



## DESTRUCTION AND THE FALL OF EGYPTIAN HEGEMONY OVER THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

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### ABSTRACT

What brought about the end of Egyptian hegemony and the physical presence of Egyptians in the Late Bronze Age southern Levant? Several theories have been proposed in response to this question with two prominent theories taking center stage. One emphasizes the role of the Sea Peoples, whose path of destruction forced out the Egyptians. Another offers an answer closer to home with civil unrest in Canaan itself bringing about local uprisings against occupied Egyptian sites. What both have in common is that they rely on evidence from destruction events at sites with Egyptian-style architecture and Egyptian-style pottery. The aim of this article is to examine these destruction events, to identify their possible causes, and to ascertain which Egyptian sites did not suffer a destruction event before Egyptian occupation ceased at the site. As a result, it will be proposed that the destruction of Egyptian sites in the southern Levant was not the cause for the cessation of Egyptian hegemony over the southern Levant; rather, it was the pervasive political turmoil in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty that caused the Levantine region to be gradually abandoned by Egypt.

### INTRODUCTION

Destruction has played a vital role in the interpretation of many of the events at the end of the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant. The end of Egyptian hegemony over the region is certainly no exception. Egyptian hegemony, starting under the rule of Thutmose III and perhaps persisting in some form until the reign of Ramesses VI,<sup>1</sup> saw Egypt installing demands for corvée labor, taxation, and the use of local resources, coupled with punitive raids on the southern Levant. Egypt's rule over the region is well described on monuments found in Egypt and the southern Levant, the Amarna letters, and hieratic inscriptions found at sites such as Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah South, and Tel Sera'.<sup>2</sup> The exact extent of Egypt's hegemony in their ability to control and influence the region, as well as the

physical presence of Egyptians in the region, has been debated.<sup>3</sup> However, it appears that by the latest at some time in the reign of Ramesses VI whatever control and physical presence the Egyptians had in and over the southern Levant seems to have come to an end. What brought Egyptian hegemony to a close (that is, the cessation of their ability to exact control over the southern Levant along with the physical presence of Egyptians residing in the southern Levant witnessed by the local manufacture of Egyptian-style pottery and Egyptian-style architecture) is assumed to be causally connected with the quick destruction of Egyptian sites in the region.

On a larger scale, the violent influx of the Sea Peoples bringing destruction in their wake is a common explanation for the exit of Egyptian

presence and rule.<sup>4</sup> Destruction brought on by enemies, local uprisings, and perhaps the Egyptians themselves have also been blamed for the turmoil brought on by these destruction events opening an opportunity for the local Canaanites to seize back their land<sup>5</sup>. At a site-by-site level, the destruction event(s) at Beth-Shean, Tel Mor, or Aphek have been placed at the feet of local uprisings, all of which have influenced the interpretation of why their Egyptian presence came to an end. However, while the destruction of these sites has played a strong interpretive role, they have not been critically examined to see who or what might have destroyed them and if these destruction events would have had a direct effect on the cessation of the Egyptian presence at any given site. The question then should be asked: were violent destructions by the Sea Peoples, Canaanite uprisings, or a combination of both really the cause for the withdrawal of Egypt from the southern Levant (in both their ability to exert control over the land and their physical presence in the land) at once or over time?

The goal of this paper is to examine sites in the southern Levant that have yielded strong evidence of an Egyptian presence, having both Egyptian-style architecture and locally produced Egyptian-style pottery.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, there are several sites that have not yielded Egyptian-style pottery but have so-called Egyptian governor's residences.<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive examination of these sites (Fig. 1) is too much for a single article. For this reason, I will present four sites as representative test cases (Ashkelon, Aphek, Tel Mor, and Beth-Shean) in detail, as each demonstrates a different story for the end of their Egyptian presence and as they have generally been well published. Moreover, Ashkelon, Aphek, Tel Mor, and Beth-Shean also offer a diversity in the type of Egyptian sites found in the southern Levant, from the briefly occupied possible fortress at Ashkelon to the two garrisons at Tel Mor and Aphek, as well as the Egyptian administrative center at Beth-Shean. These four sites will then be assessed together with a discussion of the remaining Egyptian sites in the southern Levant including those with "Egyptian governor's residences" in order to discover what affect destruction had on the cessation of Egyptian hegemony over the region and what other factors might have been involved.

#### THE PROBLEM OF CHRONOLOGY

Correlating any archaeological material with a historical event is a complicated issue in any period.

The 13th and 12th centuries BCE in Egypt and the southern Levant are certainly no exception. Relative dates for strata based on pottery, inscriptions, and other objects give dates that have a margin of error generally of 50 years or more. Trying to tie historical events in Egypt to a relative date is bound to be flawed given this margin of error, as well as the debate over the exact Egyptian chronology of the New Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Radiocarbon dates might be assumed to bring some clarity to this; however, these too undergo recalibration, shifting the chronology higher or lower<sup>9</sup>. Indeed, a recent report by Manning et al. has demonstrated that the radiocarbon dates used in the southern Levant may be off by several decades<sup>10</sup>. As they note:

Although, overall, the 14C offset identified here produces what may seem to be relatively small dating changes, these are revealed to be of a scale that is important for high-resolution chronological work. They are especially important for the contested and detailed chronology debates in archaeological scholarship on the southern Levant region, particularly for those focused on differences of only a few decades to ~50 y to 100 y.<sup>11</sup>

This is an issue for the discussion at hand. An attempt to tie an event in Egypt with one in the southern Levant currently may be dealing with events chronologically separated by 50 years or more. Thus, while it would indeed be helpful if historical data could be matched with the archaeological material either by way of relative or absolute dating, this does not appear to be possible at this time. Moreover, many of the sites under discussion here have not been dated by 14C. Likewise, attempting to track the exact path in which the Egyptian presence ended at any given site compared to another cannot be stated with any great degree of certainty. Thus, tracking the geographical exit of Egypt based on the current evidence can result in a general impression of the course of events but not an exact narrative. Given this, all discussion of events occurring in Egypt and the events going on in the southern Levant must be taken with a degree of caution. For this reason, the relative dates or the period given by the excavators will be used in this discussion understanding full well the degree of inaccuracy brought with these dates.

**“EGYPTIAN” SITES DESTROYED AT THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE**

**ASHKELON**

Originally, it was assumed that Ashkelon was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age as Mackenzie and Phythian-Adams, in the early 20th century, found an extensive layer of ash and blackened soil between the modern excavation Grids 50 and 57. This was between the Late Bronze Age “Canaanite” material and the following Iron Age “Philistine” material, which was believed to represent the destruction of the site<sup>12</sup>. However, recent excavations at Ashkelon seem to contradict this evidence.

During the renewed excavations at Ashkelon, locally made Egyptian ceramics (Fig. 2) were found in two areas, Grids 38 and 50, which date to the end of the Late Bronze Age and suggest an Egyptian presence at the site. In Grid 50 Phase 10, locally made Egyptian ceramics, such as simple bowls and beer jars, were found in a courtyard building that showed no signs of destruction in the transition to the Iron I.<sup>13</sup> The building continued in use until the early 12th century BCE, when the area was abandoned with no signs of destruction. Moreover, no destruction was found in Grid 38 Upper Phase 21, where a single mud-brick wall believed to be of an Egyptian-style “fortress” was uncovered. The wall was not built on stone but, rather, a sand foundation, as per the Egyptian tradition seen at other southern Levantine sites. This building was never completed and appears to have been abandoned, as the mud-brick detritus found in association with the structure attests, nor were any occupational surfaces uncovered<sup>14</sup>. Stager et al. assumed that, given the mud-brick wall and the Egyptian-style pottery that were produced not only in Egyptian forms but also with Egyptian techniques such as using straw temper, indicates a brief Egyptian occupation of the site, perhaps established by Merenptah after his conquest of Ashkelon toward the end of the 13th century BCE.<sup>15</sup> While the exact nature of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron



FIGURE 1: “Egyptian” sites in the southern Levant.

Age in Grid 38 is unclear, what is clear is that there was no evidence of destruction in this area.

The Egyptian presence at Ashkelon, seen in the local manufacture of Egyptian-style pottery and the Egyptian architectural techniques, seems to have ended without a fight, and there was likely a peaceful influx of Sea People material culture.<sup>16</sup> But what of the “destruction” uncovered by Mackenzie and Phythian-Adams? In light of the recent excavations, Stager has suggested that the original excavators likely “detected localized patches of burnt debris rather than a site-wide destruction level.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, there is currently no compelling



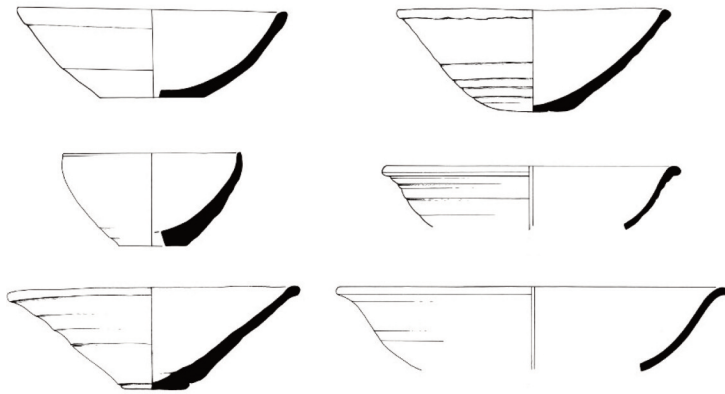


FIGURE 2: Locally produced Egyptian-style bowls from Ashkelon (from Martin 2008, 249 fig. 3; courtesy of the Austrian Academy of Sciences).

evidence suggesting that a destruction event caused the (albeit limited and short) Egyptian influence to cease at Ashkelon, as there was apparently no destruction at all. Rather, the Egyptian presence, seen in the locally made Egyptian-style pottery and Egyptian-style “fortress,” ceased of its own accord

as those who made this pottery and began the construction of the possible fortress left peacefully without being forced out by a destruction event.

APHEK

Aphek, at the time of its final Egyptian phase (Stratum X12 in the LB IIB)<sup>18</sup>, was dominated by a single building at the top of the site. This building, Palace VI (Fig. 3), was a continuation of the two previous Egyptian buildings, Palaces V and IV. Palace VI was built on the southwest corner of Palace V, and it was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age in an apparent military battle. Throughout the destroyed building, remains of carbonized wood and burnt plaster were found. Items from the second floor crashed down to the floor below, and the charred remains of a wooden door were found at the entrance of a stairway connecting to the building’s piazza. Remains of destruction were not limited to Palace VI alone, as burnt material, detritus burnt bricks, and ash were found scattered over the top of the tel. Much of this material was found against the stumps

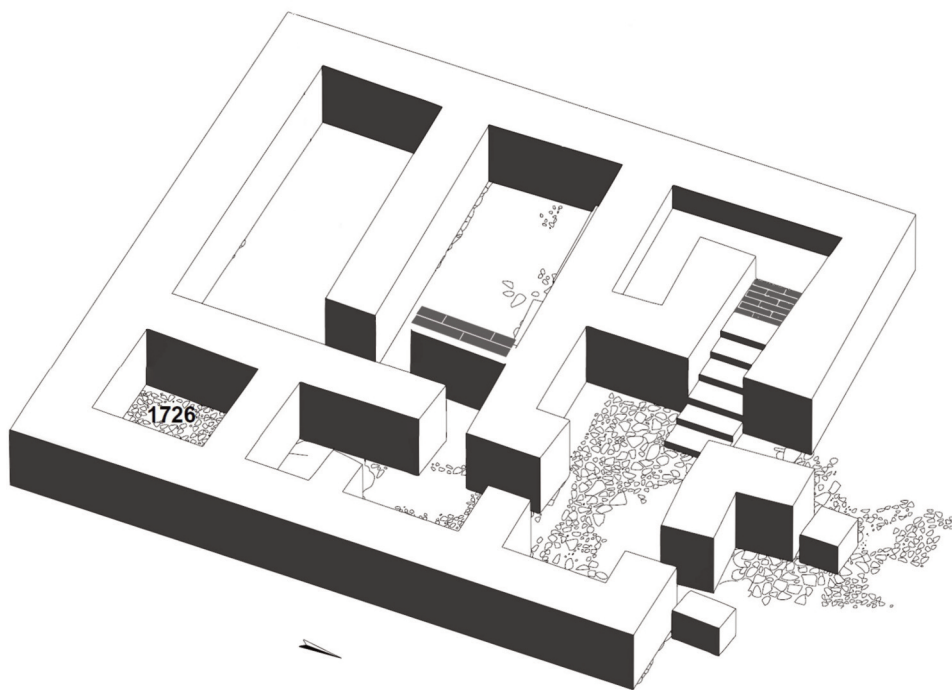


FIGURE 3: Plan of Building 1104, the “Egyptian governor’s residence” (courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University; Gadot 2010, 55 fig. 3).

of the palace walls, but it was also spread for several meters due to the years of erosion following the building's destruction.<sup>19</sup>

Palace VI seems to have been destroyed with all its goods intact, indicating the inhabitants did not have time to take their belongings before the destruction. In the destruction debris from Stratum X12, six or possibly seven arrowheads were found in the wreckage.<sup>20</sup> One arrowhead was found inside the structure, and the remainder were found scattered outside the building, both south and east of the palace. Since these arrowheads were found not gathered together as if being stored in the building but, rather, scattered outside it, this would suggest an attack against the building from outside. In addition to the arrowheads found in the destruction debris, the excavators also uncovered one armor scale.<sup>21</sup> With this evidence, including the complete destruction of the sole building on the site and the intact assemblage inside the building, it is reasonable to conclude that Aphek Stratum X12 was most likely destroyed by an enemy force. However, who that force was cannot be said from the archaeological remains.

In the following Stratum X11, a cultural break occurred at Aphek. There was a change in architecture as residents of Stratum X11 built above the ruined palace both to the northwest and southeast of its remains. Egyptian material culture disappeared, and it appears that after the destruction in Stratum X12 there was a period of abandonment at the site. Building VI was never rebuilt, although the local Canaanite material culture present in Stratum X12 continued into Stratum X11, representing a nearly complete change in the site compared to the Egyptian fortress of Stratum X12.<sup>22</sup> This was most likely the direct result of the military action against the site, which resulted in the destruction of Palace VI, as there is no evidence of a social or economic crisis at the site before its destruction. Thus, for Aphek, the disappearance of the Egyptians inhabiting the site and their influence was most likely the direct result of the destruction event. A question that must be asked is, were there any other underlying circumstances that could have affected the Egyptians ability to rebuild the garrison at Aphek? I will come back to this question later in the discussion.

#### TEL MOR

There are three destruction events associated with the transitional period between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Iron I<sup>23</sup> of the Egyptian garrison at Tel Mor. Building B Strata VIII and VII and Building F Stratum VI represent separate destruction events of the small Egyptian garrison.

Building B was originally constructed in Stratum VIII (LB IIB) (Fig. 4) as a large square structure, built in an Egyptian fashion and resembling an Egyptian fort or governor's residence.<sup>24</sup> Two other small buildings were partially found to the east of Building B. Building C had a paved mud-brick floor, and Building D, found to the north, also had a paved mud-brick floor, though little else was found of these structures.<sup>25</sup> Stratum VIII Building B was destroyed, as a layer of debris nearly a meter thick separated it from Stratum VII. As Barako describes it, "A thick destruction layer, comprised mostly of fallen mudbricks, separated the Strata VIII and VII floors of Building B."<sup>26</sup> However, there was no evidence of burning. Building B was rebuilt and its layout remained the same, though buildings C and D seem to have gone out of use. Because there were no signs of fire, the original excavators believed that this destruction event was caused by an earthquake, and this is likely the case.<sup>27</sup>

After Building B was rebuilt, it was again destroyed at the end of Stratum VII (end of the LB IIB). It is noted that:

A heavy destruction layer, in places as thick as 1.5 meters, covered the buildings of Stratum VII. Although thickest in the north of Building B, this layer was exposed in every room excavated. Unlike the collapse that separated Strata VIII and VII, it contained a large amount of ash and burnt mudbrick. Apparently, the site was abandoned for a time after this fiery destruction, as evidenced by a thin, superimposed layer of windblown sand.<sup>28</sup>

Moshe Dothan attributed this destruction either to the Egyptians in the punitive campaign of Merenptah or to the Israelites.<sup>29</sup> However, Tristan Barako believes that, given the continued presence of Egyptian pottery at the site, the Egyptian answer is unlikely. He states that it "is more reasonable to

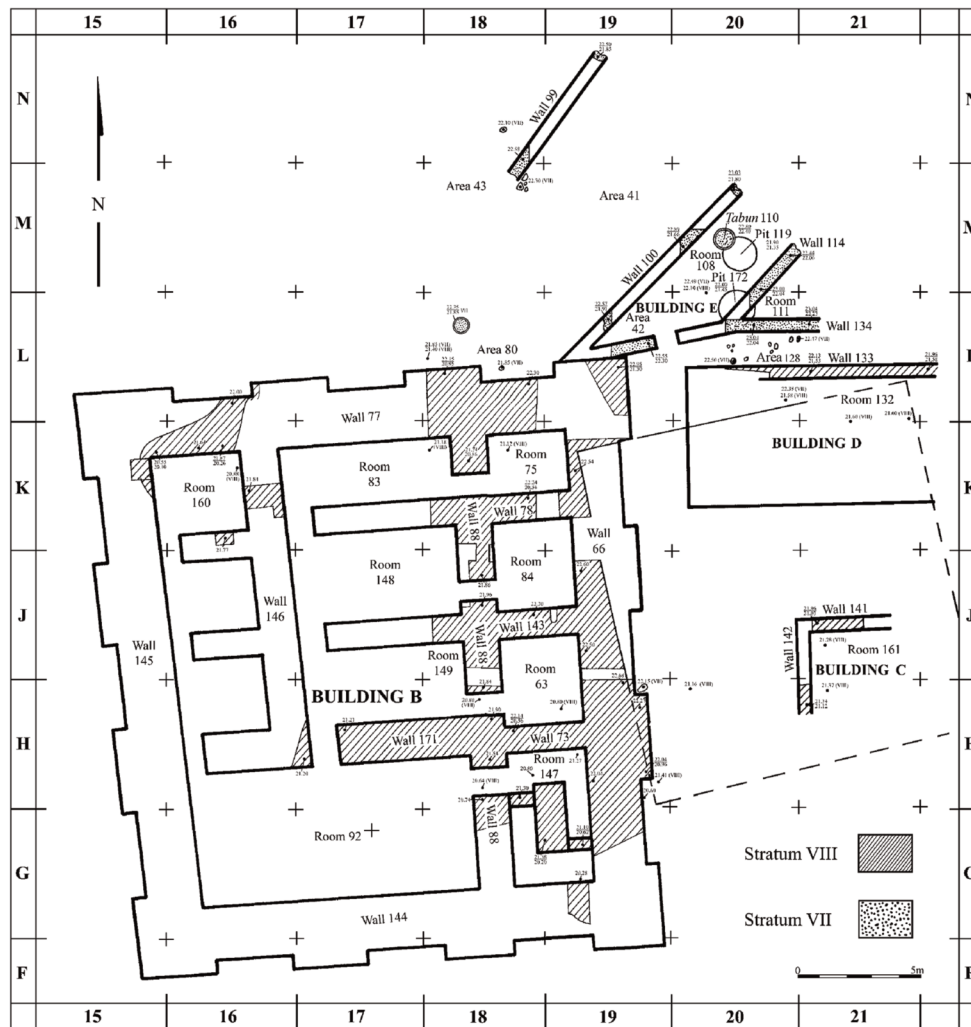


FIGURE 4: Tel Mor, Strata VIII–VII (courtesy of Tristan Barako).

suppose, instead, that attacks on Egyptian garrisons (such as Tel Mor) by rebellious Canaanites (e.g. Gezer) prompted Merneptah’s campaign... If any group, then, is to claim responsibility for the destruction of Stratum VII, it should probably be the Canaanites.”<sup>30</sup>

Occupation was renewed at the site with the construction of Building F in Stratum VI (LB IIB/IA I transitional) (Fig. 5). Building F was constructed to the east of Building B, with the western edge of Building F resting on the destroyed remains of Building B’s eastern side. There was still a strong Egyptian influence at the site, as 15% of its ceramics were locally made Egyptian-style pottery.<sup>31</sup> This

building was described by Dothan as a *migdol*, as it was a square building with massive, four-meter thick walls.<sup>32</sup> The building seems to have had a second story, which would have been reached via a ramp. To the west of Building F, five furnaces were uncovered along with slag and bronze splatter, indicating that the area was used as an open-air smelting area; no walls were found in association with the furnaces.<sup>33</sup> A partial building called Building G was also uncovered. However, only a poorly preserved corner of the building was found.<sup>34</sup> Building F was also destroyed. Barako describes it by saying, “Stratum VI also ended in destruction. Numerous whole or almost whole vessels lay

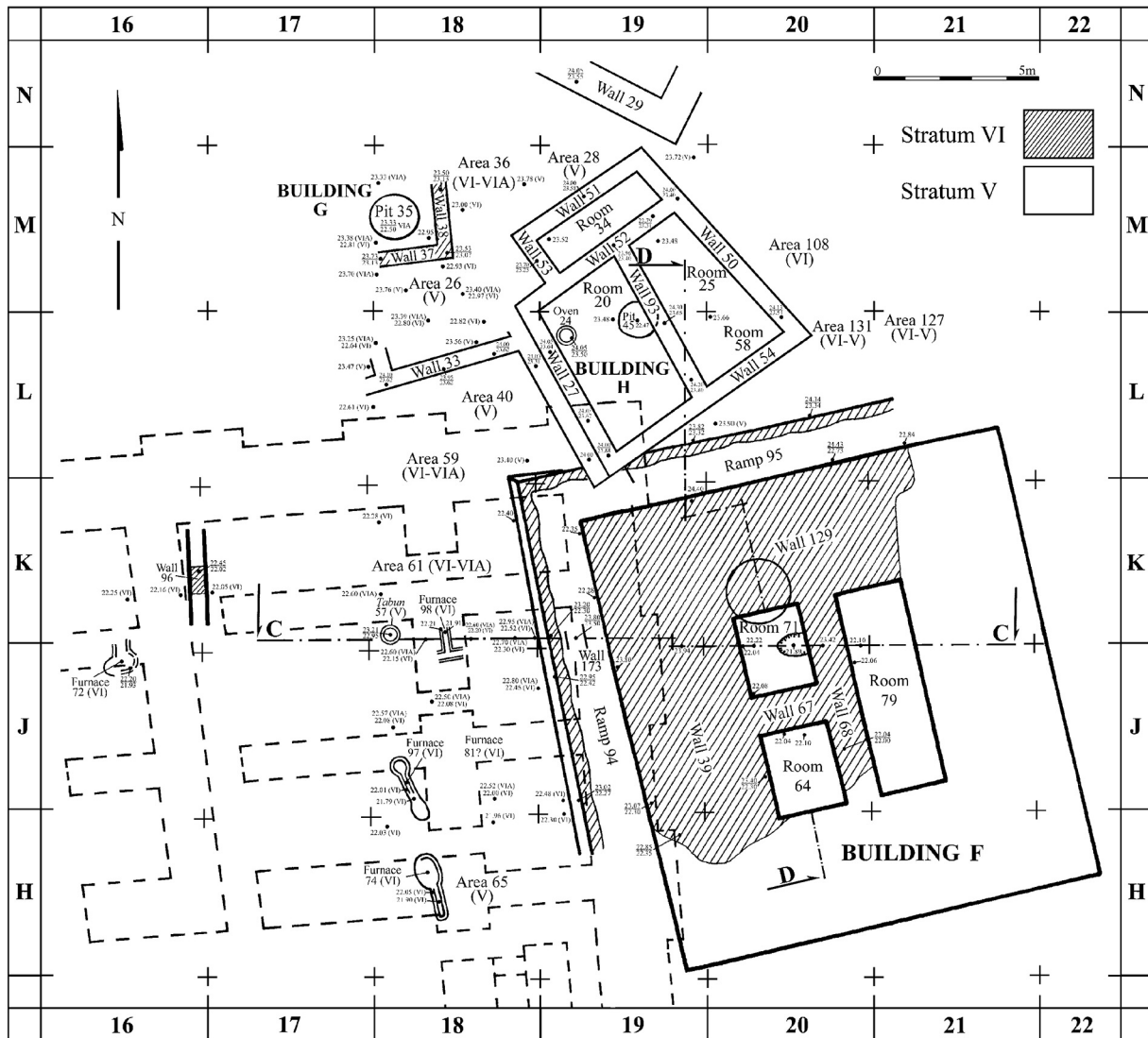


FIGURE 5: Tel Mor, Strata IV-V (courtesy of Tristan Barako).

smashed on the floors of building F, particularly in room 71. On top of these vessels were fallen mudbricks and ten more broken pots.”<sup>35</sup> No reason or cause for this destruction was given by the excavators.

Following the destruction of Building F at the end of Stratum VI, it was rebuilt in Stratum V. 12% of Tel Mor’s ceramics were still locally made Egyptian-style ceramics.<sup>36</sup> Barako again describes the end of this stratum and building. He writes that:

Because there is no mention of a destruction level having ended Stratum V, it is best to assume that its buildings, particularly Building F, simply fell out of use. In the succeeding strata (IV–I), the character of the site changed considerably. A single massive building no longer dominated the tel as in the five preceding strata (IX–V). Instead, the settlement became more open with relatively little architecture.<sup>37</sup>



After this, the amount of locally made Egyptian-style ceramics drops to 1%, all of which is likely to be residual and to indicate the withdrawal of the Egyptians from the site.<sup>38</sup> There are only sparse remains of the following Stratum IV. The inhabitants of Stratum IV may have reused the structures from Stratum V, and this stratum too ends seemingly without destruction.<sup>39</sup> With all of this, there remains the question of what caused the destruction events at the end of Strata VIII, VII, and VI, and were these events the cause of the Egyptian withdrawal from the site? Part of the answer may lie in the Egyptian construction technique used in Buildings B and F.

Both Building B and Building F were constructed in a traditional Egyptian style, that is, without a stone foundation. Moreover, both buildings had a foundation layer of sand.<sup>40</sup> Built in this way, both buildings would have been more prone to damage by earthquakes or other natural causes, such as storms or settling. As Brandl notes, the use of sand as a foundation may have allowed for water to seep below the foundation, causing structural weakness.<sup>41</sup> He goes on to point out that this was likely part of a foundation ritual, referencing Weinstein's sixth act of an Egyptian foundation ceremony ritual.<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, it is likely that both the Stratum VIII and VI destruction events were caused either by earthquakes or some other natural cause, be it settling or a storm.<sup>43</sup> There is no evidence of warfare, there is no evidence of fire, and there is cultural continuity with both following strata. This then leaves the destruction of Stratum VII. Like Strata VIII and VI, there is no evidence of warfare. While Building B was abandoned after its final destruction, there was strong cultural continuity at the site both in the local Canaanite pottery and in the Egyptian and Egyptian-style pottery. However, there is no clear answer for what caused this destruction. Nevertheless, what is most important is that none of these destruction events would have resulted in the withdrawal of Egyptians and their influence from the site.

Even if Building B Stratum VII was destroyed in an attack, Egypt was able to come back after a relatively short period of time and rebuild the site. Moreover, with the reconstruction of Building F in Stratum V, an Egyptian presence remained at Tel Mor until the site was abandoned, as 12% of its pottery was still Egyptian or Egyptian-style. Thus, the site having been destroyed on three separate occasions never caused the Egyptians to

permanently leave; rather, they remained resilient and rebuilt Tel Mor over and over. Therefore, Tel Mor's Egyptian presence departed the site not because of a destruction event but more likely due to other factors I will discuss below.

#### BETH-SHEAN

The destruction of Beth-Shean falls in the middle of the 12th century BCE; however, this destruction event is somewhat problematic. Excavations conducted by Yigael Yadin and Shulamit Geva in their Stratum 4, as well as the renewed excavations conducted by Amihai Mazar in Stratum S-3a, found evidence of destruction that corresponds to Level VI from the UME excavations (Fig. 6).<sup>44</sup> However, as noted by both Yadin and Mazar, the original UME excavations made no mention in their notes of any kind of evidence for destruction at the end of their Level VI.<sup>45</sup> Thus, there are two possible options, either of which will affect an interpretation of this destruction. Either the UME team did not come across any destruction, which would mean that parts of the site including the Egyptian governor's residence were not destroyed,<sup>46</sup> or they made no notes of this destruction and this piece of evidence is missing. The interpretation of the destruction found in Area S Stratum S-3a and in Yadin's Stratum 4 must be seen in this context.

Area S provides the most information for the end of the Egyptian phase at Beth-Shean. The final phase of the appearance of Egyptian or Egyptian-style material culture at Beth-Shean is Stratum S-3a. Sub-phases S-3b and S-3a were noted only in some locations. There is, however, a general continuation in the orientation of walls and streets from Stratum S-4, though some individual houses underwent substantial changes in Stratum S-3. However, the function of the area remained the same; its being a residential area is attested by the large number of tabuns and storage bins.<sup>47</sup> The destruction of Area S Stratum S-3a is best summed up by the excavators, who point out several important facets of this event:

The last phase (S-3a) was destroyed by a heavy fire, leaving behind a thick layer of burnt brick debris with black ash and charcoal, as well as many pottery vessels and other objects on the beaten-earth floors. In some places, the fire was intense enough to burn the outer face of the brick to a reddish pink color. In some of the rooms,



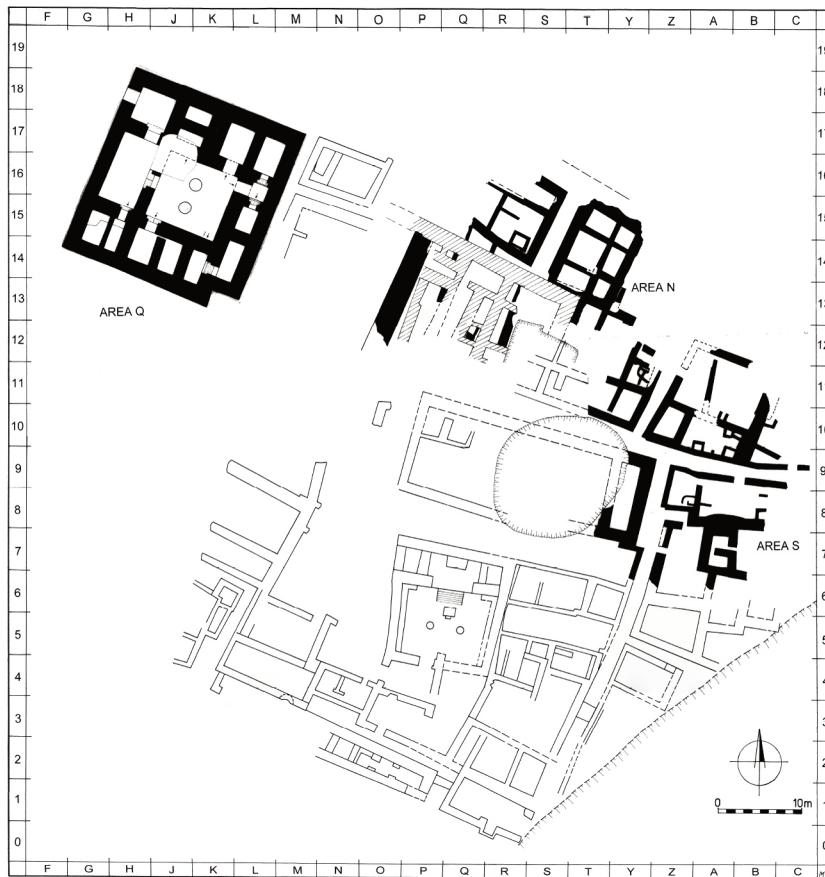


FIGURE 6: Plan of Level VI from Beth Shean (courtesy of Amihai Mazar).

however, no evidence for fire was found, although they were filled with thick deposits of fallen bricks. This is probably due to the differences in the fate of each building, as well as to the construction techniques and/or the function of the various spaces; those which contained much timber and flammable materials such as olive oil stored in jars were heavily burnt<sup>48</sup>.

They go on to state that "The evidence of destruction by intense fire at the end of S-3a is clear, although surprisingly, is not recorded in the UME reports. This fire appears to be the result of some violent event that brought the prolonged period of Egyptian occupation at Beth-Shean to an end."<sup>49</sup>

Other evidence of the destruction of the site had also been uncovered by Yadin and Geva. At the end

of their Stratum 4, they found evidence of fire and thick layers of ash and broken bricks. This was found near the UME team's excavation of Stratum VI.<sup>50</sup> In Building 2543, they found ash on the floors, but it was mainly concentrated inside and around bins or storage jars and was also on the walls of the building. Moreover, in Building 2522, it seems that at the time of the fire someone was grinding grain. A pair of grinding stones was found with some carbonized grain around it; some grain was still between the stones, and some even stuck to the upper stone.<sup>51</sup> The excavators state, "The grinding stone was undoubtedly in daily use when the building was set on fire and collapsed."<sup>52</sup> This suggests a suddenness to the destruction in this area, and if it is to be correlated with the destruction found in Area S, it provides a possible clue as to its nature.<sup>53</sup> Despite there being no recorded evidence for destruction in the UME team's report, the areas they excavated did undergo some changes after Stratum VI.

The single temple complex was replaced in Stratum V by a Northern and Southern Temple, and important structures of Level VI were replaced by domestic structures.<sup>54</sup>

Several theories have been put forward as to what happened to Beth-Shean in the mid-12th century BCE to bring about the end of the Egyptian occupation. Yadin and Geva stated, "The Egyptian stronghold at Beth Shean was the target of a violent attack, and a very successful one, resulting in thorough destruction and burning. This destruction marked the end of the Egyptian presence at Beth Shean..."<sup>55</sup> Mazar has claimed that the destruction could have been at the hands of other local Canaanites, such as residents of Tel Rehov or Pella, or the result of an attack by an unknown group or by semi-nomadic people.<sup>56</sup> However, Nava Panitz-Cohen and Mazar make an interesting observation

that Stratum S-3a may have been hit by an earthquake: there were several tilted and split walls and a large accumulation of collapsed brick debris.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, they make no association between this possible earthquake and the fire found in Area S. Given the evidence found in both Stratum S-3a and Stratum 4, I would argue there is sufficient reason to suggest the cause of the destruction was by earthquake.

Examining the evidence from the destruction itself, there are several pieces that indicate it was indeed caused by an earthquake. First, while some rooms were burned, others were found full of fallen mud bricks with no evidence of fire. Second, there is no evidence of abandonment prior to the destruction, and the finds in Building 2522 suggest the destruction event was sudden. Third, there is no evidence of weapons of war, and as all of the buildings with recorded evidence of destruction are domestic, they were not likely the target of a military assault. Fourth is the evidence from the fire itself. As Marco states, "Fire may be associated with earthquakes where thatched roofs, fabrics, and wooden beams were common. Ovens and fireplaces are active continuously even in dwellings of nomadic peoples of our time."<sup>58</sup> Thus, as Panitz-Cohen and Mazar note, the reason why some of the buildings caught fire and others did not was due to their contents. Fifth, there was direct evidence for an earthquake in the tilted and split walls.

Finally, in the following Stratum S-2, the people of Beth-Shean rebuilt the city reusing some of the same walls from Stratum S-3. It seems they were familiar with the town prior to destruction, as they used the same street and wall lines, and it is suggested that there was no long-time gap in between the destruction and reoccupation. Moreover, the local Canaanite pottery tradition continued into Stratum S-2 with no major differences from S-3. The only major change in the pottery tradition was that after the destruction there was the disappearance of Egyptian and Egyptian-style pottery from the site.<sup>59</sup> As Panitz-Cohen states, "We can thus summarize that the local pottery industry did not undergo any revolutionary change with the departure of the Egyptians, but rather experienced adjustments...."<sup>60</sup> Therefore, other than the change in the Egyptian pottery, it would seem the local people reoccupied the city without an extensive time gap in between the destruction of S-3a and S-2.

Taking all of these pieces of evidence together, it would appear that the destruction noted at the end of Stratum S-3a and Yadin's Stratum 4 was caused by an earthquake that made some houses catch fire largely because they contained lit tabuns and the fuel to fire them, while others suffered only from wall collapse. The subsequent city was reoccupied by the local Canaanite population without any major changes to the material culture other than the disappearance of the Egyptian and Egyptian-style pottery. However, even with this disappearance, it does not seem as if the local people had animosity towards the Egyptians. The statue of Ramesses III and the stelae of Seti I and Ramesses II were found in the Level V Northern Temple. It may be that these objects were enshrined or venerated by the local Canaanites after the Egyptians left Beth-Shean.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, there is no evidence that these monuments were mutilated, which they likely would have been if the city had been destroyed in an attack by hostile invaders.<sup>62</sup> This is a fate very different from that of the Egyptian statues mutilated at Hazor in its final Late Bronze Age destruction.<sup>63</sup> Thus, given that there is evidence neither for desecration nor for warfare, and that the ensuing fire and collapse differed from building to building, an earthquake would seem likeliest. The question that remains is, was this natural disaster the cause for the Egyptian exit from Beth-Shean?

It is unlikely this earthquake caused the Egyptians and their influence to leave Beth-Shean. Rather, the political turmoil and weakness in Egypt during the mid-12th century BCE was more likely to hasten an Egyptian exit from the southern Levant. Egyptian power in Canaan had already waned during the 20th Dynasty, and at Beth-Shean in Area N South, Building ND "went out of use with no sign of violent destruction,"<sup>64</sup> perhaps suggesting abandonment. It is likely that if the destruction event at the end of Level VI never occurred, the Egyptians at the site and their influence would have departed much as at Ashkelon and Tel Mor.

A final question is why did the UME team not make any mention of destruction in the areas they excavated? If the destruction was caused by an earthquake, then there are two possible reasons. Either they simply did not record the destruction, or it may be that they did not come across much evidence of it. As Marco points out when discussing the evidence of earthquakes at Megiddo, "In modern

earthquakes, damage is highly localized and varies greatly because of the heterogeneous nature of the underlying ground. The 'site effect,' a fundamental characteristic of earthquakes, may explain why certain parts of Megiddo were damaged while others were not.<sup>65</sup> Thus, with the "site effect," it is possible that the UME team did not come across much evidence of destruction. This idea has credence because Building ND from Stratum N-3a, which is correlated with Level VI, had no signs of destruction. Therefore, it remains a possibility that the UME team did not uncover evidence of burning or wall collapse. However, the areas they excavated did undergo changes after Stratum VI. The single temple complex was replaced in Stratum V by a Northern and Southern Temple, and important structures of Level VI were replaced by domestic units. This could indicate that these buildings were destroyed and then built over with new structures. It could also represent a modification after the exit of the Egyptians as the sacred area's buildings were changed, but the area itself remained sacred. The answer to this, however, remains unknown.

#### DISCUSSION

James Weinstein in 1992 in his interpretation of how Egyptian hegemony came to an end in the southern Levant points to five major reasons. He writes that the demise of the empire was a fairly quick and decisive event, taking place in two phases. First, the Egyptian garrisons and headquarters in the southern Levant were destroyed, during either the latter years of Ramesses III or during the reign of Ramesses IV, and then Egypt exited from peripheral sites, such as Timna'. He also points to the economic and political difficulties Egypt suffered during the 20th Dynasty and that another factor was the devastation of Egyptians sites mainly by the Sea Peoples, though other groups contributed to this destruction. Finally, he states it was the Philistines who severed Egypt's accesses to Canaan and the rest of Western Asia and brought about the end of their empire in the southern Levant.<sup>66</sup> Twenty years later, his opinion has changed little, as he cites the influx of the Sea Peoples and the destruction they wreaked as a causal factor in Egypt's exit from the southern Levant.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, as Killebrew has summed up, the predominant theories for the end of Egyptian hegemony are placed at the feet of the Sea Peoples. Either Ramesses III allowed the Sea Peoples to settle in the southern Levant, weakening his control, or the

incursion of the Sea Peoples destroyed the major centers, as suggested by Weinstein.<sup>68</sup> What must be stressed is that the destruction of Egyptian sites in the southern Levant is seen as the main casual factor above others that caused Egypt to physically exit the region as well as losing its authority and ability to impose control over the southern Levant. Yet, what does the story of destruction say about these theories?

I have discussed the supposed "destruction" caused by the Sea Peoples at length elsewhere.<sup>69</sup> However, the subject does deserve some attention here, as Ashkelon, Aphek, Tel Mor, and Tel Gerisa, which had an "Egyptian governor's residence" at the end of the LBA, have previously been assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. There is little evidence to support a violent influx of the Sea Peoples into the southern Levant, which Yasur-Landau originally pointed out for Ashkelon, Ashdod, Tel Miqne (Ekron), and Tell es-Safi/Gath.<sup>70</sup> However, the lack of destruction extends well beyond the Philistines Pentapolis, as many other sites were still assumed destroyed by the Sea Peoples. Many of the sites purportedly "destroyed" by the Sea Peoples simply have no destruction at all. Tell Abu Hawam, Acco, 'Afula, Ashkelon, Tel Batash, Tel Dor, Tel Gerisa, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Michal, Tell es-Şafi/Gath, Shiqmona, and Tel Zeror have been cited as destroyed due to faulty assumptions unsupported by evidence,<sup>71</sup> scholarly miss-citation<sup>72</sup>, or acceptance of a destruction event based on old evidence that further excavation has proven inaccurate, as is the case with Ashkelon and Tel Gerisa.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, while some sites, such as Tel Miqne (Ekron) and Aphek, do have a destruction event, the subsequent inhabitants of the site were local Canaanites. Sea Peoples or Philistine material culture does appear at both sites; however, it arrives peacefully. There is no destruction between the local Canaanite phase following the destruction events found at Tel Miqne and Aphek and the introduction of the Sea Peoples material culture in the subsequent strata.<sup>74</sup> Thus, among the Egyptian garrisons supposedly destroyed by the Sea Peoples that I have presented here, both Ashkelon and Tel Mor were abandoned with no evidence of a destruction. Aphek, while it was destroyed, was not brought down by the Sea Peoples unless one believes they allowed the local Canaanites to move back to the site and then peacefully moved there themselves 25–50

years later to live alongside the locals. A closer examination suggests that violence by the Sea Peoples was an unlikely factor in Aphek's destruction event. What this all points to is that a wave of destruction brought on by the Sea Peoples either at one time or over time does not appear to have been a causal factor in the withdrawal of Egyptian rule over the southern Levant, a point that is further strengthened by the fact that the Egyptians themselves never mentioned that Canaan was destroyed by the encroaching wave of the Sea Peoples.

Ramesses III in his regnal year 8 texts from Medinet Habu makes mention of many areas supposedly destroyed by the Sea Peoples.<sup>75</sup> Yet, the farthest south that any "destruction" is mentioned is Amurru on the southern coast of Syria, well north of Canaan. Thus, destruction brought on by the Sea Peoples in the southern Levant is lacking both in the archaeological and historical record and cannot be used as a causal explanation for the breakdown of Egypt's control over the region as Weinstein and others suggest.

If destruction wrought by the Sea Peoples did not cause the Egyptians to leave the southern Levant, does this indicate that local uprisings against Egyptian sites brought about the end of Egyptian rule over the southern Levant? This is what Ellen Morris has assumed to be part of the reason for the fall of Egyptian hegemony. With the supposed destruction of all Egyptian sites at one time by enemies, uprisings, or the Egyptians themselves, she argues that because of the destruction, it gave the locals the opportunity to "rid themselves of their overlords."<sup>76</sup> However, this is not likely to have been the causal factor for Egyptian hegemony to come to an end, causing them to lose control over the region, nor to be the basis for Egypt's physical presence to leave.

Resistance by local population surely would have affected Egypt's ability to maintain control over parts of the region. Aphek Stratum X12 was likely destroyed in one such event. Moreover, as Burke et al. have recently argued, the Gate Complex at Jaffa too was likely destroyed twice in an act of war toward the end of the 12th century BCE.<sup>77</sup> However, the question is not "Did resistance to Egyptian power and Egyptian sites occur?" Rather, it is "Did this resistance force out the Egyptians from the southern Levant and cause them to lose control over region?" This is unlikely, and if it were the case, the

only area where there is strong evidence of resistance is near the Yarkon River, with the destruction of Aphek and Jaffa, though these events are well separated in time and cannot be associated with one another. Aphek's destruction occurred sometime toward the end of the 13th century or beginning of the 12th century BCE with the first destruction of the Gate Complex at Jaffa taking place ca. 1135 BCE, based on <sup>14</sup>C dates derived from samples found in the destruction debris.<sup>78</sup> This leaves well more than 50 years between these two events, even taking into consideration the margin of chronological error. Additionally, Tel Gerisa's "Egyptian governor's residence" was abandoned at the end of the LBA with no evidence of destruction whatsoever.<sup>79</sup>

While there is evidence of resistance, there is also evidence for the longevity of Egyptian power and their ability to maintain a physical presence in the region. Tel Mor suffered the complete destruction of its Buildings B and F three times, yet each time the Egyptians maintained power and rebuilt. This is even true of Jaffa as Burke et al. note. While the Gate Complex was destroyed in Phase RG-4a, they state that the gate had remained undamaged for some 65 to 100 years, and even after its destruction, the Egyptians were able to rebuild using the ash from the fire in the new mud bricks for the gate in Phase RG-3a.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, the evidence from sites that likely had an Egyptian presence, or from sites with Egyptian influence, show that destruction was not a strong factor in the physical exit of Egyptians from the region and with it their ability to impose control over it.

Tel Mor with its three destruction events was abandoned without a final destruction event of its Egyptian Building F. The same can be said of the possible Egyptian garrison at Ashkelon, which was abandoned before its completion. This may have also been the case for Deir el-Balah. Its Fortress 350 appears to have been abandoned before it was ever completed sometime at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 12th century BCE.<sup>81</sup> Given that no floors were found and only scanty fragments of pottery were recovered, the excavators assume the building project was never completed due to a political decision or a technical obstacle.<sup>82</sup> This is much the same as the case at Ashkelon. Turning to sites that have an "Egyptian governor's residence," there is even less evidence of destruction. As I already mentioned, at Tel Gerisa, the LBA site was



abandoned without evidence of destruction. Tell Jemmeh too shows no evidence of a destruction event during this period,<sup>83</sup> and the same can be said of Tell el-Hesi,<sup>84</sup> Tel Masos,<sup>85</sup> and Qubur el-Walaydah.<sup>86</sup>

For other sites, it is not so clear as to how and why Egyptian occupation there came to an end. At Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, while the site suffered a massive and complete destruction at the end of its Stratum XII, it may have already been only partially abandoned at the time of destruction. Several doors and lanes were blocked with rocks, and the Egyptian-style building found in Area AA had been emptied of most of its contents, indicating that perhaps Tell es-Sa'idiyeh too was already in a process of abandonment when it was destroyed by an unknown cause. An earthquake may have been the culprit. There were signs of earthquake damage at the site, and Tell Deir Alla, only a few kilometers away, suffered a massive earthquake within a similar period of time.<sup>87</sup> Yet, given the current published evidence, it is impossible to say one way or another whether its destruction was caused by man or nature. On the other hand, Beth-Shean, as I have argued, was likely destroyed by an earthquake at the end of its Egyptian occupation. Yet, this earthquake, I would contend, is more of an archaeological marker of an already ongoing process of Egyptian withdrawal from the southern Levant due to the internal turmoil the rulers of the 20th Dynasty faced.

There are, of course, some events for which there is insufficient evidence to say what transpired. For both the destruction of Tel Sera' at some time in the early 12th century<sup>88</sup> and at Tell el Far'ah (South) in the first half 12th century BCE,<sup>89</sup> the archaeological and published information is too limited to conclude how these destruction events came to be, whether by violence or if the site was in the process of abandonment beforehand. However, what can generally be said for sites with either Egyptian-style architecture and ceramics, along with sites with an "Egyptian governor's residence," is that destruction of these sites in the southern Levant does not appear to be the causal factor which took the Egyptians and their rule out of the region. Many were abandoned, or the Egyptian presence at them ended, without a destruction event, while the site continued to be occupied by local Canaanites. For others, it is unlikely that a destruction event was the underlying cause for the withdrawal of Egyptians or Egyptian influence at the site.

## CONCLUSION

What, then, was the reason for the departure of Egypt and its rule from the southern Levant, with cessation of locally made Egyptian-style pottery and architectural techniques and the ability of Egypt to exert its control over the region, if destruction caused by local uprisings and the Sea Peoples were not the major factors? Weinstein is correct that there was no single cause, as major transitions do not boil down to one causal factor. However, what he has argued concerning the end of Egyptian hegemony is largely the opposite of what transpired. His argument is that the exit of Egyptian rule was quick, decisive, and largely due to destruction caused by the Sea Peoples. Thus, a quick set of destructive events set in motion the fall of the Egyptian empire in the southern Levant as he puts other socio-economic causes as secondary to destruction. The same can be said of Ellen Morris, who argues that a quick set of destructive events by enemies, locals, and perhaps Egypt itself brought about the decisive end of Egypt's control over the region. However, I would disagree with both Weinstein and Morris, suggesting that the narrative that they have portrayed is the opposite of what the archeological record dictates.

The exit of Egypt with its authority over the southern Levant was neither quick, decisive, nor associated with a chain of destructive events brought on by the Sea Peoples or locals. From the end of the 13th century, to the first half of the 12th century, to the mid-12th century BCE, there was a gradual decline in the number of Egyptian sites in the southern Levant, not a rapid decrease brought about by a string of destruction events.<sup>90</sup> There was no wholesale destruction of Egyptian sites at the hands of either the Sea Peoples or anyone else. Moreover, even for Egyptian sites where there was a destruction, this does not appear to have been a casual factor in the cessation of Egyptian influence at the site.<sup>91</sup> The physical exit of Egypt was protracted over the course of 75 years or more, with Egyptian presence at Jaffa ending perhaps around 1125 BCE according to <sup>14</sup>C results taken from the destruction. Some of the Egyptian sites were affected by destruction and others by abandonment. Thus, while Weinstein and Morris have argued for a quick set of destructions as the main causal factor for Egypt to lose its grip on the southern Levant, it appears that destruction was not strong a factor, if a factor at all. If destruction did play a role, it would be relegated to sites such as Aphek or Jaffa; yet,

given that Egypt showed its ability to rebuild at Tel Mor and Jaffa, another factor is likely to have been the prime mover. What all this points to is one of the factors Weinstein believes to have played a secondary role in the demise of the Egyptian hegemony over the southern Levant. This is the political and economic turmoil in Egypt during the 20th Dynasty.

The end of the 19th Dynasty was marked by a string of failed rulers. After the rule of Merenptah ended, Seti II, Amenmesses, Siptah, Tawosret (the wife of Seti II), and Sethnakht all came to power, some perhaps ruling simultaneously over the course of some 20 years.<sup>92</sup> It was only after this time of rapid changes on the throne did Ramesses III, the son of Sethnakht, come to power. While his reign may have begun well, his time on the throne, and that of his successors, was fraught with difficulties, scandals, corruption, and abuse.

Ramesses III faced repeated threats from the Libyans beginning in his 5th regnal year, when they mounted an attack on Egypt from the west in association with some of the tribes of the Sea Peoples, as Ramesses III depicts on his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. After six years, the Libyans again attacked Egypt's borders in Ramesses' 11th regnal year, which was followed by another attack in his 28th regnal year by the Libyans.<sup>93</sup> These repeated attacks by the Libyans would have taxed the Egyptian army, perhaps causing them to keep troops closer to home rather than in southern Levant, which was in direction exact oppositely that from which the armed threats against Egypt were coming.<sup>94</sup>

Aside from the border issues Ramesses faced, he also had to contend with a number of internal administrative and economic crises. The price of grain soared, hitting its peak in the mid-20th Dynasty.<sup>95</sup> The inflation in the price of grain caused difficulties in Ramesses' ability to provide grain for the workmen at Deir el-Medina, which helped bring about the first recorded organized strike in his 29th year.<sup>96</sup> He faced the shifting of power away from the state to the priesthood of Amun<sup>97</sup> and financial corruption,<sup>98</sup> along with a harem conspiracy led by a lesser queen, Tiy, in an attempt to put her son, Pentaweret, on the throne, perhaps resulting in the death of Ramesses III and calling into question *ma'at* itself.<sup>99</sup> All of this was followed by dynastic struggles for the throne and internal administrative and

economic crises that continued into the reigns of Ramesses IV and VI.<sup>100</sup>

Each of these events would have placed a greater burden on Egypt's ability to exert control over its own internal borders. These troubles and struggles at home would have made keeping up the empire in the southern Levant one more task for which there may not have been the manpower or resources to support. If the army was busy maintaining Egypt's western and southern borders, then there may not have been enough military support to keep the garrisons afloat in the southern Levant. If the financial situation reached the extent that the workmen of Deir el-Medina went on strike, perhaps manpower could not be mustered for building projects in the southern Levant. The troubled succession of kings and the attempt on Ramesses III's life each would have caused the leadership to look closer to home, which would have only been exacerbated by the corruption and shifting of power in the homeland.

No single event mentioned above would have been enough to cause Egypt to lose its control over the southern Levant and force it to physically leave the region while also taking away its ability to exact control over the populace. It was only after repeated and varied socio-economic problems and a kingship fraught with troubled successions over the course of decades did these events help to weaken Egypt's ability to exert control over the southern Levant. Though Weinstein states, "While internal difficulties may well have contributed to a lack of manpower to maintain the empire, they were not the immediate cause of its demise,"<sup>101</sup> it would seem that these internal struggles actually *were* the prime factor, while events in the southern Levant played a secondary role and destruction likely a tertiary role if any at all. As Meindert Dijkstra, too, has recently argued, "Neither Israel nor Philistines, Ammonites, Moabites or even the Shosu became too much for Egypt, but Egypt's power fell finally victim to an internal administrative and economic crisis."<sup>102</sup> These are the issues, I too would argue, that were the primary factors in the cessation of Egypt's control over the southern Levant, which was protracted over the course of nearly a hundred years, not a quick set of destructions.

For Ashkelon and Tel Mor, the Egyptian presence went out without a bang. Ashkelon was left undestroyed, while Tel Mor repeatedly suffered

from destruction, only to be rebuilt before finally being abandoned. While it may be true that for Aphek destruction was the likely cause of the Egyptians leaving the site, the question we must ask is why did they not rebuild as they did at Tel Mor or even at Jaffa? Here, too, the likely answer is that there simply was insufficient manpower available, and, for whatever reason, the need was not as great to rebuild Aphek as it was to rebuild Tel Mor and Jaffa. Perhaps this can be related to keeping a stronger hold on the coast and a port of access to Beth-Shean via Jaffa, though this is speculation.

Finally, there is Beth-Shean, which was destroyed at least in part before the Egyptian presence vanished from the site. While this destruction event, most likely caused by an earthquake rather than an attack, is the marker for the disappearance of Egyptian influence from the site, it is not likely to be the main causal factor. Rather, by the time it was destroyed, Beth-Shean was likely only accompanied by Jaffa when it was destroyed sometime around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>103</sup> It too might have already been experiencing the start of Egyptian withdrawal when an earthquake struck. The Egyptians were powerless to rebuild and regain their already weakened hold on the region, causing them to return home to Egypt. Nevertheless, much like Ashkelon, Tel Mor, and other Egyptian sites, even if a natural disaster had not destroyed the residential buildings at Beth-Shean, it is likely that Beth-Shean too would have been abandoned by the Egyptians, leaving only the local inhabitants to continue at the site, which is exactly what happened. Buildings can be reconstructed, but an already failing empire, as well as domestic deterioration in Egypt, made keeping strongholds in the southern Levant impossible.

The traditional narrative for the cessation of Egyptian hegemony places destruction and violence in the southern Levant as the primary cause; yet, it appears more likely that the administrative and economic turmoil protracted over decades in Egypt was what brought the end of their ability to control the region. There was no violent string of destructions as many in the past have argued, and the fall of Egypt's empire in the southern Levant cannot be placed at the feet of the Sea Peoples nor the local people. While the physical exit of Egypt and its waning ability to exert control over the region might have been a boon for the up and coming Philistines, Phoenicians, and local Canaanite groups,

it does not appear they had a strong causal effect on Egypt's ability to maintain control over the southern Levant. Therefore, while destruction might have at times been a symptom of the troubles Egypt faced in maintaining its hold on the southern Levant, the cancer that killed it was grown slowly at home.

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The assertion that Egypt maintained some control over the southern Levant up to the reign of Ramesses VI is based on a copper statue base of Ramesses VI found at Megiddo. Gordon Loud, *Megiddo II*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1948), 135–148.
- <sup>2</sup> Orly Goldwasser, "The Lachish Hieratic Bowl Once Again," *Tel Aviv* 9.2 (1982): 137-138; Orly Goldwasser, "Hieratic Inscriptions from Tel Sera' in Southern Canaan," *Tel Aviv* 11.1 (1984): 77–93; Orly Goldwasser and Stefan Wimmer, "Hieratic Fragments from Tell el-Far'ah (South)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1999): 39–42; Carolyn R Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Ellen Fowles Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
- <sup>3</sup> See Higginbotham 2000; Mario Martin and Tristan Barako "Egyptian and Egyptianized Pottery," in Tristan Barako (ed.), *Tel Mor: The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959–1960*, (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007); and Gregory D. Mumford "Egypt and the



- Levant," in Ann E. Killebrew and Margreet Steiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000–332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- <sup>4</sup> James Weinstein "The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant," in William A. Ward and Martha Sharp Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: the 12th Century B.C., From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1992), 147–148; Manfred Bietak "The Sea Peoples and the End of the Egyptian Administration in Canaan," in Avraham Biran and Joseph Aviram (eds.), *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 301; James M. Weinstein, "Egypt and the Levant in the Reign of Ramesses III," in Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (eds.), *Ramesses III the Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012), 111–112.
- <sup>5</sup> Morris 2005, 709.
- <sup>6</sup> Mario Martin *Egyptian-type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant* (Wien: Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie, 2011). These sites are Beth-Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Aphek, Jaffa, Tel Mor, Ashkelon, Deir el-Balah, Tel Sera', and Tell el-Far'ah (South).
- <sup>7</sup> Eliezer Oren, "'Governor's Residences' in Canaan under the New Kingdom: A Case Study in Egyptian Administration," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14 (1984). Yuval Gadot, "The Late Bronze Egyptian Estate at Aphek," *Tel Aviv* 37:1 (2010): 53. These include sites such as Tell el-Hesi, Tel Masos, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Gerisa, and Qubur el-Walaida.
- <sup>8</sup> See Thomas Schneider, "Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period," *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2010): 373–403.
- <sup>9</sup> 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* 56.1 (2014): 221–244.
- <sup>10</sup> Sturt W. Manning, Carol Griggs, Brita Lorentzen, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, David Chivalb, A. J. Timothy Jull, and Todd E. Langed, "Fluctuating Radiocarbon Offsets Observed in the Southern Levant and Implications for Archaeological Chronology Debates," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115.24 (2018): 6141–6146.
- <sup>11</sup> Manning et al. 2018, 6145.
- <sup>12</sup> David Schloen "British and Israeli Excavations," in Lawrence Stager David Schloen, and Daniel M. Master (eds.), *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 153–164.
- <sup>13</sup> Lawrence Stager, David Schloen, Daniel M. Master, Michael D. Press, and Adam Aja, "Stratigraphic Overview," in Lawrence Stager David Schloen and Daniel M. Master (eds.), *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 304, 306; Mario Martin, "Egyptians at Ashkelon? An Assemblage of Egyptian and Egyptian-style Pottery," *Ägypten und Levante* 18 (2008): 245–246.
- <sup>14</sup> Stager et al. 2008, 256. See discussion below on the sand foundation at Tel Mor.
- <sup>15</sup> Stager et al. 2008, 256.
- <sup>16</sup> Stager et al. 2008, 256–257, 306.
- <sup>17</sup> Stager et al. 2008, 256.
- <sup>18</sup> Given the recent discussion of the last phase of the LB IIB ending in early part of the 12th century BCE, the absolute dates for these events are not certain. See Toffolo et al. 2014.
- <sup>19</sup> Yuval Gadot, "The Late Bronze Age (Strata X14–X12)," in Yuval Gadot and Esther Yadin (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology Institute of Archaeology, 2009a), 55–63.
- <sup>20</sup> Gadot 2009a, 67–68; Naama Yahalom-Mack and Sarel Shalev "Metal Objects," in Yuval Gadot and Esther Yadin (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology Institute of Archaeology, 2009), 416–417. One of the arrowheads possibly came from Stratum X13.
- <sup>21</sup> Gadot 2009a (above, n. 20), 66; Yahalom-Mack and Shalev 2009, 417.
- <sup>22</sup> Yuval Gadot "Iron Age (Strata X11–X6)," in Yuval Gadot and Esther Yadin (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis* (Tel



- Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology Institute of Archaeology, 2009b), 88, 92–93; Yuval Gadot “Late Bronze and Iron Age Pottery,” in Yuval Gadot and Esther Yadin (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology Institute of Archaeology, 2009), 244.
- <sup>23</sup> This can be either the Late Bronze Age III or the Iron Ia, depending on which chronology one agrees with.
- <sup>24</sup> Moshe Dothan, “Mor, Tel,” in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 1073.
- <sup>25</sup> Tristian Barako, “Stratigraphy and Building Remains,” in Tristian Barako (ed.), *Tel Mor: The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959–1960* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority 2007a), 23. It is unclear if buildings C and D should be dated to Stratum VIII or VII.
- <sup>26</sup> Barako 2007a, 20–22; Tristian Barako, “Summary and Historical Conclusions,” in Tristian Barako (ed.), *Tel Mor: The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959–1960* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007b), 242.
- <sup>27</sup> Barako 2007a, 25.
- <sup>28</sup> Barako 2007a, 26.
- <sup>29</sup> Dothan 1993, 1073.
- <sup>30</sup> Barako 2007b, 242.
- <sup>31</sup> Martin and Barako 2007, 150.
- <sup>32</sup> Dothan 1993: 1073.
- <sup>33</sup> Barako 2007a, 28.
- <sup>34</sup> Barako 2007a, 26–30.
- <sup>35</sup> Barako 2007a, 30.
- <sup>36</sup> Martin and Barako 2007, 150.
- <sup>37</sup> Barako 2007a, 32.
- <sup>38</sup> Martin and Barako 2007, 150.
- <sup>39</sup> Barako 2007a, 32–33.
- <sup>40</sup> Barako 2007a, 20, 26.
- <sup>41</sup> Baruch Brandl “The Egyptian Origin of the Architecture at Deir el-Balah,” in Trude Dothan and Baruch Brandl (eds.), *Deir el-Balah: Excavations in 1977–1982 in the Cemetery and Settlement*, vol. 1: *Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010a), 254.
- <sup>42</sup> James Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt* (Dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 1973), 5–6; Brandl 2010a: 254–255.
- <sup>43</sup> To paraphrase the parable found in Matthew 7:24–27, it was the foolish man who built his house on sand rather than on rock, as a sand foundation would not allow a house to stand up to a storm.
- <sup>44</sup> Yigael Yadin and Shulamit Geva *Investigations at Beth Shean: The Early Iron Age* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1986), 42–51, 89; Amihai Mazar, “Beth-Shean,” in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 217–218; Amihai Mazar, “Beth-Shean from the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period,” in Amihai Mazar (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 1: *From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 1619–1622.
- <sup>45</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986: 89; Amihai Mazar, “Introduction and Overview,” in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009a), 17, 30 note 8.
- <sup>46</sup> Frances W. James and Patrick E. McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1993).
- <sup>47</sup> Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar, “Area S: Stratigraphy and Architecture,” in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 129–130, 162.
- <sup>48</sup> Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009: 131.
- <sup>49</sup> Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009: 162.
- <sup>50</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986: 42, 89.
- <sup>51</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986: 48–51.
- <sup>52</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986: 51.

- <sup>53</sup> There is also some possible evidence of destruction from Area N North, as Building NC Stratum N-3a showed some signs of burned floors, charred beams, and a fallen basalt boulder. However, the majority of this area had been previously excavated by the UME team, and little else is known about whether there was a destruction or not. Ann Killebrew and Amihai Mazar, "Area N North: Stratigraphy and Architecture," in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 58–59.
- <sup>54</sup> Robert Mullins, "The Late Bronze and Iron Age Temples at Beth-Shean," in Jens Kamlah (ed.), *Temple Building and Temple Cult Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.): Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 142–151; Amihai Mazar, "Tel Beth-Shean: History and Archaeology," in Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann (eds.), *One God – One Cult – One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 258–259.
- <sup>55</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986: 89.
- <sup>56</sup> Amihai Mazar, "Beth-Shean," in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land Volume*, vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2008), 1620–1621; Amihai Mazar, "Introduction and Overview," in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009b), 17.
- <sup>57</sup> Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009, 162. However, they do go on to state, "Although such features could be the result of seismic activity long after the destruction of the city."
- <sup>58</sup> Shmuel Marco, "Recognition of Earthquake-Related Damage in Archaeological Sites: Examples from the Dead Sea Fault Zone," *Tectonophysics* 453 (2008): 153.
- <sup>59</sup> Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009, 169–171; Nava Panitz-Cohen "The Local Canaanite Pottery," in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 196, 269.
- <sup>60</sup> Panitz-Cohen 2009, 275.
- <sup>61</sup> Amihai Mazar, "Introduction and Overview," in Nava Panitz-Cohen and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*, vol. 3: *The 13th–11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 10.
- <sup>62</sup> Amihai Mazar, personal communication, 13 October 2015.
- <sup>63</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, "The Sad Fate of Statues and the Mutilated Statues of Hazor," in Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright and J. P. Dessel (eds.), *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006): 3–16.
- <sup>64</sup> Mazar 2009a, 15.
- <sup>65</sup> Shmuel Marco, Amotz Agnon, Israel Finkelstein, and David Ussishkin, "Megiddo Earthquakes," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern (eds.), *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2000 Seasons*, Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 24 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications, 2006), 572.
- <sup>66</sup> Weinstein 1992, 147–148.
- <sup>67</sup> Weinstein 2012, 161–162, 173.
- <sup>68</sup> Ann Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 83.
- <sup>69</sup> Jesse Michael Millek, "Sea Peoples, Philistines, and the Destruction of Cities: A Critical Examination of Destruction Layers 'Caused' by the 'Sea Peoples,'" in Peter Fischer and Teresa Burge (eds.), *Sea Peoples Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean in 13th–11th Centuries BCE* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 113–140.
- <sup>70</sup> Assaf Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*

- (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 220–227; Assaf Yasur-Landau, “The Role of the Canaanite Population in the Aegean Migration to the Southern Levant,” in Joseph Maran and Philipp W. Stockhammer (eds.), *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 194.
- <sup>71</sup> An example is Tel Dor, which Ephraim Stern assumed destroyed by the Sea Peoples though no evidence of destruction has been found, a fact which he himself notes, stating, “The Bronze Age stratum of destruction at Tel Dor *has not yet been reached*” (Ephraim Stern, *The Material Culture of the Northern Sea Peoples in Israel* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013], 5); emphasis my own.
- <sup>72</sup> Tel Batash/Timnah is an excellent example, as Kelm and Mazar have stated, that the site suffered no destruction at the end of the LBA, yet is has been repeatedly cited as destroyed. George Kelm and Amihai Mazar, *Timnah: A Biblical City in the Sorek Valley* (Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 1995), 69; Dagan, “Results of the Survey: Settlement Patterns in the Lachish Region,” in David Ussishkin (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, vol. 5 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 2679; Yasur-Landau 2010: 216.
- <sup>73</sup> For a full discussion of these sites including references, see: Jesse Michael Millek, *Collapse and Transitions in Society as a Consequence of Economic Change? Interregional Exchange as a Resource during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Southern Levant* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tübingen): 200–256; Millek 2017.
- <sup>74</sup> Millek 2017, 132–134.
- <sup>75</sup> An assertion that has been thoroughly questioned based on the archaeological finds in Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Levant. Either there is little to no evidence of destruction, or what evidence of destruction does exist does not imply a destruction by the Sea Peoples. See for Hatti: Jürgen Seeher, “Die Ausgrabungen in Bogazköy-Hattusa 2000,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3 (2001): 623–634; Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and Their World*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 7 (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 80; Hermann Genz, “‘No Land Could Stand before Their Arms, from Hatti... on...’ New Light on the End of the Hittite Empire and the Early Iron Age in Central Anatolia,” in Ann E. Killebrew and Gunner Lehman (eds.), *The Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples” in Text and Archaeology*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15 (Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2013), 470–472. For Arzawa and Qodi: Reinhardt Jung, “Sie vernichteten sie, als ob sie niemals existiert hätten” – Was blieb von den Zerstörungen der Seevölker?, in Harald Meller and Sachsen-Anhalt (eds.), *Schlachtfeldarchäologie/Battlefield Archaeology. 1. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 09. Bis 11. Oktober 2008 in Halle (Saale)(Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle 2)* (Halle: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt – Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, 2009), 33, 35. For Cyprus: Maria Iacovou, “Aegean-style Material Culture in Late Cypriot III: Minimal Evidence, Maximal Interpretation,” in Ann E. Killebrew and Gunner Lehman (eds.), *The Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples” in Text and Archaeology*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 585–618; Artemis Georgiou, “Cyprus during the ‘Crisis Years’ Revisited,” in Andrea Babbi, Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart, Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, and Simone Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C.* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2015), 129–145. For Carchemish: J. David Hawkins, “Kuzi-Tešub and the ‘Great Kings’ of Karkamiš,” *Anatolian Studies* 38 (1988): 99–108; Mark Weeden, “After the Hittites: The Kingdoms of Karkamish and Palistin in Northern Syria,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 56.2 (2013): 6. For the Central Levant: Carol Bell, *The Evolution of Long Distance Trading Relationships across the LBA/Iron Age Transition in the Northern Levantine Coast: Crisis, Continuity, and Change. A Study Based on Imported Ceramics, Bronze and Its Constituent Metals*, *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 1574 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 110, 137; Carol Bell, “Continuity and Change: The Divergent Destinies of Late Bronze Age Ports in Syria and Lebanon across the LBA/Iron Age Transition,” in Christoph



- Bachhuber and Gareth Roberts (eds.), *Forces of Transformation: End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at St. John's College, University of Oxford, 25–26th March 2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 32; H el ene Sader, "The Northern Levant during the Iron Age I Period," in Ann E. Killebrew and Margreet Steiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 618. Sader mentions a destruction of Sidon at the end of the 13th century BC. However, continued excavations at the site have yielded no evidence of a destruction (Claude Serhal, personal communication, 11 April 2018). However, excavation at the site continues and this picture lacking a destruction could be changed by future finds at Sidon. For the southern Levant: Yasur-Landau 2010, 220–226, 340; Yasur-Landau 2012, 194; Millek 2017.
- <sup>76</sup> Morris 2005, 709.
- <sup>77</sup> Aaron A. Burke, Martin Peilst ocker, Amy Karoll, George A. Pierce, Krister Kowalski, Nadia Ben-Marzouk, Jacob C. Damm, Andrew J. Danielson, Heidi D. Fessler, Brett Kaufman, Krystal V.L. Pierce, Felix H oflmayer, Brian N. Damiata, and Michael Dee, "Excavations of the New Kingdom Egyptian Fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of Resistance to Egyptian Rule in Canaan," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 121.1 (2017): 85–133.
- <sup>78</sup> Burke *et al* 2017, 104.
- <sup>79</sup> Zeev Herzog, "Tel Gerisa – 1988," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 9 (1990): 51–52; Zeev Herzog, "Tel Gerisa." in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 480–484.
- <sup>80</sup> Burke, Peilst ocker, and Karoll 2017, 126.
- <sup>81</sup> Baruch Brandl, "The Stratigraphy of the Settlement," in Trude Dothan and Baruch Brandl (eds.), *Deir el-Balah: Excavations in 1977–1982 in the Cemetery and Settlement*, vol. 1: *Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010b), 84; Paul Goldberg, Ann Killebrew, and Arlene M. Rosen, "Deir el-Balah: A Geological, Archaeological, and Historical Reassessment of an Egyptianizing 13th and 12th Century B.C.E. Center," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 343, (2006): 97–119.
- <sup>82</sup> Brandl 2010b, 84
- <sup>83</sup> Millek 2016, 250.
- <sup>84</sup> The issue with this possible destruction is its date as Tell el-Hesi may have already been abandoned by the 13th century BCE. The excavations reports by Petrie and Bliss in the late 19th century leave much to be discussed. The renewed excavations at the site did not uncover any remains from the Late Bronze Age. J. M. Matthers "Excavations by the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell el-Hesi 1890–1892," in Bruce Dahlberg and Kevin G. O'Connell (eds.), *Tell el-Hesi: The Site and the Expedition* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 59–60; Millek 2016, 240.
- <sup>85</sup> Juan Manuel Tebes "A New Analysis of the Iron Age I 'Chiefdom' of Tel Masos (Beersheba Valley)," *Aula Orientalis* 21 (2003): 63–78.
- <sup>86</sup> Yotam Asscher, Gunnar Lehmann, Steven A Rosen, Steve Weiner, and Elisabetta Boaretto, "Absolute Dating of the Late Bronze to Iron Age Transition and the Appearance of Philistine Culture in Qubur el-Walaydah, Southern Levant," *Radiocarbon* 57.1 (2015): 79.
- <sup>87</sup> Millek 2016, 235–237, 245–248.
- <sup>88</sup> Oren 1984.
- <sup>89</sup> Bryant Wood "The Philistines Enter Canaan: Where They Egyptian Lackeys or Invading Conquerors?" *Biblical Archeology Review* 17.6 (1991): 44–52; Eli Yannai "A Stratigraphic and Chronological Reappraisal of the 'Governor's Residence' at Tell el-Far'ah (South)," in Eliazer Oren and Shmuel Ahituv (ed.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2002), 368–376. Yannai places the destruction between the regions of Ramesses III and VIII based on scarabs found in the nearby cemeteries 500 and 900 (Yannai 2002, 375).
- <sup>90</sup> Amihai Mazar "The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean," Shay 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*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East vol. 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 178.
- <sup>91</sup> Other than perhaps Aphek, as discussed above.
- <sup>92</sup> Lester L. Grabbe “Canaan under the Rule of the Egyptian New Kingdom: From the Hyksos to the Sea Peoples,” in Lester L. Grabbe (ed.), *The Land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 98–99; Aidan Dodson, *Poisoned Legacy: The Fall of the 19th Egyptian Dynasty* (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010).
- <sup>93</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen 2012, “Ramesses III and the Ramesside Period,” in Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (eds.), *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt’s Last Hero* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012), 7–11.
- <sup>94</sup> One may also include the supposed invasion of the Sea Peoples; however, the historicity of these accounts is highly suspect. See Donald B. Redford, *The Medinet Habu Records of the Foreign Wars of Ramesses III* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 72–95 for a recent commentary.
- <sup>95</sup> James Weinstein, “The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241 (1981): 22; Leonard Lesko, “Egypt in the 12th Century B.C.,” in: William A. Ward and Martha Joukowski (eds.), *The Crisis Years: the 12th Century B.C., From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Pub, 1992), 154; Weinstein 1992, 147.
- <sup>96</sup> Jacobus Van Dijk “The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352–1069 BC),” in Ian Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 298.
- <sup>97</sup> Jacobus Van Dijk 2003, 298.
- <sup>98</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen 2012, 22.
- <sup>99</sup> Susan Redford, *The Harem Conspiracy: The Murder of Ramesses III* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002).
- <sup>100</sup> Meindert Dijkstra, “Canaan in the Transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age from an Egyptian Perspective,” in Lester L. Grabbe (ed.), *The Land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 73.
- <sup>101</sup> Weinstein 1992, 147.
- <sup>102</sup> Dijkstra 2017, 73.
- <sup>103</sup> Mazar 2010, 259.