

## CHAPTER 5

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# EGYPT AND THE LEVANT

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The intensity and nature of Egypto-Levantine relations have varied through time (see Table 5.1), encompassing overland and maritime commerce, diplomacy, alliances, emigration, imperialism, and deportations. Such cross-cultural relations incorporate varying importations and local adaptations by each host culture, including architecture, art, material culture, language, literature, and religion. In times of Egyptian strength and imperialism, such as the New Kingdom, early Saite period, and quite possibly the Protodynastic to Early Dynastic period, there is often a greater occurrence of Egyptian-style construction, monuments, diverse artefacts, transitory through permanent migrants, and other influence in the Levant. During such periods, trade still forms a major mechanism for transmitting Egyptian items and inspiring local-regional imitations, while Egyptian garrisons, transitory troops, emissaries, other personnel, and ‘Egyptianized’ Canaanites also play a substantial role in dispersing Egyptian materials and influence. During other periods of Egyptian prosperity, such as the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Egypt relaxes its interactions with Palestine, attacking it periodically and sometimes sharing greater maritime commerce with Syria. During low points in Egyptian political stability, such as the Intermediate periods, Egyptian exports and local-regional copies of Egyptian forms, motifs, and concepts generally decline with commerce often reflecting the main means of transferring Egyptian and Egyptian-style items and influence. On the other hand, the Hyksos domination of Egypt’s eastern delta introduces more Levantine influences into Egypt; the Hyksos, however, also adopt aspects of Egyptian culture and relay Egyptian and Egyptian-style materials, products, and motifs abroad (e.g. ‘Hyksos’ scarabs). Other ‘invaders’, such as the Assyrian through Persian Empires, plunder Egypt of architectural elements (e.g. obelisks), statuary, artefacts, and people; most of these things are transported through the Levant and into the Mesopotamian heartland, while Phoenicia becomes an indirect imitator and exporter of Egyptian-style products throughout the Levant and Mediterranean.

## PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

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### Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age I

Egyptian imports first appear in Palestine during the Chalcolithic period, including a Naqada I-style calcite jar at Ghassul (Stager in Ehrich 1992: 26). North Sinai produced

**Table 5.1. General correspondence between Egyptian dynasties and Levantine periods**

Egyptian periods and dates (Shaw 2000)	Levantine periods and dates (Levy 1995)
Predynastic	
Badarian (South Egypt): c.4400–4000 BC	Chalcolithic 4500–3500 BC
Naqada I (Amratian): c.4000–3500 BC	
Naqada II (Gerzean): c.3500–3200 BC	Early Bronze Age IA–B 3500–3000 BC
Naqada III (Dynasty 0): c.3200–3000 BC	
Early Dynastic Period	
Dynasty 1: c.3000–2890 BC	Early Bronze Age II 3000–2700 BC
Dynasty 2: c.2890–2686 BC	(EB II sometimes terminated c.2900 BC)
Old Kingdom	
Dynasty 3: c.2686–2613 BC	Early Bronze Age III 2700–2200 BC
Dynasty 4: c.2613–2494 BC	(EB IV/MB I sometimes dated to c.2300 BC)
Dynasty 5: c.2494–2345 BC	
Dynasty 6: c.2345–2181 BC	
First Intermediate Period	Intermediate Bronze Age
Dyn. 7–mid-Dyn.11: c.2181–2055 BC	EB Age IV/MB Age I 2200–2000 BC
Middle Kingdom	Canaanites
Mid-Dyn.11–mid-Dyn.13: c.2055–1773 BC	Middle Bronze Age IIA 2000–1750 BC
Second Intermediate Period	Canaanites and 'Hyksos'
Dynasties 14 and 16: c.1773–1650 BC	Middle Bronze Age IIB 1750–1650 BC
Dynasties 15 and 17: c.1650–1550 BC	Middle Bronze Age IIC 1650–1550 BC
New Kingdom	Canaanite city-states
Early Dynasty 18: c.1550–1457 BC	Late Bronze Age IA 1550–1450 BC
Mid-Dynasty 18: c.1457–1390 BC	Late Bronze Age IB 1450–1400 BC
Late Dynasty 18: c.1390–1295 BC	Late Bronze Age IIA 1400–1300 BC
Dynasty 19: c.1295–1186 BC	Late Bronze Age IIB 1300–1200 BC
Early Dynasty 20: c.1186–1136 BC	Iron Age Sea Peoples, Israelites, Philistines:
Late Dynasty 20: c.1136–1069 BC	Iron Age IA 1200–1150 BC
	Iron Age IB 1150–1000 BC
Third Intermediate Period	Israel, Judah, Philistia, and other polities
Dynasty 21: c.1069–945 BC	Iron Age IB 1150–1000 BC
Dynasty 22: c.945–715 BC	Iron Age IIA 1000–925 BC
Dynasties 23–24: c.818–715 BC	Iron Age IIB 925–700 BC
Kushite–Saite period (early Late Period)	Assyrian–Babylonian Empires
King Piye (mainly Nubia) c.747–716 BC	Iron Age IIC 700–586 BC
Dynasty 25: c.716–664/656 BC	Babylonian period 586–539 BC
Dynasty 26: c.664–525 BC	
Late Period	
Dyn. 27 (Persian occupation): 525–404 BC	Persian period 539–332 BC
Dynasties 28–30: 404–343 BC	
Dyn. 31 (Persian occupation): 343–332 BC	

Ghassul-Beersheba pottery and Egyptian Red Polished pottery and palettes, attesting to overland traffic between Palestine and Egypt. Maadi, near the apex of Egypt's delta, exhibits Levantine-style subterranean dwellings, many donkey bones (i.e. pack animals), and copper ores, ingots, and artefacts from the Beer-Sheba region and Wadi Faynan (Levy 1995: 242). Maritime contact with Lebanon (and Afghanistan) is also demonstrated by the presence of cedar, pine, and cypress/juniper wood and lapis lazuli in Predynastic Egypt (Nicholson and Shaw 2000: 39, 349–52).

During EB I, Egypt's Naqada II–III cultures intensify trade with the emerging urban communities in Syria-Palestine: Egyptian artefacts appear throughout North Sinai and Palestine (see Braun 2009), reaching as far as Megiddo and Transjordan, and occur further north in Lebanon. Egyptian-style pottery is imported and locally made, perhaps being manufactured by Egyptian potters dwelling in Palestine. Egyptian-style vessels amount to 80 per cent of the ceramics in North Sinai and up to 20 per cent of the pottery at sites in southern Palestine (e.g. en-Besor). Some pots bear the serekh names of Kings Ka and 'Scorpion'; other Egyptian products include copper tools, flints, palettes, calcite and faience containers, clay sealings, mace-heads, jewellery, and Nile molluscs and catfish. Egyptian-style mud-brick buildings also appear (e.g. 'Ereini), while some human remains resemble 'African' (i.e. Egyptian) populations (Harrison 1993: 81–9). This may reflect Egyptian imperialism, peaceful colonization, or intense trade. Egyptian pottery, mace-heads, and palettes reach Byblos (Lebanon), with additional Egyptian pottery at Habuba Kabira (North Syria), and possible Egyptian-derived gold at Tepe Gawra (Mesopotamia) (Nigro 2007: 32–3). In conjunction with an intense Mesopotamian material presence and influence in late Predynastic–1st Dynasty Egypt, Syrian ports, such as Byblos, probably serve as conduits for maritime trade with Egypt (Mumford 2001a: 336).

## EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

### Early Bronze Age II

In the 1st Dynasty, Egyptian contact with southern Palestine intensifies and includes imported and locally made pottery, inscribed vessels (bearing the serekh names of kings Narmer, Hor-Aha, Den, and Anedjib?), clay sealings, stone vessels, a knife handle, and Egyptian-style architecture (e.g. Ai; 'Ereini). Narmer's name occurs on a potsherd (reassigned to Level III) from Arad, an important town along the copper trade routes from the southern Sinai and Wadi Faynan (Adams 2003: 18; Braun 2009: 36). The Palermo Stone, which lists pharaohs from the 1st–5th Dynasties, mentions Den attacking the *Iwnw*-peoples (known in southern Sinai during the Old Kingdom); commodity dockets from his reign also portray him smiting Asiatics. In the 2nd Dynasty, a dramatic drop occurred in Egypt's material/political (?) domination of southern Palestine: King Sekhemib-Perenmaat is identified on stone vessels that cite 'tribute of foreign lands', which might allude to residual political influence over Palestine (Wilkinson 1999: 155, 157). In general, however, Egypto-Levantine maritime commerce flourishes in the 2nd–6th Dynasties: the Palermo Stone notes ship-building by Khasekhemwy, whose name appears on a stone vessel at Byblos (Saghieh

1983: 104); a 2nd/3rd Dynasty calcite jar from Byblos names Neferseshemre (a scribe of the royal tree-cutters), while Egyptian-style pottery is found in the 'Amuq region of Syria (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 202).

## OLD KINGDOM

### Early Bronze Age III

Large Levantine urban centres prosper throughout EB III, but many sites are abandoned or destroyed toward the end of this period. EB III coincides with much of the 4th–6th Dynasties, when Egyptian artefacts diminish, but are still found in Palestine: e.g. Tel Yarmuth (de Miroschedji in van den Brink and Levy 2002: 47). Conversely, Old Kingdom Egypt produces a peak in Canaanite Combed Ware, possibly reflecting otherwise invisible Levantine trade or booty. For instance, the 5th Dynasty tombs of Inti and Khaemhesit illustrate Egyptian attacks against Asiatic strongholds (Kaplony in van den Brink and Levy 2002: 474).

The Palermo Stone alludes to maritime contact with Byblos to retrieve cedar, which is confirmed by cedar scaffolding in Sneferu's Dahshur pyramids. Sahure's mortuary temple portrays ships bringing bears, pottery, and male and female Asiatics to Egypt. A temple and cemetery at Byblos contain Egyptianizing architectural fragments (uraei friezes), statuary, stone vessels, and other items, some of which bear the names of most kings from the 4th–6th Dynasties (Saghieh 1983: 104–6). The intensity of Old Kingdom contact with Byblos may imply some Egyptian administrative control or alliance, securing this port for overland trade with Syria, Mesopotamia, and Afghanistan (e.g. lapis lazuli) (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 240). For example, Khafre and Pepy I's names are attested on items further inland at Ebla, while Menkaure is identified with artefacts from Cyprus (Matthiae in Oren 1997: 414).

## FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

### Intermediate Bronze Age

The Intermediate Bronze Age is marked by political decentralization in Egypt, dramatic de-urbanization in Palestine, a reappearance of seasonal settlements in North Sinai and the Negev, and somewhat impoverished settlements in Syria (Mumford 2006a: 57). Although few Egyptian artefacts appear in Palestine, Egyptian Medium Ware vessels and Palestinian 'caliciform' pottery occur at campsites across North Sinai (Oren in Stern 1993: 1388), which suggests some late Old Kingdom overland interactions with southern Palestine. Around this time, a mid-6th Dynasty official, Weni, claims to have led five military campaigns against Asiatic sand-dwellers somewhere in Sinai or Palestine (Simpson 2003: 402). Although Egypt maintained relations with Syria until the end of the 6th Dynasty, First Intermediate Period Egypt yields little evidence for trade, while later propagandistic texts (Ipuwer, Neferty, and

Merikare) harken back to Asiatic incursions, a cessation of trade with Byblos, and other problems.

## MIDDLE KINGDOM

### Middle Bronze Age IIA

MB IIA experiences the rebirth of urbanization in Palestine and a reunified Middle Kingdom state. Montuhotep II (11th Dynasty) claims he pacified hostile Asiatics and re-established trade; late 11th-Dynasty inscriptions reveal activity in Qedem (Syria), a siege of an Asiatic fort, a campaign against the Asiatics of Djaty, and a mission to obtain cedar from Lebanon (Callender in Shaw 2000: 152). In the 12th Dynasty, the Story of Sinuhe describes his flight to Syria-Palestine and encounters with Egyptian messengers, Egyptian fugitives(?), and people conversant in Egyptian, but omits mention of cities (Simpson 2003: 55); the Satire of Trades emphasizes the dangers of lions and Asiatics to Egyptian messengers travelling through Palestine. In another account, Amenemhat II sends troops in ten ships to Khentiu-she, on the Lebanese coast, to obtain raw materials, booty, and captives (Redford 1992: 78). In Senwosret III's reign, an Egyptian officer, Khusobek, claims to have killed an Asiatic warrior in an attack against Sekmem (Shechem?) (Bárta 2003: 127), while a commander of troops, under Amenemhet III, is described as 'opening the land of the Asiatic'.

The Egyptian execration texts list potential enemy towns, including Shechem, Ashkelon, Jerusalem, and Byblos, while inscriptions from Mit Rahina allude to treaties between Egypt and some Levantine city-states (Redford 1992: 87–93). In contrast, peaceful relations are evident with Byblos: the royal cemetery and temple have Egyptian-style architecture, statuary, stone vessels, and other artefacts with private and royal inscriptions (Amenemhet III–IV); nine royal tombs display Egyptian-style scenes, hieroglyphic texts, and titles ('count' and 'hereditary prince'), with evidence for the worship of Egyptian and Canaanite deities (Bárta 2003: 157). Ugarit has yielded probable Egyptian royal gifts: a statue of a daughter of Amenemhet II and two sphinxes of Amenemhet III (Yon 2006: 16).

Earlier theories for a Middle Kingdom empire in Palestine remain unfounded, especially since most 12th Dynasty statuary originates from later contexts. The otherwise abundant Middle Kingdom texts lack evidence for any imperial administration in Palestine, but recent investigations reveal more significant trade relations between Egypt and Palestine (Ilan in Levy 1995: 308); sites such as Tell Ifshar and Ashkelon are producing Egyptian-style pottery, calcite and faience vessels, scarabs, and jewellery (Cohen 2002: 83, 129; Marcus et al. 2008: 203). Some Cypro-Egyptian relations are also attested by pottery exchanged between both regions (Mumford 2001b: 360).

## SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

### Middle Bronze Age IIB

MB IIB experiences a continued growth in the number and size of settlements in Palestine, and prosperity in Syria; this coincides with the 13th Dynasty, and the 14th and 16th

Dynasties, which develop into the Hyksos and Theban kingdoms, respectively (Redford in Oren 1997). Although Egypt grows weaker politically, it maintains relations with Syria: Byblos contains items bearing the names of Amenemhet V, Sehetepib(en)re, and Neferhotep I. Neferhotep appears in a hieroglyphic text from a tomb stele of Prince Yantin, who also adopts an Egyptian-style sarcophagus. Jewellery from a palace at Ebla bears the name of Shetepibre (Matthiae in Oren 1997: 398), while Amenemhet V is cited on an artefact from Jericho. These strong links with Egypt are paralleled by a growing Levantine presence in the northeast delta: during the 13th Dynasty, Canaanite pottery increases from 20 per cent to 40 per cent at Avaris (Bietak 1996: 49). Further Asiatic influence occurs in copper-working, weaponry, contracted burials, associated donkey burials, and a seal of a deputy treasurer called Aamu ('the Asiatic'); Avaris has some Levantine-style temples, possibly dedicated to Baal-Zaphon; nearby Tell el-Yahudiyeh even adopts a Canaanite-style rampart fortification.

## Middle Bronze Age IIC

MB IIC spans the Hyksos and Theban kingdoms of the 15th and 17th Dynasties, respectively, during which Hyksos Egypt exports jewellery, scarabs, and calcite vessels to the Levant. Some Canaanite officials apply Egyptian-style seals on amphorae: one Canaanite amphora sent to Avaris bore a hieroglyphic seal with an Egyptian title ('mayor') and Semitic name (*Shimw*). Residue analysis indicates the exportation of olive oil, probably wine, and possibly wheat to Egypt. Small perfume juglets ('Yahudiyeh' Ware) apparently originated in northern Palestine, but soon became manufactured throughout Syria-Palestine (e.g. Afula), Cyprus, and Egypt (Tell el-Dab'a), displaying local variants and trade between these regions (Bietak 1996: 55–63). The Kamose Stelae also describe the diversity of Levantine trade in a list of booty from Avaris' harbor: lapis lazuli, turquoise, silver, battle axes, oils, fats, honey, cedar, and precious woods (Redford in Oren 1997: 13–15). Cypriot contact with Avaris is attested by White Painted V–VI, Proto White Slip, White Slip I (?), and Bichrome pottery. Although scholars originally theorized that the Hyksos Empire encompassed the Levant, the evidence suggests only commercial and political alliances. King Ahmose ends this Asiatic domination, defeating the Hyksos at Avaris and pursuing them across North Sinai to Sharuhén (Tell el-'Ajjul?), which he captured after three years.

## NEW KINGDOM

### Late Bronze Age IA

LB IA spans the early 18th Dynasty, during which Egypt began establishing its Levantine empire. Egypt applies periodic military force to pacify and extort annual tribute from city-states: various inscriptions allude to Ahmose fighting the Fenkhu in Syria, and capturing Asiatics and oxen. Redford (1992: 149) identifies a fragmentary text from Karnak Temple with Amenhotep I attacking Syria and retrieving unguents and other things from Qedem, Tunip, and elsewhere. A later text describes Thutmose I as having reached the Euphrates and erected a stele (Redford 2003: 74). Although official accounts assert that he faced no resistance, and collected cedar, copper, and gifts, several officers' biographies mention fighting,

booty, and prisoners; Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet also describes fighting the Shasu-Bedouin for Thutmose II. During Hatshepsut's reign, the Speos Artemidos and other inscriptions allude to military activity in Syria-Palestine: this may represent an 'inspection tour' collecting tribute and cedar (Redford in Oren 1997: 16). Regarding selected Levantine sites and artefacts,<sup>1</sup> Egyptian and Egyptian-style items form 22 per cent, 10 per cent, and 7 per cent of non-pottery artefacts within mortuary, habitation, and cultic contexts, respectively (Mumford 2006b: 203): mainly ceramic, stone, and faience containers, clay sealings, jewellery (including scarab seals), toiletries, game pieces (Senet), and figurines. Aside from only two items bearing Thutmose I's name in Syria, the names of all other early 18th-Dynasty rulers appear on items throughout Palestine. Hence, in addition to trade, Egypt now begins extorting annual tribute and directly retrieving materials, products, livestock, and captives via intimidation and increasing raids.

## Late Bronze Age IB

In Year 22, Thutmose III besieges Megiddo and captures many rulers from a coalition of 330 Levantine city-states led by the ruler of Kadesh. He accepts new oaths of allegiance, builds a fort in the Levant, and imposes more direct military control over Syria-Palestine. He consolidates the northern empire through sixteen further expeditions: inspection tours, tribute collection, and fighting in West Syria and Naharin (Mitanni) (Redford in Cline and O'Connor 2006: 332). Like Thutmose I, he reaches the Euphrates, where he places another stele, hunts elephants, and records exotic flora. His son, Amenhotep II, faces increasing rebellions in Syria (e.g. Takhsi, Ugarit, and Qatna) and Palestine (e.g. Shamash-Edom) (der Manuelian 1987). The next ruler, Thutmose IV, is notable for establishing peace and for a marriage alliance with Mitanni to counteract the expanding Hittite Empire (Anatolia). Despite this alliance, Thutmose IV needs to suppress rebellious Syrian vassals and establishes a fort nearby (Bryan 1991: 339–47); Egypt's Levantine empire is subdivided into provinces: Canaan (Palestine), Upe (Damasus to Beka Valley), and Amurru (West Syria), with headquarter cities at Gaza, Kumudi, and Ugarit (later Sumur); each regional headquarters receives a fort and storehouse with a commander and garrison (Redford 1992: 206–7).

During LB IB, Egyptian-style artefacts rise to 40 per cent in Levantine cemeteries, increase to 13 per cent in temples, and fall to 9 per cent in occupation contexts (Mumford 2006b: 203); a corresponding rise occurs in the quantities and dispersal of Egyptian royal name items (mostly scarabs). These Egyptian imports and local copies include ceramic, stone, faience, and glass containers, clay sealings, jewellery, toiletries, Senet pieces, figurines, utensils, axes, and a chariot fitting. Most of the items indicate luxury trade goods with a few products for domestic usage.

## Late Bronze Age IIA

LB IIA begins with Amenhotep III, who publicizes his marriage to a Mitannian princess on commemorative scarabs sent to vassals and kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean

<sup>1</sup> This writer conducted a study (Mumford 1998; 2006b; 2007) quantifying and assessing Egyptian and Egyptian-style artefacts from occupation, cultic, and mortuary contexts at a sample of twenty-four Late Bronze Age through early Persian-period Levantine sites.

(Weinstein 1998: 231–3). During this period, the Amarna letters, which span the reigns of Amenhotep III to Tutankhamun, provide a major source on relations between Egypt, its northern vassals, and Near Eastern kingdoms. The letters consist of clay tablets in Akkadian cuneiform and reveal conflict between Akhenaten's northernmost vassals. Despite frequent pleas to Akhenaten for aid, his western Syrian vassals of Sumur, Tunip, and Byblos are attacked and captured by another vassal: Amurru (Moran 1992: 139–223). Such neglect encourages Kadesh, a major vassal state straddling a strategic commercial route between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, to defect to the Hittite Empire, evading an apparent attempt to regain it in Year 15 (Schulman 1988: 56). Tutankhamun sends an army to resume control over Amurru (Davies 1995: 31–8), but its outcome is unclear and relations with Hatti deteriorate during his successor's reign: the Hittite Annals record that Šuppiluliumas attacked Egypt's northern frontier in retaliation for the alleged murder of a Hittite prince who had been sent to Egypt to marry a widowed Egyptian queen (Ankhesenamun?) (Goetze in Pritchard 1969: 319, 395).

At LB IIA sites, Egyptian artefacts fall sharply to 25 per cent and 7 per cent in mortuary and occupation contexts, but increase to 27 per cent in cultic settings (Mumford 2006b: 190, 203); royal name items also decline in quantity through this period. This trend argues for a reduction in Egyptian influence in everyday life in Canaan, while the rise in cultic contexts might imply the retention of increasingly valued votives (heirlooms?). On the other hand, the broad categories of Egyptianizing artefacts noted in LB IA–B continue, while some new types appear: a headrest, different figurines, and moulds for making Egyptian-type beads and amulets (Beth Shean and Tell el-'Ajjul) (Mumford 1997: 717). These sporadic moulds imply some efforts to supplement the decreasing (albeit still valued) imported Egyptian jewellery with cheaper local imitations.

## Late Bronze Age IIB

LB IIB encompasses the 19th Dynasty and an intensification of Egyptian control and presence in the Levant. Inscriptions from Karnak Temple and elsewhere record Ramesses I and his co-regent, Sety I, repressing Shasu-Bedouin uprisings in Sinai-Palestine. Sety I also rescued Egyptian garrisons at Beth Shean and Rehab from attacks by Hamath, Pella, and the *'apiru* (Kitchen 1993: 2, 93). The Hittite seizure of Cyprus and its copper mines probably encourages Sety I to expand copper mining in the Eastern Desert, Sinai, and southern Negev to maintain Egypt's war machine (see Hikade 1998). He briefly regained Kadesh in Years 5/6, erecting commemorative stelae at Kadesh, Tyre, Tell el-Shihab, and Beth Shean (Murnane 1990: 53). Hatti's reabsorption of Amurru and Kadesh prompted Ramesses II's Years 4–5 campaigns to retake them (Kitchen 1982: 51–62). Despite claims of victory, his failure to secure Kadesh generates rebellions throughout Palestine and emerging polities in 'Seir'/Edom and 'Moab' in Transjordan (Kitchen 1992: 26–9). He re-establishes control in Years 6/7, 8/9, and 10. By Year 21, a rising Assyrian threat encourages Hattusilis III to make peace with Ramesses II, who marries two Hittite princesses to cement relations with Hatti. Although peace and commerce continued between Hatti and Egypt, Merenptah needs to suppress rebellions in Palestine in Year 5, when 'Israel' is first listed amongst Egypt's enemies.

During LB IIB, but including the Late Bronze through to the end of Iron IA, a broad range of Egyptian gifts, payments, merchandise, possessions, livestock, personnel, and



other influences reach Egyptian garrisons, merchants, and other residents in Canaan and Cyprus (see Jacobsson 1994); this includes the rulers, elite, and general populace amongst Egypt's Canaanite vassals and adjacent kingdoms. Texts from Amarna, Ugarit, Hattusas, and elsewhere cite Egyptian and Kushite residents, servants, traders, messengers, soldiers, and others serving and dwelling throughout Syria-Palestine (e.g. Ugarit) and sometimes mention marriages with Asiatics (Mumford 1998: 63–349). After being raised in pharaoh's household (*kap*) and adopting Egyptian language, dress, and customs, many Canaanite princes are returned to inherit and govern their city-states, thereby introducing a hybrid Egypto-Levantine influence into the local leadership and associated population.

At LB IIB sites, Egyptian and Egyptian-style artefacts remain high (25%) in mortuary assemblages, and rise to 13 per cent and 32 per cent in occupation and cultic contexts (Mumford 2006b: 190, 203). Egyptian-style items now display the greatest quantity and variety of types (Higginbotham 2000: 145–262). This continuity and increase probably reflect the intensification of Ramesside garrisons in Canaan, especially under Sety I and Ramesses II (Killebrew, Goldberg, and Rosen 2006: 51–83). Likewise royal name items increase in the early 19th Dynasty, but decline noticeably in the remainder of this period. Egyptian exports include raw materials ('ebony' logs, blue frit pigment), pottery jars and other containers for provisions (e.g. Nile molluscs (?), catfish, and grain), cultic items (e.g. female figurines and cobras), and luxury items (e.g. linen textiles, furniture, Senet boards, cosmetic kits, jewellery, and wine drinking sets). Such things were conveyed via state, temple, and private shipping, overland traffic, and cross-cultural correspondence (Mumford 2006b: 170). The presence of Egyptian and other types of weights emphasize the multicultural commerce between Canaan and its neighbours. The increasing local production of Egyptian domestic pottery and other items in LB IIB–Iron IA attests to both a greater influx of Egyptians and a Canaanite desire for cheaper Egyptian-style products.

Ramesside garrisons are particularly evident through Egyptian forts and housing at such sites as Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah (Fig. 5.1), Tel Mor (Barako 2007), Ashkelon (Stager 2008: 1580), Tel Aphek (Gadot and Yadin 2009), and Tell es-Saidiyeh (Tubb 1998: 90); these sites have yielded Egyptian-style chariot fittings, weaponry (mace-heads, *khepesh* swords, axe-heads), and other utensils. Some sites produced hieroglyphs on stone gateways, doorways, statuary, stelae, and various artefacts (e.g. jewellery); an Egyptian cursive script (hieratic) is also used by the imperial administration, for example on inscribed pottery vessels, jar sealings, a large stamp seal (of Ptah), and ostraca. Several pharaohs add commemorative monuments, especially Ramesses II, who is attested on stone blocks (Gaza), lintels (Jaffa, Byblos), and stelae from Beth Shean, Sheikh Said, Tyre, 'Adlun, Nahr el-Kelb, Byblos, and Keswé near Damascus (Mumford 2006b: 185). In Levels VIII–VI at Beth Shean (Fig. 5.2), Egyptian administrative and residential buildings are remodelled and contain Egyptian-style components: central columned halls, 'T-shaped' doorways, door jambs with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and stelae (James and McGovern 1993: 4). A reassessment of the fort at Deir el-Balah demonstrates that its adjacent 'reservoir' actually functioned as a quarry for mud bricks (Killebrew, Goldberg, and Rosen 2006: 97).

Egyptian influence also affects temples at garrison sites: the Level VII temple at Beth Shean has similarities to Egyptian shrines at el-Amarna and Deir el-Medineh, but is a hybrid Egypto-Levantine shrine. Alongside Levantine votives, it contains numerous Egyptian and Egyptian-style artefacts, including stelae reused in the Iron IA temple (James and McGovern 1993: 25); a similar hybrid temple and votives occur in Level VI at Lachish (Fig. 5.3), while

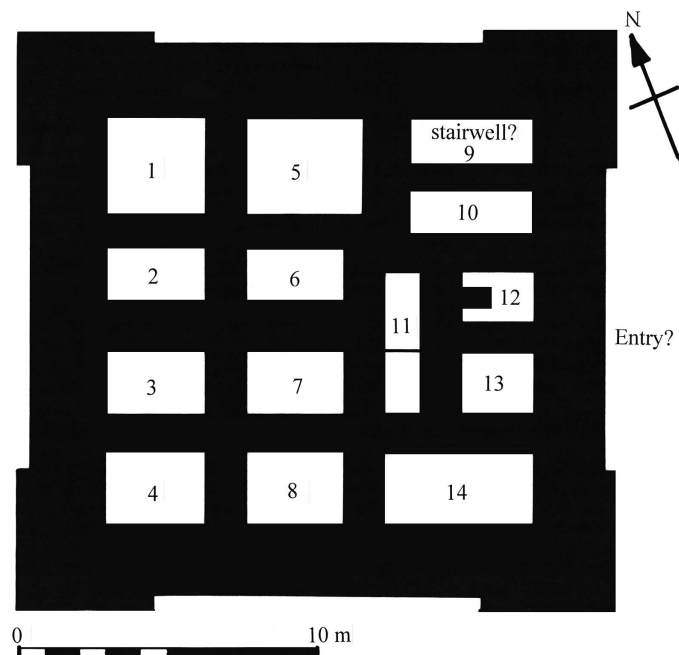


FIG. 5.1 New Kingdom fort at Deir el-Balah (adapted from Dothan 1982: 758)

elsewhere purely Levantine temples, such as Shrines F and H at Hazor, have produced fewer Egyptianizing items (Yadin 1975: 67, 95).

The garrison burials at Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Farah (S), and Beth Shean have produced locally made, Egyptian-derived terracotta anthropoid coffins (Fig. 5.4), local 'grotesque' variants, and sporadic funerary figurines (shawabtis). In addition, Deir el-Balah has yielded four mortuary stelae dedicated to Osiris (Fig. 5.5), while Tell es-Saidiyeh has evidence for mummification by Egyptian residents, or Canaanites emulating Egyptian elite burial practices: one adult's rib cage had been cut (possibly to remove internal organs); several bodies bore linen wrappings (preserved via impressions); a black resin ('bitumen') coating covered other bodies (Tubb 1998: 90).

## Iron Age IA

Iron IA spans the early 20th Dynasty and the decline of Egypt's Levantine empire, during which Sea Peoples' coastal raids, and overland migrations by displaced populations, destroyed or transformed many eastern Mediterranean polities. Ramesses III claims victories in Palestine and the delta (Peden 1994a: 215), and later dispatches troops against hostile Bedouin in Seir and Edom. In a summation of his reign, the Great Harris Papyrus describes the temples of Amun (Thebes), Re (Heliopolis), and Ptah (Memphis) as owning estates in Syria-Palestine, including ships to retrieve annual revenues (Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 260). His successor, Ramesses IV, reportedly received tribute, cedar, and slaves from the Levant,

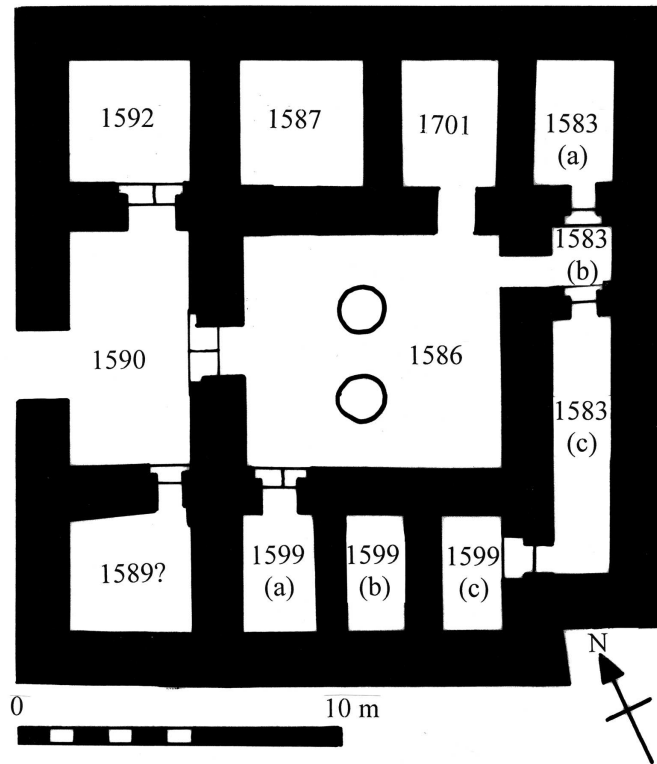


FIG. 5.2 LB IIB House 1500 at Beth Shean (adapted from James 1966: fig. 77)

and may have subjugated 'Asiatics' (Peden 1994b: 87, 93, 141). Egypt retains some control over Canaan as late as Ramesses VI, whose name occurs on a ring from Deir el-Balah, a bronze statue base at Megiddo, and possibly a scarab from Alalakh (Mumford 2006b: 185). Hence, this is a turbulent period in which Egypt exerts diminishing control and influence over its vassal states as far north as Beth Shean.

Egypt's presence and influence within the Levant apparently peaks during the Ramesside period, which is attested by both locally made Egyptian pottery and other artefacts and influences; non-pottery items from selected Iron IA sites reveal a similar rise in Egyptian-style influence in mortuary assemblages (35%) and occupation contexts (17%), with a drop to 26 per cent in cultic settings (Mumford 2006b: 203). These items contain a broad range of pottery, faience, stone, and metal containers, jar sealings, utensils, cosmetic kits, jewellery, Senet pieces, and cobra figurines. At Egypt's northern base at Beth Shean, Egypto-Levantine-style temples and adjacent houses are rebuilt in Stratum VI, but incorporate many earlier (i.e. Sety I and Ramesses II) Egyptian-style architectural pieces: column bases, papyrus capitals, cornice fragments, door jambs, lintels, and stelae. A statue of Ramesses III, a lintel of one of his officers, and other architectural fittings were reused in the Stratum V temple, but demonstrate the presence of an Iron IA Egyptian garrison here (Mazar in Stern 1993: 217). Likewise, Lachish yielded a bronze gate plaque of Ramesses III, confirming his control over another key Canaanite town (Ussishkin in Stern 1993: 904). The

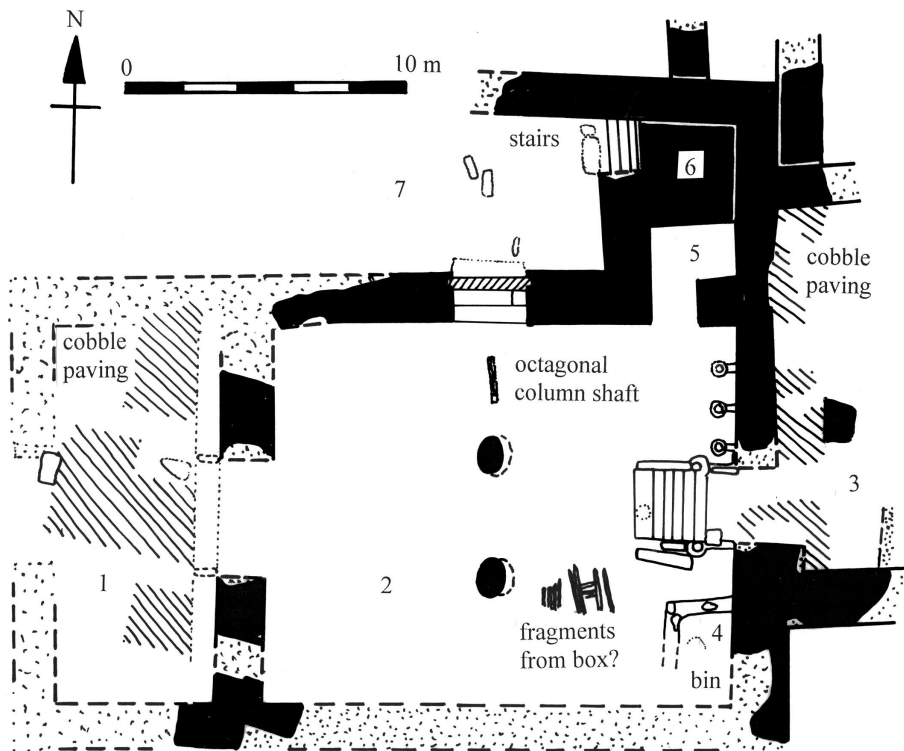


FIG. 5.3 LB IIB Egyptian-style acropolis temple at Lachish Level VI (adapted from Stern 1993: 901)

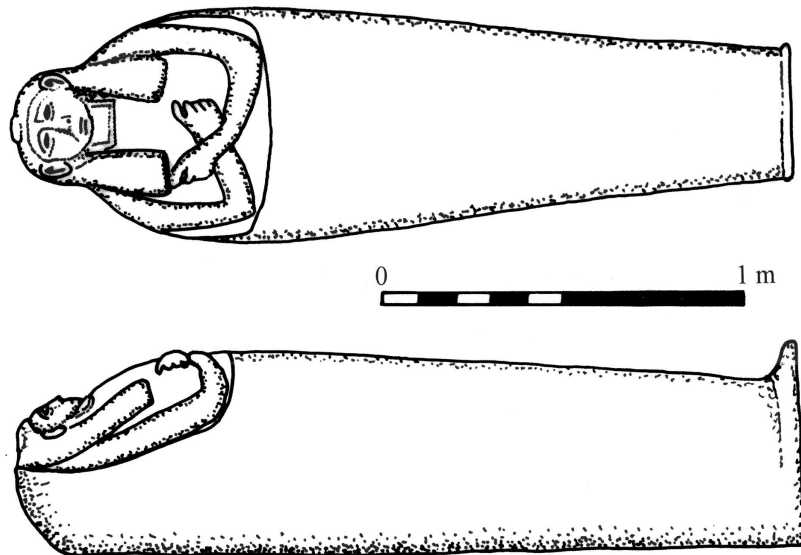


FIG. 5.4 LB IIB terracotta anthropoid coffin from Tomb 114 at Deir el-Balah (adapted from Dothan 1979: figs 8, 11)



FIG. 5.5 39cm-high kurkar stele of Amunemwia before Osiris (adapted from Ventura 1987: pl. 8A)

cemeteries at both Beth Shean and Lachish also contained Egyptian-style ceramic anthropoid coffins and some shawabtis. However, following Ramesses III, a definite decline affects the subsequent 20th-Dynasty royal name items and influence, which become restricted mostly within Egypt's shrinking northern empire (Mumford 2006b: 190).

## LATE NEW KINGDOM TO THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

### Iron Age IB

The late New Kingdom through Third Intermediate period marks a virtual 'Dark Age' regarding textual sources on Egypto-Levantine relations. In early Iron IB, following the collapse of

Egypt's Levantine empire, Ramesses VIII–X are attested on royal name items from Gezer, Tell Farah (S), Beth Shemesh, and Tell Masos (Mumford 2007: 262), implying minimal Egyptian state-level contact with the eastern periphery of Philistia and southern Judea (Stager in Levy 1995: 336, fig. 2). Likewise, no evidence exists for any Egyptian campaigns into this region, despite Psusennes I's epithet: 'seizer of cities' (Redford 1992: 313). The fictitious Tale of Wenamun, composed in the late 20th Dynasty, describes Egyptian emissaries sailing to Byblos under Ramesses X(?)–XI to obtain cedar for the sacred barque of Amun (Wente in Simpson 2003: 116). This tale alludes to a Tjekker (Sikil) coastal settlement at Dor (northern Palestine), stressing Egypt's loss of prestige, economic decline, and reliance on foreign shipping. It indicates Egypt's diminished contact with Dor, Tyre, and Byblos, and describes Egypt sending royal gifts and payments of gold, silver, linen, papyrus rolls, ropes, cowhides, lentils, and fish to Byblos. It mentions an Egyptian butler and singer residing here; and a townsman in Cyprus is described as knowing the Egyptian language. In addition, an Assyrian text notes that King Assurbelkala received an Egyptian gift of a crocodile and monkey (Kitchen 1986: 252, 267), demonstrating significant long-distance diplomacy by post-imperial Egypt.

The archaeological record also reveals quantitative shifts and continuity in Egypto-Levantine contact, albeit with a minimal presence in Philistia. Egyptian-style artefacts decrease noticeably in mortuary, occupation, and cultic contexts (Mumford 2007: 250, 273–7). However, these items now appear in broader social contexts than before, and include pottery, seal impressions, jewellery, luxury containers, figurines, weights, and game boards. The presence of imported Egyptian pottery at Dor and Tell Qasile demonstrate significant maritime commerce between Egypt and northern Palestine.

## Iron Age IIA

Iron IIA spans the biblical period of Israel's emergence and domination over Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Damascus. Various anachronistic biblical passages mention Egypt selling horses and chariots to Israel, Kushite and Egyptian retainers residing here, a campaign against Gezer, the marriage of an Egyptian princess to Solomon, and Egypt granting asylum to political refugees (e.g. Hadad of Edom and Jeroboam) (Mumford 2007: 239). Kitchen (1986: 280) argues that a scene of Siamun executing a captive holding a double axe may reflect an actual Egyptian campaign against Gezer (?); the best evidence for such activity, however, dates to Sheshonq I (biblical Shishak), who is attested as attacking this region (c.925 BC) in biblical accounts, the Karnak Temple List, Egyptian private texts (vague references), and a stele fragment from Megiddo (Kitchen 1986: 432–47). Although the scope and details of his campaign remain elusive, 1 Kgs. (14: 25–7) alleges that Shishak received temple and palace tribute from Jerusalem. Only these pharaohs appear on royal name items in Iron IIA Palestine: Siamun is cited on a scarab at Tell Farah (S), while Sheshonq I is mentioned on the Megiddo stele and via a statue from Byblos (Mumford 2007: 251). Egyptian exports and local/Phoenician copies also decrease markedly in Levantine occupation, cultic, and mortuary contexts: pottery, jewellery, luxury goods, weights, a game board, and Nile fish.

## Iron Age IIB

In conjunction with Assyria's western expansion in Iron IIB, Egypt alters its attitude towards its Levantine neighbours: an oil jar of Osorkon II from the palace of Omri and

Ahab at Samaria suggests Egyptian diplomatic relations with Israel (Kitchen 1986: 324). The Assyrian Monolith Inscription shows that Egypt bolsters this relationship by contributing 1000 troops to a Levantine coalition that defeats Shalmaneser III's army at Qarqar c.853 BC. However, Shalmaneser III later receives exotic animals as tribute from Musri (Egypt) (Oppenheim in Pritchard 1969: 281, 610). In the following centuries, Assyria dominates Palestine (see Oppenheim in Pritchard 1969: 282–6) and Tiglath-pileser III invades the Levantine coast and establishes a 'warden' at Egypt's eastern frontier by 732 BC. Another Assyrian inscription describes Egypt granting asylum to Hanno, the ruler of Gaza. 2 Kgs. (17: 1–6) mentions King Hoshea of Israel requesting aid from 'So, King of Egypt' (Osorkon IV?), which galvanizes Shalmaneser V into besieging Samaria (725–720 BC); the Annals of Sargon II record him capturing Samaria (720 BC), deporting the population to Assyria, and defeating an Egyptian army. The Assur Prism lists Egypt as sending twelve large horses as a gift to Sargon II.

Egyptian-style artefacts decrease through this period, albeit with fluctuating quantities, in occupation and mortuary contexts (7–10%); an early Iron IIB shrine at Qasile yields few votive offerings, while a late Iron IIB Phoenician shrine at Sarepta held many Egyptian-style items (34%) (Mumford 2007: 262). All of these artefacts display the same broad categories as before, but contain greater diversity within each grouping. This overall decline in Egyptian exports and influence is also matched by relatively few Egyptian royal name items: a vase, scarab, and some statuary of Osorkon I–II at Samaria, Byblos, and in Cyprus.

## KUSHITE–SAITE PERIOD

### Iron Age IIC

Various inscriptions detail Assyria's expansion into Palestine and Egypt in Iron IIC (see Oppenheim in Pritchard 1969: 285–7). The Nimrud Prism ascribes to Sargon II the reopening of the 'sealed *karum*' (716 BC) and encouraging trade between Egypt, the Levant, and Assyria. The *karum* is best identified with a fortified settlement at Tell er-Ruqueish in southern Palestine (Oren in Stern 1993: 1293). The Annals of Sargon II and Prism A also relate that a Kushite ruler (Shabako?) initially cooperated with Sargon by extraditing a political fugitive: Yamani of Ashdod. In contrast, later biblical and Assyrian texts mention unnamed Kushite rulers (Shabitqu and Taharqa) allying themselves with Judah to fight Assyria in 701 BC (Eltekeh) and 681(?) BC (2 Kgs. 18: 13–37). From 616–605 BC, various Assyrian, Babylonian, and biblical texts describe Egypt assisting Assyria against the Babylonians, including defeating a Judean attempt to thwart Egypt at Megiddo and the eventual Babylonian defeat of the Assyrian and Egyptian armies at Carchemish and Hamath in 605 BC (Grayson 1975: 95–99; 2 Kgs. 23: 29–35).

This overall period and region witness a further decline in Egyptian-style artefacts and influence, albeit still retaining all the main categories seen in Iron IB–IIB (Mumford 2007: 277). Eight per cent of the tombs and graves from several sites yield Egyptian-style items amounting to 14 per cent of the mortuary assemblage. In contrast, Egyptianizing items composed only 3 per cent of selected occupation assemblages, while Egyptian-style votives form 5 per cent of the cultic offerings at three shrines. Other studies, however, reveal a notable presence in Egyptian-style pottery, artefacts, and influence in the 7th-century BC at sites

such as Ashkelon and Ekron (Stern 2001: 233). For instance, Ekron yielded a cache of New Kingdom heirlooms in an Iron IIC context. The appearance of Egyptian hieratic script on scarabs, weights, and ostraca, including *hin*-grain measures at some Judean fortresses, parallel the close military and diplomatic relations between Egypt and Judah during this period (Stern 2001: 233–5). A slight increase also occurs in the quantity and dispersal of Egyptian royal name items throughout the Levant: Menkare, Shabako, Taharqa, Psamtek I, and Necho II (Mumford 2007: 262).

## Babylonian period

Following his 605 BC victories, Nebuchadnezzar II consolidates Babylonia's control over Syria-Palestine. King Adon of Philistia sends a message to Egypt asking for aid (Porten 1981: 36), but his plea remained unanswered. Egypt defeats a Babylonian attack in 601 BC (Grayson 1975: 101); traces of this or another conflict may materialize in the early destruction debris at Tel Qedwa in northwest Sinai (Redford 1998: 52). Despite the 597 BC Babylonian capture of Jerusalem (Grayson 1975: 102), the Judeans continue sending ambassadors to Egypt to request military assistance (Ezek. 17: 11–17); an Egyptian response may be reflected via Papyrus Rylands IX, which records Psamtek II leading an undefined mission to Palestine in 591/590 BC. Lachish Ostrakon III confirms the dispatch of a Judean military delegation to Egypt c.589 BC (Albright in Pritchard 1969: 321), which preceded Nebuchadnezzar II's siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 589–586 BC; Jer. 37: 5–11 notes an aborted Egyptian attempt (by Apries) to relieve the Babylonian siege. After the Babylonian sack of Jerusalem many Judeans flee to Egypt (Jer. 43: 5–13), which is supported by an influx of locally made Judean artefacts in the northeast delta (Holladay 2004: 405). At some point between 586 and 570 BC, Apries may have retaliated by sending an Egyptian army against Sidon, and a fleet against Tyre (Herodotus 2.160–6). Nebuchadnezzar II apparently fails to capture Egypt in 568/567 BC, while Herodotus (2.182) attributes Amasis with launching a subsequent successful naval attack against Cyprus. The Babylonian period also experiences a further decrease in Egyptian-style items, which still represent typical luxury products (Mumford 2007: 272). Ezek. 27: 2–15 describes other Egyptian exports as including fine linen for sail cloth (used especially by Tyre), ebony, and possibly ivory, while Jer. 38: 7 mentions a Kushite servant at the Judean court around this time. The discovery of a few royal name items of Amasis (at Sidon) and Psamtek III (at Beth Shemesh) imply continued Egyptian contact with parts of the Levant.

## LATE PERIOD

### Persian period

Persia supplants the Babylonian Empire in 539 BC and occupies and governs Egypt as a Persian province (satrapy) from 525–404 BC and 343–332 BC (see Ray 1988). Egypt regains its independence from 404 BC to 343 BC (Lloyd 1994), despite periodic Persian attacks (374/373 BC and 351 BC), and participates in or finances several counterattacks: in 381 BC,



Hakorisis sends money, grain, and 50 fifty triremes to assist Evagoras of Cyprus against Persia. In 359 BC, Teos enters Palestine with Egyptian and Spartan troops, and 200 Athenian triremes, but is deposed en route by Nectanebo II, who aborts the campaign. In 346 BC, Nectanebo II dispatches 4000 mercenaries to Sidon. Despite such proactive Egyptian tactics, however, Persia manages to retake Egypt in 343 BC, holding it until Alexander the Great defeats Persia in 332 BC (Lloyd 1994).

Many Egyptian imports, and local/Phoenician imitations, appear throughout Syria-Palestine, including architecture (e.g. an Egyptian-style shrine at 'Amrit: Fig. 5.6), anthropoid sarcophagi (Gaza and mostly in Phoenicia), stelae with Egyptian deities and iconography (Byblos), pottery imitating stone alabastra (Palestine), Bes jars, figurines and amulets, containers of various materials, jewellery, seal impressions, toiletries (mirrors and kohl tubes), utensils (bronze dippers), Egyptian weight units, and some Egyptian coins (4th century BC) (Stern 1982: Index). Hybrid Egyptian and other architectural styles appear as far away as the Persian palace at Persepolis (Iran); the completion of Necho II's canal between the Nile and the Red Sea also enabled bulk shipping directly between Egypt and Persia. Hence, despite a visible decline in Egyptian-type items during the preceding Iron Age, the Persian Empire imposed peace and fostered widespread cross-cultural interactions throughout its empire via trade, migrant labour, art, architecture, language, literature, and codifying local laws.

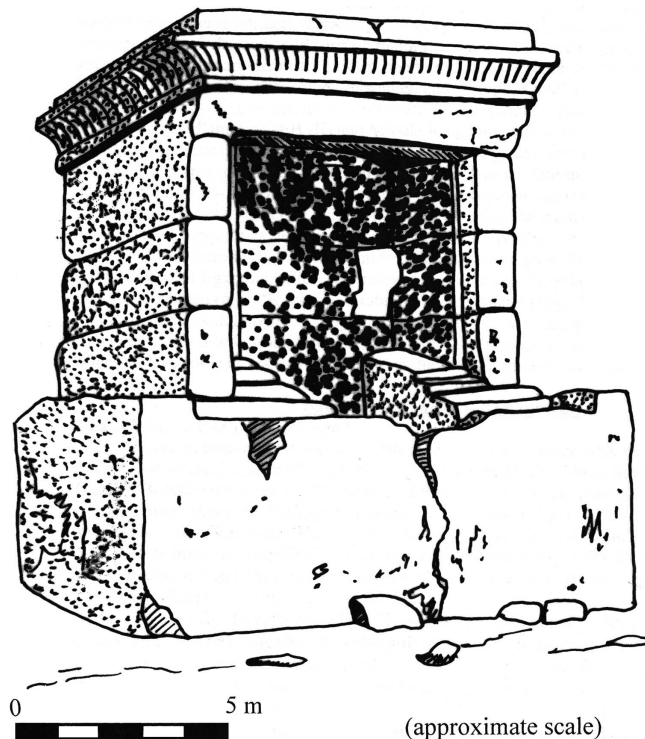


FIG. 5.6 Phoenician/Egyptianizing Persian-period shrine at 'Amrit, Syria (adapted from Stern 1982: fig. 77)

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