

Tel Aviv

Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University

ISSN: 0334-4355 (Print) 2040-4786 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ytav20>

Goose Keeping, Elite Emulation and Egyptianized Feasting at Late Bronze Lachish

Ido Koch

To cite this article: Ido Koch (2014) Goose Keeping, Elite Emulation and Egyptianized Feasting at Late Bronze Lachish, Tel Aviv, 41:2, 161-179, DOI: [10.1179/0334435514Z.000000000038](https://doi.org/10.1179/0334435514Z.000000000038)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/0334435514Z.000000000038>



Published online: 10 Oct 2014.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 242



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 2 View citing articles [↗](#)

Goose Keeping, Elite Emulation and Egyptianized Feasting at Late Bronze Lachish

IDO KOCH

Tel Aviv University

The paper examines an assemblage of goose (*Anser* sp.) bones found in Late Bronze levels at Lachish and discusses its historical and cultural context. The appearance of an Egyptian trait—the keeping and consumption of waterfowl—is not surprising at Lachish, where a vast amount of *Aegyptiaca* was unearthed. The assemblage is interpreted not according to the common assumption regarding an Egyptian presence at Lachish but rather as attesting to the local elite that was influenced by the long-term Egyptian hegemony over Canaan. Based on contemporaneous comparanda, the author argues that this local elite adopted the Egyptian trait of goose keeping and adapted it to its own needs of communal feasting—and thus presented themselves as Egyptian.

KEYWORDS Lachish, Elite emulation, Late Bronze Age, Egyptian empire

Over the past several decades archaeologists and historians have often used zooarchaeological research in their quest to understand social variations. A case in point is pig consumption and its possible implications as an ethnic marker in the southern Levant during the Iron I–II (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2006, 2009; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 20–21; Maeir, Hitchcock and Horwitz 2013: 4–6; Sapir-Hen *et al.* 2013). Other ethnoarchaeological investigations have shown the importance of dietary customs as attesting to cultural traits in complex societies (e.g., deFrance 2009), and shed light on the introduction of new species as reflecting economic enterprises or international connections (e.g., Hesse 1995; Lev-Tov and deFrance 2010). Another of these ethnoarchaeological studies is the economic initiative of Iron IIA beekeeping at Tel Rehov, in which the local apiary manufactured honey and wax on a large scale, using a specific, productive species of Anatolian-originated bees (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2007; Mazar *et al.* 2008; Bloch *et al.* 2010).

This essay presents a study of goose consumption at Late Bronze Lachish (Croft 2004) and suggests a theory to explain the behaviour of the local elite, who introduced

and adopted this Egyptian trait into their cultural sphere—a trait that they manifested during communal feasting. Lachish is the only site in Late Bronze Canaan that has yielded more than a handful of goose bones, making the assemblage exceptional. The essay reviews the assemblage in the context of the large amount of *Aegyptiaca* from the site. It also examines the historical background of goose consumption, accompanied by contemporaneous pictographic evidence.

The Lachish goose bone assemblage

Three archaeological expeditions excavated the seven hectare mound of Lachish (British Excavation 1932–1938; Hebrew University of Jerusalem Excavation 1966, 1968; Tel Aviv University Renewed Archaeological Excavations 1973–1994; see discussion below), exposing rich occupation levels dated to the Late Bronze Age.¹ The avifauna remains from the Renewed Excavations directed by Ussishkin were analyzed by Croft (2004: Table 33.25), who identified 256 bird bones from the Late Bronze levels. This number includes eight raptor bones (3.1% of the assemblage), 14 waterfowl bones (5.5%), 21 corvid (mainly raven) bones (8.2%), 27 columbid (pigeon or dove) bones (10.5%), 72 goose bones (28.1%), and 86 gamebird (chiefly chukar) bones (33.6%) (idem; see Fig. 1). These are clustered within two groups: (1) domesticated species—the goose and the pigeon; and (2) the wild species, which includes the other four (Croft 2004: 2304). Of the domesticated group, pigeons were bred during the Chalcolithic period, and indeed the distribution of their bones at Lachish includes all studied periods (Croft 2004: 2306), while goose bones appear in great numbers solely in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 2).

Not a single goose bone was found in the Early Bronze to Middle Bronze levels.² Nor were the bones of any domesticated geese found in levels of the early phases of the Late Bronze.³ Goose keeping at Lachish began only in a later phase of the LB IIA, as attested by the four bones found in poorly preserved structures in Area S (Level S-1; Barkay and

¹ This study divides the Late Bronze Age according to the Egyptian dynasties: LB IA=early Eighteenth Dynasty; LB IB=mid-Eighteenth Dynasty; LB IIA=late Eighteenth Dynasty; LB IIB=Nineteenth Dynasty; LB III=early Twentieth Dynasty.

² Croft (2004: 2306) mentions a bone from Locus 7035 in Area D, located to the north of the MB I cult place (Ussishkin 2004a: Fig. 7.1); the locus is mixed and thus Ussishkin termed it “MB I(?) and/or later” (*ibid.*: 309). Furthermore, Croft (2004: 2306) notes the intrusive rodent remains in this locus, and thus the goose bone may be of the same origin; even if not intrusive it may be that of a wild goose.

³ The LB IA is represented at Lachish with an interim phase in Area P (Ussishkin 2004b: 188 and Fig. 5.1). In the LB IB, a modest temple was built in the out-of-use Middle Bronze moat to the west of the mound (‘Fosse Temple I’; Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 36–37; Pl. 66). The following phase, dated to the LB IIA, included domestic structures in Area S (Level S-3; Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: 324, 335, 337 and Fig. 8.13) and Area P (Level P-2; Ussishkin 2004b: 188, 190–191 and Fig. 5.2) alongside the reshaping of the temple to the west of the mound (‘Fosse Temple II’; Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 37–38; Pl. 67).

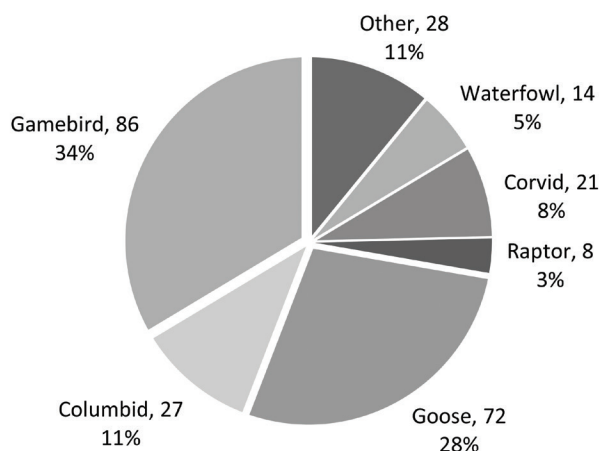


FIGURE 1 Bird bones from Late Bronze levels at Lachish.

Ussishkin 2004: 324 and Fig. 8.25; Croft 2004: Appendix I).⁴ A sizeable spurt can be traced in Level VII, dated to the LB IIB, with 17 goose bones (*ibid.*), comprising some 27% of the total bird assemblage.⁵ The process seems to reach its zenith in Level VI, dated to the LB III (12th century BCE) with 48 goose bones (Croft 2004: Appendix I), comprising more than half of the total assemblage.⁶

⁴ Caution is needed, for this number is small and may represent wild rather than domesticated birds. Another goose bone comes from Locus 3927, which was associated with Level S-2 (Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: Fig. 8.21), but which had no layer above it (*ibid.*: Fig. 8.25); this context can be assigned to Level S-1 as well.

⁵ The buildings in Area S (Levels VII B–VII A; Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: 344, 346–347, 350–351 and Figs. 8.26, 8.29) yielded 15 goose bones and two other bones were found in structures in Area P (Level P-1; Ussishkin 2004b: 191, 193, 195, 198 and Fig. 5.7). No data was published regarding avifauna remains from contemporary Fosse Temple Phase III (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 38, Pl. 68) or from the northeastern sector on the mound (Tufnell 1958: 49).

⁶ Level VI replaced destroyed Level VII, and while the Fosse Temple was left in ruins other public structures were constructed: a public building (the ‘Pillared Building’) was erected in Area S (Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: 352–353, 355, 357–358, 361 and Fig. 8.35), which yielded 30 goose bones. Of these, 13 were found in the accumulation to the northeast of the ‘Pillared Building’ (Loci 3812 and 3821); some of these may belong to Level VII A (cf. Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: 376–377). A monumental temple was found in Area P, which exhibited Egyptian-style architecture and cult items (Clamer 2004; Ussishkin 2004c), and in which 11 goose bones were found. A third complex was unearthed in Area D; it contained stone and mudbrick structures and silos (Ussishkin 2004a: 297, 300, 302, 304–305 and Fig. 7.1), and yielded seven goose bones. The avifauna remains from other contemporary structures (Tufnell 1958: 49, 289–294 and Pl. 91; Aharoni 1975: 12 and Pl. 61) were not published.

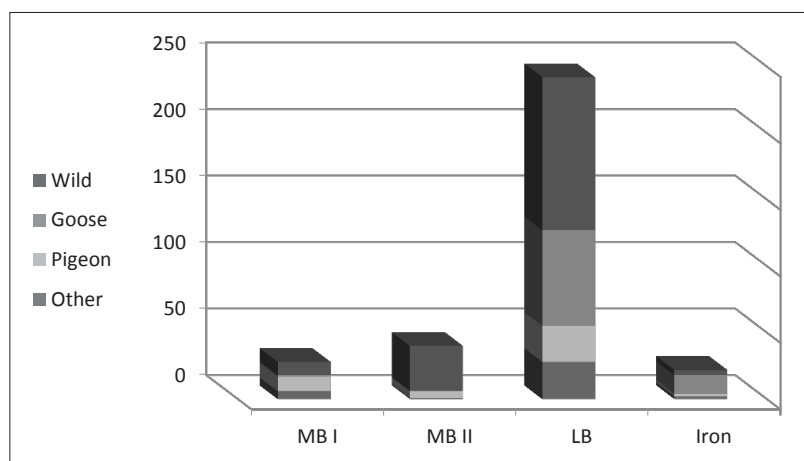


FIGURE 2 Identified avifauna remains from the Renewed Excavations at Lachish, according to main periods of occupation (after Croft 2004: Table 33.25).

Egypt, its Levantine empire and the domesticated goose

The goose (*Anser* sp.) was first domesticated in Egypt (Houlihan 2001: 189–191; Albarella 2005: 252–253). Although the subject of much debate, it seems safe to conclude that domestication of the goose began as late as the Middle Kingdom, together with the domestication of the ‘Egyptian goose’ (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*) (Boessneck 1986; 1988: 88; 1995: 134; Boessneck and von den Driesch 1992: 36–38; Albarella 2005: 252–253). During the Eighteenth Dynasty goose domestication had already become routinized, with abundant evidence of goose breeding and consumption (*ibid.*; Boessneck 1986: Table 2; Houlihan 1986: 54–65; 2001: 189–191; MacDonald and Bench 2000).⁷

Even before the goose was domesticated in Egypt, it served an important role in the cultic sphere—a fact known from the Old Kingdom. The close intimacy of the Egyptians with the Nile and its fauna is reflected in representations of various waterfowl species as early as the Fourth Dynasty ‘Geese of Meydum’ wall painting (e.g., Houlihan 2001: 190; see cover) and the use of the goose figure in the hieroglyph writing system (Gardiner 1957: G38). These representations evolved into a cultic association of the goose mainly with sun deities, especially Amun, who is described in some cosmogonies in goose-like terms as ‘the Great Crackler’, whose victory shout was supposedly the first sound uttered in the primeval swamps, or who was said to have laid the egg from which the cosmos was created (Pinch 2002: 60, 101, 120). Other cultic associations include goose sacrifices, descriptions of the dead reaching heaven in the form of a flying goose and the goose as an erotic symbol in New Kingdom love songs and plastic art (Störk 1977).

⁷ It should be noted that while the goose had been documented in Mesopotamia as early as the Old Babylonian period (Akkadian *kurkū*), it is known as a wild fowl and there is no attestation to its domesticated nature (cf. CAD K: 651b–652b). It is only from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards that sources mention domesticated waterfowl as tributes from vassal kingdoms and as exotic food for royal feasts (and see below).

The goose was domesticated for its meat, which comprises only a quarter of the bird's mass (Ikram 1995: 27);⁸ it seems, however, that the fat, which constitutes almost half of the bird's mass, was also one of the primary objectives of its domestication. Goose fat was known by the Eighteenth Dynasty as an important ingredient in remedies against headaches, treatments for erectile dysfunction and for healing mosquito bites and other ailments (*ibid.*: 27; Karenberg and Leitz 2001; Nunn 2002: 72, 150, 161 and 199; Aboelsoud 2010: 84). A third feature of the goose was its down, used for stuffing cushions, etc.; though evidence for this comes from a much later period (1st century CE, Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* X 27), this aspect of goose economy may well have been known earlier.⁹

On the other hand, the deep and vast Egyptian cultural context in which the goose appears seems to have left no trace in the New Kingdom empire outside of the Nile Valley—except at Lachish. An overview of the fauna remains from Late Bronze strata in the southern Levant, local settlements and Egyptian administrative centres alike, shows the absence of geese, not to mention that most sites—unlike Lachish—yielded only a dozen or so bird bones.¹⁰ This could be explained by the fact that bird bones are fragile and are under constant risk of being fractured by domesticated predators like cats; by bird bone size, which enhances the possibility of their being overlooked during archaeological excavations (Croft 2004: 2304); and by the impossibility of differentiating between domesticated and wild geese by their bones (as is more commonly done with mammal bones; e.g., Sapir-Hen *et al.* 2013: 3 with additional literature) due to the similarity between these species (Barnes, Young and Dobney 2000: 91). Lachish was excavated during the 1970s to 1990s when deposits were not usually sifted, which should have augmented the likelihood of not retrieving finds. Yet, large numbers of bones were found at Lachish Levels VII–VI, and these vastly outnumbered those found at other sites in the southern Levant. This is a clear attestation that geese were domesticated at Lachish and that an Egyptian trait was adopted there.

⁸ There is a possibility that the bird meat was preserved in Egypt by salting and drying (Ikram 1995: 157, 160–161) and imported to Lachish. This does not negate the possibility that locally raised goose meat was also consumed at Lachish.

⁹ Down stuffing was found in pillows from the KV 63 cache, dated to just after the reign of Tutankhamun, but it is not clear which type of bird it came from (see Ertman, Wilson and Schaden 2006: 25).

¹⁰ These include Tell eš-Šafi/Gath (Lev-Tov 2012a: 591–593), Tel Mique/Ekron (Hesse 1986: 20; Lev-Tov 2010: Table 7.2), Aphek XII (Horwitz 2009: 528 and Table 21.1) and XI (*ibid.*: Table 21.7), Tel Michal XVI–XV (Hellwing and Feig 1989: 242 and Table 22.4), Tomb 1 at Tel Dothan (Lev-Tov and Maher 2001: Table 1), Shiloh VI (Hellwing, Sadeh and Kishon 1993: Tables 15.3 and 15.5), Hesban 19 (Boessneck 1995: 134), Tel Yoqne'am XX–XIX (Horwitz *et al.* 2005: 399–400 and Table V.26), Tel Qashish VI–V (Horwitz 2003: 431–432 and Table 37), Hazor (Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007: Table 5–1; Lev-Tov 2012b: Table 16A.1) and the 'Mycenaean' tomb at Tel Dan (Horwitz 2002). The sole site that exhibits a different pattern is Tel Ḥalif (Seger *et al.* 1990: 26–27 and Table 8), where 56 bird bones were collected from the Late Bronze layers, but no information is given regarding the various species. The Halif bones may well have originated from wild species, much like the chukar bones from Late Bronze Lachish (Croft 2004: Table 33.25).

Egyptianized Lachish: premises and preconceptions

Goose-keeping at Lachish joins other, better known Egyptian traits in Late Bronze Canaan that were triggered by Egyptian influence over the local population (e.g., Higginbotham 1996; 2000; Killebrew 2005: 51–83; Morris 2005: 9–17; Martin 2011: 259–261). Furthermore, it enhances the impressive assemblage of Egyptian-style finds from Lachish, making it one of the most-Egyptianized sites in Canaan.

Egyptian dominance in Lachish began in the LB IIA with the reshaping of the Fosse Temple into an Egyptian-style structure (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940; Bietak 2002). Level VII saw the expansion of Egyptian authority, attested by the continuous use of the Egyptian-style Fosse Temple (*idem*), an Egyptian inscription on a jug (Magrill, Jasnow and McCarter 2004) and the introduction of lamp-and-bowl foundation deposits (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 2004: 1152–1154). The height of this dominance was in Level VI, with continuous placing of foundation deposits, a burial with two anthropoid clay coffins inscribed with hieroglyphic signs (Tufnell 1958: 131–132, 248–249 and Pls. 45–46; cf. Ussishkin 2004d: 64; Killebrew 2005: 65–66 with further literature), the architecture of Area P's temple (Clamer 2004; Ussishkin 2004c), the mudbrick silo in Area D (Ussishkin 2004a), a bronze plaque bearing a cartouche of Ramesses III (Ussishkin 1983: 123 and Fig. 13) and the numerous Egyptian and Egyptianized scarabs, scaraboids and amulets (Tufnell 1958: 97–98, 99–101, etc.). Alongside the cultural influence, a clear connection between Lachish and the Egyptian administration is evident from the hieratic inscriptions, dated to the Eighteenth–Twentieth Dynasties (Sweeney 2004; cf. Wimmer 1990, 1998, 2010; Goldwasser 1991).

The Egyptian and Egyptianized objects from Lachish, especially those with a 12th century context, have been interpreted in two contrasting ways as either reflecting the presence of Egyptians, namely an Egyptian governor, or as representing local Canaanite elite emulating Egyptian cultural traits. The former option was originally suggested by Dothan (1982: 294; 1985: 174), elaborated upon by Ussishkin (1985: 221; see also 2004a: 304–305; 2004d: 65), expanded upon by Singer (1988: 5) and accepted by several others (Dever 1992: 102; Weinstein 1992: 143–144; Stager 1995: 342; Morris 2005: 770).¹¹ Nevertheless, the impressive assemblage of Egyptian(-style) objects lacks an important

¹¹ T. Dothan (1982: 294) argued for an Egyptian garrison at Lachish following the destruction of Fosse Temple III, based on her interpretation of the anthropoid coffins, and later (1985: 174) based on the bronze plaque bearing the cartouche of Ramesses III, attesting to a 'new short-lived Egyptian settlement'. Ussishkin (1985: 221; see also 2004a: 304–305; 2004d: 65), while never mentioning Dothan's theory, assembled the entire corpus of Egyptian objects and suggested that the Level VI prosperity was due to the Egyptian presence; he even posited that it was the reason why 'the Level VI city (and presumably the earlier Level VII city as well) did not require a ring of fortifications to defend it'. Another contributor to the theory was Singer (1988: 5), who reconstructed a political-military Egyptian agenda of imposing direct rule over southern Canaan during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties. According to Singer, direct rule was achieved by construction of gubernatorial residences on the ruins of the destroyed city-kingdoms, including the yet-to-be-found residence 'concealed under the Israelite palaces on the summit of the tell'.

component—locally produced Egyptian-style pottery.¹² Unlike the vast, multi-type assemblages found at sites affiliated with the Egyptian administration (e.g., Tel Beth-Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Aphek, Tel Mor, Tell el-Far'ah [S] and Deir el-Balah; Killebrew 2005: 341–343; Martin 2011: 266–269), the locally made Egyptian vessels from Lachish comprise only a tiny portion of the total pottery assemblage.¹³

The state of affairs at additional Canaanite sites such as Megiddo seems to be similar, and while the abundance of Egyptian objects there were interpreted as indicating the presence of an Egyptian governor (Singer 1988–1989; Ussishkin 1995: 260; Morris 2005: 771–772), the above-mentioned indicative Egyptian-style pottery is still missing, and therefore other scholars consider Megiddo a Canaanite city influenced by the nearby administrative centres (Mazar 2002; Killebrew 2005: 82; Martin 2011: 160–162, 266–268).

The discounting of the Egyptian presence theory led to another explanation—Higginbotham's local elite emulation (2000: 108–110, 134). Higginbotham maintained that the Egyptian empire in Nubia was based on Egyptian presence in specific localities and suggested a similar presence in Canaan; thus, she accepted the existence of Egyptians at a handful of sites (Beth-Shean, Jaffa, Gaza and Deir el-Balah), but saw the vast number of Egyptian-style objects and buildings as the result of emulation by local elite residing at sites such as Megiddo, Lachish, Hazor, Aphek and Tel Mor. Higginbotham's theory was greatly criticized (e.g., Kitchen 2001; Killebrew 2005: 54; Morris 2005: 9–17; Oren 2006: 273) both because of over-generalization of the historical picture and for over-simplification of the concept of cultural emulation. She left no room for the opposite possibility—that the local elite was influencing the empire's core.¹⁴ Indeed, even her 'case-study', the Egyptian empire in Nubia, seemed to be more complex, for the same region saw both Egyptian presence and intensified local elite emulation (cf. Morkot 2000, 2001; Smith 2003). Furthermore, the aforementioned studies of Egyptian pottery from Canaan proved the existence of Egyptian involvement beyond the four centres acknowledged by Higginbotham.

To sum up this point, it seems that the two approaches used to explain the ethnic-cultural tapestry of Late Bronze Canaan suffered from exclusivity of models. Indeed, recent discussions have shown the complexity of the cultural and historical picture and the need for a combination of several models, all advocating the midpoint between the extremes;

¹² This pottery has already been noted by Amiran (1969: 187–190) and Weinstein (1981: 21–22), but the primary classification and discussion were executed by Cohen-Weinberger (1998), Killebrew (1998) and Higginbotham (2000: 145–170). Further publications by Killebrew (2004; 2005) and especially Martin (2004, 2005, 2011) have shed much light on the assumed Egyptian presence in LB IIB–III Canaan and the impact on its material culture.

¹³ Martin (2011: 268) was aware of the Egyptian artefacts from Lachish and thus suggested two options: (1) that there was an Egyptian garrison there, evidence of which is yet to be found; or (2) that there was no sizeable military presence but rather a small number of administrative officials in Egyptian service, possibly even of Canaanite origin. For the option of Canaanite scribes at Lachish during the Twentieth Dynasty, see Goldwasser 1991.

¹⁴ See, for example, the adoption of Canaanite deities within the Egyptian pantheon and the subsequent creation of Canaanite-Egyptian hybrid deities (Cornelius 1994: 238–242; Tazawa 2009).

the newly discussed Egyptian pottery, together with new publications of archaeological data in the administrative centres, illustrate the combined Egyptian-Canaanite activity at these sites (cf. Mazar 2002; Gadot 2010; Braunstein 2011; Martin 2011: 266).

The elite emulation model—despite the harsh criticism—was an important contribution to the scholarly discussion regarding the Egyptian empire in the Levant. Indeed, although there is a significant difference between Canaan and Nubia under Egyptian hegemony, they do share the comparable situation of having been located on the periphery of the empire's core for some 300 years. A similar situation transpired in the Neo-Assyrian empire, where local elite in provinces with diverse backgrounds and cultural traditions were influenced in numerous ways over time by the central culture and to some degree had an influence on the centre as well (Winter 1977; Postgate 1992: 257–260; Parker 2003, 2011; Parpola 2003, 2007; Porter 2004; cf. Na'aman and Thareani 2006; Thareani 2009).

Furthermore, the elite emulation model is part of core/periphery theories that can explain the integration of local elite within an empire's system and thus the peripheral appearance of cultural traits which originated in its centre.¹⁵ Ethnographic, cross-cultural researches have pointed to the importance of this process for the construction of the imperial power; the centre has in many cases chosen to establish administrative hubs in the dominated peripheries, but also to embrace the local elite with its own symbols, to implant ideological motives that justify its rule and to invite members of the local elite to rituals and feasts in the empire's capital. The 'prize' in return was a long and loyal subordination of these elite to imperial domination (Sinopoli 1994: 164, 167 with further literature; Glatz 2009).

All of the above is displayed in the Egyptian empire in Canaan. Starting with Thutmose III and developing and expanding during the late Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties, the entire region was under an Egyptian military-economic policy that included the establishment of Egyptian centres and estates, imposition of annual taxes on the city-kingdoms and the dispatching of local elite hostages to Egypt. These hostages were educated in Egyptian ways and manners before being sent home, which enhanced the 'Egyptianization' of Canaan during the late Nineteenth to the early Twentieth Dynasties (Na'aman 1981, 1988, 2002; Oren 1984; Bleiberg 1996: 99–100; Hoffmeier 2004: 134–141 with additional literature; Morris 2005; Burke and Lidsky 2010). The same process also brought Canaanites to serve within the Egyptian administration, as attested in the Amarna archives, administrative records from Egypt and the hieratic inscriptions from Canaan (Feucht 1990: 199; Goldwasser 1991; Redford 1992: 198–199).

It appears, therefore, that there were many opportunities for the Canaanite elite to be exposed to Egyptian culture. These opportunities may have manifested themselves in Egypt itself either when the children were hostages (e.g., EA 296) or when the adults were invited guests of the royal court (e.g., EA 283; 306) or in Canaan when the Canaanites were serving the imperial administration (above), or when the rulers of local towns visited neighbouring administrative centres (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004: 322–324).

¹⁵ For recent methodological discussions of core/periphery models, their difficulties, needed modifications and implications, see Parkinson and Galaty 2007; Kardulias and Hall 2008.

and even, for a broader range of people, during cultic rituals in the local temples that included Egyptian motifs (Koch forthcoming).¹⁶

Thus, it would be safe to view the various Egyptian objects at Lachish as attesting a profound local elite influence that emulated several Egyptian cultural elements. The gradual increase of Egyptian objects at Lachish, which reached a peak in the 12th century BCE, fits the historical and archaeological information regarding the proliferation of Egyptian control over Canaan and the integration of Lachish within the imperial administrative system. Consequently, goose keeping, the most exceptional Egyptian feature at Lachish, finds its place mainly in Level VI, representing the outcome of 250 years of Egyptian influence over the local elite.

Egyptian-style feasting at Late Bronze Lachish

While the Egyptian origin of goose-keeping at Lachish is clear, its purpose is obscure, for unlike the pictographic and textual evidence regarding goose consumption in Egypt (above), no data is available from Lachish. Yet, the introduction of geese to Lachish may be understood in light of two items unearthed at nearby Tell el-Far'ah (S) and at Megiddo to the north. Petrie's excavations at Tell el-Far'ah (S) yielded three ivory plaques (Petrie 1930: 19 and Pl. 55) dated to the 12th century BCE and probably of Canaanite origin (e.g., Bryan 1996: 62–69; Lilyquist 1998: 26, 28; Ziffer 2005: 150; Ben-Tor 2009: 37–38). They were incised with an exceptional depiction of an Egyptian-style marsh scene showing fowling, fishing and a procession of servants carrying the hunted animals, complemented by a banquet in which the ruler is shown sitting on a throne, accompanied by his spouse, courtiers, dancers and musicians (Fig. 3). Another depiction of a banquet with waterfowl is engraved on an ivory plaque from contemporaneous Megiddo Stratum VIIA (Loud 1939: Pl. 33: 162; see Fig. 4). The plaque shows waterfowl as part of the preparations for feasting, and like the exemplar from Tell el-Far'ah (S), can also be understood as Canaanite in origin (Ziffer 2005: 151–154).¹⁷

¹⁶ The Fosse Temple is discussed as part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, and preliminary conclusions were presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Baltimore, November, 2013. The thesis shows that the Fosse Temple, renovated during the reign of Amenhotep III (cf. Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 32), was part of a broad cultic makeover that encompassed the entire Egyptian empire, in which the king and his wife Tiy were self-deified (cf. Kozloff 2012: 120–147 with further literature). Within this cult, Amenhotep III in his various manifestations was worshiped as the chief god (e.g., Amun in Thebes and Ptah in Memphis) while Tiy was mainly worshiped as Hathor. This unique royal cult was practiced in Egypt and the many objects bearing the royal couple's names alongside Egyptian temple architecture, cultic items of Hathor, scarabs of Ptah, and other finds from cultic and elite structures in Canaan (like the Fosse Temple at Lachish and the 'Lion Temple' at Jaffa) suggest that it was also practiced by the local Canaanite elite.

¹⁷ The keeping of waterfowl at Megiddo is possibly alluded to in textual sources as well, for Biridiya of Megiddo writes in EA 242 (lines 21–22) that he has sent tribute of "30 oxen [... and bi]rds...(30 GUD.MES [...iṣ-šu-jra-te)". Yet, caution is needed as these are birds of any kind as the word *kurkû* (above) is not specifically used. See also EA 16 (lines 21–22) from Amurru, where the same kind of tribute is mentioned but without the exact term, goose.

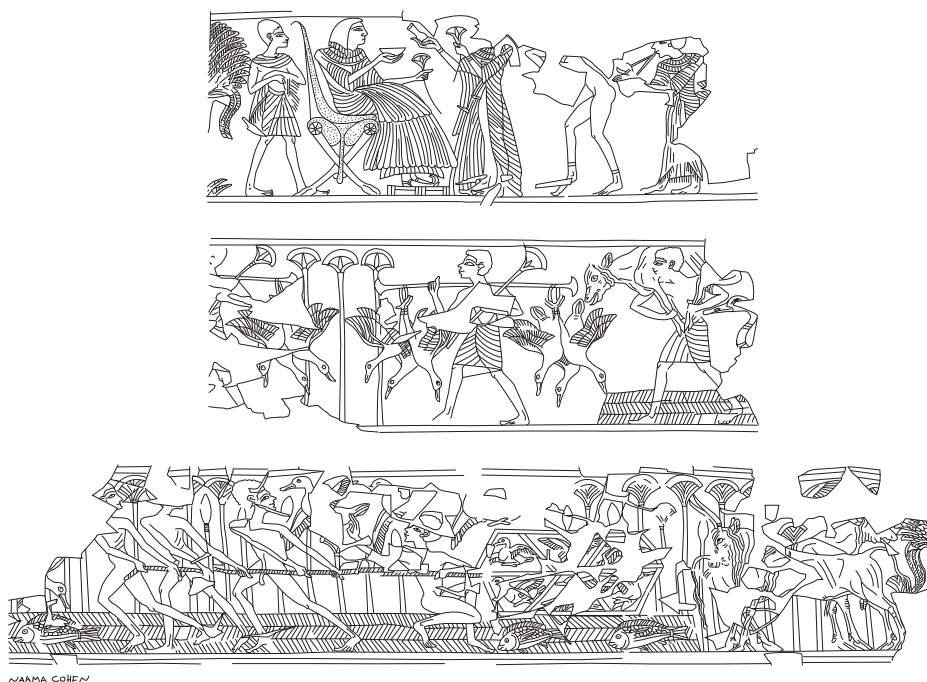


FIGURE 3 Ivory plaque from Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Naama Cohen after Petrie 1930: Pl. 55).

The uniqueness of these depictions, probably due to their Canaanite provenance, is the combination of marsh and banquet scenes, otherwise unknown in Egypt, where these motifs have a separate tradition of depiction (Lilyquist 1998: 28; Ziffer 2005: 150). Furthermore, when a Levantine depiction of a banquet scene is accompanied by another scene, it is of the Mesopotamian return from battle tradition, known from other Near Eastern banquet scenes (cf. the ivory plaques from Late Bronze Megiddo; Ziffer 2005: 150 and Figs. 22–23; see also Liebowitz 1980). An alternative supplementary scene is the hunt, known from Middle Bronze Syrian representations (e.g., Ziffer 2005: Fig. 15), but the depicted animals are always large mammals (such as oxen or sheep). In fact, except for the aforementioned examples from Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Megiddo, waterfowl are absent in banquet scenes of the 2nd millennium BCE.¹⁸

¹⁸ The uniqueness of the Tell el-Far'ah (S) banquet scene is further emphasized by the contrast of the wide distribution of marsh scenes in New Kingdom wall-paintings in palaces and tombs, alongside pottery and metal vessels (Simpson 1959; Houlihan 1996: 62), compared to the handful of depictions on objects from southern Canaan (Oren 2006). Indeed, the transfer of pictographic motifs from their Egyptian homeland to the Levant, where they were appreciated as status symbols, is a complicated process, in which the various steps are difficult to assess by modern scholarship (Lilyquist 1998); yet, the almost unparalleled appearance of the marsh scene in southern Canaan seems more than a simple borrowing, especially regarding the combination with the banquet scene.

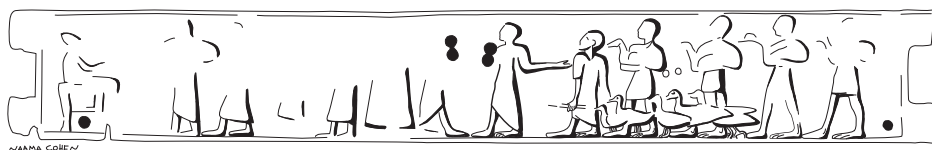


FIGURE 4 Ivory plaque from Megiddo (Naama Cohen after Loud 1939: Pl. 33: 162b).

Three major studies appeared in the last decade dealing with feasting in Late Bronze Canaan. Yasur-Landau (2005: 172–180) surveyed the archaeological and pictographic evidence of feasting at Megiddo, Lachish and Aphek; he then compared these data to the well-discussed evidence from the Aegean. He concluded that while the Canaanite elite adopted Mycenaean vessels, exhibiting conspicuous consumption of them during their feasts, they retained the traditional, ideological traits regarding the character of the feasting itself (e.g., seating hierarchy, the depiction of the act of toasting and the use of the drinking bowl). Lev-Tov and McGeough (2007) analyzed the fauna remains from Late Bronze Hazor according to parallels from Emar, for which textual sources describe the existence of cultic feasts, where social stratification was emphasized according to the portions of the distributed meat, the type of consumed animals and other factors. The counterpart of this study was published by Zuckerman (2007), who presented a comprehensive assemblage of data regarding possible feasting at Hazor, including the architecture of two ceremonial precincts, alongside pottery (mainly serving vessels), thousands of animal bones (mostly oxen and sheep) concentrated at specific loci, and prestige objects. To these, Bietak's (2002) discussion regarding the Fosse Temple at Lachish, where dozens of cooking-pots and serving vessels were unearthed (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: Pls. 40, 48, 50–51; cf. Bietak 2002: 74), suggesting that ritual feasting took place there, should be added. Among these, a faience vessel engraved with the figures of two waterfowl (*ibid.*: Pl. 33 no. 64) should be mentioned as the earliest depiction of its kind in southern Canaan, though it could be of Egyptian origin (Oren 2006: 269).

The evidence of geese at Lachish, alongside the possibly documented feasts on the ivory plaques from Tell el-Far'ah and Megiddo, reflect the cultural interaction of the local elite within the broader context. Studies have shown the importance of feasts for the construction of empires, in which the central power invited local elite members in order to strengthen their connection to the empire (Hayden 2001; Bray 2003; deFrance 2009: 141–143 the latter two with additional literature). This fits the abovementioned models regarding core/periphery and elite emulation within imperial systems. To begin with, the cultural context of goose keeping and consumption represent the aforementioned Egyptianization of these people due to the overwhelming Egyptian presence in Canaan for hundreds of years. Moreover, the elite marked their status by consuming exotic animals, a common practice all across the globe (deFrance 2009: 127). Finally, and despite all of the above, the mere fact of the import of geese to Lachish by local nobles (who had probably seen them in Egypt or its centres in Canaan) does not mean that they were consumed

in the same way as they were in their native land because in Canaan the goose was not exploited nearly as much as it was in Egypt.¹⁹

The luxury symbolic status of waterfowl for elite dietary habits lasted well into the first millennium BCE, as geese and ducks are mentioned as tribute from the days of Tukulti-Ninurta II (CAD K: 652a), while domesticated geese are attested to as early as the days of Ashurnasirpal II, either for royal feast or temple offering (*ibid.*: 652b).²⁰ The lavish royal feasts of the Neo-Assyrian kings are somehow reflected in the Book of Kings, where the provisions of the Solomonic court included *barbbûrîm* 'ābûsîm, 'fatted fowl' (1 Kings 5:3 [ESVA 4:22]), probably a generic term for waterfowl (Montgomery 1951: 127–128).

Conclusions

- (1) The avifauna remains from Late Bronze Lachish and the proportions of goose within it make a unique find. This assemblage enhances the overwhelming assemblage of Egyptian traits discerned thus far at Lachish.
- (2) The gradual growth of the number of goose bones within the assemblage emphasizes the increase of the number of Egyptian traits practiced by the Canaanite elite in the course of Egyptian domination over Canaan.
- (3) We can understand the trait of goose consumption at Lachish through the pictographs on the ivory plaques from Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Megiddo. The local elite was willing to enhance its status through selective acquisition of prestigious and exotic-like elements and to integrate them into its local customs in order to manifest its Egyptianization.

Acknowledgments

This paper is part of my Ph.D. dissertation, entitled *Political and Cultural History of Southwest Canaan during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages*, currently being written under the supervision of Nadav Na'aman and Oded Lipschits of Tel Aviv University. I extend to both of them my gratitude for commenting on earlier drafts of this work. Many thanks also to Deborah Sweeney, Yuval Gadot, Lidar Sapir-Hen and Shirly Ben Dor-Evian, all of whom commented on parts of this work. The conclusions, however, are entirely my own.

¹⁹ See, for example, the Egyptian tradition of burying geese as foundation deposits (Houlihan 1986: 65), which apparently was not practiced at Lachish. The custom of bird sacrifice is known from the Late Bronze Levant (Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007: 104), and indeed two votive foundation deposits with bird remains were found beneath the floor of the Level VI temple at Lachish (Croft 2004: 2333–2334; Drori and Tchernov 2004); neither included goose bones. As mentioned above, the avifauna from the Fosse Temple was not published.

²⁰ For earlier attestations of waterfowl in Mesopotamia, albeit wild, see above, Note 7.

References

- Aboelsoud, N.H. 2010. Herbal Medicine in Ancient Egypt. *Journal of Medicinal Plants Research* 4: 82–86.
- Aharoni, Y. 1975. *Lachish: The Sanctuary and Residency (Lachish V)* (Publications of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 4). Tel Aviv.
- Albarella, U. 2005. Alternate Fortunes? The Role of Domestic Ducks and Geese from Roman to Medieval Times in Britain. Feathers, Grit and Symbolism. In: Grupe, G. and Peters, J., eds. *Birds and Humans in the Ancient Old and New Worlds* (Documenta Archaeobiologiae 3). Rahden, Westfalen: 249–258.
- Amiran, R. 1969. *Pottery of the Holy Land*. Jerusalem.
- Barkay, G. and Ussishkin, D. 2004. Area S: The Late Bronze Age Strata. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 316–410.
- Barnes, I., Young, J.P.W. and Dobney, K.M. 2000. DNA-based Identification of Goose Species from Two Archaeological Sites in Lincolnshire. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 27: 91–100.
- Ben-Tor, A. 2009. A Decorated Jewellery Box from Hazor. *Tel Aviv* 36: 5–67.
- Bietak, M. 2002. The Function and Some Archaeological Roots of the Fosse Temple at Lachish. In: Oren, E.D. and Ahituv, S., eds. *Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines, Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume* (Studies by the Department of Bible and Ancient Near East 15). Beer Sheva: 56–85.
- Bleiberg, E. 1996. *The Official Gifts in Ancient Egypt*. Norman, OK.
- Bloch, G., Francoy, T.M., Wachtel, I., Panitz-Cohen, N., Fuchs, S. and Mazar, A. 2010. Industrial Apiculture in the Jordan Valley during Biblical Times with Anatolian Honeybees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107: 11240–11244.
- Boessneck, J. 1986. Vogelknochenfunde aus dem alten Ägypten. *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* 88/89: 323–344.
- Boessneck, J. 1988. *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten*. Munich.
- Boessneck, J. 1995. Birds, Reptiles and Amphibians. In: LaBianca, Ø.S. and von den Driesch, A., eds. *Faunal Remains: Taphonomical and Zooarchaeological Studies of the Animal Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity* (Hesban 13). Berrien Springs, MI: 131–168.
- Boessneck, J. and von den Driesch, A. 1992. *Tell el-Dab'a VII: Tiere und Historische Umwelt im Nordost-Delta im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. anhand der Knochenfunde der Ausgrabungen 1975–1986* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 11). Vienna.
- Braunstein, S.L. 2011. The Meaning of Egyptian-Style Objects in the Late Bronze Cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah (South). *BASOR* 364: 1–36.
- Bray, T.L. 2003. The Commensal Politics of Early States and Empires. In: Bray, T.L., ed. *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: 1–13.
- Bryan, B.M. 1996. Art, Empire, and the End of the Late Bronze Age. In: Cooper, J.S. and Schwartz, G.M., eds. *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*. Winona Lake: 33–79.
- Bunimovitz, S. and Lederman, Z. 2006. The Early Israelite Monarchy in the Sorek Valley: Tel Beth-Shemesh and Tel Batash (Timnah) in the 10th and 9th Centuries BCE. In: Maeir, A.M. and de Miroschedji, P., eds. *"I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Winona Lake: 407–427.
- Bunimovitz, S. and Lederman, Z. 2009. The Archaeology of Border Communities: Renewed Excavations at Tel Beth-Shemesh, Part 1: The Iron Age. *NEA* 72: 114–142.

- Bunimovitz, S. and Zimhoni, O. 2004. Appendix: Lamp-and-Bowl Foundation Deposits in Areas P and S. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 1147–1154.
- Burke, A.A. and Lords, K.V. 2010. Egyptians in Jaffa: a Portrait of Egyptian Presence in Jaffa during the Late Bronze Age. *NEA* 73: 2–30.
- Clamer, C. 2004. The Pottery and Artefacts from the Level VI Temple in Area P. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 1288–1368.
- Cohen-Weinberger, A. 1998. Petrographic Analysis of the Egyptian Forms from Stratum VI at Tel Beth-Shean. In: Gitin, S., Mazar, A. and Stern, E., eds. *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*. Jerusalem: 406–412.
- Cornelius, I. 1994. *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Resheph and Ba'al* (OBO 140). Freiburg and Göttingen.
- Croft, P. 2004. Archaeozoological Studies. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 2254–2452.
- deFrance, S.D. 2009. Zooarchaeology in Complex Societies: Political Economy, Status, and Ideology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17: 105–168.
- Dever, W.G. 1992. The Late Bronze–Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, “Sea Peoples,” and Proto-Israelites. In: Ward, W.A. and Joukowsky, M.S., eds. *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*. Dobuque, IA: 99–110.
- Dothan, T. 1982. *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*. Jerusalem.
- Dothan, T. 1985. The Philistines Reconsidered. In: Aviram, J. and Biran, D., eds. *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984*. Jerusalem: 165–176.
- Drori, I. and Tchernov, E. 2004. An Assemblage of Bird Bones from Area P. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 2453–2455.
- Ertman, E., Wilson, R. and Schaden, O. 2006. Unravelling the Mysteries of KV 63. *KMT* 17/2: 18–27.
- Faust, A. and Lev-Tov, J. 2011. The Constitution of Philistine Identity: Ethnic Dynamics in Twelfth to Tenth Century Philistia. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 30: 13–31.
- Feucht, E. 1990. Kinder fremder Völker in Ägypten. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 17: 177–204.
- Gadot, Y. 2010. The Late Bronze Egyptian Estate at Aphek. *Tel Aviv* 37: 48–66.
- Gardiner, A. 1957. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (third edition). London.
- Glatz, C. 2009. Empire as Network: Spheres of Material Interaction in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28: 127–141.
- Goldwasser, O. 1991. Hieratic Sherd from Tel Haror. *Qadmoniot* 24: 19 (Hebrew).
- Goren, Y., Finkelstein, I. and Na’aman, N. 2004. *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters and Other Near Eastern Texts* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 23). Tel Aviv.
- Hayden, B. 2001. Fabulous Feast: A Prolegomenon on the Importance of Feasting. In: Vaughn, S.J. and Coulson, W.D.E., eds. *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives of Food, Politics and Power*. Athens: 55–63.
- Hellwing, S. and Feig, N. 1989. Animal Bones. In: Herzog, Z., Rapp, G. and Negbi, O., eds. *Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel* (Publications of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 8). Tel Aviv: 236–247.

- Hellwing, S., Sadeh, M. and Kishon, V. 1993. Faunal Remains. In: Finkelstein, I., ed. *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 10). Tel Aviv: 309–350.
- Hesse, B. 1986. Animal Use at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Bronze Age and Iron Age. *BASOR* 264: 17–27.
- Hesse, B. 1995. Husbandry, Dietary Taboos and the Bones of the Ancient Near East: Zooarchaeology in the Post-Processual World. In: Small, D.B., ed. *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Text and Archaeology* (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum 135). Leiden: 197–232.
- Higginbotham, C.R. 1996. Elite Emulation and Egyptian Governance in Ramesside Canaan. *Tel Aviv* 23: 154–169.
- Higginbotham, C.R. 2000. *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 2). Leiden, Boston and Köln.
- Hoffmeier, J.K. 2004. Aspects of Egyptian Foreign Policy in the 18th Dynasty in Western Asia and Nubia. In: Knoppers, G.N. and Hirsch, A., eds. *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 20). Leiden and Boston: 121–141.
- Horwitz, L.K. 2002. The Animal Remains. In: Biran, A. and Ben-Dov, R., eds. *Dan II: A Chronicle of the Excavations and the Late Bronze Age "Mycenaean" Tomb*. Jerusalem: 219–221.
- Horwitz, L.K. 2003. Fauna from Tel Qashish. In: Ben-Tor, A., Bonfil, R. and Zuckerman, S., eds. *Tel Qashish: A Village in the Jezreel Valley, Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1978–1987)* (Qedem Reports 5). Jerusalem: 427–443.
- Horwitz, L.K. 2009. Terrestrial Fauna. In: Gadot, Y. and Yadin, E., eds. *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis. The Moshe Kochavi and Pirhiya Beck Excavations* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 27) Tel Aviv: 526–561.
- Horwitz, L.K., Bar Giora, N., Mienis, H.K. and Lernau, O. 2005. Faunal and Malacological Remains from the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron Age Levels at Tel Yoqne'am. In: Ben-Tor, A., Ben-Ami, D. and Livneh, A., eds. *Yoqne'am III: The Middle and Late Bronze Ages, Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1977–1988)* (Qedem Reports 7). Jerusalem: 395–435.
- Houlihan, P.F. 1986. *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*. Warminster.
- Houlihan, P.F. 2001. Birds. In: Redford, D.B., ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 1. New York: 189–191.
- Ikram, S. 1995. *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 69). Leuven.
- Kardulias, P.N. and Hall, T.D. 2008. Archaeology and World-systems Analysis. *World Archaeology* 40: 572–583.
- Karenberg, A. and Leitz, C. 2001. Headache in Magical and Medical Papyri of Ancient Egypt. *Cephalalgia* 21: 911–916.
- Killebrew, A.E. 1998. *Ceramic Craft and Technology during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages: The Relationship between Pottery Technology, Style, and Cultural Diversity* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem). Jerusalem.
- Killebrew, A.E. 2004. New Kingdom Egyptian-Style and Egyptian Pottery in Canaan: Implications for Egyptian Rule in Canaan during the 19th and Early 20th Dynasties. In: Knoppers, G.N. and Hirsch, A., eds. *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 20). Leiden and Boston: 309–343.
- Killebrew, A.E. 2005. *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300–1100 B.C.E.* (SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies 9). Atlanta.

- Kitchen, K.A. 2001. Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine. Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery. By Carolyn R. Higginbotham (Culture & History of the Ancient Near East 2). *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11: 253–254.
- Koch, I. Forthcoming. The Royal Cult of Amenhotep III and Tiy in Southwest Canaan.
- Kozloff, A.P. 2012. *Amenhotep III: Egypt's Radiant Pharaoh*. New York.
- Liebowitz, H. 1980. Military and Feast Scenes on Late Bronze Palestinian Ivories. *IEJ* 30: 162–169.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. 2010. A Plebeian Perspective on the Empire Economies: Faunal Remains from Tel Mique-Ekron, Israel. In: Campana, D., Crabtree, P., deFrance, S.D., Lev-Tov, J. and Choyke, A., eds. *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology: Complexity, Colonialism, and Animal Transformations*. Oxford: 90–104.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. 2012a. A Preliminary Report on the Late Bronze and Iron Age Faunal Assemblages from Tell es-Safi/Gath. In: Maeir, A.M., ed. *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: Report on the 1996–2005 Seasons* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 69). Wiesbaden: 589–612.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. 2012b. Archaeozoological Analysis of Animal Bones from Areas A2 and A4. In: Ben-Tor, A., Ben-Ami, D. and Sandhaus, D., eds. *Hazor VI: The 1990–2009 Excavations, The Iron Age*. Jerusalem: 586–603.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. and deFrance, S.D. 2010. Animal and Complexity: How Zooarchaeologists Contribute to the Study of Complex Society in the New and Old Worlds. In: Campana, D., Crabtree, P., deFrance, S.D., Lev-Tov, J.S.E. and Choyke, A., eds. *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology: Complexity, Colonialism, and Animal Transformations*. Oxford: x–xii.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. and Maher, E.F. 2001. Food in Late Bronze Age Funerary Offerings. Faunal Evidence from Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan. *PEQ* 133: 91–110.
- Lev-Tov, J.S.E. and McGeough, K. 2007. Examining Feasting in Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestine through Ancient Texts and Bones. In: Twiss, K.C., ed. *The Archaeology of Food and Identity* (Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Occasional Paper 34). Carbondale, IL: 85–111.
- Lilyquist, C. 1998. The Use of Ivories as Interpreters of Political History. *BASOR* 310: 25–38.
- Loud, G. 1939. *The Megiddo Ivories* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 52). Chicago.
- MacDonald, K. and Bench, R. 2000. Geese. In: Kiple, K.F. and Coneè Ornelas, K., eds. *The Cambridge World History of Food*. Cambridge: 529–531.
- Maeir, A.M., Hitchcock, L.A. and Horwitz, L.K. 2013. On the Constitution and Transformation of Philistine Identity. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 32: 1–38.
- Magrill, P., Jasnow, R. and McCarter, P.K. 2004. Section C: A Newly Discovered Egyptian Inscription. In: Ussishkin, D. 2004. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 1618–1625.
- Martin, M.A.S. 2004. Egyptian and Egyptianized Pottery in Late Bronze Age Canaan. *Egypt and the Levant* 14: 265–284.
- Martin, M.A.S. 2005. *The Egyptian and Egyptian-Style Pottery: Aspects of the Egyptian Involvement in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Canaan, A Case Study* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna). Vienna.
- Martin, M.A.S. 2011. *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 69). Vienna.
- Mazar, A. 2002. Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE: A Review of Some Recent Studies. In: Oren, E.D. and Ahituv, S., eds. *Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines, Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume* (Beer Sheva 15). Beer Sheva: 264–282.
- Mazar, A. and Panitz-Cohen, N. 2007. It is the Land of Honey: Beekeeping at Tel Rehov. *NEA* 70: 202–219.

- Mazar, A., Namdar, D., Panitz-Cohen, N., Neumann, R. and Weiner, S. 2008. Iron Age Beehives at Tel Rehov in the Jordan Valley. *Antiquity* 82: 629–639.
- Montgomery, J.A. 1951. *The Books of Kings* (ICC). Edinburgh.
- Morkot, R.G. 2000. *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London.
- Morkot, R.G. 2001. Egypt and Nubia. In: Alcock, S.E., D'Altroy, T.N., Morrison, K., Sinopoli, C.M., eds. *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. Cambridge: 227–251.
- Morris, W.F. 2005. *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 22). Leiden.
- Na'aman, N. 1981. Economic Aspects of the Egyptian Occupation of Canaan. *IEJ* 31: 172–185.
- Na'aman, N. 1988. Pharaonic Lands in the Jezreel Valley in the Late Bronze Age. In: Heltzer, M. and Lipiński, E., eds. *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (c. 1500–1000 B.C.) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 23). Leuven: 177–185.
- Na'aman, N. 2002. Dispatching Canaanite Maidservants to the Pharaoh. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 39: 76–82.
- Na'aman, N. and Thareani-Sussely, Y. 2006. Dating the Appearance of Imitations of Assyrian Ware in Southern Palestine. *Tel Aviv* 33: 61–82.
- Nunn, J.F. 2002. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. Norman, OK.
- Oren, E.D. 1984. "Governor's Residencies" in Canaan under the New Kingdom: A Case Study of Egyptian Administration. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14: 37–56.
- Oren, E.D. 2006. An Egyptian Marsh Scene on Pottery from Tel Sera': A Case of Egyptianization in Late Bronze Age II Canaan. In: Maeir, A.M. and de Miroschedji, P., eds. *"I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Winona Lake: 263–275.
- Redford, D.B. 1992. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton.
- Parker, B.G. 2003. Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia. *AJA* 107: 525–557.
- Parker, B.G. 2011. The Construction and Performance of Kingship on the New-Assyrian Empire. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 67: 357–386.
- Parkinson, W.A. and Galaty, M. 2007. Secondary States in Perspective: An Integrated Approach to State Formation in the Prehistoric Aegean. *American Anthropologist* 109: 113–129.
- Parpola, S. 2003. Assyria's Expansion in the 8th and 7th Centuries and Its Long-Term Repercussions in the West. In: Dever, W.G. and Gitin, S., eds. *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past. Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*. Winona Lake: 99–111.
- Parpola, S. 2007. The Neo-Assyrian Ruling Class, in: Kämmerer, T.R., ed. *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient: Tartuer Symposien, 1998–2004* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 374). Berlin: 257–274.
- Petrie, F. 1930. *Beth-Pelet I (Tell Fara)* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt 48). London.
- Pinch, G. 2002. *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology* (Handbooks of World Mythology). Santa Barbara, CA.
- Porter, B.W. 2004. Authority, Polity and Tenous Elites in Iron Age Edom (Jordan). *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23: 373–395.
- Postgate, J.N. 1992. The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur. *World Archaeology* 23: 247–263.
- Sapir-Hen, L., Bar-Oz, G., Gadot, Y. and Finkelstein, I. 2013. Pig Husbandry in Iron Age Israel and Judah: New Insights Regarding the Origin of the "Taboo". *ZDPV* 129: 1–20.
- Seger, J.D. et al. 1990. *The Bronze Age Settlements at Tel Halif: Phase II Excavations, 1983–1987* (BASOR Supplementary Studies 26). Baltimore: 1–32.

- Simpson, W.K. 1959. The Vessels with Engraved Designs and the Repoussé Bowl from the Tell Basta Treasure. *AJA* 63: 29–45.
- Singer, I. 1988. Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain of Palestine in the Ramesside Period. *BASOR* 269: 1–10.
- Singer, I. 1988–1989. The Political Status of Megiddo VIIA. *Tel Aviv* 15–16: 101–112.
- Sinopoli, C.M. 1994. The Archaeology of Empires. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 159–180.
- Smith, S.T. 2003. *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. New York.
- Stager, L.E. 1995. The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 BCE). In: Levy, T.E., ed. *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. London and Washington: 332–348.
- Störk, L. 1977. Gans. *LÄ* 2: 373–375.
- Sweeney, D. 2004. The Hieratic Inscriptions. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 1601–1617.
- Tazawa, T. 2009. *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt. The Hermeneutics of Their Existence* (BAR International Series 1965). Oxford.
- Thareani, Y. 2009. In the Service of the Empires: Local Elites and “Pax Assyriaca” in the Negev. *EI* 29 (Stern Volume): 184–191 (Hebrew).
- Tufnell, O. 1958. *Lachish IV (Tell ed-Duweir): The Bronze Age*. London, New York and Toronto.
- Tufnell, O., Inge, C.H. and Harding, L. 1940. *Lachish II (Tell ed-Duweir): The Fosse Temple*. London, New York and Toronto.
- Ussishkin, D. 1985. Level VII and VI at Tel Lachish and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan. In: Tubb, J.N., ed. *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages: Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell* (University of London, Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publications 11). London: 213–230.
- Ussishkin, D. 1995. The Destruction of Megiddo at the End of the Late Bronze Age and Its Historical Significance. *Tel Aviv* 22: 240–267.
- Ussishkin, D. 2004a. Area D: The Bronze Age Strata. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 282–315.
- Ussishkin, D. 2004b. Area P: The Late Bronze Age Strata. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 188–214.
- Ussishkin, D. 2004c. Area P: The Level VI Temple. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 215–281.
- Ussishkin, D. 2004d. A Synopsis of the Stratigraphical, Chronological and Historical Issues. In: Ussishkin, D. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Tel Lachish (1973–1994)* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 22). Tel Aviv: 50–119.
- Weinstein, J.M. 1981. The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment. *BASOR* 241: 1–28.
- Weinstein, J.M. 1992. The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant. In: Ward, W.A. and Joukowsky, M.S., eds. *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*. Dubuque, IA: 142–150.
- Wimmer, S. 1990. Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai. In: Israelit-Groll, S., ed. *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Jerusalem: 1065–1106.
- Wimmer, S. 1998. (No) More Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai. In: Shirun-Grumach, I., ed. *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 40). Wiesbaden: 87–123.
- Wimmer, S. 2010. A Hieratic Inscription. In: Dothan, T. and Brandl, B., eds. *Deir el-Balah: Excavations in 1977–1982 in the Cemetery and Settlement, 2: The Finds* (Qedem 49). Jerusalem: 225–228.

- Winter, I.J. 1977. Perspective on the “Local Style” of Hasanlu IVB: A Study of Receptivity. In: Levine, L.D. and Young, T.C., eds. *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia* (Biblioteca Mesopotamica 7). Malibu: 371–386.
- Yasur-Landau, A. 2005. Old Wine in New Vessels: Intercultural Contact, Innovation and Aegean, Canaanite and Philistine Foodways. *Tel Aviv* 32: 168–191.
- Ziffer, I. 2005. From Acemhöyük to Megiddo: The Banquet Scene in the Art of the Levant in the Second Millenium BCE. *Tel Aviv* 32: 133–167.
- Zuckerman, S. 2007. ‘...Slaying Oxen and Killing Sheep, Eating Flesh and Drinking Wine...’: Feasting in Late Bronze Age Hazor. *PEQ* 139: 186–204.