

## ACTUEEL

## EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANISING SCARAB-SHAPED SEALS IN SYRIA AND LEBANON\*

Vanessa BOSCHLOOS

## Abstract

A doctoral research project pertaining to the presence, evolution and distribution of Egyptian scarabs in the northern Levant was conducted by Vanessa Boschloos at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and the Royal Museums of Art and History of Brussels. Present-day Lebanon and Syria yielded a large number of scarab-shaped seals, both Egyptian imports and non-Egyptian imitations and adaptations. They are mainly known from excavation reports but remain largely unstudied. For the first time, an exhaustive catalogue of provenanced finds from this region is offered and completes research that, until now, was mostly concentrated on scarabs from the southern Levant (Israel and Jordan). By studying the excavated material in public and private collections worldwide (Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Liverpool, Brussels, etc.) all available information on provenance (and, if possible, on the precise archaeological context), material, typological features, iconography and stylistic aspects was gathered. The aim of this research was to reconstruct local, regional and interregional distribution patterns and to confront the archaeological data with the known historical background of Egyptian-Levantine relations. The scarabs are a reflection of the intensity and periodicity of Egyptian influence in these sites and in the entire northern Levant. Imitations of imported scarabs and the identification of local seal workshops provide us with a clearer understanding of these Egyptian-Levantine contacts and of the impact of the imported material on the local production.

## I. Introduction: state of research and objectives

Although scarabs are certainly no novelty in Egyptology or in art history, it were the large amounts of scarabs that surfaced during excavations in the Levant, in Cyprus, in the Aegean and in the western Mediterranean in the second and third quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that provided scholars with the stratigraphical information needed to establish typological sequences. Moreover, as important contemporary source material they reflect the nature of contacts with Egypt but, at the same time, raise questions regarding the distinction between Egyptian and non-Egyptian productions. Over the past three decades, studies on scarabs have for that purpose concentrated on scarabs that were found outside Egypt, particularly in the southern Levant where excavations have so far yielded about 8500 stamp seals, mostly scarab-shaped seal-amulets<sup>1</sup>). It has become the life's work of Othmar Keel and his colleagues in Fribourg (Switzerland) to collect and publish this vast number of

objects and about half of the stamp seal-amulets that surfaced in southern Levantine sites have been brought together in three volumes of his *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel* (presented alphabetically, from Tel Abu Farag to Tel el-Fir)<sup>2</sup>). This admirable achievement is accompanied by a comprehensive introductory volume and Keel's *Corpus* presents archaeologists – and seal-specialists in particular – with an essential research tool and reference work for the study of this type of artefact. Unfortunately, a detailed archaeological analysis of these finds (especially their stratigraphical distribution throughout the individual sites) is wanting and the development of their distribution in Palestine has not yet been examined. This is mainly due to the quantity of finds. Detailed studies of particular groups, periods or types have offered insights into the development of scarabs in the southern Levant and a number of local production centres and workshops have been identified. Invaluable contributions regarding the development of local styles and groups during the Bronze Age were made by Othmar Keel and by Daphna Ben-Tor<sup>3</sup>). Canaanite Late Bronze Age workshops have also been postulated by Baruch Brandl and Nir Lalkin<sup>4</sup>).

The publications cited above only sporadically refer to scarabs in the northern Levant, in particular to the famous Montet Jar, discovered in the early 1920s by Pierre Montet in the Temple of the *Baalat Gubal* in Byblos. This deposit yielded one of the most important assemblages of early Middle Kingdom scarabs. Ever since the typological study by Olga Tufnell and William Ward (1966)<sup>5</sup>, their dating has

<sup>2</sup>) O. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Katalog Band I. Von Tell Abu Farag bis 'Atlit (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 13)*, Freiburg 1997; Id., *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Katalog Band II. Von Bahan bis Tel Eton (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 29)*, Freiburg 2010; Id., *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Katalog Band III. Von Tell el Far'a Nord bis Tell el-Fir (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 31)*, Freiburg 2010.

<sup>3</sup>) D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections. Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 27)*, Fribourg 2007 (Henceforth referred to as 'Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*'); O. Keel, "Stamp Seals – The Problem of Palestinian Workshops in the Second Millennium and Some Remarks on the Preceding and Succeeding Periods", in: J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Symposium Held on September 2, 1993. Jerusalem, Israel, Jerusalem 1995*, 93-142; O. Keel, "Some of the Earliest Groups of Locally Produced Scarabs from Palestine", in: M. Bietak & E. Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna, 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> of January 2002*, Wien 2004, 73-102; O. Keel & D. Ben-Tor, "The Beth-Shean Level IX-Group: A Local Scarab Workshop of the Late Bronze Age I", in: *Studies presented to E. D. Oren* (forthcoming); O. Keel, H. Keel-Leu, S. Schroer, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel II (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 88)*, Freiburg 1989: 39-88, 243-280; O. Keel & S. Münger, "Die Lotos-Kopfschild-Gruppe. Neo-Hyksos Skarabäen der Eisenzeit IIB (ca. 900-700 v. U. Z.)", in: C. G. Den Hertog, U. Hübner, S. Münger (eds.), *Saxa Loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 302)*, Münster 2003, 127-158 (Henceforth referred to as 'Keel & Münger, *Neo-Hyksos*').

<sup>4</sup>) B. Brandl, "The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Scarabs Reconsidered", in: M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf, 2<sup>nd</sup> of May -7<sup>th</sup> of May 2001*, Vienna 2003, 249-261; N. Lalkin, *Late Bronze Age Scarabs from Eretz Israel* (unpublished PhD diss. in Hebrew), Tel Aviv University 2008.

\* This contribution summarizes the objectives, methods and results of the doctoral research conducted by the author: V. Boschloos, *The Geochronological Distribution of Egyptian Scarab-shaped Seals in the Northern Levant (Syria and Lebanon) From the Late 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium to the Late Iron Age* (unpublished PhD dissertation in Dutch) Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2011-2012. Under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Eric Gubel (Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels and Vrije Universiteit Brussel) and Prof. Dr. Karin Nys (Vrije Universiteit Brussel).

<sup>1</sup>) O. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Einleitung (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 10)*, Freiburg 1995: §4 (Henceforth referred to as 'Keel, *Corpus Einleitung*').

been a long debated issue<sup>6</sup>). Following Tufnell and Ward's publication, these scarabs became inaccessible for further research because of the Lebanese Civil War and scholars used the published drawings without being able to consult the original objects. The reopening of the National Museum in Beirut and the new inventory of the museum's collections allowed the present author to reassess the Montet Jar scarabs, including pieces that were not studied in the 1960s. In some cases, the features or details in the designs turned out to deviate from those recorded by Tufnell and Ward. However, these findings concur with the early Middle Kingdom date proposed by Daphna Ben-Tor for this group, around the late XI<sup>th</sup>-early XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>7</sup>). Apart from the Montet Jar scarabs and scarabs from Middle Bronze Age tombs in Ruweissa (near Sidon)<sup>8</sup>, finds from the northern Levant have only been presented in excavation reports and in a general discussion by Astrid Nunn<sup>9</sup>). Unfortunately, her overview of scarabs found in the region is not exhaustive, includes unprovenanced finds (from the antiquities market) and she does not offer arguments for the dates or the Egyptian/non-Egyptian origin that she proposes for individual objects. Moreover, the results of scarab research for the southern Levant raised additional questions concerning the presence and distribution of some well-defined groups in the northern Levant, for example of scarabs from the late Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period workshop of Tell el-Dab'a<sup>10</sup>, mass-produced 'Post-Ramesside' scarabs of the early Iron Age<sup>11</sup>, and archaising Iron Age II scarabs of the so-called Neo-Hyksos Group<sup>12</sup>). The same problem arises regarding the distribution pattern of soft blue paste scarabs (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century), that have been attributed a Palestinian or even a Phoenician origin<sup>13</sup>) without a thorough

overview of sites where they are attested or of the periods or quantities in which they are found.

The doctoral research undertaken by the present author therefore fills a significant hiatus in scarab research by cataloguing all provenanced finds (unearthed until 2008), while addressing chronological issues, reconstructing geographical distribution patterns and evaluating the nature of relations between Egypt and the (northern) Levant as reflected by scarabs, throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BCE.

## II. Scarabs from Syria and Lebanon as a reflection of Egyptian-Levantine relations

The amount of scarabs from controlled excavations in the northern Levant is much smaller than those from the southern Levant and Egypt, partly due to the distance to Egypt and to the fact that more sites have been excavated in Israel than in Syria. Nevertheless, the limited number of finds allows an in-depth approach and a chronological reconstruction of geographical distribution patterns. The material under study offers insights into local (within the site), regional (sites in close proximity) and interregional distribution patterns (along trade routes). A catalogue of nearly 1300 scarab-shaped seals from excavated sites in present-day Syria and Lebanon (including peripheral regions such as the Amuq Plain and the Syrian Jezirah) was established. Each object is classified and dated based on a combination of typological, technical, iconographical, stylistic and stratigraphical data.

To reconstruct the chronological evolution and geographical distribution of these artefacts, they were first and foremost studied within their individual **archaeological context**. For every site that yielded scarab-shaped seals (64 sites to date), the scarabs and other *aegyptiaca* were discussed for each stratigraphical context and the contacts with Egypt were evaluated based on archaeological and historical information. This allowed reconstructing their distribution within a context and throughout the site. This archaeological approach permits to determine whether the scarab is contemporaneous or an heirloom in its context. Moreover, local situations such as concentrations in funerary, cultic or palatial contexts attest to function, meaning and social significance.

Secondly, the difference between Egyptian and non-Egyptian scarabs was discussed in a detailed **iconographical** study of the designs, their origins and their occurrence on stamp seals and other media from Egypt and the Near East (e.g. cylinder seals, amulets, ivories, figurines, metal bowls). Motifs from the Egyptian repertoire were adopted (imitated) or adapted to local tastes or demands, but certain designs also attest to the reciprocity of artistic influences: egyptianising themes from Levantine glyptic (e.g. falcon-headed figures on either side of a tree) can in turn be taken up by Egyptian artisans.

This methodological approach permitted to classify the material into **four main groups**: Egyptian imports contemporaneous with their contexts, Egyptian heirlooms, non-Egyptian contemporary scarabs and non-Egyptian heirlooms.

The main objective of this dissertation was not only to collect all available information on scarabs from the northern Levant by presenting an elaborate catalogue of the finds, but also to reconstruct the introduction, reception, distribution and development of this type of seal-amulet throughout the different phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages (from the late

<sup>5</sup>) O. Tufnell & W. A. Ward, "Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium B.C. A Study of the Montet Jar", *Syria* 43 (1966), 165-241.

<sup>6</sup>) E.g. D. Ben-Tor, "The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs", in: L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence 1998, 1-17 (Henceforth referred to as 'Ben-Tor, *Montet Jar*'); W. A. Ward, "Scarabs from the Montet Jar. A Late Eleventh Dynasty Collection at Byblos", *Berytus* 26 (1978), 37-53; W. A. Ward & W. G. Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals. Volume Three. Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context. An Essay on Middle Bronze Age Chronology*, San Antonio 1994: 90-91.

<sup>7</sup>) Ben-Tor, *Montet Jar*, 12.

<sup>8</sup>) O. Tufnell, "Tomb 66 at Ruweisse, near Sidon", *Berytus* 24 (1975-1976), 5-26.

<sup>9</sup>) A. Nunn, "Die Skarabäen und Skaraboide aus Westvorderasien und Mesopotamien", in: A. Nunn & R. Schulz (eds.), *Skarabäen ausserhalb Ägyptens: lokale Produktion oder Import?* (*British Archaeological Reports. International Series* 1205), Oxford 2004, 13-53.

<sup>10</sup>) D. Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age: Scarab Research", in: M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 - EuroConference, Haindorf, 2<sup>nd</sup> of May-7<sup>th</sup> of May 2001*, Vienna 2003, 239-248: n. 20 (Henceforth referred to as 'Ben-Tor, *Egyptian-Levantine relations*'); Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*: 69, n. 340.

<sup>11</sup>) O. Keel, M. Shual & C. Uehlinger, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel III (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 100)*, Freiburg 1990, 365-366.

<sup>12</sup>) Keel & Münger, *Neo-Hyksos*, 146-148.

<sup>13</sup>) G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der Ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien* (2 vols.) (*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain* 62), Leiden 1979: I 204-206; Keel, *Corpus Einleitung*: §400-401. Both authors notice a concentration of finds in Megiddo, but larger quantities have been found in the northern Levant (*cf. infra*).

3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to the Persian Period). To reconstruct the nature of Egyptian-Levantine relations as reflected by scarabs, emphasis was therefore put on the geo-chronological evolution of the first and third groups: Egyptian and non-Egyptian scarabs that are **contemporaneous with their archaeological contexts**.

The **chronological evolution** of their presence in the northern Levant indicates that the intensity of relations with Egypt is reflected in three aspects. Firstly, as is to be expected, in the quantity of Egyptian imports, that increases with the Egyptian (military, administrative) presence in the region or when relations (commercial, diplomatic) with Egypt are close. This is discernable in the amount of imported scarabs during the Middle and the New Kingdom, but also during the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty and the late XXV<sup>th</sup>-XXVI<sup>th</sup> dynasties, although the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium witnesses a steady decrease in imports. Secondly, the impact of the imported scarabs on the Levantine production is posterior rather than contemporary, with local types in general emerging and flourishing when imports decrease in numbers or are almost completely absent. This is for example visible in the development of Canaanite scarabs during the late Middle Bronze Age (Second Intermediate Period in Egypt) and the diversity of Levantine glyptic during the Iron Age (Third Intermediate Period). Thirdly, the nature of relations with Egypt is reflected in the 'quality' of non-Egyptian imitations, with a less truthful imitation of the Egyptian models in periods when relations with Egypt came to a halt, such as in the early Iron Age.

These chronological developments were transferred onto distribution maps, visualising concentrations and distribution patterns for each period or for particular groups.

The **geographical distribution** of imported scarabs throughout the Middle Bronze Age bears witness to the close relations between Egypt and the Lebanese coast, with a large concentration of Middle Bronze Age scarabs in Lebanon (Byblos, Sidon, Ruweissa, Majdaluna, Beirut and Sinn al-Fil). Isolated finds further north, on the Syrian coast and in Central Syria (Tell Mishrifa/Qatna, Qal'at ar-Rus, Ras Shamra/Ugarit and Tell Mardikh/Ebla) are likely to have been transmitted through a Lebanese intermediary, in all probability Byblos. The absence of Second Intermediate Period scarabs in Byblos was already noticed by Daphna Ben-Tor<sup>14</sup>) and the present dissertation confirms their non-appearance in late Middle Bronze Age contexts in the entire northern Levant, attesting to reduced relations with Egypt. New Kingdom imports circulate on a much larger scale and are for the most part found in regions under Egyptian control, i.e. Lebanon and the Syrian coast. Most contemporary XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty scarabs surfaced in Kamid al-Loz, which functioned as the main seat of the Egyptian administration in the Biqaa Valley, and in Ugarit, that played an important role in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Mitanni<sup>15</sup>).

<sup>14</sup>) Ben-Tor, *Egyptian-Levantine relations*: n. 20.

<sup>15</sup>) Some isolated finds in Sukas, in Tell Atchana/Alalakh and in Tell Mishrifa/Qatna could have arrived via centres with closer relations with Egypt, such as Ugarit and Kamid al-Loz. However, it must also be noted that Qatna, on the northernmost border of the Egyptian empire in the Levant, found itself inside Egypt's area of interest and prestigious objects were sent as diplomatic gifts, thus explaining the presence of New Kingdom scarabs (V. Boschloos, "A Scarab of Amenhotep III in Qatna's Lower City Palace", in: *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age 'Globalism'*. *Proceedings of the International Conference. Stuttgart 16.-19. Oktober 2009*, Stuttgart, forthcoming).

The administrative, military and diplomatic presence of Egypt in the northern Levant is even more apparent in the distribution of Ramesside scarabs. The Late Bronze Age IIB witnessed an increase of imported scarabs, not only inside Egyptian territory (at Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon, Qrayya, Beirut, Kamid al-Loz, Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Tweini), but also in peripheral regions that are located on important commercial routes, such as the Euphrates and its tributaries (at Meskene/Emar, Tell Harriri/Mari, Sabi Abyad and possibly Tell Barri). The international trade network collapsed at the end of the Bronze Age and the limited influence of a decentralised Egypt is reflected in the complete absence of imported scarabs during the early Iron Age (late XX<sup>th</sup>-XXI<sup>st</sup> dynasty) and the reduced and continuously decreasing number of imports throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium. The emphasis is on Lebanon during the Iron Age II (scarabs surfaced mainly at Tyre but also in Sarepta and in Khalda), reflecting close commercial relations between the Phoenician centres and the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty. The Iron Age III witnesses an expansion as the geographical distribution of XXV<sup>th</sup>-XXVI<sup>th</sup> dynasty scarabs includes not only Lebanon (Sarepta, Sidon, Ain al-Hilwa, Salahiya) but extends to northwest-Syria (Al-Mina, Ras al-Bassit, Sukas)<sup>16</sup>). This distribution pattern demonstrates not only the Phoenician factor but also the growing role of Greek merchants in the eastern Mediterranean trading network from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

With regard to the distribution of non-Egyptian types, the results indicate that the earliest Canaanite scarabs (early 17<sup>th</sup> century) surface in Middle Bronze Age II burials in Sidon, Ruweissa, Sinn al-Fil and Ugarit, consistent with the similarities in funerary practices and material culture that were already recognized in these and other coastal centres<sup>17</sup>). Late Canaanite scarabs (late 17<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century) are primarily found in Lebanon (Sidon, Ruweissa, Majdaluna, Burak, Kamid al-Loz, Byblos and possibly Tell Hizzin), whereas they are distributed along the trade routes as far as Tell Ashera/Terqa on the Middle Euphrates and Ugarit and Tell Atchana/Alalakh in northern Syria<sup>18</sup>). Levantine Late Bronze Age scarabs are barely attested in the northern Levant but from the late Iron Age I onwards, a quantitative and qualitative increase in the local production is discernable and non-Egyptian types (Phoenician

<sup>16</sup>) And from these coastal sites further inland, to Ta'ayinat, Khan Shaykhun, Nayrab, and even to Shiukh Fawqani and Ahmar, where isolated finds surfaced.

<sup>17</sup>) See, for instance: G. Philip, "Warrior Burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: the Evidence from Mesopotamia, Western Iran and Syria-Palestine", in: S. Campbell & A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Manchester Conference, 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> December 1992*, Oxford 1995, 140-154: 142-144.

<sup>18</sup>) As is already evident from the circulation of Egyptian Middle Kingdom scarabs, the Lebanese littoral played a key role in the distribution of these Canaanite scarabs further inland. Small numbers of Canaanite scarabs were also found in Qatna and in Ebla, located on the south-north route between Palestine and northern Syria, but also on routes connecting the Mediterranean with the Euphrates region (A. Ahrens, "The Scarabs from the Ninkarrak Temple Cache at Tell 'Ašara/Terqa (Syria): History, Archaeological Context and Chronology", *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2010), 431-444: 438-439; V. Boschloos, "Scarabs from Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna (Syria) Excavated by the Italian Component of the Joint Syrian-Italian-German Project (Campaigns 2005-2010). Archaeological Context and Reconstruction of Egyptian-Levantine Relations", *Akkadica* forthcoming: n. 41-42).

scarabs, Syrian scaraboids, Semitic name scarabs, etc.) outnumber the decreasing amount of Egyptian imports. However, only scarabs with egyptianising designs were considered for this research and the emphasis is again on Lebanon, particularly on Tyre; the isolated finds in Syria (Abu Danna, °Ain Dara, Masaykh) attest to the prevalence of cylinder seals and other types of stamp seals in this region.

Certain distribution patterns also allowed postulating **local production** centres. Seal workshops can be identified based on a number of criteria, such as the presence of archaeological remains of workshops (e.g. raw material or semi-finished objects, moulds, production waste), or – which generally proves to be the case – the concentration of a certain type in a specific region and/or period. Groups can be defined based on the preference for a particular material, for a combination of typological features, for an iconographic repertoire or even on the basis of stylistic aspects. A combination of these parameters allowed postulating a number of scarab workshops in the northern Levant. Byblos yielded e.g. a relative large amount of unfinished and semi-finished scarabs in greenstone, indicating a local workshop that was at least active during the late Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1650-1500)<sup>19</sup>). Although the author recognizes the difficulties in dating and interpreting the group of soft blue paste scarabs (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries), the research indicates that the largest amounts emerged in Al-Mina and in Byblos, suggesting the presence of local workshops specialised in this material (also *cf. supra* footnote 13). Finally, a workshop is very likely to have existed at Tyre during the Iron Age II, based on the concentration of a well-defined scarab type at this site and its diffusion within the kingdom of Tyre (for instance to Akhzib in northern Israel) and towards Cyprus, where it occurs in younger contexts.

The archaeological approach and the preliminary results regarding distribution patterns and local workshops that were drawn from this comprehensive and diversified catalogue encourage similar research on the scarabs from other regions in the ancient Near East (Palestine, Anatolia, Mesopotamia), but even more on scarabs from Cyprus and the western Mediterranean, closely linked with the Phoenician mainland.

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<sup>19</sup>) *Contra* D. Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs”, in: S. Bar, D. Kahn, J. J. Shirley (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel; History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, Leiden-Boston 2011, 23-43: 28.