



## MID-TO-LATE 18TH DYNASTY EGYPTIAN FUNCTIONARIES SERVING IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: CAN WE TRACE THE INDIVIDUALS?

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### ABSTRACT

*Although the involvement of 18th Dynasty Egypt in the southern Levant is a well-researched topic, the focus is rarely laid on the people themselves, who were sent to the region on behalf of the Egyptian state organization. This paper examines those who represented the Egyptian military and administration in the southern Levant and who came into contact with the local population during the mid-to-late 18th Dynasty. To conduct this study, remains of Egyptian material culture that were excavated in the southern Levant were chosen by a selection process based on hypotheses derived from the theories of object itinerary and cultural appropriation. This corpus was analyzed by applying Gibson's affordance concept. Further, the available textual record was analyzed by a critical reading. All texts—in Egyptian and Akkadian—were written during the mid-to-late 18th Dynasty and refer to the activities of Egyptian functionaries in the region, as well as mention sites that can be identified in the studied region. It will be shown that only a good dozen Egyptian functionaries can be identified by name and that their tasks included participating in military campaigns, collecting tribute, trading, and interacting with southern Levantine rulers.*

**W**ho are you? What are you doing abroad? And where have you been? These are three questions one might have asked Egyptian soldiers and officials of the mid-15th to 14th century BCE who were sent to the southern Levant. The present paper takes these questions as a guideline to study the activities of such people and subsequently to re-access aspects of Egypt's engagement in the southern Levant. Hence, this bottom-up approach moves the spotlight from the entity "Egyptian administration and military," which has been frequently examined, onto individuals acting as functionaries of these institutions. This approach was chosen to get a fresh perspective on a popular subject.

Similar to Higginbotham's study<sup>1</sup> concerning the character of Egypt's "Empire" during the Ramesside period, texts and remains of material culture were

analyzed individually and preliminarily interpreted. This examination process aims to enhance the later interpretation, because it supports a discussion of conflicting results and treats both kinds of sources equally.<sup>2</sup> As an outcome, a prosopography of Egyptian functionaries in contact with southern Levantines has been compiled and weighed against a critical reading of the preserved archaeological record. These results preliminarily indicate a more limited investment of human resources by the Egyptian authority than previous research suggested.

### COMPILATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA SET

*Is it possible to identify objects imported and utilized by members of the Egyptian military and administration? And if so, how?* The answers to these two questions are crucial to gain reliable results from an analysis

of the Egyptian material culture excavated in the region. To be fair, it is not possible to identify with absolute certainty which objects were in the hands of Egyptian soldiers or officials. But it is possible to at least exclude objects that were unlikely associated with members of the Egyptian military and administration.

**THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

Hypotheses derived from the two theoretical concepts of *object itinerary* and *cultural appropriation* are the theoretical backbone of the evaluation process. The first concept facilitates tracing the interactions of humans with an object during the time span it was in use. It is a derivative of the more popular *object biography* concept independently introduced by Tretjakow<sup>3</sup> and Kopytoff.<sup>4</sup> The theoretical approach of *object itinerary*<sup>5</sup> provides a means to describe the spatial and chronological movements of objects by defining so-called waystations. To apply this descriptive method to Egyptian objects uncovered in the southern Levant, an ideal object itinerary valid for all items was created (Fig. 1).

The ideal object itinerary has two nodes at which different scenarios are possible: First, either functionaries of the Egyptian administration or of the military,<sup>6</sup> other Egyptians, or non-Egyptians could have transported items of Egyptian material culture into the southern Levant. The second node concerns the determination of who used the object in the Levant: its Egyptian<sup>7</sup> owner or locals? Some imported objects were destined to be used by the local population, which may also include non-Egyptian importers, and other objects were originally intended to have been returned to Egypt with their owners but remained for a variety of reasons in the southern Levant and could have subsequently been used by locals.

The handling of Egyptian items by Levantines can be described within the context of the *cultural*

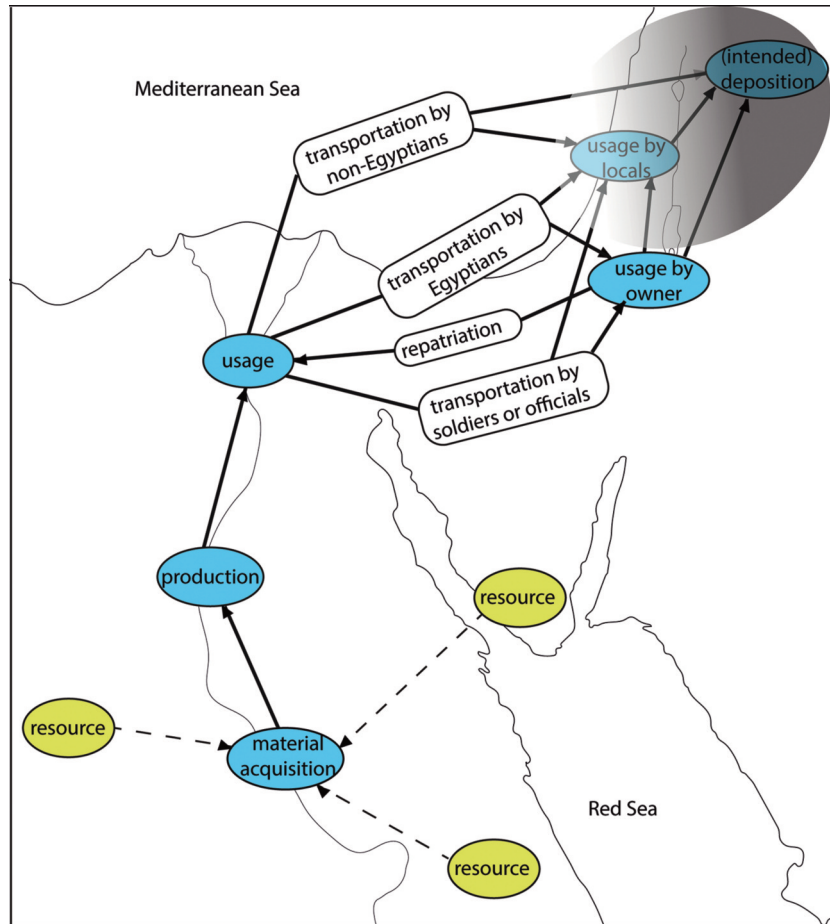


FIGURE 1: Ideal object itinerary of Egyptian objects imported into the Levant

*appropriation* theory that was initially devised for studies of consumption in the framework of anthropological studies.<sup>8</sup> The concept was adapted to fit the needs of archaeological research<sup>9</sup> and allows for describing how people integrate objects, initially alien to them, into their own material culture. That processes of cultural appropriation could affect the location of the final deposition of an Egyptian object in the southern Levant is a significant reason why it is not valid to determine the importer of an item purely based on the object's final deposition.

**DETERMINING FEASIBILITY**

To compose a suitable data set for this study, it was necessary to identify those items with an object itinerary in accordance with a transportation by

Egyptian soldiers and officials. As already mentioned, the identification process can be only done to a certain degree, but more importantly we can rule out items that were unlikely to have been imported by functionaries of Egyptian institutions.

All items selected for the study's data set meet the following three criteria: First, the find context in which an item was uncovered needs to be associated with a contemporary, notable settlement. I claim that the deposition of objects in burials not closely linked to a settlement is due to processes of cultural appropriation. Thus, such objects do not reliably indicate activities of Egyptians at the find location and should consequently not be used. To facilitate a proper discussion between archaeological and textual record, this criterion is used quite strictly. Even if a contemporaneous text mentions a site as an Egyptian contact partner or in general as being settled, the evaluation concerning this criterion is based exclusively on the archaeological record.

The second criterion concerns the length of the object itinerary, which is defined by the time passed between the production in Egypt and the date of its final depositions. The maximum length must be less than 150 years (~ 6 generations).<sup>10</sup> Although this number is, in part, arbitrary, this boundary was chosen due to the following considerations: Neither the date of the find context nor the production date typically provides a tighter time resolution than a quarter to a half of a century; rarely, a time resolution is provided shorter than a decade. Additionally, the margin of tolerance in the synchronization of the Egyptian historical and Levantine relative/archaeological chronologies should be considered.<sup>11</sup> Due to all these considerations, the length of the object itinerary needs to be of a certain duration in order to meet the given demands of the objects. On the other hand, the length must be as short as possible to minimize interferences such as the effects of cultural appropriation, which might affect the spatial distribution of items.

The composition of the site's assemblage is the third and last criterion. The local and contemporary assemblage must contain additional objects of Egyptian material culture. A singular object might have reached a site for numerous reasons, but the occurrence of several Egyptian items is a stronger indication of Egyptian activities.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA SET

The composed data set of archaeological material contains material imported from Egypt that meets the basic requirements. Additionally, Egyptian-styled pottery uncovered in the southern Levant is included per se in the data set.

Since it is invalid to draw a connection between an object's importer and its context of final deposition, we need to find another way to assess those items that were imported by Egyptian soldiers and officials. James Gibson's *affordance* concept<sup>12</sup> offers a possibility to determine who might have imported an item. At its core, the affordance concept offers a means to analyze the functions of objects. Gibson postulated that an object's user can decode every possible object function by interpreting its physical properties, although, admittedly, the proper interpretation is learned in a process that includes failing and succeeding. This slightly shifted perspective on the usage of objects encourages looking beyond the function, which we claim was intended during the production process. Therefore, it offers more flexibility to our understanding of how objects were used, because it grants spontaneity to the objects' users. People can use objects in other means than the intended or learned function in response to a change in their situation. An official, for instance, could give an object as a present—even if it was not originally intended as one and he would normally not consider it a gift—should he realize that it would be special to the person with whom he is interacting. Furthermore, it calls our attention to the fact that we tend to interpret object function according to our own cultural socialization.

In order to associate Egyptian objects with activities of members of the Egyptian administration and military, an item needs to afford at least one function that complies with the execution of responsibilities Egyptian soldiers and officials probably had in the southern Levant. Four groups of potential responsibilities can be defined.<sup>13</sup> The first were administrative tasks like collecting tributes or taxes, or the redistribution of resources.<sup>14</sup> The second was establishing and keeping diplomatic contact with local rulers.<sup>15</sup> Egyptian officials abroad could thirdly also command military forces or could take part in military expeditions.<sup>16</sup> And lastly, Egyptian functionaries could act as merchants.<sup>17</sup>

Beyond the general determination of a feasible presence of Egyptian functionaries at a certain site,

analyzing the remains of Egyptian material culture excavated in the southern Levant in regard to their affordance allows preliminary conclusions to be drawn on interdependencies between different kinds of activities conducted and the places of these actions.

**COMPILATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTUAL DATA SET**

The texts selected for this study meet the following criteria: 1) the texts convincingly include designations of locations that may be identified with archaeological sites in the southern Levant; 2) they contain information concerning soldiers and officials engaged with the southern Levant; and 3) they were written during the mid-to-late 18th Dynasty. Texts written in Egyptian, as well as in Akkadian, were consulted for the study.

To evaluate the information offered by these texts, it is necessary to acknowledge their intent and the addressed audience. This said, two kinds of texts can roughly be defined:<sup>18</sup> instruments of elite cultural self-reflection and instruments of standard communication. Texts that function as instruments of elite cultural self-reflection were compiled carefully in order to transmit a certain agenda. They can be understood as a vision of actions of an ideal Egyptian life in an ordered society (*decorum*). Monumental inscription on temple walls such as annals and biographies in tombs are examples of those types of texts.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, texts functioning as instruments of standard communication allow a glimpse into everyday life. But since they were not compiled to provide precise and exhaustive information for historio-graphical purposes, we can only gain a fragmentary picture from their content. Letters and administrative papyri, for instance, belong to this group of texts.

Even if they appear to at first glance, annals and biographies do not report about events in terms of our modern understanding of history. Nevertheless, we should not exclude them, because they were written in the same cultural setting and with the same available knowledge as texts of standard communication. Therefore, while we may doubt details concerning quantity or the precise course of

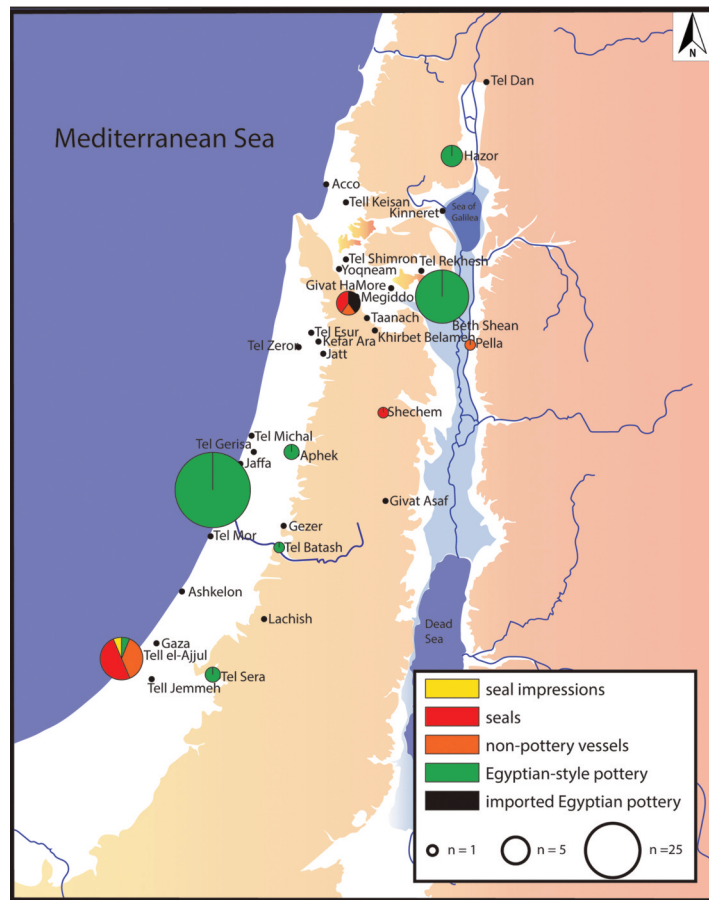


FIGURE 2: Map displaying all Egyptian(-style) objects that meet the necessary criteria in LB IB contexts. (All of the sites mentioned yielded either Egyptian material or are mentioned in contemporary Egyptian sources.)

events, we can usually rely on the general picture given.

**ACTIVITIES OF FUNCTIONARIES ACCORDING TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL**

In LB IB (Fig. 2), the clear majority of objects associated with Egyptian material culture is Egyptian-styled pottery. Only Tell el-Ajjul, Shechem, Pella,<sup>20</sup> and Megiddo yielded additional types of objects. The quantity of Egyptian-styled pottery that was excavated in Jaffa<sup>21</sup> and Beth Shean<sup>22</sup> indicates a sustained Egyptian presence at those sites.<sup>23</sup> But since at these two sites no Egyptian object was excavated that could have served to execute one of the assumed tasks of Egyptian functionaries, the

presence of members of the Egyptian military and administration may be doubted. In this context, it should be added that the erection of the famous Jaffa gate, which is generally interpreted as entrance to an Egyptian fortress, cannot be dated securely, but circumstantial evidence hints toward the transition from LB IB to IIA.<sup>24</sup> The archaeological remains do not provide enough evidence to assess the identity or purpose of the Egyptians being at both sites. However, three imported transport vessels from Egypt in Jaffa, whose arrival date cannot be narrowed down to less than 150 years, give a small hint that they were either involved in trade or supplied from Egypt.

A gypsum tube vessel shaped like a monkey excavated in Pella<sup>25</sup> should be interpreted as a trade item rather than a diplomatic gift since gypsum is a material frequently used in southern Levantine workshops. Although a scarab seal bearing the title and name of queen Tiye was uncovered in Shechem<sup>26</sup> and thereby may be a marker for activities of functionaries, the appearance of an Egyptian official or soldier is less likely at this site due to the overall small number of Egyptian objects and Shechem's more remote location in the Samarian highlands.

At Megiddo, only a limited number of Egyptian objects were excavated in LB IB contexts. But the co-occurrence of two seals,<sup>27</sup> a diorite-alabastron,<sup>28</sup> and two jars made from marl clay<sup>29</sup> hints more strongly toward Egyptian functionaries at the site. Adding to this, the strategic position of Megiddo at the junction of routes leading north and east favors occasional visits of Egyptian soldiers and officials.

The archaeological evidence in Tell el-Ajjul indicates that Egypt maintained a(n administrative) center there. This site yielded the largest and most diverse assemblage of Egyptian material culture: locally produced Egyptian-styled pottery,<sup>30</sup> six stone vessels,<sup>31</sup> eight seals<sup>32</sup> and one seal impression.<sup>33</sup> The Egyptian-styled pottery can be considered a marker for the presence of Egyptian households, and seals (scarabs and finger rings) as well as a seal impression on a bulla indicate that administrative activities were carried out at this site. None of the stone vessels affords, in particular, use as diplomatic gift. Therefore, we might conclude that such were

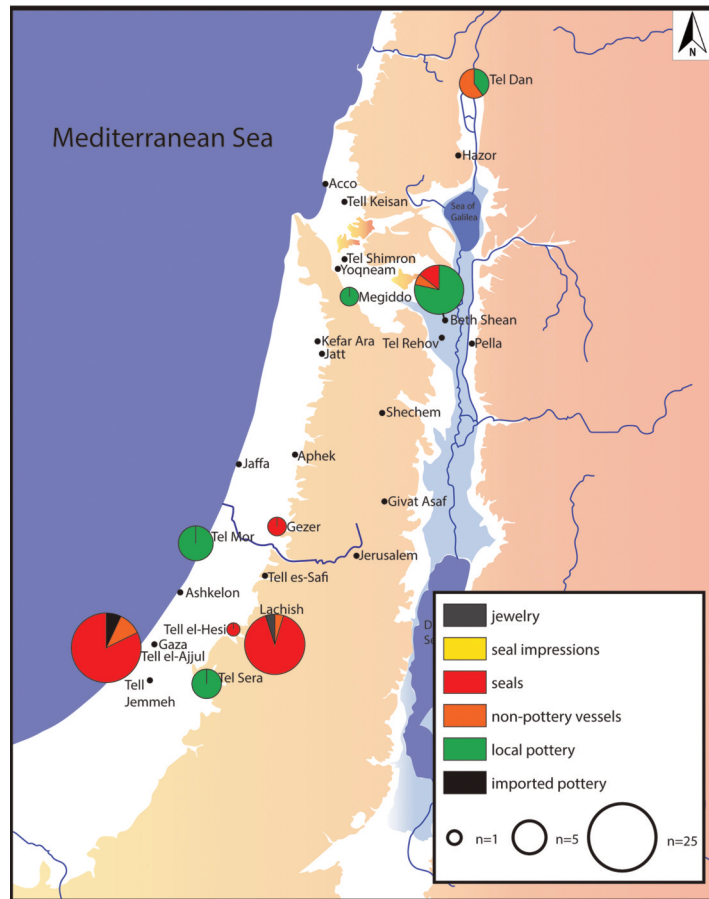


FIGURE 3: Map displaying all Egyptian(-styled) objects that meet the necessary criteria in LB IIA contexts. (All of the sites mentioned yielded either Egyptian material or are mentioned in contemporary Egyptian sources.)

transmitted to the locals—the vessels were deposited in burials—via economic or private channels.

In LB IIA (Fig. 3), an increase in quantity and a wider distribution of Egyptian material is observable. Small quantities of Egyptian-styled pottery were uncovered in Tel Sera,<sup>34</sup> Tel Mor,<sup>35</sup> and Megiddo.<sup>36</sup> It is not possible to trace an Egyptian presence at these sites from such a small number of items. A seal of queen Tiye was also uncovered in Tell el-Hesi,<sup>37</sup> and two royal seals<sup>38</sup> in Gezer.<sup>39</sup> All these conform with the potential tasks of Egyptian functionaries, and due to their central location, the presence of such at both sites is reasonable. However, further evidence is needed to conclude convincingly on the occasional visits of Egyptian

officials, possibly accompanied by soldiers.

Larger numbers of Egyptian items are present at Tell el-Ajjul, Lachish, Beth Shean, and Tel Dan. Besides two fragments of Egyptian-styled pottery,<sup>40</sup> one glass vessel,<sup>41</sup> and two calcite-alabaster vessels,<sup>42</sup> one in the shape of a duck, were excavated at Tel Dan. The latter objects afford the function either as trade/exchange objects or as diplomatic gifts. So, a short-term presence of an Egyptian official is tentatively indicated at Tel Dan—also due to Dan’s location at a route leading to central and northern Levant.

Lachish, located in the southern Shephelah, did not yield any locally produced Egyptian-styled pottery yet, but among additional scarab seals, 16 seals<sup>43</sup> (scarabs and other shapes) suitable for legitimization purposes were uncovered at this site. This evidence does not speak in favor of a long-term presence of members of the Egyptian administration. It does, however, indicate that they went to Lachish for diplomatic and administrative purposes. Although it does not fit into the requirement of a maximum object itinerary of 150 years, since the jar and the writing on it can only roughly be dated into the Egyptian New Kingdom, a jar fragment marked with hieratic signs<sup>44</sup> hints strongly at Egyptian officials dealing with products at Lachish.

The considerable quantity of locally produced Egyptian-styled pottery in Beth Shean and Tell el-Ajjul strongly indicates a continuation of Egyptian settlement at both sites. The occurrence of objects suitable for the use by officials allows the interpretation of these Egyptian “enclaves” as administrative centers. Although no Egyptian objects were yet uncovered in LB IIA layers, the architectural remains of an Egyptian fortress gate at Jaffa shows strong evidence in favor of an Egyptian center with a military component. A petrographic analysis of the origin of the Amarna tablet clay conducted by Goren et al.<sup>45</sup> supports the identification of Beth Shean as an Egyptian center: letters from the rulers of Acco, Pella and Jerusalem were written on clay originating from Beth Shean (Fig. 4).

**ACTIVITIES OF FUNCTIONARIES ACCORDING TO TEXTS**  
 Several royal monuments selectively record military



FIGURE 4: The Amarna Letters: place of origin of sender vs. place of writing (based on Goren et al. 2004).

campaigns into the Levant during the Thutmosid period. Only a few private documents,<sup>46</sup> composed as instruments of elite cultural self-reflection, report military activities in this region. Unfortunately, most of these documents do not mention detailed information about participants (besides the king) in campaigns, their positions in the Egyptian organization and hierarchy, or their assigned tasks. One important motif to record such activities is certainly an expression of a close vicinity to the Egyptian king—they all emphasize that they accompanied the king. Therefore, it is necessary to consider whether the reference to the participation in military campaigns lead by the king may have turned into a metaphor to describe the rank within the hierarchy of the royal court rather than to

document a real participation.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, while referring to the Levant, the texts use the topographical expressions *rtmw* and *d3hj*, which are quite flexible in their use, and could also apply to the central Levant with Sidon and Byblos. Apart from that, the identification of a large set of Egyptian site names remains elusive. However, the general tenor in all these documents is that an Egyptian expedition went to the Levant in order to collect tribute, extend borders, and pacify rebellious rulers and their city-states.

Only a few inscriptions inform us about locations that are identifiable as archaeological sites and at which military activities were claimed to have taken place: the annals of Thutmose III<sup>48</sup> with its complementary sources (Gebel Barkal<sup>49</sup> and Armant stela<sup>50</sup>) referring to his first campaign, the Dream Stela of Thutmose IV<sup>51</sup> and the biography of Amenemheb.<sup>52</sup> The only certain locations that we have in the context of capturing booty during the early LB IB are Megiddo in the annals of Thutmose III and the Negev mentioned in the biography of Amenemheb (TT 85). Amenemheb obtained captives in the northern Negev and the Annals of Thutmose III record the acquisition of booty, namely, prisoners, children, silver, gold, animals, weapons, chariots and furniture after the battle of Megiddo. Since the biography and the annals belong to the group of texts that are instruments of elite cultural self-reflection, the general kind of goods can be considered as realistic, whereas their quantity and grade of luxury should be doubted. The Dream stela informs us very vaguely about the late LB IB/early LB IIA. We learn that captives were apparently taken at Gezer, but without references to the individuals doing the taking.

Tribute collection from the Levant is recorded on a coffin of Qenamun (K 1043),<sup>53</sup> and in the tombs of Amenmose (TT42),<sup>54</sup> Rekhmire (TT 100),<sup>55</sup> and Tjaneni (TT 74),<sup>56</sup> but their origin is not specifically stated as being from the southern Levant. Qenamun reports that he went to Djahi in order to receive tribute, whereas Amenmose, Rekhmire, and Tjaneni apparently received it in Egypt. Although the administrative papyrus Hermitage 1116A does not explicitly refer to tribute, it is possible to set the listed envoys from Levantine city-states within a context of delivering tribute. The papyrus records envoys being provisioned with grain and beer from Hazor, Kinnereth, Tell Keisan, Megiddo, Taanach, and Ashkelon.<sup>57</sup> Those envoys could have brought

requested tributes in a joint caravan to Egypt,<sup>58</sup> where high-ranking officials such as Amenmose, Rekhmire and Tjaneni would have confirmed and organized their arrival and the receipt of the goods. Whereas none of the titles of Rekhmire indicate the conduct of duty abroad, Tjaneni claims to have served as an administrative member of the military in expeditions under Thutmose III to IV, and Amenmose used, on the one hand, the title *Overseer of the Northern Countries* and, on the other, a title indicating his activities in *rtmw*.

The motif of receiving tribute is employed in Theban elite tombs of the 18th Dynasty. Having this in mind while acknowledging that Rekhmire was located in Thebes and his functions and responsibilities were oriented towards the southern foreign countries, one might conclude that he did not oversee the receipt of tribute from the northern countries. If so, he did not exaggerate, he simply used the general motif while framing it within the known boundaries of the Egyptian world.

Two cuneiform form letters (#5 and #6) that were discovered at Tell Taanach<sup>59</sup> and therefore named after this site allow conclusions concerning Egyptian campaigns in the region as well as the collection of tribute. The Egyptian official Amankhatpa wrote twice to Talwišar, the ruler of Taanach: in letter #6, Amankhatpa complains that Talwišar did not come to Gaza to deliver gifts; in a follow-up letter (#5), Amankhatpa adjusts the demands and orders the ruler of Taanach to bring troops and gifts to Megiddo instead. One could conclude from these two letters on two aspects of the Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant: First, Megiddo appears to be a waystation at which Egyptian expeditions could stop and it is suggested that Gaza served as an Egyptian center where Levantine rulers were supposed to present themselves. Second, Egyptian officials came on certain occasions to the Levant where one of their tasks was to collect mandatory gifts to Egypt.

In the 14th century (LB IIA), the Amarna letters are the richest source for our research. Military campaigns were not recorded in Egyptian sources of that period. The only indigenous Egyptian source that contributes to the character of Egypt's activities in the Levant remains quite vague and refers only to the arrival of tribute from *rtmw* in a scene in the tomb of Huy (TT40),<sup>60</sup> together with other tributes from additional lands Egypt claimed to dominate. Huy's titles disclose that he might have spent some time

outside of the Egyptian Nile valley. However, the title *King's Envoy to Every Foreign Country* (*wꜣꜣꜣꜣ nsw ḥr ḥꜣs.wt nb.wt*) generically refers to activities abroad, but the title *Overseer of Southern Countries* (*jmj-rꜣ ḥꜣs.wt rsj.w*) conveys rather that he was sent to Nubia. From this, one could conclude that the collection of tributes from the so-called northern countries does not imply that the performing functionary had ever been in the Levant. Yet the wall paintings in his tomb report that he went to Nubia in order to collect the requested tribute. So, he either mentioned the reception of tribute from the northern foreign lands to serve the whole motif or, as Davis and Gardiner suggested, he was responsible for the northern lands before he got the appointment of the viceroy of Nubia.<sup>61</sup>

The Amarna letters record activities of 11 members (Table 1) of the Egyptian administration and military between the end of the reign of Amenhotep III until the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. Activities included trading, organizing the relationship with southern Levantine vassals, managing the interrelations between those vassals and the collection of goods for Egypt. Moreover, they were commanding troops. Yanḥamu and Addaya were the two earliest evident functionaries. Their activities in the southern Levant are traceable from the end of Amenhotep III to the beginning of Amenhotep IV.<sup>62</sup> We learn from them only about their responsibilities in the region, but not their titles, except on one occasion, were the ruler of Tell es-Safi (Gath)<sup>63</sup> refers to Yanḥamu as *rābiṣu* (EA 283),<sup>64</sup> which can be interpreted as “commissioner.” He was accountable for Gezer (EA 271), Lachish (EA 330) and Tell es-Safi (EA 366)—the three city-states in the Shephelah. Addaya’s titles were never mentioned, but since he was commanding garrison troops (LÚ.MEŠ *mašṣartu*), we may place him in the military branch. He was in contact with the ruler of Shechem (EA 254) and Jerusalem (EA 287-289). EA 289 might suggest that Abbaya was based in Gaza.

Ḥaya and Taymaya are attested slightly later than the two previously mentioned functionaries. Ḥaya was never designated with a title, but EA 289 ascribes to him the command of garrison troops in Jerusalem; further, he dealt with Pella (EA 255) and Gezer (EA 268). Judging by the location of responsibilities of Yanḥamu, Ḥaya, and Addaya, it is implied that the allocation of vassals was less strict and could overlap. Taymaya was an Egyptian commissioner active from the beginning to mid-

reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. He brought diplomatic gifts from the Egyptian king to the ruler of Jatt (Ginti-Kirmil)<sup>65</sup> (EA 265) and was responsible for the ruler of Tell Jemmeh (Yursa).<sup>66</sup>

One encounter of Ḥanni, the stablemaster of the king in Canaan, is documented in one of the rare letters sent by the Egyptian king (EA 367). The king announced Ḥanni’s imminent arrival in Tell Keisan (Achshaph)<sup>67</sup> and ordered Eandaruta to prepare everything for the arrival of troops (ERIN.MEŠ). The two commissioners Pauru (EA 287) and Šuta (EA 288), who were both named responsible for Jerusalem at the beginning of Amenhotep’s IV reign, are also mentioned only once. The allocated commissioner of Lachish (EA 328) and Gezer (EA 300) was Maya during the middle of Akhenaten’s reign. It appears that the envoy Ḥani visited Hazor a few times to deliver messages. Unfortunately, the only letter referring to him cannot be dated more precisely (EA 227). EA 369, a letter sent from the Egyptian king to Milkilu, the ruler of Gezer, is proof of the rarely documented trade activity of Egyptian functionaries. The Egyptian king informed Milkilu about the upcoming arrival of the Egyptian military official Ḥanya. Ḥanya brought several precious goods with a value of 160 *diban* to purchase 40 female servants. It is possible to interpret a confirmation of receipt sent from Jatt concerning golden vessels and linen garment that were brought by an Egyptian representative in the same manner (EA 265), but the scribe of the confirmation letter refers to this merchandise as gifts.

The Amarna letters from the vassals of the southern Levant show that keeping contact with the local rulers and dealing with their issues were the most frequent tasks of Egyptian commissioners and persons in a similar position. Only on rare occasions, is there proof that functionaries in the Levant personally dealt with tributes/gifts intended for the Egyptian king. The collection of these is only evident in Jerusalem by Šuta and in Gezer by Ḥaya. Furthermore, the same Ḥaya asked the ruler of Pella to send a caravan with goods. Since many of the rulers requested a visit by their respective commissioner, one can conclude that they were not always present in the Levant. That the vassals tried to contact their allocated commissioner via the king supports this picture: “Now Yanḥamu is wi<th> you, so speak with him.”<sup>68</sup> Based on this, one might even suggest that commissioners did not reside in the southern Levant. Whereas officials of lower rank



**TABLE 1:** Summary of Egyptian functionaries detectable as being present in the southern Levant.

FUNCTIONARY	RELEVANT TITLE(S)	FUNCTIONS/ TASKS	CLAIMED PRESENCE/ RESPONSIBILITY AT SITE	DATE	REFERENCE DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT LANGUAGE	RELIABILITY
Amenemheb		participating in military campaigns	Negev	Thutmose III	tomb (TT85)	Egyptian	feasible
Amanhapta	–	commanding troops, collecting mandatory gifts	Gaza?, Megiddo	Amenhotep II	letter TT 5 and 6	Akkadian	probable
Hanni	stablemaster of the king in Canaan (LÚ.PA.TÛR ša LUGAL ina KUR Kinahhi)	commanding troops	Tell Keisan	Amenhotep III/IV	EA 367	Akkadian	probable
YanHamu	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM, rābišu)	–	Gezer, Lachish, Tell es-Safi	Amenhotep III–IV	EA 271, 283, 33, 336	Akkadian	probable
Addaya	–	commanding garrison troops, picking up commodities	Jerusalem, Gaza?	Amenhotep III–IV	EA 254, 287, 288, 289	Akkadian	probable
Ḥaya	–	picking up commodities, commanding garrison troops, organizing tribute transport	Jerusalem, Pella	Amenhotep III–IV	EA 255, 268, 289	Akkadian	probable
Taymaya	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM)	delivering tribute	Jatt, Tell Jemmeh	Amenhotep III–IV	EA 265, 316	Akkadian	probable
Pauru	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM)	–	Jerusalem	Amenhotep IV	EA 287	Akkadian	probable
Šuta	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM)	–	Jerusalem	Amenhotep IV	EA 288	Akkadian	probable
Reanap	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM)	–	Ashkelon, Tell Jemmeh, Gezer	Amenhotep IV	EA 292, 315, 328	Akkadian	probable
Maya	commissioner (LÚ.MAŠKIM)	–	Lachish, Giza	Amenhotep IV	EA 328, 300	Akkadian	probable
Ḥani	envoy (DUMU šipri)	transmitting messages	Hazor	–	EA 227	Akkadian	probable
Ḥanya	overseer of the stables of troops (LÚ.PA.TÛR ERIN.MEŠ)	trading	Gezer	–	EA 369	Akkadian	probable

lived in the centers for a longer period, functionaries in the commissioner rank only periodically visited the region. The two latter kings Ramesses I and Seti I were appointed prior to their kingship to the position of *Overseer of the Northern Countries*, a position that is usually equated with the commissioner in the Amarna letters. Both served also as fortress commander in Tjaru.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it may be interpreted that the commissioner responsible for the southern Levant were hosted in this Egyptian border fortress.

### EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS IN LB IB SOUTHERN LEVANT

After weighing the relevant remains of the Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant with texts referring to this period, two sites may be identified at which activities of Egyptian functionaries could be detected (Fig. 5). The archaeological remains suggest the maintenance of an Egyptian center in Tell el-Ajjul. The location of the site, on the outskirts of the Negev and the Sinai, as well as the close vicinity to the coastal line made Tell el-Ajjul an ideal place for an Egyptian (administrative) center. Already in earlier times, the terminus of the Way of Horus was here. It was a strategically important location for the Egyptians, as it was also reachable by sea, and thus offered a faster and more secure link to the southern Levant. The annals of Thutmose III mention the deployment of a garrison in Sharuhēn (*Urk. IV, 648: 5*) at the start of his series of campaigns that may be most probably identified with the modern site of Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>70</sup> So, this evidence supports the assumption that an Egyptian administrative center was maintained at Tell el-Ajjul. Yet, Taanach letter #6 indicates that Gaza was an Egyptian center in this area. Furthermore, a site called *dmj n shd n p3 hk3 g3dtw* is usually equated with Gaza. This location served as a waystation on the first campaign of Thutmose III (*Urk. IV, 648: 10–11*), but the name of this place is the only reference which leads to the conclusion that Egypt controlled the site—the annals are the only reference to the site during the 18th Dynasty. However, one could tentatively suggest that the location to which the Taanach letter refers as Gaza was Tell el-Ajjul during that time, because



FIGURE 5: Map displaying feasible locations where Egyptian functionaries were active during LB IB (green-marked routes based on *Herders neuer Bibelatlas* 2013).

firstly, no remains of Egyptian material culture of that period have been uncovered in Gaza thus far.<sup>71</sup> Secondly, it is unlikely that Egypt used its resources to operate two concurrent centers in such close vicinity to each other (only about 6 km apart) during 18th Dynasty; and thirdly, one could very tentatively raise the hypothesis that the Akkadian word for Gaza (*Ḥazati<sup>K1</sup>*) might apply to Tell el-Ajjul, too.

Despite the relatively limited evidence, the archaeological and written records indicate that Egyptian soldiers and officials were active in Megiddo. This site was the place where the Egyptians captured booty after the battle of Megiddo<sup>72</sup> and collected requested commodities. Additionally, the site could have served as a secured waystation on the way to the central and northern

Levant via land. Megiddo's position at the junction of routes towards the north and east makes it a well-chosen waystation for passing groups of the military or administration. While Egyptian functionaries were at this site, rulers of Megiddo and neighboring sites could bring requested material to Megiddo either to supply moving troops or as commodities for transport to either Egypt or the Egyptian center in Tell el-Ajjul. No evidence is available suggesting that Megiddo hosted Egyptian functionaries for a longer term at any time in LB IB.

#### EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS IN LB IIA SOUTHERN LEVANT

During LB IIA, we have proof of a brisker relationship between Egyptian functionaries and locals in the southern Levant. Additionally, more Egyptian centers were maintained in the region (Fig. 6).

The remains of Egyptian material culture in Tell el-Ajjul argue for a continuous sustained center established during LB IB. In contrast, written sources do not even mention the site. Relevant texts that are, coincidentally, all written in Akkadian name Gaza as the major Egyptian center at the northeastern end of the Way of Horus. To suggest an explanation for the discrepancy between the archaeological and textual record, I would like to refer to the argumentation above concerning Tell el-Ajjul in LB IB, with one additional remark. The results of Goren et al.'s study<sup>73</sup> of the clay used to create the Amarna letter tablets does not offer further insights. Letters from the northern Levant, Lachish, and Gezer were written on clay that is prevalent in Gaza but also in Tell el-Ajjul—actually in the entire coastal region between Raphia and Ashkelon (Fig. 4). So, Goren et al.'s interpretation that those letters were probably sent from the Egyptian center in Gaza stems from the reading of the letters.

There is a great variety of evidence favoring the maintenance of an Egyptian administrative center in Beth Shean, including the remains of Egyptian material culture uncovered in Beth Shean and the clay of several Amarna letters from different local rulers originating in the vicinity of Beth Shean. Moreover, no letter from a local ruler is in our record, thus we can conclude that either the local



FIGURE 6: Map displaying feasible locations where Egyptian functionaries were active during LB IIA (green-marked routes based on *Herders neuer Bibelatlas* 2013).

ruler of Beth Shean was replaced by an Egyptian official, or, since such was present the whole time, no communication between locals in Beth Shean and the Egyptian king was needed.

The Egyptian fortress gate at Jaffa is strong evidence for the maintenance of an Egyptian (military) center at the site. Supplementary to the archaeological evidence, letters EA 294 and 296 demonstrate that Jaffa was at least partially under Egyptian control, and EA 296 even mentions the gate itself. Interestingly, beside maybe one letter, no Amarna letter was made from clay prevalent in the Sharon plain. EA 294 refers to a possible central storage that was at least partly guarded by troops provided by local rulers. Jaffa might have played a similar role as the fortresses in Nubia during the

Middle Kingdom. That some also had storage facilities and roles as economic centers has been suggested.<sup>74</sup> Thus, one might discuss that the three centers served different purposes: While Beth Shean and Tell el-Ajjul organized the local elites/people, Jaffa organized the resources.

Lachish yielded Egyptian material that indicates occasional visits by officials. Since the two Amarna letters EA 329 and 331 refer to Lachish as a source of commodities, we might conclude that officials occasionally showed up to collect caravans with tribute and to secure Lachish's loyalty with gifts and their physical presence.

Letters EA 268 and 369 refer to officials that went to Gezer and picked up servants and prisoners. In one case, it is clearly a trade activity. Unfortunately, none of the exchange objects listed (EA 369) can be uniquely associated with an Egyptian origin or would even survive in the archaeological record. The second letter informs us only that a transaction occurred and omit any description. Further, EA 292 records the complaint of Gezer's ruler that the functionary Maya relocated troops (ERIN.MEŠ) from Gezer, although they were needed. So, all these letters signal a short-term presence of Egyptian soldiers and officials in Gezer. The two royal seals from the site may contribute to this interpretation.

Several letters place garrison troops at Jerusalem until the beginning of the mid-reign of Akhenaten. If we take the complaints of the ruler of Jerusalem as a marker, Egyptian troops and functionaries withdrew from Jerusalem during the mid-reign of Akhenaten. Assuming that, Addaya and Šuta were in contact with Jerusalem's ruler most likely earlier than the start of the Egyptian withdrawal. Addaya, the commander of the garrison troops, took slaves under his charge, and Šuta, the responsible commissioner, was presented with a gift for the king. The archaeological record of Jerusalem does not support Jerusalem's role as a host of garrison troops, but due to the long and continuous occupation of the site, archaeological research concerning pre-Iron Age periods is severely hampered.<sup>75</sup>

Except for two Egyptian-styled pottery vessels in Megiddo, this site and Tell Keisan did not yield any Egyptian material that meets the necessary requirements. Yet, the presence of troops (ERIN.MEŠ) is indicated. Both sites are situated conveniently at routes leading north-/coastward. Therefore, they can be regarded as suitable stops for

troops heading north. Such a short stay does not need to result in a detectable archaeological output. Tel Dan is located in a similar setting as these two sites. But contrarily, no written source refers to Tel Dan as a place Egyptian functionaries went to, but a few objects favor the possibility of occasional visits by Egyptian officials. Those may arrive either from Beth Shean or from the north, e.g., Byblos.

#### *ERIN.MEŠ vs. LÚ.MEŠ maššartu*

The Amarna letters refer to Egyptian troops as either ERIN.MEŠ or as LÚ.MEŠ *maššartu*. Rainey et al.<sup>76</sup> consequently translated ERIN.MEŠ as "regular troops" and LÚ.MEŠ *maššartu* as "garrison troops." The scribes of the letters only used LÚ.MEŠ *maššartu* while speaking about troops in Jerusalem, Beth Shean and Gaza. Leaving the Gaza/Tell el-Ajjul dilemma aside, the application of this expression and its translation match with the previously discussed function of Beth Shean and Gaza/Tell el-Ajjul as Egyptian centers. By contrast, Jerusalem was not qualified as such, for which reason the stationing of garrison troops appear less obvious. Therefore, we may either doubt that the Akkadian expression LÚ.MEŠ *maššartu* should be translated consequently as "garrison troops" in the context of the southern Levant, or we could draw a connection between the stationing of garrison troops with the fact that the ruler of Jerusalem emphasized frequently in his letters that he was installed by the Egyptian king and that he did not inherit the kingship in Jerusalem. In general, the distribution of garrison troops in Beth Shean, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Tell el-Ajjul/Gaza would be a reasonable strategic consideration, because this would enable rapid access along all major routes.

ERIN.MEŠ are attested in Tell Keisan, Megiddo, and Gezer. None of these sites yielded remains of Egyptian material culture contemporary to LB IIA from which one could conclude that Egyptians were there for a considerable amount of time. It appears that this kind of troop was put together to move throughout the region and that the city-states were supposed to host and supply them for a short time. ERIN.MEŠ might therefore refer to the troops and personnel participating in the frequent campaigns of the early LB IB/Thutmoseid period.

#### CONCLUSION

The preserved textual and archaeological sources both have their own strengths and weaknesses. Texts

have a tight time resolution and identify individuals, but they tend to be biased. In contrast, the archaeological record has a broader time resolution—it is rarely possible to narrow it down to less than a generation—yet archaeological remains can signal if a specific group settled down at a given site. Only a discussed combination of both kinds of sources as equals enables us to generate more reliable results.

Returning to the question raised at the beginning—*Who are you? What are you doing abroad? And, where have you been?*—from the preserved textual record, we could only identify two functionaries of the Thutmosid period/LB IB and 12 of the Amarna period/LB IIA who were reliably at sites in the southern Levant and interacted with the local population (Table 1). From these and from the royal record, we learn that they conducted military campaigns, kept general contact with the local elites and, in particular, collected tribute from them during LB IB. Further, Egypt maintained at the terminus of the Way of the Horus a center, at which Amanhapta is the only detectable individual who might have been stationed there, and probably an occasional waystation in Megiddo. The suggested Egyptian groups in Jaffa and Beth Shean cannot be characterized momentarily. Interestingly, they are located at key positions and later centers. In general, the Egyptian organization invested only a limited amount of human resources that can be detected in the coastal plain and Jezreel valley.

In LB IIA, the number of Egyptian functionaries increased and their activities slightly shift. Centers were maintained in Beth Shean, Jaffa, and Tell el-Ajjul, although we have only for the latter a functionary by name who had potentially served there (Addaya: EA 289). One might conclude three scenarios from this: First, high-ranking officials were not based in one of the centers,<sup>77</sup> or second, they preferred to withhold this fact from their tomb biographies/private documents for various reasons; for instance, a stationing in the northern foreign lands was less prestigious and only a step to more desirable positions<sup>78</sup> and was thus neglected in favor of other episodes of the tomb owner's life. Third, relevant documents did not survive in the record.

Although there is evidence of Egyptian troops commanded by functionaries in the region, we should not associate these with the campaigns of the previous period. A continuity in the organization of tribute collection is visible, but in addition to this

kind of acquisition, commodities were also traded by functionaries. Judging by the names of some of the Egyptian functionaries, Levantines could be fully incorporated in the Egyptian organization with the same responsibilities as Egyptians.

The present study, which attempts to detect members of Egyptian military and administration, intends to be a starting point for a re-assessment of the Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant. Concluding from the presented evidence, Egypt invested only a rather limited number of human resources during the mid-to-late 18th Dynasty in order to secure its interest. Although further research is needed to contribute to the discussion of the character of Egypt's so-called imperialism in the region, a few observations can be made: First, the Egyptian strategies changed from the Thutmosid to the Amarna period. And second, the situation is complex and therefore the southern Levant should not be treated as a single entity. The evidence suggests considering Egypt's strategies along geographical unities such as the coastal plain, Shephelah, and the highlands.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Carolyn R. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
- <sup>2</sup> Although I acknowledge that the preserved record is incomplete, especially since the Egyptians used papyrus as administrative document, this study is exclusively based on what is preserved and does not consider documents that might have existed and that might contain further relevant information. Therefore, the suggested hypothetical model is valid until new data is available.
- <sup>3</sup> Sergei Tretjakow, "Biographie des Dings," in Forschungsprojekt "Das populäre deutschsprachige Sachbuch im 20. Jahrhundert" (ed.), *Sergej Tretjakow—Biographie des Dings* (Berlin, Hildesheim, 2007), 4–8.
- <sup>4</sup> Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *Commodities in Cultural Perspective, The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.
- <sup>5</sup> Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, "Introduc-

- tion: Biographies, Travels and Itineraries of Things,” in Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss (eds.), *Shifting Contexts of Material Culture Through Time and Space, Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 1–14; Hans Peter Hahn, “Dinge sind Fragmente und Assemblagen: Kritische Anmerkungen zur Methapher der ‘Objektbiographie,’” in Dietrich Boschung (ed.), *Aspekte eines Kulturhistorischen Konzepts, Biography of Objects* (Paderborn: Fink, 2015), 11–33.
- <sup>6</sup> The ethnic origin of soldiers and officials does not matter within this context. In this paper, they are considered as functionaries of the Egyptian administration and military if they acted on behalf of one of these institutions.
- <sup>7</sup> In this context the use of “Egyptian” is more flexible and refers to people’s actions on behalf of Egyptian authorities rather than their ethnic origin. Therefore, this term also includes soldiers and officials with a former foreign identity.
- <sup>8</sup> Roger Silverstone and Eric Hirsch, *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992).
- <sup>9</sup> Stefan Schreiber, “Archäologie der Aneignung,” *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 2 (2013), 48–123; Philipp Stockhammer, “Identität durch Aneignung: Zur Funktion Fremder Keramik im Spätbronzezeitlichen Ostmittelmeerraum,” in Immo Heske and Barbara Horejs (eds.), *Beiträge aus den Sitzungen der AG Bronzezeit auf der 80. Tagung des WSWA in Nürnberg 2010 und dem 7. Deutschen Archäologenkongress in Bremen 2011, Bronzezeitliche Identitäten und Objekte* (Bonn: Habelt, 2012), 107–114.
- <sup>10</sup> The traditional synchronization between Egypt and the southern Levant was used to calculate the number of years.
- <sup>11</sup> For this study, the traditional synchronization between Egypt and the southern Levant is applied: LB IB: Thutmosis III (beginning of sole reign)–Thutmosis IV; LB IIA: Amenhotep IV–Horemheb.
- <sup>12</sup> James Jerome Gibson, *Wahrnehmung und Umwelt: Der Ökologische Ansatz in der Visuellen Wahrnehmung* (München, Wien usw.: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1982).
- <sup>13</sup> This set of potential tasks derives from the texts referring to the activities of of Egyptian functionaries. Considering the information from texts is justified here because I generate a more general assemblage of tasks. The texts are not limited in terms of the time frame and geographical area discussed here.
- <sup>14</sup> Among those used in this paper: e.g. Statue of Djehuti dedicated to Hathor of Byblos; TT42, coffin of Qenamun (K 1043), EA 83, 85, 86, *Urk. IV. 1441–1442* (Minmose).
- <sup>15</sup> Among those used in this paper: e.g., EA 86, 98, 116.
- <sup>16</sup> Among those used in this paper: e.g., Stela of Qenamun (TT 93), EA 289, 296, 366.
- <sup>17</sup> Among those used in this paper: e.g., oChicago 17072, oTurin 75381, oWente.
- <sup>18</sup> Personal communication with Gerald Moers.
- <sup>19</sup> Already Galán discussed the use of such Thutmosid period texts as historical/historiographical sources in order to shed light on Egypt’s imperial undertakings during that time. (José M. Galán, “Notes on Egyptian Imperialism ca. 1480–1430 BC [Hatshepsut–Amenhotep II],” in Gianluca Miniaci and Mario Russo [eds.], *Atti del convegno del Dottorato di Orientalistica, Università di Pisa, 26–27 giugno 2007, La guerra e i suoi riflessi nelle società antiche* [Pisa: Ed. ETS, 2008], 13–24.)
- <sup>20</sup> Shechem and Pella yielded each only one object that qualifies to be considered for the study’s data set. Although it appears that they do not meet the third criterion (several objects in the local assemblage), further Egyptian objects were uncovered at this site. Although all of these could have been produced during the first half of the 18th Dynasty, their object itinerary is too long because they might have been produced earlier.
- <sup>21</sup> Aaron A. Burke and Alice Mandell, “Egyptian ‘Flowerpots’ from Kaplan’s Area A Excavations: Cultural and Historical Implications,” in Aaron A. Burke and Martin Peilstöcker (eds.), *The History and Archaeology of Jaffa* (Los Angeles, Ca: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press University of California, 2011), 261–270; Aaron A. Burke, Martin Peilstöcker, 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 Höflmayer, Brian N. Damiata, and Michael Dee, "Excavations of the New Kingdom Fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of Resistance to Egyptian Rule in Canaan," *American Journal of Archaeology* 121 (2017), 85.
- <sup>22</sup> Mario A. S. Martin, *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 135–136.
- <sup>23</sup> Egyptian-styled pottery shares quite a few shapes with the Canaanite local ware whereby it would be surprising if the locals imitated Egyptian pottery. Further, the Egyptian ware is not appealing enough to suggest a local imitation. So, it is feasible that locally produced Egyptian-styled pottery was produced by Egyptians residing in the southern Levant.
- <sup>24</sup> Burke, Peilstöcker, Karoll, Pierce, Kowalski, Ben-Marzouk, Damm, Danielson, Fessler, Kaufman, Pierce, Höflmayer, Damiata, and Dee 2017, 107.
- <sup>25</sup> Rachael Thyrza Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant* (Leeds: Taylor and Francis, 2007), 310 Nr. 374; A. W. McNicoll, P. C. Edwards, J. Hanbury-Tenison, J. B. Hennessy, T. F. Potts, R. H. Smith, A. Walmsley, and P. Watson, eds., *Pella in Jordan 2: The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1982–1985* (Sydney, 1992), 58.
- <sup>26</sup> Keel, Stempelsiegelkartei Sichem Nr. 46 kept in Fribourg, Switzerland; Siegfried H. Horn, "Scarabs from Shechem," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21 (1962), 1–14, 13.
- <sup>27</sup> Nir Lalkin, "Chapter 20: The Scarabs," in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern (eds.), *The 1998–2002 Seasons, Megiddo IV* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2010), 430–436, 431.
- <sup>28</sup> Sparks 2007, 299 N. 240.
- <sup>29</sup> Martin 2011, 158.
- <sup>30</sup> The stratigraphical problems at Tell el-Ajjul are well known, and although several attempts were done to reassess and redefine the stratigraphy of the site, many objects cannot be dated properly. Further, we have information about a large amount of Egyptian-styled pottery, but the quantity and the exact find location remains often dubious. Nonetheless, the uncovering of this kind of pottery, even in a much smaller amount, during Fischer's excavation demonstrates that Egyptian-styled pottery was present in LB IB; see Peter M. Fischer and Moain Sadeq, "Tell el-Ajjul 2000: Second Season Preliminary Report," *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002), 109–154; Peter M. Fischer, "The Preliminary Chronology of Tell el-Ajjul: Results of the Renewed Excavations in 1999 and 2000," in Manfred Bietak (ed.): *Proceedings of the SCIAM 2000—EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May – 7th of May 2001*; [these are the proceedings of the Second International Umbrella Conference of the SCIAM 2000 Research Programme launched by the Austrian Academy (OEAW) at the Austrian Research Foundation (FWF)], *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II*, 263–294 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003).
- <sup>31</sup> Sparks, 2007, 319, 321–324.
- <sup>32</sup> Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1997), 174, 190, 244, 246, 248, 268, 270, 336.
- <sup>33</sup> Keel 1997 210.
- <sup>34</sup> Mario Martin (2011) stated that he had full access to the Egyptian and Egyptian-styled pottery from Tel Sera. Therefore, we cannot expect further information in this term if Oren's Tel Sera excavation is published).
- <sup>35</sup> Martin 2011, pl. 36.
- <sup>36</sup> Martin 2011, 157–158.
- <sup>37</sup> Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit* (Fribourg, Göttingen: Acad. Press; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 652 Nr. 5.
- <sup>38</sup> Keel 2013, 186 Nr. 46; 448 Nr. 654.
- <sup>39</sup> It is necessary to note that recently presented radiocarbon dates suggest that there was no significant occupation on the tell during LB IIA. A careful reassessment of the site's stratigraphy and the dates of the uncovered material culture should bring clarity to this new challenging

- result. (Lyndelle Webster et al., “New Radiocarbon-Based Chronology for City-States of the Late Bronze Age Shephelah,” ASOR Meeting 2018, Denver)
- <sup>40</sup> Maria A.S. Martin and Rachel Ben-Dov, “Egyptian and Egyptian-style Pottery at Tel Dan,” *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2007), 191–204, 196, 323.
- <sup>41</sup> Dan Barag, “9. Glass and Glazed Ware,” in Avraham Biran (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Excavations and the Late Bronze Age “Mycenaean” Tombs, Dan II* (Jerusalem, 2002), 178–183, 178–180.
- <sup>42</sup> Christa Clamer, “The Stone Vessels,” in Avraham Biran (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Excavations and the Late Bronze Age “Mycenaean” Tombs, Dan II* (Jerusalem, 2002), 194–199.
- <sup>43</sup> Othmar Keel, “Section C: Scarabs, Stamp Seal Amulets and Impressions,” in David Ussishkin and Gabriella Bachi (eds.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publ. in Archaeology, 2004), 1537–1572. Keel, Stempelsiegelkartei kept in Fribourg/Switzerland, Lachisch Nr. 2, 7, 362–363, 403, 451, 517–524, 533–534, 553, 559, 622; Olga Tufnell, Charles H. Inge and Gerald Lankester Harding, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir) 2: The Fosse Temple* (London: Oxford Univ. Pr, 1940), 69–71; Olga Tufnell, *Lachish IV (Tell ed-Duweir): The Bronze Age* (London, New York, Toronto, 1958), 52 Nr. 88.
- <sup>44</sup> Orly Goldwasser, “An Egyptian Scribe from Lachish and the Hieratic Tradition of the Hebrew Kingdoms,” *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991), 248–253, 250.
- <sup>45</sup> Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na’aman, *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern texts* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publ. in Archaeology, 2004).
- <sup>46</sup> The tomb biographies of Amenemhet (TT85) and Tjaneni (TT74), several objects of Qenamun.
- <sup>47</sup> Eileen Hirsch, “Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neues Reich zu den vorderasiatischen Vasallen: Die Vorsteher der nördlichen Fremdländer und ihre Stellung bei Hofe,” in Rolf Gundlach and Abdrea Klug (eds.), *Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik, Der Ägyptische Hof des Neues Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 119–200, 132.
- <sup>48</sup> *Urk. IV.* 647–667.
- <sup>49</sup> *Urk. IV.* 1227–1243.
- <sup>50</sup> *Urk. IV.* 1243–1247.
- <sup>51</sup> John A. Wilson, “Egyptian Historical Texts,” in James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament with Supplement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), 227–264, 248.
- <sup>52</sup> Wilson 1955, 241; Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 167.
- <sup>53</sup> Hirsch 2006, 170.
- <sup>54</sup> Hirsch 2006, 127–130.
- <sup>55</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē’ at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943). For more recent and colored pictures, compare the recently published Güell i Rous, Josep M., *The Tomb of Vizier Rekhmire (TT100): A Textual and Iconographic Study* (Barcelona: La vocal de lis, 2018)
- <sup>56</sup> Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1977).
- <sup>57</sup> The provisioning of an envoy sent from Lachish is mentioned at the beginning of the papyrus and therefore does not seem to relate to the arrival of the other envoys.
- <sup>58</sup> Claire Epstein, “A New Appraisal of Some Lines from a Long-Known Papyrus,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49 (1963), 49–56. Identification of Egyptian site names also based on Shemuel Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press Hebrew Univ, 1984)
- <sup>59</sup> Angelika Berlejung, “Diplomatische Korrespondenz der Spätbronzezeit: Briefe aus dem Archiv von Taanach,” in Gernot Wilhelm and Bernd Janowski (eds.): *N.F. 3, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), 230–234; Wayne Horowitz, Takayoshi Oshima, and Siegfried Kreuzer, “Die



- Keilschrifttexte von Tell Ta'anek/ Taanach," in Siegfried Kreuzer (ed.), *100 Jahre Forschungen zur Archäologie, zur Geschichte, zu den Fundobjekten und zu den Keilschrifttexten, Taanach-Tell Ta'anek* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 85–100.
- <sup>60</sup> Norman de Garis Davies and Alan Henderson Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy: Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankhamun (No. 40)* (London, 1926).
- <sup>61</sup> Davies and Gardiner 1926, 28.
- <sup>62</sup> This and later dates base on Campbell's chronological sequence and dating of the Amarna letter; Edward Fay Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters: With Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).
- <sup>63</sup> Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 256.
- <sup>64</sup> Adding to this reference, letters from Byblos and further northern vassals refer to him also as *rābiṣu*, cf. Hirsch 2006, 191.
- <sup>65</sup> Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004, 279–280.
- <sup>66</sup> Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004, 299.
- <sup>67</sup> Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004, 231.
- <sup>68</sup> EA 283; Anson F. Rainey, William M. Schniedewind and Zipora Cochavi-Rainey (eds.), *El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1097.
- <sup>69</sup> Hirsch 2006, 154.
- <sup>70</sup> Aharon Kempinski, "Tell el-'Ajjul—Beth-Aglayim or Sharuhem?" *Israel Exploration Journal* 24 (1974), 145–152.
- <sup>71</sup> The lack of Egyptian material could also be caused by the modern situation of the Gaza site which hampers for several reasons archaeological research, compare e.g. Ellen Fowles Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39.
- <sup>72</sup> We do not yet have archaeological evidence that the battle actually occurred.
- <sup>73</sup> Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman, 2004.
- <sup>74</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith, "Askut and the Role of the Second Cataract Forts," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 28 (1991), 107.
- <sup>75</sup> The evidence in Gaza and Jerusalem was evaluated differently, because one can name Egyptian functionaries present in Jerusalem according to standard communication texts. Further, the prevalent material from Jerusalem was ruled out due to the current lack of settlement structures dating in LB IIA.
- <sup>76</sup> Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015.
- <sup>77</sup> As already argued above.
- <sup>78</sup> Hirsch 2006, 153–155.