 1992, 124.

²⁴⁶ KLEIN 1992, 125.

²⁴⁷ PHILIP 2006, 102, no. 173.

²⁴⁸ EISENBERG 1985, 70 f., fig. 10.

²⁴⁹ GUY 1938, 169 f., fig. 173.1–3.

²⁵⁰ AMIRAN 1961, 91, fig. 8.22–23, pl. XII.8.3–4.

²⁵¹ PETRIE 1932, 6; PETRIE 1934, 10; FRANKFORT 1932, 52–55; HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 176–180; GUY 1938, 168.

Transcaucasian origin has to remain doubtful at best.²⁵² Although early pins are known from Cyprus, Mesopotamia seems to be the point of origin for the perforated type,²⁵³ with the earliest examples known from Susa, Tepe Gawra, Ur and Kish. Whatever shape and decoration they show, all have in common the perforation of the shank, so the general concept of usage is undifferentiated. Overall, though, one has to be careful with comparisons as types can bear a similar concept but different layouts. In the EBA perforated clothing pins seem to be more widespread than in the MBA, but specimens, such as those known from Ur²⁵⁴ or some of the Transcaucasian examples,²⁵⁵ are quite different from types encountered in the Levant, although other types are comparable.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the concept of perforated clothing pins is widely diffused and common in a wider region that shows more local variation concerning other artefacts, like pottery, but this fact might simply find its explanation in practical reasons. Once a functioning and practicable form was found, it was not easily abandoned, but further spread, until a more suitable form, like the fibula,²⁵⁷ was invented and gradually replaced perforated clothing pins in the LBA. Nevertheless, pins were occasionally still used in the Iron Age.²⁵⁸

The usage of silver for pins clearly finds its origins in south-eastern Anatolia and Syro-Mesopotamia, where this material was used to manufacture clothing pins already at the end of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the EBA (Fig. 8). Except for two examples documented in Carchemish and Kültepe, silver pins are not attested any more in the Upper Euphrates Valley in the MBA and are also not common in Mesopotamia (Fig. 9). They are, however, documented across the southern Levant in various forms covering the complete span of the MBA and also surviving into the LBA.

The same can be observed for pins with vasi-form head, a form evidently invented in the northern Levant and Northern Mesopotamia (Fig. 14). At the beginning of the MBA, this type was introduced to the southern Levant obviously via Tell Arqa and Byblos. Their occurrence remains rare, showing a slight cluster in the southern Levant and at this time they are, except for the specimens

found at Chagar Bazar, not attested in northern Mesopotamia any more.

The pins with cylindrical heads and ribbed decoration on the other hand seem to be an invention of the MBA. They are attested from Tell el-Dab'a in the south to Alalakh in the north (Figs. 16–19), but are rare in the northern Levant. Plain pins show the same distribution pattern, yet are slightly more common in the north. Plain pins and the ones with cylindrical head and ribbed decoration are at the same time the most common types at Tell el-Dab'a, where pins do not show much variety. These types are common across the Eastern Delta and only the pins from Tell el-Retabe, tomb 4 + 5 with their club-shaped head and ribbed decoration stand out as seemingly unique objects without any close parallels from the MBA Levant. Also, the silver pins from Tell el-Dab'a with the flanged shanks are rather unique and find no real comparison in other regions. Like the pins from Tell el-Retabe, they might have been very well produced locally and therefore reflect a shape originating in the Eastern Delta of Egypt.

To sum up, perforated clothing pins are quite common in the MBA. The forms attested in the southern Levant occur only seldomly in Northern Mesopotamia with the Euphrates seemingly acting as a natural border. This corresponds well with the outcome of the author's research on funerary customs,²⁵⁹ implying that people with a similar cultural background (weapons as grave inventory, intramural burials) that also fastened their garments with clothing pins left from this region at the end of the EBA, never to come back. This statement seems at first sight to be contradicted by the distribution of clothing pins with segmented spherical heads, which is the only pin type known from Tell el-Dab'a that is also documented in the Upper Euphrates region and the Khabur triangle. It possibly was already introduced in the region in the EBA, but the evidence from Tell Brak is uncertain, and the pins from Wreide and Abu Salabikh are perforated but with bent, globular segmented heads. So, it is more likely that this type of pin was introduced into the region at the beginning of the MBA. It occurs as early as the MB IIA both in the northern and the southern Levant and can be

²⁵² HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 184 f.

²⁵³ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 185.

²⁵⁴ IAMONI 2012, 360.

²⁵⁵ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 178, fig. 6a–c from Akhthala.

²⁵⁶ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 178, fig. 6d–f. from Agha Evlar and Vadjalik.

²⁵⁷ PEDDE 2000; STRONACH 1959.

²⁵⁸ HENSCHEL-SIMON 1938, 186.

²⁵⁹ PRELL 2019.

accounted for at least south of the Euphrates until the end of the period. It is true that in the Upper Euphrates region the evidence for tombs in the MBA is scarce; however, the fact that all the pins documented in the region derive, except for Alalakh, from tombs proves their general existence in the region. The pins with segmented spherical heads exhibit a connection between the south, the Upper Euphrates region and the Khabur triangle to a certain degree, at least at the beginning of the MBA. Unfortunately the other grave goods of the female interred in the mudbrick built cist tomb 24 in area F/I-k/21 (stratum F, MB II A–B), some pottery vessels and a kohl-pot made from calcite, provide no further data to determine potential foreign relations more precisely.

The case of the pins with segmented spherical heads especially indicates that, although widely distributed and sharing common standardized characteristics, clothing pins are a valuable source of information regarding regionality, trade, foreign relations and contacts. A careful re-evaluation of the entire available body of data would be a desideratum to get a better understanding of how, by which means and on which routes people in the ancient Near East interacted with each other.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Anna-Latifa Mourad for her input and English correction. My thanks go as well to all the colleagues helping me along with object drawings, photographs and literature, enabling me to complete this article in ‘quarantine times’.

Addendum

During her research, the author found some more pins with segmented globular head shortly before the article went to print. As this type is extremely interesting, it was decided to present the specimens at least in this addendum. The pins were included in the distribution map (Fig. 12), but it was not possible anymore to incorporate them in text and tables. Especially the pin from Bakr Arwa (U. BÜRGER, *Cultural Encounters and Local Traditions. A Discussion of the Middle Bronze Age Evidence at Bakr Awa*, in: J. EIDEM (ed.), *Zagros Studies. Proceedings of the NINO Jubilee Conference and Other Research on the Zagros Region*, PIHANS 130, Leuven 2020, 92, pl. 6h), closely resembling the pin from Tell el-Dab‘a, is interesting as it is the easternmost evidence for this type. Such pins are further attested in burials in Assur (D. HOCKMANN, *Gräber und Gräfte aus Assur von der zweiten Hälfte des 3. bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends. v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 2010, 73), Lidar Höyük (G. KASCHAU, *Lidar Höyük: die Keramik der Mittleren Bronzezeit*, *Archaeologica Euphratica* 3, Mainz 1999, pls. III, 133.4, VIII, 123.1, 155.2; IX, 142.2, 139.3, X, 159.2-3, 151.6), Dar‘a (M. AL-MAQDISSI, *Chronique des activités archéologiques en Syrie (II)*, *Syria* 72.1–2, 1995, 199, fig. 58.1–2) and Tell Arbid (<http://thegatetome.sopotamia.amu.edu.pl/amaz-on-assyrian-route-of-silver-wool/11-metal/92-fashion-pin/1056-item-37-59-65-2>). They all date to the Middle Bronze Age.



‘This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 668640)’

Bibliography

- ABU ASSAF, A.
1967 Der Friedhof von Yabrud, *AAAS* 17, 55–68.
- AHMED, M.H.M., HASHEM, S.A.E., HULKOVÁ, L. and WODZIŃSKA, A.
2018 Egyptian Salvage Excavations at Tell el-Mansheya, *E&L* 28, 25–54.
- ALDRED, C.
1971 *Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period*, London.
- AMIRAN, R.
1961 Tombs of the Middle Bronze Age I at Ma'ayan Barukh, *'Atiqot* 3, 84–92.
- ANATI, E.
1963 *Palestine Before the Hebrews. A History, from the Earliest Arrival of Man to the Conquest of Canaan*, New York.
- ASCALONE, E.
2014 The Long Life of the Dead. A Middle Bronze IB Necropolis at Tell Tuqan, Syria, in: F. BAFFI, R. FIORENTINO and L. PEYRONEL (eds.), *Tell Tuqan Excavations and Regional Perspectives. Cultural Developments in Inner Syria from the Early Bronze Age to the Persian/Hellenistic Period. Proceedings of the International Conference May 15th–17th 2013, Lecce, Galatina*, 189–225.
- ASTON, D.A., BADER, B. and KUNST, K.G.
2009 Of Fishes, Ringstands, Nudes and Hippos – a Preliminary Report on the Hyksos Palace Pit Complex L81, *E&L* 9, 19–89.
- BAKER, J.L.
2006 The Funeral Kit: A Newly Defined Canaanite Mortuary Practice Based on the Middle and Late Bronze Age Tomb Complex at Ashkelon, *Levant* 38.1, 1–31.
2012 *The Funeral Kit. Mortuary Practices in the Archaeological Record*, Walnut Creek.
- BEN-ARIEH, S.
2004 Middle Bronze Age II Tombs at Kibbutz Sasa, Upper Galilee (Tomb 1 and Graves 37, 39), *'Atiqot* 46, 1*–22*.
- BEN-TOR, A.
1975 *Two Burial Caves of the Proto-urban Period at Azor, 1971. The First Seasons of Excavations at Tell Yarmuth, 1970*, Qedem 1, Jerusalem.
- BEN-TOR, D.
1998 The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs, in: L.H. LESKO (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence, 1–17.
- BIANCHI, A. and FRANKE, K.A.
2011 Metal, in: M. LEBEAU (ed.), *ARCANE I. Jezirah*, Turnhout, 201–238.
- BIETAK, M.
1991 *Tell el-Dab'a V: ein Friedhofsbezirk der Mittleren Bronzezeitkultur mit Totentempel und Siedlungsschichten. Teil I* (unter Mitarbeit von Ch. Mlinar und A. Schwab), UZK 8, Vienna.
2016 The Egyptian Community in Avaris during the Hyksos Period, *E&L* 26, 263–274.
- BRANDT, R.W.
1978 The Other Chalcolithic Finds, in: M.N. VAN LOON (ed.), *Korucutepe. Final Report on the Excavations of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia 1968–1970*, Vol. 2, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, 61–63.
- BRAUN-HOLZINGER, E.A.
1984 *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde I.4, München.
- CANEVA, I. and PALMIERI, A.
1983 Metalwork at Arslantepe in Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I: The Evidence from Metal Analysis, *Origini* 12.2, 637–654.
- CATLING, H.W.
1964 Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World, Oxford.
- CHEHAB, M.
1939 Tombe phénicienne des Sin el Fil, in: ANONYMUS (ed.), *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Vol. II, BAH 30, 803–810.
- CROS, G.
1910 *Nouvelles fouilles à Tello*, Paris.
- CZICHON, R.M. and WERNER, P.
1998 *Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbāqa – Ekalte 1. Die bronzezeitlichen Kleinfunde*, WVDOG 97, Saarbrücken.
- DAMATI, E. and STEPANSKY, Y.
1996 A Middle Bronze Age II Burial Cave on Mt. Canaan, Zefat (Wadi Hamra), *'Atiqot* 29, 1*–29*, 107–108.
- D'ANDREA, M.
2014 *The Southern Levant in Early Bronze IV. Issues and Perspectives in the Pottery Evidence*, CMAO 17, Rom.
- DAVEY, CH.
1983 The Metalworkers' Tools from Tell Edh Dhiba'i, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology University of London* 20, 169–185.
- DELOUGAZ, P. and LLOYD, S.
1942 *Pre-sargonide Temples in the Diyala Region*, OIP 58, Chicago.

- DEVER, W.G.
1970 The "Middle Bronze I" Period in Syria and Palestine, in: J.A. SANDERS (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century. Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, New York, 132–163.
2014 *Excavations at the Early Bronze IV Sites of Jebel Qa'aqir and Be'er Resisim*, Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 6, Winona Lake.
- DOTHAN, M.
1956 The Excavations at Nahariyah: Preliminary Report (Seasons 1954/55), *IEJ* 6.1, 14–25.
- DOUMET, SERHAL, C. and KOPETZKY, K.
2011/2012 Sidon and Tell el-Dab'a: Two Cities – One Story. A Highlight on Metal Artefacts from the Middle Bronze Age Graves, *AHL* 34–35, 9–52.
- DUNAND, M.
1939 *Fouilles de Byblos I, 1926–1932*, Paris.
- EGELI, G.
1995 The Metal Pins from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia during the Third and the Beginning of the Second Millennia BC, in: ANONYMUS (ed.), *Readings in Prehistory: Studies Presented to Halet Çambel*, Istanbul, 175–216.
- EISENBERG, E.
1985 A Burial Cave of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I) near 'Enan, *Atiqot* 17, 59–74.
- EPSTEIN, C.
1974 Middle Bronze Age Tombs at Kefar Szold and Ginosar, *Atiqot* 7, 13–39.
1985 Dolmens Excavated in the Golan, *Atiqot* 17, 20–58.
- FORSTNER-MÜLLER, I.
2008 *Tell el-Dab'a XVI. Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab'a*, UZK 28, Vienna.
- FRANKE, J.A.
1977 Presentation Seals of the Ur III/Isin-Larsa Period, in: M. GIBSON and R.D. BIGGS (eds.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6, Malibu.
- FRANKFORT, H.
1932 *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*, SAOC 4, Chicago.
- FRANGIPANE, M., SCHMIDT-SCHULTZ, T., SCHULTZ, M., SADORI, L., PALMIERI, A., MORBIDELLI, P., HAUPTMANN, A. and DI NOCERA GIAN, M.
2001 New Symbols of a New Power in a "Royal" Tomb from 3000 BC Arslantepe, Malatya (Turkey), *Paléorient* 27, 105–139.
- FRANGIPANE, M.
2004 *Arslantepe. Alle origini del potere, la collina dei leoni*, Milano.
- FUGMANN, E.
1958 *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938 II. L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*, Copenhagen.
- GALE, N.H. and STOS-GALE, Z.A.
1981 Ancient Egyptian Silver, *JEA* 67, 103–115.
- GARSTANG, J.
1932 Jericho. City and Necropolis, *LAAA* 19, 3–22, 35–54.
1933 Jericho; City and Necropolis. IV. Tombs of M.B.A. ii (continued. V. Tombs of M.B.A. and L.B.A. i. VI. The Palace Area (Introductory), *LAAA* 20, 3–42.
- GAUTIER, J.-E.
1895 Note sur les fouilles entreprises dans la haute vallée de l'Oronte pour retrouver l'emplacement de l'ancienne ville de Kadech, séance du 12 juillet 1895, appendice, *CRAIBL* 39.5, 441–464.
- GERNEZ, G.
2008 Le metal de Tell Arqa à l'âge du bronze, *BAAL* 12, 221–264.
- GERSHUNY, L. and AVIAM, M.
2010 Middle Bronze Age Tombs at Fassuta, *Atiqot* 62, 17–42.
- GERSTENBLITH, P.
1983 *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age*, Philadelphia.
- GIDDY, L.
1999 *The Survey of Memphis II. Kom Rabi'a: The New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects*, London.
- GOPHNA, R. und SUSSMANN, V.
1969 A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at Barqai, *Atiqot* 5, 1–13.
- GOPHNA, R. and AYALON, E.
2003 Tel Ashir — An Open Cult Site of the Intermediate Bronze Age on the Bank of the Poleg Stream, *Eretz Israel* 27, 55–65.
- GRACE, V.R.
1940 A Cypriote Tomb and Minoan Evidence for its Date, *AJA* 44.1, 10–52.
- GUY, P.L.O.
1938 *Megiddo Tombs*, OIP 33, Chicago.
- HALL, H.R.
1930 *A Season's Work at Ur, al-'Ubaid, Abu Shahrain (Eridu) and Elsewhere: Being an Unofficial Account of the British Museum Archaeological Mission to Babylonia, 1919*, London.
- HANČAR, F.
1932 Die Nadelformen des prähistorischen Kaukasusgebietes, *Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua* 7, 113–182.
- HARDING, G.L.
1953 *Four Tomb Groups from Jordan*, Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 6, London.

- HENSCHTEL-SIMON, E.
1938 The 'Toggle Pins' in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, *QDAP* 6, 169–209.
- HOLLADAY, J.S., JR.
1997 The Eastern Nile Delta During the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods: Toward a Systemic/Socio-Economic Understanding”, in: E.D. OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, Philadelphia, 183–252.
- HUBERT, H.
1925 De quelques objets de bronze trouvés à Byblos, *Syria* 6.1, 16–29.
- HUDEC, J., JARMUZEK, L., HULKOVÁ, L., FULAJTÁR, E., DUBCOVÁ, V., RZEPLA, S. and RYS, A.
2018 Tell el-Retaba Season 2017, *PAM* 27.1, 93–122.
- IAMONI, M.
2012 Toggle Pins of the Bronze Age: A Matter of Style, Function and Fashion?, in: G.B. LANFANCHI, D. MORANDI BONACOSI, C. PAPPI and S. PONCHIA (eds.), *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 2, Wiesbaden, 349–363.
- ILAN, D.
1992 A Middle Bronze Age Offering Deposit from Tell Dan and the Politics of Cultic Gifting, *Tel Aviv* 19, 247–266.
1996 The Middle Bronze Age Tombs, in: A. BIRAN (ed.), *Dan I. A Chronicle of the Excavations, the Pottery Neolithic, the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age Tombs*, Jerusalem, 163–267.
- JAMES, F.W. and MCGOVERN, P.E.
1993 *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: a Study of Levels VII and VIII*, Philadelphia.
- KAN-CIPOR-MERON, T. and SHALEV, S.
2018 Metal Finds, in: Y. LEVY and R. KLETTER (eds.), *Rishon le-Zion I. The Middle Bronze Age II Cemeteries*, *ÁUAT* 88, Münster, 493–542.
- KAPLAN, J.
1955 A Cemetery of the Bronze Age Discovered near Tel Aviv Harbour, *Atiqot* 1, 1–12 (Hebrew).
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI, M. and MOUNT WILLIAMS, L.
1977 *Terqa. Preliminary Reports 3. Object Typology of the Second Season: The Third and Second Millennia*, Malibu.
- KENYON, K.M.
1960 *Excavations at Jericho I. The Tombs Excavated in 1952–4*, London.
1965 *Excavations at Jericho II. The Tombs Excavated in 1955–8*, London.
- KEPINSKI-LECOMTE, CH.
1992 *Haradum I. Une ville nouvelle sur le Moyen-Euphrate (XVIII^e–XVII^e siècles av. J.-C.)*, Paris.
- KLEIN, H.
1992 *Untersuchung zur Typologie bronzzeitlicher Nadeln in Mesopotamien und Syrien*, Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 4, Saarbrücken.
- KOSAY, H.Z. and AKOK, M.
1966 *Alaca Höyük Kazisi 1940–1948: Deki calismlara ve kesiflere ait ilk*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri 6, Istanbul.
- LAPP, P.W.
1966 *The Dhahr Mirzbâneh Tombs. Three Intermediate Bronze Age Cemeteries in Jordan*, New Haven.
- LAZZARI, A.
1986 Per una classificazione tipologica degli spilloni dell'Anatolia nell'Età del Bronzo, *CMAO* 1, 67–211.
- LÉON, S.
2018 *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) VI. Les tombes ordinaires de l'Âge du Bronze Ancien et Moyen des chantiers D–F–H–I (1999–2011). Les objets*, Leuven.
- LILYQUIST, CH. and BRILL, R.H.
1995 *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass*, New York.
- LOON, M.N. VAN
1988 *Hammam et-Turkman I: Report on the University of Amsterdam's 1981–84 Excavations in Syria*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 63, Istanbul.
- MACALISTER, R.A.S.
1911 *The Excavation of Gezer I–III. 1902–1905 and 1907–1909*, London.
- MAGUIRE, L.C.
2009 *Tell el-Dab'a XXI. The Cypriot Pottery and its Circulation in the Levant*, *UZK* 33, Vienna.
- MAKSOU, M.A. EL-
1998 *Tell Heboua (1981–1991): enquête archéologique sur la deuxième période intermédiaire et le nouvel empire a l'extrémité orientale du Delta*, Paris.
- MALLOWAN, M.E.L.
1947 Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar, *Syria* 9.2, 1–259.
- MARCHETTI, N. and NIGRO, L.
1998 Cultic Activities in the Sacred Area of Ishtar at Ebla during the Old Syrian Period, the Favissae F.5327 and F.5238, *JCS* 49, 1–44.
- MARGUERON, J.
1983 Mari: Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne de 1980, *M.A.R.I.* 2, 9–35.
- MARTIN, H.P., MOON, J. and POSTGATE, J.N. (eds.)
1985 *Abu Salabikh Excavations 2. Graves 1 to 99*, Hartford.
- MATTHIAE, P.
1993 L'aire sacrée d'Ishtar à Ebla: résultats des fouilles de 1990–1992, *CRAIBL* 137.3, 613–662.

- MAXWELL-HYSLOP, K.R.
1971 *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000–612 B.C.*, London.
- MAZAR, A. and ROTEM, Y.
2012 The Small Finds from the Early Bronze and Intermediate Bronze Ages. in: A. MAZAR (ed.) *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean, 1989–1996, Vol. IV – The 4th and 3rd Millennia BCE*, Jerusalem.
- McMAHON, A.
2009 *Once There Was a Place: Settlement Archaeology at Chagar Bazar, 1999–2002*, Exeter.
- McNICOLL, A., SMITH, R.H. and HENESSY, B.
1982 *Pella in Jordan. An Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1979–1981*, Canberra.
- MECQUENEM, R. DE
1943 *Fouilles de Suse, 1933–1939, Archéologie Susienne*, MDP 29, Paris.
- MEIR, M.M.
1974 *Ancient Tombs near Kibbutz Gal'ed*, Gal'ed (Hebrew).
- MELLINK, M.J.
1956 *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, Philadelphia.
- MIGLUS, P.A., BÜRGER, U., FETNER, R.A., MÜHL, S. und SOLLEE, A.
2013 Excavation at Bakr Awa 2010 and 2011, *Iraq* 75, 43–88.
- MILEVSKI, I., GREENHUT, Z. and AGHA, N.
2008 Excavations at the Holyland Complex: A Bronze Age Burial Field in the Nahal Refaim Basin, West Jerusalem, in: D. AMIT and G. STIEBEL (eds.), *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region*, Vol. 2, Jerusalem, 73–87 (Hebrew).
- 2010 Excavations at the Holy Land Compound: A Bronze Age Cemetery in the Rephaim Valley, Western Jerusalem, in: P. MATTHIAE, F. PINNOCK, L. NIGRO and N. MARCHETTI (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, May 5th–10th 2008, "Sapienza" – Università dei Roma*, Vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 397–415.
- MONTERO FENOLLÓS, J.-L.
2001 Des métaux pour l'au-delà dans les nécropoles de la Syrie ancienne, *Aula Orientalis* 19, 23–46.
- MOOREY, P.R.S.
1980 *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish Salvaged by T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley in 1913*, Cambridge.
- MORR, Z. EL- and MÖDLINGER, M.
2014 Middle Bronze Age Metal Artefacts and Metallurgical Practices at the Sites of Tell Arqa, Mougharet el-Hourryieh, Yanouh and Khariji in Lebanon, *Levant* 46, 27–42.
- MOUSLI, M.
1989/1990 Eine Mittelbronzezeitliche Gußform aus dem Museum in Homs, *AfO* 36–37, 346–350.
- MÜLLER, M.
2018 Foundation Deposits and Strategies of Place-Making at Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris, *NEA* 81.3, 182–190.
- MÜLLER-KARPE, A.
1994 *Altanatolisches Metallhandwerk*, Untersuchungen aus dem Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kiel und dem Archäologischen Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Schleswig sowie dem Landesamt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein N.F. 75, Schleswig.
- MUSCARELLA, O.W.
1968 Excavations at Dinkha Tepe, 1966, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, 187–196.
- NASRALLAH, J.
1950 Tumulus de l'Age du Bronze dans le Hauran, *Syria* 27.3–4, 314–331.
- NATIV, A.
2012 The Small Finds, in: Y. GADOT and A. YASUR-LANDAU (eds.), *Qiryat Shemona (S). Fort and Village in the Hula Valley*, Salvage Excavation Reports 7, Tel Aviv, 184–188.
- NIGRO, N., MONTANARI, D., GHAYYADA, M. and YASINE, J.
2017 The El-Atan Tomb: An Early Bronze IVB Female Burial in the Heart of Bethlehem, *Vicino Oriente* 21, 225–256.
- NOUR EL-DIN, M., HULKOVÁ, L., ŠEFČÁKOVÁ, A., HUDEC, J. and WODZIŃSKA, A.
2016 Egyptian Mission Rescue Excavations in Tell el-Retaba Part 2: The Second Intermediate Period Cemetery, *E&L* 26, 75–114.
- OATES, D., OATES, J. and McDONALD, H.
2001 *Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC*, Oxford.
- ÖZGEN, E. and CARTER, E.
1991 Oylum Höyük 1988, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 12, 259–268.
- ÖZGEN, E., HELWING, B. and TEKIN, H.
1997 Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf dem Oylum Höyük, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47, 39–90.
- ÖZGÜÇ, T.
1950 *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe. Bericht über die im Auftrage der türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, 1948 durchgeführten Ausgrabungen*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri 10, Ankara.
- 1953 *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe. Bericht über die im Auftrage der türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, 1949 durchgeführten Ausgrabungen*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri 12, Ankara.

- 1955 Excavations at Kültepe 1954. Finds on Level IB, *Belleten* 19, 64–72.
- 1986 *Kültepe-Kanish II. New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East*, Ankara.
- OREN, E.D.
- 1971 A Middle Bronze Age I Warrior Tomb at Beth-Shan, *ZDPV* 87, 109–139.
- 1973 *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan*, Leiden.
- ORTHMANN, W. and KÜHNE, H.
- 1974 Mumbaqtat 1973. Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, *MDOG* 106, 53–97.
- ORTHMANN, W. and ROVA, E.
- 1991 *Gräber des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im syrischen Euphrattal. 2. Ausgrabungen in Wreide*, Saarbrücken.
- ORY, J.
- 1946 A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at el-Jisr, *QDAP* 12, 31–42.
- 1948 A Bronze-Age Cemetery at Dhahrat el Humraya, *QDAP* 13, 75–91.
- PANITZ-COHEN, N., MULLINS, R.A., DAVID, A. and SHATIL, A.
- 2018 A Late Middle Bronze IIB Burial from Tel Abel Beth Maacah: A Northern Perspective on the Hyksos Phenomenon, in: I. SHAI, J.R. CHADWICK, L. HITCHCOCK, A. DAGAN, C. MCKINNY and J. UZIEL (eds.), *Tell it in Gath. Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel. Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, *ÄUAT* 90, Münster, 129–152.
- PARROT, A.
- 1962 Les fouilles de Mari: Douzième campagne (Automne 1961), *Syria* 39.3–4, 151–179.
- 1968 *Le “trésor” d’Ur, Mission archéologique de Mari IV*, *BAH* 87, Paris.
- PECORELLA, P.E.
- 1998 *Tell Barri/Kq hat 2: relazione sulle campagne 1980–1993 a Tell Barri/Kq hat, nel bacino del Ḥabur (Siria)*, Rome.
- PEDDE, F.
- 2000 *Vorderasiatische Fibeln: von der Levante bis Iran*, Saarbrücken.
- PEET, T.E. and WOOLLEY, C.L.
- 1923 *The City of Akhentaten I, Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-Amarnah*, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society 38, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F.
- 1891 *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London.
- 1906 *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, BSAE 12, London.
- 1930a *Beth-Pelet I (Tell Fara)*, BSAE 48, London.
- 1930b *Antaeopolis. The Tombs of Qau*, BSAE 51, London.
- 1932 *Ancient Gaza II. Tell el Ajjūl*, BSAE 54, London.
- 1934 *Ancient Gaza IV. Tell el Ajjūl*, BSAE 56, London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. and BRUNTON, G.
- 1924a *Sedment I*, BSAE 34, London.
- 1924b *Sedment II*, BSAE 35, London.
- PHILIP, G.
- 2006 *Tell el-Dab’a XV: Metalwork and Metalworking Evidence of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period*, UZK 26, Vienna.
- PILLER, C.K.
- 2009 Ein ‚echter‘ Hortfund? Zur Datierung eines Hortfundes aus Raum A113 in Arslantepe bei Malatya, *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, 9–40.
- PINNOCK, F.
- 2014/2015 Women at the Court of Ebla: A Syrian Specificity, in: P. MATTHIAE, M. ABDULKARIM, F. PINNOCK and M. ALKHALID (eds.), *Studies on the Archaeology of Ebla after 50 Years of Discoveries*, AAAS 57–58, 43–61.
- PRAG, K.
- 1974 The Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age: An Interpretation of the Evidence from Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon, *Levant* 6, 69–116.
- PRELL, S.
- 2015 Die Kleinfunde des Grabungsplatzes R/III in Ezbet Rushdi/Tell el-Dab’a, *E&L* 25, 29–43.
- 2019 Burial Customs as Cultural Marker – a “Global” Approach, in: M. BIETAK and S. PRELL (eds.), *The Enigma of the Hyksos vol. I, ASOR Conference Boston 2017 – ICAANE Conference Munich 2018 – Collected Papers*, CAENL 9, Wiesbaden 2019, 125–147.
- PRITCHARD, J.B.
- 1963 *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon*, Philadelphia.
- REUTHER, O.
- 1926 *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)*, Leipzig.
- RİIS, P.J. and BUHL, M.-L.
- 2007 *Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la fondation Carlsberg 1931–1938, I 2, Bronze Age Graves in Ḥamā and its Neighbourhood*, Copenhagen.
- ROOBAERT, A.
- 1998 The Middle Bronze Age Jar Burial F167 from Tell Ahmar (Syria), *Abr-Nahrain* 35, 97–105.
- SAAD, Y.
- 1964 A Bronze Age Tomb Group from Hablet el Amud, Silwan Village Lands, *ADAJ* 8–9, 77–80.
- SAVE-SÖDERBERGH, T.
- 1991 *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, 3 Vols., Stockholm.
- SAIDAH, R.
- 1993/1994 Beirut in the Bronze Age: The Kharji Tombs, *Berytus* 41, 137–207.

- SCHAEFFER, C.F.A.
 1932 Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Troisième campagne (printemps 1931): Rapport sommaire, *Syria* 13.1, 1–27.
 1938 Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire, *Syria* 19.3, 193–255.
 1948 *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale (III^e et II^e millénaires)*, London.
 1962 *Ugaritica IV. Découvertes des XVIII^e et XIX^e campagnes, 1954–1955. Fondements préhistoriques d'Ugarit et nouveaux sondages. Études anthropologiques. Poteries grecques et monnaies islamiques de Ras Shamra et environs*, Paris.
- SCHLOR, I.
 1994 Kulturbeziehungen während der Frühbronzezeit zwischen Mitteleuropa und Syrien. Ein Kulturvergleich anhand von Ösenhalbringen, *KLIO* 76, 7–66.
- SCHWARTZ, G.M., CURVERS, H.H., DUNHAM, S.S., STUART, B. and WEBER, J.A.
 2006 A Third Millennium B.C. Elite Mortuary Complex at Umm el-Marra, Syria: 2002 and 2004 Excavations, *AJA* 110, 603–641.
- SELOVER, S.
 2010 Metallurgical Analysis of Clothing Pins from the 2004 Season, in: K.A. YENER (ed.), *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*, Vol. I, *The 2003–2004 Excavation Seasons*, Istanbul, 147–159.
- SHALEV, S.
 2002 Metal Artefacts. Middle Bronze Age II, in: A. KEMPINSKI, *Tel Kabri. The 1986–1993 Excavation Seasons*, Tel Aviv, 307–316.
 2010 The Metal Objects from Fassuta, *'Atiqot* 62, 43–49.
- SHALEV, S. and BRAUN, E.
 1997 Metal Objects from Yiftah'el, Israel, in: E. BRAUN (ed.), *Yiftah'el: Salvage and Rescue Excavations at a Prehistoric Village in Lower Galilee, Israel*, IAA Report 2, 92–96.
- SINGER-AVITZ, L.
 2004 The Middle Bronze Age Cemetery, in: D. USSISHKIN (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, Tel Aviv, 971–1011.
- SMITH, R.H.
 1973 *Pella of the Decapolis I. The 1967 Season of the College of Wooster Expedition to Pella*, London, Beccles and Colchester.
- SPARKS, R.T.
 2004 Canaan in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence for a Social Phenomenon, in: J. BOURRIAU and J. PHILLIPS (eds.), *Invention and Innovation: the Social Context of Technological Change 2. Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East, 1650–1150 BC*, Oxford, 27–56.
- SPEISER, E.A.
 1931 Letter of March 1 from Dr. Speiser to the Directors of the American School at Baghdad and the University Museum of Philadelphia, *BASOR* 42, 12–13.
 1935 *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, Vol. I, *Levels I–VIII*, Philadelphia.
- STARKEY, J.L. and HARDING, L.
 1932 *Beth-Pelet II. Beth-Pelet Cemetery*, BSAE 52, London.
- STORK, L.
 2014 On Pins and Needles: Understanding the Role of Metal Pins in the Upper Euphrates Valley during the Early Bronze I–II, *Levant* 46.3, 321–338.
- STRONACH, D.
 1959 The Development of the Fibula in the Near East, *Iraq* 21.2, 180–206.
- TADMOR, M.
 1978 A Cult Cave of the Middle Bronze Age I near Qadesh, *IEJ* 28.1–2, 1–30.
- TAHA, H.
 1990 *Prehistoric and Early Urban Mortuary Differentiations in Palestine with Special Reference to Tell Taannek*, PhD Thesis FU Berlin.
- TALLON, F.
 1987 *Métallurgie susienne. De la fondation de Suse au XVIII^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Paris.
- THOMPSON, R.C. and MALLOWAN, M.A.
 1933 The British Museum Excavations at Niniveh, 1931–1932, *LAAA* 20, 71–186.
- TUFNELL, O.
 1958 *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) IV. The Bronze Age*, London, New York and Toronto.
 1978 Graves at Tell el-Yehudiyeh: Reviewed after a Lifetime, in: R. MOOREY (ed.), *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, Warminster, 76–101.
- TUFNELL, O. and WARD, W.A.
 1966 Relations Between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium B.C. A Study of the Montet Jar, *Syria* 43.3–4, 105–241.
- USSISHKIN, D.
 2004 *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, Vol. 3, Tel Aviv.
- VALENTINI, S.
 2003 Le pratiche e l'ideologia funeraria a Tell Barri/Kahat durante il bronzo medio, in relazione all'area siro-mesopotamica settentrionale, *SMEA* 45.2, 273–305.
- VAUX, R. DE
 1962 Les fouilles de Tell Far'ah, *RB* 69, 212–253.
- VILAIN, S.
 2019 The Foreign Trade of Tell el-Dab'a during the Second Intermediate Period: Another Glance at Imported

- Ceramics under Hyksos Rule, in: J. MYNÁŘOVÁ, M. KILANI and S. ALIVERNINI (eds.), *A Stranger in the House – the Crossroads III. Proceedings of an International Conference on Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age held in Prague, September 10–13, 2018*, Prague, 387–404.
- WAHEEB, M. and PALUMBO, G.
 1993 Salvage Excavations at a Bronze Age Cemetery near Tell el-ʿUmeiri, *ADAJ* 37, 147–163.
- WEINSTEIN BALTHAZAR, J.
 1990 *Copper and Bronze Working in Early through Middle Bronze Age Cyprus*, SIMA Pocket Book 84, Kungälv.
- WOOLLEY, C.L.
 1914 Hittite Burial Customs, *LAAA* 6, 87–98.
 1921 *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum. Part II. The Town Defences*, London.
- 1934 *Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemetery. A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves Excavated Between 1926 and 1931*, Oxford.
- 1955 *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*, Oxford.
- WOOLLEY, L. and BARNETT, R.D.
 1952 *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum III. The Excavations in the Inner Town*, London.
- YENER, K.A.
 2010 *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh*, Vol. I, *The 2003–2004 Excavation Seasons*, Istanbul.
- ZIFFER, I.
 1990 *At that Time Canaanites were in the Land. Daily Life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2. 2000–1550 B.C.E.*, Tel Aviv.