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The Egyptian-Canaanite Interface as Colonial Encounter: A View from Southwest Canaan

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Abstract
The paper reevaluates the Egyptian–Canaanite interface during the Late Bronze Age based on archaeological evidence for intercultural discourses. Southwestern Canaanite local elite and the Egyptian court were interconnected in patronage relationships for centuries and the exposure of the locals to the Egyptian culture (both in Egypt and in Egyptian colonies along the Levantine coast) led to appropriation of various Egyptian practices that changed local consumption habits, cultic traditions and imagery. It is suggested that protracted Egyptian hegemony and constant appropriation, performance and consumption of Egyptian practices created a local elite social network whose power and ideology were founded on and were legitimized through interactions with the Egyptians.

Introduction

Conventional scholarly wisdom sees the Egyptian-Canaanite interface as a bipolar relationship. Over-reliance of archaeological discussion on meager written evidence and the convenient terminology of the "Egyptian Empire" have led to a consensus regarding Egyptian suzerainty and total subordination of the local population. It is not uncommon to read about the exploitation of the land by the Egyptians and the decline of the Canaanite world (mostly in light of the "peak" reached during the preceding Middle Bronze Age).

Recent developments in two fields of research show that the situation was more multifaceted. One is the meticulous study of the locally produced Egyptian-type pottery from the southern Levant.[1] The second is the updated research on the archaeological data regarding sites that were traditionally defined as Egyptian "bases" or "administrative centers"; scholarly attention gradually turned from evidence of the presence of Egyptian officials and soldiers to the mutual, local-Egyptian joint activity, the exposure of the two cultures to each other, the possibility of intermarriages, and the transformation of the identity of the various groups living in southern Levant during this era.[2]

In what follows I would like to elaborate on these previous discussions in search of the local perspective of the Egyptian-Canaanite interface. I suggest applying a model based on the theory of colonial encounters that enables an exhaustive pursuit of the complexity of discourses between a local population and an intrusive state.[3] Based on that, I overview developments in several archaeological trends that might reflect the integration of Egypt within the local social matrix. I have chosen to focus on southwest Canaan, that is, the region between the Yarkon River and northern Sinai (Fig. 1).

Colonial Encounters

Hegemonic intrusive states, usually termed "empires," are characterized in scholarship as

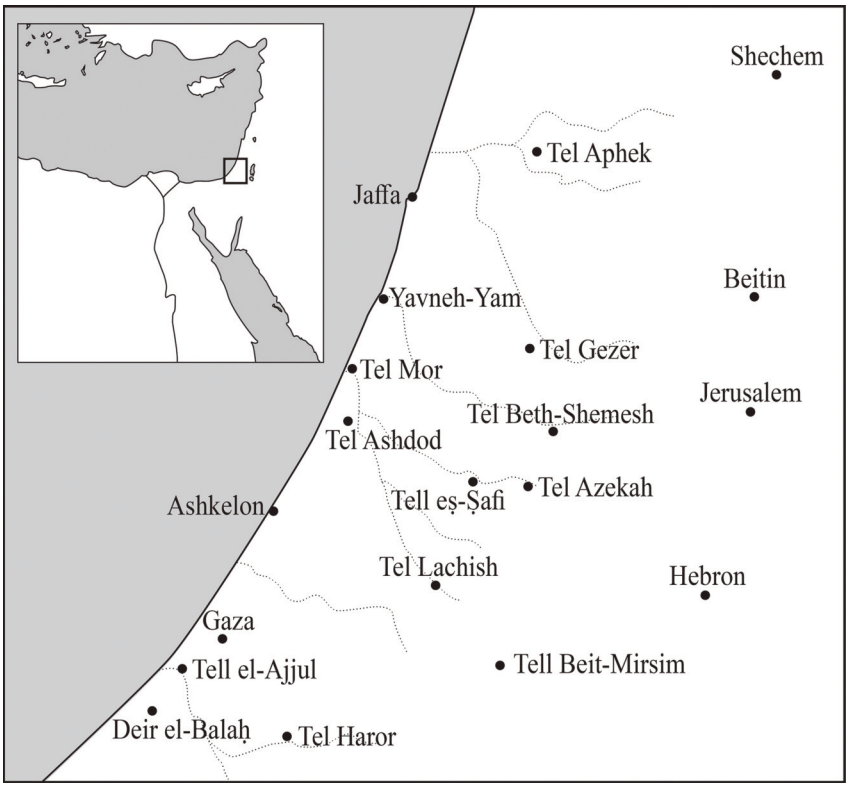

Figure 1: Location map showing major sites mentioned in the text.

expansionist, expansive, militaristic, and multicultural political systems that dominate foreign territories and limit the sovereignty of local populations.[4] They expand aggressively; they subjugate weaker entities to larger systems; they transform conquered territories into either provinces or, alternatively, into client states by absorbing the local elites into an overarching network. The consolidation of such a political system is a work in progress in which collaboration with local elites is based on various political, cultural, and economic factors. These processes lead to the settlement of intrusive enclaves in the midst of local networks by foreign agents such as officials, soldiers, merchants, and even translocated social units.[5]

The continuous exposure of these local societies to these agents leads to intercultural discourses that are sometimes termed "colonial encounters." The character of these encounters changes according to various circumstances, but in any case, they are formed by the actions of both the intrusive agents and the local groups.[6] Scholars have dealt with this issue for some time now, emphasizing the importance these encounters have in shaping social identity. These contacts bring about constant innovations in consumption, language, cult, and other aspects of culture—and the rejection of others. Accordingly, what may look foreign in a local context is frequently a domesticated and adapted version meant to answer the needs of the local system.[7]

In many cases, a new "culture" develops from these encounters, combining a strong local element with foreign innovations. In this context, acculturation terms like Hellenization or Romanization, traditionally coined for describing the processes that took place in the margins of "imperial" spheres of interactions, are problematic for they describe these processes as one-sided, with superior and inferior cultures, without acknowledging the active and dominant role of the local element.[8] As a result, various new models have been suggested and criticized in recent years for such intercultural processes.[9]

Intrusive Egyptian State and Southwestern Canaanite Elite in the Late Bronze Age: A Short Overview of Protracted Processes

Direct archaeological evidence for the Egyptian colonization[10] in southwest Canaan is restricted to a handful of sites on the coastal plain and its immediate vicinity. During the early phases of the 18th Dynasty,[11] such evidence could be found at Tell el-Ajjul, in the southwestern corner of the country, and some decades later, colonization expanded to Jaffa and possibly also to Gaza.[12] References to Jaffa and Gaza in 19th Dynasty Egyptian written sources[13] and the possible similarity to the development of Beth-Shean through the Late Bronze Age[14] suggest that these garrison towns prospered and became colonies:[15] they hosted additional social networks besides the army, such as temple personnel, artisans, and new local social groups of intermarried couples and their families. Contemporaneously, the distribution of Egyptian-style structures and pottery expanded, probably demonstrating the establishment of several installations in nearby areas

that were connected to the coastal colonies: Deir el-Balaḥ, Tel Seraʿ and Tell el-Farʿah around Gaza, Tel Mor along the coast midway between Jaffa and Gaza, and Tel Aphek to the east of Jaffa; Egyptian presence is also evident for a short period of time in Ashkelon.[16] All the sites except Tel Aphek and Ashkelon exhibit evidence of Egyptian presence also during the 20th Dynasty. Destruction layers dated to the mid-12th century BCE have been documented at Jaffa, Tel Mor, and Tel Seraʿ, marking the end of Egyptian hegemony in the region.

Other parts of the region exhibit a more limited range of Egyptian cultural practices, mainly restricted to the presence of small objects, such as amulets. Some of these sites, such as Tel Lachish,[17] began as small settlements during the Late Bronze IA, perhaps as no more than agricultural estates. Late Bronze IB remains are more abundant and in some places, like Tel Lachish, they suggest an expansion of the inhabited area; some of these sites grew in size and in the level of social differentiation during the Late Bronze IB–IIA in a process that might reflect the establishment of a local elite, contemporaneous or even sometime post-dating the foundation of the Egyptian bases along the coast. It is evident from the reference in P. Hermitage 1116A to the emissaries from Ashkelon and Lachish who visited the Egyptian capital during the days of Amenhotep II, that the local elite at these sites, even in this early stage, already had ties with the Egyptian court.[18]

Several decades later, the southern Levantine elite were bound in patronage relationships with the Egyptian court; this is documented in the so-called el-Amarna correspondence.[19] Dating to some three decades during the late 18th Dynasty, these letters hold enormous information regarding the local elite and its relations with the Egyptian court and its agents in Canaan. Plotting the data, it appears that during this time the local elite was located at six or seven centers in the southwestern part of Canaan (from north to south): *Maḥoz*/Yavne-Yam, *Gezer*, Tel Beth-Shemesh (?), *Gath*/Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, *Ashkelon*, *Lachish*, and *Yurza*/Tel Haror.[20] In addition, the content of the letters discloses the active part played by local elite in expanding the Egyptian hegemony in Canaan: In their letters, the local rulers repeatedly stressed their affinity to Egypt, their involvement in Egyptian social networks like the court or the army, and their devotion to the king of Egypt, usually in order to win Egyptian protection during local conflicts.[21] And yet, Egyptian military intervention was rarely dispatched to their aid.[22] The actions of the local rulers in Canaan might be interpreted as surrender to Egyptian political hegemony; however, they enjoyed some benefits from their interaction with the Egyptians: the buttressing of their rule, expansion of their ties with other polities, and their participation in a broader economic interaction.

While indeed valuable, the information embedded in the el-Amarna correspondence should not be projected over previous or later phases in the history of southwest Canaan. It describes a snapshot of 30 years, mostly from a non-Egyptian point of view (the vast majority of the letters were sent to the court). The fact is that throughout the period of almost 400 years, the Egyptians mentioned these local units only sporadically. Gath, for example, is unattested beyond the el-Amarna correspondence. The latest references to the region are dated to the 19th Dynasty, all related to a campaign conducted by Merneptah against Ashkelon and Gezer.[23]

To conclude this part, the early stages of the Late Bronze Age—late 16th–late 15th centuries BCE—in the southern Levant were characterized by the segmentation of the local society and the rise of an elite that interacted with the Egyptians located along the coast. The first region of Egyptian consolidation was Gaza, followed by the establishment of a base in Jaffa. Local rulers interacted with the Egyptians, with no evidence of clashes on either side. By the mid-14th century BCE, the local rulers in southwest Canaan had formed a network of patronage relationships with the Egyptians, reflected in the el-Amarna correspondence. They used their status as linked to the Egyptians in their internal conflicts, calling time after time for Egyptian assistance against their neighbors, thus intensifying their dependency on the Egyptians and further developing the latter's influence in Canaanite daily life. During the 13th century the Egyptians expanded their activity, bringing about an intensification of their interactions with the locals but apparently also the destruction of several local social units.

Colonial Encounters in Southwest Canaan during the Late Bronze Age II–III

The selected material remains of the Egyptian-Canaanite intercultural dialogues discussed in what follows can be artificially classified into three

categories: cult, consumption, and pictorial depictions. Basically, these are all connected and their separation is for the sake of convenience only. It is also important to note that similar interactions took place during the Middle Bronze Age, though to a lesser degree due to the different political and demographic settings. It was at that time that Egyptian-style amulets were first disseminated in the southern Levant and eventually locally produced; it was also at that time that ideas and traditions traveled from Egypt to the Levant and vice versa.[24] Consequently, it is argued that this mutual historical acquaintance of the active sides and the previous cultural interactions was the background for the complex image of each culture in the eyes of the other beholder and its perspective of the outside world.

Figure 3: The Lachish ewer inscription (after Koch 2017, fig. 3).

Late Bronze IIA/Late 18th Dynasty

The main evidence for official cult—that is, a temple—in southwest Canaan is the so-called Fosse Temple at Lachish.[25] The excavators recognized three construction phases (Fig. 2), dated to the Late Bronze Age IB, IIA, and IIB respectively.[26] The main change in the temple took place during the Late Bronze Age IIA when the structure was rebuilt in Egyptian style; the third phase was a renovation of the second one, with no change in the plan.[27]

While most of the cult items in the latter two phases reflect local traditions, others from the second and third phases are Egyptian imports, mainly associated with the cult of Hathor. A similar mixture of Canaanite-Egyptian artifacts in the cultic equipment can also be seen in the nearby pits, which show affiliation with both a local goddess, specifically called *Elat* (Fig. 3), and with the Egyptian goddess Hathor.

I have recently suggested a possible explanation for the sudden appearance of this unique dual cult in the Fosse Temple.[28] It is based on the glyptic items bearing the name of Amenhotep III and his consort, Tiye, found in the remains of the second and third phases of the structure, all of which led the publishers to date the renovation of the building to the days of that monarch.[29] Significant are three medium-sized scarabs and a large "lion-hunt" scarab that were found on top of the altar of the third phase, although dated some 150 years *after* Amenhotep III's death.[30]

Noteworthy is the large scarab, belonging to a group of objects introduced by Amenhotep III in order to commemorate such events as lion-hunts (as on the scarab from the Fosse Temple); the union with Tiye as the beloved consort;

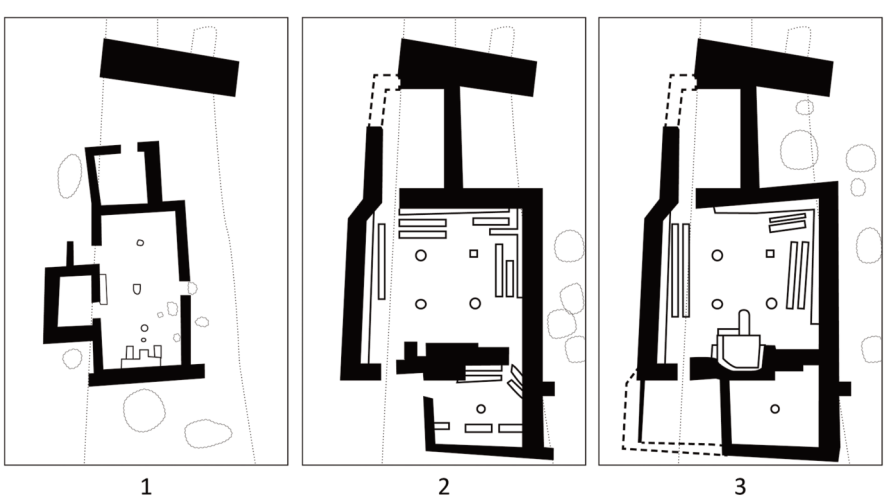

Figure 2: Plan of the three phases of the Fosse Temple (after Koch 2017, fig. 2).

the construction of a lake dedicated to Tiye; and other scenes.[31] These scarabs are characterized by a uniformity in style and production, and might have been produced in a single workshop, possibly in the late third or early fourth decade of Amenhotep III's reign, contemporaneous with and in a direct relation to his monumental construction activities.[32]

Amenhotep III is well known for his palaces and temples, either newly erected or rebuilt over previous monuments. Most of these temples were dedicated to the pharaoh himself or to his personification as one of the Egyptian deities, e.g., the temple "*Nb-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ*, united with Ptaḥ" at Memphis. Temples were also built at Nubia, such as the temple at Soleb, north of the third cataract, where Amenhotep III was worshiped as "*Nb-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ*, Lord of Nubia." Additional temples were dedicated to Tiye, the best known of which were located at Malkata, Thebes, and Sedinga, near Soleb, where she was worshiped as Hathor.[33]

These building projects were mostly erected during the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign, in preparation for and as the outcome of the king's first jubilee festival (*heb-sed*) that was celebrated at Malkata; two additional festivals were held during his 34th and 37th regnal years. The rituals enacted at these festivals were a symbolic performance of the centralization of the political power in Egypt by the court, mostly visible by the main event of the festival when Amenhotep III accorded himself and Tiye with divine attributes, making them both living gods.[34] Following his deification, Amenhotep III was depicted as the Sun God, as Ptah, as Osiris, or as other deities, depending on the location of the temple.[35] Tiye took on a central role in the festival, during which, and for the rest of her life, she was presented as Hathor, with Hathor's traditional attributes, thus creating an icon of queenship used by later royal consorts in Egypt.[36]

In light of the above, it is possible to suggest the following scenario. The cult in the Fosse Temple was dedicated to a local goddess—most probably called *Elat*—who was associated during the Late Bronze IIA with Egyptian Hathor. Hathor, in turn, was linked to the royal cult of Tiye, who was deified by her husband, Amenhotep III, during his fourth decade of reign in what might be described as a centralization of power.

One can assume that the introduction of the new cult was an initiative of the Egyptian court, as a means to strengthen the loyalty of the local population, similar to parallel phenomena under political hegemonic systems.[37] Yet, caution must be exerted here. The Fosse Temple continued to function until the late 13th century BCE (Phase III), long after the death of Tiye. The persistence of the royal cult, in a local context outside of its homeland, reflects, in my opinion, the active role of the Canaanite population in this process.[38] The entanglement of the Egyptian royal cult with the local cult reflects both the interweaving of Egyptian and Canaanite cultures but also the rapid integration of Lachish within the Egyptian network. The identification of Elat and Hathor/Tiye meant that the people of Lachish saw themselves connected to the Egyptian court. Hence, I would argue that this identification was a deliberate act, meant to strengthen the connection of the local elite with Egypt.

Late Bronze IIB/19th—early 20th Dynasties

A growing discussion in recent years regards the importance of changes in consumption patterns as reflecting developments in social identity. These patterns are affected by changes in supply and demand, ideology, and the social needs resulting from continuous dialogues with other groups.[39] Within this framework, I would like to shift the focus to the distribution of the Egyptian finds in 13th-12th centuries Canaan and its scholarly interpretation.

Canaanite elites utilized Egyptian and Egyptian-style objects during the Late Bronze Age in increased numbers and variety. A most visible feature is the growing preference for Egyptian amulets, mostly scarabs, that began during the Late Bronze IB.[40] A recent suggestion that should be further elaborated archaeologically is that local textile production was changed during the Late Bronze II when Egyptian-style traditions spread through major social units such as at Hazor, Megiddo, Beth-Shean, and Lachish.[41] Two major innovations dating to the 19th Dynasty include (1) the burial of building deposits in a local manner—the placement of lamps and bowls next to or below walls at Tel Aphek and Tel Lachish (and perhaps also Tel Gezer and Tel Azekah)[42]—and (2) the adoption of Egyptian foodways—Canaanite aristocracy began to consume goose meat.[43] Evidence of such consumption lies in the goose bone assemblage from Tel Lachish Levels VII–VI and in pictorial depictions from Tel Megiddo Stratum VII and Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Figs. 4–5).

The residents of Tel Lachish in the 12th century

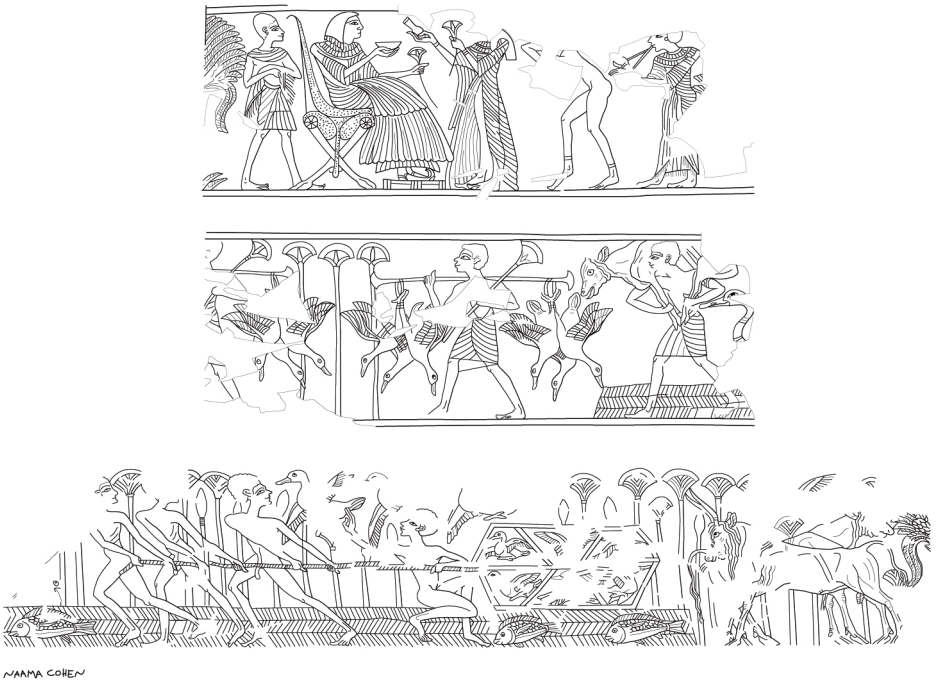

Figure 4: Ivory plaque from Tell el-Far'ah (S) (after Koch 2014, fig. 3).

BCE adopted further Egyptian cultural practices: architectural elements incorporated in the local temple built on the mound and in a nearby granary made out of mud bricks,[44] and burial in anthropoid clay coffins inscribed with hieroglyphs,[45] a practice known from other sites of Egyptian-style pottery consumption—Beth-Shean, Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Deir el-Balaḥ[46]—thus suggesting that an intercultural discourse with residents of the Egyptian colonies was in progress.

Scholarly interpretation of the appearance of these Egyptian-style cultural practices is usually confined to models of elite emulation under various ranges of "Egyptianization."[47] The distribution of Egyptian objects might attest, therefore, to the fascination of the local elite for the Egyptian culture and adoption of Egyptian practices, thus trying to strengthen their affiliation with Egypt and their position in local society. Yet the major problem with such scholarly interpretation is its over-emphasis on the Egyptian aspects while giving only little attention to the context of these items. The use of terms like "center" and "periphery" presupposes an Egyptian cultural superiority and a Canaanite inferiority in each cultural innovation. As constantly argued, the individual process of adoption of any cultural trait is always complex, dependent on frequently changing cultural, social and religious circumstances, on mechanisms that determine what is attractive, luxurious, and symbolic, and on the

Figure 5: Ivory plaque from Tel Megiddo (after Koch 2014, fig. 4).

way one culture perceives the other.[48]

A fine example is the consumption of goose meat. The local elite most probably consumed it at banquets to attest to their economic superiority and their connection with Egypt, and hence also to their prominence in the local context.[49] It does not mean, though, that they consumed it as the Egyptians did. To argue that, one must first undertake a thorough discussion of whether Canaanite elites rejected their own traditional concepts of food, its preparation, and its symbolic meaning. There is no doubt that the Egyptian culture fascinated the Canaanite elites, but this change in their diet must be viewed in the context of the local society and more exactly—the local banquets.

To sum up this section, constant exposure to Egyptian culture under intensifying connections with the Egyptian court led to the adoption of some Egyptian practices by the local elite and to their adaptation in accordance with local means. It was an attestation of the political and economic advantages of the local elite, but not an attestation of Canaanite familiarity with Egyptian culture beyond the external and physical dimension. The adoption of these practices was never direct, and it was always with a degree of modification. It was part of an ongoing process of intercultural exchange that included the domestication of cultural practices according to the local social norms and means.

Late Bronze III/Early–Mid-20th Dynasty

The Late Bronze IIB/Late Bronze III transition is characterized by the destruction of all major sites in southwest Canaan. During the Late Bronze III, among all the traditional centers only the renewed settlement of Tel Lachish Level VI exhibits an accumulation of wealth.[50] One of the prominent characteristics of this settlement is that the Fosse Temple was not restored; rather, a new temple (Fig. 6) was built near the top of the mound[51] following a plan that exhibits both Levantine and Egyptian traditions.[52]

Due to looting of the temple before its destruction, no firm conclusion regarding the local cult can be achieved; yet some of the limited finds were considered to reflect Egyptian influence, including two objects depicting images of deities. The first depicts an anthropomorphic male figure wearing a tall crown with a streamer and waving a spear with both hands; it was interpreted as the figure of Ba'al.[53] I would like to focus on the second image, a golden foil depicting a naked anthropomorphic female (Fig. 7). The figure is wearing an elaborate crown, holding lotus flowers in both hands and standing on a horse with a crown of long feathers. This image embodies, in my opinion, a long bidirectional process of Egyptian-Canaanite cultural interaction.

As thoroughly discussed in previous studies, the stance of the figure, her attributes and the horse are used in Egyptian imagery to depict two distinct goddesses: the frontal nakedness of the figure and her pose grasping flowers resemble Qedeshet (*qdš[t]*) while the equestrian character associates her with Astarte.[54] The frontally depicted naked goddess wearing a Hathor wig and holding flowers in her hands was a popular image in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze IIB, especially in southwest Canaan (Fig. 8:1); it derives from Syro-Anatolian traditions depicting a naked goddess with a tall crown and grasping caprids.[55] Its earliest appearance in the southern Levant is dated to the Late Bronze IIA: a bronze plaque found at a tomb close to Acre (Fig. 8:2) depicts her figure holding long-stemmed flowers and standing atop a lion;[56] another example dating to the Late Bronze IIA is a clay plaque from Tel Batash Stratum VIIB (Fig. 8:3), depicting a similar figure without the lion pedestal.[57] Both specimens are firmly dated to the second half of the 14th century based on associated pottery (Late Helladic IIIA import ware) and accompanying glyptic items that belong to a timeframe of several decades during the late 18th Dynasty (names of Amenhotep III and

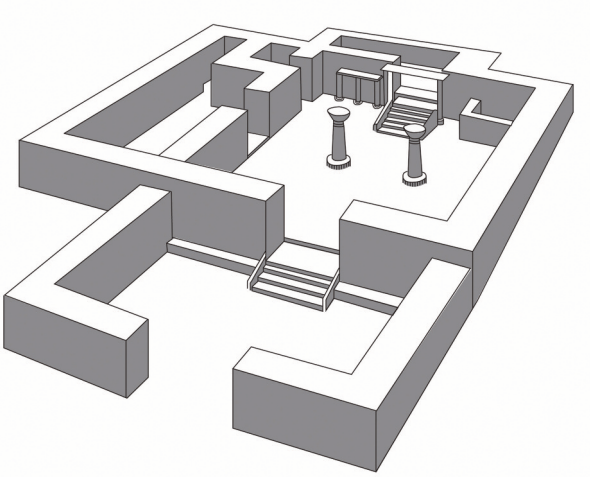

Figure 6: Isometric plan of the temple at Tel Lachish Level VI (after Ussishkin 2004, 220 fig. 6.4).

Figure 7: Golden foil from the temple at Tel Lachish Level VI (after Schroer 2011, 313 no. 869).

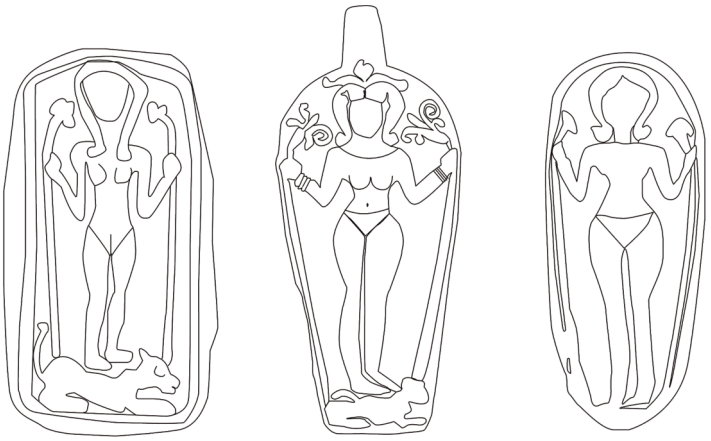

Figure 8: A naked goddess grasping flowers—no. 1: Clay plaque, Tel Ḥarasim Stratum V (after Schroer 2011, 307 no. 863); no. 2: Bronze plaque, Tel Akko "The Persian Garden" (after Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977, pl. 6.2); no. 3: Clay plaque, Tel Batash Stratum VIIB (after Mazar 2006, 252 and photo 104).

Figure 9: Stele of Qeh (British Museum EA 191) ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 10: Depictions of Astarte from Egypt—no. 1: Stone stela, Tell el-Burg (after Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 129 fig. 1b); no. 2: Stone stela, Buhen (after Bibel+Orient Datenbank Online, http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/details.php?bomid=4434, accessed 15 February 2016); no. 3: Stone stela, Ramesseum (after Leclant 1960, fig. 10).

Tiye). A similar posture is found on a plaque from a contemporaneous context at Tel Beth-Shemesh Level 9, where a male-looking anthropomorphic figure is depicted facing right while grasping long-stemmed lotus flowers.[58]

In light of that, a recent study suggesting that this pictorial *topos* from Late Bronze Age southwest Canaan derives from a 19th Dynasty Egyptian adaptation of north Levantine prototypes (a north Levantine goddess adopted in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II) should be reconsidered.[59] While Egyptian textual sources sporadically mention *qdš[t]* already under Amenhotep III, her pictorial depictions are all dated to the 19th Dynasty the earliest and are restricted to two regions—Memphis and the workers' village at Deir el-Medina (Fig. 9); they are not associated with royal ideology.[60] It is more likely, therefore, that the adapted north Levantine motif became common in the southern Levant during the 14th—13th centuries, and as part of the Canaanite-Egyptian intercultural discourse it spread into Egypt during the 19th Dynasty.

The equestrian nature of the figure depicted on the golden foil presents a different model of cultural acquisition.[61] In New Kingdom Egypt, horses were connected solely to Astarte (Fig. 10), associated with the royal cult of mid–late 18th Dynasty kings. The "democratization" of the horse in the 19th Dynasty (the development of Ramesside chariotry) might have been the background for the diminished role of the horse in the royal cult of Astarte and its increased popularity in the goddess's popular cult during that period.[62] It seems, therefore, that this specific element of the equestrian aspect of a female deity appeared in the southern Levant through interaction between individuals (perhaps in a military setting) and not due to Egyptian royal propaganda. This cultural influence apparently flowed in the opposite direction of the migration of the naked goddess some 100 years earlier.

Summing up the above, the figure depicted on the golden foil from Tel Lachish can either be described as a local naked goddess enthroned with some Egyptian-derived attributes associated with Astarte or as Astarte adapted according to local conventions for depicting a goddess. The absence of written sources impedes a definite conclusion. In any case, the entanglement of the various pictorial components reflects a centuries-old intercultural process that most likely included also the adoption of various cultic traditions. This Levantine image of an equestrian deity—standing above rather than riding the horse—was commonly depicted on scarabs and other types of amulets, centuries after the withdrawal of Egypt from the region,[63] thus attesting to its successful assimilation within local imagery.

Discussion

The reassessment of archaeological data reveals the complex relations of the local elite with Egypt and the growing importance accredited to these interactions by the local elite. The starting point is the rise of local elite following the establishment of the Egyptian bases along the coast. Written sources indicate that within a few generations the bases became colonies, through which local rulers were able to attach themselves to the Egyptian court, to manipulate the advantages they achieved from these interactions and, consequently, to further the involvement of the Egyptians in the region.

Examination of the transformations in cult, consumption, and pictorial depictions in southwest Canaan reveals protectorate processes of entanglement of Egyptian cultural elements with local practices. They include (1) the identification of the local goddess at Tel Lachish with Hathor, which was a manifestation of the deification of Tiye, the consort of Amenhotep III; (2) the changes in consumption habits in the forms of Egyptian amulets, Egyptian-style textile production, and Egyptian foodways—the consumption of goose meat at local banquets; and (3) the integration of Egyptian imagery of equestrian Astarte with the traditional imagery of the local goddess.

Being a partial source of evidence, the archaeological remains provide only a limited view of the encounters that most probably included concepts, vocabulary, and actions that led to a growing integration of Egypt within the social identity of the elite. These restricted groups interconnected with the Egyptians (and among themselves) through various networks and their local social importance was fundamentally based on these interactions. Within these interactions they were exposed to a limited range of Egyptian practices leading to the active and passive appropriation of those practices that were perceived to strengthen their ties to Egypt and to mark their superior status within local settings. These

appropriations were practiced in daily life, thus creating a mechanism that repeatedly and constantly strengthened the distinctive character of that social network. This cooperation of the local elites and their ability to integrate Egypt within their culture led to the shaping of Egyptian hegemony and the rejection, in most cases, of other policies, such as direct rule.

Concluding Remarks

The discussion in this paper suggests that the agrarian-based elite in southwest Canaan interacted with the Egyptians for centuries and that in the course of these interactions they appropriated a broad range of cultural practices. Elite status was based on these interactions and the collaboration with the Egyptians brought such advantages as gaining legitimacy for their own rule. Exposure to the Egyptians, both in the Levant and more rarely in the surely-overwhelming Egyptian court, led to changes in the daily practices of these peers in southwest Canaan, from the cloths and amulets they wore to the rituals and banquets in which they participated. Eventually, they became somewhat different and segregated from their neighbors.

The important place granted in this paper to the local elite in shaping and preserving its social status should not distract from the search for additional social groups that were active in the region during the Late Bronze Age. Archaeological evidence for the Egyptian-local interactions in the Egyptian colonies is far from complete (compared to the information regarding Beth-Shean) and the roles played by traders, temple personnel and other social groups in the local landscape is yet to be discuss.

Neither should this paper suggest that all people in the region lived peacefully with the prominence of these groups. Where there is power there is resistance, to paraphrase Foucault, and there is no doubt that while some groups were integrated with the Egyptian interests, other were ambivalent or even opposing. Resistance can lead to violent uprising. Clearly, a large-scale revolt was dangerous. If fails, a revolt might bring death upon the conspirators and a more repressive regime for those who remain behind. There were many attempts of active resistance, as the campaigns led by Seti I, Ramesses II and Merneptah attest to, the case of Gezer and Ashkelon noteworthy, but there was undoubtedly a more widespread passive resistance. The display of wealth in public (as might be suggested regarding the cult in Lachish with its luxurious paraphernalia) would eventually expose the weakness of dominant social groups, as other groups might interpret it as a reason to change the distribution of power in local society.[64] Indeed, there should be little doubt that the withdrawal of the Egyptians during the mid–late 12th century was a major watershed in the social structure of the region.

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Notes

1 Mario A.S. Martin, *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011).

2 For the participation of the local elite in the Egyptian-oriented system and the transformation of its social identity, see Carolyn R. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000), and see below. For updated discussions on local-Egyptian discourses in the Egyptian-oriented centers see Martin 2011, 152–153; Yuval Gadot, "The Late Bronze Egyptian Estate at Aphek," *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 48–66; Susan L. Braunstein, "The Meaning of Egyptian-Style Objects in the Late Bronze Cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah (South)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 364 (2011): 1–36; Amihai Mazar, "The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth Shean," in Shai Bar, Dan'el Kahn, and J.J. Shirley (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature: Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 155–189.

3 See, already, Braunstein 2011.

4 George E. Areshian, "Introduction: Variability and Complexity in Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Studies of Empires," in George

E. Arashian (ed.), *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2013), 6, 10; Carla M. Sinopoli, "The Archaeology of Empires," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 159–160. George Steinmetz, "The Sociology of Empires, Colonies, and Postcolonialism," *Annual Reviews* 40 (2012): 79. It should be noted that each such political system developed due to local settings and historical circumstances that diverge from one to another and hence scholars should avoid multi-vocal theories for explaining the rise of hegemonic states; cf. Areshian 2013, 10–11.

5 Sinopoli 1994, 162–164, 169–170; Steinmetz 2012; Bradley J. Parker, "Geographies of Power: Territoriality and Empire during the Mesopotamian Iron Age," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 22, *Special Issue: Territoriality in Archaeology* (2013): 136–139.

6 Gill J. Stein, "Introduction: The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters," in Gill J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounter* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 17, 19, 26–27.

7 See various papers in Gill J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounter* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2005); Michael Dietler and Carolina López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor C. Casella (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); see also Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Peter van Dommelen and Michael Rowlands, "Material Concerns and Colonial Encounters," in Joseph Maran and Philipp W. Stockhammer (eds.), *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 20–31.

8 Michael Dietler, "The Archaeology of Colonization and the Colonization of Archaeology: Theoretical Challenges from an Ancient Mediterranean Colonial Encounter," in Gill J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounter* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 33–68; Susan E. Alcock, "Roman Colonies in the Eastern Empire: A Tale of Four Cities," in Gill J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounter* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 323–327; Stuart T. Smith, "Revenge of the Kushites: Assimilation and Resistance in Egypt's New Kingdom Empire and Nubian Ascendancy over Egypt," in George E. Arashian (ed.), *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2013), 95–96.

9 Michael Dielter, "Colonial Encounters in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: An Exploratory Framework," in Michael Dietler and Carolina López-Ruiz (eds.), *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 29–31; van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012; Louise A. Hitchcock and Aren M. Maeir, "Beyond Creolization and Hybridity: Entangled and Transcultural Identities in Philistia," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (2013): 43–65; Stephen W. Silliman, "A Requiem for Hybridity? The Problem with Frankensteins, Purées, and Mules," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15 (2015): 277–298, DOI: 10.1177/1469605315574791; Philipp W. Stockhammer, "From Hybridity to Entanglement, From Essentialism to Practice," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (2013): 11–28.

10 Following Dietler (2010, 18) colonization is used here "to indicate the expansionary act of imposing political sovereignty over foreign territory and people and *founding colonies* to denote the act of establishing new settlements in alien lands… colonization is, ultimately, solidified or maintained through colonialism," which is "the projects and practices of control marshaled in interactions between societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power and

the processes of social and cultural transformation resulting from those practices."

[11] Absolute chronology is a thorny subject. For a recent overview of the Late Bronze Age phases in the southern Levant, based on radiocarbon dating from Tel Megiddo, see Michael B. Toffolo, Eran Arie, Mario A.S. Martin, Elisabetta Boaretto and Israel Finkelstein, "Absolute Chronology of Megiddo, Israel, in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: High-Resolution Radiocarbon Dating," *Radiocarbon* 56 (2014): 221–244. According to this scheme, the Late Bronze I–IIA transition took place in 1435–1375 BCE (65.6%), Late Bronze IIA–IIB transition occurred during the 13th century BCE, and the Late Bronze IIB–III transition was in 1180–1135 BCE. For the chronology of the Egyptian monarchs, see Thomas Schneider, "Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period," *Egypt and the Levant* 20 (2010): 373–409; David Aston, "Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology," *Egypt and the Levant* 22–23 (2012–2013): 289–315. According to these suggestions, Dynasty 18 ruled in ca. 1550–1300 BCE, Dynasty 19 in the 13th century BCE, and Dynasty 20 during the 12th–early 11th centuries BCE.

[12] For early 18th Dynasty Egyptian-type pottery at Tell el-Ajjul, see Karin Kopetzky, "The Southern Coastal Plain: Tell el-ʿAjjul," in Martin 2011, 201–208. For collaborative written sources, see Felix Höflmayer, "Egypt's 'Empire' in the Southern Levant during the Early 18th Dynasty," in Brigitta Eder and Regine Pruzsinszky (eds.), *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2015), 191–206. For mid-18th Dynasty pottery at Jaffa, see Aaron A. Burke and Krystal V. Lords, "Egyptians in Jaffa: A Portrait of Egyptian Presence in Jaffa during the Late Bronze Age," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73 (2010): 2–30.

[13] Papyrus Anastasi I refers to an armory and additional workshops at Jaffa (Morris 2005, 470–471). Gaza appears twice, inter alia, in Papyrus Anastasi III (6: 1–5), as the residence of several officials mentioned as operating along the Ways of Horus (Morris 2005, 478–486); Ostracon Michaelides 85, allegedly dated to the days of Seti II, describes the preparations to a festival dedicated to Anat of Gaza (Morris 2005, 489–491).

[14] On the population residing at Tel Beth-Shean during the Late Bronze Age, see Mazar 2011.

[15] "Colony" is used here to designate a settlement in foreign territory, from a small trading community to a whole city (Dietler 2010, 18).

[16] For an overview of the local production of Egyptian-type pottery dating to the 19th–20th Dynasties see Martin 2011, 246–249, 266–269.

[17] For Late Bronze I–IIA remains at Tel Lachish see Olga Tufnell, Charles H. Inge and Lankester Harding, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duwer) II: The Fosse Temple* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); David Ussishkin, "Synopsis of Stratigraphical, Chronological and Historical Issues," in David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 57–59; Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of the Late Bronze I Phase," in David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 1024–1026.

[18] On P. Hermitage 1116A see Ellen F. Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 141–142, with literature.

[19] Anson F. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of all Extant Tablets* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

[20] See overview of archaeological data and reconstructions of the local political networks in Nadav Na'aman, "The Shephelah According to the Amarna Letters," in Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman (eds.), *The Fire Signals of Lachish* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 281–299; Israel Finkelstein, "The Shephelah and Jerusalem's Western Border in the Amarna Period," *Egypt and the Levant* 24 (2014): 267–276; Ido Koch, "Notes on Three South Canaanite Sites in the el-Amarna Correspondence," *Tel*

Aviv 43 (2016): 91–98.

21 Nadav Na'aman, "The Egyptian–Canaanite Correspondence," in Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (eds.), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 125–138; Emanuel Pfoh, "Some Remarks on Patronage in Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52 (2009): 365–369.

22 A fine example of limited Egyptian intervention in the region during that period is the policy against Labayu from Shechem; see Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman, "Shechem of the Amarna Period and the Rise of the Northern Kingdom of Israel," *Israel Exploration Journal* 55 (2005): 179–180.

23 On the late 13th—early 12th century BCE in the region, see Dan'el Kahn, "Merneptah's Policy in Canaan in a Geo-Political Perspective," in Gershon Galil et al. (eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE Culture and History, Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 2–5 May, 2010* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), 255–268.

24 For importation of Middle Kingdom scarabs to the Levant and the resulting Middle Bronze Age local production, see Daphna Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2007). For additional discussions on Egyptian–Levantine pictorial exchange, see see Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998); Orly Goldwasser, "Canaanites Reading Hieroglyphs: Horus is Hathor?—The Invention of the Alphabet in Sinai," *Egypt and the Levant* 16 (2006): 121–160; Sylvia Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient 2: Die Mittelbronzezeit* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2008), 34–44.

25 Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940.

26 Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940, 21–24; cf. Singer-Avitz 2004, 1024–1026

27 Manfred Bietak, "The Function and Some Architectural Roots of the Fosse Temple at Lachish," in Shmuel Aḥituv and Eliezer D. Oren (eds.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume. Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines* (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2002), 60, 63–74.

28 Ido Koch, "Revisiting the Fosse Temple at Lachish," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 17 (2017), 64–75.

29 Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940, 69 and pl. 32A/B nos. 2–4, 7.

30 Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940, pl. 32A/B nos. 36–39.

31 Lawrence M. Berman in Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 70–72; Arielle P. Kozloff, *Amenhotep III: Egypt's Radiant Pharaoh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 108–109.

32 Baruch Brandl, Shlomo Bunimovitz and Zvi Lederman, "Beth-Shemesh and Sellopoulo: Two Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III and Their Contribution to Aegean Chronology," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 108 (2013): 67–95.

33 See summaries in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 73–124; Kozloff 2012, 120–147, 168–176.

34 Koch 2017, with expanded literature.

35 Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 76, 132–136, 168–169, 192–198, 204–206; W.R. Johnson, "Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996): 67 nn. 13–15, 68–71; W.R. Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning," in David O'Connor and Eric D. Cline (eds.), *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 87–88.

36 Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 171–172, 175–177, 202–203, 212; Johnson 1996, 72–77; Rachel A. Grover, "Queenship and Eternal Life: Tije Offering Palm Ribs at the Sed-Festival Thrones of Amenhotep III," *Studia Antiqua* 6 (2008): 8–9; L. Troy, "The Queen as a Female Counterpart of the Pharaoh," in Christiane Ziegler (ed.), *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco: Grimaldi Forum; Paris: Somogy editions d'art, 2008), 158–

159, 162–163

37 On divine kingship and its political role, see the various papers in Nicole Brisch (ed.), *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2008); also Nicole Brisch, "Of Gods and Kings: Divine Kingship in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Religion Compass* 7.2 (2013): 37–46, DOI: 10.1111/rec3.12031; Pierre De Maret, "Divine Kings," in Timothy Insoll (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1059–1067.

38 See, for example, the case of the cult of the Roman emperor as it was voluntarily developed with local elements by various cities in Anatolia: Alcock 2005, 328 with additional literature.

39 See above, nn. 6 and 8.

40 Nir Lalkin, *Late Bronze Age Scarabs from Eretz Israel*, unpublished PhD dissertation, (University of Tel-Aviv 2008) (Hebrew), 205–209; Daphna Ben-Tor, "Egyptian–Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs," in Shai Bar, Dan'el Kahn, and J.J. Shirley (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature: Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 23–43; Daphna Ben-Tor, "Political Implications of New Kingdom Scarabs in Palestine during the Reigns of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II," in David Aston et al. (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters and Department Oosterse Studies), 201–214.

41 Assaf Yasur-Landau, "A Note on the Late Bronze Age Textile Industry," in Amihai Mazar and Robert A. Mullins (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996* vol. 2: *The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007), 669–671.

42 Shlomo Bunimovitz and Orna Zimhoni, "'Lamp-and-Bowl' Foundation Deposits in Canaan," *Israel Exploration Journal* 43 (1993): 99–125. Reprint in David Ussishkin (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 1147–1154.

43 Ido Koch, "Goose Keeping, Elite Emulation and Egyptianized Feasting at Late-Bronze Lachish," *Tel Aviv* 41 (2014): 161–179.

44 David Ussishkin, "Area D: The Bronze Age Strata," in David Ussishkin (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 215–315.

45 Olga Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) IV: The Bronze Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 131–132, 248–249 and pls. 45–46; Ussishkin 2004 (above, n. 12), 64.

46 Ann E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E.* (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 65–66 with earlier literature.

47 For the term, see Higginbotham 2000.

48 See nn. 7–8, above; also, Joseph Maran, "Lost in Translation: The Emergence of Mycenaean Culture as a Phenomenon of Glocalization," in Toby C. Wilkinson, Susan Sherratt and John Bennet (eds.), *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st Millennia BC* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 283.

49 For consumption of food as reflecting social segmentation, see Michael Dielter, "Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 226–227; Michael Dietler, "Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity and Colonialism," in Katheryn C. Twiss (ed.), *The Archaeology of Food and Identity* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2007), 218–242; Susan D. deFrance, "Zooarchaeology in Complex Societies: Political Economy, Status, and Ideology," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17 (2009): 127–128 with literature; Katheryn C. Twiss, "The Archaeology of Food and Social Diversity," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 20 (2012): 357–395. DOI: 10.1007/s10814-012-9058-5, accessed 22 January 2016.

50 For an overview of the remains from Tel Lachish Level VI, see Ussishkin 2004 (n. 12), 62–64. The remains uncovered thus far at Tel Azekah suggest that the settlement during the Late Bronze III exhibits contemporaneous prosperity

that might suggest its local prominence, possibly overshadowing nearby Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Oded Lipschits and Yuval Gadot, personal communication).

51 On the architecture of the temple, see David Ussishkin, "Area P: The Level VI Temple," in David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 215–281; for the paraphernalia see Christa Clamer, "The Pottery and Artefacts from the Level VI Temple in Area P," in David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 1288–1368.

52 Ussishkin 2004 (Area P), 224, 231–238, 245–247, 266. Also Stefan Wimmer, "Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai," in S. Israelite-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1990), 1072.

53 Othmar Keel ("Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu den Beiträgen II–IV," in Othmar Keel, Menakhem Shuval and Christoph Uehlinger, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* 3: *Die Frühe Eisenzeit* [Freiburg: Universitätverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprechet, 1990], 318–320) has suggested Ba'al-Seth. See also Izak Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al* (Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprechet, 1994), 163. But see Edward Lipiński, "Egypto-Canaanite Iconography of Reshef, Ba'al, Horon, and Anat," *Chronique d'Egypte* 71 (1996): 260.

54 Clamer 2004, 1314–1320; Izak Cornelius, *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE* (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004), 51; Silvia Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient 3: Die Spätbronzezeit* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), 312.

55 Cornelius 2004, 56–57 with previous literature.

56 Sara Ben-Arieh and Gershon Edelstein, "Akko Tombs Near the Persian Garden," *'Atiqot* 12 (1977): 29–30, pl. VI:1–2.

57 Amihai Mazar, "Clay Figurines and a Zoomorphic Vessel," in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Timnah (Tel Batash) III: The Finds from the Second Millennium BCE* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University, 2006), 251–252 and photo 104.

58 Irit Ziffer, Shlomo Bunimovitz and Zvi Lederman, "Divine or Human? An Intriguing Late Bronze Age Plaque Figurine from Tel Beth-Shemesh," *Egypt and the Levant* 19 (2009): 333–341.

59 Stephanie L. Budin, "Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7.4 (2015): 15.

60 Keiko Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 96–101, 153, 163–167; cf. Budin 2015, 1–2.

61 The second occurrence of such a combination is depicted on an unstratified mold from Tel Qarnayim, nearby Tel Beth-Shean, where the naked goddess is depicted standing above a horse and accompanied by two smaller anthropomorphic figures; Sara Ben-Arieh, "A Mould for a Goddess Plaque," *Israel Exploration Journal* 33 (1983): 72–77.

62 The earliest documented attestation of equestrian Astarte in Egypt is probably the stele from Tell el-Borg in the eastern frontier, dating to the mid-18th Dynasty; James K. Hoffmeier and Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Reshep and Astarte in North Sinai: A Recently Discovered Stela from Tell el-Borg," *Egypt and the Levant* 17 (2007): 127–136. On Astarte in Egypt, see overview and literature in Jean Leclant, "Astarté a cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes," *Syria* 37 (1960): 1–67; Tazawa 2009, 83–95, 120–121, 137–148; Rüdiger Schmitt, "Astarte, Mistress of Horses, Lady of the Chariot: The Warrior Aspect of Astarte," *Welt des Orient* 43 (2013): 213–225.

63 See, for example, scaraboids from Tel Eton Tomb C1 and el-Jib Tomb 3; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit,* 2 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010), 606–607 no. 5; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der*

Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit, 4 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013), 468–469 no. 8.

[64] Cf. Norman Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 36.