

**THE EXTENT AND INFLUENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE  
IN LATE BRONZE AGE CANAAN**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of  
Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Helen Jane Godwin**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the extent and influence of the Egyptian empire in Late Bronze Age Canaan, looking at the nature of Egyptian control over the Canaanite province during this period. To achieve this aim the thesis is divided into two main sections, each dealing with a separate part of the question, with a chapter summarizing the historical background to this work.

The commonly held scholarly view is that this period represents "Egyptian supremacy in Canaan, beginning with the renewal of Egyptian control following the expulsion of the Hyksos dynasty...For four hundred-odd years, Canaan was part of the Egyptian empire and under its direct administration."<sup>1</sup> To achieve an effective administrative system the Egyptians maintained governors at several Canaanite sites who worked in conjunction with local vassal rulers, aided by circuit officials and garrison troops; most of the daily affairs remained in the hands of the vassal princes who swore an oath of loyalty to Egypt. This situation continued throughout the LBA and Oren identified several buildings constructed in LBIIB as 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies',<sup>2</sup> believing these buildings were connected with the maintenance of the Asiatic empire.

The first part of this work deals with the historical background to the LBA - the actual dates, the archaeological evidence and the Egyptian historical records. The remainder of the thesis should be looked at in the light of this chapter as it provides the textual evidence for the empire, and an indication of what may be found.

The preliminary section of this work is concerned with the identification of the alleged 'residencies' at Aphek, Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Gezer, Tel Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Masos, Tel Mor, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and Tel Sera'. To see if this identification is deserved the sites are examined in detail, looking at the alleged 'residencies' and their small finds along with contemporary and earlier

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<sup>1</sup>Gonen, R. in Ben-Tor, A. *ed.* - *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (1992) 211.

<sup>2</sup>Oren, E.D. - *JSSEA* 14 (1985) 37-56.

buildings and small finds and at contemporary cemeteries to see if any Egyptian influence can be detected. Further, contemporary Egyptian architecture is looked at in its own setting to see if the 'residencies' are similar to the typical Amarna house, said to be the model for the 'residencies', but also to provide an overview of Egyptian architectural forms to compare with these, and other, buildings at the 'residency' sites. The Canaanite courtyard house is introduced as having similarities with both the Amarna house and some of the 'residencies' and, as this structure predates the others, it is suggested that the Canaanite courtyard house and the Amarna house may share a common architectural tradition.

The second section involves looking briefly at every other excavated LBA site in Canaan to see if Egyptian influence/occupation can be identified from the archaeological record by a preponderance of Egyptian objects, buildings in Egyptian style, burial customs *etc.* This enabled areas of strong Egyptian influence, if not control, to be identified, although in some cases the exact nature of this is uncertain.

Conclusions from this work regarding the nature of the NK Levantine empire do not all agree with those drawn by other scholars. The identity of the majority of the 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies' is disputed due to a lack of Egyptian artifacts and, in most cases, a high percentage of Cypriote and Mycenaean wares. It is also shown that the Egyptians did not govern their empire by direct rule, using, rather, a vassal system aided by elite emulation.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### Journals

<b>AASOR</b>	Annual of the American School of Oriental Research
<b>ADAJ</b>	Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan
<b>AJA</b>	American Journal of Archaeology
<b>APEF</b>	Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund
<b>ASAE</b>	Annales du services des antiquities de l'Egypte
<b>BA</b>	Biblical Archaeologist
<b>BAR</b>	Biblical Archaeology Review
<b>BASOR</b>	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
<b>BIFAO</b>	Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'archaeologie orientale
<b>BO</b>	Bibliotheca Orientalis
<b>EI</b>	Eretz Israel
<b>ESI</b>	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
<b>JACF</b>	Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum
<b>JARCE</b>	Journal of the American research Centre in Egypt
<b>JEA</b>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
<b>JFA</b>	Journal of Field Archaeology
<b>JNES</b>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
<b>JSSEA</b>	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
<b>MDOG</b>	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<b>MJ</b>	Museum Journal
<b>NGSRR</b>	National Geographic Society Research Reports
<b>PEFQSt</b>	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
<b>PEQ</b>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
<b>RB</b>	Revue Biblique
<b>TA</b>	Tel Aviv
<b>ZAW</b>	Zeitschrift fur Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<b>ZDPV</b>	Zeitschrift des Deutsche Palastina-Vereins

### Used in this work

<b>Burial Patterns</b>	Gonen, R. - <b>Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan</b> , American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series, volume 7, Eisenbrauns (1992)
<b>CAH</b>	<b>Cambridge Ancient History</b>
<b>KRI</b>	Kitchen, K.A. - <b>Ramesside Inscriptions: historical and biographical</b> , Blackwell, Oxford (1968-1990)
<b>LBA Jericho</b>	Bienkowski, P.A. - <b>The Late Bronze Age at Jericho</b> , unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool (1985)
<b>IABS</b>	James, F.W. - <b>The Iron Age at Beth Shan</b> , University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (1966)
<b>LBEG</b>	James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - <b>The Late Bronze Age Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII</b> , University Museum Monograph 85, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (1993)

- Mekal** Thompson, H.O. - **Mekal, the God of Beth-Shan**, Brill (1970)
- Pendants** McGovern, P.E. - **Late Bronze Age Palestinian Pendants: Innovation in a Cosmopolitan Age**, JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 1, Sheffield (1985)
- Palestinian Figures** Pritchard, J.B. - **Palestinian Figures in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Through Literature**, American Oriental Series 24 (1943), reprinted 1967
- RITA** Kitchen, K.A. - **Ramesside Inscriptions: translated and annotated**, Blackwell, Oxford (1993-1996)
- Tel Masos** Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - **Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hirbet el-Msas (Tel Masos)**, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (1983)
- Temples** Ottosson, M. - **Temples and Cult Places in Palestine**, Boreas 12, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations, Uppsala (1980)
- Temples** Rowe, A. - **The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan**, University of Pennsylvania Press (1940)

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Scholars commonly hold that Egypt dominated the political life of Palestine during the LBA, a period contemporary with the Egyptian NK. This thesis aims to test that assumption by identifying the extent and influence of the Egyptian empire in LBA Canaan. To achieve this aim, the investigation has been divided into three parts, each dealing with one aspect of this question.

The preliminary chapter is concerned with the historical background to the LBA, looking briefly at the dating of the period, the archaeological background with regard to the ceramic, archaeological and funerary data and evidence from contemporary documents for Egyptian involvement in the area. The information gained provides the setting for the remainder of the thesis, a background against which the archaeological evidence can be viewed.

The major part of this work is concerned with the question of the 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies' *i.e.* do they deserve their identification? The term 'residency' was coined by Petrie to define one of the buildings he excavated in 1929 at Tell el-Far'ah (South). The term has since been used to describe buildings of square plan with a central room thought to be influenced by NK Egyptian architecture. On the basis of these identifications, conclusions have been drawn about an Egyptian presence in LBA Canaan which affect our understanding of both the Egyptian empire and the status of the Canaanite city states.

Archaeologists have identified many buildings as 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies' without detailed study, by, apparently, superficial judgement, so this thesis will investigate each case with the aim of establishing if these buildings are Egyptian in origin or inspiration and if they can be taken as evidence for official Egyptian



presence. Historical implications arise in consequence which cannot all be covered in this work.

Before a building can be termed a 'residency' with assurance, the following questions need to be answered:

- i) Are all the buildings of similar date?
- ii) What was the function of the buildings - private dwelling or public purpose?
- iii) Had all the buildings a similar function?
- iv) Are the buildings influenced by NK Egyptian architecture?
- v) Were the buildings inhabited by an official? If so, was he a local ruler or an Egyptian representative?
- vi) Why would the Egyptians build these 'residencies', assuming that they are both Egyptian and 'residencies'?

To achieve a detailed investigation of these buildings it was necessary to look at their plans and compare them with both indigenous and foreign architecture. Other aspects of the alleged 'residency' sites - contemporary and earlier buildings, small finds, cemeteries - were examined to seek evidence of Egyptian presence, to enable confirmation or rejection of this hypothesis.

A study of the Egyptian historical records is meaningless in answering the question of the nature of Egyptian control over LBA Canaan without an investigation into the archaeological evidence from every other LBA settlement. The view of Egyptian control gained from the study of the 'residency' sites is narrow, limited to areas where, it has been claimed, there was a permanent Egyptian presence towards the end of the LBA. Thus, every inhabited LBA site was looked at in an attempt to find evidence of Egyptian influence or presence. It must be remembered that the evidence presented in this thesis is incomplete - many LBA sites remain unexcavated and those which have been investigated have not been explored in their entirety.

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However, until this situation is rectified this thesis presents the fullest consideration possible of the question of Egyptian involvement in LBA Canaan.

## Chapter 2

### The Historical Background to the Late Bronze Age

#### 2.1 The Date of the Late Bronze Age

The question of the absolute dates of the LBA is not a simple one and is the subject of extensive debate. Ultimately, dates for Canaan, the Aegean and Cyprus depend on information and dates from Babylonia and especially Egypt where, after the 12th Dynasty, the chronology is not clear, leading to high, middle and low schemes for the Egyptian rulers. For the purpose of this thesis I have followed the chronology proposed lately by Kitchen,<sup>1</sup> which places the start of the NK under Ahmose I at c. 1540B.C.

Albright set the beginning of the LBA after the campaign of Ahmose I<sup>2</sup> (the start of whose reign he dated c.1550B.C.), which he believed heralded the appearance of Palestinian bichrome ware and the Egyptian occupation of Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Since then debate has continued without satisfactory resolution. Dever has argued that the beginning of the LBA should be redated to the reign of Tuthmosis III (1479-1425B.C.)<sup>4</sup> and that LBI should be regarded as a "'post-destruction" horizon"<sup>5</sup> immediately after the campaigns of Tuthmosis III in his 22nd year (c.1457B.C.). He, therefore, proposed that the traditional MBIIC<sup>6</sup> and LBI should be renamed 'Middle Bronze III' (1650-1500B.C.).<sup>7</sup> However, this date does not correspond with his date for the beginning of LBI which he placed c.1475B.C.<sup>8</sup> We, therefore, have a gap of 43 years which is left unaccounted for. Problems in the date of the LBA arise as

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<sup>1</sup>Kitchen, K.A. - *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996) 1-13.

<sup>2</sup>Albright, W.F. - *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1960) 84.

<sup>3</sup>Albright, W.F. - *op.cit.* 96.

<sup>4</sup>Dever, W.G. - *BA* 50 (1987) 149. Dever's dates follow Kitchen.

<sup>5</sup>Dever, W.G. - *BASOR* 288 (1992) 14.

<sup>6</sup>Bienkowski stated "the time has come to abandon the sub-phase MBIIC (or MBIII) applicable to the whole of Palestine, since it cannot be supported stratigraphically or ceramically." Bienkowski, P.A. - *Levant* 21 (1989) 176.

<sup>7</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 14.

<sup>8</sup>Dever, W.G. - *ibid.*

other scholars, notably Tufnell, dated the start of the LBA c.1600B.C.<sup>9</sup> We can conclude that the archaeological evidence needs to be refined and clearer criteria established for defining the beginning of the LBA before this question can finally be answered.

For the purpose of this thesis I am following the LBA chronology espoused by Leonard,<sup>10</sup> which followed Weinstein<sup>11</sup> and can be summarized thus, adjusted according to Kitchen's Egyptian chronology:

LBIA c.1540-1457B.C.

LBIB c.1457-1391B.C.

LBIIA c.1391-1295B.C.

LBIIB c.1295-1184B.C.

The historical references are:

LBIA start of the 18th Dynasty - Tuthmosis III's attack on Megiddo

LBIB Tuthmosis III's attack on Megiddo - Amenophis III

LBIIA Amenophis III - Haremhab

LBIIB Haremhab - Ramesses III year 1.

## **2.2 The Archaeological Background of the Late Bronze Age**

In this section, the ceramic, architectural and funerary evidence for the LBA subphases will be discussed. This should enable us to gain a fuller picture of Canaanite society when it is compared with the Egyptian records detailed below (see p14-23).

The LBA is believed to have begun with the destruction of many MBA settlements by the advancing Egyptian army under Ahmose I in pursuit of the Hyksos. The

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<sup>9</sup>Tufnell, O. - *Lachish IV* (1958) 6.

<sup>10</sup>Leonard, A. - *BA* 52 (1989) 4-39.

<sup>11</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *BASOR* 241 (1981) 1-28.

destructions of these settlements has led to the traditional view of a quick Egyptian conquest, believed by Kenyon to have taken a mere 20 years.<sup>12</sup> However, Bunimovitz claimed that "the settlement crisis at the end of the Middle Bronze Age seems to be a continuous process, which had already begun at the end of the seventeenth century BCE and lasted to the end of the sixteenth century BCE. The early destructions, and at least some of the later ones, may therefore be related to internal instability and conflicts rather than to Egyptian military campaigns."<sup>13</sup>

As the destructions were carried out over such a long period of time, it is important to reassess the traditional view of the start of the NK Levantine empire. Many sites were destroyed in the middle of the 16th century, several of which were subsequently abandoned; these comprise, following Weinstein<sup>14</sup>

Tell el-'Ajjul	Ashkelon
Tell Beit Mirsim	Bethel
Beth Shean	Beth Shemesh
Beth Zur	Tel Dan
Tell el-Far'ah (N)	Tell el-Far'ah (S)
Gibeon	Hazor
Tell Hesi	Jericho
Lachish	Malhata
Tell en-Nagila	Shechem
Shiloh	Ta'anach

Gonen noted that excavations and surveys revealed 270 MBA sites but only about 100 LBA settlements and that out of 54 excavated MBA sites only 22 were

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<sup>12</sup>Kenyon, K.M. - *Archaeology of the Holy Land* (1979) 180.

<sup>13</sup>Bunimovitz, S. in Levy, T.E. *ed.* - *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (1995) 322.

<sup>14</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 2. The evidence of destruction at Beth Shean, Tell el-Far'ah (N), Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Gibeon is inconclusive.

reoccupied in LBI.<sup>15</sup> We can conclude that, following these destructions, whether they were due to local rivalries or an advancing Egyptian army, the settlement pattern of Canaan changed, both in scale and appearance. During MBII Canaan was governed by a series of city-states, each with a defined territory, throughout the country. In the LBA previously inhabited areas were devoid of or had very sparse settlements, *e.g.* the hill country, while the valleys supported quite large numbers of small settlements.

A further settlement change between MBA and LBA is evidenced by the fortification systems; in the MBA earth ramparts and glacis systems surrounded settlements which, following occupation and destruction, were almost obsolete by the LBA and therefore generally afforded little protection, although they were still used to protect LBA settlements. Most excavations at LBA sites have revealed no traces of contemporary fortifications although a continuous line of dwellings would have given cursory protection. It is tempting to believe that this lack of fortification reflects Canaanite subservience to Egypt as Gonen believed,<sup>16</sup> although one could argue that rebuilding the settlements after their destructions would be costly and, therefore, the inhabitants had to prioritise. This, however, does not explain why fortifications were not constructed when the settlements became more established and wealthy through time, as testified by the imported goods, although it may be that the Egyptian empire brought a period of political stability to Canaan or that the taxes levied on the Canaanite settlements resulted in little spare capital to erect expensive fortification systems.

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<sup>15</sup>Gonen, R. in Ben-Tor, A. *ed.* - *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (1992) 217.

<sup>16</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.15] 218.

**LBIA (c.1540-1456B.C.)**

The ceramic assemblage:<sup>17</sup> The traditional LBIA ceramics continued the forms common in the preceding period; e.g. carinated bowls were more frequent than round or straight-sided examples, kraters still had applied rope decoration, cooking pots were produced with the typical MBA rounded everted rim although everted triangular rims now appeared, jugs with shoulder handles were still popular. This is not to say that there were no innovations within pottery manufacture as LBIA saw the introduction of three fabrics which previously were not commonly seen - Bichrome, Chocolate-on-White and Grey Lustrous Wares. Leonard claimed that these three ceramic forms "are distinctive enough to be used by archaeologists as the type-fossils of the Late Bronze IA."<sup>18</sup> Although Bichrome ware appeared at the end of the MBA at several sites, most notably Megiddo stratum X, it was produced mainly during the LBIA where it utilized a limited number of vessel forms - shoulder handled jugs, jugs with rim-shoulder handle, cylindrical juglets, vessels with a basket handle and spout, jars and kraters with two shoulder handles, jugs with wide cylindrical necks, spherical jugs<sup>19</sup> and bowls and kraters with horizontal handles.<sup>20</sup> Decoration was of a limited repertoire including linear patterns, birds, fish and the palm-tree and ibex motif in black and red paint on a pale slip. The uniformity in shape and decoration implies this vessel type was the work of a school of Canaanite craftsmen<sup>21</sup> although Leonard noted that some of the vessels were made with Cypriote clays.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, Chocolate-on-White ware utilized the main shapes common to this period although the vessels were of a higher quality. Covered with a thick white slip, the vessel was burnished prior to being decorated with brown

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<sup>17</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the ceramics from this period and other phases of the LBA cf. Amiran, R. - *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (1970) 124-190. Egyptian imports occurred throughout the LBA but have proved difficult to date stratigraphically due to their location within tombs and other unsealed provenances.

<sup>18</sup>Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 10.

<sup>19</sup>A Cypriote shape known in Cyprus as White Painted V-IV. Amiran, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.17] 153.

<sup>20</sup>Amiran, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.17] 153-154.

<sup>21</sup>Amiran, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.17] 152; Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 10.

<sup>22</sup>Leonard, A. - *ibid.*

painted geometric motifs. Grey Lustrous ware was confined in shape to juglets with a high neck and single handle. The vessel was covered with a grey or black slip and highly burnished. Imports during this period comprised Cypriote WSI, BRI, monochrome, red-on-black, black slip III and white-painted IV and V wares.

Architectural evidence: Little can be said about settlement plans during this period due to the paucity of excavated material. Information about sites of this period can be found in chapters 6 and 11. While there were destructions at a great many sites during this period (see above) other settlements appear to have escaped unscathed or show a continuity in occupation, *e.g.* Tell Hesi city IIB. Shrines at several sites indicate a continuity in religious practices during this period as the buildings continued in use and were often enlarged, *e.g.* the temples in Hazor Areas A and H and Tell Kittan.<sup>23</sup>

Funerary evidence: Burial practices during the LBA showed several changes from the preceding period. Most notable was that intramural burials, common during the MBA, diminished during the LBA until they were replaced totally by extramural burial by the end of the period.<sup>24</sup> Communal family graves, often in shaft tombs cut during an earlier period and partially cleared, were used both by urbanites and the semi-nomadic tribes.<sup>25</sup>

**LBIB (c.1456-1391B.C.)** During this period several important Canaanite cities appear to have been uninhabited *e.g.* Megiddo, Tell Beit Mirsim and Ta'anach (see ch 11 p279-282, 241-243, 297-298).

Ceramic assemblage: The ceramic repertoire continued most of the forms known from the earlier LBIA period with three main absences. Bichrome, Chocolate-on-

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<sup>23</sup>Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 11.

<sup>24</sup>Gonen, R. - *Burial Patterns* (1992) 20-21.

<sup>25</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.13] 331.



White and Grey Lustrous wares are exceedingly rare unless in a debased form. Imports increased in quantity, with the first Mycenaean vessel, a LHII kylix, being found in Fosse Temple I at Lachish. Cypriote imports were represented by WSII, monochrome, red on black and White Painted IV and V vessels.

Architectural evidence: Evidence of LBIB architecture is limited to domestic structures like the Canaanite courtyard house at Tel Halif and the secular buildings at Beth Shean, Hazor, Lachish and Tel Mevorakh.<sup>26</sup> Combined, this evidence indicates a growth in prosperity at many sites, at Beth Shean this may be due to direct Egyptian involvement as the Mekal temple contained, among the small finds, a stela set up by two Egyptians to the god,<sup>27</sup> scarabs, a faience bowl with hieroglyphic inscription and the head of a basalt statue wearing an Egyptian style wig although Egyptian ceramics were not mentioned by Rowe. However, Egyptian influence at the other sites, as witnessed by imported ceramics, is negligible and so the increased wealth can probably be associated with the natural growth of the settlements and their trade, especially with Cyprus. The lack of uniformity in temple planning is a further indication against a strong overall Egyptian control and points to a Canaanite society which maintained its religious diversity.

Funerary evidence: Leonard claimed that "our knowledge of funerary practices in Late Bronze IB is practically nonexistent, primarily because of our inability to date Late Bronze I deposits that do not include ceramic speciality wares from IA."<sup>28</sup> However, it is clear that both individual pit graves and communal tombs continued in use.

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<sup>26</sup>For mention of these buildings please see, for Beth Shean, ch6 p107-113 and, for the remaining buildings, ch11 p255, 259, 274-275, 282-283.

<sup>27</sup>For a discussion the stela cf. Appendix 1.

<sup>28</sup>Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 16.

**LBIIA (c.1391-1295B.C.)**

Ceramic record: During this period there was a decline in the quality of local ceramics as imports from Cyprus and the Aegean world increased.<sup>29</sup> Briefly, there was an increase in the use of the disc base for plain bowls, carination became less pronounced, footed cups declined in popularity, kraters were mainly painted, cooking pots were made with everted triangular rims, juglets retained their squat LBI shape or partially reverted to the more graceful MBII form and pilgrim flasks became increasingly common. Decorated ware was found in higher quantities; red and black painted circles (on pilgrim flasks) and the "full flowering"<sup>30</sup> of the palm-tree and ibex motif, depicted either naturalistically or linear. Imports were numerous and represented by Cypriote WSII, BRI, BRII, monochrome, knife-shaved and *bucchero* ware, and a range of Mycenaean shapes - LHIIIA kylixes, pyxides, pilgrim flasks, stirrup jars, piriform, small amphorae. In addition these wares were copied by local potters.

Architectural evidence: The continued prosperity of LBA Canaan resulted in the construction of some large palatial or public buildings, such as those at Megiddo stratum VIII and Ashdod strata 16-15. Religious architecture is well known from this period and indicates, for the most part, a continuation in cultic tradition as earlier temples were rebuilt or enlarged. This can be seen at many sites including Hazor, Tel Mevorakh, Megiddo and Lachish. At Beth Shean (strata VIII-VII) temples have been excavated and identified as being of Egyptian plan.<sup>31</sup> The finds from LBIIA temple buildings increased in quantity and included many imported Cypriote and Mycenaean ceramics.

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<sup>29</sup>For a detailed type by type degeneration in local ceramics *cf.* Amiran, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.17] 124-190.

<sup>30</sup>Amiran, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.17] 161.

<sup>31</sup>*Cf.* ch6 p114-117, 119-122.

Funerary evidence: Many LBIIA tombs have been excavated in Canaan ranging from simple pits to large built tombs. A large built tomb was inserted into the MBII rampart at Tel Dan; this 'Mycenean Tomb', was a corbelled vault construction and is named because of the large quantity of Mycenean ceramics amongst the rich funerary goods (see ch11 p248-249). Cave burials, such as that excavated at Gezer, show that the practice of communal burial continued. One unusual feature of the Gezer burial was the presence of a ceramic larnax, the only example of such an object found in Palestine, similar to those from Minoan Crete.<sup>32</sup> Anthropoid sarcophagi made their first appearance during this period at Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah and Tell el-Far'ah (S), and are indicative of a strong Egyptian presence (see below for discussion). The funerary evidence confirms what can be deduced from the ceramic repertoire, *i.e.* that during this period of the LBA Canaan was cosmopolitan, perhaps due to its trade links especially with the Aegean world.

### **LBIIIB (c.1295-1184B.C.)**

Ceramic assemblage: During this period, the decline begun in LBIIA continued; while the forms remained similar, the standard of workmanship deteriorated. The main changes can be noted in vessel shape, affecting the dipper juglet, jugs and flasks. Dipper juglets were now more cylindrical or had shaved bodies, jugs with shoulder handle were no longer produced and the method of attaching handles to pilgrim flasks changed. Cypriote imports, represented by WSII, BRII, *bucchero*, knife-shaved and monochrome ware, declined in quantity until imports ceased before the end of the period. Perhaps to compensate, quantities of Mycenean imports increased; the majority of Mycenean vessels found in Canaan belong to this period and include LHIIB kylixes, pyxides, pilgrim flasks, stirrup jars, jugs, cups and kraters. As in the preceding period local potters copied Mycenean forms.

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<sup>32</sup>For a description of the larnax *cf.* ch6 p135-136.

Architectural evidence: It is to the LBIIB period that the majority of buildings identified as 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies' belong. Originally grouped together by Oren,<sup>33</sup> buildings at Aphek, Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Gezer, Tell Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Masos, Tel Mor, Pella, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and Tel Sera' have been identified as such.<sup>34</sup> It was thought that these buildings were main administrative centres for the NK Egyptian empire, although evidence from the buildings themselves and their contemporary architecture does not support their identification with two exceptions - Beth Shean and Tel Sera'. Other buildings during this period included those at Beth Shean stratum VI where a further Egyptian-style temple was excavated,<sup>35</sup> Lachish Fosse Temple III and the possible temple to the weather god in Area H at Hazor. Many sites show evidence of destructions at the end of this period which may be attributed to the instability of the entire Eastern Mediterranean area following the invasion of the Sea Peoples and also to the emergence of the Israelite tribes.

Funerary evidence: During this phase of the LBA there was a wide variety in burial practices, partly due to political and social conditions. While burial types known from earlier phases of the LBA (pits, built tombs, caves) continued, several new forms were introduced. These included those of clear Egyptian influence as well as those with possible Hittite affinities. Anthropoid sarcophagi are perhaps the best indication of Egyptian influence and possible presence; burials of this type have been excavated at Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Pella, notably sites with alleged 'Egyptian Governors' Residencies', and Lachish, where the sarcophagus differed from those found at other sites in its painted decoration.<sup>36</sup> All the sarcophagi were ceramic with the face and upper torso of the deceased modelled in high relief on the lid. Although ceramic anthropoid sarcophagi were first used in

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<sup>33</sup>Oren, E.D. - JSSEA 14 (1984) 37-50.

<sup>34</sup>Cf. Part 1 and Appendix 2 for a full discussion.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. ch4 p60-62.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. ch11 p277.

Egypt, the burials within Palestine differ from their Egyptian counterparts as they have no discernible traces of mummification.<sup>37</sup> However, Tubb claimed to have evidence of mummification at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh - two burials (T.102, T.117) were encased in bitumen while a third (T.393) contained an individual whose ribs had been cut through and removed. The accompanying grave goods were not Egyptian in character (see ch10 p215) and so the burials can only testify to strong Egyptian influence in the area and not actual presence. Storejar and double-pithos burials, a phenomenon known in the Hittite kingdom, also occurred at Sa'idiyeh;<sup>38</sup> the goods within the burials were local in character and so the grave type cannot be used to identify an ethnic group within the population as a whole.

### Conclusion

The archaeological evidence for LBA Canaan points to a period of instability (LBIA) followed by a gradual increase in the wealth of the country. Whether this can be credited to Egyptian control cannot be deduced from the archaeological record. However, the image of the period as a cosmopolitan age is striking.

### 2.3 The Egyptian Historical Records

Following the fall of the 13th Dynasty, control of large parts of Egypt was assumed by Asiatics whom Manetho called the Hyksos and to whose leaders the Egyptians applied the non-descript term *Heqqu Khasut*, 'princes of the foreign uplands'. Designated Dynasties 15 and 16, which partially overlapped,<sup>39</sup> their capital city, Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) stood in the eastern Delta. During the 16th century a new family gained power in Thebes and actively rebelled against the Hyksos, culminating in the death of Seqenenre Ta'o of the 17th Dynasty in battle<sup>40</sup> and the accession of

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<sup>37</sup>See ch10 p218-220 for a full discussion. Although conditions within Palestine are not favourable for the preservation of mummification, no traces of linen adhere to the surfaces of bronze goods placed as offerings within the sarcophagi.

<sup>38</sup>*Cf.* ch10 p213.

<sup>39</sup>Kitchen, K.A. - *op.cit.* [fn.1] 12.

<sup>40</sup>Perhaps against the Hyksos as Redford noted the wounds on his mummy, made by a spear, axe and

Kamose. Two stelae relating to Kamose's struggle against the Hyksos have been discovered; the first, the Carnarvon stela, is preserved as a scribal copy, the second was found reused in the foundations of a statue of Pinodjem at Karnak.<sup>41</sup> Dated to year 3 the stelae, two halves of one text, combine to indicate Kamose attacked the towns in Middle Egypt where the Hyksos collaborators resided, reached Avaris and attacked the harbour. How far this battle would have progressed is uncertain as the Hyksos king, Apophis, sent a messenger to the Nubian ruler to persuade him to attack Thebes. Although intercepted, the damage to Egyptian confidence had been done and the army of Kamose retreated. Shortly after this raid Kamose died having shown the Hyksos were not infallible. His younger brother Ahmose took the throne and founded the 18th Dynasty.

The campaigns of Ahmose are documented in the tomb biography of Ahmose son of Eben at el-Kab,<sup>42</sup> recording the destruction of Avaris and the pursuit of the Hyksos northwards into Palestine, resulting in the three year siege of Sharuhén.<sup>43</sup> Whether this northern pursuit of the Hyksos can be linked to the destruction attested at many Palestinian sites at the end of MBA is uncertain. Following Ahmose's campaign there is no more information regarding Egyptian relations with Palestine until the reign of Tuthmosis I (1491-1482) although James suggested Amenophis I (1515-1494) possibly crossed the Euphrates, clashed with Mitanni and gained territory in Western Asia.<sup>44</sup> Once again the inscription mentioning Tuthmosis I's campaign is found in the tomb biography of Ahmose who claimed to have accompanied his

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dagger, were made by popular Asiatic weapon types. Redford, D.B. - *Egypt, Canaan and Israel* (1993) 125-126.

<sup>41</sup>For full translations and discussions of the stelae *cf.* Gunn, B. & Gardiner, A.H. - *JEA* 5 (1918) 36-56; Habachi, L. - *ASAE* 53 (1956) 195-202.

<sup>42</sup>*ANET* 233-234.

<sup>43</sup>The site of Sharuhén has been variously identified as Tell el-Far'ah (S) - Albright, W.F. - *BASOR* 33 (1929) 7; Tell el-'Ajjul - Kempinski, A. - *IEJ* 24 (1974) 145-152, Tel Haror - Rainey, A.F. - *EI* 24 (1993) 185. The consensus is that Tell el-'Ajjul is Sharuhén due to it having the largest total number of Hyksos royal name scarabs (18) and the largest number of individuals named on them (6) of any Palestinian site. Weinstein, J.M. - *BASOR* 241 (1981) 8. See ch 11 p230-231.

<sup>44</sup>James, T.G.H. - *CAH II/VIII* (1965) 24.

pharaoh to the bend of the Euphrates. This campaign account is supported by Tuthmosis III's statement that his grandfather (Tuthmosis I) erected a stela on the eastern bank of the great river.<sup>45</sup>

Tuthmosis I was succeeded by his son Tuthmosis II (1482-1479). A northern campaign against the Shasu-beduin, during which many prisoners were taken, was recorded in the biography of an officer, Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet;<sup>46</sup> Tuthmosis claimed "he was receiving tribute from Asiatics"<sup>47</sup> on a stela. Due to the young age of his son and heir Tuthmosis III (1479-1425), Tuthmosis II was followed by a co-regency of his wife, Hatshepsut (1479-1457) and son. This state of affairs lasted until the second regnal year of Tuthmosis III, c.1477B.C., when Hatshepsut was crowned Pharaoh, compete with full powers and titulary, thanks to the full support of a powerful coalition including the High Priest of Amun, the Viceroy of Nubia, the Chancellor, Treasurer and Chief Stewards.<sup>48</sup> During her reign there is no evidence of any active Egyptian involvement of any kind in Syria-Palestine; this apparent lack of concern about the northern border by Hatshepsut and her predecessor, Tuthmosis II, allowed the kingdom of Mitanni to spread and envelop large parts of northern Canaan, including those that were originally under Egyptian control<sup>49</sup> much to the alarm of her co-regent, Tuthmosis III, who advocated war.<sup>50</sup> The pacifistic outlook towards Mitanni ended with the death of Hatshepsut c.1457B.c. coinciding with the king of Kadesh mustering his army at Megiddo in preparation for an attack on Egypt; at the same time Tuthmosis was preparing his forces to meet the Mitannian threat in the knowledge that everything from Yurza northwards had been lost.<sup>51</sup> The opposing forces met at Megiddo in Tuthmosis III's 23rd year, c.1456B.C.; detailed

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<sup>45</sup>ANET 239.

<sup>46</sup>Gardiner, A.H. - *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961) 180.

<sup>47</sup>Bienkowski, P.A. - *LBA Jericho* unpub PhD (1984) 385 following Amer, A.A.M.A. - *Continuity and Change*, unpub PhD (1983) 107.

<sup>48</sup>Hayes, W.C. - *CAH II/IX* (1962) 8.

<sup>49</sup>Gonen, R. in Ben-Tor, A. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.15] 212.

<sup>50</sup>Redford, D.B. - *op.cit.* [fn.40] 156.

<sup>51</sup>Amer, A.A.M.A. - *op.cit.* [fn.47] 111.

on the walls of the Temple of Amun, Karnak, the campaign culminated in a 7-month siege of Megiddo<sup>52</sup> and its eventual surrender. The Canaanite princes, with the exception of the king of Kadesh who had fled, "came on their bellies to kiss the ground to the glory of his majesty and to beg breath for their nostrils."<sup>53</sup> Tuthmosis did not claim to destroy Megiddo, which fits with the archaeological evidence, but merely accumulated a vast booty which is staggering in its diversity and quantity; it included prisoners, cattle, sheep, grain, gold chariots, bronze and leather coats of armour, inlaid furniture, statues, gold vessels and a total weight of at least 435**lb.** of silver objects. Tuthmosis made his captives swear an oath of loyalty to Egypt before they were replaced by Egyptian appointees. The list of Palestinian and Syrian towns captured contains 119 names.<sup>54</sup> Tuthmosis continued campaigning in Western Asia, concentrating on Syria after his decisive Canaanite victory. For the purposes of tribute Tuthmosis divided Canaan into districts; while local rulers retained direct authority over cities, several were appropriated by the Egyptian administration, the most important of which, Gaza, "attained the status of capital of the Egyptian government in Canaan."<sup>55</sup>

The death of Tuthmosis III brought renewed unrest in Canaan and Syria, possibly as the loyalty oaths were nullified by his demise, leading his son, Amenophis II (1427-1401)<sup>56</sup> to undertake two campaigns to Syria<sup>57</sup> and one to Palestine; the latter limited to the Sharon Plain and Jezreel valley<sup>58</sup> or the Plain of Esdaelon, *i.e.* the Jezreel Valley, and the hills west of Galilee,<sup>59</sup> the campaign appears to have been

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<sup>52</sup>No trace of a contemporary city wall was excavated at Megiddo, *cf.* ch11 p283.

<sup>53</sup>Pritchard, J.B. - *Ancient Near East 1* (1958) 180.

<sup>54</sup>Drower, M.S. - *CAH II/I* (1973) 451.

<sup>55</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.15] 213. Gonen noted the other administrative centres were at Beth Shean, Jaffa, Yeno'am in Transjordan, Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz) in the Beqa' Valley, Ullaza and Sumur (Tell Kazel) on the Phoenician coast. Taanach letter No.5 implies an Egyptian presence at Megiddo during this period.

<sup>56</sup>Kitchen indicates a 2 year co-regency with Tuthmosis III, *op.cit.* [fn.1] 12, possibly during the Syrian campaigns.

<sup>57</sup>The first as co-regent?

<sup>58</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *op.cit.* [fn.11] 13; Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.15] 213.

<sup>59</sup>Drower, M.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.53] 460-461.



undertaken to quell a local rebellion, taking about 5 months. The most important achievement of Amenophis II's reign was peace with Mitanni, probably as the latter king had no desire to fight a war on two fronts, *i.e.* with Egypt and the Hittites, who were gaining power at this time.<sup>60</sup> Although married to the daughter of the Mitannian king, Tuthmosis IV(1401-1391) led one campaign against Mitanni prior to the signing of a peace treaty.<sup>61</sup> An inscription on a stela in his mortuary temple at Thebes mentions "the settlement of the fortification of *Mn-hprw-r`* with Kharu whom his majesty captured in the city of Gezer"<sup>62</sup> indicating he also undertook at least one campaign in Palestine. Tuthmosis IV was succeeded by his son Amenophis III (1391-1353) who conducted one Nubian campaign and possibly sent "a few troops to Syria."<sup>63</sup> The relative peace with Syria-Palestine appears to have been maintained by diplomatic methods including marrying the daughters of the Kassite king of Babylon (EA1-5) and of the new Mitannian king. The latter event was commemorated by Amenophis and his Egyptian wife Tiy on large wedding scarabs, several of which have been found in Palestine - at Beth Shean,<sup>64</sup> Beth Shemesh<sup>65</sup> and Gezer.<sup>66</sup> He later strengthened his alliance with Mitanni by marrying the daughter of the next king. Events in the reign of the next pharaoh are perhaps the best known in Egyptian history due to extensive documentation.

Amenophis IV (Akhenaten 1353-1337) founded a new capital city, in the 7th year of his reign, at el-Amarna (Akhetaten) on the east bank of the Nile 200 miles south of Cairo. The history of this period of the LBA has been extensively revealed through the clandestine excavation of more than 350 tablets from the palace archive at el-Amarna. Known as the Amarna Letters, they date mainly from the reign of

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<sup>60</sup>Drower, M.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.53] 462.

<sup>61</sup>Drower, M.S. - *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>ANET 248.

<sup>63</sup>Hayes, W.C.. - *op.cit.* [fn.48] 340.

<sup>64</sup>Personal communication from A.Mazar.

<sup>65</sup>Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 17.

<sup>66</sup>Rowe, A. - *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs* (1936) 128.

Akhenaten but include some of the earlier correspondence of Amenophis III while others date to his successors Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun, the tablets were mainly letters written by the Asiatic vassals as well as the rulers of the other major powers - Babylonia (EA1-14), Assyria (EA15-16), Mitanni (EA17, 19-30), Arzawa (EA31-32), Alashiya (EA33-40) and Hatti (EA41-44) - others were copies of the pharaoh's replies (EA31 to Arzawa, EA99, 162-163, 190, 367, 369-370 to vassals). The tablets provide an insight into Egyptian involvement in Syria-Palestine, record minor disputes between the Canaanite rulers and reveal a wider picture of Egyptian diplomatic activity throughout the Eastern Mediterranean world. The letters explore the vast difference between Egyptian relations with the rulers of the major powers and the Canaanite vassal princes; whereas the rulers of equal status wrote as one king to another, arranged marriages and exchanged gifts between 'brothers', the vassals were subservient, addressing the pharaoh reverently, expressing their loyalty and casting aspersions on other vassal cities.

During the Amarna period Canaan was divided into 3 districts - "Amurru with *rabisu* in Simyra, Upe with *rabisu* in Kumidi and Kana'an with *rabisu* in Gaza"<sup>67</sup> - each under the supervision of an Egyptian official, whose title in the Amarna Letters (*rabisu/rabu*) was not precise. Moreover, the title *rabisu* was not restricted to these officials as it was sometimes used to denote the more important of the vassal rulers,<sup>68</sup> eg Abi-Milku, king of Tyre (EA149). Other, subordinate, Egyptian officials were also present in Canaan, many of whom were mobile, eg royal messengers; few of the governors or other Egyptian officials in Canaan have been identified - there is a lack of evidence from Canaan and Egypt as these officers have not proclaimed their role in tomb inscriptions or statuary - although the destruction of monuments in

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<sup>67</sup>Kitchen, K.A. in Liverani, M. *ed.* - **La Siria Nel tardo Bronzo** (1969) 81. Kitchen further noted that Amurru was lost to Hatti at this time, *ibid.* The province of Canaan covered all of Palestine from the Egyptian frontier to Tyre and, later, Byblos. Drower, M.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.53] 472.

<sup>68</sup>Kitchen, K.A. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 81; Byran, B.M. in Cooper, J.S. & Schwartz, G.M. *ed.* - **Ancient Near East** (1996) 39.

Egypt dating to the Amarna period by later pharaohs may be the reason for this lack of data.<sup>69</sup> The Amarna letters do not indicate a decline in Egyptian involvement in Canaan; the repeated correspondence of several rulers to draw pharaoh's attention to local problems, *eg* EA270 where Milkilu mayor of Gazru (Gezer) complained about the actions of Yanhamu a *rabisu* and EA286-290 from Abi-hepa of Jerusalem regarding the Habiru, or to ask for aid/forces, *eg* EA244 from Biridiya mayor of Megiddo requesting 100 garrison troops to guard the city from Lab'aya mayor of Sakmu, as well as protestations of loyalty, *eg* EA234 'I prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my lord, the sun of the sky, 7 times and 7 times, on my front and on my back', indicates the Canaanite belief in the power of the pharaoh and their responsibility to bring matters to his attention. It is inconceivable that the vassal rulers requested aid without believing, or hoping, that it would be forthcoming indicating that, at this time, the Egyptian administration was effective.<sup>70</sup> In return pharaoh expected his official messages regarding troop movements and tribute to be obeyed. It appears from the Amarna Letters that Egyptian involvement in Palestine during this period was not militaristic, rather a policy of non-intervention practised by an administration familiar with the local situation who could assess data received from the vassal rulers and take action only when Egyptian interests were threatened,<sup>71</sup> although Schulman believed the Amarna Letters indicate a planned Asiatic campaign by Akhenaten.<sup>72</sup> Excavations at Deir el-Balah revealed a possible Egyptian garrison building from this period (*cf.* ch6 p130-131) while EA295 mentions an Egyptian granary complex at Jaffa.

Like Akhenaten, Smenkhkare (1338-1336) does not appear to have had any direct involvement in Palestinian affairs. This means the only Amarna pharaoh who possibly undertook military action was Tutankhamun (1336-1327). An inscription in

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<sup>69</sup>Kitchen, K.A. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 82.

<sup>70</sup>Sever, M. - *PEQ* 104 (1972) 132.

<sup>71</sup>Liverani, M. - *Three Amarna Essays* (1979) 13.

<sup>72</sup>Schulman, A.R. - *JARCE* 3 (1964) 58.

the Memphite tomb of Horemheb refers to him being "at the feet of his lord on the battle-field on this day of slaughtering Asiatics",<sup>73</sup> although this may have been a parade of force.<sup>74</sup> The 18th Dynasty ended with the reign of Horemheb (1323-1295) whose Asiatic wars were little mentioned, "probably because the Egyptians were not very successful."<sup>75</sup>

The 19th Dynasty began with the reign of Ramesses I (1295-1294), a vizier too elderly for campaigning<sup>76</sup> and so the task of re-establishing Egyptian frontiers fell to his son, Seti I (1294-1279). Recorded in detail on the walls of the hypostyle hall at the temple of Amun, Karnak, Seti actively campaigned in Syria-Palestine. His first campaign was directed against Lebanon and the Phoenician coast where he enforced a levy of timber,<sup>77</sup> incorporated a skirmish near Beth Shean<sup>78</sup> and, possibly, a battle with the Shasu-bedouin near the Egyptian border. Two more Asiatic campaigns followed in the Kadesh region, the last against the Hittites with whom he signed a peace treaty.<sup>79</sup> Although Seti may have regained control over Palestine, a second stela erected at Beth Shean (*cf* Appendix 1) indicates continued trouble with the Habiru.

The power struggle with the Hittites came to a climax with the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213). His consolidation of his home position gave the Hittites under Muwatallis time to move the capital south.<sup>80</sup> The lack of attainment of the Egyptian goals after the battle of Kadesh<sup>81</sup> led to 16 years of sporadic hostilities with the

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<sup>73</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *op.cit.* [fn.11] 17.

<sup>74</sup>Aldred, C. - *CAH II/II* (1975) 84.

<sup>75</sup>Schulman, A.R. - *op.cit.* [fn.72] 69.

<sup>76</sup>Faulkner, R.O. - *CAH II/XXIII* (1966) 3.

<sup>77</sup>Faulkner, R.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.75] 6.

<sup>78</sup>Where he set up a victory stela, *cf.* Appendix 1.

<sup>79</sup>Faulkner, R.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.76] 7.

<sup>80</sup>In year 4 Ramesses erected an inscription at Nahr el-Kab recording his first Asiatic campaign in the region between Byblos and Beirut. Erosion of the text leaves it unclear whether this was a major pharaonic campaign or merely the putting down of a minor insurrection.

<sup>81</sup>For an account of the battle *cf.* Faulkner, R.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.76] 11-14; Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 25; Kitchen, K.A. - *Pharaoh Triumphant* (1982) 53-62

Hittites, resolved in a peace treaty between Egypt and Hattushilish III of Hatti. These continued hostilities appear to have destabilised Egyptian holdings in Syria-Palestine forcing Ramesses to undertake several Asiatic campaigns *eg* to quell rebellions at Ashkelon,<sup>82</sup> Akko and Syrian cities, to capture towns in Galilee, to campaign in the vicinity of Beth Shean,<sup>83</sup> Moab, Edom and the Negev.<sup>84</sup> The Kadesh Official Report,<sup>85</sup> inscribed on temple walls, indicates the existence of a dual system of administration involving pharaonic functionaries and vassal princes. Further the Aphek letter (*cf.* ch7 p159-160) testifies to the use of the 'circuit system' originally established during the 18th Dynasty, *i.e.* the letter was meant to catch up with Haya while he was passing through Aphek. While the Egyptians collected taxes and maintained peace, the everyday affairs of the city-states remained in the hands of the local, vassal, rulers.

Ramesses II was succeeded by his 13th son Merneptah (1213-1203). The Israel stela may record the capture and destruction of several Palestinian towns including Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno'am.<sup>86</sup> Papyrus Anastasi III, a school text dating to Merneptah's 3rd year, indicates the continued existence of the vassal system and the continued presence of Egyptian officials in Palestine. The remainder of the 19th Dynasty is obscure and the pharaohs appear to have had little contact with Western Asia.<sup>87</sup> However, the presence of several inscribed objects in Canaan indicate a continued trade between the two regions, *eg* a faience vessel with the cartouche of Tewosret at Deir 'Alla and a cartouche of Seti II on a jar sherd at Tell el-Far'ah (S). The Asiatic campaigns of Seti I, Ramesses II and Merneptah indicate a change in attitude towards Egypt by the vassal ruler; to ensure the administration functioned as before, a policy of active intervention was needed to keep control.

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<sup>82</sup>The siege of Ashkelon has sometimes been assigned to Ramesses' son Merneptah.

<sup>83</sup>Where he erected a stela, *cf.* Appendix 1.

<sup>84</sup>Kitchen, K.A. - *JEA* 50 (1964) 63-70.

<sup>85</sup>KRI II 102-104.

<sup>86</sup>KRI IV 28.

<sup>87</sup>Leonard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 27.

The LBA may have ended with the reign of Ramesses III (1184-1153) but Egyptian involvement with Palestine continued. Although concerned mainly with battles against the Sea Peoples, Ramesses III appears to have maintained an Egyptian presence at sites in Canaan as shown by the Ramesses-weser-Khepesh lintel at Beth Shean, the hieratic ostraca from Tel Sera' and Lachish (*cf.* Appendix 1) and the bronze bolt from a gateway at Lachish (*cf.* ch11 p278).

We can conclude that during the LBA Egypt maintained a limited Egyptian presence in Canaan, perhaps with an increase in staff to ensure its smooth running in LBIIB, leading to the establishment of Egyptian Governors' Residencies and *migdols* at several sites. Alongside these were the city-states ruled by vassal princes who adopted aspects of Egyptian culture. Egyptian inscriptional evidence implies there were pharaonic installations at Beth Shean, Gaza, Jaffa, Tel Sera' and possibly Lachish during this period - the inscribed architectural elements and stelae at Beth Shean attest the presence of an Egyptian garrison in the 19/20th Dynasties, Papyrus Harris I mentions a temple of Amun at *paCanaan* (thought to be Gaza), the monumental gateway of Ramesses II and EA295 attest Egyptian presence at Jaffa, perhaps to control the granary, the hieratic ostraca from Tel Sera' and Lachish indicate the presence of Egyptian tax officials and the bronze bolt may indicate a gateway of Ramesses III at Lachish. There is no Egyptian textual evidence for the presence of resident governors after the Amarna period, rather Egyptian officials tend to have been there for taxation, surveillance or mediation purposes, leaving everyday affairs in the hands of the local princes.

## Chapter 3

### The 'Residencies'

'Egyptian Governors' Residencies' have been identified at Aphek, Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Gezer, Tel Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Masos, Tel Mor, Pella,<sup>1</sup> Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and Tel Sera'. Each of the buildings will be described before any conclusions are formed.

#### 3.1 An Architectural Description of the Buildings

##### 3.1.1 **Aphek** (fig.1.1)

Explored since J.Ory began salvage work in 1934, since 1974 Kochavi's excavations have uncovered MB and LBA remains under the Ottoman fort at Tel Rosh ha' Ayin (Ras el 'Ain), revealing several superimposed buildings, the earliest probably a 16th century palace. Later structures are more difficult to define due to walls and floors often being reused by the last phase of the LBA city. "The uppermost structure was a fortified palace of an Egyptian governor...containing written records in most languages of the ancient Near East".<sup>2</sup> Unlike conventional palaces with spacious courtyards, halls and rooms, the building was a fortress-like structure occupying about 400m<sup>2</sup>. The building was square (18x18m) with 1.4m thick stone walls preserved to a height of 2m above which mudbrick was probably used. The plan consisted of two entrances opening off a courtyard on the north east side, one leading to the halls, storerooms and ground floor rooms, the other to the staircase. Destroyed by fire during the second half of the 13th century, Kochavi concluded the palace was "probably built in the reign of Rameses II on the ruins of the palace of the Canaanite king of Aphek for use by the Egyptian authorities in Canaan."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The identification of a building at Pella as an 'Egyptian Governor's Residency' has been made too recently to be included in this discussion and is dealt with briefly in Appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup>Kochavi, M. - BA 44 (1981) 78.

<sup>3</sup>Kochavi, M. - *ibid.*

### 3.1.2 Beth Shean (fig.1.2)

Mentioned several times in Egyptian literature from the 19th century Execration Texts to the time of Shishak c.925 B.C, excavations by the University of Pennsylvania (1921-1933) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1983, 1989, 1993, 1996) showed that Beth Shean (Tell el-Husn) was occupied almost continually from the Late Neolithic until the Early Arab periods; table 1 brings together the excavation results. Five LBA strata were uncovered; the first shows little Egyptian presence, the four subsequent phases belong to what A.Mazar described as an "Egyptian administrative centre".<sup>4</sup> It is to Stratum VI, *i.e.* the EIA, that the building now classed as the "governor's residency" (Building 1500) belongs, as well as smaller, possibly administrative, buildings in Egyptian style. Almost square (23x22m), the central room was surrounded by rooms on all four sides, two column bases stood equidistant from the walls. Many of the doorways retained doorsills *in situ* which were of the characteristic Egyptian T-shape. Several of these bore dedicatory inscriptions, prayers, vows and personal names and titles in hieroglyphs. One carved stone lintel from either the 'residency' or an adjacent building bore the figure of Rameses-Weser-Khepesh, a military commander at Beth Shean during the time of Rameses III.<sup>5</sup> Near the inscriptions accompanying the relief were cartouches of Rameses III, the excavators also uncovered a large basalt statue of Rameses III carved in provincial style and indicating a degree of respect for Egypt and probable Egyptian influence. The building was destroyed in a violent conflagration at the end of this period.

### 3.1.3 Deir el-Balah (fig.1.3)

Situated just south of Gaza on the highway from the Egyptian Delta to Canaan, Deir el-Balah was "founded by Egypt in the fourteenth century and functioned both as an economic administrative centre and as a military outpost during different phases of

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<sup>4</sup>Mazar, A. - NEAEHL (1993) 216.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Appendix 1, fig.93.



its existence."<sup>6</sup> The building some have described as a 'residency' belongs to stratum 7. Adjacent to the artificial lake and partially overlying the remains of Stratum 9 (the Amarna residence) was a fortified structure. Described by Dothan as a "fortress", the building had fourteen rooms and has been reconstructed as being 20x20m with a tower in all four corners, thick mudbrick walls may indicate that the structure stood at least two storeys high. No floors were found in the building, yet it has been dated to the reign of Seti I due to its similarities in plan with fortresses depicted in reliefs of Seti I on the northern wall of the hypostyle hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak. Dothan concluded "the highly indicative construction technique of a layer of sand along the base of the construction trench, a well-known feature of Egyptian building methods, points to the Egyptian construction of this fortress."<sup>7</sup> In the 13th century (Strata 6-4 dating to the time of Rameses II) the nature of the site changed - the artificial lake was filled in and the fortress and residential area replaced by an artisans' quarter.

#### 3.1.4 Tell el-Far'ah (South) (fig.1.4)

The ancient identification of Tell el-Far'ah (South) has caused a great deal of debate and several suggestions have been advanced. "The excavator [Petrie], with his usual lack of common sense in matters geographical, identified Tell el-Far'ah with biblical Beth-Pelet. His identification was based on totally absurd linguistic reasoning whereby Arabic Far'ah could be taken as a reflex of Hebrew Pelet!"<sup>8</sup> Albright identified the site as ancient Sharhan (Sharuhén), known from accounts of Egyptian military expeditions, including that in the tomb of Ahmose son of Eben who claimed Sharuhén was besieged for three years before it was conquered (*cf.* ch2 p15). Modern opinion does not agree with either of these identifications, Sharuhén has

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<sup>6</sup>Dothan, T. in Rainey A.F. *ed* - *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 121.

<sup>7</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [f.n.6] 129. However Netzer has noted that a layer of sand was often poured underneath a mudbrick foundation wall to prevent water gathering at its side and help drain water away to the surrounding soil. Netzer, E. in Kempinski, A. & Reich, R. *ed* - *The Architecture of Ancient Israel* (1992) 20.

<sup>8</sup>Rainey, A.F. - *EI* 24 (1993) 183.

been identified with Tell Abu Huyerah<sup>9</sup> leaving the identification of ancient Tell el-Far'ah (South) unclear. Starkey began excavations in 1928 on the south end of the tell, followed by Petrie in 1929 to the north. Petrie's discoveries led him to conclude that "the large, well-built block of halls built over the Hyksos work, is doubtless the Egyptian residency for a governor"<sup>10</sup> which he felt was in use from the time of Seti I to Rameses IV. Covering an area of 550m<sup>2</sup> (22x25m) at the northern end of the mound, 1.3-2m of regular brick foundations rise, on the western side, to solidly constructed brick walls interspersed by doorways marking floor level, the other walls being of "rammed earth and scrap brick"<sup>11</sup> faced with plaster. The building included an inner area surrounded by rooms on all four sides and a bathroom in which steps leading to the plastered tank were found; there was also an external staircase. Petrie interpreted the inner area as a hall used by the Egyptian governor as an office and reception room, with a central wooden column supporting the roof, as was the Egyptian fashion. The change of material in the walls and the indication that the wooden doorposts were erected before the brickwork suggests a reconstruction. A similarity with the houses at el-Amarna and Medinet Habu was discovered in a mudbrick platform with a square step in front built into a recess on the northern side of a bedroom. In a storeroom were found the remains of 45 storage jars stacked in rows, several jars were sealed with conical clay stoppers stamped with the figure of a god riding a lion.

#### 3.1.5 Gezer<sup>12</sup> (fig.1.5, 1.6)

Tell Jezer/Tell el-Jazari was tentatively identified as Gezer in 1871 by C.Clermont Ganneau, the proof coming only two years later when he discovered the first of the inscriptions from the Herodian period defining "the boundary of Gezer". Gezer was

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<sup>9</sup>Rainey, A.F. - *op.cit.* [f.n.8] 178-187, see also ch2 p15 n.43.

<sup>10</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *Beth Pelet I* (1930) 17.

<sup>11</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>There is still much debate as to whether any building at Gezer can be described as a 'residency' - Singer, I. - *TA 13-14 (1986-1987)* 26-31; Maeir, A.M. - *TA 15-16 (1988-1989)* 65-67; Bunimovitz, S. - *TA 15-16 (1988-1989)* 68-76.

### Chapter 3

occupied almost continually from the Late Chalcolithic to the Roman-Byzantine period, becoming one of the most important sites in the Bronze Age. References to Gezer are both numerous and important in Egyptian records, beginning with the portrayal of bound captives by Tuthmosis III on the walls of the Temple of Amun at Karnak and culminating with the seizing of Gezer by Merneptah as recorded on the "Israel" stele. Gezer has been excavated several times since Macalister's trenches were laid between 1902-1909, the main work being carried out by the Hebrew Union College between 1964-1990. In strata dating to LBIIB, 13th century, a 'residency' has been identified, as well as Macalister's "Canaanite Castle". It should be noted that Singer claimed the "Canaanite Castle" is the 'residency', Bunimovitz the other "large brick building" described by Macalister! It seems inconceivable that the Egyptians would build a 'residency' at a time which, at Gezer, witnessed a decline in Egyptian influence, one would have expected a 'residency' to be built during the preceding period although it must be acknowledged that the lack of finds in the buildings, as lamented by Macalister, makes them extremely difficult to date. Singer dated his 'residency' to the period after Merneptah's destruction and reconstructed it on remains preserved below the level of the doors; the walls were 1-3m thick, the building rectangular (18.5x14.5m) and incorporated a tower from, and part of, the earlier Inner Wall in its construction. The interior comprised halls and storerooms with the obligatory staircase. Singer and Bunimovitz cannot even agree on the basic matter of the foundations of the Castle - Singer claimed they were brick, Bunimovitz stone! An alternative, as put forward by Bunimovitz, is the large brick building at the northern end of the tell reconstructed as either 15x15m or 15x13m. Thick brick walls rose from unspecified foundations, the plan consisted of a south-west entrance, corridors and storerooms. A more detailed study of each follows in the appendix to this chapter.

### 3.1.6 **Tel Hesi** (fig.1.7)

Standing on the west bank of the Wadi Hesi, Tel Hesi has been the subject of several excavations beginning with Petrie in 1890, followed by Bliss during 1891-1893 and most recently under the direction of Worrell. Petrie concluded, based on the results of six weeks of excavation, that Conder's hypothesis as to the identification of Tel Hesi with Lachish was correct. Modern scholars hold the opinion the Tel Hesi is in fact ancient Eglon, a city of the Shephelah in the region of Lachish, the latter having been identified with Tell ed-Duweir. Bliss felt Petrie succeeded in distinguishing the main features of the site, including a lower city which in area far surpassed the acropolis mound. A thick ash layer was found all over the site, forming a "distinct stratum between the debris of the buildings below (City III) and above (City IVb)."<sup>13</sup> Petrie felt the ash was due to alkali burners, the latest results suggest either extensive industrial activity or burned foundations over the whole mound. City IVb (Bliss' City sub-IV) was built on the ash layer, and it is to this stratum that the large building on the eastern part of the mound belongs. The building (18x18m), the symmetry partly broken to the east, had walls about 1.5m thick laid on top of brick foundations. The interior was subdivided symmetrically: a rectangular courtyard with small rooms alongside and corridors to the east. Due to the absence of doorways, it is impossible to say whether these rooms were ruined down below the level of their original doorsills, as suggested by Bliss, or if they were subterranean.

### 3.1.7 **Tell Jemmeh** (fig.1.8)

Located 10km south of Gaza, Tell Jemmeh was the site of a flourishing city during the MBII, LB, IA, Persian and Hellenistic periods. Petrie felt this was the site of Gerar but the majority of scholars now agree with Mazar's interpretation that the site is ancient Yurza, a Canaanite city-state known to the NK Egyptians. Excavated by Pythian-Adams (1922), Petrie (1926-1927) and the Smithsonian Institute under van

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<sup>13</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894) 65.

Beek (1970-), the building identified as the 'residency' was uncovered by Petrie and later re-excavated by van Beek on the western side of the mound, facing the sea breezes. The LBA represents the most intensively occupied period with no less than eight building phases in 250 years. The 'residency' (Building JF) has been dated to the 13th century and consisted of a courtyard, paved with carefully laid cobbles and containing an enclosed bathroom and bread oven, with an adjacent suite of rooms. Unfortunately it is not possible to recover the entire plan, the western portion was buried under Petrie's baulk, the northern seemingly destroyed by his probe to virgin soil. Measuring 19.5x16.5m as excavated, the building has two entrances: one from the outside, the other via three stone steps from the domestic quarters, a small series of rooms with a small courtyard containing a hearth and successive bread ovens. Two mudbrick benches were built along the walls adjacent to the door. The most striking feature of the Tell Jemmeh 'residency' is the sheer number of bread ovens, unfortunately we do not know if these are all contemporary or whether some reflect squatter occupation. It almost seems as though the Tell Jemmeh courtyard was used as a bakery, the 'residency' as a granary and possibly storeroom for other commodities.

### 3.1.8 TelMasos (fig.1.9)

Until Aharoni surveyed the area of the Beersheba valley in 1964 and found traces of a MBII earth rampart and an extensive Iron I settlement, Khirbet el-Meshash was only thought to contain remains dating back to Iron IIIc. On the basis of these finds Aharoni postulated that Tel Masos should be identified with Hormah, known to the Egyptians from the end of the MK. Excavations were subsequently undertaken by a joint German-Israeli team (1972-1975) and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums and the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (1979). The MBA provided the remains of two short-lived fortresses; two main strata define the IA (Strata II, III), Stratum II contains Philistine ware and thus has a date in the 12th/11th centuries B.C. As it is to Stratum II that Building 480, the supposed 'residency', belongs, the

building does not fit, therefore, with many of the other 'residencies' which have an earlier date. The building had an approximately square form (14x15m), there is some indication that the thick mudbrick walls stood on stone foundations and, while they remained unchanged throughout the period, the interior underwent several building phases (Strata IIA and IIB). In Stratum IIB the plan was almost symmetrical - the central room was almost square and divided into two equal halves by a row of pillars and flanked by rooms on all four sides. In Stratum IIA the plan changed slightly as the rooms on the south-west were expanded at the expense of the central room, the row of pillars now dividing it in the ratio 1/3:2/3. The larger section was now paved suggesting a different use for both sides. Cedar beams were used to support the roof and lime plaster is preserved on the south-east wall indicating the care and attention used in the building's construction and, therefore, implying its importance. The excavators did not conclude that the building was the home of an Egyptian governor, comparing its plan to the Amarna House and the Canaanite Courtyard House and finding difficulty in equating House 480 with either of them. However, they claimed that in shape and size Building 480 was similar to House 1500 at Beth Shean which they felt served as headquarters for Ramesses III's northern command, seemingly contradicting their previous position and feeling of no Egyptian influence at Masos in Building 480.<sup>14</sup> It seems that Building 480 was a mixture of types - the Israelite four-roomed house, which incidentally is more common at Tel Masos, and a foreign element of either Canaanite or Egyptian origin.

### 3.1.9 **TelMor** (fig.1.10)

Situated on the northern bank of the Wadi Sukreir on the coast road from Egypt, Tel Mor was occupied from the end of the MBA until the Hellenistic period. Excavations directed by M.Dothan lasted only two seasons (1959, 1960). Stratum 9 contained the building Dothan described as a "fort on the Via Maris"<sup>15</sup> dating to the

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<sup>14</sup>Conrad, D. & Crusemann, F. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *Tel Masos* (1983) 64-65.

<sup>15</sup>Dothan, M. - *NEAEHL* (1993) 1073.

14th century, *i.e.* the 18th Dynasty, and destroyed at the end of that period, possibly by Seti I. The 'residency' belongs to Strata 8 and 7, dating from the end of the 14th/13th centuries B.C. The main building at the site, it had a square form (23x23m) with thick outer mudbrick walls constructed of alternating external projections and recesses. Although the interior was symmetrically arranged it contrasts with the majority of the 'residencies' as it did not have a central room. The width of the walls and the staircase located near the entrance indicate the building consisted of at least two storeys. The Stratum 7 fortress, probably dating to the time of Rameses II, was destroyed by fire. A small *migdol* was constructed on its remains, possibly by Canaanite inhabitants, which remained in use in Strata 6 and 5. Pottery from these strata was of the type common at the end of the LBA. "Egyptian pottery and scarabs may indicate that an Egyptian governor still resided in the fortress in the time of Rameses III"<sup>16</sup> when the city passed into Philistine hands.

### 3.1.10 Tell es-Sa'idiyeh

In the central Jordan valley, the double mound of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is situated on the south bank of the Wadi Kufrinjeh, 1.8km east of the Jordan river. Gleuck's survey of Palestine in 1943 indicated continuous settlement from EBI-II until Iron II, with some settlement in Roman and Byzantine periods. J.B.Pritchard's excavations (1964-1967) were resumed by J.N.Tubb (1985-). Stratum XII, of the final LB/EIA, contained a building of "Egyptian style, plan and construction method"<sup>17</sup> that formed part of an administrative complex. The 'residency' is only partially excavated and it is unlikely to ever be fully uncovered due to its depth of burial. The plan (unpublished) consists of the northern and part of the western outer walls of the structure - double mudbrick walls on mudbrick foundations with a small channel in between - and some interior dividing walls. The eastern excavated extent of the

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<sup>16</sup>Dothan, M. - *op.cit.* [f.n.15] 1074.

<sup>17</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 23 (1991) 69. Tubb now believes it likely the Sa'idiyeh "residency" was built using trench construction, *i.e.* a rectangular trench was dug, walls were laid into it and the intervening spaces filled with brick debris, Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *PEQ* 128 (1996) 7.

'residency' revealed "an elaborately constructed series of stone terraces"<sup>18</sup> which descended north towards an entrance marked by a stone threshold. This entrance was orientated towards the head of the water system staircase (*cf.* ch4 p80-81). Presumably the building extended further south and may be linked, by steps close to its western wall, to the West Building. Destroyed by a fierce fire in the mid-12th century, several rooms appear to have been used by squatters in Stratum XIB. Stratum XIA was not constructed until about 100 years after the "residency's" destruction. Several of the finds indicated industrial activity - spindle whorls, textile fragments, weights and even a reel of cotton. Both Pritchard's and Tubb's excavations provided evidence from the cemetery, graves contained curved bronze knives of Egyptian type, ivories decorated with Egyptian motifs and patterns and vessels resembling Cypriot and Mycenaean examples. Whilst these objects could have been trade items, the often seen combination of Egyptian, Mycenaean and Cypriot is strongly reminiscent of finds from sites inhabited by the Sea Peoples. There were many bronze objects indicating a large disposable income at a possible metal working site - in the Old Testament the Philistines are renowned for their domination of metallurgy - with metal goods even found in the cemetery. It is interesting that the 'residency', dated from pottery found within, and the final phase of the cemetery, represent the same period. Tubb himself concluded certain factors "suggest that the population of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh during the thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C. contained a significant pre-Philistine population element."<sup>19</sup>

#### 3.1.11 Tel Sera (fig.1.11)

Situated in the western Negev desert on the main road from Gaza to Beersheba, Tel Sera (Tell esh-Shari'a) has been tentatively identified with Ziklag where David found refuge from Saul (I Sam 30:1-31), and also with Hormah and Gerar. Oren's excavations (1972-1979) found strata dating from the Chalcolithic to the Early Arab

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<sup>18</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *PEQ* 128 (1996) 27.

<sup>19</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 20 (1988) 72.



and Mameluke periods. In Stratum IX, early 12th century LBIII-Iron I, the huge structure (Building 906) identified as the 'residency' was constructed along with a cultic centre. Building 906 underwent six phases of construction, mainly concerned with raising floor levels and the addition of walls and partitions. As the eastern side of the building was eroded and the west side unexcavated, due to it being covered by two Israelite houses, the exact plan of the building is unknown although Oren has presumed it is symmetrical. The original plan was square (25x25m), with mudbrick walls c.2m thick standing on brick foundations, and consisted of a central room with column bases surrounded by small rooms, some paved with mudbrick. In the earliest phase, Phase 6, no passage between the southern and eastern rooms was found implying the rooms were cellars entered from the roof. The north series of rooms was, in fact, a pebble-paved courtyard, while the four southern rooms all contained Egyptian-type bowls and ostraca inscribed in hieratic (*cf.* Appendix 1), burnt beams, pieces of blue and yellow pigment, scarabs, beads, bones and shells; objects found in the western flank include alabaster and stone vessels, metal and faience objects. Phase 5 saw changes in the northern part where massive walls were built which Oren and Marely have identified as part of a staircase to an upper storey.<sup>20</sup> In Phase 4 there were changes to the central courtyard which was divided to form three rooms, the eastern side left open to make a narrow corridor running north-south. Finds include a lot of pottery and bones. Walls were added in the north to block an opening in Phase 3, making one room only accessible from above. The eastern section was changed in Phase 2 when a partition wall was built and the north wall of the courtyard thickened. Phase 1 comprised the blocking of the entrance of two southern rooms in the west court. It can be concluded that Building 906 had at least two storeys due to the lack of access to some rooms and the fact that sherds from one vessel were found in the destruction debris of several rooms. The finds themselves are typical of the last phase of the LB/EIA. The burnt beams, fallen bricks and ash

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<sup>20</sup>Personal communication with E.Marely 8/9/96.

layers all show that the Tel Sera' 'residency' was destroyed at the end of the settlement in a violent conflagration. Oren stated that "the analysis of the ground plan and architectural details of Building 906 suggests that it is actually a local version of the Egyptian courtyard house of the New Kingdom."<sup>21</sup>

### 3.2 Comparison

It should be noted that there are no descriptions complete enough to enable full comparison and discussion for several sites, notably Deir el-Balah, both Gezer 'residencies', Tell Jemmeh, Tel Mor and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh; it will be difficult to draw conclusions about the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh building from the little which has been excavated. Tel Hesi presents perhaps the largest problem as only the foundations survive although there is sufficient evidence for one to draw general conclusions.

Many of the 'residencies' were massive square structures when compared to the contemporary buildings at the sites, leading many scholars to conclude that their size indicated a public function. There was no uniformity in size, the buildings ranged from an enormous 25x25m (Tel Sera') to 15x15m (Gezer as proposed by Bunimovitz); this difference in size can be explained as a variation in available resources. Oren's criteria for a 'residency', *i.e.* "the buildings were square",<sup>22</sup> is not always the case; while most of the buildings are square - Aphek, Tel Hesi (both 18x18m), Beth Shean (23x22m), Deir el-Balah (20x20m), Bunimovitz's Gezer (15x15m), Tel Masos (14x15m), Tel Mor (23x23m), Tel Sera' (25x25m) - there are several that are not, Tell el-Far'ah (South) (22x25m), Tell Jemmeh (19.5x16.5m) and Singer's Gezer (18.5x14.5m). It must be reiterated that the measurements of the Tell Jemmeh 'residency' are as excavated, the exact plan of the building will never be known, while it is possible it was square the excavators did not think so in their

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<sup>21</sup>Oren, E.D. - BA 45 (1982) 166.

<sup>22</sup>Oren, E.D. in Kempinski, A. & Reich, R. *ed* - *The Architecture of Ancient Israel* (1992) 117.

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reconstruction, while the entirety of the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh 'residency' will never be excavated.

The main feature of the 'residencies' which distinguished them from other houses, was the presence of a central room or courtyard surrounded by rooms, probably for storage, on all four sides. Such central rooms are not found in the 'residencies' at Aphek, Deir el-Balah, Singer's Gezer and Tel Mor which may suggest a different purpose.

All but one of the 'residencies' had thick mudbrick walls, at Beth Shean these stood on brick foundations; at Aphek stone walls were preserved up to 2m high although a mudbrick superstructure is postulated. Traces of plaster have been found on the inside of walls at Beth Shean, Tell el-Far'ah (South) and Tel Masos, painted plaster was recovered from Aphek. This indicates a certain amount of wealth and time were spent in the construction of these buildings, possibly due to their importance.

Three, possibly four, of the buildings contained evidence of pillars in the form of stone bases upon which presumably stood wooden pillars. Oren claimed about Far'ah (South) that "in Petrie's opinion, the inner area was not an open courtyard but a hall which rose above the rest of the building, and was lit by windows set high in the walls. As in the Egyptian courtyard houses, here too the roof was supported by a central wooden column".<sup>23</sup> Where Oren got this information is uncertain as Petrie did not voice this hypothesis in **Beth Pelet I**, it is not attributed to him in **Beth Pelet II**, I can find no preliminary reports (or mention of any) and a column base is not shown on either his plan or Oren's. However, definite evidence for pillars has been found at three other sites. At Beth Shean two stone bases 1.5m in diameter stood in the central room and Fitzgerald recorded finding a small basalt column base in the middle of a small room in the north west corner of the building<sup>24</sup> but doubted

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<sup>23</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [f.n.22] 120.

<sup>24</sup>Fitzgerald, G.M. - PEQ 64 (1932) 144.

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whether this was *in situ*. As it does not appear on any available plan, I would suggest it was not. Tel Masos had three stone pillar bases surviving in the central room, from their positions another three have been reconstructed. One stone base was found in the central room at Tel Sera', another two have been reconstructed. A post hole was found during the 1989 season at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh but it is unclear whether this is to be attributed to the 'residency' or to later occupation.

If the pillars served an architectural function and were not used merely for decoration the central room would have been roofed, at least in part. The fact that only the eastern part of the courtyard at Tel Masos was paved would suggest that the western part was protected by a roof, the remains of cedar beams would support this hypothesis. Remains of wooden beams, usually cedar, were also uncovered at Aphek, Tell el-Far'ah (South) and Tel Sera'. Netzer has claimed that roofing a room 2-2.5m was a fairly straightforward process with wood of the required length and thickness quite easy to obtain, rooms larger than this are much more complicated due to the increased stresses within the beams. This led to the use of ceiling support pillars so that, while beams between the pillars had to be thick, the secondary beams could be thinner. "For example, in order to roof a room 5 x 8 m., a pillar is erected in the middle of the room and a beam, which rests on it, is laid across the room (either one beam 8.5 m. long, or two beams, 4.2-4.5 m. each). Thus, the room is divided into two spaces, each 8 m. long and 2.5 m. wide, which can be roofed using beams 2.8 m. long and 8-12 cm. thick. Had a central pillar not been used, one would have had to use beams 5.5 m. long and 20 cm. thick, which would have rendered the building much more complicated and expensive."<sup>25</sup> It is proposed, therefore, that the 'residencies' at Tel Hesi and Tell Jemmeh did not have a roofed central area as, at 4.5m and 4m respectively, the rooms were too wide to be spanned easily by a single beam and there is no evidence of pillars. As these buildings possibly have a second

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<sup>25</sup>Netzer, E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 25.

storey, as indicated by the thickness of the walls, it is possible that the central room was a colonnaded walkway on the first floor. This may only be feasible at Tel Masos and then only in Stratum IIa when the rooms to the south west were expanded, narrowing the central room and bringing the pillars closer to the south west wall. For the 'residencies' without a central room this is not an issue as the buildings all had a second storey and, therefore, were roofed.

As stated, the thickness of the walls may indicate a second storey, this hypothesis is strengthened by a staircase at five of the sites - Aphek, Beth Shean, Tell el-Far'ah (South), Bunimovitz's Gezer and Tel Mor. The position of the staircase within the plan of the building was not uniform. A staircase however is not automatically indicative of a second storey as the roof has always been utilised in the Near East for storage, sleeping *etc.*, yet if this was to be the only usage the walls of the buildings would not need to be so thick. Very thick walls are not definite proof of a second storey, the thickness determined by the quality and strength of the building materials and mortar, the load on the walls, building techniques, external forces and the geometric form of the wall. Netzer concluded that "the thickness of a wall is particularly significant in high walls and in buildings which have more than one storey...It is possible to build multi-storey buildings with thinner walls than might be expected considering their height alone"<sup>26</sup> although only if the wall was reinforced with buttresses or other means.

Four buildings were approached via a courtyard - Aphek, Tell el-Far'ah (South), Singer's Gezer and Tell Jemmeh - and it is interesting to note that, with the exception of Gezer, these contained outbuildings. At Aphek there were winepresses to the north west; adjoining the 'residency' at Tell el-Far'ah (South) was a smaller building which Gophna believed may have housed the domestic offices,<sup>27</sup> a flight of steps led

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<sup>26</sup>Netzer, E. - *op.cit.* [f.n.7] 21.

<sup>27</sup>Gophna, R. - NEAEHL (1993) 442.

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from the courtyard to the 'residency'; at Tell Jemmeh were what has been described as domestic quarters and a large number of bread ovens. The 'residency' proposed by Bunimovitz at Gezer has an annexe of long rectangular halls attached to its eastern side, the thickness of the walls and elements of planning indicate a difference between the two structures.

It is interesting that neither Deir el-Balah nor Tel Mor had a central room, Deir el-Balah was built close to an artificial lake and both were situated on major roads. A different function to the other 'residencies' seems obvious, a probable alternative for Deir el-Balah can be found in the reliefs of Seti I on the northern wall of the hypostyle hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak. These reliefs show the strategic route along the coast was refurbished by establishing a series of fortresses and way stations with associated reservoirs. Like the fortresses depicted in the reliefs, Deir el-Balah has a tower in all four corners, a factor which distinguishes it from all other 'residencies'. The anthropoid sarcophagi here, as at Beth Shean and Tell el-Far'ah (South), possibly attest to Egyptian presence, especially as at Deir el-Balah four Egyptian funerary stelae have been found. At Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tubb claimed to have found Egyptian burial customs reflected in the cemetery "the disposition of the skeletons providing evidence that the bodies had been tightly bound, the mineralised textiles preserved on the bronze objects being consistently Egyptian linen, and the occurrence of a bituminous material over the bones of several burials suggesting an attempt at mummification."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.19] 36. See ch10 p221 for a description and comment.

### 3.3 Similarities with Contemporary Architecture

#### 3.3.1 The Amarna House (fig.2.1)

Lying on the eastern bank of the Nile 312km south of Cairo and 402 km north of Luxor, was the town erected by Amenophis IV (Akhenaten 1353-1337). According to the boundary stelae, he built his new capital Akhetaten (modern el-Amarna) on virgin soil. It is believed that Akhenaten began construction in the fourth or fifth year of his reign, dated material from the city implies occupation from year five onwards. The same material shows that there was widespread occupation into the second year of Tutankhamun, when the city became deserted as the capital moved back to Thebes; the site is, therefore, unique as it was built and abandoned within one generation. Although the city was sacked, perhaps by Horemheb, the remains of the palaces, temples and houses are sufficient for a restoration of the city, the lines of the foundation trenches can be traced in the sand.

The houses at el-Amarna were remarkably uniform, "to know one large house is to know all large houses, and to know one small house is to know all small houses. What is more, the small house does not differ from the large house in plan, except so far as to omit what is unessential and simplifies what is complicated".<sup>29</sup> The plan was squarish, on average 20x20m, and basically consisted of symmetrical groupings of rooms around a central hall. Entered from the north, west or both, a brick ramp or series of shallow steps led to a *loggia* (lobby), described by some as a porter's lodge on no firm evidence. The square central hall opened off the *loggia*, as it formed the nucleus of the plan it may have been used as a living room. Its walls must have been higher than those of the surrounding rooms to let in light; it is unlikely that the houses were of two storeys, the walls do not seem thick enough and internal staircases are absent. The central hall always contained a brazier sunk into the plastered floor, a raised dais and a lustration slab.

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<sup>29</sup>Peet, T.E. & Woolley, C.L. - *The City of Akhenaten Part 1* (1923) 4-5.

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The houses also had private apartments consisting of a "square hall, the master's bedroom, smaller rooms, a bathroom and a latrine".<sup>30</sup> The usually mudbrick walls provide a difference with many NK houses where walls were of stone; stone was occasionally used for the thresholds and framework of the outer doorways, which often bore the names and title of the owner, and the column bases. The columns themselves would have been wood, presumably painted. The floors were of plastered mud or brick which was often whitewashed.

All of the larger houses lay in their own grounds which were surrounded by a high wall. Kemp listed what he felt were the additional basic elements of an Amarna house:<sup>31</sup>

- 1) circular domed granaries approximately 2.5m in diameter. Larger quantities were stored in vaulted magazines.
- 2) animal byres.
- 3) a well.
- 4) a tree-planted garden.
- 5) a kitchen with *tabuns* situated downwind of the house.
- 6) sheds and enclosures, perhaps for workmen.
- 7) a chapel, "which in the houses of the richest stood in its own formal grounds with ornamental lake and separate pylon entrance to the street."<sup>32</sup>
- 8) separate accommodation, including a porter's lodge and an additional house.

There was a two-fold division within the enclosure; in one half was the house proper with its stalls, stables, storerooms and granaries, the other contained the garden with its well and summer house. The well, often surrounded by a ring platform, was an essential feature of such a house, trees were planted in pockets of Nile mud and often

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<sup>30</sup>Badawy, A. - *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, vol. 3 (1968) 94. While Badawy does not differ from Peet and Woolley, he provides a general description of a typical Amarna house before describing several houses rather than describing each house excavated in detail.

<sup>31</sup>Kemp, B.J. - *Ancient Egypt* (1989) 296-298.

<sup>32</sup>Kemp, B.J. - *op.cit* [fn.30] 298.



formed an avenue leading up to a chapel. Near to the storerooms were great truncated silos of circular plan filled at the top and emptied via a door at the bottom. The kitchens, contained within the servants' quarters, contained one or more simple pottery ovens for baking bread, in an adjacent room were racks for storing loaves and a slab for mixing dough.

It is obvious from the above description why so many people claim the 'residencies' to be modelled on the Amarna house, contemporary with LBIIA in Canaan. There are many similarities, most notably the central hall and brick walls, but there are also many differences which demand scrutiny. When the Amarna house is correlated with the 'residencies' it is only the house itself which is compared, no mention is made of the enclosure and features contained within which were an integral part of the house complex. This has led to erroneous conclusions being drawn. It is interesting that **none** of the 'residencies' were within an enclosure although four had courtyards; none contained a room recognised as a latrine; only Tell el-Far'ah (South) and Tell Jemmeh had bathrooms, the latter in the courtyard; wells were not present although Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor had artificial lakes; there were no plastered floors, lustration slabs or braziers within the central rooms although Tel Masos and Tel Sera' were partially paved with mudbrick. The most important difference between the 'residencies' and the Amarna house is that the 'residencies' tended to be isolated buildings and did not have their own private building complex, although the actual house plan was similar.

### **3.3.2 The Canaanite Courtyard House (fig.2.2)**

For the purpose of this thesis I am treating as a typical Canaanite courtyard house that at Tananir on Mt. Gerizim, 300m from Shechem. Shechem was excavated by Welter in the 1920s and 1930s, the building unearthed in 1931 and later reinvestigated by Boling (1968). Unfortunately, Welter's only published description of the building was brief and fairly uninformative, occupying one paragraph in a

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progress report.<sup>33</sup> A further description was provided by Sellin who happened to be visiting the site as the building was unearthed.<sup>34</sup> Both Welter and Sellin interpreted the building as a shrine based on several of the artifacts found within - "a perforated, clay incense cylinder...a stone idol, a phallus"<sup>35</sup> which formed part of a foundation deposit and for which they found parallels at other, presumed, Palestinian sanctuaries. None of the original fieldwork reports or any of the finds from the 1931 excavation can be traced today, the only report of a foundation deposit was in the Palestine Bulletin, June 5 1932 where a finely "carved" bronze sword and two spears are mentioned.

The building was square (18x18m) with rooms (square and rectangular) set around a 9m<sup>2</sup> central room. The exterior walls, originally two stones wide, were of brick, according to Welter and Sellin, or stone, if one believes Boling who reported they were not well preserved and that certain parts of the building were taken for modern use. It may, therefore, be possible that Welter's excavation and the modern robbing of the building may have removed all traces of what Welter described as "a stratum over 2m thick of collapsed mudbrick".<sup>36</sup> Eight steps led from the outside into a room on the south west of the building, from here four steps led into the central room. Within the central room Welter found the remains of an "altar" of large stones in one corner and a single column base 67cm in diameter in the centre which he interpreted as a *masseba*. The central room was too wide to have been spanned by a single beam, small depressions in the bedrock interpreted as post holes indicate that it was roofed, at least partially, as "the first October rain turned all our "plastered surfaces" into quagmires".<sup>37</sup> However, Boling found it unlikely that the central room was totally roofed as he only found 21 recognisable lamp fragments! According to

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<sup>33</sup>Welter, G. - *Archaeologischer Anzeiger III/IV (1932)* col 313-314.

<sup>34</sup>Sellin, E. - *ZAW 50 (1932)* 303-308.

<sup>35</sup>Sellin, E. - *op.cit.* [f.n.33] 306.

<sup>36</sup>Welter, G. - *op.cit.* [f.n.32] col 313.

<sup>37</sup>Boling, R.G. in Landes, G.M. *ed - Report on Archaeological Work (1975)* 45.

his reasoning, if the central room was totally roofed it would become a darkened *cella* and, therefore, many lamps would be needed. As lamp fragments were not found in abundance, Boling concluded that this could not be the case. This cannot be regarded as a valid argument as there are many reasons why fragments may not be found during his excavations, not least the previous excavations by Welter, whose record of the building stretches to one paragraph, and Sellin, whose manuscript was destroyed in the Allied bombing of Berlin together with the original records. As we have no way of knowing exactly what was found, Boling's lamp theory does not bear scrutiny. The walls of the central room were covered with a thick yellow brick-plaster, this, combined with the building standing away from the rest of the settlement, is indicative of special regard and perhaps function. This is supported by finds from the building which include, among other things, a fine amethyst scarab, two basalt bowl "indicator" fragments and a small piece of ivory inlay.

A storage bin, undisturbed by Welter, stood in one of the storerooms, designated *a* on the plan; dated by its artifacts, "a broad representation of exclusively MBII ceramic forms",<sup>38</sup> it is earlier than the building which has a date of MBIIIB/LBI. The building was destroyed by fire. Another building, of similar plan, was discovered a short way down the mountain and dated c.1600B.C.

The Canaanite courtyard house is rarely, if ever, mentioned in connection with the 'residencies', except at Tel Masos when the excavators claimed "a second comparison to the house type is the Canaanite courtyard house...without the central room of 480 being divided by a row of pillars, House 480 is unquestionably like a Canaanite courtyard house".<sup>39</sup> The Tananir building indicates the central room may have been roofed, enabling further parallels to be drawn. Although the Tananir building was earlier in date than the 'residencies', Albright believed it closely resembled his MBA patrician house at Beit Mirsim, if it was a typically "Canaanite"

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<sup>38</sup>Boling, R.G. - *op.cit.* [f.n.36] 48.

<sup>39</sup>Conrad, D. & Crusemann, F. - *op.cit.* [f.n.14] 65-66.

building tradition then one would expect the style of architecture to continue which is shown by the construction of a similar building in LBIB at Tel Halif (*cf.* ch11 p255).

### 3.3.3 Comment

It can be said that there are many similarities between the Canaanite courtyard house and the Amarna house in shape and plan. The main difference lay in the enclosure which surrounded the Amarna house, was missing in the Canaanite courtyard house and most, if not all, of the 'residencies'; it should be stated that many of the sites have not been sufficiently excavated to enable one to state with certainty that the 'residencies' were not the central building within an enclosure. It cannot be denied that the Amarna house may have been modified for use in Canaan yet a similar style of architecture was indigenous to the area at an earlier date.<sup>40</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the Egyptians borrowed an Asiatic house plan rather than the other way round.

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<sup>40</sup>A building was as a "royal pavilion" in the enclosure of Djoser's pyramid (3rd Dynasty); although the building was rectangular, it was divided into private and public quarters and, therefore, "already contains the typical elements of the Egyptian mansion, as featured in the NK villas at 'Amarna.'" Badawy, A. - *A History of Egyptian Architecture I* (1954) 54. The same can be said of the houses around the tomb of Queen Khentkawes (6th Dynasty) at Giza where most of the houses, on average 12x15m, had an easily identifiable central room which gave access to other, interconnecting rooms. However, it is houses at the 12th Dynasty site of Kahun, again built as a pyramid town by Senwosret II, that are most similar to the Amarna houses. Once again they are rectangular (42x60m) and divided into two sections: the residential part identified by a core of interlocking rectangular rooms, corridors and courtyards including a **central reception room** containing four pillars, alcoves, a bedroom, residential annexe an "urban estate" and the outbuildings. Kemp, B.J. - *Ancient Egypt* (1989) 153. It is interesting that Kemp compared the houses at Kahun with the Amarna houses, concluding "the large Kahun houses are best understood as planned and geometrically more elegant versions of the Amarna estates." Kemp, B.J. - *op.cit.* 155. Some of the houses at Sesebi in the Sudan, dating from the time of Amenophis II/Tuthmosis III until the 19th Dynasty were similar to the Amarna houses: a lobby led into a front hall which communicated with a living room, complete with one column, dais and brazier, with two rooms on either side and the master's suite to the south. It seems, therefore, that the Amarna house was not a new innovation in the NK, although Badawy claimed "the 'Amarna period was to innovate a type of extensive mansion or "villa" adapted to the new environment." Badawy, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.29] 149. The only difference came in the change from rectangular to square shape and the incorporation of the building within an enclosure. If this is accepted then the Egyptian governors' "residencies" in Canaan need not be such.

### 3.4 Conclusions

The evidence detailed above allows several basic conclusions to be drawn: comparison of the 'residency' buildings has shown that they were by no means identical or even of similar date; furthermore, one must look at the reasons why the Egyptians may have built the 'residencies' with particular reference to the historical background and geographical factors to see if these may have influenced decisions. Finds from the 'residencies', contemporary buildings and cemeteries also have a role to play in the identification of areas of probable Egyptian influence and are dealt with in succeeding chapters. Other possible architects of the buildings, such as the Sea Peoples, should also be considered before the buildings are identified as either local or Egyptian.

To answer the question of why the 'residencies' were built one must look to the military campaigns undertaken by the Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty in Syro-Palestine. Following the majority of scholars,<sup>41</sup> the widely accepted explanation for the destruction of MBA towns in Palestine is that the Egyptian army engaged in the systematic destruction of Palestinian towns during the first hundred years of the 18th Dynasty (see ch2 for a full discussion of the historical background). The 'residencies' were built, therefore, for the Egyptian governors despatched to keep areas under control and ensure loyalty to the Pharaoh and the prompt payment of taxes. It is unclear whether these governors were *bona fide* Egyptians or local vassals who ruled independently under Egyptian auspices. It seems clear that the Egyptian empire was rather loosely controlled where the Pharaoh allowed local rulers to carry on as before as long as their loyalty was certain.

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<sup>41</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *BASOR* 241 (1981) 1-28; Hoffmeier, J.K. - *Levant* 21 (1989) 181-193; Dever, W.G. - *Levant* 22 (1990) 75-81; Hoffmeier, J.K. - *Levant* 22 (1990) 83-89; Weinstein, J.M. - *Levant* 23 (1991) 105-115; Hoffmeier, J.K. - *Levant* 23 (1991) 117-124.

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To look at the question of why the Egyptians would want to build a 'residency' at a particular site one must see if there were any outstanding geographical or political factors that made the site desirable. Sites with such considerations will be dealt with individually, although it must be remembered that these considerations would induce other people to build there, not just the Egyptians.

Aphek stood at the source of the Yarkon river and, more importantly, controlled the narrow Aphek pass which was the only way through the marshes between Yarkon in the west and the mountains of Samaria in the east. The line of the Yarkon river together with the hill country formed an obstacle on the Via Maris, the highway that ran from Egypt to Mesopotamia through Palestine.

Beth Shean was also important due to geographical factors, being located at the junction of two important roads, one leading from the Jezreel and Harod valleys to Gilead and that which ran the length of the Jordan valley. Rowe described it as the "key to the Jordan end of the great highway extending along the valleys of Esdraelon and Jezreel, from the Mediterranean Sea to the country now known as Transjordania."<sup>42</sup> These roads coupled with a location in a fertile, water-rich valley gave Beth Shean great strategic importance.

Deir el-Balah lay just south of Gaza "the Egyptian capital of the New Kingdom"<sup>43</sup> and on the great coast road, the Via Maris, known to the Egyptians as "the Ways of Horus".

"During the Late Bronze Age Gezer was probably the most important city-kingdom in Southern Canaan".<sup>44</sup> It was situated on a hilltop that was virtually cut off from

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<sup>42</sup>Rowe, A. - PEQ 59 (1927) 67.

<sup>43</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [f.n.6] 121.

<sup>44</sup>Singer, I. - *op.cit.* [f.n.12] 26.

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the surrounding terrain, Gezer commanded almost 360 degree views. The Via Maris lay to the west of Gezer, the highway from Joppa through the Valley of Aijalon to Bethel and Jerusalem was nearby; at her peak Gezer commanded both these roads.

Tel Masos lay in the Negev desert some 12km east of Beersheba. Why this site was important is unclear but its fame had spread as it was being mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts and at Wadi Meghara in Sinai by the end of the MK.

Like Deir el-Balah, Tel Mor was situated on the Via Maris. It had an added importance as it stood on the Wadi Sukreir, about 1km from the Mediterranean and 6km from Ashdod.

Tel Sera' lay in the north western Negev on the main road from Gaza to Beersheba. It stood on a tributary of the Wadi Gaza but fluctuations in rainfall frequently resulted in poor yields or crop failures, yet in good years the low-lying plains yield plentiful harvests of wheat and barley.

From the map (fig.3) it can be seen that a cluster of 'residencies' appears in the Negev - Tell el-Far'ah (South), Tel Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Masos and Tel Sera'. It is difficult to conceive why the Egyptians would need to build so many within a relatively small area of desert unless this area was the main storage for the taxes received.

The remains of inscriptions at Beth Shean, including one of Rameses-Weser-Khepesh, known to be a military commander from the reign of Rameses III, suggests that Beth Shean at least had a permanent Egyptian presence, indeed it has been described as the headquarters of Rameses III's northern command. The bowls and ostraca found at Tel Sera' (*cf.* Appendix 1), while providing evidence of Egyptian control due to the taxation system, do not necessarily imply a 'residency'. The stone

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column bases could have supported a raised floor upon which grain was stored to discourage vermin, however the only example of raised floors in buildings in the Near East dates to the PPNB at Cayonu and possibly throughout the Samarra culture of similar date. If this argument is valid the building could be interpreted as a granary under the control of the Egyptian residency at Gaza which lies a short way along a straight road. Perhaps one may link it to Tell Jemmeh where the sheer number of bread ovens give the impression it was an early bakery!

Regarding the question of other possible architects of the 'residencies' it is only really the Sea Peoples who fit into this category. We know from Egyptian sources (Amarna Letters, records of Rameses III) that captured enemy troops were used in the Egyptian army and that some of the Sea Peoples, captured in their first battle against the Egyptians, were used in subsequent battles. The troops would have become fairly Egyptianized and thus keep parts of the Egyptian style when they defined their own culture, which by definition was eclectic, thereby explaining why the distinctive "Philistine" pottery was not introduced until a later date and, when it was, contained Egyptian affinities both in style and decoration. The majority of sites discussed above have distinctive Philistine pottery in the level overlying the 'residencies' which are often destroyed by fire. It may be the case that the Sea Peoples were employed as a peace keeping force, gradually increasing in power until they overthrew their Egyptian masters and established their own power bases.

Not all of the 'residencies' were of LBA date, several were not constructed until the EIA. It seems to me that there is no strong case to compare all the buildings of different dates especially as some 'residencies' were destroyed before the start of the EIA and, as such, cannot be compared with EIA structures. The reciprocal flow of workmen and ideas has been seen in the material record throughout history - the 'residencies' do not necessarily mean an Egyptian governor, they may simply be due to a ruling family's desire to prove itself to be different by using workmen and ideas



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from other lands. This can be seen during the MBA in Israel when at Tel Kabri the MB palace had Minoan frescoes and floor paintings and more recently in the 18th century when the English looked upon the French as culturally superior and French fashions were a measure of wealth and status.

## Appendix

### Gezer, the two 'Residencies'

Gezer was unique among all the sites said to contain an Egyptian governor's 'residency' as here there are two buildings which have been identified as such.<sup>1</sup> As this is highly improbable, no other site said to contain a 'residency' claims to have two such buildings, it has led to debate over the merits of each of the proposals. Both will now be described, along with the reasons they were identified as such, and critically examined using Oren's criteria for a 'residency',<sup>2</sup> and with any possible alternatives explored.

Singer was the first to propose that "a permanent Egyptian presence was also maintained at Gezer",<sup>3</sup> his basis for this hypothesis the belief that Merneptah would not simply conquer and destroy a strategically important city like Gezer merely to abandon it so he looked at the excavation results for evidence to support this theory. While it cannot be denied that Gezer was stratigraphically important, one should ask what Merneptah would gain from destroying the city. If he was going to leave a permanent Egyptian presence it would make more sense to conquer the city with as little destruction as possible so that the buildings could be readily utilised and not need reconstruction.

Noting that Macalister found a "wealth of Egyptian finds"<sup>4</sup> - including a sundial with the cartouches of Merneptah, two cartouches of Rameses III, a cartouche of Rameses IX on a green-enamelled inlay and a large stone building block containing part of the hieroglyphic sign *nb* (gold) , found with debris contemporary with the 19th Dynasty,

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<sup>1</sup>Singer, I. - TA 13-14 (1986-1987) 26-31; Bunimovitz, S. - TA 15-16 (1988-1989) 68-76.

<sup>2</sup>"The common denominator of these buildings is the overall architectural concept of a square building built of brick without stone foundations, with a corner entrance and a central space around which small rooms are arranged, including an interior stairway." Oren, E.D. - JSSEA 14 (1984) 52.

<sup>3</sup>Singer, I. - *op.cit.* [f.n.1] 26.

<sup>4</sup>Singer, I. - *op.cit.* 27.

but out of any architectural context - Singer located a building in Macalister's Third Semitic Period that he felt resembled other 'residencies'. Situated at the north end of trenches 14-16, Macalister described the building as an important structure which "can hardly be other than the residence of the governor of the period."<sup>5</sup>

Only the foundations of the building (18.5x14.5m) remain, walls 1-3m thick which were laid at right angles, the only architectural feature surviving was a small hearth. Consisting of several small irregular chambers and hallways, the building was "built around a tower of the much older inner city wall...As in several other instances, the older rampart has been adapted as the back wall of the structure."<sup>6</sup> Entered from the south, the building had a large open courtyard to the east. Probably remaining unused after its destruction, the building was almost bare of artefacts, only room *a* yielded any objects - two bronze axeheads, a bronze spearhead, a three-legged stone dish, an alabaster vase, some pottery and a fragment of a polished green stone ornament with an incised chevron design.

The description of the so-called "Canaanite Castle" by Macalister is brief and fairly uninformative and the plans in Macalister's **Gezer I** and **Gezer III** vary in size and layout. However, Singer was confident enough to "point out several resemblances between this imposing building and the buildings that have come to be known as Egyptian "governors' residencies" in Canaan."<sup>7</sup> These include a squarish plan, solid walls, corner entrance and a long narrow corridor at the entrance. Yet there are also several differences, not least the absence of a central room and the incorporation of one of the towers of the fortification wall into the building. Singer used Oren's claim that no particular Egyptian model or uniform plan was copied but rather "an

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<sup>5</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - **Gezer I** (1912) 206.

<sup>6</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* 206-207.

<sup>7</sup>Singer, I. - *op.cit.* [f.n.1] 29.

Egyptian architectural concept was adapted to the local building tradition"<sup>8</sup> to explain these fundamental differences.

The date of the Inner Wall and its exact relationship with the 'residency' are crucial questions and have sparked much debate.<sup>9</sup> Singer accepted Macalister's assumption that the 'residency' postdated the Inner Wall without question, possibly because it fitted well with his theory, even though there is no firm evidence. However, the HUC excavations (1964-1974) threw doubt on this dating, showing the Inner Wall to be "MBIIc and violently destroyed in the Egyptian campaigns c.1540-1480 B.C."<sup>10</sup>

Maeir joined the debates about whether the building proposed by Singer was a 'residency' and the date of the Inner Wall.<sup>11</sup> He claimed that Macalister's plan shows "the alignment of the building as a whole, and particularly room a...in relation to the Inner Wall, is haphazard and quite inappropriate for the plan of a large public building."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the Inner Wall may *postdate* the 'residency' as part of it appears to cover the north wall of the 'residency'. If this is accepted then, combined with Dever's redating of the Inner Wall (see above), it gives a date for the 'residency' of early MB or even EB.

Maeir also criticised Singer's reconstruction mainly because he "disregards the south east wing of the building"<sup>13</sup> and "reconstructs a large room in the north east corner"<sup>14</sup> over the tower of the Inner Wall to obtain the squarish plan. As a photograph published by Macalister<sup>15</sup> showed the walls of the tower were higher

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<sup>8</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [f.n.2] 52.

<sup>9</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - TA 10 (1983) 61-70; Dever, W.G. - BASOR 262 (1986) 9-34; Maeir, A.M. - TA 15-16 (1988-1989) 65-67; Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.*[f.n.1] 68-76. .

<sup>10</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [f.n.9] 10.

<sup>11</sup>Maeir, A.M. - *op.cit.* [f.n.9] 65-67.

<sup>12</sup>Maeir, A.M. - *op.cit.* [f.n.9] 65.

<sup>13</sup>Maeir, A.M. - *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Maeir, A.M. - *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - PEFQSt (1907) 195, fig. 6.

than the walls of the 'residency', Singer's claim that the tower was ruined to its foundations at the time of the construction of the 'residency' is puzzling. Maeir also believed that the "Canaanite Castle" could not be a 'residency' due to its "topographically disadvantaged position"<sup>16</sup> which would be inappropriate when one considers how important such a building would be. The dating of Singer's 'residency' is also in question. Macalister dated the building to the 13th century B.C.; although there are, as has been noted above, many Egyptian finds on the tell, Macalister's and the HUC excavations testify to the scarcity of Egyptian pottery on the tell which is often used in dating. Maeir gives a possible parallel to this building, the patrician house in Stratum V at Beth Shemesh (see below p57-58).

Another critic of Singer's 'residency' is Bunimovitz<sup>17</sup> who believed that "Macalister's original view as to the function of this building should be maintained"<sup>18</sup>, although he agreed that Gezer may have become an Egyptian base and so tried to identify another building which may have functioned as a 'residency'. His main dissent with Singer's hypothesis was the dating of the Inner Wall and "Canaanite Castle", *i.e.* which was later, the wall or the building? The HUC excavations showed that parts of the defensive system were erected as early as the 17th century B.C. although the Inner Wall with its towers was erected in MBIIC before being destroyed by Egyptian campaigns *c.* 1540-1480 B.C. and replaced by the Outer Wall in LBIIA. If these dates are accepted we have a *terminus post quem* for the Castle of LBI. Bunimovitz himself hypothesised that "the Canaanite Castle served as a bastion in the northern perimeter wall of the MBIIB settlement and was later incorporated into the renewed Inner Wall with its Towers. A military function for the building can be postulated from its extraordinarily massive walls and its position in a strategically sensitive

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<sup>16</sup>Maeir, A.M. - *op.cit.* [f.n.9] 66. The building is located in the bay at the north side of Macalister's Central Valley.

<sup>17</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.1] 68-76.

<sup>18</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* 68.

position."<sup>19</sup> Like Maeir, Bunimovitz was struck by the building's similarity to that in Beth Shemesh Stratum V and also the West Building at Ta'anek.

Bunimovitz gave an alternative to Singer's 'residency' after "examining the intra-site location of the so-called Egyptian Governors' Residencies in Canaan"<sup>20</sup> and deciding the main characteristic of such buildings was a location on the acropolis of the site near or on top of a former governmental building, which Singer's 'residency' does not fulfil.<sup>21</sup> Bunimovitz found a building which satisfied his criteria on the western hill, in the north end of Macalister's trenches 27-28, and dated by him to the latter part of the Second Semitic Period.

Described by Macalister as a "remarkable brick construction...the walls are very thick, and the rooms much better laid out than usual",<sup>22</sup> Bunimovitz identified two elements: a massive building and an annexe of long rectangular halls attached to its east side. The reconstruction is highly speculative, Macalister did not excavate the northern part of the structure, although Bunimovitz claimed "its main element can be safely reconstructed as a square (or almost square) building 15x15m (alternatively 15x13m)".<sup>23</sup> The thick brick walls of the building, 1.5-2m, were laid at right angles upon foundations of unspecified material; entered in the southwest corner, the building consisted of small rooms and corridors, again without a central room. Bunimovitz believed a second storey could be reconstructed due to the internal buttresses and probable stairwell. However, his claim that "this structure exemplifies most of the salient characteristics of the 'Egyptian Governors Residencies' in

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<sup>19</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* 69.

<sup>20</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* 70.

<sup>21</sup>One cannot see that these are the only prerequisites for identifying a building as a "residency". According to Oren, the deciding factor is the building's architectural layout (see n.2). If one does not use these further criteria then many other sites will have buildings that one may describe as "residencies" - due to the lack of space buildings of a similar nature occupied the spaces utilized by their ruined predecessors.

<sup>22</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.5] 170.

<sup>23</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.1] 72.

Canaan"<sup>24</sup> cannot be accepted. If this building is compared to an Amarna House, one fundamental difference is immediately apparent - although they are both square brick buildings, the most striking feature of the Amarna House is its central room around which small rooms are arranged, a room missing in this, and also Singer's, building. Bunimovitz found parallels to his 'residency' at Tell Jemmeh, the double row of smallish cells, and at Tell el-Far'ah (South) with the annexe.<sup>25</sup>

The building was dated by Macalister c. 1500 B.C., possibly due to his finding a lamp and bowl deposit (c on plan) which he dated, along with the many others he found elsewhere in his excavations, to the second half of the Third Semitic Period onwards, but mainly to the Fourth Semitic. The HUC Expedition found similar deposits which were dated to Stratum XV-XII *i.e.* late 13th/12th century. Macalister felt the building was constructed after the Inner Wall fell into disuse, the date of the building, therefore, gave a *terminus ante quem* for the Inner Wall.

What of the buildings suggested by Maeir and Bunimovitz as being similar to Singer's 'residency'? The West Building at Ta'anek, excavated by Sellin in 1902, was "certainly not an ordinary private house";<sup>26</sup> Lapp suggested it may be regarded as the residence of the governor of Ta'anek. A detailed description of the building does not exist although the plan proved fairly accurate when checked by Lapp's excavations (fig.4). Dating to MBIIC, the foundation trench of the west wall cut into the second glacis, the trench was then probably covered by the third glacis. Only the foundations of the building (20.08x18.60m) remained, Sellin's small gateroom built onto the southwest corner shown by Lapp to be structurally and stratigraphically distinct. The building consisted of nine squarish rooms, a rectangular room

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<sup>24</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>It is interesting that the "residency" at Tell Jemmeh was also subjected to vast reconstruction, the western part of the building buried under Petrie's baulk, the northern destroyed in his probe to virgin soil.

<sup>26</sup>Lapp, P.W. - RB 71 (1964) 243.

described as a corridor and a main room (courtyard?) at the northeast corner containing a cistern at its centre, an oven was found in a room on the eastern side. Sellin proposed a wooden superstructure for the building but perhaps it is more logical to assume that the mass of mudbrick above the West Building was really the remains of its superstructure and not what Sellin identified as a subsequent mudbrick occupation. If this is correct then the building was destroyed in the late 16th century B.C. as a LBI building cut into this brick debris. Beebe claimed the walls "bulk and craftsmanship ensured a second and perhaps a third storey."<sup>27</sup> There is one interesting point, Bunimovitz and Maeir point to this building to add weight to their theory that the "Canaanite Castle" cannot possibly be a 'residency' as there is no evident Egyptian presence, yet Sellin claimed "man darf zum Verständnis des Bauwerkes wohl schon hier an die ägyptischen Darstellungen altkananitischer Burgen erinnern."<sup>28</sup>

The West Building at Ta'annek is similar to the "Canaanite Castle" at Gezer (Singer's 'residency') in one major detail: at Ta'annek the building was constructed on top of the glacis of the fortification system which, subsequently, in its third phase, was built up against its west wall; at Gezer the Inner Wall was utilised as the back wall of the "Canaanite Castle". It would be very easy to draw other similarities, both buildings have a squarish plan, consist of interconnecting chambers and hallways and have their largest room in one corner, but it must be pointed out that, if one ignores the glacis, parallels can be drawn between this building and the 'residency' suggested by Bunimovitz. This may indicate that the West Building at Ta'annek and both of the 'residencies' at Gezer were part of a common building tradition which had little in common with the Egyptian architectural style.

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<sup>27</sup>Beebe, H.K. - BA 31 (1968) 45.

<sup>28</sup>Sellin, E. - Tell Ta'annek (1904). Translated to mean that one must be aware of Egyptian influence in the construction of old Canaanite forts. Unfortunately Sellin does not give any more details of this Egyptian influence and I can find no mention of it by contemporary writers.



Bunimovitz also saw a similarity between the "Canaanite Castle" and the *Herrenhaus* in Stratum V at Beth Shemesh, due mainly to their positions against the city wall (fig.5). Constructed on bedrock the exterior walls were two stones (over 3 feet) thick, their inner faces were coated with plaster, the superstructure was probably built of mudbrick although no traces were found *in situ*. As excavated, the building had an approximately square form and consisted of six rooms of varying size. The exact plan is unknown although it is "very likely the house as drawn...is more or less complete".<sup>29</sup> To the southeast was another wall with two door jambs, presumably another room. Grant and Wright speculated that the narrow room in the northeast housed a staircase as this was "the best explanation of the narrowness of the room".<sup>30</sup> It is unlikely this room was the original boundary wall of the house, its width corresponded more to the interior cross walls (1.5 feet) than the exterior walls, indeed one side wall continued northeast and may well have formed another room "or perhaps a court like that in the palace of Stratum D at Tell Beit Mirsim".<sup>31</sup> Grant and Wright did not describe the interior of the house other than to state that the floor was made of beaten lime on top of which was a stratum of ash and debris. Beebe concluded "the house at Beth-Shemesh was shadowed by the southern city wall, and it was crudely built. These facts might indicate its occupancy by a poor family."<sup>32</sup>

Beebe discussed both the West Building at Ta'annek and the *Herrenhaus* at Beth Shemesh.<sup>33</sup> He concluded that they were both courtyard houses, of which many styles existed in the MBA - the Ta'annek building fell into the 'courtyard with rooms on two adjacent sides of the court' category, the *Herrenhaus* in the 'courtyard and rooms on opposite sides of the court'. If this is true one has a development from the simple MBA courtyard house with rooms on one side of a courtyard to the houses in

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<sup>29</sup>Grant, E. & Wright, G.E. - *Ain Shems V* (1939) 29.

<sup>30</sup>Grant, E. & Wright, G.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>Grant, E. & Wright, G.E. - *op.cit.* [f.n.29] 30.

<sup>32</sup>Beebe, H.K. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 46.

<sup>33</sup>Beebe, H.K. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 38-58.

the LBA where the courtyard was surrounded by rooms on all four sides. Is it not possible that at Gezer, as at many other sites with alleged 'residencies', we are seeing simply the resulting architectural development? It is not possible to say for certain; no room in either Singer's or Bunimovitz's 'residency' was obviously a courtyard, though the room in the north east corner of the "Canaanite Castle" may have been such.

It is vital to remember that both the alleged 'residencies' were built during a period which witnessed a decline at Gezer. One would, therefore, have to question why the Egyptians would build at the site at such a time and, if they did, why the situation did not improve. The buildings described as 'residencies' by Singer and Bunimovitz do not fulfil the architectural criteria for such structures. It is, therefore, highly probable that these buildings had an entirely different purpose, *i.e.* they were not Egyptian 'residencies' but were perhaps the homes of wealthy families or had an administrative or military purpose. The West Building at Ta'annek is far larger than both Singer's 'residency' and the *Herrenhaus* which may point to a different function. Due to the few finds found in and around the buildings it is unlikely that this question will ever be satisfactorily answered.

## Chapter 4

### Contemporary Buildings at the 'Residency' sites

In this chapter I will deal with architecture contemporary with the "residencies" to see if any Egyptian influence is apparent. One would expect that, if the site was inhabited by an Egyptian governor, his assistants and a military presence, there would be an area of the settlement reserved for their occupation which would display strong Egyptian characteristics. While the location and excavation of this area is down to chance, it is likely that it would be situated close to the "residency" to facilitate organisation, while the local Canaanite population inhabited other parts of the tell.

#### 4.1 **Aphek**

No LBA architectural remains were discovered in any of the other excavated areas, although Kochavi noted that a 4m wide alley separated the "residency" from "another of the same nature"<sup>1</sup> to the east. Unfortunately, there is no further information about the architecture of this building nor of the objects found within it, although one can assume it had a similar plan to the "residency".<sup>2</sup> If the second building was of the same nature and plan, one has to wonder why it would have been constructed at the site as a second administrative building would, presumably, have been superfluous to requirements. Also dating to this period were two well-preserved wine presses faced with stone and lined with waterproof plaster, their treading platforms parallel with each other; the hundreds of grape seeds found covering an area 5m wide to the south of the "residency" and this neighbouring building were undoubtedly associated with these presses. Their storage pits were also discovered, each with a capacity of 3,500 litres, while plastered steps led into the sedimentation pit which contained Canaanite

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<sup>1</sup>Kochavi, M. - Expedition 20/4 (1978) 14.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter 3 p24.

## Chapter 4

storejars. Kochavi felt the wine presses may have been part of the palatial complex.<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered that only the acropolis was excavated, contemporary domestic architecture was presumably situated on the slopes of the mound, which were eroded down to an earlier level, or beyond the citadel area.

### 4.2 Beth Shean (fig.6)<sup>4</sup>

#### The Pennsylvania Excavations

The remains of several buildings were found in Level VI, dated by Rowe to the time of Seti I and by James to the EIA, contemporary with House 1500.

*House 1700:* James claimed that "judged by the size of the remaining stones of the main sill..., and fragments of a painted cornice and of an orange-painted lintel with carved uraei and sun disks..., the 1700 house may have been more imposing than the 1500 house."<sup>5</sup> This house was always accepted as being of the same nature and date as House 1500 but Mazar's excavations have shown that the foundations of the house overlay some Stratum VI remains. Although T-shaped doorjambs and inscribed lintels were found within the building, they were reused, raising the question of where these came from. It may be deduced that there was another Egyptian building, now destroyed, at Beth Shean which originally contained these lintels and doorjambs. House 1700 is now dated to the 11th century and, therefore, **postdates**, Egyptian activity at Beth Shean.<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the remains of the two or three unimpressive buildings discovered by Fitzgerald in 1933 clustered against the north wall of House 1700 should also be redated.

*The Temple Area* Excluding the inner ante-room, the temple of Seti I measured 14.65m north-south and varied in width from 14.55m in the north to 12.67m in the

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<sup>3</sup>Personal communication 16/4/96.

<sup>4</sup>Combined plan of the Pennsylvania, Yadin & Geva and Mazar excavations.

<sup>5</sup>James, F.W. - *IABS* (1966) 12.

<sup>6</sup>Personal communication with A.Mazar 16/4/96. Egyptian activity is presumed to cease at Beth Shean with the end of Level VI which was destroyed in a fierce conflagration. "The difference between Strata VI and V stems most probably from the transfer of control from the Egyptians to the Philistines." Herzog, Z. in Kempinski, A & Reich, R. *ed Architecture* (1992) 244.

south. It was partially built over the remains of an earlier temple, dated by Rowe to Amenophis III,<sup>7</sup> with a layer of debris between the two buildings except for the east wall which was set directly on top of the east wall of the earlier temple. "It is quite clear, therefore, that before they commenced to build the new temple, the workmen of Seti I filled in and covered with debris the whole of the Amenophis III temple up to a plane corresponding with the top of its east wall."<sup>8</sup> The north wall of the court had a foundation of a single layer of undressed basalt stones, the other walls had brick foundations. The temple consisted of the following parts:

*Outer Ante-Room (1042)* A roughly rectangular room with three entrances; one in the east led to the inner ante-room, one in the south led into a small room (1044) and one in the north, the outside entrance to the temple. Three basalt column bases were found in the outer courtyard; two are aligned with the small north wall and are 2.85m apart, the third may not be *in situ* as it was found near the western exterior wall of the temple. However, it is of a similar size to the westernmost column base, the other column base being considerably larger, and could possibly indicate an earlier building phase.

*Inner Ante-Room (1036)* A small room south of the temple proper, with three entrances; one in the west led from the outer ante-room, one in the north led into the great court and one in the east, perhaps leading to storerooms.

*Great Court (1031, 1032, 1033)* Like the great court of the earlier temple, the room was roughly rectangular with the west and east walls narrowing toward the south and bore traces of a hard clay floor approximately 10cm thick in patches, especially at the north. The southeast corner was partially destroyed by the builders of the Hellenistic reservoir, "during the course of this work a basalt column base from the upper temple [the southern temple of Ramesses III] was thrown down into the lower temple."<sup>9</sup> On the west and east sides of the court were what Rowe described as brick

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<sup>7</sup>Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) 14.

<sup>8</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.6] 15.

'mastabas'<sup>10</sup> continuing a short way along the north wall; at the southern end of the west bench was a slightly raised ledge, about 0.50m higher than the bench itself, of uncertain function. Two column bases were found on the east-west axis of the court, 2.92m apart, resting directly upon earlier debris. "The two limestone papyrus capitals belonging to these columns were found...to the west of room 1062, just to the north of the temple."<sup>11</sup> Situated behind the column bases was the lower, mudbrick, altar (1.4x1.07x0.73m); in front of it was a small limestone block of uncertain function. Behind the altar, adjoining the north wall of the court, was a flight of six, originally plastered, shallow brick steps.

*Upper Altar Room (1021B)* A T-shaped room (4.0m north-south and 6.05m east-west max.) with an 8cm thick hard clay floor, originally painted bright blue.<sup>12</sup> The altar (1.30x2.45m north end, 2.29m south) was made of two large blocks of limestone placed at right angles to each other on a mudbrick platform. The block on the left had a hole bored through its northwestern corner which increased in diameter with depth; the easternmost block was hollowed out from the underside leading Rowe to describe it as "an inverted libation tank...doubtless the tank originally belonged to the Amenophis temple."<sup>13</sup> Both the blocks were covered with a thin layer of plaster, the base of the altar rested on earth-covered debris.

*Store room east of the altar room (1043)* Divided into two parts by a small wall running east-west, it measured from north-south 2.10m west end, 1.90m east end, east-west, 1.84m north end, 1.75m south.

*Rooms south of the temple:* (Loci 1044, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1342, 1343, 1345) Little can be said architecturally about these loci as several were partially destroyed by the later Hellenistic and Byzantine reservoirs. However, room 1056 contained an oven and was identified by Rowe as a

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<sup>10</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.6] 16.

<sup>11</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>It is interesting that some of the hieroglyphs from House 1500 were also filled in with blue paint and there may, therefore, be a link. Rowe does not mention blue paint being employed as decoration in any other level.

<sup>13</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.6] 17.

'cooking place',<sup>14</sup> while locus 1342 appears to have been used for grain storage - it contained large jars, one holding blackened grain, and a semi-circular structure against the southern wall which may have been a silo.<sup>15</sup>

*Areas west of the temple:*<sup>16</sup> (Loci 1035, 1037, 1061, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1377, 1378)

The only information about this area is that the Ramses-weser-Khepesh doorjamb, tentatively attributed to House 1500, came from the upper debris of locus 1037.

*Areas north of the temple:* (Loci 1062, 1100, 1101, 1102) No architectural information is available.

*East of the temple:* (Loci 1182, 1184, 1184a, 1186, 1187, 1189, 1190, 1193, 1195, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1201, 1203, 1204, 1206, 1207) Like in the earlier strata this area comprised irregular structures clustered along a north-south (L.1194, 1203) and east-west (L.1199) street grid. However, the centre hall building present in both stratum VIII and VII was absent. James noted "even less verbal description is available for these rooms than for other Level VI loci. Many, however, produced grain, storage jars, hearths, or other signs of domestic economy."<sup>17</sup> A silo containing grain was excavated in L.1182, other architectural features were limited to stone paving (L.1186, 1189) and a "platform paved with small pebbles on which were a portion of flint implements and some fragments of bones"<sup>18</sup> in L.1189.

#### The Yadin & Geva excavations

The excavations of Yadin and Geva, located east of the earlier excavations, partially revealed the remains of three buildings assigned by them to Stratum 4 (Pennsylvania Level VI). Mazar's subsequent excavations have made it possible to join the plans of all the excavated buildings.

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<sup>14</sup>Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) 18.

<sup>15</sup>James, F.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 17.

<sup>16</sup>James described rooms 1035-7, 1042, 1061 as being the outer courtyard of the temple stating "it lies south and west of the inner courtyard. It has been suggested that the royal stelae may have stood with their backs against the west wall of the outer courtyard, and, indeed, at its north end is one of the niches that the Egyptians often erected to frame such monuments." James, F.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 16.

<sup>17</sup>James, F.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 17.

<sup>18</sup>James, F.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 18.

*Building 2533:* Located in the northeast of the excavated area, its eastern extent is the edge of the mound. Only the eastern wing of a building extending north bounded by two walls to the south (W31) and west (W19) was excavated. A smooth flat stone surrounded by smaller stones occurred at the termination of the southern wall of the building and was, therefore, presumably the entrance and threshold. East of this threshold the wall continued on the same line to the southern baulk. The western part of the building was divided into two by a small brick wall c.1m wide and plastered on both faces, extending 1.7m along the west exterior wall. This wall is interesting due to its orientation as, south of the wall, the area formed is triangular. Geva noted "with the exception of a perforated cube found in the debris above the floor, probably not *in situ*, it lacked any finds including pottery";<sup>19</sup> along the southern wall thin horizontal ash layers were observed and have been identified as a short flight of stairs or wooden shelves. However, the absence of material in the triangular room makes the identification of it as a staircase more likely. The problem with this identification is that stairs were generally mudbrick, although there is the possibility these were covered with wooden boards; Geva claimed that this practice is "not yet attested"<sup>20</sup> but a similar example is known from the EBA at Ebla, although here the wood was covered by stone, and the British Museum excavations at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh revealed this practice - in the passageway leading from the "residency" to Area EE was a flight of stairs with wooden treads (see below p79. Although the steps at Sa'idiyeh were exterior they provide a parallel.) The area north of the wall (2533) was paved with large flat stones laid on an earth and brick makeup, the entire area was covered with a thick layer of ashes.

*Building 2543:* Excavation exposed a room or courtyard forming the southeast corner of a building extending north and west. Bonded in the east by W19 and in the south by W32 which was plastered on both faces, no entrance was located but the area contained several installations.

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<sup>19</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *QEDEM* 23 (1986) 42.

<sup>20</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *ibid.*



Bins 2547, 2558: Two brick-built bins of rectangular plan attached to W19 . "The section of Bin 2547 hints at the possibility that its roof, and perhaps that of Bin 2558, was vaulted or domed."<sup>21</sup> Both contained wheat and barley, a further concentration was found near a flimsy brick wall in the southern part of the room which may be the partially preserved remains of another bin.

Dough trough (?) 2541: Found in the southeast corner, attached to W19 and W32. Rectangular with rounded corners, it was plastered inside and out with its bottom sloping slightly to the west, leading Yadin to identify it as a dough trough.<sup>22</sup>

Installation (?) 2549: Meagre remains of another possible installation attached to W32. Constructed of two lines of brick, it enclosed a squarish area, as excavated, which contained very few pottery sherds, in contrast with the rest of the building.

The floor of the building was of beaten earth covered with ashes, like the other Stratum 4 buildings.

*Building 2522*: Covering the entire southern half of the excavated area, it was the northern part of a large building which extended south, "perhaps 'Building 1200' of the American excavations."<sup>23</sup> It was bordered at the north and west by W23 and W22 respectively, entrance 2522 situated in W23. It is likely that the excavated area constituted an unroofed room or courtyard as a large extent (9.5m) of W23 was exposed and no pillar bases were uncovered. W23 itself was a well-preserved brick wall plastered on both faces with its foundations resting on an earlier wall. The entrance (1.4m wide) was constructed of flat stones which formed a roughly circular threshold. The excavators located two installations within the courtyard.

Installation 2535: Only partially excavated, it was bordered by two thin brick walls, W27 and W29. Close to W29 was a round storage area containing a considerable amount of grain. Consisting of two thick clay concentric circles narrowing toward

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<sup>21</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.19] 46.

<sup>22</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.19] 48. Unfortunately Rowe, Fitzgerald and James made no mention of Building 1200, Room 1200 is visible on plans of Level VI but it lies too far to the west to be considered part of this complex.

the top, it was originally identified as a *tabun* but, as the interior was only blackened up to the level of the grain, this identification is unlikely. North of the installation were a few store jars and worn grinding stones.

Close to W23, about 1m north of the above installation, was a complete pair of grinding stones *in situ* with carbonized grain between the stones, adhering to the upper stone and in the vicinity. This would indicate "the grinding stones were undoubtedly in daily use when the building was set on fire and collapsed."<sup>24</sup>

Installation 2555: Located on the southeast edge of the excavated area it was not completely exposed. Separated from the northern end of the courtyard by W34, it contained a large store jar surrounded by store jar and cooking pot sherds; grinding stones were discovered nearby. As elsewhere, the area was covered with a layer of ashes although they were not as dense in this area leading Geva to state "it is possible that a roof or an upper part of the installation collapsed soon after the fire started and prevented this small area from being completely burned."<sup>25</sup>

Large patches of ashes were found north of this installation in the northeast corner of the building which may have originally been wooden furniture/installations which have not survived. The floor of the courtyard was very thick as the result of lengthy occupation.

#### Mazar's excavations

A.Mazar has subsequently excavated at Beth Shean, incorporating the area excavated by Yadin and Geva into his area S.<sup>26</sup> The remains encountered by Mazar comprised parts of four large buildings located along two streets intersecting at right angles. The mudbrick walls were well-preserved and mud-plastered; at times two constructional phases could be identified either when floors were raised or new rooms added. At the end of this period the area suffered a heavy conflagration.

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<sup>24</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.19] 51.

<sup>25</sup>Yadin, Y. & Geva, S. - *op.cit.* [f.n.19] 52.

<sup>26</sup>Where Mazar has re-excavated Yadin's buildings described above I will only mention the findings which show new evidence and differences of opinion.

*Western Building 78733:* Part of a large rectangular hall was preserved of a huge building with walls 1.2m thick, presumably supporting an upper storey. The northern part of the hall was disturbed by a stratum S-2 pit but one may assume that the 1m thick destruction debris in the southern half continued northwards. The debris contained burnt beams, krater fragments and prestigious objects "evidence of the inhabitants' high status"<sup>27</sup> such as wealthy merchants or high officials might own or offer in a shrine, and so may hint at the occupancy of the building. The area west of this building was excavated by Pennsylvania and disturbed by the huge Byzantine pit. Mazar argued that Buildings 1096, 1094 *etc.* assigned by James to Upper VI should in fact be reconstructed as the western extent of this building as they are on the same orientation and have the same wall thickness.<sup>28</sup> Mazar concluded "it is likely that this large building was part of an Egyptian administration building or residency during the time of the Twentieth Dynasty."<sup>29</sup>

More architectural remains (88704) were located south of this room; measuring 4.0x4.5m with an unfired cylindrical clay container similar to Installation 2535 found in Building 2522, its beaten earth and lime floor was covered with fallen brick debris which suprisingly bore no trace of the conflagration which characterised the end of this stratum. This space was presumably the easternmost room of another building which may incorporate Pennsylvania's room 1207.

*Street 78740:* Lying east of these buildings, it was a northern continuation of Pennsylvania's Street 1203. The deposits of ash mixed with earth, animal bones and sherds reach 1m in depth and imply a considerable duration for the stratum.

*Building 88700:* Part of a large building was excavated east of street 78740, the majority of its courtyard was excavated by Yadin and Geva as Building 2522 (see above p65-66). These excavations found the south wall of the building and also showed that W22 did not join W23 at the north, rather there was an entrance into a

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<sup>27</sup>Mazar, A. - *IEJ* 43 (1993) 207. See ch8 p174.

<sup>28</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 208. See fig.4 for combined plan.

<sup>29</sup>Mazar, A. - *ibid.*

further room in the west; the eastern wall of the building remains unexcavated. The floor in the western part of the courtyard was constructed of flat stones overlaid with lime and broken earth. Installation 88706 (Yadin/Geva 2555) was totally excavated and along the south wall several grinding stones were discovered. The pottery vessels found in the conflagration debris were mainly store jars, large kraters and cooking pots. Mazar also called into question Yadin and Geva's assumption that the space was unroofed - although the dimensions strongly suggest it was unroofed, the large amounts of fallen bricks and burnt wood may be the remains of a roof.<sup>30</sup> Two rooms were located west of this courtyard, reached via the narrow opening in W22 mentioned above. The larger room (88854) underwent two constructional phases; a group of luxury items wrapped in linen (see ch8 p174) were left on the floor of the earlier phase which may represent a payment. The reason these finds were left on the floor is unclear as there was no violent end to this phase and they were simply covered by the construction of a later floor, as it is unlikely that scrap silver would form part of a foundation deposit. In the later phase 3-A, the floor was raised, an oven built in the northwest corner and a small brick storage installation erected in the centre of the room. A fragment of an Egyptian stone relief was discovered in the debris; in the small room (88853) to the south was a small oven east of a small raised platform. Unlike the rest of the building to the east, these two rooms were not destroyed in the violent conflagration, rather they seem to have been abandoned at the same time.

South of these two areas several rooms and courtyards were observed along an 11m stretch incorporating two constructional phases. In the earlier phase, S-3B, there was a large courtyard paved with beaten earth and lime; Locus 88714 showed the courtyard floor covered with a thick layer of fallen bricks.<sup>31</sup> An entrance led to room 88853 in the north and the courtyard was found continuing 6m east (Locus 88705) after room 78726 was added in the earlier phase. This room had a paved

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<sup>30</sup>Mazar, A. *-op.cit.* [f.n.27] 210.

<sup>31</sup>Mazar gave this area two locus numbers; I am presuming that Locus 88714 refers to S-3A.

mudbrick floor like the Western Palace at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (see below p78). In the late phase an additional room was added south of room 88853 and, as no special finds were found in either, it seems they served as small storerooms. East of these rooms was a large open area, originally probably joined to the courtyard mentioned above although in the later phase a new floor was laid at a higher level. The burnt destruction debris on the floor contained pottery vessels including two cultic objects - a fenestrated stand and a chalice with a bird figurine attached to the rim. Mazar stated "a cultic corner may thus have existed here"<sup>32</sup> but noted the stratigraphy was unclear and so the floor may belong to S-2. To the south of this area were scanty remains of an additional row of rooms destroyed by earlier excavation.

*Street 88810b:* An east-west street intersecting Street 78740 at right angles and thus providing evidence of town planning. "The continuation of the street to the west was probably excavated by the University of Pennsylvania expedition (Loci 1283, 1540, and the street which passes along the length of Building 1500 on its south)."<sup>33</sup>

*Northern Buildings:* Parts of two buildings were exposed north of Street 88810, both partially excavated by Yadin and Geva. Mazar refined the previous excavation of the eastern building (2533, Mazar 88841) uncovering more of the stone paving which was covered with lime plaster and, in the extension north, a square brick bin. Between this building and the one to its west was a narrow gap filled with "irregular mudbrick construction".<sup>34</sup> The re-excavation of Yadin and Geva's room 2543 uncovered the north wall and showed that Bins 2588 and 2547 replaced an earlier brick bin. North of the north wall 88836 was a further small bin containing grain. The entire area was heavily burnt.

### Discussion

A city plan has emerged from the results of the three excavations at Beth Shean revealing a well-planned area with streets intersecting at right angles. Although none

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<sup>32</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 212.

<sup>33</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 213-214.

<sup>34</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 214.

of the newly excavated buildings resembled House 1500 there is further evidence for the presence of Egyptian buildings in the T-shaped doorjambs and inscribed lintels detailed in Appendix 1. One may assume that the lower-ranking officials used Canaanite architecture with Egyptian characteristics rather than building a completely Egyptian-style residence. It appears, therefore, that Mazar's conclusion that Building 78733 is part of a further residency is erroneous, due to architectural differences with House 1500, and his conclusion it was part of a large Egyptian administrative building more likely. If this building was indeed a continuation of Building 906 then it is by far the largest building in this stratum which could indicate a public function of some sort; unfortunately, this problem will never be resolved due to the destruction caused by the huge pit.

Building 2522/88700 may be interpreted as a large kitchen due to the considerable number of bins containing grain and the grinding stones. The pottery, which was mainly store jars, kraters and cooking pots, supports the identification of this room as a kitchen where grain was stored, ground to wheat and perhaps prepared as dough in the kraters; "the actual baking took place in the room adjacent to the west"<sup>35</sup> where an oven was located. However, the identification of this western room as the 'bakery' only applies to the later phase as the oven was not present in S-3B when the cache of luxury objects was left on the floor. If this building was indeed a kitchen then it raises the question of for whom was the food cooked? The proximity of this building to Building 78733 could indicate that it was the 'restaurant' for the Egyptian presence at Beth Shean - no kitchen was identified in House 1500 and so it is possible the Egyptian officials met in Building 78733 to eat and discuss the day's events.

The rooms south of Building 2522/88700 seem to belong to a large building which included cooking areas, storerooms and courtyards. Mazar stated "our building could be interpreted as a large residency with at least six rooms and/or open spaces, bordered by streets on at least three sides."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 210.

<sup>36</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 213.

The northern buildings (2533/88841 and 2543/88881) can be interpreted as a further kitchen area because of the large numbers of grain(?) bins similar to those in Building 2522/88700 to the south.

Mazar concluded "these buildings are probably part of the residential quarter of the Egyptian administration at Beth Shean during the Twentieth Dynasty, as can be ascertained from the nature of their rich contents."<sup>37</sup> The ceramic assemblage incorporated many Egyptian forms while the luxury objects - gold and silver jewellery, the gold-plated ram's head, scarabs and beads - indicate the wealth of the inhabitants. Mazar also listed *bullae* with seal impressions and a fragmentary Egyptian ostrakon, unfortunately without mention of the room(s) in which they were discovered, as evidence of administrative/trade activity.<sup>38</sup> Also found was a bone with a hieroglyphic inscription giving the title of inspector.<sup>39</sup> The Egyptian architectural fragments show that Beth Shean supported a strong Egyptian presence during this period, the lintels without a specific locus may have come from the above buildings which would indicate this was "the centre of the Egyptian governmental quarter at Beth Shean"<sup>40</sup> although one may expect to find this near the residency of the Egyptian governor, House 1500, to the northwest.

### 4.3 Deir el-Balah<sup>41</sup>

T.Dothan has stated "a building found close to the western side of the fortress appears to have been associated with it"<sup>42</sup> but gave no further information about measurements, plan, objects *etc.* A large square crater (25x25x5m) was excavated close to the "residency" revealing well-defined sides and steps cut into the marl at

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<sup>37</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 214.

<sup>38</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 215. The ostrakon reads "Bow of Anat" - personal communication from A.Mazar 10/9/96.

<sup>39</sup>Personal communication from A.Mazar 10/9/96. The bone was studied by O.Goldwasser who believed it was a local imitation; if this is the case then it is important as the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs and titles shows a strong influence.

<sup>40</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.27] 216.

<sup>41</sup>As T.Dothan's excavations of the settlement have not been fully published, it is impossible to present a complete account of contemporary architecture.

<sup>42</sup>Dothan, T. - NEAEHL (1993) 344.

several points. Many of the mudbricks used in the construction of the buildings were of the same marl as that found in the crater possibly indicating its original purpose was a quarry, perhaps in Stratum 9 when the "residency" dating to the Amarna period was constructed. It must be made clear that there is a disparity in Dothan's preliminary reports - the Egyptian governor's "residency" appears in either Stratum 5 or Stratum 7 which would make the Amarna Age "residency" either Stratum 7 or Stratum 9. The period of use of the crater is, therefore, also open to question; on one hand Dothan stated it was used from Strata 9-7 and, therefore, in its last phase contemporary with the "residency",<sup>43</sup> and on the other "it is possible that at the time of Residency II [the alleged Egyptian governor's residency] the crater was already filled in, suggesting that some of the structures built on top of it may relate to Residency II."<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.4 Tell el-Far`ah (S)

The only mention of contemporary architecture is brief and uninformative - "the Residency and its adjoining buildings."<sup>45</sup> Adjoining the "residency" to the west was a smaller structure (19x22m); although it probably formed part of the same building complex, there was no direct means of communication between the two.

#### 4.5 Gezer

The period of the alleged "residencies", the 13th century B.C., witnessed a decline at Gezer. Although no large scale destruction was experienced, "no element of architecture survived to be reused in Stratum XV."<sup>46</sup> The HUC excavations revealed scanty remains of stone walls, floors and pits which say little about the occupation of Gezer during this period although "what architecture does survive generally follows

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<sup>43</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [f.n.42] 343.

<sup>44</sup>Dothan, T. - *IEJ* 31 (1981) 129.

<sup>45</sup>MacDonald, E. - *Beth Pelet II* (1932) 27.

<sup>46</sup>Dever, W.G. - *NEAEHL* (1993) 503.



the pattern of the earlier LB structures, although now less impressive."<sup>47</sup> The Outer Wall and Outer Gate have been dated to "the end of the Late Bronze Age, between the LBII - which lies directly below it - and the beginning of the Gezer Philistine period."<sup>48</sup> However, Dever dated this construction to LBIIA *i.e.* the 14th century or 'Amarna Age'. Knowledge of history makes Dever's dating more promising - LBA sites in Canaan were, on the whole, unfortified during the period of the Egyptian Empire and Yanai's dating coincided with a decline at Gezer making it unlikely there were either sufficient resources or manpower to build such a fortification system.<sup>49</sup>

### 4.6 Tel Hesi

Petrie and Bliss ascribed the so-called 'pilaster building' to City IV but recent examination has shown the pilasters to be Proto-Ionic which date to the 10th/9th centuries meaning the building has no relevance to a discussion on the LBA. Neither Petrie nor Bliss talk of further architecture in this stratum although "fragments of mudbricks and stone walls accompanied by LBA pottery were identified as belonging to three phases of occupation. Excavations in the lower city in Field V revealed significant quantities of LBA pottery, but these finds were not well stratified, and any associated structures had been eroded."<sup>50</sup>

### 4.7 Tell Jemmeh

South of the "residency", separated by a narrow lane were three rooms of another building: "a plastered bathroom with its own outside sump, a small courtyard with a nearly complete bread oven, a larger living room or bedroom"<sup>51</sup> which contained a mudbrick bin built against one wall. While this building has been tentatively

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<sup>47</sup>Dever, W.G. *ed* - *Gezer II* (1974) 50.

<sup>48</sup>Yanai, E. - *TA 21* (1994) 286.

<sup>49</sup>For a full discussion on the date of the Outer Wall *cf.* ch6 p137-146.

<sup>50</sup>Fargo, V. - *NEAEHL* (1993) 632.

<sup>51</sup>van Beek, G.W. - *NGSRR 16* (1984) 686-687; *cf.* *NEAEHL* (1003) 669.

identified as part of an administrative complex, it seems more likely from the finds that this structure had a domestic function (see ch8 p178-179).

### 4.8 Tel Masos

Stratum II, to which the "residency" belongs, was the main stratum at the site. The predominant type of architecture was either the four-room house or the pillared house, all, with the exception of House 1039, destroyed at the end of the stratum.

#### Area A (fig.7)

A flat plateau, it constitutes the highest part of the mound. Nine houses, most with two distinct architectural phases, were discovered and can be identified as: a rectangular four-room house with an additional living room (House 88), a typical four-room house (House 2), a three-room house (House 42), a long room pillar house (House 60), a three-room house with a divided central courtyard and later eastern extension (house 167), rooms of a partially excavated building (House 1065), a public building (House 1039) and a factory? (House 96). House 1039 was architecturally different from the other Area A structures due to the thickness of the exterior walls. "The plan of House 1039 is different from the plan of any other Iron Age public house, still it has much in common with the architecture of its times"<sup>52</sup>; the hypothesis that this was a public building may be strengthened by the discovery of a limestone stamp seal (see ch8 p176). This building was described by Herzog as a variant of an Iron Age pillared building.<sup>53</sup> House 96 contained evidence of metallurgy - the floor of Room 99 was covered with layers of black and grey ash, near the west wall was a smelting kiln containing slag and pieces of copper while a brick bench was built along the wall. "The evidence for metallurgical activities in House 96 might suggest that metal workers or a family which practised metal work lived in this house.

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<sup>52</sup>Kemp, A. & Gilboa, E. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *Tel Masos* (1983) 19-20.

<sup>53</sup>Herzog, Z. in Kempinski, A. & Reich, R. *ed - Architecture* (1992) 225.

Area B

No details are given about Stratum II architecture.

Area C (fig.8)

This area can be divided into two halves, the northern contained House 480, the "residency", while the southern contained Building Complex 411/410, House 561/554 and Building 420. Although House 561/554 can be described as a four-room house, it differed slightly in plan from others at Tel Masos because it followed the contours of the hill. Unfortunately, the other buildings cannot be identified with known building types - Building 420 was not fully excavated, while Building Complex 411/410 & 419 suffered heavily from erosion. It can be said that the architecture was unusual at Tel Masos, the eastern exterior wall consisted of a row of four stone pillars with mudbrick between, although the western exterior wall of Building 420 contained a similar row of six pillars; this is found at other sites in Israel and was probably due to external influences - "So waren Pilaster, wie wir sie vor der Lehmziegelmauer im Norden haben, ein beliebtes Mittel, besonders monumentale Fassaden aus Lehmziegelmauerwerk zu gliedern, während sie andererseits dem Gebäude auch einen wehrhaften, festungsartigen Charakter verleihen können, entsprechend etwa der Festung Tel Mor und dem später an dieser Stelle stehenden Festungsgebäude 402 von Stratum I. Sind dies Bautraditionen, wie sie von der Küste und wohl auch aus Ägypten kommen, vor allem auch in der sorgfältigen Lehmziegelbauweise, so finden sich in der durch Pfeiler verstärkten östlichen Außenmauer Bautraditionen, die aus dem Gebirge stammen und möglicherweise sogar israelitische sind."<sup>54</sup> The size of the building indicated a

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<sup>54</sup>Fritz, V. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *op.cit* [f.n.52] 50. This has been translated by M-J. Jang to mean "Likewise the pillars, as we have them in the mudbrick wall in the north, were a favoured means especially for linking monumental mudbrick facades, while on the other hand they can also supply a resistant stability to the building, appropriate to the Tel Mor stronghold and the later fortress 402 which stands on this spot in Stratum I. Are these architectural traditions, which come from the coast and also from Egypt, especially in careful mudbrick construction, seen in the east exterior wall building tradition which is strengthened with pillars, brought in from the mountainous areas and even possibly by the Israelites?" The only mention of walls strengthened with pilasters from Egypt comes from Medinet Habu where modest houses from the reign of Amenhotep III, below the temple of Ay, were surrounded by thin enclosure walls reinforced every 3-4m by pilasters.

public function. The southern buildings of Area C formed a chain, separated only in the east by Street 422, orientated in the same general direction. As House 480, the "Egyptian Governor's Residency", was totally different in plan from any of these buildings, it may be that both areas were constructed separately and perhaps served a different function.

### Area F (fig.9)

A limited probe revealed a few architectural fragments representing several buildings. However, with the exception of House 920, they are too fragmentary to be interpreted.

*House 920:* Part of a large building was excavated which seems to resemble the other four-room houses from Tel Masos. Room 927 was divided from the eastern room by a row of pillars while two entrances were discernible in the west. In the northeast corner of Room 920 was an oven next to one of the east pillars. The foundations of the walls were not as deep as the older foundations and this east wall between the pillars seems to belong to a later constructional phase. The house has been tentatively dated to Stratum IIB through parallels with other areas.<sup>55</sup>

### Area H (fig.10)

Situated north of Area C, Stratum II was represented by Houses 314 and 350 and Building 316. Although some of the outer walls have been robbed, the ground plans can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty, leading us to identifications of House 350 with a long room pillar house and House 316 as a partially excavated private dwelling. As for House 314, although the eastern wall was unexcavated and the southern wall robbed in antiquity, the reconstructed plan of the house fits well with other Stratum II architecture. In the southwest corner of Room 307 was a rectangular mudbrick podium, some 4.06m above the floor, of uncertain function<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Fritz, V. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.52] (1983) 73.

<sup>56</sup>Similar features can be seen in houses from Tel Qasile Stratum X dating to the 11th-10th centuries B.C., *cf.* Mazar, A. - *QEDEM 12* (1980) 44 with reference to Building 225 although here the podium is only 0.40m high. 4.06m is an impossibly high podium and it seems, therefore, as though there is an error in print.

while five blackened stones marked a fire in the middle of the room. The entrance from Room 343 into the central court was marked by a threshold made of two rows of stone with the remains of a burnt oak beam between them. House 314 differed from the majority of other Stratum II houses in its plan which was not the traditional four-room house most common at Tel Masos but rather that of a Canaanite courtyard house. "Haus 314 geht somit eindeutig auf kanaanaische Bautradition zurück. Außerdem ließ die in den Räumen 307 und 311 gefundene Importkeramik auf weitreichende Verbindungen mit dem Norden des Landes schließen. Bautradition und Fundelweisen somit auf fremden Einfluß."<sup>57</sup>

Apart from House 480, the architecture at Tel Masos conformed to typical EIA standards, the majority of buildings being four-room houses. Why House 480 is different is uncertain although it is unlikely that this is due to an Egyptian presence as the small finds from the site do not reflect this. It may be that House 480 was the residence of the ruling family during the EIA or served a public function.

### 4.9 Tel Mor

Unfortunately, M. Dothan does not mention any contemporary architecture at the site.

### 4.10 Telles-Sa'idiyeh

Four other areas excavated by the British Museum produced architecture contemporary with the "residency" in Area AA Stratum XII - EE, GG, KK, MM. In Area AA itself, an entrance was found west of the "residency", at the northern end of the passage linking the area with EE, which was blocked by a mudbrick wall prior to destruction. Like the entrance in the "residency" this entrance was also orientated towards the water system staircase.

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<sup>57</sup>Fritz, V. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *op.cit.* [f.n.52] 42. Translated as "House 314 obviously reverts to Canaanite building traditions. Furthermore, the imported ceramics found in Rooms 307 and 311 imply extensive contacts with the north of the country. The building tradition and finds consequently indicate foreign influence."

*Area EE* (fig 11): Opened to enable the settlement's defences to be studied, the area produced a 5.5-6.0m thick city wall and a 'palatial complex'. Originally thought to be a casemate wall built over an earlier mudbrick wall, the top of which was covered with a layer of pisee,<sup>58</sup> further excavation revealed it as a solid city wall with a large public building behind it,<sup>59</sup> *i.e.* not a casemate.<sup>60</sup> The wall appears to have been stepped down the slope of the tell although, due to erosion, its precise nature cannot be determined. As for the 'palatial complex', its rooms and chambers fan out from the inner face of the city wall. However, the rooms are closed on the west by walls parallel to the city wall leading Tubb to compare this building with the "residency" as both buildings have exterior walls with a narrow channel between them, and to state that this building "shows typical Egyptian constructional methods"<sup>61</sup> due to the use of brick, not stone, foundations. In the southern extent of the building were two deeply cut, interconnecting, thickly plastered rooms, the slightly incurving tops of some walls suggest they might have been vaulted. A small tunnel in the dividing wall linked the eastern room with the room to the west which was on a lower level and contained a "clearly defined water channel and an exit conduit at its base".<sup>62</sup> East of these two rooms was a further room with a well-paved mudbrick floor connected by a narrow doorway to a large room in the north which had a thickly plastered floor laid on a noticeable slope and a diagonal pisee wall. The floor, which "showed evidence in the form of channelling and pooling of having been associated with water retention",<sup>63</sup> was covered with a vast quantity of store jar sherds and has been identified as a "water-cooling reservoir, perhaps for wine storage."<sup>64</sup> The floor surfaces of this complex, which show traces of the violent conflagration which destroyed Stratum XII in Area AA, provided a pottery repertoire similar to the

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<sup>58</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 20 (1988) 44.

<sup>59</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.58] 26.

<sup>60</sup>Tubb, J.N. & Dorrell, P.G. - *PEQ* 125 (1993) 60.

<sup>61</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 22 (1990) 26.

<sup>62</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *NEAEHL* (1993) 1298.

<sup>63</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.60] 28.

<sup>64</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.61] 1299.

material from AA. In 1992 remains on the western excavated extent of AA revealed an aqueduct which carried water from the water system to the bath and pool complex during the life of the Western Palace. However, it must not be overlooked that this complex was at a higher level than the "residency"; a passage ran around the western side of the "residency" leading up to Area EE in a series of shallow steps with wooden treads; a similar, although interior, staircase was found in Building 2533 at Beth Shean, see above p64.

*Area GG:* Originally excavated by Pritchard, the water system was re-excavated in 1987 and 1995, in the latter season for reconstruction purposes. A stone staircase descended the northern slope of the upper tell leading to a platform and pool some 8m below the level of the plain. "Surrounding the top of the pool on the north, east, and south sides, and contained within an encircling outer wall, was found a type of gallery, paved with flat cobbles."<sup>65</sup> A plaster lined conduit pipe with an internal diameter of 12cm ran next to the southern wall - its function is unclear, either to take away excess water and prevent stagnation or "it may lead to an outlet at which water jars could have been filled up before being carried back up the stairs to the top of the tell."<sup>66</sup> The steps descending the tell had a mudbrick partition wall down the centre, presumably to separate people descending from those returning, a primitive one-way system, although Tubb has postulated that this wall supported a roof so that the water system would not be visible in time of attack.<sup>67</sup> Tubb concluded "although not specifically Egyptian in design, the water system is also not Canaanite; its closest parallels are to be found at Mycenae and Tiryns."<sup>68</sup>

If the water system at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is compared with those at Mycenae, Tiryns and even that at Athens, then a similarity is obvious - all four water systems are approached via steps leading to a platform. However, upon closer examination, this

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<sup>65</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *PEQ* 128 (1996) 36.

<sup>66</sup>Miller, S. in Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.58] 84.

<sup>67</sup>Personal communication May 1995.

<sup>68</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [f.n.61] 1299. Conduit pipes are known from LBA Ugarit and, although nothing is found which is comparable to the Sa'idiyeh water system, the intricate system of wells and pipes point to a high level of water management.

similarity appears superficial as there are differences distinguishing the Sa'idiyeh system from its Aegean counterparts. The water system at Mycenae was cut through the defensive wall and was totally subterranean. At Tiryns the passageway again was underground beginning **underneath** the defensive wall, here the tunnel was a sloping passageway with steps cut only where there are abrupt drops. The water system at Sa'idiyeh, therefore, appears to have little in common with that at Tiryns and its similarity with Mycenae is seen only in the stepped descent although, if Tubb's theory that the staircase was covered to hide it from enemies is correct, there is perhaps another link as the platform at the foot of the steps through the wall was roofed. The Athenian system differed from those at Sa'idiyeh, Mycenae and Tiryns as it was built within a natural fissure although it too can be said to be subterranean as it was completely enveloped by the fissure. The Sa'idiyeh water system is, in my opinion, different to those at the Mycenean sites because of its ground level construction and the mudbrick dividing wall down the staircase.

*Area KK:* Excavation in this step trench on the southern side of the upper tell began in 1995. The 1995 season uncovered the characteristic Stratum XII conflagration and evidence of settlement. The main feature of the area was a north-south pebbled street between two mudbrick buildings<sup>69</sup> with two steps leading, at the southern end, to a street running east-west. Tubb postulated "this street may well have been situated behind the city wall, all remains of which have been eroded away down the south slope of the tell."<sup>70</sup> The building east of the street consisted of a room with a stone paved floor, the pottery contained within was typical Stratum XII ware.

*Area MM:* Situated on the northeast part of the upper tell, the area was opened to look for a defensive system as the presence of large stones indicated, to the excavator, a possible entrance to the city. Underneath the Stratum VII remains was mudbrick architecture similar to that in Areas AA and EE and, therefore, dated to

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<sup>69</sup>Only one of these buildings was partially excavated, the other is situated in the western baulk, the eastern exterior wall visible in the section.

<sup>70</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *op.cit.* [f.n.64] 30.



Stratum XII. The 1995 season revealed a pebbled road ascending the tell and passing through a 4m wide vaulted mudbrick indirect entrance. This 90 degree turn was achieved by a "guard room" which was not fully defined.

### 4.11 Tel Sera<sup>71</sup>

Two further buildings were excavated in Stratum IX: the northern building (1469) was very fragmentary and may be associated with Building 906; the southern building (1081) was no different from Building 1118 of Stratum X (see ch6 p154), utilising its remaining walls, although some of its installations and the circular structure ceased to exist. In the western area, the circular structure was covered by a thick fill containing large quantities of sherds and bones. It underwent two phases of activity: the earliest involved the covering of the bench of Building 1118 with a broken brick floor. Minor rebuilding characterised the second phase when the finds are similar. The uniqueness of the finds (see ch8 p177) indicates a continuation of cultic activity, especially as the northern two rooms of Building 1118 remained in use with the oval installation still functioning. The area between Buildings 906 and 1081 was mainly fill and *favissae* containing broken LB pottery and bones.

### 4.12 Conclusion

Looking at contemporary architecture at the "residency" sites it becomes apparent that the overwhelming majority have no structures exhibiting Egyptian influence. Whether for some sites this is due to the paucity of excavation reports or the absence of such buildings is unclear. One would imagine Deir el-Balah, which obviously was strongly influenced by Egyptian culture and possibly contained an Egyptian military presence, to have architecture with Egyptian characteristics although the presence of the crater makes the identification of the "residency" itself as a fortress more likely. If one compares the plan of the fort and crater with those depicted by Seti I on the north wall of the hypostyle hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak, then Deir el-Balah

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<sup>71</sup>My thanks to E.Marely, University of Beersheva for her information about Tel Sera'.

is "proved to be the veritable picture-image of the depictions at Karnak."<sup>72</sup> It is difficult to argue against there being, if not an actual Egyptian presence at Deir el-Balah, then a very strong Egyptian influence during this period, Dothan's final publication may contain information about contemporary architecture to solve this question. Aphek, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Tel Mor and Tel Sera' also have little published relating to contemporary architecture although, as stated above, the slopes at Aphek were eroded to an earlier level and so it was not possible to excavate any structures relating to this period.

Of the sites which have contemporary architecture only Beth Shean has further building showing Egyptian characteristics. This is especially discernible in Locus 1346, Room 1195 and the West Building (78733) which contained limestone lintels or T-shaped doorsills with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions. The West Building also contained prestigious objects including one of probable Egyptian craftsmanship - the gold-plated wooden ram's head. The temple at Beth Shean has been identified as serving Egyptian religious needs, mainly because of the limestone Horus(?) hawk, the hippopotamus Seth(?) figurine and the Egyptian amulets although the four model bread offerings may indicate Egyptian cultic activity - "the Egyptians mostly offered food to their gods, very often in the form of clay models."<sup>73</sup> However, local religious beliefs are also attested by the possible figurine of Ashtoreth and it may be that the temple served the religious requirements of both the Egyptian and Canaanite inhabitants.

The architecture at Tel Masos is predominantly the so-called 'Israelite' four-roomed house, common during the EIA, House 480 being unique at the site. There is little, therefore, to validate the opinion that Tel Masos supported an Egyptian presence during this period. Tell es-Sa'idiyeh also has nothing in the contemporary

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<sup>72</sup>Dothan, T. in Rainey, A.F. *ed* - *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 129.

<sup>73</sup>Ottosson, M. - *Temples* (1980) 50.

architecture supporting its identification as an Egyptian settlement; the architecture of Stratum XII is not obviously Egyptian, although brick and not stone was used for foundations. However, there are certain parallels between Sa'idiyeh and Beth Shean, namely the wooden treads on the steps linking the "residency" with the Western Palace, the *bulla* and the mudbrick floor in the Western Palace (*cf.* respectively Yadin/Geva Building 2533, IEJ 43 (1993) 215 and Room 78726 of Building 88700). The water system also introduced a type of architecture which does not have parallels at any other Canaanite site but, more importantly for this argument, neither does it have Egyptian parallels, Tubb felt instead that it has its origins in Mycenaean architecture, but this is open to question.

This survey shows, therefore, that only Beth Shean had further structures which may be called Egyptian and they can only be identified as such from the inscribed lintels and T-shaped doorjamb, the architecture itself was not characteristically Egyptian. However, if one accepts that the "residencies" are Egyptian and that each of these sites supported an Egyptian population then this is not what is expected. If a site was under Egyptian control and habitation then it is realistic to expect further evidence of Egyptian architecture. While it is possible that the excavators have merely been unlucky and their excavations have missed further Egyptian architecture, it is perhaps more plausible to conclude that, based on the architectural evidence, the sites do not appear to be Egyptian with the exception of Beth Shean. Ultimately the question is raised as to whether the buildings identified as "Egyptian Governors Residencies" have been correctly interpreted. This can only be answered after all the material from the sites has been collated.

## Chapter 5

### Comparable Egyptian Buildings

This chapter is concerned with describing comparable Egyptian buildings in their own setting to see if the alleged Egyptian buildings in Palestine and, ultimately, the sites themselves bear more than a superficial resemblance. A short discussion about Egyptian buildings in the Nubian province will also be included so a comparison between it and the Canaanite province can be made.

#### General Building Plans

##### 5.1 Migdol

##### 5.1.1 Architecture

This Canaanite word is applied to a type of structure described by Helck and Otto as a multi-storey building with wide foundation walls, one room enclosed, its entrance guarded by projecting wall segments. Stairs allow access to the upper parts of the building.<sup>1</sup> Migdols are best understood as fortresses built to protect Egyptian interests, explaining why few examples have been found in Egypt itself. The majority of such buildings were concentrated along the North Sinai section of the coastal route known as the 'Ways of Horus', several examples have been excavated - Gebel Abu Hassa,<sup>2</sup> Bir el-'Abd<sup>3</sup> and Haruvit (Haniba).<sup>4</sup> Each will be briefly described and then compared, firstly with each other and then with the possible Canaanite migdols at Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor.

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<sup>1</sup>Helck & Otto - *Lexikon der Agyptologie*. "Ein mehrstöckiges Gebäude auf breiten Grundmauern, einem Raum umfassend, dessen Eingang durch vorspringende Mauerteile geschützt wird. Treppen ermöglichen Zugang zu den oberen Gebäude teilen."

<sup>2</sup>Offord, J. - *PEFQSt* (1919) 175-177.

<sup>3</sup>Oren, E.D. - *IEJ* 23 (1973) 112-113; Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed* - *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 69-119.

<sup>4</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed* - *ibid*.

*Gebel Abu Hassa* (fig.12): Situated on a small plateau on the Suez road, south of the 'Ways of Horus' and west of the Bitter Lakes, the structure had two phases of occupation dating to the 18th-19th Dynasties. Measuring 14.8m on a side, the thin walls (0.6m wide) were constructed of large stone blocks, the gaps filled with mortar and small stones. Cledat believed that the structure belonged to the genre of forts or *migdols* known in southern Syria, *i.e.* a square tower with battlements, a single exterior door and one or two windows to light the ground floor.<sup>5</sup> The interior was divided into three long narrow chambers by two north-south walls. Storejars were sunk into the floor of the central and eastern rooms (4 and 3 respectively) while the inner, western, room served as a shrine for Sutek/Ba'al and Hathor/Astarte<sup>6</sup> or Horus and Hathor/Astarte.<sup>7</sup> According to Offord, the majority of the decorative scenes and hieroglyphic texts were from this room;<sup>8</sup> two skeletons were buried beneath the floor.

*Bir el-'Abd*: A cluster of small encampments around a central site, Bir el-'Abd stands on the 'Ways of Horus', about 20km west of Nahal Yam. The main site covered an area of approximately 50 dunams, although the architectural remains were contained within 5 dunams, and can be divided into three parts: Area A - a raised area to the north; Area B - a long dune ridge in the centre; Area C - a wide depression to the south.

Area A: The architectural remains of the *migdol* are confined to massive brick walls (1.3m wide), built of three rows of mudbrick laid side by side, encountered in two probe squares which revealed an 8m stretch. Oren reconstructed this wall section as part of a 40x40m enclosure wall surrounding a fort whose interior plan was not exposed.<sup>9</sup> "The size of the bricks (44 x 22 x 12 cm) and the building technique are characteristic of the public architecture in New Kingdom Egypt."<sup>10</sup> A beaten earth floor abutted the wall,

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<sup>5</sup>Cledat, J. - *BIFAO* 16 (1919) 210.

<sup>6</sup>Offord, J. - *op.cit.* [fn.2] 176. Unfortunately, no further information is given.

<sup>7</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *LBEG* (1993) 57.

<sup>8</sup>Offord, J. - *op.cit.*[fn.2] 176.

<sup>9</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed* - *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 78; see also Oren, E.D. - *IEJ* 23 (1973) 112.

<sup>10</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 112.

presumably a large open courtyard, and produced vast quantities of domestic Egyptian pottery (bowls, storejars, jar stands) along with "decorated vessels of characteristic New Kingdom types."<sup>11</sup> Its function as a courtyard is supported by its mudbrick architectural installations for storage and baking, hearths and refuse pits, together with animal and fish bones.

Area B: About 40m south of the enclosure wall Oren excavated a substantial granary, formed by 4 cylindrical silos (3.8m diameter, walls 50cm wide preserved to a height of c.1.8m) with magazines to the west. Oren's excavations demonstrated only the domes of the silos were built above ground, the remaining construction was subterranean.<sup>12</sup> The brick structures west of the granary (which Oren calculated would hold 44600l or 40 tonnes)<sup>13</sup> were poorly preserved elongated halls behind open courtyards, presumably magazines. Often the inner walls and entrances were strengthened by brick buttresses.

Area C: A rectangular depression (10x15m) was located 200m from the fort. Originally lined with thick clay, it can be best interpreted as a reservoir which fell into disuse; Oren postulated it was filled by rainwater and water from nearby wells,<sup>14</sup> although he also stated that water may have been transported from Canaan.<sup>15</sup>

*Haruba* (fig.13): A cluster of about 20 sites in a 4-5km<sup>2</sup> area 12km east of el-'Arish. Only one of the sites is relevant to this discussion as it has been identified as a migdol, one other, an administrative centre (A-345), is important. The other sites can be interpreted as encampments and, while they help to build up a picture of Egyptian control and the way of life in Northern Sinai, they cannot form part of this discussion.

Comprising an enclosure wall, gatehouse, wide courtyard and compartments, the fortress lies in the middle of sand dunes and covers an area of 2500m<sup>2</sup>. The enclosure wall (4m

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<sup>11</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 78.

<sup>12</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 113.

<sup>13</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 80.

<sup>14</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 83.

<sup>15</sup>Lecture given at Liverpool University 18/3/97.

wide) was buttressed in places, some of which are 4m wide and may have been the bases of towers - *cf.* the northeast corner and in the middle of the north wall. The enclosure wall was constructed of bricks which were remarkably similar in size (45x22x12cm) to those at Bir el-'Abd indicative of Egyptian control over architecture to produce such uniformity. The fort was entered via a gateway (13x12m) which protruded from the eastern wall. "The entry way, some 16 m long and 3.70 m wide, is broad enough to allow for the passage of chariots; the two massive buttresses, 8m x 13m, that flank the entrance make the gateway into a solidly fortified unit."<sup>16</sup> The buttresses each contained two cells, presumably for storage, which were entered from above; an adult male skeleton was excavated in the outer cell of the north buttress. Orientated north, he was lying supine, his arms extended above his head which was covered with broken storejars and surrounded by ash deposits.<sup>17</sup> Two phases of construction could be identified within the passageway; in the latter a thin brick partition wall (20cm wide) enclosed clay installations and narrowed the passage at the eastern end to approximately half its original width. This may have rendered the passage obsolete, making another, unlocated, entrance a necessity.<sup>18</sup>

About one-third of the fort's area had no architectural remains although cooking installations were exposed. A small courtyard next to the enclosure wall contained 7 *tabuns* sunk into the floor and presumably served as a kitchen or bakery; in an adjoining room was a large Egyptian pithos with cartouches on its shoulder, nearby were fragments of a second vessel with cartouches which Oren restored as the names of Seti II.<sup>19</sup> The western wing was densely built with living and storerooms clustered around long corridors and installations; a few rooms had brick pedestals which may have

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<sup>16</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 87.

<sup>17</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 89.

<sup>18</sup>Further evidence for this theory is provided by a child's skeleton at the western end of the gateway in the later phase. Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 93.

supported beds or benches. "The smaller rooms which were 12 sq m on the average, were dwellings, the larger rooms, some 25 sq m on the average, probably were used for public functions; the long narrow rooms were repositories for equipment and for storage; additional storehouses with wide courtyards were built against the enclosure wall; and yet another group of clay taboos were built near one of the walls."<sup>20</sup>

The ceramic assemblage "comprised a relatively high percentage of vessels characteristic of southern Canaan toward the end of the Late Bronze Age",<sup>21</sup> *i.e.* carinated kraters, bowls with string-cut bases, large flasks with red concentric circle decoration and storejars. A kiln excavated in a potter's workshop within the complex illustrated pottery manufacture near to the site as it contained several unfired vessels, including copies of Egyptian forms. Imported ceramics included Egyptian 19/20th Dynasty shapes, Cypriote WS, BR and White-Shaved ware and Mycenaean IIIB vessels. Other finds included clay cobra heads, clay duck heads, 19/20th Dynasty scarabs, a stone chariot fitting and fragments of a sandstone sphinx statuette.

### **5.1.2 Egyptian Representational Evidence**

Two documents shed light on the Egyptian military road known as the 'Ways of Horus' - the reliefs of Seti I on the north wall of the hypostyle hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak and Papyrus Anastasi I, dating to the reign of Ramesses II. The Karnak reliefs illustrate the first campaign Seti I undertook into Asia and provide a visual representation of the forts situated along the 'Ways of Horus' (fig.14). Papyrus Anastasi I was a scribal exercise, listing towns under the Egyptian empire in Asia in a satirical style<sup>22</sup> and, apart from being a rough geographical guide, the papyrus does not shed any light on migdol construction. Unfortunately, of the 20 locations named in Papyrus

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<sup>20</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>Oren, E.D. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.3] 95.

<sup>22</sup>See the translation by Wilson, J.A. - ANET (1969) 475-479



Anastasi I and the Karnak reliefs, few have been positively identified, with the exception of Gaza and Sile, the first fort on the eastern border of Egypt, due to the majority taking names and epithets of Ramesses II and Seti I. However, it is probable that both the Papyrus and the Karnak reliefs gained their information from a common source - an itinerary or map.

The forts depicted on the Karnak reliefs are always accompanied by reservoirs and, often, palm trees and can be divided into two main groups:

- i) a simple vertical enclosure with battlements, the fort was entered through a central door.
- ii) a double enclosure with a central doorway. In this instance, above a wall of the aforementioned type was a similar, narrower, internal enclosure with bastions.

### 5.1.3 Comparison

Architecturally it appears as if the three sites described above have little in common; even the building material differs, stone at Gebel Abu Hassa in contrast to the fairly uniform mudbrick material at Bir el-'Abd and Haruba. It seems the migdols at Bir el-'Abd and Haruba resemble each other much more than that at Gebel Abu Hassa although this similarity may be superficial, due to the interior plan of the migdol at Bir el-'Abd not being excavated. Silos were only found at Bir el-'Abd despite the supposition that, if the migdols were inhabited by Egyptian officials and personnel and formed part of the Egyptian administration system, food storage vessels would have been a necessity to store the rations issued to government personnel. Similarly, a reservoir, a feature depicted next to every migdol on the Karnak reliefs, was only excavated at Bir el-'Abd. The omissions may be due to accidents of excavation and not indicative of absence.

If the three Sinai migdols are compared with the proposed Canaanite migdols, at Beth Shean (fig.15), Deir el-Balah (fig.1) and Tel Mor (fig.1), no remarkable similarities are

apparent. The buildings were all mudbrick constructions, like those at Bir el-'Abd and Haruba; those at Beth Shean and Deir el-Balah had towers evident in at least one corner, like the example at Haruba. The Beth Shean migdol was situated next to a silo of a style unique to LB Palestine but identical to those at Bir el-'Abd. Deir el-Balah is the only Canaanite migdol which conforms to the Karnak reliefs by being situated next to an artificial reservoir, although the method of waterproofing differed from that used at Bir el-'Abd. Similarly, Tel Mor was the only example where the walls were constructed of alternating salients and recesses similar to the visual representations. Enclosure walls were not traced around any of the Canaanite migdols; at Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor this was probably due to accidents of excavation while at Beth Shean the building was located on the steep south slope *i.e.* presumably above the LB fortifications, if any existed, and opposite where the LB gate was situated.

The function of the migdols is uncertain. While the artifactual evidence, especially from Deir el-Balah, indicates strong Egyptian influence or, more likely, occupation, their purpose is unclear - did they serve as military or administrative bases? The lack of weaponry found within all three Canaanite structures makes their identification more problematic. However, little weaponry was found in the northern Sinai migdols, with the exception of Bir el-'Abd where bronze spearheads and arrowheads were excavated.<sup>23</sup> It is not possible to state that, as the Canaanite buildings did not contain weaponry, they did not serve a defensive purpose - just because weapons were not found does not mean that none ever existed. Indeed, as the Canaanite migdols did not suffer a violent end, it is likely that all useful objects were removed from the buildings before a withdrawal was executed. It appears the function of the forts and stations of the 'Ways of Horus' was to secure this major communication route with Asia which was needed to maintain the northern province of the Egyptian empire. To this end, the Egyptians must have been

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<sup>23</sup>See above n.13.

involved in skirmishes with disgruntled local rulers and, if the migdols were not staffed by military personnel, then the Egyptian empire would have suffered major territorial losses. It seems clear, therefore, that these sites contained Egyptian troops housed either in the migdols themselves or in barracks which have not been located; this situation is easy to visualise at Deir el-Balah, Tel Mor and, to a lesser extent, Beth Shean where large areas of the site have not been excavated.

### 5.2 Private House

A typical el-Amarna house has been described above (*cf.* ch3 p39-42, fig.2);<sup>24</sup> to recapitulate, the Amarna house was a square structure, roughly 20x20m, with a central hall surrounded on all sides by smaller rooms including private apartments which stood within its own large enclosure containing other elements surrounded by a 3m high wall. The house described above belonged to the richer members of society, although the houses of the poorer were of the same basic design, and it is to this richer class of people that we must look in connection with the 'residency' question. It is impossible to believe that an Egyptian governor or official concerned with the administration of the Canaanite province, both jobs of high status, would reside in a house typically belonging to the poorer members of his society.

### 5.3 Temple

Egyptian cult temples in the NK belong to the 'mature formal style' and were only ever constructed by royalty, unlike in Canaan where it appears that non-royal members of society erected religious buildings.<sup>25</sup> Religious beliefs in Egypt also underwent change; the temple was no longer just regarded as the house of the god erected to serve the

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<sup>24</sup>For a detailed description see Lloyd, S. - *JEA* 19 (1933) 1-7.

<sup>25</sup>This can be seen at Canaanite sites like Tel Mevorakh where a temple was erected at a site with no contemporary settlement (*cf.* ch11 p282) and Hazor where the stela temple, an unimpressive building, was built on the lower tell away from the palace (*cf.* ch11 p261).

image of the god, but became a proclamation in stone of the fulfilment of the explicit contract between the king and the god - the god gave the king the throne of Egypt and power within life, in return the king had to uphold Maat, *i.e.* the correct order of the universe and, in particular, the fighting off of chaos. To this end the king had to maintain the proper order in the world in various ways, defending the boundaries of Egypt, expanding the empire, direct service of the god by building temples, making offerings etc. This explains why, at the start of the NK, Egypt undertook a large scale temple building programme when existing temples were replaced or added to, usually by stone constructions. Religious idealism shifted - there was no longer a static image of the god in the centre of the temple and the religion became more shrine based as the god moved, leading to the idea of sacred processions of the *bak* boat which affected the interior design of the temples. The nature of the temple altered until it became more elongated along the central axis which extended out of the temple itself and along the processional way. The standard Egyptian NK cult temple consisted of a number of architectural blocks although every temple was of different plan due to local conditions, royal patronage and the period over which the temple was constructed. However, all cult temples were orientated towards the Nile and, therefore, their main axis runs either east-west or west-east.

The ideal standard form of a NK cult temple (fig.16) is as follows, although it must be noted that very few actually followed this plan as they were usually built and added to over long periods:

- 1) stone pylon gateway, recesses in the front of the pylons for huge wooden flagpoles.
- 2) a partially open courtyard which consisted of a series of colonnades with a large open central area. As the reliefs depict the king carrying out public duties, this area was most likely open to the public.

- 3) a hypostyle hall which was presumably roofed - the columns were close enough together to be able support a roof paved constructed of stone slabs. Known as the 'Hall of Appearance' or the 'Hall of Offering'.
- 4) a long narrow sanctuary containing the *bak* shrine, it was open front and back.
- 5) a second sanctuary containing a static image of the god. This room is not always present.
- 6) storerooms for cult equipment.
- 7) side chapels for worshipping deities belonging to the family of the main god of the temple.

From this brief description, it is obvious the alleged Egyptian style temples in strata VIII-VI at Beth Shean do not conform to the style of a typical NK cult temple. However, they are very similar to another NK temple type found at Deir el-Medineh (fig.17); the description of these Egyptian buildings as temples is misleading, they can best be described as funerary chapels. These also have standard features which can be briefly listed as follows:

- 1) one or two open courts; some may be partially covered as the presence of pillar bases indicates.
- 2) mudbrick benches in the second court.
- 3) either mudbrick lustration basins fixed to the wall between the second court and the sanctuary or portable stone basins.
- 4) a raised sanctuary (pronaos and shrine) reached by stairs.
- 5) adjacent storerooms and priestly housing.

The Beth Shean temples are not funerary chapels but contain many of the same basic elements (see the descriptions: Stratum VIII ch6 p115-117; Stratum VII ch6 p119-122; Stratum VI ch4 p60-62). Earlier mortuary chapels of similar plan were excavated at el-Amarna - an outer courtyard led into a columned inner yard containing mudbrick benches and fixed mudbrick lustration basins, stairs led to a raised sanctuary. The same

argument holds for the Amarna chapels as for the houses - Amarna was inhabited for a short period of time and its architecture was not continued elsewhere. As only a few small chapels were built at Amarna in the same style as the Beth Shean temples and the plan was not adopted elsewhere, it is difficult to believe that the plan was exported into Canaan during the Amarna period where it continued in use, without replacement, at a later date. Giveon, therefore, believed it possible that "the Amarna-chapels are an imitation of Canaanite prototypes."<sup>26</sup> This idea gains strength when the Amarna chapels are compared with Syro-Palestinian *Breitraum* temples, eg Hazor Area H, which have columned inner courtyards with benches and niches. It is possible, therefore, that during the Amarna period the Egyptians adopted a Canaanite temple plan,<sup>27</sup> modifying it for their own use. This would mean that the Beth Shean temples were not of Egyptian type but originate in earlier Canaanite examples. If this theory is correct it could mean that the Amarna house, with which the Egyptian governors' residencies are compared, was also an Egyptian adoption of an earlier Canaanite building type.

### 5.4 **Town Planning**

In the suburbs and workmen's villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medineh, it is possible to identify Egyptian town planning which can then be compared with the plan of Beth Shean, especially stratum VII, the only Palestinian LB governor's residency site to be excavated sufficiently to allow such a comparison.

#### 5.4.1 **el-Amarna** (fig.18)

The workmen's village lay on a low plateau west of the mountains. "The village and chapels are the main features of a compact area of remains which must represent more or less the total physical requirements of this one community."<sup>28</sup> Forming a distinct

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<sup>26</sup>Giveon, R. - *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (1978) 25.

<sup>27</sup>There is a migdol at Avaris.

<sup>28</sup>Kemp, B.J. - *JEA* 64 (19) 24.

community, the walled village enclosed an area of approximately 4648m<sup>2</sup> entered in the south, was divided into two unequal sections by a mudbrick wall and comprised 5 north-south streets. In the smaller, western, section of the village all the houses opened onto the single street although their doors were situated "so that no house looked directly into its opposite number."<sup>29</sup> More uniformity was evident in the larger, eastern, section which was separated from the enclosure wall in the north by an east-west street, apart from the northeast corner where a house adjoined the wall. All the houses in this section opened onto a street to the west and were of identical size and plan; the houses each had four rooms - an outer hall, inner living room with column, a bedroom and a kitchen, the latter containing stairs which led to the roof. A single house in the southeast corner was larger than the other houses and was of the centre hall type with a single column. Perhaps this house belonged to the foreman of the workmen, thus explaining its larger size.

### 5.4.2 Deir el-Medineh (fig.19)

Unlike Amarna, the workmen's village at Deir el-Medineh was constantly expanding due to the longevity of the settlement and the prosperity it enjoyed. The earliest village was laid out during the reign of Tuthmosis I whose name was stamped on the mudbricks that formed the enclosure wall. It is unclear whether the entire enclosed area was inhabited during this early period or if it contained some open areas. A single street ran through the village, following the line of the original valley path, onto which the long narrow houses opened. The village was destroyed by fire "possibly during the Amarna period when it may have been temporarily abandoned."<sup>30</sup> The second stage, dated to the end of the 18th Dynasty (probably the reign of Horemheb) saw the reorganisation of the village

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<sup>29</sup>Fairman, H.W. - *The Town Planning Review* 20 (1949) 45.

<sup>30</sup>Bierbrier, M. - *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaoh* (1989) 65.

- new houses were built and the older ones refurbished. The village also expanded to the north and west<sup>31</sup> over the earlier enclosure wall, resulting in the construction of a stone enclosure wall around the suburbs. However, expansion continued and houses were built outside the enlarged enclosure wall which "ceased to be either a defence or a constraint and seems largely to have distinguished classes among the villagers."<sup>32</sup> During the reign of Ramesses II, when the village was at its peak, the walled settlement covered an area of approximately 6600m<sup>2</sup> and contained about 70 houses although another 40-50 existed outside the wall. The original north-south street was still the main thoroughfare although it was supplemented by very narrow side alleys which may have been roofed over.

The houses within the village were of similar plan, with variations due to wealth and social status. The original houses, which opened directly onto the street, appear to have been occupied by descendants of the original families who were assigned them by the government; built of mudbrick on virgin soil, they had no foundations. The later houses, being built either on rubble or less advantageous ground, were stone constructions topped with mudbrick and had basements. An average house consisted of four rooms: a room opening off the street containing a brick structure approached by steps and niches; a second columned room containing a low brick platform (bed?) and a false door stela, which served as the main living area, a small *cella* was often found beneath this room; one or two small rooms opening off the main living room which served as storerooms or work rooms; an open area at the rear of the house which obviously served as a kitchen, containing a *tabun*, grinding equipment and, often, a silo.

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<sup>31</sup>Bierbrier, M. - *ibid.* Or to the south and east, Bonnet, C & Valbelle, D. - **BIFAO 75 (1975)** 436. According to the map in Bierbrier, the new settlement extended north and west, pl LXII in **BIFAO** does not include a direction although, when aligned with Bierbrier's map, it too indicates settlement in this area. Of course, this all depends on Bierbrier's north arrow being correctly aligned.

<sup>32</sup>Fairman, H.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] 47.



Stairs from this courtyard led to the roof. Centre hall buildings occurred more frequently than at Amarna but they still formed the minority.

### **5.4.3 Discussion**

It is the southeast sector of stratum VII at Beth Shean which appears to resemble the layout of the workmen's villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medineh. Erosion and the limits of excavation have made it impossible to discover if the area was walled on its north, south and east sides; as it abuts the temple on the west, it is clear that no enclosure wall could have existed on this side. Consisting of small houses intermingled with larger central court buildings situated along a street grid, the southeast sector in stratum VII bears remarkable similarities to the workmen's village at Deir el-Medineh. It is likely that this settlement pattern existed earlier, during stratum VIII, although the archaeological evidence is not as clear. However, the plan of the southeast sector of stratum VIII again depicts a centre hall building mixed with smaller houses along a street grid. It is possible to conclude that the southeast sector of Beth Shean during strata VIII-VII was built on a plan common to the NK workmen's villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medineh and, therefore, provides strong evidence of Egyptian presence at the site during this period.

### **5.5 The Province of Nubia<sup>33</sup>**

An Egyptian empire had existed in Nubia during the MK when a series of fortresses had been established along the Nile as far as the second cataract; there had been strong interest from the 12th Dynasty which stopped temporarily during the Second Intermediate Period and was revived during the NK. Nubia became increasingly important for its routes to the southern markets, the manpower it could provide and its

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<sup>33</sup>This section includes sites which lie within the geographical boundaries of modern Sudan yet formed part of the Nubian province which stretched from Aswan to Khartoum.

gold mines in the eastern desert. To this end, the first kings of the 18th Dynasty had to destroy the political structure set into place by the Nubians during the Second Intermediate Period. As Egypt could only extend her empire south as far as logistically possible, it meant that "a transit corridor along the Nile had to be created and maintained, first by the creation of fortresses and later by the planting of colonial settlements."<sup>34</sup> Temples, similar to those found in Egypt itself and dedicated to Egyptian deities, were built adjoining towns or even cut into the western cliffs, culminating in the spectacular rock-cut temples of Ramesses II.<sup>35</sup>

**5.5.1 Mi'm (Aniba)** (fig.20) Originally inhabited in the MK, the NK city (200x400m) was enlarged and contained within a thick mudbrick wall surrounded by a mudbrick-lined dry moat on stone foundations. A gateway (7.5m wide, 10m deep) flanked by two towers was situated in the western wall, opening onto a bridge across the moat. "In the northeast corner of the Middle Kingdom city were the remains of some large mansions of the 'Amarna type",<sup>36</sup> indicating that this type of house was not limited in Egypt to the Amarna Period. A stone temple dating from the reign of Tuthmosis I or III and enlarged under Amenophis III was erected in the northeast corner of the new enclosed area.

**5.5.2 Buhen**<sup>37</sup> (fig.21) Built during the 12th Dynasty as a stronghold on the frontier of the new southern empire, Buhen occupied a strategic position. "With the fortified settlement of Kor, 4½ km. to the south, Buhen controlled the first navigable stretch of the Nile north of the [second] Cataract, which was impassable for ships of any size. South of the cataract for 40 km. was the Batn el-Hagar, a complete barrier for shipping, so that the products of the tribute and trade of Upper Nubia had to be carried by animal

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<sup>34</sup>Redford, D.B. - *Egypt, Canaan and Israel* (1995) 193.

<sup>35</sup>Similar temples were built in Sudan.

<sup>36</sup>Badawy, A. - *A History of Egyptian Architecture Vol 3* (1968) 457.

<sup>37</sup>For a detailed description cf Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report* (1979)

transport overland from Semna to Kor and Buhen for dispatch by ship to Egypt. Buhen was therefore not only a military stronghold, but a trading and dispatch post of vital economic importance."<sup>38</sup> Like the other Nubian sites, Buhen was reoccupied in the NK when Egyptian attention was turned south.

Buhen in the NK was a major architectural achievement although the MK remains facilitated the new occupation. The fortress expanded its MK plan, especially to the north and south, necessitating the construction of a new outer enclosure wall around the fortress, its associated town and western cemetery. Situated on the river bank, the rectangular wall, surrounded by a ditch, enclosed an area of 100,000m<sup>2</sup> (200x500m). "The perimeter wall, more than 1 mile long, consisted of a buttressed and steeply battered brick wall (3.5 m. deep x 6 m. wide), bordered on both sides by a low thin wall."<sup>39</sup> The wall was not a solid construction, rather a framework of compartments and the fortress was entered via two gateways near the river.

"In its reconstruction, the town underwent considerable alteration, although in general, with the exception of the temple area, the street system and building blocks retained their identity."<sup>40</sup> The enclosure walls of the fortress were built of alternating salients and recesses, enclosing an area 130x114m which contained a commandant's house,<sup>41</sup> domestic areas, a possible guard house and the temple of Hatshepsut.

Emery, Smith and Millard identified the following changes in the nature of the NK occupation of Buhen:<sup>42</sup>

1) When the Egyptians returned to Buhen, it became, once again, a place of military importance *forming* "no doubt one of the command and supply bases for the great

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<sup>38</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.37] 3.

<sup>39</sup>Badawy, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.36] 459.

<sup>40</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.37] 14.

<sup>41</sup>Like House 1500 at Beth Shean, the doorways had inscribed jambs and lintels although, at Buhen, these were of wood, not stone.

<sup>42</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.37] 99.

campaigns of Tuthmosis I and III into Upper Nubia."<sup>43</sup> The number of houses testify to the considerable Egyptian population as Egyptian officials brought their families.

2) Under Amenophis III and Akhenaten, Buhen was a major supply post on the route to the new major temple cities of Upper Nubia although "the official and civil life of Buhen was waning."<sup>44</sup>

3) In the Ramesside period Buhen appears to have become a workshop town and staging post, giving the impression "of a town mainly devoted to manufactures and industrial pursuits, probably directed by the priesthood, with personnel and labour perhaps partly dragooned by the state."<sup>45</sup>

**5.5.3 Amarah West (fig.22)** Lying on the west bank of the Nile 115 miles south of Wadi Halfa, the ancient town was situated atop a small mound and consisted of a central mudbrick enclosure, house remains outside the walls and a NK cemetery. Further, unexcavated, remains were found in a semi-circle around the site. "The precise extent of the town is still uncertain ... but it is certainly not smaller than Sesebi (Sudla), *i.e.* some 200 x 300 m., and it may be slightly bigger."<sup>46</sup> Excavations at the site were concentrated on the temple which lay in the northeast corner of the enclosure. The temple was entered via a gate in the north wall of the town which was protected by brick walls and flanked by trees, uninscribed columns and niches containing stelae.<sup>47</sup> The entrance was enclosed within a forecourt which was added after the temple had been constructed while the stelae belonged to an even later stage. The stone gate jambs "bear the cartouches of Ramesses VI and the figure and name of Ra'mesesnakht, a Viceroy of Nubia. In the thickness of the gate is an inscription of Merneptah."<sup>48</sup> Magazines were

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<sup>43</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>Emery, W.B., Smith, H.S. & Millard, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>Fairman, H.W. - JEA 24 (1938) 154.

<sup>47</sup>"That on the east contains a duplicate of the Dream Stela of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, and that on the west is a copy of the Marriage Stela of the same king." Fairman, H.W. - JEA 25 (1939) 140.

<sup>48</sup>Fairman, H.W. - *ibid.*

located outside the temple to the west and east, some containing doors and lintels inscribed for Ramesses II.

**5.5.4 Sesebi (Sudla)** (fig.23) Lying between the second and third cataracts, 180 miles south of the Wadi Halfa, the city of Sesebi was enclosed by a mudbrick wall (4.6m thick, 4-5m high as excavated, with buttresses 3.15m wide projecting 2.65m) covering an area 270x200m. A gateway appears to have opened in each of the four sides and a street extended northwards from the southern gateway forming a north-south axis.

The northwest area of the city contained three temples, whose eastern wall appeared to be continuous, erected on a solid sandstone substructure behind a courtyard. The central temple consisted of an inner and outer hypostyle hall, a sanctuary and subsidiary chambers; the southern shrine contained the pedestal for the *bak* shrine *in situ* and may have been dedicated to Mut during the 19th Dynasty as a doorjamb was found inscribed 'beloved of Mut, mistress of the sky'. "If this surmise is correct, then the northern temple would have been dedicated to Khons and the central to Amenre".<sup>49</sup> A stone structure located northeast of the temple was originally an open court set upon a stone platform with a lower platform containing stone stairs giving access to the upper court; at a later period another stairway and a colonnaded court were built on the eastern side of the platform. Blackman believed the original building could well have dated to Akhenaten as traces of the name of Aten were found and postulated that it may have been a small sun temple as it was similar to that found by Garstang at Meroe, Ethiopia.<sup>50</sup>

South of the temple area were three rows of large, well-built magazines, the entire eastern section of the town was barren with faint traces of houses found only at the southern end - it had probably never been developed as it lay on a slope and created levelling difficulties. The main residential area was situated in the southwest corner of the town and showed signs of careful, regular planning - straight streets and cross streets

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<sup>49</sup>Blackman, A.M. - JEA 23 (1937) 147.

<sup>50</sup>Blackman, A.M. - *op.cit.* [fn.49] 148.

were laid out at right angles dividing the area into four large square sections, each consisting of "two rectangular blocks of houses along three or four E.-W. streets."<sup>51</sup> The houses were laid out in long rows attached side to side or back to back, the rows often separated by narrow alleys. Although all the houses were brick built, stone was used for most thresholds, even in the smaller houses. The floors were of beaten mud while the walls were covered with white-painted mud plaster. Two types of house are apparent:

i) small house with large hall surrounded by four or more rooms which included a kitchen but no bathroom. Exterior walls were often on the same alignment indicating a uniform plan was followed.

ii) situated to the north, the larger houses are similar to the Amarna type although without the courtyard. Entered through an anteroom into a hall on the north side giving access to the living room with a single column, dais and a brazier, small rooms open to the east and west. The master's apartments were situated to the south - a bathroom, dressing room and bedroom characterized by the alcove for the bed in the southwest corner.

### 5.5.5 Discussion

From the description of the Nubian towns detailed above, it is apparent that major differences existed between Egyptian towns in Africa and Asia. The towns in Africa were totally Egyptian with respect to their architecture while the Asian towns, eg Beth Shean, appear to have few buildings in obvious Egyptian style. There are a few reasons for this discrepancy:

i) Geographical. The majority of Egyptian towns in Africa were founded on virgin soil, some as early as the 12th Dynasty, while the Canaanite towns said to be inhabited by Egyptians continued the MBA occupation. Exceptions to this rule are the sites of Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor which were both founded on virgin soil and differ in architectural

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<sup>51</sup>Badawy, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.36] 58.

form from the other alleged Egyptian sites. Here the Egyptians could construct buildings to a specific plan without the limitations of previous or existing architecture. It is unlikely, however, that Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor resembled the African towns as it appears that settlements were constructed at these sites for a single, specific purpose - to protect Egyptian interests along the Ways of Horus - and not necessarily to house a significant Egyptian population. The difference in architectural style may, therefore, be partially explained by the limitations placed on the Egyptians during their occupation of the Canaanite tell sites; it would be far easier to plan and build a city to Egyptian design on flat ground than on a tell. It is interesting to note that the eastern section inside the enclosure at Sesebi was free of architectural remains and that it was the only part of the settlement on a slope. However, it is not possible to say for certain that the incline was the reason for this lack of construction as the area may have been left open for cattle or another purpose.

ii) Political. One can assume that the different styles of Egyptian occupation represent different Egyptian perceptions of its empires in Africa and Asia. Whilst Egypt's expansionist foreign policy was directed towards Nubia and Canaan during the NK, her occupation of the two areas was so different (both in extent and style) that to assimilate the two areas under the heading of occupation is misleading.

The Egyptians first turned their attentions south into Nubia during the MK; in the NK the Egyptians regained territory that had been lost during the Second Intermediate Period, reimposing their rule, and extended the frontier of Egypt south, down to the Fourth Cataract. Here the Egyptians exercised supreme control, introducing the Egyptian administrative method and modelling the Nubian government on that in Egypt. "At its head was the Viceroy, who was responsible only to the king on an equal footing with the vizier. And again corresponding to the organizational role of the viziers of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wawat [lower Nubia] and Kush [the deep south] were then administered by two deputies, and both regions were subdivided into settlements or

administrative districts, each under the control of a mayor."<sup>52</sup> While the majority of these officials were Egyptian, it was not unusual for Nubian chiefs to hold office. A favourite Egyptian method of ensuring loyalty, which was also utilized in Asia, was the taking of hostages - usually sons of local chiefs - back to Egypt where they were educated. This method was more successful with the Nubian hostages, who often changed their names to Egyptian ones and built Egyptian-style tombs, as they were regarded by the Egyptians as possible future officials. The Egyptian fortress sites in Nubia can be regarded as extensions of, or integrated into, the Egyptian state, the movement of personnel and their families indicates that Nubia may have been regarded as part of Egypt proper.

The situation was totally different in Asia; although the Egyptians ensured the loyalty of the local rulers through hostage taking, the relationship between the two regions appears to have been more the case of diplomatic social relations than occupation and the reorganization of the administrative system. While the overall administration was under Egyptian control, as seen in the Tel Sera' ostraca, local rulers were allowed to remain so long as they took an oath of allegiance to the Pharaoh, curtailing their power. Frandsen has identified the two main duties of the local vassal kings as follows:<sup>53</sup>

- a) "to report anything that might conceivably upset the political and social equilibrium and, if necessary, to help in redressing the balance."<sup>54</sup>
- b) to maintain Egyptian economic interests including supplying the Egyptian troops stationed locally.

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<sup>52</sup>Frandsen, P.J. in Trolle-Larsen, M. *ed* - *Power and Propaganda* (1979) 169.

<sup>53</sup>Frandsen, P.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.52] 175.

<sup>54</sup>Frandsen, P.J. - *ibid.*



From the differences detailed, it becomes apparent that the Egyptians governed Africa and Asia under two models. In Nubia, the Egyptians employed direct rule which was accompanied by the erection of Egyptian-style temple-towns. If this system had been employed in Asia then we would expect to find Egyptian forts/settlements with a material culture similar to that in the Nile valley. As this is not the case we have to accept that a different system was in use in Asia. Here there is evidence of Egyptian influence when the Asiatics borrowed Egyptian features and then modified them to suit their own purposes resulting in hybrid types.

## Chapter 6

### Earlier Buildings at the 'Residency' Sites

This chapter describes and examines architectural remains belonging to earlier phases of the LBA at the sites having 'residencies' to see if there is any evidence of Egyptian influence or an Egyptian presence prior to the construction of the 'residencies'. If Egyptian-style architecture or buildings inhabited by Egyptians<sup>1</sup> are present, that may show that the 'residency' sites had a history of Egyptian occupation or influence, meaning the period of the 'residencies' was not isolated. This is important in assessing the extent of the Egyptian empire and its control over the subjugated territory during the earlier phases of the LBA. However, if no Egyptian occupation can be identified in the periods of the LBA preceding the construction of the 'residencies', then several questions are raised: why did the Egyptians now occupy these sites, if one accepts the 'residencies' were inhabited by an Egyptian governor, and why was there a need for firmer control over Canaan at this time?

#### 6.1 The Architecture

##### 6.1.1 **Aphék**<sup>2</sup>

Underneath the 'residency' on the acropolis were a series of superimposed public buildings, "the earliest one was most likely a palace of the 16th century B.C. belonging to the kings of Canaanite Aphék".<sup>3</sup> The later buildings were difficult to identify as they often utilised the walls and floors of their predecessors. Palace IV (Stratum X-14), the earliest LB palace, was built on the same orientation as the earlier MBA palaces, although its stone-lined drainage channels crossed the central hall of Palace III. A round stone-faced pit (2m diameter, 1m deep) was dug on the site of the cult room of Palace III and contained "a gigantic stone with polished

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<sup>1</sup>Identified as such by a preponderance of Egyptian objects.

<sup>2</sup>Unfortunately, Kochavi only briefly mentions the LBA architecture preceding the "residency".

<sup>3</sup>Kochavi, M. - BA 44 (1981) 78.

sides"<sup>4</sup> in its centre. Between the stone and the sides of the pit were many complete ceramic vessels, the majority simple bowls, all dating to the 15/14th century B.C. *i.e.* the end of the period during which the pit was used. "This may indicate continuation of the cultic place, a well-known phenomenon in Canaanite culture."<sup>5</sup> Stratum X-13, dating to the 14th century, saw a change, with Palace V constructed on a different orientation with no link to the preceding palaces, perhaps indicative of an upheaval and/or a difference in population. "The conquest of Aphek during the time of Amenhotep II may be associated with this highly significant change."<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the palace was damaged during the construction of Palace VI, the 'residency', making it impossible to reconstruct a plan. However, it is known that the palace had large, stone-paved courtyards containing drainage channels and, in front of the northern exterior wall, a row of columns on a *stylobate*. No finds are mentioned from any of these buildings.

### 6.1.2 Beth Shean

Four strata have been dated to the LBA - Strata R3, IX, VIII and VII. Stratum R3 was uncovered by Mazar during his excavations; Stratum IX can only be dated loosely, the predominant pottery dates to LBIB-IIA which ties in with the early 18th Dynasty inscribed objects, although some loci have a mixture of pottery from LBIA-IIB; Strata VIII and VII can be firmly dated to LBII, as will be shown below. "A *terminus post quem* for Level VIII is provided by two monumental stelae of Sety I"<sup>7</sup> while a "*terminus ante quem* for Level VII is provided by the Level VI lintel which shows Ramessesuserkhephesh"<sup>8</sup> (*cf* Appendix 1).

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<sup>4</sup>Kochavi, M. - NEAEHL (1993) 68.

<sup>5</sup>Kochavi, M. - *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Kochavi, M. - *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - LBEG (1993) 236. See Appendix 1.

<sup>8</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 235.

**Stratum R3**

Mazar's excavations beneath the central court of the Stratum IX temple revealed the remains of an earlier building belonging to a level designated R3 which he believed was a temple as the thin mudbrick walls stood on stone foundations and were plastered, while the floors were of white-plastered earth (fig.24). Measuring 14.6x11.7m externally, the building was presumably entered in the south via an outer hall which underwent two constructional phases - "in the early phase it was a broad hall whose inner dimensions were 9x3.2m, while in a later phase, a square room was added in the southwestern corner of the building which protruded to the south of the original facade".<sup>9</sup> From the entrance hall one entered the main hall via an entrance in the eastern end of the north wall; originally c.2m wide it was reduced to c.1.2m when the east wall of the temple was rebuilt. A partition wall ran north-south in the western part of the main hall forming a room, perhaps the temple storeroom or treasury. Along the eastern face of this wall was a mudbrick bench, raised in the north which contained a depression<sup>10</sup> and a large cylindrical stone 0.5m high. The inner chamber, a trapezoidal room was entered via a doorway in the middle of the north wall of the main hall and contained a double bench in the north with a plastered depression in front. Two narrow rooms to the west completed the building; the northern room contained plastered benches around a central depression and small round cult stands. It is likely the rooms to the north formed part of the same building complex but it is unclear if they were directly connected.<sup>11</sup> "The definition of the building as a temple is based on its plan and location beneath the temple compounds of the later Late Bronze and Iron Age strata."<sup>12</sup> Although this is a tripartite temple, consisting of an entrance hall, main hall and inner chamber, Mazar claimed it differed from most other monumental Canaanite temples as it was not freestanding

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<sup>9</sup>Mazar, A. - *Biblical Archaeology Today* (1993) 611.

<sup>10</sup>Mazar suggests this may be for a wooden pole as "a similar feature appears in the Tell Merovakh temple" Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 612.

<sup>11</sup>An infant jar burial was found in this area.

<sup>12</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 613.

or symmetrical in plan, but mainly because it was not monumental!<sup>13</sup> Mazar found parallels with the temples at Tell Mevorakh, the Lachish Fosse Temples and the Tel Qasile temples,<sup>14</sup> giving two possible explanations for this:

- i) they were indigenous Canaanite shrines of inferior status or different function to the monumental symmetrical temples.
- ii) they were introduced by a northern population group such as the Hurrians or Indo-Europeans who migrated south and settled in Palestine during the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The walls and roof of the building were demolished and used as makeup before the construction of the later sanctuary. However, there is evidence of possible cultic activity prior to the construction of the Level IX temple; a floor of beaten earth was laid over the entrance porch floor, a large pit, which contained organic material, animal bones and ash, was cut in the northwestern part of the main hall and a basalt floor was laid north of the building and covered with ash and bones. The building and the finds (see ch9 p178) within do not provide firm evidence of a secular function, yet if the building had been deliberately abandoned one would assume the occupants of Beth Shean would have taken valuable cultic objects with them. An abandonment of a temple hints at a change in occupation or a cessation of the worship of a particular deity at the site. If we accept Mazar's identification, it illustrates how the cult area of a town could be kept throughout several periods. Moreover, at Beth Shean the sacred area was kept in the same position even when the population changed in succeeding phases. A Canaanite sacred precinct was, therefore, utilised by the Egyptians during their occupancy of Beth Shean.

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<sup>13</sup>Mazar, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 614.

<sup>15</sup>It is impossible to check this hypothesis as "what is known of Hurrian ritual and cult comes almost entirely from texts. Stein, D.L. in Myers, E.M. - *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (1997) 128. No Hurrian temples have been excavated so their plan remains unknown.

**Stratum IX<sup>16</sup> (fig.25)**

*IXB/R2*: Mazar believed that it was in this phase that the Stratum IX temenos was built including Unit 1230 and possibly the main sanctuary to the south which continued in use, without change, in R1. The ruined R3 temple was covered by an artificial fill and became the open courtyard of a new cultic compound. Rooms were built along the northern and southern sides of this courtyard, underlying the western part of the later Stratum IXA temple compound. The largest room in this complex (7.8x7.4m internally) implies "that it must have been part of a public architectural complex";<sup>17</sup> in the western part of the area was another large room with a flagstone floor and, in the western end, a basalt paved sunken round structure. Some of the rooms built in the north utilised the earlier R3 walls, "the entire wall system of Phase R2 shows evidence of civic planning: All the walls are parallel and appear to be part of a well planned sacred area."<sup>18</sup>

Mazar re-examined the outer fort wall originally excavated by Rowe who described it as a casemate wall for the greater part of its length with a maximum width of 4.82m, enclosing the southern end of the area.<sup>19</sup> At the east end were three towers, the two outer towers 1.4m wide and the inner tower 2.36m wide. A small room in the western end of the casemate wall had "cement lined"<sup>20</sup> walls and floor and the top of a drain in its northwest corner. The adjoining room to the east had a blocked door in the north wall facing the stepped altar; the next room contained a "small cement-lined circular tank"<sup>21</sup> (1.07m in diameter and 1.14m deep) with two circular depressions which was presumably used for water. The next room to the east

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<sup>16</sup>Divided into two phases by Mazar following his excavations: Stratum IXB = R2 = LBIB; Stratum IXA = R1 = LBIIA. Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 615.

<sup>17</sup>Mazar, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 616.

<sup>19</sup>Rowe, A. - *PEQ* 61 (1929) 86.

<sup>20</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*, presumably plastered.

<sup>21</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

contained the top of a cement drain which ran under the north wall of the room. "The exact purpose of these two drains and the tank is not yet ascertained, but perhaps they played some part in the religious ceremonies associated with the temple, for from their close proximity to the temple we can hardly imagine them to have been put to other uses."<sup>22</sup> Mazar concluded that the wall was probably constructed in R2 and reused in R1, unlike Rowe who dated it to the same period as the Mekal temple.

*IXA/R1*: The temple area excavated by Rowe belongs to this phase, although several of the rooms were constructed in the previous stratum and re-used without change. Rowe dated these buildings to the time of Tuthmosis III but Mazar's excavations have shown that they belong to the 14th century B.C. Rowe claimed that there were two temples in this stratum - the northern, which was not totally excavated, and the southern, the temple of Mekal.<sup>23</sup> Both buildings were brick built on stone foundations, the southern building larger than the northern.

The Northern Temple (fig.26) It is unclear whether it was actually a temple due to its incomplete excavation, although Rowe suggested that it may be for the worship of Mekal's female counterpart.<sup>24</sup> Consisting of a roughly rectangular room (6x3.5m) with a small dividing brick wall running north-south, the east wall contained four brick pedestals while a flight of five brick steps led to a lower level in the north. One find, a bowl decorated on the exterior with a snake in high relief, may indicate the practise of ophiolatry (see ch9 p179).

The Southern Temple (fig.26) Measuring approximately 39m north-south by 57m east-west, the temple consisted of the following parts:

*i) Outer Courtyard* Lying west of the inner sanctuary, this large courtyard was entered via a door from the unexcavated area to the west, a door in the southeast

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<sup>22</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>Rowe, A. - *Beth Shan I* (1930) 10.

<sup>24</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

corner led into the temple proper. Next to this door was a socket, possibly for a wooden pole upon which Rowe felt "the carcasses of the sacred animals were suspended after the animals were sacrificed."<sup>25</sup> This hypothesis was premature and unsubstantiated, Rowe's supporting evidence being the finding of the clavicle of a three year old bull, a bronze sacrificial dagger, unfortunately unpictured, and a bronze or copper pendant depicting a lion attacking a bull or dog which he felt was hung around the neck of the animal to be sacrificed.<sup>26</sup> In the centre of the courtyard were "two table-like structures of brick with a small brick pedestal between them"<sup>27</sup> which Rowe believed were used to serve up cooked portions of the sacrificial animal, the smaller pedestal holding the cutting tools, again unsubstantiated.

*ii) Inner Sanctuary* Entered from the southwest or northeast, it contained two altars, one brick and the other stone. Thompson claimed the stone altar had some skeletal remains of a young bull upon it.<sup>28</sup> The brick altar was approached by a flight of three steps and a "stone libation basin"<sup>29</sup> was situated on its east side.

*iii) Sacrificial altar room* Lying south of the inner sanctuary, it was entered from the southwest. From this passage two steps, the lower held a basalt block, led to what Rowe described as a brick altar built into the north wall which had on its top " a channel for conveying the blood of the sacrificed animals to an outlet at the east of the altar. In the southern side of the channel is a socket for the peg to which the animal was tethered. Just against the south side of the altar were lying the two horns of a bull which had been sacrificed upon the altar"<sup>30</sup>

*iv) Room east of the inner sanctuary* Entered from the south, in the northern end was a circular, stone built fireplace containing ashes, charred bones, horns and three pieces of bent bronze which Rowe suggested was used to roast the sacrificial

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<sup>25</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit* [fn.23] 13.

<sup>26</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.19] 80; cf McGovern, P.E. - *Pendants* (1985) 37. For a description see ch9 p180.

<sup>27</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 13.

<sup>28</sup>Thompson, H.O. - *Mekal* (1970) 19. Unfortunately he does not mention the source of this information.

<sup>29</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 11.

<sup>30</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*



animals.<sup>31</sup> East of this room was a small room containing a well, the top 11.89m lined with mudbrick.

vi) *Southern corridor* Very few architectural details are available as Rowe mainly concerned himself with interpretation. All that can be gathered from the excavation reports and plans is that it extends from the *masseba* platform, more or less inside the outer fort wall, past the stepped altar. At its widest part near the stepped altar five steps led down to the courtyard 0.81m below. Rowe appeared to have been confused over its usage: in 1928 he believed it was used by the laity to pour blood libations onto the *masseba*,<sup>32</sup> in 1930 that only priests used it for this purpose.<sup>33</sup> Thompson claimed "the restricted access to the corridor seems to emphasise the latter possibility"<sup>34</sup> although the plans appear to show external access. The *masseba*, a basalt cone 50cm high on a base of rough stones, stood in a room north of the eastern end of the corridor, c.1.2m southwest of a "basalt libation bowl".<sup>35</sup> The floor around the *masseba* and bowl was mudbrick and a stone base stood against the western wall of this room which Rowe believed held the Mekal stela which was found nearby.<sup>36</sup> "The *mazzebah* of course was the local Canaanite emblem of Mekal; but as this did not suffice for the Egyptian conquerors who could hardly visualize a god other than in human, animal or other such shape, they made an anthropomorphic figure of the god...We have, therefore, for the first time in the history of excavation, actually discovered the transition from a "High Place" to a Temple."<sup>37</sup> Yet Egyptian representations of their deities in temples usually took the form of statues, not a mere stela which was presumably an offering to the god.

vii) *Stepped altar* A large mudbrick altar standing against the south wall of the small room on the north side of the southern corridor. Measuring 5.13x3.61x0.91m,

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<sup>31</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 13.

<sup>32</sup>Rowe, A. - PEQ 60 (1928) 78.

<sup>33</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 11.

<sup>34</sup>Thompson, H.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 21.

<sup>35</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 11.

<sup>36</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.* For a description of the stela cf. Appendix 1.

<sup>37</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

it was approached by a flight of four steps with balustrade either side. Near to the altar was a small conical basalt stone, 26cm high, which Rowe thought "was a Canaanite emblem of the local Baal."<sup>38</sup>

viii) *Small room* The south wall of this room was the back of the stepped altar. Along the northeast wall was a low mudbrick *mastaba* (0.56x0.38m). Entered either from the courtyard via an eastern door or from the west, in the southeast corner of the room was a sloping socket which Rowe felt originally contained a wooden peg.<sup>39</sup> The function of the room is unclear although Rowe claimed "it seems fairly obvious that the room was intended for the use of the temple guardian, whose duty it was to prevent laymen from mounting the steps leading from the courtyard to the corridor, and who doubtless had a fierce hunting dog to help him in his work, the dog perhaps being tied up to the peg in the corner of the room."<sup>40</sup>

x) *Room north of the inner sanctuary* Measuring 8x6m, the room was entered from the courtyard into the southwest corner of the room. A pole socket was found in the eastern wall.

Great outer fort wall As stated above p109 this wall was re-excavated by Mazar who found it was probably constructed in R2, *i.e.* IXA, with little alteration in succeeding periods. In the eastern of the three bays formed by the towers described above, the basalt panel of lions and dogs was found; it was not *in situ* but lying on its left side 7-9m from the southern edge of the tell slope. Rowe claimed "as the Beth-Shan panel must have been set in the door of the temple, the dog thus guarded the entrance against the lion, who brought death and destruction."<sup>41</sup> His evidence for this being the Assyrian practice of burying dog figurines under thresholds and concluded that the lion represented Nergal who was trying to enter the temple but prevented from doing so by the guardian dog. The panel is unique in Palestine, leading Frankfort to suggest it may have been carved in North Syria due to the similarity of composition

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<sup>38</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 13.

<sup>39</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.19] 85.

<sup>40</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 16.

with a gold bowl from Ugarit,<sup>42</sup> its function uncertain although its proximity to the temple may imply a cultic use.

Other rooms Rowe found several rooms in the area west of the courtyard and southern corridor of the Mekal temple. Two adjoining rooms contained stone built drainage pits covered with rough stones, the floor surrounding them cement lined.

### Discussion

The major problem with Stratum IX at Beth Shean is that Rowe assumed he had found a temple precinct so did not describe the architecture other than what he interpreted to fit his 'sacred area' theory and to show how the cult was performed. Ottosson has interpreted the architecture of Stratum IX as a temple and palace due to its similarity with Stratum V.<sup>43</sup>

### Stratum VIII (fig.27)

Dated with scarabs by Rowe to the period between Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III and, therefore, called "pre-Amenophis III",<sup>44</sup> *i.e.* the reigns of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, the dating is, therefore, unreliable as the scarabs were not used in conjunction with a pottery sequence and the possibility scarabs were kept as family heirlooms long after their manufacture was not considered, although Rowe admitted this fact when he redated Stratum V from Ramesses II to Ramesses III.<sup>45</sup> James and McGovern claimed "the evidence from monumental inscriptions and pottery typology fits best with the founding of Level VIII at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (Ramesses I or Sety I)".<sup>46</sup> Maps of Stratum VIII<sup>47</sup> show the stratum was very poorly preserved, although sufficient remains to be able to conclude that the

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<sup>42</sup>Frankfort, H. - *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1963) 149.

<sup>43</sup>Ottosson, M. - *Temples* (1980) 63-66.

<sup>44</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 17.

<sup>45</sup>Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) 22.

<sup>46</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 5.

<sup>47</sup>*cf* Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] pl 5; James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] map 2.

buildings of stratum VIII were laid out differently to those of Stratum IX although their walls followed the same basic orientation.

Temple Area As in Stratum VII (see below p119) the temple was situated in the middle of the excavated area. Comprising loci 1091 (N), 1310 and 1108 (W), the majority of the evidence for the temple in this period came from material beneath the Stratum VII temple which was given a Stratum VIII date. The temple will now be described following the format used by James and McGovern.<sup>48</sup>

*Altar room and stairway* (Below south wall of locus 1062, below east wall of locus 1068, below floor of locus 1068, below steps of locus 1068, below steps of locus 1072, loci 1091 (S), 1092 (W)). While the architectural remains all date to Stratum VII, evidence exists for a prior phase of the temple; material from below the floor of locus 1068 was assigned to Stratum VIII rather than a foundation deposit of the Stratum VII temple, and there is a probable threshold below the Stratum VII stairway in the western side of locus 1092. Two column bases, 1.63m apart, on a cobble foundation were directly below, and aligned with, the third step leading into locus 1068.<sup>49</sup> Overlying the cobble foundation between the two bases and slightly to the north was a basalt slab which Rowe claimed was lying loose;<sup>50</sup> after the removal of the columns another basalt slab was found between the columns. The columns rested on rough limestone blocks and a weathered limestone block of uncertain function was found north of the second basalt slab. A hole had been drilled in the upper basalt slab close to the eastern base "indicating that a door had once hung there."<sup>51</sup> A Stratum VIII architectural feature had been found *in situ* - a doorway flanked by columns leading to the altar room.<sup>52</sup> No architectural features were north of this threshold.

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<sup>48</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 6-22.

<sup>49</sup>*cf* Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] 15.

<sup>50</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 17.

<sup>51</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 7.

<sup>52</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.* This conclusion is based on the supposition that a Stratum VIII temple occupied the same plan and orientation as that belonging to Stratum VII. While it is probable that cultic activity continued in the same area it is unclear that the temples of Strata VIII and VII would follow identical plan.

*Inner Courtyard* (Locus 1092 (E)). Located east of the L.1092 threshold was a 1.8m long north-south wall with perpendicular stubs on both ends, identified by Rowe as a fireplace. A grinder on a rounded stone lay between it and the threshold. "Except for its location in the temple precinct, the feature is typical of those found in domestic or workshop contexts."<sup>53</sup>

*South eastern room* (Below locus 1085, below wall between loci 1085 & 1086, locus 1108 (E)). Stratum VIII architectural remains were defined mainly as locus 1108, of uncertain size, partially overlapping better defined contexts *i.e.* below locus 1085, and below the wall between loci 1085 & 1086.

*Entrance hall* (Below locus 1086, below wall between loci 1085 & 1086, locus 1108 (centre)). No architectural evidence.

*Northern outer courtyard* (Locus 1091 (N), below locus 104, 1105, below wall between loci 1104 & 1105, locus 1310). Very poorly preserved; locus 1310 was not completely defined, extending *c.* 10m northwest-southeast. A short section of wall ran east-west with two associated floors to the north and southeast. Two column bases were found on the north side of locus 1091; the southern (0.4m diameter, 0.34m high) "is incorporated into the north-eastern corner of two perpendicular mudbrick wall segments with pebble foundations",<sup>54</sup> while the northern (0.7m diameter, 0.22m high) was 3m north of, and in line with, the eastern mudbrick wall segment. A third column base (0.5m diameter, 0.39m high) was found in locus 1104 of Stratum VII, 6m east along the line of the northern wall segment; "although this base was originally assigned to Level VII, the placement of the base in relation to the two other bases argues for its assignment to Level VIII",<sup>55</sup> a fact supported by the elevations of the bases. The sides of the latter base were covered with thick plaster, probably the remains of a floor. The architectural remains are too poor to reconstruct the original building.

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<sup>53</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 13.

<sup>54</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 19.

<sup>55</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid* 19.

*Western outer courtyard* (Below wall between loci 1106 & 1107, locus 1386). The only architectural remains were two wall segments in locus 1386 which formed a right-angled southeastern corner of a building probably destroyed during the construction of the Stratum VII 'Commandant's House', migdol and southwest sector. The material finds were similarly sparse.

*Southern outer courtyard* (Locus 1108 (W)). No structures were found in this area in Stratum VIII.

It is difficult to compare the temple of Stratum VIII with that of any other site due to the paucity of architectural remains. However, the nature of some of the small finds, especially the cobra and cat figurines and miniature vessels, possibly indicate a sacred role for this area, much of which was not utilised in the preceding stratum.

Southeast sector (Loci 1285, 1287-1292, 1295, 1297, 1300-1305, 1307-1309, 1311, 1313-1315, 1317-1321)<sup>56</sup> Rooms of varying shapes and sizes were built on either side of a central street (1311). James and McGovern identified a possible building with central hall comprising loci 1288 (central hall), 1302, 1290, 1297, 1292, 1301, 1289 and 1308.<sup>57</sup> The central hall was small (c.1.8x2.7m) although it and an adjoining room/courtyard to the north both had column bases situated off centre, the latter containing traces of yellow wall plaster. The buildings in this sector were on a different alignment to the Stratum IX structures and temples and to the Stratum VIII temple leading to the conclusion that "the southeastern sector was newly constructed in Level VIII, continuing through at least five phases into the early Iron Age."<sup>58</sup> However, it was not only this building which afforded a comparison with stratum VII as other parts of the southeast sector were similar; most notably the north-south and east-west streets were in almost exactly the same position and the complexes of rooms around them bore a strong resemblance to each other although the Stratum

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<sup>56</sup>For a detailed description of the loci cf. James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 42-48.

<sup>57</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 27.

<sup>58</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.*

VII buildings were much better preserved. Other individual buildings cannot be identified from the excavation reports due to walls often being utilised by two or more buildings. Only one locus (1307) appears to have been accessible from the street although "a wall or bench shown just inside the eastern wall of Locus 1252 of the Level VII plan, however, fits into this space and may be the eastern wall of Locus 1307."<sup>59</sup> Various installations were located within rooms, most of uncertain function although probably for domestic use *e.g.* storebins.

Northern sector (L.1312, 1316) Consisting of unconnected wall segments, locus 1312 could possibly be reconstructed a large rectangular room (9.4x4.6m). "It may be significant that the southern wall of Locus 1312, a wall section projecting south from the western end of the latter, and the fragmentary precinct enclosure wall in Level VII underlay the northern and western walls of the Northern Temple in Level V."<sup>60</sup> The finds from locus 1312 (see ch9 p185) were special in nature and this room may be reconstructed as a storeroom of the Stratum VIII temple.

The northwestern sector (Loci 1399, 1402, 1402A). This group of three rooms underlay the northwest corner of the Commandant's House of Stratum VII. This complex was on the same alignment as the Stratum IX architecture. If, as James and McGovern believed, the Stratum IX buildings in this area were cleared by the builders of the Stratum VII Commandant's House that would explain why the rest of this complex is missing. It is possible that these three rooms were part of a large residential sector or a single building "perhaps a forerunner of the Commandant's House (shifted slightly to the northwest, like the centre hall building in the southeastern sector.)"<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 46.

<sup>60</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 53.

<sup>61</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 55.

The remaining loci - eastern and northern periphery (L.1286, 1315, 1321), northern periphery (below L.11106, L.1221) and southern periphery (L.1295, 1300, east of L.1311) - surrounded the excavated area and were poorly defined with little architectural information.

### Stratum VII (fig.28)

Dated by Rowe to the time of Amenophis III on the basis of the scarab evidence which is unreliable (see the argument above p114). James and McGovern claimed "Level VII then must cover some portion of the period between Seti I and the early years of Ramesses III, i.e. in large part, the period of Ramesses II";<sup>62</sup> this is supported by the ceramic evidence which gives a LBIIB date. From the map,<sup>63</sup> Stratum VII appears to be architecturally well preserved. The stratum will be described following James and McGovern.<sup>64</sup>

The Temple precinct Situated in the centre of the excavated area, it comprised loci 1068, 1072, 1086, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1103, 1062, 1374, 1069, 1070, 1371, 1362, 1364, 1089.

*Altar room and stairway* (Locus 1068, near or north of steps of locus 1068). A narrow rear room (11.5x2.7m max.) entered via a stairway in its long southern side which was not centrally located and "was apparently incorporated into the walls between Loci 1068 and 1072."<sup>65</sup> Including the step behind the altar in locus 1072 and a bench extension along its north wall, there were seven steps, the top one level with the floor of locus 1068. The only interior feature was a shallow basin/bin located along the north wall. Rowe stated "the upper altar had been cleared away"<sup>66</sup> prior to his excavation; locus 1068 was sealed by the Stratum VI temple floor, "the refurbishers of the latter most likely moved the Level VII altar to Level VI."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] (1993) 5.

<sup>63</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] map 1.

<sup>64</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 6-66.

<sup>65</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 6.

<sup>66</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] 9.

<sup>67</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 6.



Although Rowe claimed most of the floor was missing when the room was excavated,<sup>68</sup> his identification of finds from "on the floor" or "below the floor" mean it must have been preserved in parts. The finds from this area were numerous.

*Inner Courtyard* (Locus 1072). A trapezoidal room which followed the shape of the temple. A bench along the north wall formed the second step of the staircase leading to locus 1068 and joined a rectangular basin/bin at right angles in the northwest corner; although robbed out in the east, it continued along the eastern wall. "On analogy with the Level VI inner courtyard, a bench might also have run along the western wall, but nothing remained of it."<sup>69</sup> In the southeast corner was a basin/bin with a curved wall. Two pebble foundations for column bases, identical to those in the Stratum VI courtyard, were found 5.6m apart, 2.5m from the adjacent walls. No bases were found, it is possible they were reused in the Stratum VI temple, like the altar from locus 1068. The foundations of the bases followed the same alignment as those in the Stratum VI courtyard but are further apart. Rowe reconstructed the columns as supporting a full or portico roof.<sup>70</sup> The floor was of hard-packed clay, 10cm thick, and plastered. A mudbrick altar (1.4x0.8m) joined the eastern end of the stairway and was described by Rowe as the 'lower altar'.<sup>71</sup>

*Southeast room* (Locus 1085). Opening off the southeast of the temple courtyard via a 3.6m wide doorway, a freestanding wall extended 1.8m from the east wall to form an open area in the southeast of the room. "A small basin or bin, which was not surveyed..., was built into the southwestern corner."<sup>72</sup>

A late Stratum VII area (locus 1073) was found above this room and entrance hall and also covers part of the western outer courtyard and southern periphery. "Except for a decorated ivory roundel, a painted limestone lid or platform, and a figurine

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<sup>68</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] 9.

<sup>69</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 13.

<sup>70</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] 7.

<sup>71</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.45] 16.

<sup>72</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 15.

head, the artifactual material from the locus is unexceptional and belongs typologically to LBII."<sup>73</sup>

*Entrance hall* (Locus 1086). The Stratum VII temple was entered via a hall, open to the outer courtyard to the west. A doorway in the northeast corner led into the inner courtyard.

*Northern outer courtyard* (Loci 1062, 1103, 1104, 1105). An open area (10x13m) immediately north of the temple, it was enclosed by wall segments on its north, east and west sides. The south end of the east wall ended in a square block "which defined an entranceway to the southeastern sector",<sup>74</sup> and, although the south end of the west wall is missing, it is likely it ended in a wide doorway to the western outer courtyard. Between loci 1104 and 1105 was a rectangular stone construction (1.2x0.8m) surrounded by stones, ash and burnt animal remains. This and the other finds in the vicinity suggest the feature was an altar or, at least, a focal place for the cult.

*Western outer courtyard* (Loci 1069, 1070, west of 1072, 1107, 1371, 1374, 1376). According to James and McGovern, the western outer courtyard was "very poorly described in the field records."<sup>75</sup> Between the temple and the Commandant's House was an east-west wall segment aligned with the latter building. Along the north edge were a partial room (1107) and a possible entrance (1376) to the temple precinct.

*Southern outer courtyard* (Loci 1089, 1362, 1364). Again only briefly described in the field records. Locus 1362 was an open area defined to the south and west by walls of the southwestern sector. Locus 1364 was a room that shared a wall with locus 1359, a room in the southwestern sector; the eastern ends of its north and south walls were missing leaving its 2x4m area open to the east where it faced the entrance to the temple proper. "According to the diary, a great amount of debris from "ruined and overthrown walls " filled Locus 1089 an open area in the corner formed by the

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<sup>73</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>74</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 18.

<sup>75</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 22.

southern wall of the entrance hall and an abutting north-south wall (about 3.2m in length)."<sup>76</sup>

Late Stratum VII was identified in an upper section of the fill in locus 1089.

Southeast sector (1.1088, 1243-1254, 1260, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1266-1268, 1270-1273, 1275-1279)<sup>77</sup> Rooms were built either side of a central street (1259) and, as in the previous stratum, of varying shapes and sizes. While some rooms were part of large buildings or complexes, other areas were not excavated sufficiently to allow a restoration to take place. James and McGovern have identified one building (locus 1243, loci 1245-1249) as having a layout similar to the Amarna buildings,<sup>78</sup> *i.e.* a central hall building like House 1500 in Stratum VI. Here the central hall (1247) was small and lacked columns which were an integral feature of the Amarna residences. The layout of the southeast sector, *i.e.* "small houses interspersed with larger centre hall residences along a more or less perpendicular grid of streets",<sup>79</sup> was reminiscent of NK towns e.g. the suburbs at el-Amarna and Deir el-Medina.<sup>80</sup> As in the earlier stratum it is difficult to identify individual buildings due to walls being utilised by several structures. Draft and domestic areas could be identified from finds within the buildings, giving an impression of normal domesticity.

The Northern Sector (Locus 1213A, south of locus 1213A, Loci 1218, 1219, 1225; Late VII loci 1213, 1214, 1216). The later Stratum VII loci north of the fragmentary temple enclosure wall are shown on the map of Stratum VII as they appeared on the architect's plan. James and McGovern noted that "a sketch of the Level VII structures in the diary (24 August 1927) enables them to be approximately located on the main plan."<sup>81</sup> The complex (Loci 1213A, 1218, 1219) was aligned with the

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<sup>76</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 24.

<sup>77</sup>For a detailed description of the loci *cf.* James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 28-42.

<sup>78</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 27.

<sup>79</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup>*Cf.* ch5 p95-98.

<sup>81</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 48.

temple precinct; the proximity to the altar in loci 1104/1105 combined with the quantity of finds make it probable these rooms served as temple storerooms. Locus 1255 was the northernmost extent of the excavated area and very poorly architecturally defined.

Three late Stratum VII loci were found in the area north of the temple enclosure wall. Only locus 1213 (6.1x3.5m) was completely walled, its eastern and western walls bent to the east at their north end. Loci 1214 and 1216, respectively west and east of locus 1213, overlay Stratum VII rooms and probably had a similar function. Loci 1293, 1294 and 1296 formed a separate complex on the periphery of the excavated area and, according to James and McGovern, were assigned to late stratum VII in the diary "despite the lack of supporting evidence."<sup>82</sup> James and McGovern concluded that "the walls of the complex are aligned with the southeastern sector, suggesting that this part of the northern sector was a residential quarter, as it was in Level VI."<sup>83</sup>

The Commandant's House and the Northwestern sector A square building (c.12m<sup>2</sup>) situated west of the western outer courtyard which Rowe identified as the Egyptian Commandant's House.<sup>84</sup> Built of mudbrick on stone foundations, the interior walls (0.8m wide) defined four rooms; two rectangular rooms (loci 1370, 1372) formed the east side of the building, were of similar size (3.6x4.8m) and bordered by two long rectangular rooms on the west and south, loci 1373 (7.0x3.2m) and 1369 (8.6x1.4m) respectively. A narrow (0.6m wide) opening in the east wall of locus 1372 is unlikely to have been a doorway. No evidence for any interior or exterior doors exists although Rowe felt the building was entered from the west via a southern corridor (locus 1369);<sup>85</sup> he also described doorways which are not featured on any plan. James and McGovern concluded "an exterior entrance from the west

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<sup>82</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 51.

<sup>83</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup>Rowe, A. - MJ 20 (1929) 63-66.

<sup>85</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 64.

through a southern corridor (Locus 1369) is plausible, since the migdol was presumably entered from the same direction."<sup>86</sup> This may make the building part of a larger complex complete with silo (locus 1381). Locus 1373 was divided into three north-south chambers open to the south, the westernmost was blocked by a mudbrick feature in the north which James and McGovern felt could be a stairway;<sup>87</sup> the presence of an upper storey, and therefore a staircase, supported by the thickness of the exterior walls. The northern end of the middle compartment contained a semi-circular niche (0.5m wide) set in the eastern partition wall and blocked by a thin wall to the south which Rowe interpreted as a toilet.<sup>88</sup> The eastern compartment was divided into two by a 1.6m thick wall. Apart from locus 1372 where the south wall forms a niche, possibly for a bed,<sup>89</sup> the rooms were devoid of architectural details. Joined to the northwest corner of the building was an "elliptical concavity (approximately 1.7 x 2.1m)...filled with rocks, and might have been a water tank, whose upper walls had collapsed inwards."<sup>90</sup> Although this building cannot be compared with the Egyptian centre hall houses, it is similar to several at el-Amarna<sup>91</sup> and totally unlike the indigenous Canaanite architecture. James and McGovern compared this building with the Apehek 'residency', the 'residency' at Tel Sera', and the building next to the 'residency' at Tell el-Far'ah (S), claiming they all belong to the class of Egyptian architecture where the living room, in this case locus 1370, was placed along a wall.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 54.

<sup>87</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 48.

<sup>88</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 64.

<sup>89</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 65.

<sup>90</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 54.

<sup>91</sup>Houses N 49.38, p 46.12, O 47.16, V 37.3, U 37.5.

<sup>92</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 54. While it is possible to see similarities between the Apehek building and the Commandant's House, it is difficult to justify this comparison in respect to the building at Tel Sera' which obviously has a central room/courtyard and may be interpreted as an Egyptian governor's residency. The problem is added to because of the incomplete nature of the buildings - it is difficult to assess their relationship to a known, complete plan.

The Migdol A thick walled building south of the Commandant's House. Rowe described it as a Canaanite migdol or fort tower<sup>93</sup> as it resembled the buildings depicted in Egyptian reliefs as situated along the Ways of Horus. Missing the west side due to Roman and Byzantine construction, the plan was heavily reconstructed by Rowe<sup>94</sup> in the southwest (locus 1384). James and McGovern felt that "the excavated walls in the north-western corner might have been later additions to the main structure. Although the westernmost extension of the northern wall (defining Locus 1383) was of the same width (about 2.3m) and continued along the same line as the rest of the wall, it differed from the main wall in lacking interior hollow cavities and slots."<sup>95</sup> The west wall of locus 1383 was not hatched in Rowe's illustrations, indicating the locus was a 7.9m long entrance hall and the main entrance (1.9m wide) was between loci 1382 and 1383 and flanked by two buttresses. If James and McGovern's above hypothesis is correct then the migdol originally ended here, the walls of locus 1383 were added later. Excluding the western extension, the building (17.0x15.1m) was constructed of large mudbricks (1.1x0.5x0.2m) standing on stone foundations.<sup>96</sup> The north and east walls (2.3m wide) were "constructed with hollow interior cavities and slots filled with wood and stones."<sup>97</sup> Locus 1354 is one such cavity (4.9x1.0m) in the southeast corner; filled with boulders, it continues a further 3.5m as a wood-filled slot. Similar slots extended 14.3m from locus 1368, a rectangular boulder-filled cavity (1.9x2.1m) in the northern wall. A partial cavity was found in the southern wall (1.3x5.8m reconstructed), filled with boulders and parallel to loci 1380 and 1382. Divided into four interior rooms: Loci 1382 and 1380 in the west, orientated east-west, each 5.8m long and 4.1 and 2.6m wide respectively; Loci 1363 and 1353 on the east, orientated north-south, each approximately 4.4m long, 3.5 and 2.8m wide respectively. Locus 1363 had a wall

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<sup>93</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.23] 21.

<sup>94</sup>Rowe, A - *op.cit.* [fn.23] fig. 2.

<sup>95</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 56.

<sup>96</sup>These bricks are far larger than typical NK Egyptian bricks.

<sup>97</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 56.

segment projecting over 2m into the northern half of the room and effectively blocking one-third of the area, although a narrow space was left between this wall and the northern exterior wall. Rowe felt this wall was the lower part of a stairway and the reason the wall was thicker than the other interior walls, 2.6m as opposed to 1.8m, to hold "the assembling of soldiers on its top."<sup>98</sup> However, no steps were found along the top of the wall.

If the western extension is ignored, then "the layout of the Level VII migdol is most comparable to buildings along the Sinai section of The Ways of Horus",<sup>99</sup> *i.e.* small bastioned fortresses with one or two entrances. James and McGovern claimed that the closest excavated parallel is a 19th Dynasty fortress at Gebel Abu Hassa.<sup>100</sup> Measuring 14.8m<sup>2</sup>, its walls were much thinner (0.6m), the interior layout was different and it had two central doorways. Migdol buildings were rare in Palestine, even in areas of strong Egyptian influence, although they have been found at Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor. "If the Level VII building was indeed an Egyptian fortress, it is surprising that only one weapon, an arrowhead, was found inside it."<sup>101</sup> However, due to its position, this building would not have been the first line of defence but rather a place for refuge or interior defence once the walls had been breached.

The Silo and Courtyard Set in courtyard 1381, west of the Commandant's House and north of the migdol, was a mudbrick-built cylindrical feature (4.6m diameter). Surviving to a height of 3.5m, the majority was below the stone-paved floor and its base was covered with undressed basalt slabs. Rowe, after finding carbonised grain on the floor, identified this feature as a silo with a minimum capacity of 40 cubic meters or 40000 litres,<sup>102</sup> *i.e.* about four times that of contemporary Egyptian silos which were generally domed and above ground. If the silo was storing grain for the occupants of the Commandant's House and the migdol, then it would need a capacity

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<sup>98</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 54.

<sup>99</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 57.

<sup>100</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.* Cf. ch5 p85-86.

<sup>101</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 58.

<sup>102</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 66.

similar to what it has; four silos of similar size were excavated near a migdol at Bir el-'Abd along the Ways of Horus in Sinai.<sup>103</sup> As well as grain, the silo contained carbonised wood, bones and pottery covered in a white substance which Rowe felt was flour.<sup>104</sup> James and McGovern noted "the artifact types represented in Locus 1381 are very similar to those from the Commandant's House and migdol, again suggesting that the courtyard and silo were shared by residents of the two buildings."<sup>105</sup>

The Southwestern sector (Loci 1355-1361, 1365-1367). An irregularly laid out grid of rectangular and trapezoidal rooms on stone foundations between the migdol and the southwest side of the outer temple courtyard. Aligned with the Commandant's House and migdol, the outer walls were not preserved so there is the possibility the complex extended further south. No architectural features were noted in the field records and the finds were very sparse (see ch9 p190).

The remaining loci surrounded the excavated area and were poorly defined with little architectural information - eastern and northern periphery (east of L.1273, L.1284, 1349), northern periphery (L.1106), northwestern periphery (L.1348, 1375) and southern periphery (L.1087, 1090, south of L.1244). Rowe claimed a northern extension of the eastern wall of the Commandant's House joined a wall segment in the north and defined an exterior kitchen, forming the loci excavated in the northwestern periphery.<sup>106</sup> Although it contained an ash-filled *tabun*, it was not easily accessible from the Commandant's House. The southern periphery was also inhabited in late Stratum VII (Locus 1073 (S), upper locus 1087, south of locus 1089 (upper section)). No architectural remains were found.

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<sup>103</sup>Oren, E.D. - IEJ 23 (1973). See ch5 p87.

<sup>104</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 66.

<sup>105</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 60.

<sup>106</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.84] 65-66.



## Discussion

Strata VIII and VII each contained buildings which had architectural parallels in NK Egypt and areas of the Southern Levant where there was strong Egyptian influence - the migdol, Commandant's House and centre hall building in Stratum VII and the centre hall building in Stratum VIII.<sup>107</sup> As stated in chapter 5, the migdol was an Egyptian-type fortress designed to protect Egyptian interests along the Via Maris; the reliefs of Seti I in the Temple of Amun at Karnak depicted such buildings although the example in Stratum VII differs from these and the structure at Deir el-Balah in not being situated next to a reservoir. It would, therefore, appear that an Egyptian presence, and possibly even an Egyptian garrison, was founded at Beth Shean at the start of the 19th Dynasty, destroying the Canaanite structures of Stratum IX but continuing the area of cultic activity. Whether this is indicative of a continuation or adoption of Canaanite religious beliefs by the Egyptians is uncertain although it is possible that Egyptians could have been present at Beth Shean during an earlier time in a less powerful capacity, using the Stratum IX shrine. A definite change occurred between Stratum IX and Strata VIII/VII. Stratum IX was laid out differently although some walls in Strata VIII/VII were aligned with the earlier occupation and the large open courtyard in Stratum IX existed in Stratum VII, and presumably in VIII. The altar rooms for all three phases were in roughly the same place, an indication of cultic continuity.

The general layout of Stratum VII, and VIII as far as it is preserved, appears similar to towns and workmen's villages in NK Egypt, *e.g.* el-Amarna and Deir el-Medineh. This is especially true of the southeastern sector which was laid out in typical Egyptian fashion *i.e.* a central street with a centre hall building and smaller structures either side. This is totally different to the layout of Stratum IX and provides additional proof of a change in occupation, indicating Egyptian presence.

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<sup>107</sup>*cf* the centre hall buildings at Tell el-Far'ah (S), Tell Jemmeh, Tel Masos and Tel Sera', if indeed all these buildings are Egyptian, the possible Commandant's House building at Apehek and the migdols at Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor.

As the rooms in the northern sector were aligned with the temple, it is likely that they were part of the temple complex and presumably served as the temple storerooms. The finds from this area, including imported ceramics, jewellery, part of a bull rhyton, part of a female figurine and cylinder seals, are of a non-utilitarian nature (see ch9 p189). The southwestern sector may comprise the living quarters for personnel working in the migdol; although James and McGovern believed this area could also house those working in the Commandant's House, it is likely the commandant would live on the upper storey of the building. This building has been compared to the Aphek 'residency' where habitation debris came from the upper floor, indicating it was used as the main living quarters. It is possible that there were more, unexcavated, buildings to the northwest for administration purposes *etc.* although these could only be reached from the migdol by a circuitous route.

While one can claim about strata VIII-VII that "the establishment of a garrison at Beth Shan marks a major shift in Egyptian imperial policy from a poorly controlled vassalage system, dependent on local dynasts and small contingencies of Egyptian officials and soldiers, towards the creation of a true colony, with a large Egyptian bureaucracy and military to control the local population and economy",<sup>108</sup> it differed from Egyptian fortresses in Nubia and Sudan which were much larger (see ch5 p89-91). However, this may be due to differences in how the Egyptians viewed both areas<sup>109</sup> and the fact that it is easier to convert flat ground than an occupied tell.

### 6.1.3 Deir el-Balah<sup>110</sup>

T.Dothan identified several periods at Deir el-Balah as belonging to the LBA which can be briefly listed as follows:

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<sup>108</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 238.

<sup>109</sup>See the discussion about the discrepancies between the NK Egyptian empires in Africa and Asia in ch5 p102-104.

<sup>110</sup>Unfortunately, the brevity of T.Dothan's preliminary excavation reports mean that little information is available.

Stratum 9 Late 14th century *i.e.* Amarna period

Stratum 8 End 14th century

Stratum 7 Early 13th century *i.e.* reign of Seti I - period of the 'residency'

Strata 6-4 Late 13th century *i.e.* reign of Ramesses II.<sup>111</sup>

### **Stratum 9**

This is the first occupation, on virgin soil when a large manmade 'reservoir' (20x20m) was surrounded by an architectural complex. The 'reservoir' had steeply angled sides to a depth of 5m and, as the majority of mudbricks employed in construction at the site were of the same clay, "it is probable that the lake served (at least initially) as the source for the bricks"<sup>112</sup> before serving as a reservoir during strata 9-7. The architecture comprised three mudbrick units in an L-shape, two orientated north-south, 50m long containing fifteen rooms, the other orientated east-west, 20m long containing four/five rooms, bordering the reservoir on the east and south sides. It is likely that the complex was much larger and formed part of a more substantial settlement as the northern and western walls were unexcavated. The mudbricks in the walls were consistently 40x20x12cm, the western wall of the north-south units was the thickest (1.1m). Several rooms had beaten earth floors. Excavations did not reveal a contemporary cemetery at the site although Dothan noted that "material relevant to Stratum IX has surfaced in private collections including coffins, a number of scarabs, alabaster vessels strongly reminiscent of those crafted during the Amarna era, and Aegean pottery types."<sup>113</sup>

If we accept Dothan's theory that Deir el-Balah supported an Egyptian presence at this time (a theory which cannot be tested until the final excavation report is

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<sup>111</sup>This follows the classification in NEAEHL (1993) 343. In *National Geographic* 162 (1982) it differs, being as follows:

Stratum 6 Mid 14th century

Stratum 5 Early 13th century - period of the 'residency'

Stratum 4 Late 13th century

It is likely that the classification presented in NEAEHL represents a revised version conceived after a later appraisal of the excavated material and I, therefore, follow this system. Only the publication of the final report will resolve this issue.

<sup>112</sup>Dothan, T. - NEAEHL (1993) 343.

<sup>113</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed* - *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 127.

published) then it shows that Akhenaten continued his predecessors activities and involvement in the Levant to maintain the Egyptian empire. Dothan claimed that Deir el-Balah was "an Egyptian administrative centre, perhaps with links to the very capital itself at Tell el-Amarna."<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, no supporting evidence can be adduced from the Amarna Letters while we are ignorant of Deir el-Balah's ancient name.

### Stratum 8

This ephemeral occupation was dated by Dothan to the time of Horemheb, "although diagnostic finds are lacking";<sup>115</sup> it consisted of floors from a structure and four pits.

#### 6.1.4 Tell el-Far`ah (S)

While Gophna did not mention any LBA architecture apart from the 'residency' in the synopsis of the site,<sup>116</sup> some evidence may be derived from the excavation reports. MacDonald noted that "an area to the south of the Residency was cleared down through the cobbled courtyard to native soil, revealing two further layers of buildings, one of the late XVIIIth or early XIXth dynasty, and one of the Hyksos period."<sup>117</sup> The earliest building consisted of parts of several rooms, presumably from three structures. A large grain pit was sunk into the native marl. No finds were discovered and the architecture is too fragmentary to allow for reconstruction.

The second structure appears to be the northern half of a large building with regularly planned rooms, possible cobbled courtyard (ZZF) and two ovens. A piece of el-Amarna ware dated the building. According to MacDonald, two fragmentary hieratic ostraca (unpictured and untranslated) came from the top of the grain pit.

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<sup>114</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.113] 128.

<sup>115</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - ibid.*

<sup>116</sup>Gophna, R. - NEAEHL (1993) 441-444.

<sup>117</sup>MacDonald, E - *Beth-Pelet II* (1932) 27.

### 6.1.5 Gezer

The remains of several earlier LBA strata were excavated at Gezer, both by Macalister and the Hebrew Union College. For clarity I will deal with the architecture by period rather than strata.

#### MBIIC/<sup>118</sup>LBIA

According to Dever, there are a few hints in Macalister's publications of habitation during this period although the evidence is scanty and, "therefore a partial desertion may have taken place following the Thutmose III destruction."<sup>119</sup> However, it is difficult to segregate the LBIA material from MBIIC, the transitional division is unclear as most of the architecture described below may have been in use for both periods.<sup>120</sup>

The Inner Wall (fig.29) Later in date than the central wall but earlier than the outer.<sup>121</sup> About 3.96m thick, towers (12.5m long, 7.32m wide) were placed at fairly regular intervals of about 31.32m. "As these towers were not all excavated, it cannot be said whether they were solid or contained chambers",<sup>122</sup> although that excavated contained an oblong chamber and was built above the entrance to an EBIB cave. Built of large irregular stones, the wall was not regularly coursed, the gaps were filled with small stones and mud. Macalister mentioned the wall contained two gateways; the northern at the north end of trench 2 and the southern at the south end of trench 28.<sup>123</sup> Macalister described the northern gate as consisting "of a tower containing gateways in adjacent sides, one on the outer face of the wall, the other projecting inward, so that a person entering the city follows a passage that turns through a right angle inside the tower",<sup>124</sup> comparing it to Jerusalem's Damascus and

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<sup>118</sup>Many scholars do not agree with Dever's MBIIC terminology, cf. ch2 p4 fn.6.

<sup>119</sup>Dever, W.G. - NEAEHL (1993) 501.

<sup>120</sup>It is difficult to date much of Macalister's results as he divided the stratigraphy into several large periods; much of his architectural description does not include any mention of associated finds, making dating impossible.

<sup>121</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - Gezer I (1912) 236.

<sup>122</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.121] 238.

<sup>123</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.121] 239.

<sup>124</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.121] 240.

Jaffa gates. This passageway (12.19m wide) contained a tower approximately 47.72m long, meaning it would be difficult to close the gate to intruders. There is nothing indicated on Macalister's plan of the inner wall<sup>125</sup> to suggest a gate was hung and, unless there was a barrier of some sort, the gate would have been difficult to defend. The south gate consisted of a straight stone-paved passage (2.74m wide, 12.89m long) between two mudbrick towers; of solid brick with external traces of lime plaster (?), the towers measured 8.67m and 8.42m long, at the time they were excavated by Macalister they survived to a height of 4.27m. On either side of the passage were huge stone blocks, the gaps rubble-filled, resting against the brickwork; above these stones a hard layer of brick which jutted out, perhaps forming a pier. No evidence exists to enable a reconstruction of a door or other such barrier which must have existed to close the gate. "The two outermost slabs shew signs of having been submitted to a powerful fire, being splintered and otherwise marked. Perhaps whatever wooden barrier closed this gateway was near to these particular slabs, and was burnt in some hostile attack."<sup>126</sup> If we accept this to be the case then perhaps the south gate provides evidence of the destruction by Tuthmosis III (1479-1425) although that would date this destruction to LBIA/IB and not the late MBIIC/early LBI horizon proposed by Dever.<sup>127</sup>

The HUC expedition rechecked the inner wall, especially in fields I, IV and V<sup>128</sup> although "at the key points in Fields IV, and V, this work was very much frustrated by Macalister's trenching procedures. Proper technique in debris analysis requires that a perpendicular section across and against all walls and structures is preserved and recorded. Alas, the ubiquitous "Mac Trenches" had severed most of these connections."<sup>129</sup> One of the features re-examined was the western tower attached to the south gate by a 10.67m wide mudbrick wall segment. Designated Tower 5017 by

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<sup>125</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *Gezer III* (1912) pl LI.

<sup>126</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.121] 242.

<sup>127</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D. & Wright, G.E. - *Gezer I* (1970) 36.

<sup>128</sup>Unfortunately, their publication is incomplete as it does not yet include fields IV and V, so much of the information is lacking.

<sup>129</sup>Seger, J. - *Biblical Archaeology Today* (1993) 561.

the HUC, they found the connecting wall (13004) was only 3.05m wide.<sup>130</sup> Seger stated "clearance of the collapsed brick debris revealed *in situ* remains within a number of rooms."<sup>131</sup> A small complex of four rooms was discovered with numerous finds sealed by the destruction debris. These included many MBII/LBI storage vessels, Hyksos type scarabs and a gold hoard. The finds from the hoard, including two complete sheet gold female figurine pendants, in conjunction with the scarabs and pottery date the destruction to MBIIC/LBIA and, therefore, it may be linked to the advance of the 18th Dynasty pharaohs in pursuit of the Hyksos, presumably towards the end of the reign of Amenophis I or even Tuthmosis I. It can be concluded, therefore, that the construction of the inner wall "was initiated in the mid-17th century at the start of the last, MBIIC, phase of Middle Bronze occupation at the site...the glacis construction in a late MBIIC phase, most probably as part of a build-up of defenses throughout the region at the height of the 15th Dynasty "Hyksos" empire in Egypt."<sup>132</sup>

Cave 28IIU The HUC expedition dated the upper phase of cave 28II to LBIA.<sup>133</sup> By far the most elaborate cave excavated by Macalister, it consisted of ten main chambers. Unfortunately, Macalister's description of the cave<sup>134</sup> means it is impossible to separate the upper and lower deposits and, apart from stating LBI ceramics were present, nothing can be deduced.

Field VI (Acropolis) Stratum 10a was dated to MBIIC/LBIA by the HUC<sup>135</sup> as the architectural and ceramic evidence indicates that the stratum is to be dated firmly to what Dever designates MBIIC at the end of which, like the inner wall and southern gate, it was destroyed. Whether this can be firmly linked to the 18th Dynasty pharaohs is uncertain.

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<sup>130</sup>Seeger, J. - *ibid.*

<sup>131</sup>Seeger, J. - *ibid* 561.

<sup>132</sup>Seeger, J. - *op.cit.* [fn.129] 563-565.

<sup>133</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seeger, J.D. - *Gezer II* (1974) fig. 1.

<sup>134</sup>Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.121] 111-141.

<sup>135</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seeger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] fig. 1.

**LBIB**

Corresponding to Macalister's stratum XVII, it is again poorly known. Unfortunately, in his excavation reports, Macalister did not describe each stratum, he merely dealt with long periods. There is nothing in these reports which enables any architecture from LBIB to be identified. During this period Gezer may have been unfortified - the inner wall was destroyed and the outer wall had yet to be constructed. Dever proposed that we should place the raid of Tuthmosis IV, mentioned on the wall of his mortuary temple at Thebes, in this period.<sup>136</sup>

Cave I.10A (lower) One tomb dating to the LBA was found during the HUC excavations dug into the chalk outside both the inner and outer walls. Designated Cave I.10A by the excavators, it lay in area 10 of field I and contained well-stratified material. Although remodelled, enough of the original bell-shaped chamber remained to identify its original use as a cistern; pottery fragments on the floor provided a MBII/LBIA terminus. The cistern was then converted into a tomb chamber in the 15th century and was in use as such until it was interrupted by the building of the outer wall when a section of the roof collapsed, filling the chamber with debris. A section of the entrance tunnel was then re-excavated and the debris prepared for new burials. The tomb contained multiple inhumations, eighty-eight in total, with seventy-two from the lower layer. Continuity in burial customs was observed; the final burial, was still fully articulated, had been laid supine with her head and torso aligned and hands crossed on her chest. After this burial the tomb was closed for the last time.

Sarcophagus 10071 (fig.30)

Placed in an area which had been cleared for it, the sarcophagus was not one of the first burials in the tomb - sherds and artifacts were found below it and chisel marks in the wall behind it indicate the area was expanded to accommodate the sarcophagus on the narrow bench. However, deposits placed against the sarcophagus

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<sup>136</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [fn.119] 502.



indicate it was not one of the last burials, leading the excavators to conclude "it must have been introduced sometime midway in the course of the Lower Phase use of the tomb."<sup>137</sup> Handmade, this rectangular clay sarcophagus (1.69x0.70x0.31m, lid slightly different 1.67x0.63m left, 0.73m right) was heavily fired originally had 12 handles attached to the body, four on each long side and two on each short side, just below the rim - the cover had eight handles in two rows along the long sides - of which only two remain, either indicative of a secondary use of the sarcophagus or damage sustained in placing it in the tomb. Although pottery sarcophagi are known from other Palestinian sites<sup>138</sup> these are all of later date; "the Gezer sarcophagus seems in fact to be the earliest full-sized ceramic coffin found thus far in the Palestinian area."<sup>139</sup> While Seger has compared this sarcophagus to one from Akko tomb C2, he claimed "the only tradition to which the Gezer and Akko items can meaningfully be related is that of the Minoan larnax."<sup>140</sup> These larnakes first appeared in Crete in the Early Minoan period.

The sarcophagus contained the remains of twelve inhumations, two primary and ten secondary, all, except one, of children under 12 years old.

Locus 10070 A raised bench which served as the main area for burials, including three fairly well-articulated skeletons. The remaining inhumations were heaped against the back wall of the chamber; remains of 57 individuals were identified.

Locus 10074 A scatter of displaced remains, many of which were presumably disturbed by the placement of the sarcophagus. No skeletal material was discovered. The burials in the lower phase of cave I.10A are of mixed sex and age, presumably representative of the Gezer population although more contemporary tombs need to be excavated to gain a fuller picture. The inhumations can be divided as follows:

Male - 18.05%; Female - 26.16%; Unknown - 52.77%.

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<sup>137</sup>Seeger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. *ed* - *Gezer V* (1988) 66.

<sup>138</sup>*cf* ch10 Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah (S); ch11 Lachish.

<sup>139</sup>Seeger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. *ed* - *op.cit.* [fn.137] 114.

<sup>140</sup>Seeger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. *ed* - *ibid.*

Infant (0-2) - 9.72%; Child (3-10) - 26.38%; Child (11-19) - 11.11%; 20's - 23.61%; 30's - 11.11%; 40's - 2.77%; 50's - 2.77%; Unknown - 12.5%.

Not much information can be derived from this data, apart from a high child mortality rate. However, this figure is unlikely to be a true representation due to the small number of infant inhumations - the infant mortality rate would have been much higher.

### **LBIIA**

"During this period Gezer experienced a renaissance, undoubtedly associated with the well-known el-Amarna period, when Canaan was under Egyptian domination";<sup>141</sup> ten Amarna letters are known from three kings of Gezer, EA253, 254, 287, 290, 292, 298-300, 369, 378. Corresponding to Macalister's stratum XVI, elements of his Third Semitic Period belong here.

Large building complex Situated at the north end of trenches 27-28 was a large building complex built partially over the inner wall. Unfortunately, Macalister described neither the architecture nor the small finds and the plan (Gezer III map IV) is too poor to enable the building complex to be interpreted.

The Outer Wall (fig.29) Further down the slope from the inner wall was a further wall which Macalister followed around the site for over 1200m. The HUC expedition checked the wall (9011) at various points and found the 4m wide wall had deep foundations down to bedrock; the inner face was cut into the MBIIC chalk glaciis which, therefore, provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the outer wall, the date of its preliminary construction has been the subject of intense and ongoing debate.<sup>142</sup> Built of large, roughly dressed boulders laid in regular courses with smaller stones filling in the gaps, the wall contained some ashlar towers which may be later additions. Macalister dated the wall to his Third Semitic Period

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<sup>141</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [fn.119] 502.

<sup>142</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D. & Wright, G.E. - *Gezer I* (1970) 43-45; Kempinski, A. - *IEJ* 22 (1972) 183-186; Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *Gezer II* (1974) 35-39; Kempinski, A. - *IEJ* 26 (1976) 210-214; Finkelstein, I. - *TA* 8 (1981) 136-145; Bunimovitz, S. - *TA* 10 (1983) 61-71; Dever, W.G. - *BASOR* 262 (1986) 9-34; Seger, J.D. - *Biblical Archaeology Today* (1993) 559-574; Finkelstein, I. - *TA* 21 (1994) 276-282; Yanai, E. - *TA* 21 (1994) 283-287.

but felt that the ashlar towers represented a Solomonic rebuild, a further phase of construction belonging to the Maccabean period when the bastions were added, and the Maccabean castle constructed in the Hellenistic period.<sup>143</sup>

*Dever's view (1970):* Following the HUC's preliminary excavation, they merely concluded that the builders of wall 9011 destroyed the bottom of the MBIIC glacis and, therefore, constructed it after the glacis. "Sometime after the building of wall 9011, a thick layer of *nari* chunks (loci 8009, 9007) was thrown in behind the wall on top of the glacis ... Since there is no accumulation of debris between the *nari* chunks and the face of the glacis, we may probably conclude that the *nari* filling occurred very shortly after the building of the "Outer Wall."<sup>144</sup> Dever noted that locus 8009 contained Hellenistic and Roman sherds "although it was predominantly LB"<sup>145</sup> yet whether intrusion of the later sherds into the *nari* layer would happen easily is unclear. However, Dever further stated that the *nari* layer "contained very little pottery to help us in dating"<sup>146</sup> but ascribed the date of the original construction of the outer wall to LBI.

*Kempinski's theory (1972):* Kempinski rejected Dever's view that the outer wall dated to the LBA, preferring instead an Iron II date as "it seems somewhat strange that the LBA has two totally different lines of fortifications ... This phenomenon has no analogy in Palestinian archaeology."<sup>147</sup> He believed that, as the central wall dated to the EBA and the inner wall to MBIIC, the only IA fortification wall is the small casemate attached to the Solomonic Gate<sup>148</sup> leaving Gezer without the typical huge Iron II defensive walls. He claimed his Iron II date of the outer wall was further supported by "a bend which this wall makes near the entrance tower of the Solomonic Gate."<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>Yadin has shown that the Maccabean castle is actually a 'Solomonic' city gate after comparison with Hazor and Megiddo. Yadin, Y. - *IEJ* 8 (1958) 80-86.

<sup>144</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D. & Wright, G.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.127] 44.

<sup>145</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D. & Wright, G.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>146</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D. & Wright, G.E. - *ibid.*

<sup>147</sup>Kempinski, A. - *IEJ* 22 (1972) 185.

<sup>148</sup>Yadin, Y. - *op.cit.* [fn.143] 80-86.

<sup>149</sup>Kempinski, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.147] 185.

*Dever's position (1974):* Following further excavation, Dever reverted to Macalister's three phases of the outer wall, *i.e.* an original LB construction, an IA reuse when 30 rectangular towers of ashlar masonry were inserted and a final repair, including the building of semi-circular bastions around the towers, in the Hellenistic period.<sup>150</sup> The LBI date was lowered to LBII for several reasons:

i) As the outer wall was built over the south gate of the inner wall which went out of use at the end of MBIIC, a *terminus post quem* was provided for the construction of the outer wall; a *terminus ante quem* was provided by Macalister's Maccabean Castle, shown by Yadin<sup>151</sup> to be a Solomonic city gate which Dever claimed was set into the ruined outer wall as part of a repair and reuse phase in the 10th century.<sup>152</sup>

It can be stated that the outer wall was constructed after the inner wall due to partial destruction of the MBIIC glacis. Dever stated "stratigraphically the evidence requires that the "Outer Wall" be dated early enough to allow for at least *two* major, secondary alterations and reuses. These probably belong to the Iron Age and Hellenistic periods, respectively, which would push the date for the original construction of the wall back at least to early Iron I and probably to the LBII period."<sup>153</sup>

ii) The ceramic evidence for dating the outer wall was very poor. When combined with the fact that no occupation levels were preserved against the inner face of the outer wall, evidence for dating by ceramic typology is circumstantial. However, Dever used the latest sherds from the narrow foundation trench, which "are *probably* LB",<sup>154</sup> and sherds from glacis 10014, which was built against the outer wall - "apart from a few intrusive Iron I sherds ..., the *latest* pottery in all these loci is LB ... The

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<sup>150</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] 35.

<sup>151</sup>Yadin, Y. - *op.cit.* [fn.143] 80-86.

<sup>152</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] 36.

<sup>153</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] 37.

<sup>154</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *ibid.* Note the sherds are dated generally to the LBA and not more specifically. Italics author's own.

LB sherds are few, however, and generally indeterminate in character."<sup>155</sup> - to support his LBII date of the original construction of the outer wall.

iii) Although Dever admitted "the above evidence provides only a *terminus post quem*, and Wall 9011, together with the "Outer Wall" system, *could* conceivably be later, even Iron Age in date",<sup>156</sup> he persisted in a LBIIA date for the outer wall on the basis of "relative phasing plus general historical considerations."<sup>157</sup> While no other major city walls were built in Palestine during the LBA, Dever stated that none date from the Philistine period either and "given our *termini* between the end of MBII and the Solomonic horizon, there remains no choice but the LB period."<sup>158</sup> He, therefore, dated the original construction of the outer wall to LBIIA, *i.e.* the Amarna period, due to his belief that Gezer enjoyed a renaissance at this time. The blocking of the original entrance to cave I.10A by a retaining wall of glacis 10014, provided Dever with evidence supporting this dating.

*Kempinski's position (1976)*: Kempinski used Dever's evidence of the retaining wall of glacis 10014 to "prove that the city wall was built in the post-Amarna period",<sup>159</sup> as cave I.10A contained "some good Amarna deposits."<sup>160</sup> He, therefore, persisted in an Iron II date for the outer wall.

*Kenyon's position (1977)*: Kenyon took exception to Dever's description of "ashlar towers" claiming that ashlar, when used, were only found in the corners of the towers and represented a re-use.<sup>161</sup> She claimed "this removes the necessity of pushing wall 9011 back into the Late Bronze Age and of giving it a highly improbable length of life from then until the Maccabean period."<sup>162</sup> Kenyon felt that the three phases of the outer wall's construction belonged in the Maccabean period which would remove "the necessity of making the beautiful Solomonic Gate

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<sup>155</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] 37-39.

<sup>156</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.133] 39.

<sup>157</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *ibid.*

<sup>158</sup>Dever, W.G., Lance, H.D., Bullard, R.G., Cole, D.P. & Seger, J.D. - *ibid.*

<sup>159</sup>Kempinski, A. - *IEJ* 26 (1976) 212.

<sup>160</sup>Kempinski, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>161</sup>Kenyon, K.M. - *PEQ* 109 (1977) 57.

<sup>162</sup>Kenyon, K.M. - *ibid.*

some 200 m. further east and its adjoining casemate into a rather improbable blocking gap in the outer wall."<sup>163</sup>

*Finkelstein's position (1981)*: Finkelstein looked at the towers to see if they were built later than the outer wall, and drew several conclusions:

i) As the towers projected both inwards and outwards from the wall, they were probably an intrinsic feature. He claimed "the two-stage theory would require the complete dismantling and rebuilding of an entire segment of the wall in order to insert each and every tower. Bearing in mind that there are almost thirty towers, this would have necessitated the destruction and re-erection of virtually the entire wall."<sup>164</sup> It would, therefore, have been more cost and labour effective to have built another wall.

ii) As Kenyon noted the ashlar were found in the corners of the towers, the rest of which were built of masonry similar to the outer wall.

iii) "Three of the towers that Macalister unearthed were built of the inferior type of masonry that characterized the wall itself ..., and these were undoubtedly erected simultaneously with the wall since they were bonded to it."<sup>165</sup>

iv) One segment of the wall is ashlar-built.

No clear division, therefore, existed between the ashlar and inferior masonry parts of the wall, the joins between sections may be due to different teams of builders. "It seems very likely that the towers and the wall were built at the same time. The semi-circular "bastions", on the other hand, judging by the ceramic finds, were undoubtedly added at a later stage when the wall itself was repaired."<sup>166</sup>

Finkelstein also considered the ceramic evidence, concluding that a pre-IA date is difficult to accept due to a preponderance of IA pottery and little LB material in the trenches along the outer face of the wall. He also criticised Dever's view that the IA sherds in locus 10024 were intrusive stating that "since Locus 10024 is at the very

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<sup>163</sup>Kenyon, K.M. - *ibid.*

<sup>164</sup>Finkelstein, I. - TA 8 (1981) 141.

<sup>165</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *ibid.*

<sup>166</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *ibid.*

heart of the glacis, intrusion from above is impossible."<sup>167</sup> Finkelstein, therefore, dated the construction of the outer wall to the IA, around the 10th century,<sup>168</sup> and compared it to other IA fortifications which he claimed are similar, *i.e.* Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, Tel en-Nasbeh, Lachish and Beersheva.<sup>169</sup>

*Bunimovitz's position (1983):* Bunimovitz's argument followed on from Zertal who "suggested tentatively that Glacis 10014 may have been part of the city's Late Bronze Age fortifications, since on the excavators' section drawing ..., it looks very much as if Wall 9011 was dug into both the Middle Bronze Age II Glacis 8012 and later Glacis 10014."<sup>170</sup> If, as Bunimovitz and Zertal believe, glacis 10014 was not part of the outer wall then vastly different conclusions about the construction and date of the outer wall and glacis 10014 must be drawn.

Glacis 10014 was damaged by two trenches (10012, 10016) which reached bedrock; Bunimovitz concluded that trench 10016 was the foundation trench of the outer wall dug into glacis 10014. "Since it was dug from the surface level of the glacis, or from a slightly higher point, it follows that the glacis was already in existence when the wall was erected."<sup>171</sup> As trench 10012 contained many IA sherds, Bunimovitz concluded these came from the fill of the foundation trench (10016) of the outer wall. Bunimovitz also felt that the *nari* layer was the upper part of glacis 10014 which was cut by trench 10016. If this was the foundation trench of the outer wall then it "obviously involves raising the *terminus ante quem* of Glacis 10014 to the time when the wall was built; in other words by the end of the 10th century B.C.E. at the latest the glacis no longer served its original function."<sup>172</sup>

Bunimovitz, therefore, attempted to date the construction of glacis 10014 and found it was built immediately after the MBIIC glacis went out of use as there is no evidence that any time elapsed, *i.e.* there are no wash layers or accumulated debris.

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<sup>167</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.164] 143.

<sup>168</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.164] 144.

<sup>169</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.164] 143.

<sup>170</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - TA 10 (1983) 61.

<sup>171</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.170] 64.

<sup>172</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.170] 65.

Thus, the *terminus post quem* of glacis 10014 is established as MBIIC. The latest pottery in the glacis loci was LBA and Bunimovitz negated Finkelstein's argument about the IA sherds in locus 10024 stating "since this locus is not "at the very heart of the glacis" but is completely exposed on its northern side to Trench 10016, which is dated to the 10th century B.C.E., and it is from here that these sherds apparently penetrated."<sup>173</sup> He further criticised Dever's dating of the outer wall on the basis of the retaining wall which blocked the entrance to cave I.10A - "it is obvious that the sealing of Cave I.10A can provide at best a *post quem* date only for Wall 10054, not for the entire glacis. Wall 10054 is not the original retaining wall of the glacis but was added at a later stage to strengthen earlier Retaining Wall 10052."<sup>174</sup> The pottery from the glacis dated it to the LBA although Bunimovitz did not agree with the HUC LBIIA date; "the construction of the glacis immediately above MBIIC Surface 10052, as well as the blockage of Cave I.10A by a late retaining wall, shows that almost certainly it was built already at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age."<sup>175</sup> Bunimovitz also looked at the *nari* layer which Dever felt was put in place after the construction of the outer wall, concluding that the *nari* layer and glacis 10014 were added to the MBIIC glacis to raise its height and expand the width down the slope to retaining wall 10052 before the outer wall was constructed. "As a result of its consolidation and extension around the entire tell, Glacis 8012 was turned into a massive circumvalliation, about 15 meters wide at its base. Together with the Inner Wall, which continued in use in the Late Bronze Age I and possible even later, the overall width of Gezer's fortification at that time would have reached 19 meters!"<sup>176</sup> Bunimovitz, therefore, dated the addition of glacis 10014 and the *nari* layer to glacis 8012 to LBIA; he felt more improvements may have been made in LBIB "since the assumption of occupational gap at the site during this phase is contradicted by the

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<sup>173</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.170] 66.

<sup>174</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>175</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>176</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.170] 68.



many and rich burials in the lower level of Cave I.10A."<sup>177</sup> Moreover, Bunimovitz claimed few architectural remains date to LBIIA, the Amarna renaissance, apart from the upper burials in cave I.10A. "It is most probable that the considerable efforts invested by the people of Gezer in strengthening their city's defences at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age were aimed at preventing an Egyptian takeover in the course of the Hyksos expulsion and the occupation of Canaan by the 18th Dynasty."<sup>178</sup> Bunimovitz also agreed with Kempinski's Iron Age II date for the construction of the outer wall, although he felt the LBA Gezer was defended.

*Dever's position (1986):* Dever continued his amended view that the outer wall was originally constructed in LBIIA and its upper portion was a Solomonic rebuild incorporating ashlar towers. He dismissed the views of the other scholars who dated the outer wall to Iron II as "unproductive controversy"<sup>179</sup> which is "reminiscent of the days when scholarly debate in Palestinian archaeology was largely a matter of heresy and "expert opinion"". <sup>180</sup> Further excavation in field III showed that the MBIIIC glacis was cut, the stones of the outer wall packed against it in a foundation trench, further proof that the outer wall was constructed in several stages due to different stonework. "This basic reconstruction, suggested many years ago and now confirmed by further excavation, also fits perfectly with our earlier notion that the Solomonic gateway had been set into a breach" in an earlier city wall, in this case the partially destroyed LBII-Iron I Outer Wall of Macalister."<sup>181</sup>

*Dever's position (1993):* Further to renewed excavation at Gezer in 1990, Dever found no evidence to negate his view that the outer wall was first constructed in LBII with a rebuild in the IA stating "I am convinced that our position is fully vindicated."<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>178</sup>Bunimovitz, S. - *ibid.*

<sup>179</sup>Dever, W.G. - *BASOR* 262 (1986) 11.

<sup>180</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [fn.179] 12.

<sup>181</sup>Dever, W.G. - *op.cit.* [fn.179] 16.

<sup>182</sup>Dever, W.G. - *BASOR* 289 (1993) 51.

*Finkelstein's theory (1994)*: Finkelstein argued that the outer wall was an Iron II construction whose two phases are not chronological but constructional due to the pressure exerted by the MBIIC glacia and fills against the inner face. He further stated "defence walls - whether constructed in one or several phases - should be dated by material found on floors adjoining them, or according to the latest material retrieved from their foundation trenches, and/or from their glacia."<sup>183</sup> No associated floors were found at Gezer, indicating that only the foundations were exposed; however, no LB sherds were retrieved from the foundation trenches and debris accumulations inside the wall - "it is absolutely impossible that the original, supposedly Late Bronze foundation trench of the wall was retrenched down to bedrock in such a meticulous way, that no evidence of the original trench, even one Late Bronze sherd, survived this operation."<sup>184</sup> He also criticised Dever for using the LBII ceramics from locus 22015, debris against the outer face of the wall in area 22, as his main reason for dating the lower part of the outer wall to the LBA,<sup>185</sup> preferring to believe it to be an IA glacia - "Dever can argue, of course, that Locus 22015 was either the original Late Bronze glacia, or accumulation of debris thrown out from the Late Bronze city. But how would he explain the clean Iron II material that was retrieved from the fills inside the wall? Only one answer can reconcile the contradiction: the debris containing Late Bronze sherds was brought from another location. Furthermore, if the wall was constructed in the Amarna Age, where is the 14th century pottery, which, according to Dever's method, should have accumulated at the bottom of the debris outside the wall?"<sup>186</sup> Finkelstein arrived at his date for the outer wall by looking at the latest pottery found in the trenches inside the inner wall, therefore dating the construction to the 10/9th century.

*Yanai's position (1994)*: Yanai examined Dever's theory that both the outer and inner gates of the outer wall dated to the IA and concluded that the outer gate actually

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<sup>183</sup>Finkelstein, I. - TA 21 (1994) 277.

<sup>184</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *ibid.*

<sup>185</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.183] 278.

<sup>186</sup>Finkelstein, I. - *ibid.*

belonged to a late phase of the LBA.<sup>187</sup> He looked at the relationship between the two gates which Macalister had shown to have no direct passage between them. Yadin<sup>188</sup> felt they both belonged to the IA, yet Zertal "suggested that the Outer Gate was in use between the two periods of the Inner Gate."<sup>189</sup> Dever agreed with Yadin, although Yanai noted that it is "difficult to reach the entrance of the Inner Gate from the Outer Gate passageway"<sup>190</sup> due to a difference in elevation and, therefore, agreed with Macalister and Zertal. According to Yanai, the only link between outer and inner gates was the eastern drainage channel which he believed was not contemporary with the outer gate, against Dever's view. Yanai concluded "it seems that the drainage channel running from the Inner Gate damaged the Outer Gate. Thus, the Outer Gate is not an outer gate of the Inner, "Solomonic" Gate. Based on its plan and its ashlar construction, it may be attributed to the Late Bronze Age."<sup>191</sup> However, unlike the majority of scholars, Yanai concurred with Dever's hypothesis that the outer wall belonged to the LBA, dating the outer gate and wall "to the end of the Late Bronze Age, between the LBII - which lies directly below it - and the beginning of the Gezer Philistine period."<sup>192</sup>

Cave L.10A (Upper) The upper phase of the burial cave described above dated to LBIIA. A further 13 inhumations were added in this period of mixed sex and age.

### 6.1.6 Tel Hesi

The remains of several LB strata earlier than the 'residency' were excavated by Bliss - City sub II, City II and City III. Fargo stated "although the Joint Expedition did not reach the Late Bronze Age levels in its excavation, some Late Bronze Age materials were encountered in the removal of later strata on the acropolis. Fragments of both mudbrick and stone walls accompanied by Late Bronze Age pottery were identified

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<sup>187</sup>Yanai, E. - TA 21 (1994) 283.

<sup>188</sup>Yadin, Y. - *op.cit.* [fn.143] 80-86.

<sup>189</sup>Yanai, E. - *op.cit.* [fn.187] 283.

<sup>190</sup>Yanai, E. - *op.cit.* [fn.287]284.

<sup>191</sup>Yanai, E. - *op.cit.* [fn.287] 286.

<sup>192</sup>Yanai, E. - *ibid.*

as belonging to three phases of occupation. Excavation in the lower city in field V revealed significant quantities of Late Bronze Age pottery, but these sherds were not well stratified, and any associated structures had been eroded."<sup>193</sup>

### City II/City sub II (fig.31)

Remains of three building complexes, all of similar orientation, were excavated. Bliss dated the southeast complex, *i.e.* rooms I,J,K,L, to City sub II on the basis of different brick fabric.<sup>194</sup> None of the rooms had doorways as only the foundations were preserved. Building complex ABCD presumably continued to the east and west; the walls were fairly substantial and a possible function cannot be established as Bliss did not mention any finds. The other structures had "thin walls of rude stones built in mud",<sup>195</sup> a drain was built under wall ON. A large circular feature, M, was situated southwest of building complex EFGHON (3.66m exterior diameter, 2.13m interior diameter, 0.76m wall thickness, 1.39m high). Holes were placed in the top of the walls and descended into the chamber. The mudbrick floor was covered with a layer of ashes under slag deposits, in total 61cm deep. Bliss concluded this was a blast furnace for iron,<sup>196</sup> although he reported that Garstang's analysis of the slag negated this theory - the percentage of iron was too small for iron slag leading Garstang to believe the slag was fused brick from the furnace walls.<sup>197</sup> It is unlikely this was a pottery kiln as Bliss later thought,<sup>198</sup> as it is unlike any other excavated from this period and such sophisticated air passages are not needed to fire ceramics, even if the potter wished to oxidise the ware. The pottery of City II gives it a LBI date, other finds include mudbrick loom weights and possible Mycenaean ceramics.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>193</sup>Fargo, V.M. - NEAEHL (1993) 632.

<sup>194</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894) 44.

<sup>195</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.194] 46.

<sup>196</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.194] 49.

<sup>197</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.194] 190. However, Fargo persisted in calling the material slag from a kiln, NEAEHL (1993) 631.

<sup>198</sup>Bliss, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.194] 51.

<sup>199</sup>Other finds are not attributed to a specific stratum but are described only as belonging to Cities II and III.

### City III (fig.32)

A series of rooms were built against a north wall (5.14m min., 5.56m max. width) which presumably extended west and east and, possibly, south. Entered via a doorway in the east into room I, very little artifactual material was discovered in the building, even pottery was scarce, although Bliss noted that in bricky debris east of the building bronze lance points and ceramics were recovered. The most important find was a cuneiform tablet, found in the aforementioned bricky debris, dating City III to the Amarna age

#### 6.1.7 Tell Jemmeh

Very little information is available about architecture preceding LBII, the period of the 'residency'. Van Beek noted he found LBI walls with an associated debris layer but gave no further details.<sup>200</sup>

#### 6.1.8 Tel Masos

No LBA architecture was present at Tel Masos.

#### 6.1.9 Tel Mor<sup>201</sup>

Remains of several earlier LB strata were excavated by M.Dothan which can be summarised as follows:

Stratum 11 - 16th century

Stratum 10 - 15th century

Stratum 9 - 14th century

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<sup>200</sup>Van Beek, G.W. - NGSRR 16 (1984) 675-696.

<sup>201</sup>Unfortunately, the absence of a full, final excavation report means that little detailed information is available about earlier architecture.

Strata 11-10

"Strata 11-10, dating to the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries BCE, clearly reflect a period of flourishing trade and commercial relations with Egypt, Cyprus and the Phoenician coast."<sup>202</sup>

Stratum 9

"The first level that could be excavated over an extensive area"<sup>203</sup> allowing the architecture to be examined. The stratum dated to the 14th century which Dothan equated to the 18th Dynasty. The main building (21x11m) had thick brick walls, possibly indicating two storeys, and consisted of three long halls and twelve smaller rooms.<sup>204</sup> A contemporary burial was excavated, the associated pottery was, for the most part, Cypriote. The finds<sup>205</sup> illustrate the cosmopolitan trade during this period of the LBA and the benefits enjoyed by the towns surrounding, or near to, ports. Dothan claimed that stratum 9 "contained buildings attesting to the city's function as a fort on the Via Maris"<sup>206</sup> but no evidence is given to support this claim. The settlement was destroyed at the end of the 14th century, perhaps during a campaign of Seti I.

**6.1.10 Tell es-Sa'idiyeh**

Architecture earlier than the 'residency' at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is confined to the upper tell where excavation below stratum XII has been limited to areas AA and KK.

Area AA

Excavation below the 'residency' was confined to a small sounding within one room and below the terracing of the 'residency'. This resulted in an east-west wall being exposed on the north side of the sounding with an associated cobbled surface extending south. West of this, separated from the cobbles by a wall, was a plastered

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<sup>202</sup>Dothan, M. - NEAEHL (1993) 1073.

<sup>203</sup>Dothan, M. - *ibid.*

<sup>204</sup>Unfortunately, as the structure is unpictured, it is impossible to give an adequate description of the building.

<sup>205</sup>*Cf.* ch9 p195.

<sup>206</sup>Dothan, M. - *op.cit.* [fn.202] 1073.

floor with numerous clay loom weights. Tubb has designated this stratum XIII,<sup>207</sup> which he has dated to the second quarter of the 12th century.<sup>208</sup> Due to logistical problems, the levels below stratum XIII were only exposed in limited fashion. Stratum XIV consisted of poor architecture and associated finds although the exposed walls were on the same alignment as those in stratum XIII, perhaps indicative of a continuation in occupation; Tubb has dated this stratum to the beginning of the 12th century.<sup>209</sup> The evidence for stratum XV is even poorer; a wall with an associated cobbled surface bearing several complete vessels including a collared-rim storejar was exposed, the area showed signs of being destroyed by fire. Tubb has dated stratum XV to the end of the 13th century.<sup>210</sup> This, therefore, indicates that strata XV-XIV are fairly short lived and presumably ephemeral periods of occupation.

#### Area KK<sup>211</sup>

Below the pebble alley west of the stratum XII building were the remains of a stone paved floor associated with a 2m wide brick wall which was destroyed by the 1.2m deep stratum XII foundation trench and preserved only in section. Whether this, designated stratum 13 by Tubb, can be related to the storejar found set into a corner of two walls during the 1995 season is unclear; the storejar is designated as belonging to a stratum defined as "pre-XII".<sup>212</sup> Below the stratum XII building part of a very weathered building with a stone floor was revealed on a similar alignment. "A large shallow bowl had been set into the floor in the south-west corner, and adjacent to it was a large flat stone."<sup>213</sup> Identified by Tubb as stratum 14, it also, like stratum XII, had deep brick foundations with no use of stone. Taken with the associated ceramics this "may imply that Stratum 14 represents a pre-Stratum XII

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<sup>207</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - PEQ 127 (1996) 29.

<sup>208</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.207] 30.

<sup>209</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *ibid.*

<sup>210</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *ibid.*

<sup>211</sup>Although the same numbers are given to the strata, there is no evidence to suggest that they belong to the same periods in KK as in AA which is why Tubb uses Arabic numbers for this area.

<sup>212</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.207] 31.

<sup>213</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - PEQ 128 (1997) 20.

phase of Egyptian occupation which would extend Tell es-Sa'idiyeh's role as an Egyptian centre back perhaps to the 19th Dynasty."<sup>214</sup> However, no Egyptian occupation post-XII was evident in AA, leading Tubb to conclude that stratum 14 in KK is equivalent to post-XV levels in AA.<sup>215</sup> There is no evidence to support this theory and the logistical problems in excavating below stratum XV in AA mean that this theory cannot be proved or disproved on the available published information. Tubb has not illustrated any of the pottery or finds from this stratum so a real date cannot be established. "This would imply that, in relation to the overall occupation of the site, following an Egyptian phase of control, represented by Stratum 14 in KK, there was a reversion to local (Canaanite) control, as documented by Strata XV, XIV and XIII (and KK Stratum 13), prior to the main Egyptian phase of Stratum XII."<sup>216</sup> Unfortunately, unless Tubb continues excavation in AA and publishes more information about finds from strata 13 and 14 this theory cannot be proved; from published material it is impossible to agree with this hypothesis. Further south were found remains of a 2m thick city wall, the exterior faced with small pebbles. An associated white-plastered surface underlying the stratum 14 paved surface was identified as stratum 15, its pottery dating it to the early part of the 13th century.<sup>217</sup> If this dating is correct, then either KK was not occupied continually, or periods correlating to strata XIII, XIV and XV have been eroded. Further excavation is needed to resolve these questions.

### 6.1.11 Tel Sera'

Three strata dating to periods of the LBA earlier than the 'residency' were excavated at Tel Sera'.

#### Stratum 12

Dating to the end of MBIIC/LBI, it consisted of four phases.

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<sup>214</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *ibid.*

<sup>215</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *ibid.*

<sup>216</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.213] 21.

<sup>217</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - *op.cit.* [fn.213] 22.



*Phase 4:* Contained the remains of a large building (2516) with 2m wide mudbrick walls (each brick 65x40x45cm) on stone foundations cut into the stratum 13 platform of field stones, pebbles and gravel. The bricks were laid in a regular pattern of a course of brown and then a course of white bricks which were then covered in mud plaster. Consisting of a large rectangular hall surrounded by small rooms, the building has been identified as a public building or palace, similar to those at Tel Haror and Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>218</sup> Most of the floors were covered with ashes, according to Marely this was intentional as it prevented water filtration.<sup>219</sup>

*Phase 3:* The building, now 2500, underwent minor changes: a bench was covered by elevating the floor, an installation was built in the courtyard and a passage was made from the courtyard to room 1938 in the east.

*Phase 2:* Once again minor changes were made to the building. The passage created in phase 3 was blocked as the eastern area was no longer in use. New walls were built in the courtyard, dividing it into two (areas 1870, 1917).

*Phase 1:* Two further walls were constructed to divide the courtyard into two large areas. A brick bench and a fragmentary stone installation were built and a clay tabun was located within the courtyard.

From the evidence it is possible to conclude that the function of the building was changed by the continued modifications, although Oren's claim that this stratum "included public and private buildings and perhaps a defence system"<sup>220</sup> is not supported by his published results. A single Hyksos scarab came from the building, perhaps indicative of the founding of late MB occupation at Tel Sera' during the intensive settlement of the northern Negev and southern coastal strip during this, Hyksos, period. The ceramic evidence, which gave a 17th-15th century date, supports this view.

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<sup>218</sup>Personal communication with Eti Marely 8/9/96.

<sup>219</sup>Personal communication with Eti Marely 8/9/96. Aharoni excavated a similar phenomenon at Tel Beersheva.

<sup>220</sup>Oren, E.D. - NEAEHL (1993) 1330.

Stratum 11

Contained a large structure (1924) with mudbrick walls on stone foundations, making it the only building in this period of the LB (14th century) to be built on stone foundations. Unfortunately, the building was very fragmentary as it was heavily destroyed by the builders of stratum 10. The walls were not very substantial, one was supported by a buttress. The building consisted of a large courtyard, containing many *favissae*, with halls around it. Oren claimed "judging from the *favissae* and the pottery types, represented by the stands and chalices, this was the site of a cult building (sanctuary?) whose complete plan is still unknown."<sup>221</sup>

A fragmentary area north of building 1924 revealed part of another building (158) of a totally different nature as the floors were covered with stones.

A sounding was made further north revealing part of a large building (900) consisting of two rooms. In one room was a large plastered installation, a stone built trench on the north side was covered by stone and a *tabun*. The floors of the building were covered with ashes, perhaps these served the same purpose as those in stratum 12 building 2516.

The connection between the three buildings is not clear, indeed it is unknown if any connection existed. Combined, the ceramic evidence<sup>222</sup> dates stratum 11 to LBII.

Stratum 10

Contained the remains of three structures, buildings 2502, 529, 1118, running north-south from two phases. In the earliest phase buildings 1118 and 2502 were constructed, the latest phase involved the construction of building 529 and installation 1850 in building 1118. The stratum did not end violently, rather it involved a gradual development.

*Building 2502*: Situated directly under building 906, the 'residency' of stratum 9, it was mostly excavated in windows and the plan appears similar to the 'residency', indicating the transition from stratum 10-9 was a peaceful development. The

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<sup>221</sup>Oren, E.D. - *ibid.*

<sup>222</sup>*Cf.* ch9 p196.

building (24x16.5m) consisted of three parts: a central court with extensions to the north and south; the former was covered with pebbles and, therefore, served a different function. The southern part contained four rooms while the eastern side of the building was eroded. Marely claimed the builders of 2502 utilised the Egyptian system of construction as the foundation trench was filled with *kurkar*.<sup>223</sup> The floors of several rooms were covered with white plaster while one room (368) contained a trench covered with pebbles which continued under the south wall, ending in an installation outside the wall. This installation was covered in stratum 9; Marely identified this as a water system whose usage changed in stratum 9.<sup>224</sup> The floors of the central area and the northern part of the north courtyard were pebble paved, an installation was built against the south wall of the northern court; fragments of a mudbrick wall were found to the north.

*Building 1118*: Built on top of the ruins of the alleged stratum 11 cultic building, the cultic function appears to have continued. The building consisted of a large hall, only the western part of which survived, which contained plastered benches along the eastern and northern walls, and a small plastered platform with a stone-built basin in front. Two architectural phases were detected; the first involved the construction of the stone-built basin (1850) which presumably contained liquid. In the second phase a wall was constructed on top of a depression; built of very narrow walls in a series of steps, it was probably plastered. The bricks were red which may indicate they were burnt for cultic purposes. Many *favissae*, containing animal bones, Egyptian and Mycenaean objects, were found nearby. "The various features in Building 1118, that is, plastered benches, a platform and libation (?) basin, numerous *favissae*, animal bones, and cult vessels, testify to the use of the structure as a sanctuary."<sup>225</sup> West of this building was a large circular mudbrick construction, rather like a granary, which was filled with pottery.

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<sup>223</sup>Personal communication with Eti Marely 8/9/96.

<sup>224</sup>Personal communication with Eti Marely 8/9/96.

<sup>225</sup>Oren, E.D. - BA 45 (1982) 165.

*Building 529*: Found beneath an area which was not built upon in stratum 9 although not much information exists about the structure. Comprising four rooms, two of which contained installations, the floors were of brick mixed with ashes. The westernmost installation was oval and contained a trench which led to an opening in the western side of the room; both parts of the installation were plastered. A wall was built to stop water from the installation leaking south.

### 6.2 Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter was to establish if there was any earlier architecture at the 'residency' sites which provided evidence of Egyptian occupation or influence. From the descriptions and information detailed above, several conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, there is only clear evidence of Egyptian occupation and/or influence at Beth Shean which culminated in the establishment of a governor's residency and garrison under the command of Ramesses-weser-Khepesheh in stratum VI. Egyptian influence can be discerned at Beth Shean as far back as stratum IX when the Mekal stela was erected by two Egyptians in a temple. However, the paucity of contemporary architectural remains and the excavator's reports mean it is impossible to ascertain whether there was further Egyptian artifacts or architecture during this period of the LBA. The situation changed in stratum VIII, perhaps indicating a different population, as buildings changed orientation, although some walls continued on the same alignment as those of stratum IX. In stratum VII there was strong Egyptian influence and probable presence evidenced by the construction of the migdol and 'Commandant's House' and the high percentage of Egyptian artifactual remains.

Tel Sera', the only other 'residency' site whose finds and architecture agree with its identification, does not appear to have been subjected to Egyptian influence during earlier phases of the LBA. Although Egyptian imports were found and a possible

Egyptian constructional method utilised (the filling of the foundation trench of building 2502 with *kurkar*) the imports did not form a high percentage of the artifactual total; in fact more Aegean material was present. One may, therefore, conclude that there was no Egyptian occupation at Tel Sera' prior to the construction of the 'residency' although the fact that building 906, the 'residency', was built directly above and of similar plan to building 2502, *i.e.* the same orientation, very similar outer plan but different interior plan, implies a continuity in occupation.

A similar picture is present at Deir el-Balah which was originally occupied during the Amarna period. Although there is no distinctly Egyptian architecture from the earlier periods, the small finds, including 'Amarna blue' painted Egyptian vessels and four worked *kurkar* bases, imply a high level of Egyptian influence and contact. As the reservoir was built in the 14th century, it leads to the question of whether the Egyptians established a migdol at Deir el-Balah due to the presence of this reservoir or whether the reservoir was constructed by the Egyptians during this early period. Unfortunately, this theory cannot be tested by textual evidence as Deir el-Balah's ancient name is unknown. However, the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak which depict such migdols next to reservoirs show that such features were a necessity and imply that they were all constructed by the Egyptians for their use.

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is the only other site where the excavator claims to have Egyptian occupation prior to the 'residency' period (see above, stratum 14 area KK). However, no evidence to support this theory is contained within the preliminary excavation report.

If we accept that Egyptian occupation/influence was present during earlier periods of the LBA at Beth Shean and Deir el-Balah then the question is raised of why the Egyptians occupied further sites, namely Tel Mor and Tel Sera', at a later stage. This indicates that either the Egyptians exercised tighter control over their empire or

that bases of Egyptian occupation within Canaan changed. It is possible that there are other LBA sites in Canaan and Transjordan which have not been identified as bases of Egyptian control; the Amarna Letters indicate heavier Egyptian occupation than is evidenced from this study of the 'residency' sites (see chapter 2).

## Chapter 7

### Small Finds from the 'Residencies'

#### 7.1 Aphek

*Egyptian Foundation Deposit Tablet* (fig.33) A small, rectangular faience tablet (3.8 x 2.4 x 0.9cm) discovered in an early 10th century stone-lined silo which penetrated down to the inner courtyard of the 'residency'; it could, therefore have belonged to any of the intervening periods, but was dated to the 13th century 'residency' due to its similarity with other foundation deposit tablets found in Israel and Egypt. Both sides of the tablet bear two columns of hieroglyphs, side B following on from side A.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Side A*

- 1) Good god, [*Wsr*]-*m3't*-[*R*], given life
- 2) Beloved of the Great-in-Magic, lady of the sky...

#### *Side B*

- 3) The Son of Re', *r*[*mss mry*]*i'mn*, like Re,
- 4) Beloved of Isis the great, mother of the god...the one from Dendera(?)

Giveon deciphered the two cartouches as bearing two of the names of Ramesses II - the sign *m3't* fits the prenomen *Wsr-m3't-R'*, and *R' i'mn* fits the nomen *R' mss i'mn mry*, i.e. Ramesses the beloved of Amun. The dedication to Isis could suggest that a temple to Isis was erected at Aphek although this would be unusual as temples to Isis are exceedingly rare in Egypt before the Ptolemaic period. Indeed, it is usually Hathor who is referred to as "the one of Dendera" yet, according to tradition, Isis was born in the temple at Dendera. However, Wimmer noted that the reading of Dendera is not clear as only the hieroglyph *iwn* is preserved, an element in many Egyptian city names. While it is likely this tablet served as a foundation deposit, it cannot have

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<sup>1</sup>Giveon, R. - TA 5 (1978) 188. See also for text. Wimmer has translated the text slightly differently: Side A Line 2 he added 'the one in Dendera (?)' to the text given above; Side B he read 'the one in Dendera(?)'. Wimmer, S. in Israelit-Groll, S. - *Studies in Egyptology, Volume 2* (1990) 1094.

been for a temple of Isis at Aphek as "on Egyptian foundation deposits the town that is named in the inscription is always the one in which, or close to which the foundation deposit was located."<sup>2</sup> There remain two possibilities: (i) the tablet was used in a ceremonial context at Aphek for which it was not originally intended;<sup>3</sup> (ii) it was brought to Canaan as a curio through the trade network although it has no inherent beauty or value.

***Egyptian Finger Ring*** (fig.33) Found in the destruction debris of the "residency" was the bezel and part of a large faience finger ring (2.3 x 1.3 x 0.4cm) with a hieroglyphic inscription.<sup>4</sup> 'Amun-Re abundant in every favour, praise and joy'. Although this formula has no exact parallel, the ring "belongs to a large group of scarabs and rings expressing adulation towards a god"<sup>5</sup> and should, therefore, be dated to the NK.

***Bilingual lexicon*** The largest fragment (5.8x5.4x1.7cm) of the six tablets found close to the stairs, ruled lines form two columns. Signs were only preserved in the left-hand column towards the bottom of the tablet, each line consisted of a Sumerian word sign followed by a double *Glossenkeil*; Kochavi believed the tablet may have originally contained three columns - Sumerian, Akkadian and Canaanite - like the one described below.<sup>6</sup> It appears that the tablet belonged to the group of lexica common among scribes, although it has no parallel in Babylonian lexical texts; the absence of a common denominator for the entries and the guide lines for the tablet layout may indicate a school exercise.

***Trilingual lexicon*** A fragment of a prism (5.4x5.9x2.4cm) preserving at least five lines of writing defined by straight incised lines at the top and left edge. The first two rows are almost complete and are, in order, Sumerian, Akkadian and Canaanite words for liquids, the entries separated by the double *Glossenkeil* found on the

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<sup>2</sup>Weinstein, J.M. - *BASOR* 241 (1981) 20.

<sup>3</sup>Wimmer, S. in Israelit-Groll, S. - *op.cit.* [fn.1] 1094.

<sup>4</sup>Giveon, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.1] 190. See also for text.

<sup>5</sup>Giveon, R. - *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Kochavi, M. - *Aphek in Canaan* (1990) XV.



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bilingual lexicon above.<sup>7</sup> Although trilingual lexica are known from other sites, this is the only example where Canaanite is the third language.

*Other lexical fragments* Two more fragments were excavated:

- a) A small fragment (2 x 1.4 x 1.5 cm) containing the cuneiform sign *mu*.
- b) Only the ends of the lines are preserved, *i.e.* this is the right-hand side of the tablet, containing parts of four or five signs of which only two are legible *en* and *ak*. (2.95 x 2.7 x 0.85 cm).

*Administrative Dockets* Three fragments were discovered with the lexica, two bear too few signs to be deciphered. The third (4.3 x 4.3 cm) contained the beginning of four lines in Akkadian - the start of a routine administrative docket recording large quantities of some item, Rainey suggested cattle, wool, grain or precious metals.<sup>8</sup>

*Letter from Ugarit* Found on a collapsed plaster floor fallen from the upper storey of the building, this 41 line letter in the Akkadian dialect of Ugarit is one of the most remarkable finds, as it is the only letter from Ugarit found outside the kingdom, apart from the Amarna Letters (EA45, 49. EA46-48 were probably also from Ugarit). This complete tablet (9.4 x 6.3 cm) was inscribed on all surfaces - 19 lines on the obverse, 1 line on the lower edge, 15 lines on the reverse, 2 lines on the upper edge and 4 lines on the left edge. The text consisted of a letter written by Takuhlina, prefect of Ugarit, to Haya, "presumably the Egyptian vizier and royal messenger to foreign lands, who may have been in residence at Aphek."<sup>9</sup> The letter followed the standard format known from Ugarit as a *lettre d'envoi*.<sup>10</sup>

### *Translation*

<sup>1</sup>To Haya, the great man <sup>2</sup>my father, my lord, <sup>3</sup>say: <sup>4</sup>Thus (says) Takuhlina, <sup>5</sup>prefect of the land of Ugarit, <sup>6</sup>your son (and) your servant, <sup>7</sup>"(from afar) at the feet of my lord, my father, I fall. <sup>8</sup>For my father, my lord, <sup>9</sup>may there be peace! May the gods of the great king, your lord, <sup>10</sup>and the gods of the land of Ugarit <sup>11</sup>bless you (and)

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<sup>7</sup>For text see Rainey, A.F. in Kochavi, M. - *op.cit.* [fn.6] XV.

<sup>8</sup>Rainey, A.F. - TA 2 (1975) 128.

<sup>9</sup>Owen, D.I. - TA 8 (1981) 3.

<sup>10</sup>For text see Owen, D.I. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 7-8.

<sup>12</sup>keep you! <sup>13</sup>Oh father, (concerning?) my wheat <sup>14</sup>two hundred and fifty and two-sixths (kor) of wheat <sup>15</sup>which Adduya gave <sup>16</sup>into the hand of [D]ursimati <sup>17</sup>in the city of [Ya]pu, <sup>18</sup>my father now says the following, <sup>19</sup>Two hundred and fifty and two-sixths (kor) of wheat <sup>20</sup>let him (i.e. Dursimati) return <sup>21</sup>to the hand of Ad[duya].<sup>22</sup>Furthermore, [my] father, <sup>23</sup>the wheat which you requ[ested] <sup>24</sup>I have already dispatched to y[ou]. <sup>25</sup>But my re[que]st, <sup>26</sup>which has gone forth(?) to my father, <sup>27</sup>you have not (yet) giv[en]. <sup>28</sup>Now, my father, my wish, <sup>29</sup>from [my] (previous) re[que]st, to m[e] <sup>30</sup>[dispatch(?) and(?)] my [whea]t <sup>31</sup>may [my l]ord return <sup>32</sup>into the hand of Adduya, m[y cou]rier(?) <sup>34</sup>And moreover, Adduya's payment <sup>35</sup>has been taken away by my enemies. <sup>36</sup>So before my father <sup>37</sup>let him stand; <sup>38</sup>and may my father judge them. <sup>39</sup>Now (finally), as a gift for my father, <sup>40</sup>one hundred (shekels of) blue wool [and] ten (shekels of) red wool (called) *tabarru* <sup>41</sup>I have dispatched (herewithin) to you."

Takuhlina has been identified as the high official of similar/same name at Ugarit, Carchemish and Hattusas, the letter has been dated to the 13th century when there was one official in Egypt named Haya "whose rank would entitle him to be designated LU.GAL"<sup>11</sup> - the vizier and royal messenger to foreign lands under Ramesses II. Owen dated this letter towards the end of the careers of both Takuhlina and Haya, giving it a date *c.* 1250 B.C. *i.e.* almost contemporary with the building's destruction.<sup>12</sup> However, the other finds from Aphek do not suggest that the site was an Egyptian imperial centre and it is possible that the letter caught up with Haya while he was passing through in his capacity as a circuit official. The letter shows that Egyptian officials operated in an arbitrary role and were still called upon to settle disputes between vassals as in the Amarna period.

**Pottery**<sup>13</sup> (fig.34) The pottery can be divided into groups according to the area from which the shapes originate: Group I local Canaanite, Group II Egyptian, Group III

<sup>11</sup>Owen, D.I. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 9.

<sup>12</sup>Owen, D.I. - *op.cit.* [fn.9] 14. For more information on Takuhlina and Haya *cf.* Singer, I. - TA 10 (1983) 3-25.

<sup>13</sup>Details of the Aphek ceramic repertoire comes from Beck, P. & Kochavi, M. - TA 12 (1985) 32-40.

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Mycenean and Group IV Cypriote.<sup>14</sup> The excavators do not indicate in their reports whether Egyptian or local forms predominate as exact numbers are not given. However, the fact that fewer Egyptian pottery types are attested than local ones leads one to conclude that the majority of the ceramics were local.

*Group I:* Ten types of local Canaanite ware can be distinguished; 3 varieties of bowl, plain kraters, cooking pots, 2 types of lamp, lentoid pilgrim flasks, 'Canaanite' jars and collared-rim pithoi - "the presence of this jar in the Residency at Aphek is further evidence that the collared-rim jar, which became the predominant type of storage vessel during the 12th century BCE, had its incipient stage during the 13th century."<sup>15</sup>

*Group II:* Seven pottery types can be included in this group; 4 bowl varieties, large storejars, jars with pointed bases and amphoriskoi, the latter imported to Palestine from Egypt where the shape was copied from an earlier, Canaanite, prototype.

*Group III:* Two forms with Mycenaean influence can be identified - a stirrup jar and a wide cup on a stump base.

*Group IV:* Milkbowls have been placed in this group although the origin is unclear.<sup>16</sup>

*Figurines* (fig.35) Four different relief moulded figurines of nude female figurine plaques, two with Hathor curls. One example is paralleled at only one other site in Israel (near Kibbutz Revadim, 38km south of Aphek) and probably depicts a fertility goddess as the Aphek figure holds two babies. Nursing goddesses were common in Egypt, and also exported to Canaan, during this period yet this figurine is different as

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These will be compared to the Late Bronze Age pottery described in Amiran, R. - *Ancient Pottery* (1970) 124-190, to see how the forms compare with the typical LBA ceramic repertoire. There is no thorough description of the Aphek pottery although the illustrations in Beck's paper mean a fairly thorough comparison with the typical LB forms is possible.

<sup>14</sup>These groups will be kept throughout the discussion of the small finds from all the sites.

<sup>15</sup>Beck, P. & Kochavi, M. - *op.cit.* [fn.13] 34-35.

<sup>16</sup>The excavators do not mention if the bowl was hand or wheel made - the Cypriot milk bowl was hand-made but the Canaanite imitation wheel-made.

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the infants are not suckling, leading Pritchard to suggest that the figurine may have been used as a charm by women in childbirth.<sup>17</sup>

*Weapons* According to Barkay, the weapons uncovered at Aphek include the full range characteristic of the Late Bronze Age<sup>18</sup> and comprise a bronze dagger with sloping blade common during the 14/13th centuries, two bronze armour scales,<sup>19</sup> 6 bronze leaf-shaped arrowheads to be used with the composite bow and a decorated bronze plaque, probably a harness ring. The latter, a triangular plaque, was decorated on both sides with lotus flowers and is similar to those depicted over the noses of Ramesses II's horses in the 19th century colour drawing of the relief of the Battle of Kadesh in the Ramesseum.

*Jewellery* 224 beads of faience, glass, stone and conus shell were found as well as the butt of an ivory hairpin carved in the shape of a duck's head. Similar hairpins are known in Egypt from the 18th Dynasty onwards which may point to an Egyptian origin.

### 7.2 Beth Shean

*Glass Plaque* Found in the foundations of House 1500, this glass plaque (4.7x4.0cm) was pierced by two holes and decorated in relief "with figures in the Babylonian style"<sup>20</sup> - a bearded deity is in the centre wearing a horned headdress and facing outwards, a worshipper approaches to his left with a goat or gazelle between them standing on its hind legs.

*Pottery* (fig.36) The pottery from House 1500 "suggests a relatively brief life"<sup>21</sup> for the building. It is a typical EIA ceramic repertoire with shapes very like the LBA prototypes.

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<sup>17</sup>Pritchard, J.B. - *Palestinian Figures* (1943) 56.

<sup>18</sup>Barkay, in Kochavi, M. - *op.cit.* [fn.6] (1990) XXII.

<sup>19</sup>Scale armour first appeared in Canaan during the LBA and is also known in Mesopotamia and 18th Dynasty Egypt.

<sup>20</sup>Fitzgerald, G.M., *PEQ* 64 (1932) 145.

<sup>21</sup>James, F. - *IABS* (1966) 23.

*Group I:* 11 types of local ware can be distinguished - characteristic Iron I chalices, ovoid juglets with pointed or flat bases, globular and lentoid flasks, 'Canaanite' jars, storejars with rounded bases, straight and round sided bowls, large 4-handled jars and cylindrical jars, some with holes pierced in the base before firing.

*Group III:* Mycenaean stirrup jars with linear, concentric circle or lozenge decoration were excavated.

*Group IV:* The milkbowl has been placed in this group although its origin is unclear (*cf.* fn16.).

### 7.3 Deir el-Balah<sup>22</sup>

*Hieratic ostrakon* A fragment of a bowl with an inscription in Egyptian hieratic script concerning administration. The may be, therefore, a parallel with the Tel Sera' ostraca which also deal with such matters.

### 7.4 Tell el-Far'ah (South)

*Razor* "of the usual form".<sup>23</sup>

*Toggle pin* with large ribbed head.

*Ivory inlay* (fig.37) Originally from a wooden box, it was burnt and broken. Petrie described the box as follows: "The scenes begin at the left side. Half of a palm tree bounds the end. A servant waits behind the chair of an Egyptian governor, who holds up a bowl to be filled by an attendant before him. Both hold lotuses. Next is a dancing girl performing to the piping of another girl behind her. Here the ivory has been broken up. In the second piece are two men, each bearing a pole across the shoulder, with a group of ducks hanging from each end. Another man follows with a calf over his shoulders. After another break is the third piece, here divided in two, overlapping; it shows the scene of netting birds in the marshes, the men plontering

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<sup>22</sup>As the excavations of Deir el-Balah have not yet been fully published, this work on the small finds is incomplete. This can only be rectified when the forthcoming QEDEM volume is published.

<sup>23</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *Beth Pelet I* (1930) 18.

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about in the water and mud, to pull the clap net; papyrus stems are seen behind. Beyond are two young bulls, facing opposite ways; at the end half a palm tree as at the beginning."<sup>24</sup> The box displays a myriad of influences - Egyptian scenes and Mycenaean motifs yet Canaanite workmanship.

**Jar fragments** (fig.38) These fragments of a pithos were inscribed with hieroglyphs in two cartouches, flanked on either side by notched palm trees, the sign for years. "These rest on the heads of tadpoles, sign for 100,000, which in turn rest on *shen* signs, the whole meaning "100,000s of years"; beneath each cartouche is a *nub* sign."<sup>25</sup> The right cartouche reads "Seti-mer-en-Ptah", that on the left is incomplete "...mer-setep-en-Ra". The meaning of the left-hand cartouche is unclear - while the Sa-Ra name of Seti I can be compounded, it is always written "Men-Maat-Ra-setep-en-Ra"; "Mer" did not appear in any example known to Macdonald in 1932.<sup>26</sup>

**Pottery** Unfortunately, Petrie's publication did not include much information about the ceramic repertoire, Wood claimed it included Mycenaean, Egyptian and Philistine shapes, both imported and locally made.<sup>27</sup> Petrie only mentioned 45 storejars sealed with conical clay stoppers stamped with the figure of a god holding a lion and a water jar full of sulphur.<sup>28</sup>

### 7.5 Gezer<sup>29</sup>

In the "Canaanite Castle", *i.e.* Singer's 'residency', few finds are mentioned:

**Two bronze axeheads**

**Bronze spearhead**

**3-legged stone dish**

**Alabaster vase**

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<sup>24</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *op.cit.* 19.

<sup>25</sup>Macdonald, E. - *Beth Pelet II* (1932) 28.

<sup>26</sup>Macdonald, E. - *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>Wood, B.G., *BAR* 17/6 (1991) 51.

<sup>28</sup>According to Dr.A.Espie, Unilever Research Laboratories, Port Sunlight that sulphur was burnt to fumigate clothes.

<sup>29</sup>Unfortunately Macalister did not describe the finds, rather just noted they were present. It is also impossible to trace these finds in the excavation reports.

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### *Pottery fragments*

*Stone ornament fragment* A polished block of green stone (7x6x6cm), on one side was a sunken panel with an incised chevron design, a line was drawn around the other side and fractured edge.

Singer suggested the following finds may also have come from the "Canaanite Castle"<sup>30</sup>:

### *Axe*

### *Narrow and flat bronze strip*

### *Two alabaster vessels*

### *Large limestone stopper*

In the large mudbrick structure, *i.e.* Bunimovitz's 'residency':

### *Lamp and bowl deposit*

## 7.6 Tel Hesi

*Bronze figure* (fig.39) About 10cm high with some gold plate around the neck, it is unclear whether the figure had a gold collar or was originally gold plated. Although very corroded, Bliss believed the general shape was that of Ptah and "the stand on which the feet rest suggests Egyptian influence."<sup>31</sup>

*Bronze statuette* (fig.39) Found near the bronze figure, this tiny bronze statuette depicts a she-goat suckling two kids. It stands on a bar supported by four knobs.

## 7.7 Tell Jemmeh

*3 Scarabs* showing scenes of a king<sup>32</sup> paying homage to Ptah.

*Knife* Described by Petrie as a cutting out knife and dated to the period of Tuthmosis III,<sup>33</sup> this bronze knife was in two parts with the centre missing.

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<sup>30</sup>Singer, I. - TA 13-14 (1986-1987) 29.

<sup>31</sup>Bliss, F.J. - A Mound of Many Cities (1894) 68.

<sup>32</sup>Van Beek believed Ramesses II; van Beek, G.W. - NEAEHL (1993) 674.

<sup>33</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - Gerar (1928) 5.

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**Pottery Figurine** Depicting Ashtoreth, it was roughly made and showed the goddess with open legs.

**Sickles** Petrie's plan of the 18th Dynasty town indicated he found sickles within the 'residency',<sup>34</sup> unfortunately not described.

**Pottery** Petrie published the pottery in such a way as to make it useless for further study. All that can be said is that spiral and wavy line decoration was present on the ceramics found within the building. Van Beek mentioned that he found local ware, imported Cypriote WS ware and Mycenaean sherds.<sup>35</sup> No other details available.

**Lamp and bowl deposits** Three were found within the building and consist of two bowls and a lamp. Petrie claimed that these were "the substitute for child sacrifice at the foundation."<sup>36</sup>

### 7.8 TelMasos

No floors were preserved inside the building from Stratum IIB, therefore all finds inside date to Stratum IIA.

**Pottery** (fig.40) Only local ceramics and Philistine ware were excavated. The local ware comprised carinated bowls, 2-handled kraters, bent-rim cooking pots, squat goblets,<sup>37</sup> large pithoi, jugs with loop handles (one example has 4 handles and a strainer spout), pilgrim flasks and 2-chambered lamps.

### 7.9 TelMor<sup>38</sup>

**Scarabs**

**Storejars**

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<sup>34</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *op.cit.* [fn.42] pl.VI.

<sup>35</sup>Van Beek, G.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.41] 674.

<sup>36</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *op.cit.* [fn.42] 6.

<sup>37</sup>Unknown in the LBA repertoire, Amiran claimed "the goblet does not seem to occur in the South in this period (Iron I)." Amiran, R. - *op.cit.*[fn.13] 213.

<sup>38</sup>Little can be learnt from the preliminary publications.



*Egyptian pottery* "Egyptian pottery and scarabs may indicate that an Egyptian governor still resided in the fortress in the time of Ramesses III."<sup>39</sup>

*Mycenean pottery*

*Cypriote pottery* Includes a jug handle with incised Cypro-Minoan signs.

### 7.10 Telles-Sa'idiyeh

*Faience udjat*

*Copper weight*

*Pottery* (fig.41) Tubb claimed the pottery "is predominantly Early Iron I in date", some elements anticipate Iron II while others "reflect the final traditions of the Late Bronze Age".<sup>40</sup>

*Textile fragments*

*Reel of cotton*

*Wooden spindle whorls* The last three items listed above were found in the destruction debris.

*Basalt tripod bowl/incense stand*

*Fallow deer antler* These two items were found at the base of the steps linking Area AA to Area EE.

### 7.11 TelSera'

*Ostraca*<sup>41</sup> A group of 11 bowls and ostraca were found inside Building 906 and studied by Goldwasser who managed to join several sherds and translations of seven inscriptions. As some of the inscriptions referred to grain, some of it in vast quantities, it is likely that these inscriptions referred to the harvest tax paid by a Canaanite city state to an Egyptian institution.

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<sup>39</sup>Dothan, M. - EAEHL (1977) 889.

<sup>40</sup>Tubb, J.N. - Levant 20 (1988) 41.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Appendix 1 for a full discussion.

**Bronze socketed staff** Found with other bronze objects, this staff had a loop in the shape of an Egyptian sceptre.

**2 Copper ingots** found near the bronze staff. Due to their small size, Oren postulated they may have had a votive purpose.<sup>42</sup>

**Pigment** Pieces of cobalt blue and yellow pigment, used in Egypt to decorate pottery and to paint stelae and reliefs.

**Scarabs** of late 19th Dynasty type.

**Beads** Faience heart-shaped and palmette-shaped beads.

**Basalt bowl** 60cm diameter, nicely burnished.

**Egyptian alabaster and faience vases**

**Two cylinder seals**

**Pottery** The pottery from Stratum IX included bell covers, pilgrim flasks, stands, cup and saucers, kraters - decorated, plain and four-handled - local Egyptian-style cylindrical vessels, bowls some decorated with circles or the palm-tree and ibex motif - local Egyptian bowls with flared sides and string-cut bases, cooking pots and Mycenaean-type ware. As Stratum IX yielded no imported Mycenaean, Cypriote or Philistine ware, Oren concluded that LBA Aegean and Cypriote imports ceased at the end of the 13th century B.C., while Philistine pottery first appeared in the 12th century, *i.e.* Stratum VIII, when Philistines were the ethnic nucleus at Sera'.

**Group I:** 6 types of local ware can be distinguished - bowls with string-cut bases, carinated bowls and jugs decorated with the palm-tree and ibex motif,<sup>43</sup> a footed chalice with miniature cups and a bull's head attached to the rim, tubular libation stands with round holes pierced near the base and cup-and-saucer bowls.

**Group II:** 2 pottery types can be included in this group - drop-shaped vases and high-necked cups.

**Group III:** Mycenaean imports comprised a rhyton and a bowl with tilted handles.

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<sup>42</sup>Oren, E.D. - BA 45 (1982) 166.

<sup>43</sup>The palm-tree and ibex is the most characteristic decoration of the LBA and generally consists of a tree flanked by two facing ibexes

## Chapter 8

### Small Finds from Architecture Contemporary with the 'Residencies'

This chapter will deal with the small finds found within buildings contemporary with the 'residencies' to see if any Egyptian influence is apparent. One would expect that, if the site was inhabited by an Egyptian governor, his assistants and a military presence, there would be a proportion of finds which would display strong Egyptian characteristics.

#### 8.1 **Aphek**

**Hittite Bulla** (fig.42) Found in a passage outside the 'residency', the Hittite bulla is the first to have been found south of the Hittite empire. Of unbaked clay, the greater part of the bulla is missing so the complete impression and the exact shape cannot be determined. The impression consisted of three ornamented rings; the inner and middle rings contain alternating circles and triangles, the outer ring two alternating signs: "L155/G70 ("pomegranate") and L441/G176".<sup>1</sup> The central field contained the "title KING + CHILD (L46), the left-hand part of the first sign of the name of the seal owner, and a "secondary group" consisting of two circles and a triangle (L370), the latter symbolizing HEALTH AND WELLBEING".<sup>2</sup> Singer concluded that the concave surface and general design of the bulla indicate it belonged to a prince(ess) and dated it to the reign of Hattushili III following the signing of the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty.<sup>3</sup>

**Letter fragment** Found in the passage to the east of the building near the Hittite bulla, the fragment (5.2x4cm) has Akkadian script on both sides. Although only the ends of lines have been preserved - eight on one side and five on the other - Hallo attempted to reconstruct more of the document.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Singer, I. - TA 4 (1977) 180.

<sup>2</sup>Singer, I. - *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Singer, I. in Kochavi, M. - *Aphek in Canaan* (1990) XV.

<sup>4</sup>Hallo, W.W. - TA 8 (1981) 18-22.

## 8.2 Beth Shean

### The Pennsylvania Excavations

*The Temple Area Outer Ante-Room (1042)* The room contained few objects, most notably a part of a double-headed rhyton - a lion's head - the other part found in a store room of the southern temple of Ramesses III. Rowe claimed "the indications are that the vase belonged to the reign of Seti, and that it was broken in two and its pieces separated during the time when the temple of this king was being filled in by the builders of the temple of Ramesses III."<sup>5</sup> Pottery discovered within the room included an incised bowl rim fragment and a rim fragment with red painted decoration.

*Inner Ante-Room (1036)* Finds included part of a shrine house - the tops of two windows and bottom of an upper floor - with traces of dark red paint, the base of a cylindrical cult object, an oblong basalt dish and a roughly circular basalt mortar with three feet.

*Great Court (1031, 1032, 1033)* Rowe stated "practically no objects of interest were found in the great court, but a *kernos* or hollow ring of pottery with vases attached to it, which came from the floor near the bottom of the flight of steps, and a cylinder seal showing the figures of four men, each holding a stick, and some fragments of gold foil, may be mentioned."<sup>6</sup>

*Upper Altar Room (1021B)* Perhaps the most important find in view of the interpretation of the building as an Egyptian temple was a life-size limestone hawk on a base with traces of red paint on the breast, crown, base and between the legs and blue paint on the tail and claws; what is most notable is that the bird wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and may possibly be identified as Horus (fig.43). A possible representation of another deity was excavated - a female figurine of gold-plated copper wearing a conical hat, her outstretched arms originally

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<sup>5</sup>Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) 15.

<sup>6</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 16. The cylinder seal is of limestone, the area above the four figures is cross-hatched, a single incised line runs parallel to the base of the seal.

held something. Four straight-sided, flat based bronze "cups", approximately were found at the top of the steps; the one pictured by Rowe<sup>7</sup> has its sides pierced by two nails and contained charcoal fragments. Their position and dimensions (7cm wide, 3.5cm high approx.) indicate that, rather than cups, these bronze objects were feet for a chair or canopy. Other metal objects included a leaf-shaped spearhead, a bronze bolt, a gold crescentic ornament and a flattened gold scaraboid. Other objects included a four-handled basalt bowl, a fragment of the base of a cylindrical ceramic cult object (unpictured), a virtually complete ceramic cult stand and what Rowe described as "a portion of a baking tray with holes along the sides."<sup>8</sup>

*Store room east of the altar room (1043)* In the northern room was a red-washed oblong pottery box with round studs at frequent intervals, three on each long side and one on either end, to which the lid was tied; Rowe claimed "this box must have been used for holding sacred objects."<sup>9</sup> The only other object mentioned is a ceramic cylindrical cult object identical to that from the altar room although it is unclear whether Rowe found two identical examples or this object came from this room or the altar room.

*Rooms south of the temple:* Finds from this area indicate these rooms had a domestic function although several prestige items - an alabaster stopper (L.1044), an alabaster jar with two ibex-head handles (L.1060), a *breccia* bowl and part of the Mokal stela (L.1054)<sup>10</sup> - may point to a few wealthy inhabitants. Other items were domestic in nature, namely ceramics (L.1058, 1343), a basalt polisher (L.1051), stone weights (L.1053), whetstones (L.1053) and a basalt mortar (L.1054). Non-utilitarian objects within the rooms included beads (L.1044), a pottery figurine of

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<sup>7</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit* [fn.5] pl.XXII:3.

<sup>8</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 17.

<sup>9</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid* 17.

<sup>10</sup>The other part of the stela came from Level V Locus 1010, *i.e.* west of the Southern Temple of Ramesses III.

Ashtoreth holding a sceptre<sup>11</sup> (L.1057), scarabs, cult objects, "a pottery object with a number of tubular apertures"<sup>12</sup> (L.1342) and model bread offerings (L.1343).<sup>13</sup>

*Areas west of the temple:*<sup>14</sup> Finds from this area included local ceramics (L.1346, 1377, 1378), one Mycenaean sherd (L.1347f), a basalt mortar (L.1061), a basalt ring weight (L.1061), bronze fragments (L.1035, 1061), a faience amulet (L.1035), undescribed cult objects (L.1346, 1347f, 1377) and stone stelae (L.1061, 1347f). The L.1061 stela "seems to bear very faint traces of a figure (?)"<sup>15</sup> while those from L.1347f comprised a rounded fragment with a relief line around the dome and a fragment with traces of blue paint. The most important find was a fragmentary blue-tinted hieroglyphic inscription in L.1346 which has been attributed, by Ward, to House 1500.<sup>16</sup>

*Areas north of the temple:* Finds from this area were generally richer and non-utilitarian in nature than from the above areas. These included limestone capitals (L.1062), amulets (L.1062, 1100, 1101), arrowheads (L.1062, 1100), beads (L.1062), cylinder seals (L.1062),<sup>17</sup> a ceramic female figurine plaque (L.1062),<sup>18</sup> cylindrical cult objects (L.1100), a kernos fragment (L.1100), a bronze spearhead, chisels and spoon bowl (L.1100), figurines (horse head,<sup>19</sup> serpent, hippopotamus - L.1100, duck/goose head - L.1101), blue pigment (L.1100), donkey's teeth (L.1100, 1101)<sup>20</sup> and a faience bowl decorated in Egyptian style on the interior (L.1101).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 17.

<sup>12</sup>James, F.W. - IABS (1966) 17.

<sup>13</sup>Other examples were found in L.1345, 1196, 1201.

<sup>14</sup>James describes rooms 1035-7, 1042, 1061 as being the outer courtyard of the temple stating "it lies south and west of the inner courtyard. It has been suggested that the royal stelae may have stood with their backs against the west wall of the outer courtyard, and, indeed, at its north end is one of the niches that the Egyptians often erected to frame such monuments." James, F.W. - *op.cit.* [fn.12] 16.

<sup>15</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 18.

<sup>16</sup>*Cf.* Appendix 1 viii.

<sup>17</sup>Parker, B. - *Iraq* 11 (1949) no.162.

<sup>18</sup>Rowe claimed it was Ashtoreth - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 82; its broken condition means it cannot be compared with other examples although the position of the arms resemble several found at Deir el-Balah.

<sup>19</sup>Horse figurines are rare during this period.

<sup>20</sup>The hippopotamus and donkey were associated with Seth.

<sup>21</sup>"Below the rim, double row of dots; lanceolate leaves radiating and ascending from bottom, with dotted centre-lines." Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.5] 66.

*East of the temple* Finds were mainly utilitarian domestic ware and included jars (L.1185 containing grain, 1196 containing sesame), tanged bronze axe (L.1187),<sup>22</sup> baking stone (L.1192), whetstone (L.1195), model bread offerings (L.1196, 1201; both have stamped impressions, those from L.1196 read 'daily offering' in Egyptian) and an incised steatite jewellery mould (L.1204). L.1195 yielded an inscribed limestone lintel fragment which Ward ascribed to House 1500, *cf.* Appendix 1 vi.

Other finds were made which cannot be attributed to a particular area and mainly comprise bronze objects - stands, knobs, ploughshare, dagger, arrowheads, chisel, tweezers, pins, toggle pin, knives, bowls, needles, spearhead, quadruped figurine, studs - as well as an iron dagger, 18 lead clamps, a pierced lead cylinder, a basalt statue of Ramesses III<sup>23</sup> and a possible fragment of a limestone funerary stela depicting a male figure seated before an offering table with a female figure to his right holding three lotuses in her extended left hand, her right extended towards the deceased.<sup>24</sup>

### The Yadin & Geva excavations

*Building 2533:* Along with an alabaster pyxis and pilgrim flask, the building contained the richest pottery assemblage discovered, including bowls, two varieties of kraters, two types of cooking pots, painted and slipped jugs, juglets, storejars, lamps and Egyptian bowls (fig.44)

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<sup>22</sup>Reminiscent of earlier axes due to the tang and lugs but similar in shape to the Egyptian axe with a shorter, narrower blade introduced around the time of Tuthmosis III.

<sup>23</sup>Carved in provincial style, the statue was found with its severed head at its feet near the Northern Temple of Stratum V but is attributed to this stratum.

<sup>24</sup>Although only parts of both figures are preserved, it is possible to restore the rest of the scene as similar scenes are found on other funerary stela during this period. Ward claimed it is difficult to place this stela in context as "the scene represented is one that is very common on private funerary stelae of the Empire Period and the immediate inference to be drawn is that there may at one time have been an Egyptian tomb in the vicinity of Beth Shan. Ward, W.A. in James, F.W. - *op.cit* [fn.12] 171.

Mazar's excavations

*Western Building 78733* Objects found within the destruction debris included a scarab, bottle-shaped carnelian and glass beads, pieces of gold leaf and the gold plating from a ram's head-shaped wooden object with curved horns and empty eye sockets, presumably for inlay (fig.45). "The object is probably an Egyptian craft work, recalling Egyptian gold-plated ivory and wooden objects."<sup>25</sup> If Mazar is correct in his assumption that Buildings 1096, 1094 *etc.* were the western extent of this building, then the building contained a fragmentary T-shaped doorsill and inscribed doorjamb:

*i3w n.k p3 'nhry nhh ...*

*i[3w n].k p3 H'py ...*

Praise to thee, O Beautiful One,<sup>26</sup> possessor of eternity...

Pr[aise to] thee, O Hapy...

Finds south of this room included a skeleton.

*Street 78740:* The most important find was a fragment of an Egyptian lintel painted with red and black stripes, presumably from a neighbouring building.

*Building 88700:* The pottery vessels found in the conflagration debris were mainly store jars, large kraters and cooking pots. The objects found on the floor of the earlier phase of room 88854 included a scarab, two gold earrings, a silver signet ring and two lumps of silver bullion wrapped in linen which may represent a payment. Mazar also mentioned "the pieces include parts of broken bracelets, crescent-shaped objects and togglepins - all made of solid silver."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Mazar, A. - IEJ 43 (1993) 207.

<sup>26</sup>During the empire 'O Beautiful One' referred to the Sun god although this epithet in Ramesside times also applied to the king. When looked at in context with the second line mentioning Hapy, the text follows Egyptian religious texts which often have several lines beginning 'Praise to thee' followed by the names of different deities.

<sup>27</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn23] 210.



### 8.3 Deir el-Balah<sup>28</sup>

Finds from the large crater connected with the 'residency', possibly serving as a quarry for mudbricks and later as a reservoir which slowly filled in with debris, included broken pottery, an ushabti, a bronze spearhead, animal bones and a stamped handle with a representation of Ptah.

### 8.4 Tell el-Far'ah (S)

In the courtyard and smaller building were seven scarabs and plaques, a paste *udjat* and fragments of a large pottery jar with hieroglyphs.

### 8.5 Gezer

No small finds from contemporary structures are mentioned although the sundial (fig.46),<sup>29</sup> fragment of a green faience vase bearing the cartouche of Ramesses III<sup>30</sup> and a large stone block bearing the hieroglyphic sign *nb* (gold)<sup>31</sup> may have belonged to this period.

### 8.6 Tell Hesi

Only 3 cylinder seals, 3 scarabs, spindle whorls, querns, bronze objects and a lamp and bowl deposit were mentioned, although their provenance is uncertain.

### 8.7 Tell Jemmeh

A carved wing and tail of a bone cosmetic box was found within the larger living room or bedroom of the structure. Pottery recovered from this building was similar

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<sup>28</sup>As T.Dothan's excavations of the settlement have not been fully published, it is impossible to present a complete account of contemporary small finds.

<sup>29</sup>Described by Macalister as an ivory pectoral - *Gezer I* (1912) 15 - it was recognised by Moller as a portable sundial and published by Pilcher. Pilcher, E.J. - *PEQSt* (1923) 85-89.

<sup>30</sup>In the excavation report it was erroneously ascribed to Ramesses II. Macalister, R.A.S. - *Gezer II* (1912) 235.

<sup>31</sup>Singer claimed "Professor A.Schulman informs me this was probably part of the support and closing tie of a royal cartouche." Singer, I. - *TA 13-14* (1986-1987) 27. Macalister believed this block was the only surviving remains of an Egyptian building covered in hieroglyphs. Macalister, R.A.S. - *op.cit.* [fn.30] 370.

to that from the 'residency', namely local ware and imported Mycenaean and Cypriote vessels.

## 8.8 Tel Masos

### Area A

The limestone stamp seal with a long handle and base design of crosshatched incised lines was excavated in House 1039. Room 101, House 96, produced the only complete pottery vessels, including an Egyptian 'flower pot'; store jars and large vessels were mainly represented in the sherds.

### Area H

In the rubble of Room 307, House 314, were several stones - a hammer?,<sup>32</sup> a triangular stone, a round stone polished on both sides (perhaps from rubbing against metal) and a quadrilateral stone with grooves on all sides and along the middle. Although the four stone "figurines" were naturally occurring forms found all over the tell, Fritz claimed "ob diese Steine mit ihrem figürlichen Charakter auch in Raum 307 eine kältische Bedeutung gehabt haben, muß offen bleiben"<sup>33</sup> although he also stated the room may have been a workshop.<sup>34</sup> The pottery from Room 307 and its neighbouring Room 311 was different to that found in the rest of the house with a high proportion of imported Phoenician and Midianite ware among the local ceramics which include fragments of about fourteen storejars; the presence of more than thirty storejars in Room 304 implies it was the main storeroom of the house. In the mudbrick rubble debris of Rooms 302/331<sup>35</sup> an ivory lion's head was discovered besides several copper pieces and a large number of Red Sea mussel shells; the pottery included a storejar, a pithos, three lamps, two footed incense burners. The floor of Room 343 was uneven, dipping in the middle and covered by a c.40cm thick

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<sup>32</sup>It is similar to a basalt hammer from Megiddo Stratum II and Serabit el-Khadem where they were found in a copper-working context.

<sup>33</sup>Fritz, V. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *Tel Masos* (1983) 41. This is due to the presence of similar "figurines" in the Hathor Temple at Timna.

<sup>34</sup>Fritz, V. in Fritz, V. & Kempinski, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>Unfortunately, it is not specified in which room each object was discovered.

destruction debris containing many vessels including 7 kraters, 3 calyxes, 2 cooking pots, 9 storejars, 1 amphoriskos, 5 pyxides, 3 lamps, 1 pilgrim flask and the base of an Egyptian "flower pot".

### 8.9 TelMor

No contemporary small finds are mentioned.

### 8.10 Telles-Sa'idiyeh

*Area EE:* A clay bulla from a papyrus document, the impression of the papyrus and its string tie visible on the reverse<sup>36</sup> was found in the small tunnel in the dividing wall between the eastern and western rooms (fig.47). At the foot of the steps linking areas AA and EE was an *in situ* basalt tripod bowl and a shallow pit containing a large deer antler.<sup>37</sup>

*Area KK:* Typical stratum XII ceramics were found.

*Area MM:* Finds included typical Stratum XII pottery and an iron arrowhead.

### 8.11 TelSera<sup>38</sup>

The finds from Building 1118 included lots of charcoal, pomegranate-shaped juglets, a ceramic cult stand with holes, ivory, stone and alabaster vessels, faience beads and glass.

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<sup>36</sup>The bulla has a similar design to one found at Beth Shean by Mazar, reference in IEJ 43 (1993) 215.

<sup>37</sup>Tubb, J.N. - Levant 20 (1988) 41.

<sup>38</sup>My thanks to E.Marely, University of Beersheva for her information about Tel Sera'.

## Chapter 9

### Small Finds from Earlier Buildings

This chapter describes and examines small finds from architectural remains belonging to earlier phases of the LBA at the sites having "residencies" to see if there is any evidence of Egyptian influence or an Egyptian presence prior to the construction of the "residencies". If Egyptian artifacts or Egyptian-influenced finds are present, it may show that the "residency" sites had a history of Egyptian occupation or influence, meaning the period of the "residencies" was not isolated.

**9.1 Aphek** Little information is available regarding finds from earlier buildings.

*Palace IV:* The 'cultic' room continued, bowls, chalices, lamps and imported vessels were buried in a stone-lined pit covered with a large polished stone.<sup>1</sup>

*Palace V:* The only mentioned find is a scarab of Amenophis III.<sup>2</sup>

**9.2 Beth Shean**

#### **Stratum R3**

The finds from within the building were meagre, indicating it was deliberately abandoned, and consisted of pottery sherds,<sup>3</sup> two scarabs and a fragment of a bronze statuette. Also found were a fragment of a bronze laver or cauldron (40cm diameter) with a rectangular handle attached to the body with bronze rivets, recalling the later cauldron from Tomb 101 at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and the leg of a bronze smiting god 7.8cm long.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kochavi, M. - *Aphek in Canaan* (1990) XI.

<sup>2</sup>Kochavi, M. - *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>It is these sherds which give a LBIA date as they include typical LBIA sherds especially chocolate-on-white ware and local red and black painted pottery. "The pottery of Phase R3 has parallels in the rich Tomb 42 in the Northern Cemetery, but it should be noted that the previous excavators did not attribute any occupation level to the LBIA phase." Mazar, A. - *Biblical Archaeology Today* (1993) 614-615.

<sup>4</sup>This makes it possible to "estimate the total height of the figurine at ca. 23cm. This makes it one of the largest figurines of this type known from the Levant: Most of the figurines of this type are only about half its size." Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 615.

**Stratum IX<sup>5</sup>**

*IXB/R2*: The ceramic repertoire did not include any chocolate-on-white, bichrome or Mycenaean ceramics, while Cypriote imports, mainly monochrome bowls, were rare. The Egyptian vessels, bowls and beer-bottles, many of local manufacture (this is unsubstantiated), indicate Egyptian influence if not presence. "The ceramic finds indicate that this phase followed Thutmose III's conquest of Palestine, when Beth Shean became an Egyptian administrative stronghold."<sup>6</sup> If this is the case, then it either demonstrates that the Canaanites began copying Egyptian ceramic forms as soon as a government was established in the 15th century or that there were Egyptians present at Beth Shean who demanded ceramic forms that they were familiar with.

*IXA/R1*: The Northern Temple Rowe noted "nothing of importance has...come from the temple itself"<sup>7</sup> although finds from "certain rooms to the east"<sup>8</sup> included 3 faience cylinder seals showing sacred trees, stags and men, a faience scarab, a small bronze hand, small pottery offering jugs, dishes and bowls, a bull's head from a kernos and a small pottery wheel *i.e.* many non-utilitarian objects. The most important find which Rowe related to this 'temple' came from a room southwest of the building - a pottery bowl decorated on the exterior with a snake in high relief. "This serpent-bowl is of the utmost importance, as it indicates that ophiolatry, so prevalent in Beth-Shan during the reigns of the later Egyptian kings who controlled the town, was already practised there in the time of Thothmes III."<sup>9</sup> Evidence of ophiolatry is observed at Beth Shean from strata IX-V; in strata XVIII-XVII the temples and some houses contained uraeus pendants, items with snake appliqué and pottery cobra figurines. In stratum V, the southern temple complex contained many cylindrical stands decorated with snakes in high relief. A few examples are known

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<sup>5</sup>Divided into two phases by Mazar following his excavations: Stratum IXB = R2 = LBIB; Stratum IXA = R1 = LBIIA. Mazar, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Mazar, A. - NEAEHL (1993) 216.

<sup>7</sup>Rowe, A. - Beth Shan I (1930) 10.

<sup>8</sup>Rowe, A. - MJ 19 (1928) 156.

<sup>9</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 10.

from stratum VI but it appears that during the period of the most intense Egyptian presence the importance of the cobra was diminished. See below n.32 for a possible explanation for the popularity of ophialotry.

### The Southern Temple

i) *Outer Courtyard* The only illustrated find was a large, oval, open-cast pendant. The pendant is the largest LB jewellery pendant found in Palestine, it depicted a lion attacking a bull or dog on both sides. Thompson claimed the bull represented Hadad/Baal/Seth/Mekal,<sup>10</sup> although why in a temple dedicated to Mekal there would be an image of the god being attacked is unclear. Other, unillustrated finds included hollow pottery cones with flaring tops,<sup>11</sup> a Cypriote milkbowl, local ceramics (lamp, pilgrim flask and a dish rim with 8 red-painted gazelles<sup>12</sup>), a basalt incense altar, a basalt dish with traces of red ochre, 3 gold pendants (2 lotus flowers, one of a nude female in typical Egyptian pose), faience beads and pendants, a faience scarab, a steatite stamp seal and 4 faience Mitannian Common Style cylinder seals.

ii) *Inner Sanctuary* Finds included a libation cup, a cylindrical cult stand, "part of a pig-headed cylindrical cult object",<sup>13</sup> a female ceramic figurine, a seated male gold-plated bronze figurine,<sup>14</sup> ivory inlay of a "seated man with protgnathous features",<sup>15</sup> an ivory cosmetic pot, 2 Cypriote gold pins, scarabs, a steatite bead mould, a Hittite bronze dagger with curved tip and crescentic head,<sup>16</sup> a basalt altar decorated with a cross on the top<sup>17</sup> and a faience bowl with a hieroglyphic inscription which Rowe

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<sup>10</sup>Thompson, H.O. - Mekal (1970) 18.

<sup>11</sup>Perhaps vases although Rowe compared them with Akkadian copper votive offerings.

<sup>12</sup>Rowe believed the gazelle was sacred to Ashtoreth - PEQ 61 (1929) 81 - although Thompson claimed "the gazelle may represent Nergal, Set or Resheph. If one or more of these deities is identical with Mekal, the gazelle of course represents Mekal. Thompson, H.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 18.

<sup>13</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 11; Thompson believed it represented Seth. Thompson, H.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 20.

<sup>14</sup>Negbi assigned it to her Syro-Phoenician group. Negbi, O. - *Canaanite Gods in Metal* (1976) 54.

<sup>15</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 11.

<sup>16</sup>Rowe claimed the dagger was similar to that carried by a Hittite warrior on the King's Gate at Bogazkoy - *ibid* - a fact repeated by Gurney. Gurney, O.R. - *The Hittites* (1990) 81.

<sup>17</sup>Rowe believed it was a Cretan altar stand as "the "star" sign in Crete, was a general indication of divinity." Rowe, A. - PEQ 60 (1928) 77.

claimed formed "part of the name of some god, and perhaps the name "Beth Shan""<sup>18</sup> (fig.48).

*iii) Sacrificial altar room* Rowe mentioned one find from the room, a shallow conical vase supported by four curved legs on a large base, decorated with red and black paint. No similar example exists in Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus or Mycenaean Greece.

*iv) Room east of the inner sanctuary* The upper part of a burnt ceramic female figurine, which Rowe believed to be Ashtoreth,<sup>19</sup> wearing a wig and supporting a breast with her left hand was excavated.

*vi) Southern corridor* Finds included "a number"<sup>20</sup> of cigar-shaped model bread offerings and the snout of a ceramic hippopotamus. If the hippopotamus was a representation of Seth it may indicate that the Canaanite deity worshipped at Beth Shean in this period had similar attributes.

*vii) Stepped altar* Near to the altar was a small conical basalt stone which Rowe thought "was a Canaanite emblem of the local Baal."<sup>21</sup>

*viii) Small room* Finds included the Mekal stela,<sup>22</sup> a basalt baetyl, a single spouted pottery lamp, a flint and "an unbored barrel-head of polished black stone."<sup>23</sup>

*x) Room north of the inner sanctuary* A model bowl and pot and basalt weight were excavated; outside the room's northeastern corner was the head of a basalt statue wearing an Egyptian-style wig.

Great outer fort wall A basalt panel of lions and dogs (92x72x23cm) was excavated and has two registers in high relief on one face (fig.49). The upper shows a lion, with a star on his shoulder, standing on its hind legs, tail curved over his back,

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<sup>18</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.* Thompson transliterated the inscription as [Me]kal Ba[ty-shal] i.e. [Me]kal lord of Be[th-shan]. Thompson, H.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 20. From Thompson's transliteration, Kitchen has re-read this inscription as 'Mekal of Beth Shean' ie agreeing with Rowe's interpretation. Personal communication with K.A.Kitchen 31/07/97.

<sup>19</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.7] 13.

<sup>20</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>Rowe, A. - *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Appendix 1.

<sup>23</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.12] 86.

fighting with a dog. The lower register shows the lion, again with a star on his shoulder, four feet on the ground, tail between his legs as the dog bites his rump. Mazar suggested that the dog may in fact be a lioness due to a similarity in depiction with the lion in the upper register.<sup>24</sup> However, the dog's tail is different and when it is viewed from the front, as in the lower register, then it can definitely be seen to be a dog. The panel is unique in Palestine, leading Frankfort to suggest it may have been carved in N.Syria due to the similarity of composition with a gold bowl from Ugarit,<sup>25</sup> its function uncertain although its proximity to the temple may imply a cultic use

Other rooms Finds from this area included local ceramics, some with painted decoration, two ceramic female figurines,<sup>26</sup> a white-glazed glass female figurine wearing a headdress and supporting both breasts with her hands, an ivory hairpin with incised decoration, bronze arrowheads, a bronze chisel, a bronze chain, a bronze scimitar, ivory inlays with incised decoration, faience beads, two faience scarabs and two cylinder seals.

*Finds east of the temple* included three scarabs and two cylinder seals.

## Stratum VIII

### Temple Area

*Altar room and stairway* "According to the diary, a collection of jewelery (beads and pendants of faience, glass and gold), probably votive or foundation offerings similar to the deposits found under the overlying Level VII stairway, was found beneath the threshold."<sup>27</sup> Other finds included local, Egyptian, Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB and Cypriote BR II ceramics and large quantities of jewellery (beads, gold appliqué, a faience ring with *wd3t* bezel and pendants - petals, mandrake fruit,<sup>28</sup> Bes/Ptah-

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<sup>24</sup>Mazar, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.6] 216.

<sup>25</sup>Frankfort, H. - *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1963) 149.

<sup>26</sup>Rowe felt both were of Ashtoreth. One is described and can be identified as Pritchard 185 *i.e.* a nude female holding a suckling child in her left arm. Pritchard, J.B. - *Palestinian Figurines* (1967) 22.

<sup>27</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *LBEG* (1993) 7.

<sup>28</sup>This type of pendant was found at Beth Shean throughout the entire LBA (Strata IX, VIII, VII), the



Sokar, date fruit, lotus flowers, *dd*, *wd't*, elongated drops, crescent/horns, pictorial plaque,<sup>29</sup> Egyptian figure). Weapons were also excavated - copper and bronze arrowheads, a bronze spearhead, knives<sup>30</sup> and a Hittite axehead, the blade curved at one end, the other like a hand with splayed fingers (fig.50). Other finds included faience vessels (bowls, goblets, jars), 17 Mitannian Common Style cylinder seals, scarabs,<sup>31</sup> a copper female figurine, a basalt statue arm, a basalt model throne with Egyptian symbols, a miniature limestone stand with black painted decoration and ceramic figurines of a cobra<sup>32</sup> (fig.51) and the left haunch and leg of a cat.

*Inner Courtyard* No finds are reported although it is possible that some of the objects listed as belonging to locus 1092 (W) originally came from this area.

*South eastern room* Finds included local,<sup>33</sup> Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB and Cypriote WSI-II ceramics, miniature vessels, cylindrical cult stands, one with feline appliqué and a ceramic zoomorphic stand with a snub nose and pointed ears.<sup>34</sup> Other items

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similarities between the Stratum VIII examples indicate they may all have been made from the same mould. Examples were found Stratum VIII: below east wall of L.1068, L1092, 1287, below the steps of L1068, below the floor of L1068, the western side of L1092; Stratum VII: near the steps in L1068, north of the steps in L1068, L1107, L1359, L1366, L1362.

<sup>29</sup>Described by Rowe as a "winged god with conical cap". Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) 80. McGovern claimed Rowe described it as a Hittite-style crown, stating the Hittite parallels should not be stressed and believing the gods may have traces of an Egyptian wig. McGovern, P.E. - *Pendants* (1985) 33. However, this wig is not clear in either Rowe's or McGovern's drawings. Rowe, A. - *Temples* (1940) pl.34:57; McGovern P.E. - *Pendants* (1985) fig.26.

<sup>30</sup>Rowe mentions a "bronze Syrian dagger with wood inlay in its handle." Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] 9.

<sup>31</sup>One with the prenomen of Tuthmosis III.

<sup>32</sup>James and McGovern noted that Egyptian examples "appear to be very comparable in style and manufacture to the Beth Shan examples." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 171. Cobra representations were excavated at el-Amarna and Deir el-Medineh in Egypt proper and at Haruvit in North Sinai. Pottery models were found in a variety of settings at Amarna - the workmen's village, the northern suburb and the priests' quarters - which are stylistically very similar to the Beth Shean cobras *ie* heads were modelled in the round and attached to flattened torsos. However, some Amarna examples had clay rolls attached to the side of the head or head discs. "Some of the Amarna examples are miniatures, and painted decoration (yellow, red, blue, or black) is much more common there than at Beth Shan." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.* At Deir el-Medineh cobras were represented on stone stelae and have been identified with "the goddess Mert Seger or Ranout." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.* Several of the Beth Shean examples are distinguished by breasts (Stratum VIII L.1039, Stratum VII L.1264, 1089 and two show "the possible representation of jewelry...[which] accords well with the adornment of the female figurine plaques." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *ibid.* Uraeus pendants (Stratum VIII below steps L.1068 (2 examples), Stratum VII L.1070) including two with wigs, also demonstrate the possible merger of the cobra with the fertility goddess which may account for the popularity of ophialotry at Beth Shean from strata IX-V.

<sup>33</sup>The presence of Chocolate-on-White and bichrome wares indicate the locus was not sterile.

<sup>34</sup>A nose fragment from a similar vessel was found in L.1313, while one from Stratum VII with similar features "suggests that another large mammal (such as an elephant, hippopotamus, or pig) might be

included a faience *menat* fragment, basalt vessels, copper weapons, an alabaster saddle boss,<sup>35</sup> jewellery (a faience ring with *wd3t* bezel, pendants of Horus the child/Ptah and lotus flowers and other items of copper, basalt, limestone and alabaster) and cobra figurine fragments - 2 heads, 1 torso.

*Entrance hall* Finds were all ceramic except a limestone miniature stand.

*Northern outer courtyard* Finds included local<sup>36</sup> and Cypriote WSII ceramics, miniature bowls, pedestal base stands, a basalt mortar, ceramic figurine fragments of a cobra base and the head of a cat, its features delineated with black paint and an ivory inlay fragment depicting two stippled animals "a lion in profile and quadruped (deer/antelope[?]) in a sitting position with its head turned back, to either side of a three-pronged design with a hatched border, possibly a tree/branch (identified as a pool of water with surrounding herbs by Rowe)."<sup>37</sup>

*Western outer courtyard* Local and Cypriote WSII ceramics, a tall cylindrical stand, bone spindle whorls and a flat ivory disc (lid?) with an incised rosette design surrounding a central perforation were found.

Southeast sector Finds from this area were numerous and included local, Cypriote WSII and Mycenaean IIIA2 ceramics as well as 15 clay dumbbell-shaped objects,<sup>38</sup> clay loom weights, basalt vessels, a bone spindle handle with incised decoration bounded by horizontal lines, similar examples were found in LBII contexts at Hazor, Megiddo and Umm ad-Dananir.<sup>39</sup> Jewellery was represented by beads and pendants;

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depicted, but an exact determination is impossible because of the artifacts' schematic character." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 175.

<sup>35</sup>James identified white stone artifacts throughout LBA Beth Shean as "chariot fittings, probably of Egyptian military chariots, having exact parallels with the state chariots of Tutankhamun." James, F.W. in Moorey, R.P.S. & Parr, P.J. *ed.* - *Archaeology in the Levant* (1978) 103. It is interesting that no such knobs were found in stratum VI, the period of intense Egyptian occupation, although this is probably due to accidents of excavation.

<sup>36</sup>The most unusual item was a pottery vial; unique in form, it was slipped inside and out and had a string-cut base, inverted rim and trefoil mouth.

<sup>37</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 181-182. The reference to Rowe is Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] 79, pl 34:24.

<sup>38</sup>These are solid clay objects of uncertain purpose, Rowe suggested they were model bread loaves. Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] 90.

<sup>39</sup>Yadin, Y. - *Hazor* (1960) pl.127:28; Guy, P.L.O. - *Megiddo Tombs* (1938) fig.175:6; McGovern,

an Egyptian serpentine vase, alabaster pyxis and lid were also excavated, along with a Mitannian Common Style cylinder seal, chariot fittings (yoke terminal and saddle boss), a limestone stela, female figurine moulds, a fragment of the Mekal stela,<sup>40</sup> the nose of a zoomorphic vessel similar to that in the southeastern room and cobra figurine fragments - tails, head, torsos including one with breasts. The forehead of a pottery mask was found<sup>41</sup> (fig.52).

The northern sector Finds included three pottery cones with small central holes, jewellery, a Cypriote BR II juglets and a Mitannian Common Style cylinder seal.

The northwestern sector Finds included local ceramics,<sup>42</sup> faience and glass beads, a basalt bowl, two basalt mortars and grinders, a gneiss block, two hematite weights, a circular alabaster block, a copper strainer and dagger and a faience scarab.

The eastern and northern periphery Finds included local ceramics, beads, copper armour scales, a copper axe and two cylindrical stand fragments with snake appliqué.

Northern periphery Few finds were mentioned - local and Cypriote ceramics, an Egyptian blue frit bead and high pedestal base stand fragments.

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P.E. - *The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Central Transjordan* (1986) fig.76:4.

<sup>40</sup>*Cf.* Appendix 1.

<sup>41</sup>This anthropomorphic mask, smaller than lifesize, was handmodelled, traces of red paint survive on the eyebrows and lower hairline. The strands of hair were individually incised and meet in a widow's peak above the nose. A small hole is centred at the top of the hair with a further three holes unevenly placed left and right. Its fragmentary nature means it is not possible to compare it to contemporary LB masks while the hairstyle recalls a female figurine plaque from Stratum VII locus 1249 (*cf.* p188) and several of the anthropoid sarcophagi from the Northern Cemetery of LB/EIA date which also have heavy modelling around the eyes. Whether these coffins and, subsequently this mask, can be linked to the Sea Peoples as has often been stated is uncertain.

<sup>42</sup>As Bichrome sherds were present, some loci cannot be sterile.

The southern periphery Finds included local, Mycenaean IIA2/B-III A1 and Cypriote WSII and BR II ceramics, jewellery, an ivory head-shaped inlay, alabaster and bone spindle whorls, an alabaster vessel, a basalt grinder and weight, a miniature pottery jar and a cobra figurine torso.

## Stratum VII

### The Temple precinct

*Altar room and stairway* Pottery finds included local and Cypriote WSII ceramics, a clay dumbbell-shaped object, a cylindrical stand and four duck/goose heads originally attached to bowl rims. Metallurgy was represented by a copper chisel, arrowhead and dagger; other finds included a decorated glass fragment, faience objects (*wd3t* inlay, bowl rim and decorated bowl,<sup>43</sup> goblet, gaming piece, a duck-shaped stamp seal and five plaques, 4 inscribed *R'-mss*, one *B3-n-r' mry-imn*, the prenomen of Merneptah), scarabs, an alabaster bowl and weight, 6 cylinder seals (3 Mitannian Common Style, 3 Mitannian style, Palestinian origin) and jewellery - faience, glass, carnelian, hematite, gold, stone, lapis lazuli, bone and sardonyx beads and pendants of the baboon of Thoth, Bes/Ptah-Sokar, lotus flower and seed, *ankh*, date fruit, mandrake fruit, petal, reeds, *dd*, *tit*, crescent/horns, drop and *nfr*.<sup>44</sup>

*Inner Courtyard* The finds included local, Cypriote BR II and possible Mycenaean pottery, jewellery - 16 faience and carnelian pendants (Bes/Ptah-Sokar, ram with *atef* crown, *wd't*, *heh*, lotus flower and seed, mandrake fruit, petal/leaf) - along with several faience vessels (5 bowls, a jug/tankard, 4 goblets and 2 cup fragments).<sup>45</sup>

Other non-utilitarian finds included a faience female figurine wearing an Egyptian-

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<sup>43</sup>Depicting "a girl poling through a papyrus swamp on a boat with a curved-back prow. A calf is being transported on the boat, speckled fish swim in the water beneath". James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 147.

<sup>44</sup>This is paralleled at el-Amarna.

<sup>45</sup>All pieces were decorated with black paint, mainly with lotus petals, although one bowl fragment is reminiscent of that from locus 1068 and depicts a seated animal in profile within "a border of rim tics and zigzag and straight bands". James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 146.

style wig, two duck/goose heads, a Hathor 'clapper' made of hippopotamus ivory, a faience scarab inscribed *R'mss*, a pottery box and a limestone stela depicting a female deity.<sup>46</sup>

*Southeast room* Finds included local, Mycenaean and possibly Egyptian ceramics, carnelian, gold and silver beads, gold earrings, copper bracelet fragments, a gold crescent/horns pendant, an alabaster lentoid flask, bone inlay, three scarabs<sup>47</sup> and a pottery stamp seal with a concentric circle and square design on the base. Figurines included a cobra torso, a female plaque and an alabaster female head.

Little can be said about Late Stratum VII finds apart from "except for a decorated ivory roundel, a painted limestone lid or platform, and a figurine head, the artifactual material from the locus is unexceptional and belongs typologically to LBII."<sup>48</sup>

*Entrance hall* Finds included local and Mycenaean IIIA2 ceramics, faience and glass pendants of Bes/Ptah-Sokar, a ram's head, a cat and a basalt bowl.

*Northern outer courtyard* Ceramics were of local, Mycenaean III and Cypriote WSII types, including miniature bowls and cylindrical stands. Faience and glass jewellery was excavated along with a copper togglepin, knife, blade and spearhead. Other finds included a pottery head, an alabaster lid, a duck/goose head, 4 cylinder seals (2 Mitannian Common Style, 2 Mitannian style, Palestinian origin) and faience objects - bowl rim, bowl with pressed decoration, fluted chalice and a gaming piece.

*Western outer courtyard* Finds included local ceramics, a pottery box lid and cone, two cylindrical stand fragments, one with feline appliqué, basalt objects, a limestone spindle whorl, an alabaster handle and saddle boss and jewellery, including a human-headed uraeus pendant. Several figurines were excavated - 3 duck/goose heads, a nude female clutching her breasts and a cobra tail. Other finds included fragments

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<sup>46</sup>Rowe, A. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] pl. 49:1.

<sup>47</sup>Unfortunately, these are not pictured.

<sup>48</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 15.

of glass and an ostrakon with a hieratic inscription translated by Rowe as 'the fiend in the house of the ruddy beings.'<sup>49</sup>

*Southern outer courtyard* As well as local and Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB ceramics, finds included jewellery, basalt and faience bowls, two alabaster *tazza* bases, copper arrowheads, a miniature bowl, cylindrical stands, the torso of a bull rhyton, 4 duck/goose heads, a duck/goose figure with pointed beak, applied pellet eyes, pillar-shaped body, flat base and semi-circular clay wads for wings,<sup>50</sup> 2 nude female figurine torsos, one has a child to her right and a mirror to her left, 2 cobra figurine tails and one cobra torso with applied breasts. A fragment of the Mekal stela was found in the courtyard.<sup>51</sup>

Southeastern sector Finds included local, Cypriote WSII, BRII, Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB and Egyptian (flower pot, Bes vase (fig.53)<sup>52</sup>) ceramics as well as the bottom half of a potter's tournette, cylindrical stands (one with a head appliqué), jar stoppers and sealings, a miniature bowl and juglet and jewellery (beads and pendants). Metalwork was all copper - a dagger, razors, bars, knife, arrowheads, axe, hoe, chisel, armour scale, spatula, kohl stick, nails; stone was represented by alabaster (saddle boss, pyxides, flask, lids, cosmetic jar, spindle, spindle whorl), basalt (weight, vessels, mortars) and limestone (basin, fluted block with traces of blue pigment). Egyptian blue frit was found in a number of loci with red pigment. Several zoomorphic stands and objects were excavated with a kernos bird, cobra figurine tails and torsos (one with applied breasts), a duck/goose head, a cat figurine and a green stone cat head; a pottery head and a female figurine plaque whose hair

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<sup>49</sup>Rowe, A. - MJ 20 (1929) 58-59. "The ostrakon is apparently an execration text referring to the god Seth and his associates (the hippopotamus, pig, crocodile, serpent, etc.), which are described as "ruddy beings" in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 181.

<sup>50</sup>James and McGovern noted there are no close parallels although similar wings were attached to NK and Iron I duck/goose bowls. James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 173.

<sup>51</sup>*Cf.* Appendix 1.

<sup>52</sup>Displaying a Bes face on its neck with the ears, eyes, nose and moustache(?) applied, the eyebrows, earlobes, eyelids and nostrils well delineated. No LB Palestinian parallels exist although such vases were common in NK Egypt.

resembles that of the anthropomorphic mask (see above p185) were also excavated. Faience items were numerous, comprising bowls, a jug, a goblet fragment,<sup>53</sup> scarabs,<sup>54</sup> Mitannian Common Style cylinder seals and a faience plaque inscribed *'Imn-r`nb(.i)* 'Amun-re is my lord'.

The Northern Sector Finds from this area included local, Cypriote WSII and White-Shaved ware and 41 Egyptian bowls; miniature bowls, the head of a bull rhyton, the foot and lower leg of a figurine and the head and torso of a female figurine wearing an Egyptian wig were the other pottery finds. Stone was represented by limestone and basalt grinders, an alabaster knob and stamp seal. Copper arrowheads, a spearhead, a socket and fragments were excavated along with a lead strip. Bone spindle whorls were also found, as well as jewellery (beads and a pendant), scarabs, and 2 Mitannian Style Palestinian origin cylinder seals.

The Commandant's House and the Northwestern sector Finds from this area were quite poor; the ceramics were local with no imports, a clay dumbbell and the hand and arm of a pottery statue with a hole for attachment were also found. Other finds included a basalt bowl and weights, a gold bead, scarabs, an alabaster macehead, worked ivory fragments and a copper bar, arrowhead and fragments.

The Migdol Finds from the building were not sterile as the local pottery included Roman and Byzantine vessels; Cypriote WS, BRI and BRII wares were present along with an Egyptian flowerpot. Other finds included 3 clay dumbbells, a crude pottery head, the head of a male figurine with detailed modelled features covered in a red slip, the torso of a bull figurine and an anthropomorphic vessel.<sup>55</sup> Stone was

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<sup>53</sup>Decorated with black paint, it depicts a hoofed animal jumping in a papyrus marsh, dots between horizontal lines border the scene. The fragment joins another from L.1061, Stratum VI.

<sup>54</sup>One inscribed *wsr-m3'tr nb(.i)* 'Usermaatre is (my) lord' and, therefore, belongs to either Ramesses I or II as it is the start of the prenomens of both kings; another is inscribed *Mn-hpr-r* 'Menkheperre' for Tutmosis III.

<sup>55</sup>The head, depicted on the neck of the jug, has well defined features, while parts of the body were indicated on the body of the vessel with applied clay strips. "The hands of the figure grasp a sprout (broken off), which presumably marked the penis." James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27]

represented by a basalt bowl, weight and grinder, an alabaster vessel base and spindle whorl and a green stone cat pendant, other jewellery was present. Metalwork comprised a copper rod, bowl fragments, an arrowhead, an awl with a bone handle and a male figurine in smiting pose.<sup>56</sup>

The Silo and Courtyard Finds from the courtyard included local ceramics, tall cylindrical stand fragments, three clay dumbbell-shaped objects, an alabaster chariot yoke saddle boss, a sandstone whetstone, a copper knife, arrowhead and rods and the crudely modelled white-slipped pottery head of a female figurine. James and McGovern noted "the artifact types represented in Locus 1381 are very similar to those from the Commandant's House and migdol, again suggesting that the courtyard and silo were shared by residents of the two buildings."<sup>57</sup>

The Southwestern sector Pottery finds comprised local and Cypriote WSII ceramics, a tall cylindrical stand fragment and a duck/goose head. Other finds included jewellery (beads and pendants), a worked slate fragment, a glass scarab, an alabaster vessel base, macehead and tazza, faience bowl fragments with painted black decoration and a faience goblet fragment.

Eastern and northern periphery Finds included local, Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriote WSII ceramics, jewellery, a cobra figurine head, the lower torso and legs of a female figurine plaque with three bracelets(?) on each arm, two bone spindle whorls, a basalt mortar, a copper nail and chisel and a faience cylinder seal of Mitannian style, Palestinian origin.

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168. No close parallels are available although anthropomorphic vessels are known from LB-IA.

<sup>56</sup>"What may be a rectangular "Egyptian" shield remains in the left" hand - James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 167. - he wears an *atef* crown. The god depicted is uncertain although Ba'al and Resheph were often depicted in the smiting pose; these deities were often associated with Seth and Montu respectively. Thompson, H.O. - *op.cit.* [fn.10] 51-77. If we accept that the figurine has Egyptianising features then similar examples are known from LBII Canaan and NK Egypt.

<sup>57</sup>James, F.W. & McGovern, P.E. - *op.cit.* [fn.27] 60.



Northern Periphery Finds included a basalt bowl and copper fragments.

Northwestern periphery Finds included local and imported Cypriote BR11 pottery, a pottery cone, a basalt loom weight, the lower legs of a female figurine, a torso fragment of a bull figurine, the tail of a bird figurine, a pottery wheel, a copper rod and fragments. Although the pottery forms include utilitarian domestic vessels, there is no evidence of food processing to support Rowe's kitchen hypothesis.

Southern Periphery Finds included local and Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB ceramics, a duck/goose head fragment, the head, torso and upper legs of a female figurine on a bed with a child to her left, the torso of another female figurine, a miniature storejar probably from a donkey figurine, an alabaster tazza, a basalt mortar, an alabaster vase, a copper kohl stick and arrowhead and two pendants.

Late VII finds included 7 glass beads, a copper awl and arrowhead and a lead lump.

### **Discussion**

The finds of Stratum VIII and VII contain an unusually high proportion of Egyptian material - 19.14% local, 80.00% Egyptian, 0.23% Mycenaean, 0.29% Cypriote, 0.24% Mitannian, 0.01% Hittite/Egyptian, 0.09% of uncertain origin. Here, however, the Egyptian figure is disproportionately high due to the vast quantity of faience beads from near or north of the steps in locus 1068 (Stratum VII). If these 10298 beads are omitted then a different picture emerges - 70.27% local, 26.57% Egyptian, 0.86% Mycenaean, 1.06% Cypriote, 0.88% Mitannian, 0.05% Hittite/Egyptian, 0.31% uncertain origin - which still includes a higher proportion of Egyptian material than is usual on alleged Egyptian inhabited sites in Palestine. An Egyptian presence at Beth Shean is further supported by the stelae of Ramesses II and Seti I and the statue of Ramesses III.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>See Appendix 1.

### 9.3 Deir el-Balah<sup>59</sup>

#### Stratum 9

The pottery was predominantly locally manufactured Canaanite and Egyptian (unsubstantiated) shapes, although imported Mycenaean, Cypriote WS and Egyptian vessels were also present, the latter group included some painted with 'Amarna blue', "a pigment associated with Tell el-Amarna itself."<sup>60</sup> According to Dothan, several Egyptian or Egyptianizing finds have exact parallels with finds at el-Amarna and include a chalice, a small drop-shaped painted vessel and a bronze razor knife,<sup>61</sup> but as the objects are not pictured it is impossible to say if they were types common throughout Egypt in the late 14th century. Dothan also mentioned finds which "have close links to Tell el-Amarna proper"<sup>62</sup> from within the residence and surrounding area - an Egyptian-style pottery assemblage<sup>63</sup> and four worked *kurkar* bases (13x13cm) with sloping sides and smooth depressions in their tops, which may have been bed leg supports<sup>64</sup> and ten pierced carnelian and blue frit cylinders bearing traces of gold which, due to their size (not given) and square perforations, Dothan has likened to the pieces of the flail found in Tutankhamun's tomb which are of similar size and bear, in a cartouche, his name Tutankhaten, indicating they were made in the early days of his life.<sup>65</sup> If these pieces are from such a flail then they provide additional support for an Egyptian presence or Egyptianizing influence at Deir el-Balah at this time, not only in the later period when the alleged 'residency' was constructed.

Unfortunately, excavations did not reveal a contemporary cemetery at the site although Dothan noted that "material relevant to Stratum IX has surfaced in private

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<sup>59</sup>Unfortunately, the brevity of T. Dothan's preliminary excavation reports mean that little information is available.

<sup>60</sup>Dothan, T. - NEAEHL (1993) 343.

<sup>61</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (1987) 127.

<sup>62</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* 126.

<sup>63</sup>No further details available.

<sup>64</sup>"Although many well-known and well-preserved wooden beds have been found in Egypt, the only other stone bases known are from el-Amarna, where an identical set was found in a bedroom niche." Dothan, T. in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.61] 126.

<sup>65</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - ibid.* Also Dothan, T. - NEAEHL (1993) 344.

collections including coffins, a number of scarabs, alabaster vessels strongly reminiscent of those crafted during the Amarna era, and Aegean pottery types."<sup>66</sup>

#### 9.4 Tell el-Far'ah (S)

No small finds are known.

#### 9.5 Gezer

##### **MBIIC/LBIA**

No specific small finds are known.

##### **LBIB**

##### Cave L10A (lower)

Sarcophagus 10071 Finds included a Cypriote BRI tankard and a bronze bracelet.

Finds from the rest of the tomb were numerous and included 43 local vessels, a Syrian bottle and many Cypriote imports - a WPIV 'teapot', two monochrome bowls, a monochrome jug,<sup>67</sup> 5 White-Shaved, 28 BRI and 6 BRII vessels as well as a BRII bull figurine. Other finds included limestone kohl tubes,<sup>68</sup> an alabaster bowl fragment, a scarab ring and two scarabs,<sup>69</sup> a chert blade, bone inlays and a spindle whorl, a zoomorphic bovine vessel,<sup>70</sup> faience beads, basalt and marble weights,

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<sup>66</sup>Dothan, T, in Rainey, A.F. *ed - op.cit.* [fn.61] 127.

<sup>67</sup>"Three incised strokes on top of handle at juncture with mouth; incised "X" at juncture of handle with body; raised moulding around neck at juncture with body and around shoulder." Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. *ed - Gezer V* (1988) 228. Only two other vessels of this type are known in Palestine, both from tomb deposits - Tomb 216 at Lachish and a tomb near Tell Jerishe.

<sup>68</sup>"As the kohl tubes from Gezer are carved from soft Eocene limestone which is very much available in Gezer's regional environment, it is possible that they are of local manufacture. However, in style and workmanship their artistry easily equals that of the Amarna collections, and they could just as well represent trade goods." Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 117.

<sup>69</sup>One inscribed '3-hprw-R' the prenomen of Amenophis III, the other *Mn-hpr-R' 'tit 'Imn-R'* the prenomen of Tuthmosis III.

<sup>70</sup>"Like the Cypriot Base Ring II bull figurine found...nearby..., this item undoubtedly served as a ceremonial or libation vessel. It most likely represents a local attempt to simulate a bull figurine." Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 77.

"Lead carbonate rods",<sup>71</sup> a silver frontlet (fig.54),<sup>72</sup> a stone button and seal<sup>73</sup> and numerous bronze items - pins, daggers, an armour scale, arrowheads, togglepins, a fish hook, needles, a knife,<sup>74</sup> earrings, rings and a bracelet.

## LBIIA

Cave L10A (Upper) Finds include 17 local and 4 Cypriote BR vessels as well as sherds from many others, an ivory comb,<sup>75</sup> an alabaster tazza,<sup>76</sup> stone seals, a glass vase,<sup>77</sup> a bone awl and beads, bronze pins and a bronze Egyptian-style sickle-blade knife.

Finds from the tell in this period included two Amarna Tablets,<sup>78</sup> an Astarte plaque, a statuette base possibly inscribed *sobek-nefru-ankh*, Egyptian scarabs, amulets, pendants and beads, local, Cypriote and Mycenaean ceramics and a bronze statuette of a walking man wearing a circular crown.

## 9.6 Tel Hesi

### City II/City sub II

Finds included mudbrick loom weights and possible Mycenaean ceramics.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 160.

<sup>72</sup>An oblong silver strip with holes each end; "It may have been a pendant, but more likely is a mouth-piece or head frontlet of a type known from the tombs at Ur." Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 118.

<sup>73</sup>For a description *cf.* Mersereau, R. in Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 95.

<sup>74</sup>An Egyptian sickle blade knife. "However, as the cutting edge of the sickle sword is usually on the outside, not the inside curve of the blade, a more likely identification is the so-called "knife with horse's hoof end."" Seger, K.E. in Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 103. A knife with hoofed end was excavated in T.114 at Deir el-Balah.

<sup>75</sup>It is "is a fairly typical second millennium type known from Egypt." Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 118.

<sup>76</sup>"The shape and manufacture of the delicate tazza reflect the quality and technical skill of Egyptian craftsmanship." Clamer, C. in Seger, J.D. & Lance, H.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.67] 108.

<sup>77</sup>Of Egyptian type, the 2-handled vase on a foot was common during the 18th Dynasty and has a thickened rounded rim, long broad neck, rounded body, hollow foot and flat broad base; originally dark blue with yellow and turquoise wavy threads around the neck.

<sup>78</sup>Albright, W.F. - *BASOR* 95 (1943) 28-30; Millard, A. - *PEQ* 97 (1965) 140-143.

<sup>79</sup>Other finds are not attributed to a specific stratum but are described only as belonging to Cities II and III. These will be dealt with after City III.

### City III

Only the cuneiform tablet (EA333) and a pottery plaque figurine of a naked female wearing a Hathor wig and holding a lotus flower in either hand were mentioned.

#### *Finds from Cities II and III*

Mainly bronze objects including a spearhead, two chisels, three hairpins, two needles, a thin knife with a curved tip and a borer set in a bone handle.

### 9.7 Tell Jemmeh

No earlier small finds are known.

### 9.8 Tel Masos

No LBA finds were present.

### 9.9 Tel Mor<sup>80</sup>

#### Strata 11-10

Dothan noted that miniature offering vessels were found in conjunction with bichrome ware in stratum 11.<sup>81</sup>

#### Stratum 9

The ceramic record, which included Cypriote imports, mainly comprised storejars "indicating that the building undoubtedly served as the port's central storehouse."<sup>82</sup>

A contemporary burial was excavated, the associated pottery was, for the most part, Cypriote.

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<sup>80</sup>Unfortunately, the absence of a full, final excavation report means that little detailed information is available about earlier architecture.

<sup>81</sup>Dothan, M. - NEAEHL (1993) 1073.

<sup>82</sup>Dothan, M. - *ibid.*

## 9.10 Telles-Sa'idiyeh

### Area AA

Few small finds were found belonging to earlier LBA periods and are limited to loom weights and a few ceramic vessels.

### Area KK<sup>83</sup>

"The associated pottery, which would place Stratum 14 within the 13th century BC, contained examples of Egyptian 'ration' and 'cyma' bowls."<sup>84</sup>

## 9.11 TelSera'

### Stratum 12

*Phase 4:* The pottery dates to LBI although some vessels retain vestiges of their MB predecessors.

*Phase 3:* As in the earlier phase the ceramics are LBI in date although they retain some MB attributes - two MB pithoi with flared rims were found.

*Phase 2:* Finds included bones, charcoal, beads, ivory, flint tools, local jugs, jars, kraters, bowls, cooking pots and one imported Cypriote juglet.

*Phase 1:* No small finds excavated.

### Stratum 11

The *favissae* contained animal bones and ceramics including carinated bowls, goblets, painted chalices, painted kraters, pedestal bowls, cylindrical stands and imported Cypriote WS and BR bowls. Finds from building 1924 included local and imported ceramics, faience beads, metal work and stone objects. Oren claimed "judging from the *favissae* and the pottery types, represented by the stands and chalices, this was the site of a cult building (sanctuary?) whose complete plan is still unknown."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Although the same numbers are given to the strata, there is no evidence to suggest that they belong to the same periods in KK as in AA which is why Tubb uses Arabic numbers for this area.

<sup>84</sup>Tubb, J.N., Dorrell, P.G. & Cobbing, F.J. - PEQ 128 (1997) 30.

<sup>85</sup>Oren, E.D. - NEAEHL (1993) 1330.

The finds from building 158 were mainly ceramics, including bowls, kraters, juglets, jars and cup-and-saucer bowls.

The finds from the stratum were mainly ceramic and included many bowls, cooking pots, kraters, lamps, jugs, juglets, goblets and jars, several with an "X" on the handle. Imports were represented by Mycenaean kraters, Egyptian elongated handleless jars and Cypriote bilbils, milkbowls, BR bowls and white shaved juglets. Combined, the ceramic evidence dates stratum 11 to LBII *i.e.* the 14th century.

### Stratum 10

*Building 2502:* No finds mentioned.

*Building 1118:* The floor was covered with animal bones, charcoal, metal objects, ivory inlays, beads, ostrich egg shells, pigment, cylinder seals, scarabs and pottery vessels. These include pottery pomegranates, cup-and-saucer bowls, perforated tubular stands decorated with the palm tree and ibex motif, Egyptian alabaster vases and imported Mycenaean<sup>86</sup> and Cypriote vessels

*Building 529:* The finds included local bowls, kraters (including those with punched-in sides which are unique to Tel Sera'), painted kraters, cultic stands, cup-and-saucer bowls, pilgrim flasks, juglets, cooking pots, jars, jugs, storejars with four handles, lamps and goblets decorated with many representations of the palm tree and ibex motif. Imports were represented by Cypriote white shaved juglets and Mycenaean vessels, including local copies.

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<sup>86</sup>Leonard mentions objects from stratum 10 but unfortunately does not state which building they were found in. Leonard, A. - *Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery* (1994). These include a LHIIIA2 chariot krater, a LHIIIA-B chariot krater, two LHIIIA-B stirrup jars, a LHIIIB conical rhyton, a LHIIIA-B hedgehog rhyton, a LHIIIA2-B semiglobular cup, a LHIIIA-B stemmed cup, a LHIIIB chariot krater and a LHIIIB bowl.

## Chapter 10

### Cemeteries at the 'Residency' Sites

The cemeteries at the 'residency' sites play an important role in the discussion of the possible origin of the population as original material culture could predominate in grave goods and methods of burial. This chapter will, therefore, describe the types of graves found and the objects found within them to see if these provide any clues to the ethnic origin of the population. The conclusion to this chapter will discuss a statistical analysis of the percentage of Cypriote, Mycenaean and Egyptian objects found within the tombs themselves. Babylonian material was confined to cylinder seals and represented a very small percentage of the total finds.

#### 10.1 The burials and their grave goods

##### 10.1.1 **Aphek**

Kochavi suspected that the cemetery of Aphek was probably located to the east of the settlement, in chalkstone hills.<sup>1</sup> One tomb contemporary with the 'residency' was discovered 200m south of the acropolis outside the settlement. Dug into the earth, the tomb was roofed and lined with stone, and contained the remains of eight male and female inhumations with over 60 burial offerings (fig.55). These included pottery vessels similar to those found within the 'residency' (local ware, Egyptian, Cypriote and Mycenaean imports and their local imitations), an Egyptian-style bronze dagger, an Egyptian-style bronze mirror, bronze rings mounted with scarabs of Hyksos type and an Egyptian-type bronze bracelet. Kochavi concluded that the skeletons "must be those of an aristocratic family of Canaanite Aphek in the thirteenth century B.C."<sup>2</sup> Other tombs and pits were found in two other areas although no details are given.

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<sup>1</sup>Kochavi, M. - Aphek in Canaan XXIII. This was because rock was easily quarried from that area and there were natural caves.

<sup>2</sup>Kochavi, M. - BA 44 (1981) 80. This is interesting as he believed Palace VI, contemporary with this tomb, was Egyptian yet the people buried in the tomb Canaanite aristocrats. No contemporary



### 10.1.2 Beth Shean

The 'Northern Cemetery' at Beth Shean lay on the north side of the River Jalud and was encircled on its northern side by the late Roman basalt city wall. The cemetery was excavated during four seasons - 1922 under C.S.Fisher, 1926 under A.Rowe and 1930-1931 under G.M.Fitzgerald. The total extent is unknown; at present the graves number more than 200 but the cemetery is still partially unexcavated. The tombs were cut into the slope "just within the northern boundary of an extensive terrace of travertine (calc-sinter) originally formed by deposit from the saline springs at the foot of Mt. Gilboa."<sup>3</sup> After the slope became a network of tomb cuttings, the travertine proved inadequate, leading to the collapse of many tombs (constructed masonry support was found only in some Roman-Byzantine tombs).

Two types of LBA burials were present in the cemetery, those containing anthropoid sarcophagi and those without. The two groups will be dealt with separately.

#### *Burials without anthropoid sarcophagi*

Five tombs (27, 29, 42, 59, 303) contained LB deposits although occasional surface finds or LB objects in destroyed tombs indicate more LB tombs were present and that some of the LB portion of the cemetery lay beyond the excavated area. "The plans of the tombs and some of the grave goods which were found in them clearly show that all five tombs containing LB remains were originally cut in the EBIV period. Owing to the confused state of burials and associated grave goods in those tombs, the original number or attitude of LB burials could not be ascertained, though the quantities of skeletal remains suggest that they were multiple burials."<sup>4</sup>

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architecture, except for the 'residency', was excavated, and one would assume the aristocratic Canaanite family would live in a grand building. As it is unlikely that two grand buildings were constructed at Aphek during the same period, one Egyptian and one Canaanite, Kochavi's remarks would suggest that the 'residency' was in fact the home of the aristocratic Canaanite family and not an Egyptian governor.

<sup>3</sup>Oren, E.D. - *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan* (1973) 3.

<sup>4</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 68.

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Goods/Tomb	T.27	T.29	T.42	T.59	T.303
Local	b, j, ju, sj, v, l	b, j, ju, sj, l	b, j, ju, sj, l	b, j, ju, sj, l	b, j, ju, sj
Cypriote	WS, BR	BR	m		
Mycenean	im.	im.			
Calcite			v, hj	l	
Stone	m	t			
Ivory	wh, in		wh, in, d	in	
Jewellery	be, br		be, e, r, tp	tp	tp
Weapons	ah		bl		
Scarabs	y		y	y	y
Seals			y		
Other	pl.				5

Pottery within the tombs was overwhelmingly local, T.42 contained the largest number of vessels (180) and also had a large quantity of bowls (81) and juglets (68). Oren suggested the calcite juglet in T.59 was an Egyptian import.<sup>6</sup> None of the scarabs recorded the name of a pharaoh, the cylinder seal excavated in T.42 was assigned by Rowe to the Predynastic or Early Dynastic period<sup>7</sup> The only inscribed object was found in T.27 - a white steatite plaque, probably from a necklace, inscribed *Aa-Kheperw-Ra*, a prenomen of Amenophis II (fig.56).

### *Burials with anthropoid sarcophagi*

Eleven burials (T.7, 60, 66, 69, 90, 107, 202A-B, 219A-B, 221A-C, 227, 241), which did not belong to any particular area of the cemetery, contained the remains of nearly 50 anthropoid sarcophagi (fig.57).<sup>8</sup> As in the previous group, most, in this case ten, of the tombs were cut in EBIV and reused. Of these seven contained burials with no alteration to the tomb, the other three had been reshaped. The fact that the majority of the tombs containing anthropoid sarcophagi were cut in EBIV posed problems for the excavators who felt the tombs had been designed for coffin burials and that the EBIV pottery found in the tombs was contemporary with them; for example Rowe

<sup>5</sup>Key to table: Local b - bowl, j - juglet, ju - jug, sj - storejar, v - vase, l - lamp; Cypriote/Mycenean im - imitations; Calcite v - vase, hj - handleless jar; Stone m - mortar, t - tazza; Ivory wh - whorl, in - inlay, d - dice; Jewellery be - beads, br - bracelet, e - earrings, tp - togglepin; Weapons ah - arrowhead, bl - blade; Scarabs/Seals y - yes; Other pl - plaque.

<sup>6</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 91.

<sup>7</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 96.

<sup>8</sup>This figure was arrived at "by a census of masks and hands on complete and fragmentary lids listed in excavation records and preserved in Philadelphia and Jerusalem." Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3]132. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the number of sarcophagi in each tomb.

## Chapter 10

claimed that ledge-handled jars must be contemporary with the burials as they were found in close connection in many tombs, although he did state that "such jars however are usually regarded as belonging to the earliest Bronze Age."<sup>9</sup> Mazar concluded the anthropoid sarcophagi were used by officials and soldiers serving at the Egyptian garrison, and by the Sea People who had joined the Egyptian army and achieved high position following their defeat by Ramesses III.<sup>10</sup> In this he followed Rowe who claimed "we have actually found in the Beth-Shan cemetery the burials of some of those mercenaries."<sup>11</sup>

Goods/Tomb	T.7	T.60	T.66	T.69	T.90	T.107
Local	l, j	l	b, l, j, ju	b, l	b, l, j, f	l, j
Cypriote	im	y, im	im	im	im	y, im
Mycenean		y			y	y
Egyptian						
Calcite					c	
Stone					f	
Ivory	g, c, s		c		g, sp	
Jewellery	r, e	br	r, e		br	
Weapons			ah, j		d, s, j, ah	ah, j
Metal	b				ws, l, r	
Scarabs	y		y			
Seals			y			
Amulets	y		y			
Other					u	

<sup>9</sup>Rowe, A. - Beth Shan I (1930) 39.

<sup>10</sup>Mazar, A. - NEAEHL (1993) 218.

<sup>11</sup>Rowe, A. - PEQ 59 (1927) 75.

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Goods/Tomb	T.202A-B	T.219A-B	T.221A-C	T.227	T.241
Local	b, l	b, l, c, j, ja	b, l, ju, ja, p	b, c	b, ja
Cypriote	im	im	y, im		
Mycenean					y
Egyptian					
Calcite					
Stone					
Ivory					
Jewellery	r, mp	r, e		e	
Weapons		ah, j			
Metal		im	st		
Scarabs		y	y		y
Seals			y		
Amulets		y			y
Other		u	u		f, u

12

Pottery within the tombs was overwhelmingly local, T.66 contained the largest number of vessels (150). The bronze wine set in T.90 is of the type known from other sites, including Tell el-Far'ah (S), Megiddo, Tell el-'Ajjul and Tell es-Sa'iidyeh, and comprised a bowl, strainer and juglet. The gold foil mouthplate (T.202A-B) was lozenge-shaped with cross-hatched decoration (fig.58); found inside a sarcophagus with naturalistic lid it was "originally tied over the mouth of the corpse before it was placed in the coffin."<sup>13</sup> Similar objects are known in Mycenean and Cypriote funerary deposits and in LBII/Iron I burials at Megiddo and the 11th century cremation burials at Azor. The ivory gaming boards in T.7, 90 were fiddle-shaped with 58 holes, a swimming-girl spoon was found in T.90. Oren noted that "the shape of the body and the position of the arms [of the T.241 figurines] make it very likely that these figurines are actually crude and more naturalistic imitations of the more stylized Myc. III terra-cotta figurines" (fig.59),<sup>14</sup> while the ushabtis (fig.60) in T.90 (1), T.219A-B (3), T.221A-C (3) and T.241 (1) were mould-made with crude Egyptian wigs and schematic features; ushabtis were buried in Egyptian tombs to act as servants to the deceased in the next life and to carry out the tasks the deceased

<sup>12</sup>Key to tables: Local l - lamp, j - juglet, b - bowl, ju - jug, f - flask, c - chalice, ja - jar, p - pot; Cypriote/Mycenean y - yes, im - imitation; Calcite c - cup; Stone f - flask; Ivory g - gaming board, c - comb, s - spacer, sp - spoon; Jewellery r - ring, e - earring, br - bracelet, mp - mouthplate; Weapons ah - arrowhead, j - javelin, d - dagger, s - spear; Metal b - bowl, ws - wine set, l - lamp, r - razor; Scarabs/Seals/Amulets y - yes; Other u - ushabti, f - figurine.

<sup>13</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [f.3] 119.

<sup>14</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 124.

was called upon to undertake. Oren claimed "the Egyptian shawabtis....are extremely important pointers to the cultural and apparently ethnic background of the coffin burials of Beth Shan, and indeed agree with the Egyptian character of the bulk of the grave goods from the Coffin Group."<sup>15</sup> As the majority of the grave goods were of local origin and these ushabtis were not inscribed with hieroglyphs, they may be a local copy of an Egyptian custom or perhaps they had been painted like the Lachish sarcophagus.<sup>16</sup> However, ushabtis are very rare in Canaan - 2 are known from Tell el-'Ajjul and 3 from Level VII Beth Shean. Several of the scarabs were inscribed and mentioned Amen-Ra (T.7, T.219A-B), Ptah (T.219A-B), Tuthmosis III (*Ra-men-kheper* T.66; *Men-kheper-Re* T.219A-B), Ramesses II (*Ra-wesr-Maat* and *Wesr-ma-Stp-n-Ra* T.219A-B), Amenophis III (*Neb-Maat-Ra* T.219A-B). Two seals inscribed with hieroglyphs were excavated in T.221A-C (*nb nhh* 'Lord of Eternity') and T.66 (*Ra-wesr-Maat, Mry Imn*).<sup>17</sup>

### 10.1.3 Deir el-Balah

The cemetery at Deir el-Balah was excavated when coffins and their related finds began to appear on the antiquities market after illicit digging. Long buried beneath sand dunes, which also covered the settlement, the cemetery measured at least 150m N-S and 200m E-W, the precise boundaries have not been defined. The burials often conformed to a certain pattern: a group of three or more anthropoid sarcophagi burials in shallow pits with simple inhumations between them.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, Dothan did not describe the simple inhumations in detail but I will attempt to discuss the cemetery in the format used for Beth Shean.

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<sup>15</sup>Oren, E.D. - *op.cit.* [fn.3] 123.

<sup>16</sup>However, the anthropoid sarcophagus from Lachish was not Egyptian, *cf.* ch11 p277.

<sup>17</sup>According to C.Eyre, personal communication 10/11/97, this is a mistranscription of the name of Ramesses III and should be read *User-Maat-Ra, Mary Imn*.

<sup>18</sup>Dothan, T. - *QEDEM* 10 (1979) 3.

***Burials without anthropoid sarcophagi***<sup>19</sup>

Dothan noted that "traces of simple burials with only a few pottery burial offerings were scattered throughout the area."<sup>20</sup> Often found with these pit burials were standing store jars with a bowl for a lid, in T.115 this was a Cypriote milk bowl. This phenomenon was also observed as a marker at the head of the sarcophagus burials. The skeletal material was poorly preserved, due to the humidity of the soil, making skeletal analysis impossible. One of the pit burials, which was lined with rough stones, had an Egyptian burial stele embedded in the lining. This is discussed in Appendix 1 with the three other similar stelae found during the excavations. Beit-Arieh stated that in ten days of excavation, eleven pit burials and one stone sarcophagus were located.<sup>21</sup> However, only five were published and can form part of this discussion (T.100, T.107, T.108, T.110, T.112).

The only grave goods were ceramic vessels which were fairly evenly divided between Egyptian (7 examples) and local (5 vessels). Egyptian ceramics were excavated in T.100 (jar and bowl), T.107 (jug and chalice) and T.108 (3 bowls), while local ware was represented in T.107 (2 bowls), T.110 (jar) and T.112 (bowl and 2 jars, one of which has no parallels in Canaan or Egypt and "was presumably made in the Deir el-Balah area.").<sup>22</sup>

***Burials with anthropoid sarcophagi***

Four anthropoid sarcophagus burials have been published (T.111, T.114, T.116, T.118); with the exception of T.111, they were ceramic naturalistic coffins

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<sup>19</sup>As stated above, Dothan did not give much detail about the simple inhumations meaning that the burials cannot be discussed individually. However, the report of Beit-Arieh's further excavations provides more detail. Beit-Arieh, I. - TA 12 (1985) 45-53.

<sup>20</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit* [fn.18] 3.

<sup>21</sup>Beit-Arieh, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.19] 45.

<sup>22</sup>Beit-Arieh, I. - *op.cit.* [fn.19] 52.

containing several inhumations (fig.61).<sup>23</sup> T.111 was made of local limestone and is the only stone example to have been found in Palestine.

The sarcophagus burials shared several characteristics - the graves were roughly cut into *kurkar* (sandstone) to follow the shape of the sarcophagus; they were rectangular, roughly 3.25m long, 1.70m wide and 1.70m below the original surface; after the sarcophagus had been laid in place and the offering placed, the grave was filled with sand and broken *kurkar*; a store jar was placed at the head of the grave, protruding above the surface, to serve as a marker; the burials usually faced west, towards the Mediterranean.

Goods/Tomb	T.114	T.116	T.118
Local	sj, j, ju	sj, j, b	sj, j, c
Egyptian	b, j	b	b
Mycenean	pj	sj, im	
Cypriote		im	im
Metal	m, ws, k		m, ws, k
Alabaster	g		g, sp
Stone	p	p	
Jewellery	e, be	be	e, r, o, n
Scarabs	y	y	y
Seal		y	
Amulets	y		y

24

The pottery was overwhelmingly of Egyptian origin, unlike at the other 'residency' sites where Canaanite ceramics predominate. While T.111 only contained fragments of Egyptian vessels, the other three tombs contained either 7 (T.114) or 8 (T.116, T.118) vessels. Common to all three ceramic sarcophagus tombs were local, Canaanite, storejars and juglets and Egyptian bowls. The mirrors in T.114 and T.118

<sup>23</sup>T.114 contained 2 skeletons and the fragmentary remains of 2 others; the complete skeletons were an adult male aged 35-55 years and an adult of indeterminate sex and age although Dothan felt it was a female aged 18-25. Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 5. The skeletal remains were recognised as belonging to a child aged 3-4 and another adult aged 20-30 years. Arensburg, B. in Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 92-93. The first two skeletons were undisturbed primary burials. T.116 contained 2 fragmentary inhumations, an adult male and a 12-13 years old juvenile of undetermined sex, although the teeth of another adult were present. T.118 contained 2 individuals placed face to face, a male aged 35-40 years and a 25-30 year old female.

<sup>24</sup>Key to table: Local sj - storejar, j - juglet, ju - jug, b - bowl, c - chalice; Egyptian b - bowl, j - juglet; Mycenaean/Cypriote pj - piriform jar, sj - stirrup jar im - imitation; Metal m - mirror, ws - wine set, k - knife; Alabaster g - goblet, sp - spoon; Stone p - pellets; Jewellery e - earrings, be - beads, r - rings, o - ornament, n - necklace; Scarabs/ seals/ amulets y - yes.

had traces of cloth adhering to both surfaces and the composition of the wine sets differed - T.114 contained a bowl, strainer and *situla*,<sup>25</sup> T.118 a jug and flat platter; one knife in T.114 had a handle in the shape of an animal foreleg and cloven hoof (fig.62). The alabaster goblet in T.118 was "in the shape of the Nymphaea (white) lotus" (fig.63).<sup>26</sup> The seal in T.116 was inscribed with the names of Ramesses II and Amon-Re, several of the scarabs were inscribed and mentioned Ramesses II (T.114), Tuthmosis III (T.118), Amon-Ra (T.118), Seth (T.118); one from T.118 was inscribed with three lines of hieroglyphs which indicate it belonged to an Egyptian official.<sup>27</sup>

#### 10.1.4 Tell el-Far`ah (S)

Only two of the cemeteries at Tell el-Far`ah were in use during the LBA - Cemeteries 600 and 900. Cemetery 600 was situated south of the tell at the foot of the MBII glacis. Gonen claimed Petrie attributed eight pit burials, each with one interment, to the 15th-16th Dynasties, but noted that they contained several LBI vessels.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, Petrie did not describe the burials in **Beth-Pelet I** apart from stating that Tombs 618 and 613 may date before the 18th Dynasty<sup>29</sup> and that Tombs 613, 614 and 624 contained pottery dating to the 18th Dynasty.<sup>30</sup> The burial goods appear to have been meagre "including usually three or four vessels and a few other objects like scarabs (burials 611 and 613), a toggle pin (612 and 614), a silver ring (613), a silver earring (612), a three-legged stone bowl (612), and beads (613

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<sup>25</sup>An Egyptian drop-shaped handleless jar.

<sup>26</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 64. Alabaster lotus cups first appeared in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty but are rare outside Egypt, this being the only excavated example.

<sup>27</sup>Dothan felt it may be a copy of a 12th Dynasty scarab which was locally made and may not have been owned by an Egyptian official. Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 84. It reads as follows:

*imy-r pr ss* Overseer of the house, scribe

*Ib whm-'nh* Ib, repeating life

*Ib* Ib

<sup>28</sup>Gonen, R. - **Burial Patterns** (1992) 97.

<sup>29</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - **Beth-Pelet I** (1930) 4.

<sup>30</sup>Petrie, W.M.F. - *op.cit.* [fn.29] 7.



and 614)."<sup>31</sup> Petrie mentioned some early 18th Dynasty bronze toggle pins and a bronze needle but did not indicate which tombs they were found in.

Cemetery 900, dating to the 13th century, was cut into the slope of the Hyksos glacis with most burials on the east side. Gonen mentioned the cemetery contained 66 simple burials, 61 of which were rectangular and contained a single inhumation, with large bench burial caves among them.<sup>32</sup>

Goods/Tomb	T.902	T.905	T.914	T.920	T.922	T.934
Local	b, l, ju, j	ju, r		ju		ju, r
Mycenean	p, v, sj			j, im	pf	
Cypriote	ws					
Egyptian						
Jewellery	tp, be, e		bp, ch, e, h	r	r, e	tp, r, e, be, h
Bronze			b, s			
Weapons			d, s			
Amulet			y			y
Scarab	y	y	y	y	y	y
Other			p	k		p
Calcite		t				t
Seal						y
Ivory						

The headband in T.934 was of gold sheet, the example from T.914 was more elaborate and comprised a band with discs. In addition to finds detailed above, other grave goods can be identified as follows:

i) scarab only - T.909, 916, 917, 930, 931, 953, 955, 957, 961, 963, 966, 967, 970, 974, 976

<sup>31</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 97.

<sup>32</sup>Gonen, R. - *ibid.* I can only find descriptions of 57 of these tombs in the excavation reports. (T.902, 905, 909, 910, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926-A, 926-B, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 946, 949, 951, 953, 955, 956, 957, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 966, 967, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985).

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Goods/Tomb	T.935	T.936	T.960	T.982	T.984	T.985
Local		ju, k	b, j, sj, r			
Mycenean		sj				
Cypriote						
Egyptian						
Jewellery	r	tp, be	e, be	br	e, br, be	be
Bronze						
Weapons		s, ah	s			
Amulet		y	y	y	y	y
Scarab	y	y	y	y	y	y
Other		p, b		k		
Calcite		t		sp, t		t
Seal						
Ivory	in				in	

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ii) plaque only - T.910, 962

iii) amulet only - T.932, 933

iv) local ceramics only - T.924, 927, 938

v) jewellery only - T.942, 946, 949, 956, 964

vi) scarab and plaque - T.921

vii) local ceramics and scarab - T.923, 926A-B, 972, 978

viii) amulet and scarab - T.925

ix) jewellery and scarab - T.928, 983

x) jewellery and amulet - T.929

xi) Mycenean ceramics and scarab - T.939

xii) calcite spoon and scarab - T.980

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<sup>33</sup>Key to tables: Local b - bowl, l - lamp, ju - jug, j - juglet, r - rattle, k - krater, sj - storejar; Mycenean p - pot, v - vase, sj - stirrup jar, j - juglet, pf - pilgrim flask, im - imitation; Jewellery tp - togglepin, be - beads, e - earrings, bp - breastplates, ch - chain, h - headband, r - ring, br - bracelet; Weapons d - dagger, s - spear, ah - arrowhead; Amulet/scarab/seal y - yes; Other k - kohl, p - pendant, b - bread; Calcite t - tazza, sp - spoon; Ivory in - inlay.

xiii) local ceramics, calcite tazza and scarab - T.981

xiv) jewellery, amulet and plaque - T.940

xv) local ceramics, jewellery and amulet - T.915, 918

The scarabs excavated within the tombs can be divided as uninscribed/unidentified (T.905, T.909, T.914, T.916, T.917, T.921, T.922, T.923, T.925, T.926A, T.926B, T.928, T.930, T.931, T.934, T.935, T.936, T.939, T.951, T.953, T.955, T.957, T.960, T.961, T.963, T.966, T.967, T.970, T.974, T.976, T.978, T.980, T.981, T.982, T.983, T.984, T.985), Late Hyksos style (T.920, T.936, T.984), inscribed with the names of Se-kha-en-Ra (T.934),<sup>34</sup> Tuthmosis III (T.902, T.922,<sup>35</sup> T.934, T.935, T.936, T.960, T.980, T.981, T.984), Amenophis II (T.936), Tuthmosis IV (T.935), Amenophis III (T.902, T.934, T.981,<sup>36</sup> T.984), Tutankhamun (T.934<sup>37</sup>), Ramesses I?(T.972<sup>38</sup>), Seti I (T.934<sup>39</sup>), Ramesses II (T.902, T.914, T.921, T.925?,<sup>40</sup> T.934, T.935, T.936, T.960, T.978, T.981, T.982, T.984), Merenptah (T.914, T.981<sup>41</sup>), Seti II (T.934<sup>42</sup>), Ramesses III (T.934, T.984<sup>43</sup>), Ramesses IV (T.934,<sup>44</sup> T.960) and Ramesses VIII (T.984<sup>45</sup>). Perhaps the strangest find was made in T.936 when the excavator stated "in addition, there were some circular, flat cakes of bread(?), 2 to 2<sup>1/4</sup>ins. in diameter, originally contained in a coiled basket, of which only fragments remained."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>16th Dynasty pharaoh. According to K.A.Kitchen, he was a lesser Hyksos princeling in the Delta. Personal communication.

<sup>35</sup>Inscribed *Men-Kheper-Re*.

<sup>36</sup>Inscribed *Neb-Maat-Ra*.

<sup>37</sup>Giving the throne name *Neb-Kheperu-Ra*.

<sup>38</sup>Simply inscribed *Ra-meses*.

<sup>39</sup>Inscribed with his throne name *Man-Maat-Ra-Heq*.

<sup>40</sup>This possibly reads *User-Maat-Re*.

<sup>41</sup>Inscribed *Ba-en-Ra-mer-Amen*.

<sup>42</sup>Inscribed with the throne name *Set-mer-en-Ptah Setep-en-Ra*.

<sup>43</sup>Inscribed *User-Maat-Ra-mer-Amon*.

<sup>44</sup>Inscribed with the throne name *Heq-Maat-Ra-mer-Amon*.

<sup>45</sup>Inscribed with his throne name *Ra-messu-mer-Amon-akh-en-Ra*.

<sup>46</sup>Starkey, J.L. & Harding, L. in MacDonald, E. - *Beth-Pelet II* (1932) 25.

**10.1.5 Gezer**

No contemporary burials were excavated.

**10.1.6 TelHesi**

No burials were excavated.

**10.1.7 TellJemmeh**

No burials were excavated.

**10.1.8 TelMasos**

No burials were excavated.

**10.1.9 TelMor**

No burials were excavated.

**10.1.10 Telles-Sa`idiyeh<sup>47</sup>**

***Pritchard's excavations***

Pritchard excavated 45 tombs on the western side of the lower mound where a portion of the EB settlement had been reused towards the end of the LBA as a cemetery. Of these tombs, 14 can be dated to LBII (101, 102, 103, 104, 105L, 109S, 110, 117, 119, 121, 132, 137, 139, 143), with a further five seeming to belong to the LBII/EI transition (109, 116, 129, 141, 142). Several of these tombs were large

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<sup>47</sup>Because the site has been excavated by Pritchard and by Tubb, I will deal with the graves each found separately.

constructions, often lined with mudbrick and paved with *wadi* stones (T.101, T.102, T.117, T.119) and one of the burials (T.121) contained the disarticulated remains of a child in a storejar burial. T.102 and T.117 (fig.64) were the only tombs in the cemetery to have undergone treatment with bitumen which had been spread over the inhumation and, as they lay side by side with the same orientation (west) and were of approximately the same shape and size, they may belong to the same ethnic group. However, there were differences in the grave objects: T.102 contained four weapons and no beads while T.117 contained no weapons and 31 beads, "this contrast may suggest that the former was the tomb of a man and the latter that of a woman."<sup>48</sup> Each tomb contained a scarab<sup>49</sup> and Egyptian-style pottery although T.117 had Aegean imports within its assemblage. Pritchard concluded that the "preference evidenced in the two bitumen tombs for objects of foreign origin or foreign forms would suggest that they are the graves of either foreigners who wished to be buried with articles to which they had been accustomed in their homeland or natives of the city who were affluent enough to afford the more costly items which had been imported from such distant places as Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean."<sup>50</sup>

Goods/Tomb	T.101	T.102	T.103	T.104	T.105L
Local	sj, j, ju	sj, ju, l	b, ja	b	j, l, b, a
Mycenean	im				
Cypriote					
Egyptian		c, fn		p, fj	gj
Ivory	f, di, sp	fr			
Bronze	ws, c, a, t	b, c			
Jewellery	be, tp, bp			be, r	
Weapons		sw, bl			
Scarab		y			
Alabaster					
Other				s	

<sup>48</sup>Pritchard, J.B. - *The Cemetery at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan* (1980) 21.

<sup>49</sup>The scarab from T.102 was decorated with an Egyptian-style bird and couchant lion (*cf.* Pritchard fig 20.1) and that from T.117 was inscribed with the name of Amenophis II (*c3(L)-hprw-R*).

<sup>50</sup>Pritchard, J.B. - *op.cit.* [fn.48] 21.

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Goods/Tomb	T.109	T.109S	T.110	T.116	T.117
Local	sj, pf	sj, l, b, pf	sj, ju, l, b, pf	pf	sj, b
Mycenean	im	im, sj		im	im, j, p
Cypriote					
Egyptian			hj	p	fn
Ivory					
Bronze					b
Jewellery					be, r
Weapons					
Scarab					y
Alabaster		j			t
Other					fb

Goods/Tomb	T.119	T.121	T.129	T.132	T.137
Local	j, l, b	b	j, l, pf	sj, l, b	ju, l, b
Mycenean			im		
Cypriote	BR				
Egyptian					fn
Ivory					
Bronze	m, b, c				
Jewellery	be, r				be, e
Weapons			s		
Scarab					
Alabaster	t				
Other					

Goods/Tomb	T.139	T.141	T.142	T.143
Local	sj, ju, b, pf	sj, ju, b	sj, j, ju, ja	pf
Mycenean	im			im
Cypriote				
Egyptian				
Ivory				
Bronze				
Jewellery			be	
Weapons				
Scarab				
Alabaster	t			
Other				

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The wine set in T.101 comprised a laver, bowl, strainer and jug; the breastplates were attached to each other by a few links of chain, although the position of each on the chest of the skeleton suggests they were supported by a chain around the neck.

<sup>51</sup>Key to tables: Local sj - storejar, j - juglet, ju - jug, l - lamp, b - bowl, ja - jar, a - amphoriskos, pf - pilgrim flask; Mycenean im - imitation, sj - stirrup jar, j - juglet, p - pyxis; Egyptian c - chalice, fn - funnel-necked jar, p - pot, fj - funerary jar, gj - globular jar, hj - handleless jar; Ivory - f - fragment, di - dish, sp - spoon; Bronze ws - wine set, c - cauldron, t - tripod, b - bowl; Jewellery be - beads, tp - togglepin, bp - breastplate, r - ring; Weapons sw - sword, bl - blade, s - spear; Alabaster j - juglet, t - tazza; Other s - shell, fb - faience bowl; Scarab y - yes.

Each was decorated with an incised herringbone pattern and measured approx. 10x6cm (fig.65).

### *Tubb's excavations*<sup>52</sup>

The burials excavated so far by the British Museum expedition lie to the south of Pritchard's cemetery discussed above. This area of the lower tell was repeatedly and *intensively used for interments*. The majority of the graves were simple oval or sub-rectangular pits dug into the silt overlying the EB occupation or into the occupation levels. Often they utilised the existing EB architecture - EB bricks were used to line graves or stones from wall foundations formed the lining of the pits. The nature of the silt means that, in many cases, the edges of simple pit burials cannot be accurately determined while the continued re-use of the area resulted in considerable disturbance and intercutting of graves. Some graves were better constructed with "neatly cut rectangular pits, lined, floored and roofed over with purpose built mud-brick slabs."<sup>53</sup> In addition to the pits and built tombs many store jar burials, containing the remains of infants, were found. The jar was broken at the shoulder so the deceased could be inserted and then closed with a bowl, a base of another jar or a stone. Also found were double-pithos burials where the deceased was interred in a 'coffin' made of two large pithoi with necks removed and joined at the shoulder, the join sealed by store jar sherds or stones (fig.66). There were also shaft grave burials. Several of the excavated tombs were no more than bone fragments or graves of an unidentifiable type. The orientation of the deeper and, therefore, presumably earlier burials was to the west, later the burials were orientated to any of the main compass

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<sup>52</sup>The preliminary reports do not deal with the burials in detail due to the vast number of graves excavated, 512 by the end of the 1996 season; a list of graves excavated during the season forms an appendix to the preliminary report with important or interesting graves mentioned in the main text. Pritchard numbered graves 101-144, Tubb numbered graves 1-100, 145 onwards. Unfortunately, Tubb does not date the graves and it is impossible to do so from the brief notes provided in the preliminary reports - grave goods are often just described as 'pot', 'jug' *etc.* with no further information. This means that the majority of the graves excavated by Tubb at Sa'idiyeh are of uncertain date and may be of the Persian period and, therefore, no interest to this study.

<sup>53</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 20 (1988) 60.

points. Tubb concluded that the "initial phase of the cemetery had been deliberately planned. There was even found evidence to suggest that these earliest graves had been dug in advance, for amongst them were discovered several which contained no remains, and had clearly never been used."<sup>54</sup> Most of the inhumations were single and primary although in several cases an infant was interred with an adult; a few cases of secondary inhumation were observed and also, due to the continuous usage of the cemetery, there were a number of examples where a later grave had disrupted an earlier one and, as a mark of respect, the older skull and several long bones were either reburied in a small circular pit or placed within the later grave. Previously unseen burial 'customs' were observed in several graves:<sup>55</sup> in grave 70 a large bowl with a hole deliberately made in its base was placed inverted over the feet of the skeleton; grave 232 contained a single articulated adult lying on his front with fish bones placed on the back of his skull and a bronze bowl bearing traces of textiles and containing an ivory cosmetic bowl in the shape of a fish placed under the genitals (fig.67); "the attitude of the skeleton [in grave 251], with the shoulders tightly drawn up, indicates that the deceased had not only been merely covered but had, in fact, been tightly bound";<sup>56</sup> grave 393 contained an articulated adult whose ribs on both sides of the rib cage had been cut through and removed - "the removal would have been conducted after death, and may be seen as a method of extracting the internal organs, in a somewhat crude imitation of the contemporary Egyptian practices."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [fn.53] 61.

<sup>55</sup>See below for discussion.

<sup>56</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [fn.53] 63.

<sup>57</sup>Tubb, J.N. in Tubb, J.N. & Dorrell, P.G. - *Levant* 23 (1991) 79.



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Goods/Tomb	T.32	T.45	T.46	T.70	T.204	T.232
Local			pf, sj, j, l	b		
Mycenean			im			
Alabaster			ja			
Calcite						
Ivory			c		fr	b
Bronze	ws		b			b
Weapons			bl		k	
Jewellery		be	n, tp			
Bone		spi				
Scarab						
Other						

Goods/Tomb	T.251	T.323	T.389	T.393	T.404	T.459
Local	sj, b			pf, sj		ja, ju
Mycenean		im			im	
Alabaster						
Calcite			p, b			
Ivory						
Bronze						
Weapons	j			j		
Jewellery			r			a, r
Bone						
Scarab						y
Other					bp	

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### 10.1.11 Tel Sera'

No burials were excavated.

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<sup>58</sup>Key to tables: Local pf - pilgrim flask, sj - storejar, j - juglet, l - lamp, b - bowl, ja - jar, ju - jug; Mycenean im - imitation; Alabaster ja - jar; Calcite b - bowl, p - pyxis; Ivory c - comb, b - bowl, fr - fragment; Bronze b - bowl, ws - wineset; Weapons bl - blade, k - knife, j - javelin; Jewellery n - necklace, tp - togglepin, a - anklet, r - ring, be - beads; Scarab y - yes; Other - bone point.

## 10.2 Discussion of grave types

If one looks at the burials from the 'residency' sites then foreign influence can be observed in some grave types. However, as the overwhelming majority of the burials described above were simple pit burials (76.61%) followed, in descending order, by built tombs (4.03%), store jar burials (1.61%), double pithos burials (0.80%) and shaft graves (0.80%), indigenous customs account for the bulk of the burials and it can be deduced that foreign influence is slight. 12.09% of the graves contained anthropoid sarcophagi and 4.03% were reused EBIV chamber tombs.

### 10.2.1 Pit graves

Pit burials were typical of the MBA, so by the start of the LBA they had been used in Canaan for over 400 years. According to Gonen "the typical shape of a pit burial is a rectangle or oval dug in the earth or cut in rock...The pits are small, seldom exceeding 2m in length, and are fairly shallow, not more than 1m deep."<sup>59</sup> Sometimes the pits were improved, the walls lined with stone or mudbrick or roofed with stone or mudbrick slabs. Pit burials were always concentrated in groups, usually scattered randomly with no particular orientation. Contrary to this were cemeteries at Deir el-Balah and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh where the head of the deceased was often orientated to the west and at Tell el-Far'ah (S) where the burials pointed south. Gonen believed that burials orientated west were influenced by Egyptian burial customs - "the preference for westward orientation and the supine position in some of these burials also point to the influence of Egyptian ideas about correct burial."<sup>60</sup> The burials generally were single inhumations located outside the settlement, usually with grave goods.

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<sup>59</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 15-17.

<sup>60</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 38. At Kom Abu Billu, NK Egyptian burials were found buried in the supine position with their heads to the west. However, this is a Delta site which may possibly utilise slightly different customs to Egypt proper. According to Dr.S.Snape westward orientation was common among NK pit burials but was not uniform.

### 10.2.2 Store jar burials

Burials of adults and infants in storejars were found at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. All date to the end of the LB and the transition to the EIA. In this method of burial, the necks of the jars were removed and the individual placed inside. Burials in storejars were seen in the Levant during many periods<sup>61</sup> and they were also attested in Anatolia from the EB and during the Hittite Empire,<sup>62</sup> leading Gonen to conclude "the similar burials in Canaan probably point to a small migration of Hittites after the collapse of the empire toward the end of the thirteenth century B.C."<sup>63</sup> However, the overwhelming character of the grave goods found with the Canaanite storejar burials is local, with nothing recognisably Hittite making Gonen's idea unlikely.

### 10.2.3 Double-pithos burials

Again only found at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, the double-pithos burial was first practised in central Anatolia when extended burials were introduced in the third millennium.<sup>64</sup> As with the above group, the burial assemblages had a distinctly local character with no Anatolian grave goods, and so one can argue against these being the burials of a people of Anatolian descent. Tubb's belief that these "represent the interments of an

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<sup>61</sup>In the Chalcolithic period secondary inhumations were often placed inside storejar-shaped ossuaries (these appear to have been purposely made as others were either zoomorphic or house-shaped) while the sites of Teleilat Ghassul and Nahal Besor have children and infants buried inside pithoi. Gonen, R in Ben-Tor, A. *ed - Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (1994) 77-78, 88. During the MBA, jar burials were reserved for children under three and fetuses Ilan, D, in Levy, T. *ed - Archaeology of Society of the Holy Land* (1995) 318.

<sup>62</sup>The Hittite cemetery at Gordion had burials of three types - plain inhumations, cists and pithos graves, "the latter by far the most numerous category." Mellink, M.J. - *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion* (1956) 3. The pithoi used at Gordion were not of a special type although smaller jars were used for children. Mellink, M.J. - *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion* (1956) 15. An EB cemetery was discovered at Bozuyuk with c. 200 pithos burials, Mellink, M.J. - *AJA* 89 (1985) 553, while EB pithos burials were also found at Demirchihoyuk-Sariket, Gavurtepe and Titris Hoyuk. Mellink, M.J. - *AJA* 97 (1993) 115, 116, 119. A 13th century pithos cemetery was discovered at Besiktepe, most tombs were orientated SE and, while the majority of the pithoi contained cremations, "8 out of 17 pithoi with preserved skeletons had multiple burials." Mellink, M.J. - *AJA* 89 (1985) 553.

<sup>63</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 30.

<sup>64</sup>"The introduction of the extended burial in central Anatolia leads to a variation in the type of pithos-burials, as two or three pithoi are often needed to accommodate the full length of the extended body." Mellink, M.J. - *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion* (1956) 46.

alien group within the population, most probably Sea Peoples"<sup>65</sup> is difficult to accept as he only describes one grave (204) with its finds, which incidentally are Egyptian in character. He makes no mention of them being associated with a preponderance of Mycenaean grave goods and one would expect the Sea Peoples to be buried with their traditional ceramics which were predominantly Mycenaean. This type of burial is unknown in Greece during the Mycenaean period.<sup>66</sup>

#### 10.2.4 Anthropoid sarcophagi

Burial in anthropoid sarcophagi is first attested in Canaan at Deir el-Balah late in the 14th century. "We may therefore summarize the sequence of anthropoid burials in Canaan as follows. The earliest appearance was at Deir el-Balah in the late fourteenth century B.C. The thirteenth century phase at Deir el-Balah overlaps the early group of anthropoid burials at Beth Shean. Into this phase also falls Tomb 935 at Tell el-Far'ah (see above p208), while Tomb 570 at Lachish (see ch11 p277) perhaps takes us a stage later to the turn of the thirteenth century B.C."<sup>67</sup> In the 11th and 12th centuries there is a second group of anthropoid sarcophagi at Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Beth Shean of a 'grotesque' style whose lids show distinctive, possibly Philistine, headgear. It is, therefore, the earlier group that is of interest here.

The custom of burial in anthropoid sarcophagi originated in Egypt during the 12th Dynasty and continued into the NK where the mummiform coffins were made either

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<sup>65</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *Levant* 22 (1990) 33.

<sup>66</sup>Personal communication from Dr.C.Mee.

<sup>67</sup>Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 103. Unfortunately the sarcophagus in Tell el-Far'ah (S) Tomb 935 was fragmentary and lacking a lid making it difficult to date with certainty although it is likely the tomb dated to the 13th century as it did not contain Philistine ceramics. The majority of the Beth Shean coffin lids are 'naturalistic', although none of the coffins have the mummiform outline observed at Deir el-Balah, which first appeared at Beth Shean in the 13th century, overlapping with the last phase of the Deir el-Balah cemetery, and continuing into the EIA. However, five 'grotesque' coffins were found in two chamber tombs at Beth Shean (one in T.66 and four in T.90) which, significantly, lack an Osiris beard, perhaps reflecting different religious beliefs - "nothing like these five coffins is known either in Canaan or Egypt". Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 102. Two anthropoid sarcophagi were found in Tomb 570 at Lachish, one decorated with pseudo-hieroglyphs and "crude depictions of the Egyptian deities Isis and Nephthys", Dothan, T. - *op.cit.* [fn.18] 103, which have been dated, Tufnell, O. - *Lachish IV* (1958) 248-249, to a limited 12th century occupation layer following the destruction of Fosse Temple III and, therefore, overlap the last phase at Deir el-Balah.

of cartonnage or wood, stone being used mainly for royal sarcophagi which contained the royal coffin(s). However, during the NK this type of burial was no longer confined to royalty, leading to the combination of the mummy case and coffin in wood or pottery, the features of the deceased depicted on the lid. Pottery anthropoid coffins were not widespread, being concentrated in the NK to the Delta region and Nubia. The site of Kom Abu Billu in the Delta produced several pottery sarcophagi along with their grave goods which included Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery,<sup>68</sup> while in Nubia, Riqqeh yielded several anthropoid sarcophagi with mummified remains.<sup>69</sup> None of the sarcophagi from the 'residency' sites contained the mummified remains and so it is impossible to say whether the individuals at these sites practised mummification or not. However, even if the individuals placed in the sarcophagi were mummified, it is unlikely that any trace of mummification would survive in Canaan due to adverse soil conditions - at Deir el-Balah the sand had seeped into the coffins and there is no doubt that moisture would have been present.

The coffins were never placed in burial chambers but rather utilised the common regional burial custom, *e.g.* the coffins at Deir el-Balah were placed in simple pits identical to the nearby graves without sarcophagi, and all the tombs had a common funeral assemblage. This may indicate that "the population buried in the anthropoid coffins did not attempt to preserve a complete burial custom but only held on to the coffin component...Their practice may be connected with the Egyptian garrison armies stationed in various parts of the country."<sup>70</sup> The majority of the grave goods found with the sarcophagi, especially at Deir el-Balah, have a strong Egyptian

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<sup>68</sup>Dothan, T. - *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (1982) 279. The sarcophagi were often decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions and Egyptian paintings although it is not mentioned whether these inscriptions were 'sensible'. Farid, S. - *ASAE* 61 (1973) 23.

<sup>69</sup>Engelbach, R. *et al.* - *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (1915) 10. Here the coffins were predominantly ceramic although in Cemetery A Tomb 153 yielded an unscribed limestone sarcophagus and Tomb 306 an unscribed red granite sarcophagus. The burials were typically Egyptian with the grave goods including canopic jars.

<sup>70</sup>Gonen, R. - *op.cit.* [fn.28] 29.

character, which could reinforce the theory that the sarcophagi contained the remains of high-ranking Egyptian officials, although one would presume high-ranking officials would be buried with scarabs to indicate their rank and titles.<sup>71</sup> This may indicate that the burials were rather those of high-ranking mercenaries or wealthy Canaanites who copied parts of the Egyptian burial custom. However, it would be a little peculiar if the Egyptians clung to their tradition they were not segregated within the cemeteries. If these were Egyptian burials, the limited number of sarcophagi suggest that not all of the Egyptians who died in Canaan were buried in this manner, some may even have been returned to Egypt for burial.<sup>72</sup> Is it fair to say that when the Egyptians reached Canaan this form of burial reverted to the elite, the remainder of the troops buried in simple pit graves?<sup>73</sup> Perhaps the excavation of further cemeteries will provide the answers to these questions.

#### **10.2.5 Other Egyptian burial customs**

At Tell es-Sa`idiyeh Tubb claims to have evidence of two Egyptian burial customs which are not present at any of the other sites discussed above - the use of an inverted bowl to cover the face or genital region and mummification.<sup>74</sup>

##### **10.2.5.1 Inverted bowl**

According to the excavator, several of the burials had a pottery or bronze bowl placed inverted over the face of the individual, other examples were found in which the genitals were covered in this way. Grave 232 is perhaps the most bizarre

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<sup>71</sup>However, D.Ben-Tor has indicated that scarabs only began to be used as funerary amulets in Egypt by "the Asiatics who settled in the eastern Delta during the late Middle Kingdom" and so their lack in burials in Palestine may not be indicative of a lack of Egyptians. Ben-Tor, D. - *IEJ* 47 (1997) 187.

<sup>72</sup>As in the story of Sinuhe.

<sup>73</sup>The sarcophagi were technically demanding pieces of ceramic ware due to their size and relative thinness. As such they were probably fairly expensive items which could only have been afforded by those in the position to patronise craftsmen skilled in their manufacture.

<sup>74</sup>Tubb, J.N. in Davies, V. & Schofield, L. *ed* - *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant* (1995) 141.

example, see above p214. However, this custom was not utilised in Egypt or the Mycenaean world during this period,<sup>75</sup> and so cannot be characterized as Egyptian.

#### 10.2.5.2 Mummification

Tubb claimed that at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh the burial "practices reflect in many cases Egyptian burial customs, the disposition of the skeletons providing evidence that the bodies had been tightly bound, the mineralized textiles preserved on the bronze objects being consistently Egyptian linen, and the occurrence of a bituminous material over the bones of several burials suggesting an attempt at mummification."<sup>76</sup> He also linked the removal of the ribs of one inhumation with this practice (Grave 393, see above p214). However, although the bitumen has preserved traces of textiles, there is no indication the deceased was wrapped in bandages rather than a single sheet. Lucas analysed bitumen from Egypt and also several mummies which had been identified as being coated in bitumen rather than resin, and concluded that bitumen was never generally used until the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>77</sup> If these two observations are taken into account, then the only slender evidence that Egyptian burial practices were observed is the remains of Egyptian linen preserved on bronze objects. It is fair to say that Egyptian linen could have been traded and that the burials with bitumen could be a local custom which is only evident in three burials at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. The Dead Sea was a major ancient source of bitumen and it may well have been used at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh as it was near to hand while Egyptian materials were not readily available. However it is more likely that these three graves reflect society as a whole where Egyptian culture was copied, or a local phenomenon. The conclusion that bodies were mummified was hasty as there is very little to support it.

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<sup>75</sup>Personal communication with Dr.S.R.Snape and Dr.C.B.Mee.

<sup>76</sup>Tubb, J.N. - *op.cit.* [fn.65] 36.

<sup>77</sup>Lucas, - *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1962) 303-308.

### 10.2.6 Burial Assemblages

One can also look at the grave goods to see if there is a preponderance of objects from a certain country which may give an indication of the nationality of the deceased. Aphek and Gezer are exempt from this study as there is only one tomb at each; that at Aphek contains objects of local, Mycenaean, Cypriote and Egyptian manufacture, that at Gezer local, Cypriote and Egyptian.

#### Percentages of burial assemblages<sup>78</sup>

	Beth Shean	Balah	Far'ah	Sa'idiyeh	Total
L	12.50%	30.00%	30.76%	39.70%	30.57%
E	0%	10.00%	26.15%	9.67%	17.35%
C	0%	0%	0%	0.00%	0%
M	0%	0%	0%	0.00%	0.00%
L/E	25.00%	30%	35.38%	38.70%	34.71%
L/C	0.00%	10%	0%	0.00%	0.82%
L/M	6.25%	0%	0%	0.00%	0.82%
M/E	0%	0%	1.53%	0.20%	0.82%
L/C/E	18.75%	0%	0%	3%	2.47%
L/M/C	12.50%	0%	0%	0.00%	1.65%
L/M/E	18.75%	20%	4.61%	9.67%	9.09%
E/C/M	0%	0%	0%	0.00%	0.00%
L/M/C/E	6%	0%	1.53%	0.00%	1.65%

Many (30.57%) of the burials contained only local goods, in agreement with the evidence of the grave types where the overwhelming majority continue local tradition. Surprisingly, Beth Shean, the one site with firm evidence of Egyptian occupation, is the only site which does not have a single grave containing purely Egyptian objects - could it be that the officers and administrators were returned to Egypt for burial and the lower echelons of society buried in Canaan with whatever

<sup>78</sup>Key to table: L - local goods; E - Egyptian goods; C - Cypriote goods; M - Mycenaean goods. The 'total' column shows the total percentage overall of each type of object, while the end ('amended') column shows the percentage of burials containing the proportions of different objects/combinations when the numbers of graves with no objects are ignored. The percentages from Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh need revision - at Tell el-Far'ah (S) due to the excavators only mentioning 'exciting' objects and at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh due to Tubb not giving sufficient information about the grave goods in his preliminary reports, a matter to be rectified in the final report.



goods their families could afford, presumably the plentiful local ware rather than expensive imported goods? The presence of burial stelae at Deir el-Balah coupled with the anthropoid sarcophagi provide firm evidence for Egyptian influence at the site, and the small finds discussed in chapter 7 give support. Although graves containing purely local goods are in the majority, there is a significant amount of Egyptian material within the burials and, also, of Mycenaean goods, while the absence of Cypriote objects is striking. Cypriote material was found in the burial assemblage of one tomb at Tell el-Far`ah (S) in conjunction with local, Mycenaean and Egyptian objects; Egyptian objects are the most common, although the figure could be misleading, while Mycenaean goods are only found with Egyptian objects. Tell es-Sa`idiyeh has burial customs not seen at any of the other sites and also has the only cemetery where Mycenaean objects alone are found in graves; it is also the furthest east and may, therefore, reflect influences not experienced at the other 'residency' sites. This may be indicative of a slight difference in ideas and outlook between the two areas and perhaps reflects slight differences within the population. The anthropoid sarcophagi at Beth Shean and Deir el-Balah point to an Egyptian influence, if not Egyptian presence; at these sites, and at Tell el-Far`ah (S), anthropoid sarcophagi are also found dating to the EIA and commonly linked to the Philistines, although they could belong to any of the groups that comprised the Sea Peoples. It is possible that the large proportion of Mycenaean and Cypriote ware at these sites may reflect a pre-Sea Peoples Aegean element amid the Egyptian occupation of Canaan. One point of interest is that objects of foreign manufacture do not necessarily occur together, they are fairly evenly distributed throughout the tomb groups - it is possible to say that these graves are those of wealthy merchants who imported goods from more than one country due to the diversity of finds and countries of origin.

In conclusion, the majority of the burials at the 'residency' sites are of a type common throughout Canaan during the LBA. Egyptian customs can be seen at Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah and Tell el-Far'ah (S). Suspicions of Egyptian and Hittite influences at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh are seen to be groundless. The divergence in grave goods and grave types heightens the perception of the LBA as a cosmopolitan era.

