

CHAPTER 12
EGYPTIAN NEW KINGDOM EVIDENCE FOR THE
CHRONOLOGY OF ALALAKH¹

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The ruins of ancient Alalakh (Tell Atchana) have yielded only a few Egyptian objects, but some of these have been pivotal for reconstructing the chronology of the site. Each example, however, has been subject to some misinterpretation, so that a reexamination of them is necessary.

No Egyptian piece has entailed more commentary than the fragmentary faience “bowl” AT/46/223 found in one of the rubbish pits of Level V (FIG. 12.1). Following its discovery by Woolley in 1946, the object was discussed and illustrated by him repeatedly so that it became potentially “a monument of considerable importance for Egyptian history.”² More important for the current note, it became for Woolley the monument that documented the Egyptian conquest of Alalakh by Thutmose I of Dynasty 18 and “Much the most important fragment from Level V.”³ Treated briefly in *Man* in 1947 and in *The Antiquaries Journal* in 1950, the bowl was featured on two pages in *A Forgotten Kingdom* in 1953, a presentation expanded to five pages distributed within Woolley’s primary expedition report on Alalakh in 1955.⁴ Photographs of the bowl accompanied each of these discussions except for the simple 2-page lecture abstract in *Man*.⁵ The bowl was again prominent in the 1981 chronological reassessment of levels VI and V by Marie-Henriette Gates, which included an imprecise drawing, rather than a photograph, of the side and bottom.⁶

Although described repeatedly in print, certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies mandate a new discussion of the vessel itself. Described variously as a “vessel” or “bowl,” only the lower part of the artifact (now Antakya Museum inventory number 8192) survives. As noted by Woolley in 1947, it is “the lower part of a faience vessel of Egyptian fabric decorated with lotus and rosette-motives in brown on a white(?) ground and with a scene of a man seated on a throne, with a table full of offerings in front of him and a hieroglyphic

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- 1 The pieces in this article were examined and photographed by the author, as a member of Dr. K. Aslihan Yener’s Atchana expedition, in the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi in Antakya during September 2007. I am grateful to Dr. Yener for my role as Egyptological consultant to the expedition, to Mara Horowitz for assistance in examining scarabs, and to Faruk Kiliç, Demet Kara, Ömer Çelik and Hüseyin Toprak, who extended the greatest courtesy to me during my research in the museum.
 - 2 Sir Leonard Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, Baltimore: Penguin, 1953, p. 94.
 - 3 Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*, Oxford: The Society of Antiquaries, 1955, p. 297.
 - 4 Sir Leonard Woolley, “Atchana 1946: Summary of a lecture by Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 7 October, 1946,” *Man* 58 (April, 1947): 61; idem, “Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1946,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 30 (1950): 18; idem 1953, pp. 93-94; idem 1955, pp. 71, 166, 297, 387 and 391.
 - 5 Woolley 1950, pl. Xa; Woolley 1953, pl. 8a; Woolley 1955, pl. LXXXIII h (wrongly cited as LXXXIII a on p. 297).
 - 6 Marie-Henriette Carre Gates, “Alalakh Levels VI and V: A Chronological Reassessment,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4/2 (November 1981): 10 n. 49, and 36 n. 166. For the drawing, see p. 29, Illustration 8 e.

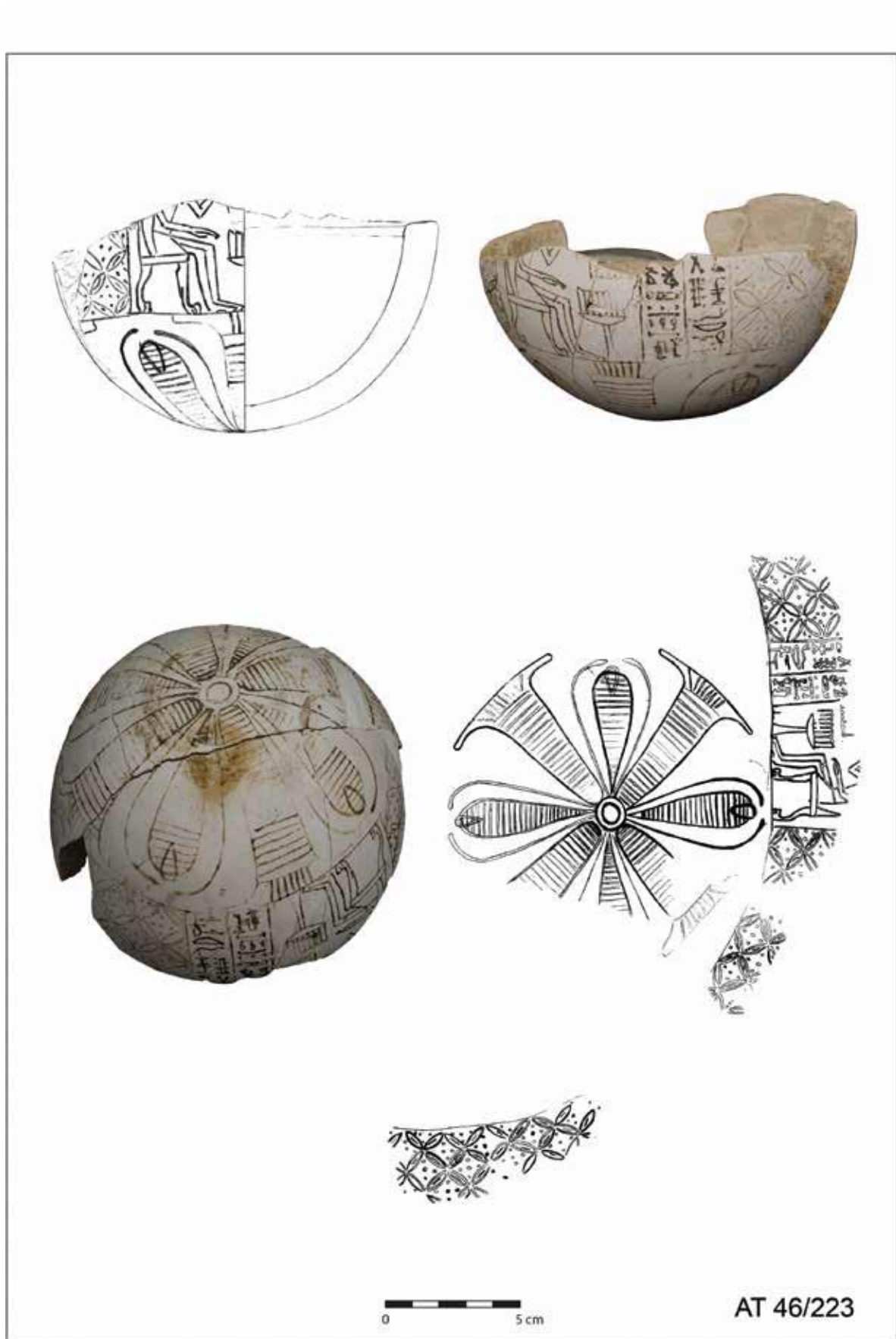


FIG. 12.1: AT/46/223; Antakya Museum no. 8192, faience vessel.

inscription giving the normal offering text.”⁷ The name of the Egyptian was lost in the broken text, but his title “scribe [of ...]” survived. Woolley’s source for the interpretation of the broken Egyptian text and scene was I. E. S. Edwards, whom he would credit elsewhere in 1948.⁸

By 1953, Woolley had modified this description slightly, now describing “a large fragment of a bowl of blue-glazed frit, of Egyptian manufacture, on which there was drawn in brown paint a decoration of lotus design and a regular Egyptian scene of a functionary seated before a table of offerings, with a hieroglyphic inscription above giving the conventional dedication-formula.”⁹ The prejudicial term “throne” has been discarded, the glaze is now blue, but the bowl is still an Egyptian import.

The description would change again in 1955, now noting “part of a bowl of blue-glazed frit (bleached white) decorated with lotus and quatrefoil patterns and a panel showing a seated figure of a man in front of a table covered with loaves of bread, accompanied by the normal offering formula... since the design is not, as usual, in brown glaze but done after firing in some sort of water-colour paint, the “bowl” may well be a local product.”¹⁰ With these comments, the bowl has shifted from securely “Egyptian” to possibly “Egyptianizing,” and Woolley was unable to make a firm decision. Earlier in the 1955 volume, the bowl is termed “an Egyptian (?) faience vase with hieroglyphic inscription.”¹¹ Ultimately, only the inscription and the accompanying scene and figure are characterized as “Egyptian” without qualification.¹²

Understandably, Gates also vacillates on the attribution, describing first “the inscribed Egyptian (or Egyptianizing?) faience bowl AT/46/23,”¹³ which is later simply “the Egyptianizing bowl.”¹⁴ To stress this point, Gates adds that “Its pattern is very common, with exact parallels at, for instance, Byblos.”¹⁵ Despite such published ambiguity, the design is unquestionably Egyptian in origin. The imagery on the lower exterior of the vessel is a counterpart to plant decoration on the *interior* of the well-known type of “Nunschale” or “Nun-bowl,” linked to the Egyptian god of the watery Abyss (Nun). Decorated with Nilotic plants in dark outline on a blue faience bowl, the vessels and the water they once contained are symbolic of the invigorating and rejuvenating power of the primordial waters for the living and the dead.¹⁶ Egyptian motives dominate the “international style” of Syria-Palestine during the New Kingdom, and it would not be surprising to find either Egyptian imports or local imitations in Byblos, the longstanding trading partner of Egypt. Gates cites no specific references for her comparison, so the degree of similarity cannot be assessed. However, other features on AT/46/223 are definitive (see **FIG. 12.2**).

7 Woolley 1947, p. 61.

8 Sir Leonard Woolley, “Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1939,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 28 (January-April 1948): 1: “I must also thank ... Mr. I. E. S. Edwards for help with the Egyptian hieroglyphics.”

9 Woolley 1953, p. 93.

10 Woolley 1955, p. 297.

11 *Ibid.* p. 71.

12 *Ibid.* pp. 387 and 391.

13 Gates 1981, p. 10.

14 *Ibid.* p. 36.

15 *Ibid.* p. 33, n.166.

16 For the type and symbolism, see Elisabeth-Christine Strauß, *Die Nunschale — Eine Gefäßgruppe des Neuen Reiches*, *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 30, Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974 (especially pp. 36-37 and pl. 6 for a comparable palm design). In contrast to AT/46/23, the “Nunschalen” have their primary decoration in the interior of the bowl.

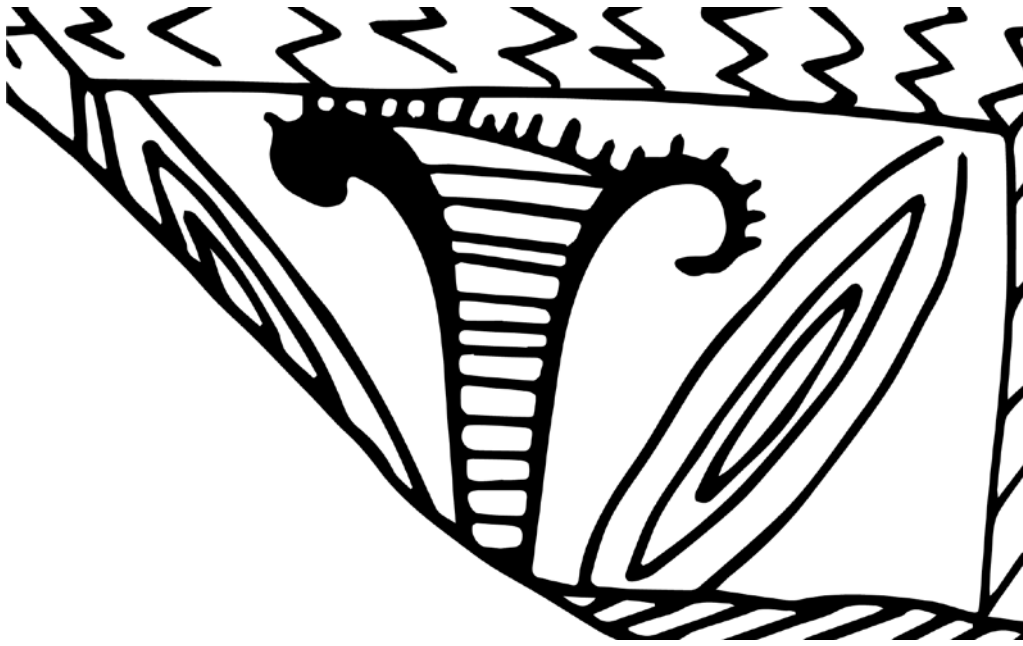


FIG. 12.2: Plant design adapted from Strauß 1974, p. 36

In the design of the vessel, space was intentionally planned for the important offering scene and associated text, which were completed at the same time and in the same manner as the plant decoration. It is important to stress that the figure and hieroglyphic inscription are not later additions but integral to the vessel's purpose. As noted above, the scene has not been properly described in print. Although the upper portion is now lost, it is clear that the scene depicted a man in a kilt seated on a chair (not “throne”) with a back and legs featuring lion feet and dew claw. The figure originally held a water lily (“lotus”) to his nose, as indicated by the position of his broken arm and the preserved stem descending from a lost flower.¹⁷ The chair's dew claw and the lotus stem are omitted in the drawing published by Gates.¹⁸ Before the seated man is an offering table with standing bread loaves, preceded by a vertical hieroglyphic text in three columns, reading from right to left. The Gates drawing is again inaccurate, rendering the fragmentary third column as a striped box and miscopying hieroglyphs in the first two lines. Moreover, the translation of the offering formula provided by K. L. Foster and V. Davis inverts the order of the columns to produce a disordered text.¹⁹ The text properly reads:

17 For the standard image, see H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part One: The New Kingdom*, Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1976, pls. 13-14 and 36-37. The bowl's depiction corresponds to descriptions of feasting at the inundation: “Should you (the flood) appear before a city of hunger, they are thus sated with the good produce of the fields, with a jug at the mouth, a water lily at the nose and everything overflowing upon earth”; see Wolfgang Helck, *Der Text des “Nilhymnus,”* *Kleine Ägyptische Texte*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972, p. 75.

18 Gates 1981, p. 29, Illustration 8e.

19 *Ibid.* p. 36, n. 166.

- (1) [ḥtp di ny-sw.t (n) P]tḥ rsy inbꜣf nb ʿnḥ-T3.wy
 (2) [diꜣf pr.t-ḥr]w n k3 n sš
 (3) [... NN s3 NN m3ꜣ-ḥrw]
 (1) “[An offering that the king gives to P]tah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy,
 (2) [so that he (scil. Ptah) might give invocation] offerings for the *ka*-spirit of the scribe
 (3) [of, NN son of NN, the justified.]”

This restoration is based upon the space needed for the man's head; the text might have begun higher, with further gods (such as Osiris) invoked before Ptah in line 1 and after his titles in line 2, so that the restoration [diꜣf] in line 2 would become [diꜣsn] “so that they might give.” The title of “scribe” is typically continued by mention of his institution or function (scribe of cattle, documents, letters, outline draughtsman, etc.), and that is certainly possible here, depending upon the length of the missing personal names. It is, however, unlikely that the individual is a “scribe of the king” (with a royal commission), because the word for king would have had to precede the writing of “scribe” in line 2.²⁰ In any case, the text is an example of the traditional Egyptian *funerary* offering prayer,²¹ and the specific epithets of Ptah indicate close familiarity with Egyptian theology. Ankhtawy (“Life of the Two Lands”) is a religious designation for Memphis, and the epithet “South of His Wall” refers to the location of Ptah's temple at Memphis. It is highly unlikely that a non-Egyptian would know the latter epithet, and the text is copied too well to have been done by an artist unfamiliar with the Egyptian script.²² This typical scene of a man smelling a water lily seated on a standard Egyptian chair, with proper offering table, formula, theological terminology and expected artistic style can only have been conceived and executed by an Egyptian artist — and for an Egyptian patron. Even if done outside of Egypt proper, this situation does not qualify as “Egyptianizing” as commonly understood; AT/46/223 is certainly “Egyptian.” The circumstances in which such a private Egyptian object came to be buried in Alalakh cannot be definitively explained, but there can be no question that the vessel was commissioned and produced by knowledgeable Egyptians, not Levantine craftsmen with unparalleled knowledge of Egyptian iconography, terminology and script. It is unfortunate that both the name and full title of the individual are lost in the broken column. The implications of the preserved title “scribe [of ...]” are considered below.

If, as Woolley later stated, the fully Egyptian surface design was added only after firing, there remains the issue of local production with borrowed technology. As noted by Woolley, “In Egypt there seems to be no record of glazed pottery before the Roman period, although there the use of silicate glaze on a frit body goes back to the First Dynasty.”²³ Woolley's source was a 1936 assessment by A. Lucas that is still maintained in 1998.²⁴ Further complicating the issue is the fact that the technique had been considered

20 See Wb. III, pp. 479-81.

21 See the basic discussion by Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Third Edition, Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957, pp. 170-73 (Excursus B).

22 Contrast the incorrect copy on Gates 1981, p. 29 for the signs for inb “wall” (𓌗), nb “Lord” (𓌗), and the four determinatives for “invocation-offerings” (𓌗, 𓌗, 𓌗 and 𓌗).

23 Woolley 1955, p. 299.

24 A. Lucas, “Glazed Ware in Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (1936): 141; cf. Paul T. Nicholson, “Materials and Technology,” in Florence Friedman, ed., *Gifts of the Nile*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998,

equally unknown in the Hatay: “The Egyptian glazier, and the Syrian, using a silicate glaze, had never been able to overcome the difficulty of making it adhere to a clay body and therefore had to limit himself to frit or to steatite.”²⁵ Thus if the Atchana bowl were clay-based pottery, local technology would have been similarly limited, and “the Atchana specimens unique.”²⁶ More recent analyses do support the existence of glazed pottery at various sites within the region.²⁷ Every description of this bowl, however, insists that it is frit/faience and not pottery, so the technological issue is moot.²⁸ Rather, the question is whether the surface decoration was added in paint,²⁹ which might have been applied in Egypt or in Alalakh. Further analysis of the vessel, now in the Antakya Museum, is needed to resolve this question, but the historical implications are significant. If the inscription were done in Egypt, then the bowl may be merely a discarded import; if inscribed in Atchana, it would be evidence of Egyptian occupation of the site.

Chronological implications of the piece have turned largely on the designation of the original owner: “the donor calls himself ‘the Scribe,’ which must mean that he was an Egyptian official in the local government, i.e. the government of Alalakh was under Egyptian control.”³⁰ Although the individual depicted on AT/46/223 was certainly an Egyptian bureaucrat, his full title might have been more specific than what is accorded him by Woolley, and it is uncertain that he would have been “a high official of the Civil Service”³¹ much less “the Egyptian Resident left in charge of the city.”³² Nonetheless, since the image and text suggest a funerary context, the dedication of this bowl in the local temple, if true, could suggest an Egyptian presence on the site.³³ The attempt by Gates to lessen the significance of the “bowl” by describing it as merely “Egyptianizing”³⁴ is thus as problematic as Woolley’s conclusion that the evidence of Egyptian administration should be dated to Thutmose I or II. Woolley most consistently favored the known raid

p. 63, n. 33: “The ancient Egyptians did not produce glazed pottery until Roman times.”

25 Woolley 1955, p. 300.

26 Ibid. p. 300.

27 Edgar Peltenburg, “Some Early Developments of Vitreous Materials,” *World Archaeology* 3 (1971): 7-8 (with further bibliography). I thank Gonca Dardeniz for these references.

28 Woolley 1955, p. 297, “a bowl of blue-glazed frit”; *ibid.* p. 166: “faience bowl”; *idem* 1953, p. 93; *idem* 1947, p. 61; Gates 1981, p. 10, n. 49: “faience bowl.” It should be noted that Peltenburg has reclassified Woolley’s examples of “glazed faience” at Al Mina as “glazed pottery”; the Alalakh vessel was not discussed. See Edgar Peltenburg, “Al Mina Glazed Pottery and its Relations,” *Levant* 1 (1969): 73-96.

29 Woolley 1953, p. 93: “a bowl of blue-glazed frit, of Egyptian manufacture, on which there was drawn in brown paint a decoration of lotus design and a regular Egyptian scene of a functionary seated before a table of offerings”; *idem* 1955, p. 297: “the design is not, as usual, in brown glaze but done after firing in some sort of water-colour paint.”

30 Woolley 1974, p. 61.

31 Woolley 1953, p. 93: “he calls himself ‘the Scribe,’ which would be the proper title of a high official of the Civil Service, a local representative of the Egyptian Government.”

32 Woolley 1955, p. 391.

33 See the description of the clearance of *ex votos* from the Level V Temple in Woolley 1955, pp. 70-71.

34 Gates 1981, p. 36, discussing evidence of attack on the Level V A fortifications: “Although Alalakh was no doubt open to attack from all sides in the closing years of the sixteenth century B.C., Woolley singled out Tuthmosis I as the enemy on this occasion, with the Egyptianizing bowl on ill. 8 e as a token of the Egyptian presence in this region. However, the Mitanni ruler Barattarna, or any of Alalakh’s neighbors could equally well have been the aggressor.”

by Thutmose I beyond the Orontes River for the conquest of Alalakh: “Since Level IV begins with the conquest of North Syria by Thutmose III in his 38th year (1483 B.C.) and Level V antedates that conquest, we have to look for an earlier period in which Egyptian domination was possible; I would suggest that this vase is evidence that Alalakh acknowledged the suzerainty of Egypt as a result of Thutmose I's raid to the Euphrates in 1527 B.C.”³⁵ In 1955, Woolley acknowledged Thutmose II's military activity in Syria and Niy (known only from a fragmentary mention at Deir el Bahari), but preferred Thutmose I's “campaign” to Thutmose II's “punitive raid.”³⁶ Both kings, however, conducted “razzias” without evidence of formal occupation, which would come most certainly with Thutmose III. Since the clearance of the Level V temple, from which the Egyptian piece presumably derives, may have occurred at some point “after” the temple's destruction rather than during Level V itself,³⁷ one might modify Woolley's analysis slightly and date this scribe's small vessel to the early control of the city by Thutmose III.

More recent analysis, however, supports a different reconstruction of the vessel, with an earlier date and a different rationale for its presence in Alalakh. With the assistance of Egyptologists Christine Lillyquist, Angela Milward Jones and Susan Allan, Morena Stefanova has noted parallels between the design of the Alalakh “bowl” and jugs recovered from Lisht in Egypt and Kerma in Nubia.³⁸ It now seems appropriate that the designation “bowl” be abandoned for this piece, which should be reclassified as the broken base of a faience jug. Although the presented parallels are not precise, they suffice to confirm an Egyptian origin for the corpus, already indicated by common Egyptian texts and thematic elements (as noted above). Stefanova has not presented her conclusions, but the implications are clear. The examples in Nubian Kerma are no more local products than the broken jug base at Alalakh. The pieces display definitive Memphite associations with Ptah and his local titles, and all probably derive from the adjacent Middle Kingdom capital of Lisht where examples were also recovered. As I noted in correspondence with Lillyquist following Stefanova's presentation, “Given the Kerma and Lisht partial parallels, I'd prefer a Middle Kingdom date (for the Alalakh example) and Hyksos trade of the item” (April 27, 2016). Hyksos export of earlier Egyptian art objects—including funerary items—is well known, both in Nubia and the Levant, and Alalakh certainly lay within the bounds of the Hyksos trading network. Jug base AT/46/223 is most likely from the Middle, rather than the New, Kingdom and is a relic of international trade in the following Hyksos period. It can no longer be taken as evidence for the conquest and occupation of Alalakh by the Thutmoside pharaohs of Dynasty 18.

35 Woolley 1947, p. 61. See also *idem* 1955, pp. 166 and 391. The correlation of the destruction of Level V with Thutmose III's campaign is credited to Sidney Smith in Woolley 1950, p. 18. See Smith 1940, p. 38.


36 Woolley 1955, p. 166.

37 *Ibid.* p. 71. Problematic evidence does exist for a delayed rebuilding of the temple in Level IV; see *ibid.* p. 70. Note that otherwise Woolley insisted: “In Levels VI and V all Egyptian symbolism disappears”; see *ibid.* p. 259. This is not, strictly speaking, accurate; see the discussion of scarab AT/39/249 from Level VI, below.

38 “Egyptian and Egyptian-derived Luxury Faience Objects at Alalakh: Imports and Influence,” 67th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 15, Atlanta. A short abstract appears in the meeting booklet, p. 77.

AT/37/47

As the so-called “bowl” AT/46/223 has been considered to mark the beginning of Egyptian influence in Alalakh, so the scarab AT/37/47 (no. 131) from Level “O” has been considered to mark the termination, both of Egyptian features and of the site itself.³⁹ Now Antakya Museum inventory number 7969, the scarab was recovered from a surface grave, ATG/37/2 (**FIG. 12.3**). The significance of the piece was recognized in the formal excavation report by Woolley, who cited it among the catalogue of recovered seals and seal-impressions, discussed it in his chapter on chronology, and selected it to be illustrated.⁴⁰

The scarab is pierced for suspension and its bottom is carved with a decorative field enclosed by an oval. Within the oval is a royal cartouche flanked by the feather of Maat (𓄿), goddess of truth and justification. The cartouche contains three vertically-stacked hieroglyphs spelling the throne name Neb-Maat-Re (Nb-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ literally, “Re is the Lord of Truth”): .

This “paste” scarab became the defining evidence for Woolley's dating of Level O: “The problem was solved by the discovery that one of the late graves (not one with L. M. III pottery) contained a scarab of Ramses VI. It was then obvious that an attempt was made to re-colonize the ruined city, and it was equally clear that the attempt was soon abandoned.”⁴¹ By linking the surface level to the later Ramesside era, the final destruction of the site could be assigned to a Sea Peoples invasion, a notion that is now pervasive in historical overviews.⁴² The identification of the throne name on the scarab with Ramses VI was again credited to I. E. S. Edwards, but it is extremely likely that Woolley's own chronological expectations influenced the choice.⁴³ As Woolley defensively noted following his mention of Ramses VI, “My repeated statement that, apart from an abortive attempt to resettle the site of Alalakh in the middle of the twelfth century B.C., the place remained deserted from the time of its destruction by the Peoples of the Sea, in 1194 B.C., until the present day, may seem arbitrary.”⁴⁴

39 After discovering that Level I contained multiple phases, Woolley reassigned all of his initial “Level O” graves to Level I except for this grave simply because it supposedly had a Ramses VI scarab and thus had to be “post-destruction” of the site (1955, p. 203). As explained below, this reasoning is no longer tenable, and the grave “may well be Level I (equivalent to IB or IC in Woolley terms) and date to c.1300-1200” (Mara Horowitz, personal communication 01/25/13).

40 Ibid. pp. 265, 399 and pl. LXVI, no. 131.

41 Ibid. p. 399. Within the quotation, Woolley's designation “L. M. III” should be corrected to LH IIIA: 2.

42 See, for example, Bill Manley, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, London: Penguin, 1996, p. 97, map of Sea Peoples invasion routes with Alalakh shown as “site destroyed, c. 1200 B.C.” For the retention of this assumption by Bieńkowski, see below.

43 Woolley 1955, p. 399, n. 3: “For this identification, I am indebted to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards.”

44 Ibid. p. 399, n. 4.

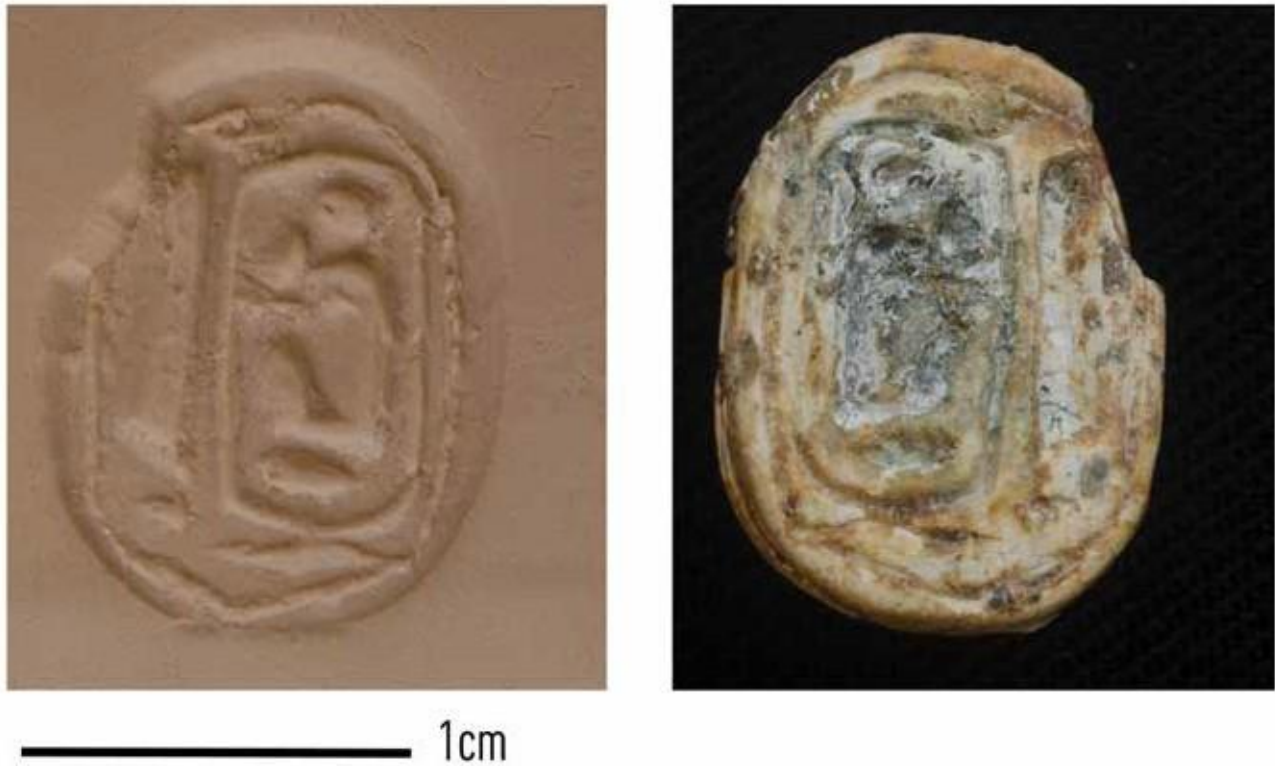


FIG. 12.3: AT/37/47; Antakya Museum no. 7969, scarab.

Although this comment concerned the fact of the site's desertion, the truly arbitrary choice was the preference for Ramses VI, since the throne name Neb-Maat-Re was equally used by the Eighteenth Dynasty king Amenhotep III, whose successor Akhenaton lost the territory of the Orontes, including Alalakh, to Hittite expansion under Suppiluliuma.⁴⁵ Woolley's "repeated statement" could not have been lost on Edwards, who certainly knew the alternate possibility. Kenneth Kitchen, who has compiled all the basic documents of the Ramesside kings, has already disputed the link to Ramses VI, noting that "the Alalakh scarab is probably of Amenophis III."⁴⁶ The attribution of the scarab to the earlier Neb-Maat-Re is, in fact, certain, since the cartouche of Ramses VI should have a critical addition, Nb-M3^c.t-R^c mri-ḥImn "Neb-Maat-Re, beloved of Amon." The epithet "beloved of Amon" is all but invariable for Ramses VI, but equally absent for Amenhotep III.⁴⁷ The name on scarab no. 131 never had this addition, nor was space left blank to accommodate it. If

45 See K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962, p. 43.

46 K. A. Kitchen, "Ramses V-XI," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. V, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984, cols. 124 and 126, n. 22; and idem, "An Egyptian New Kingdom Scarab from Alalakh," appendix (*Levant* 14 (1982): 88) to Piotr A. Bieńkowski, "Some Remarks on the Practice of Cremation in the Levant," *Levant* 14 (1982): 80-89. The earlier attribution was obvious to me before learning of Kitchen's comments; Edwards would have recognized the earlier possibility as well, and it is odd that it is unmentioned by Woolley.

47 For the forms of the two kings' cartouches, see the multiple examples collected in Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, Cairo: IFAO, vol. 2, 1912, pp. 306-29 (Amenhotep III, with varying additions, only once "beloved of Amon"; p. 319 no. XLIII); and vol. 3, 1914, pp. 194-200 (only once without "beloved of Amon"; p. 195 no. III). The two exceptions are on architecture, not scarabs. For the very different writings on scarabs, see Percy Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs*, London: 1905, pls. XXX, nos. 26-27 (Amenhotep III) and XXXVI,

Level I is now to be redated on the basis of pottery to the period just following the Amarna age, then the reassigned scarab would corroborate, and not conflict with, the new interpretation. The Amenhotep III scarab would have been fairly contemporary with the abandonment of the site and readily available for re-discovery during the resettlement of the town in the Iron Age (Level O). The transfer of the item to a tomb of the subsequent Level O—or even a later subsection of Level I—requires no “heirloom status” for the earlier piece. It may simply have been recovered from surface debris of the post-Amarna ruins. Ironically, despite Kitchen's suggested redating of the scarab in an appendix to a study by Piotr A. Bieńkowski, the latter author maintained Woolley's theory of the destruction of Alalakh by the Sea Peoples.⁴⁸ Kitchen had left open the possibility: “such objects could remain in circulation (or even be made) after the close of the reign concerned.”⁴⁹ The late production of an Amenhotep III scarab is, however, unlikely,⁵⁰ and its long retention (over two centuries) no longer necessary.

Unrecognized by Woolley, scarab no. 131 (AT/37/47) is illustrated twice in the 1955 report, since the photograph of scarab no. 134 is simply a reversed image of scarab no. 131 with brighter contrast. The published description of scarab 134 is as follows: “Scaraboid, paste, l. 0.012 m., with squatting monkey in a cartouche; rough work. Loose in the top soil.”⁵¹ The supposed “monkey” in the cartouche is rather the goddess Maat— if Woolley based his description on the photographs assembled for publication. No such monkey in a cartouche was found by me within the Antakya collection, and the find from the top soil cannot be otherwise identified. It is uncertain whether this scarab no. 134 actually existed or was the result of faulty records. It is possible that no. 134 was a duplicate scarab of Amenhotep III, but the deep carving of the Maat-feather is so similar to the (reversed) example on no. 131 that it is difficult to believe that they are not the same piece (FIG. 12.4).

AT/38/221

While these are the most significant Egyptian pieces for the chronology of Alalakh, a few other Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs should be noted briefly for improvements to Woolley's discussion. Faience scarab AT/38/221 (no. 132), now Antakya Museum inventory number 7998, contains the divine name Amon-Re (ꜥmn-Rꜥ), written right to left, framed

by writings of “Lord” (nb) rotated vertically. Woolley has dated it “after Tuthmosis III” almost certainly because it was found loose in the top soil.⁵² The piece may rather belong to the reign of Tuthmosis III,



FIG. 12.4: Woolley 1955, pl. XVI, no. 134.

no. 26 (Ramses VI). Plate XXX, no. 29, does show Amenhotep's name with “beloved of Amon,” but the added epithet is not within the cartouche (as is the case with Ramses VI).

48 Bieńkowski 1982, p. 80.

49 Kitchen 1982, p. 88.

50 The name of Amenhotep III was not perpetuated on scarabs as was that of Thutmose III.

51 Woolley 1955, p. 266, no. 134 and pl. LXVI, no. 134.

52 Ibid. p. 265, no. 132 and pl. LXVI, no. 132. The greatest dimensions, not recorded by Woolley, are 13 mm (length) x 6 mm (height) x 11 mm (width).

given the new dating of Level I. As noted by Newberry, it is “nearly always of the date of Thothmes III.”⁵³ Like the Amenhotep III scarab noted previously, the Tuthmosis scarab could still have been in use at the time of the abandonment of the site following the Amarna Period (Level I) and recovered from surface (or near surface) debris during the Iron Age reoccupation. The head of the scarab is missing, but the hieroglyphic text shows damage only in the lower portion of the initial reed leaf (𓂏) of “Amon” and in the probable loss of a framing *neb*-basket (𓂏) at the right edge. Notable also is the final stroke of the writing of Re: 𓂏, which was thickly carved in a manner attested in both Egypt and the Amuq during the New Kingdom (FIG. 12.5A-C).⁵⁴

AT.171

Of far cruder carving is the scarab Antakya Museum inventory number 4851, marked AT.171, but excluded from Woolley's catalogue of seals (FIG 12.6A-C). Of white faience, the scarab measures 15 mm (length) x 6 mm (height) x 10 mm (width). The bottom inscription was incised with an unsteady hand, reading (vertically) “Image of Amon” (ti.t ʾImn). Surface damage affects the lower sign ti.t (𓂏). Given the workmanship, it may be a local product.



FIG. 12.5A-D: AT/38/221; Antakya Museum no. 7998, scarab (top, side view, inscription, and probable restoration of text).

HYKSOS SCARABS

Just prior to the New Kingdom—or contemporary with its formation in the transition (within the same family) from Dynasty 17 to 18—are a group of Hyksos scarabs treated briefly in Woolley's 1955 catalogue and recovered from Levels VII and VI. From the earlier level only a single scarab is illustrated in hand copy, AT/39/247, no. 20, found “rather high up in the debris of room 19 of Yarim-Lim's palace” and so assigned to “the very end of the period.”⁵⁵ The text is dismissed in the catalogue as an “illegible inscription,” but it





53 For the complete form, see Newberry 1905, pl. XXIX, no. 19, with comment on p. 163; and cf. Daphna Ben-Tor, *The Scarab. A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1989, p. 65, no. 28 (dated later).


54 See R. K. Ritner, “Scarab,” in Kutlu Aslihan Yener, *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Volume 1*, Oriental Institute Publications 131, Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2005, appendix p. 281 at n. 4.

55 Woolley 1955, pp. 259, 263 and pl. LXI, no. 20. Cf. Ben-Tor 1989, pp. 32, 62 and 68-69; and Newberry 1905, pl. XXIV, nos. 4-9, 15, 19, 20, 22-28. The type is a subset of Design Class 3C in Daphna Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 27, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2007, pp. 133-34 and pls. 55-56.



FIG. 12.6A-C: AT 171; Antakya Museum no. 4851, scarab (top, side view, and bottom).

seems to be an example of the “nr-scarabs” that mingle the signs ϵ () + n () + r () that may reflect the Canaanite word “El” meaning “God,” or a deformation of (Scarab) “of Re” (n R ϵ).⁵⁶ The type is dated to Dynasty 15. Particularly characteristic of Hyksos scarabs is AT/47/61, no. 32, with a guilloche or running spiral motif encountered in multiple variations.⁵⁷ Also from Level VI is the steatite scarab AT/39/249 (FIG 12.7A-D), incorrectly drawn in Woolley's catalogue.⁵⁸ Now registered as Antakya Museum inventory number 8032, the scarab measures 15 mm (length) x 10 mm (width) x 5 mm (height). Contrary to Woolley's assertion that Egyptian elements are absent from Level VI,⁵⁹ the scarab's design incorporates Egyptian-derived symbolism, with two coiled serpents flanking the šn- or (more likely) a schematic sš-hieroglyph (“protection” ).⁶⁰ While the hieroglyph is unmistakable, Woolley's drawing obscures the left serpent as an irregular oval and the right serpent as a bird's head. The combination is known from Palestinian seals of the Second Intermediate Period.⁶¹ The scarab is pierced longitudinally for suspension.

56 Fiona Richards, *The Anra Scarab: An Archaeological and Historical Approach*, BAR International Series 919, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2001. The link to El (or any coherent meaning) is disputed in Daphna Ben-Tor 2007, p. 134; and idem. “Pseudo Hieroglyphs on Middle Bronze Age Canaanite Scarabs,” in Frank Kammerzell et al., eds., *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times*, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Studia Monographica* 8, Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie 2009, pp. 85-87. An Egyptian prototype is admitted in Ben-Tor 2007: 134, and the combination of n + r represents the sound “l” in Egyptian script, but the transcription of Canaanite “El” is otherwise suggested to be 'I(šy)r or 'lš; see James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 27-28; and Alain Zivie, “Le Nom du Vizir Aper-El,” in Marcel Sigrist, ed., *Études égyptologiques et bibliques*, Paris: J. Gabalda, 1997, pp. 115-123, esp. 121. The “nr” combination is limited to just these three alphabetic signs, not freely formed from other letters, so a special significance for the group is evident. Examples such as AT/39/247, no. 20, also add the  sign, perhaps originally signifying “protection of Re.” Canaanite scribes may have known that the combination was meaningful, but not known the conventions of hieroglyphic spelling. Further, rearranging the spelling of “magical” names is not unusual to indicate the permutations of divine power.

57 Woolley 1955, pp. 259, 263 and pl. LXI, no. 32. For general discussion of typology, see Ben-Tor 1989, p. 31.

58 Woolley 1955, pp. 259, 263, pl. LXI, no. 33.

59 Ibid. p. 259.

60 This hieroglyph is commonly adapted on non-Egyptian scarabs; cf. Alexander Ahrens, “The Scarabs from the Ninkarrak Temple Cache at Tell 'Ašara/Terqa (Syria): History, Archaeological Context, and Chronology,” *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2010): 434-36 (MB IIB = Dynasty 13 to early Dynasty 15); and Ben-Tor 2009, p. 84 and 96, figs. 6-7.

61 See Ben-Tor 2007, p. 175 and pl. 97, Design Class 9C1, nos. 14, 15 and 18.



FIG. 12.7A-D: AT/39/249, no. 33; Antakya Museum no. 8032, scarab (top, side view, bottom, and Woolley 1955 hand copy).

SCARAB NO. 133



FIG. 12.8: Woolley 1955 no.133; Antakya Museum no. 8040, scaraboid.

Certainly of non-Egyptian workmanship is the “Egyptian blue” scaraboid numbered 133 in Woolley’s catalogue (**FIG 12.8**).⁶² A surface find, the Egyptianizing piece is now Antakya Museum inventory number 8040. Again, Woolley has mischaracterized the design, which does not feature a bird, but a winged uraeus enfolding decorative hieroglyphs.⁶³ The combination is similar to that once attributed to Hyksos-era scarabs.⁶⁴ As Egyptian blue is attested from Egypt’s Early Dynastic Period, the piece cannot be dated on the basis of material.⁶⁵

AMULET NO. 4979

In contrast to this Egyptianizing scaraboid, the Egyptian-themed amulets seem to be true imports, despite Woolley’s concern that they might be local imitations of Egyptian inspiration.⁶⁶ Of the three faience hedgehogs reported (but not illustrated) in Woolley’s catalogue, I was able to examine one: Antakya Museum inventory number 4979 (**FIG 12.9A-C**). The blue faience amulet of a desert hedgehog, *Paraechinus aethiopicus*, is perhaps the isolated example from the Level VI-V stratum, certainly a hedgehog and not a porcupine.⁶⁷ The precise religious significance of the hedgehog in Egypt remains uncertain, but the figure

62 Ibid. p. 266 and pl. LXVI, no. 133 (G/39/46). The piece is termed “steatite” on p. 266. The scarab’s greatest measurements are 16 mm (length) x 11 mm (width) x 4 mm (height). For the composition of “Egyptian Blue,” see Caubet and Pierrat-Bonnefois 2005, p. 13.

63 At either end of the scaraboid is the *neb*-basket (𓏏) rotated vertically. The left example (𓏏) may be a deformation of the snake’s tail.

64 Newberry 1905, pl. XXIV, no. 29. The design is not included in Ben-Tor 2007.

65 See Florence D. Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile. Ancient Egyptian Faience*, Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1998, p. 17.

66 Woolley 1955, p. 270. The flies, frogs, rams, thistle and pomegranate all seem of Egyptian origin, as generally noted by Woolley (pp. 270-71, and plate LXVIIIb, nos. 3 and 7-9).

67 Ibid. p. 270, and cf. ATG/39/48, p. 208 (g), for two further faience examples. Woolley was uncertain about the identification of the amulets as hedgehogs, adding “?” to the examples from the grave on p. 208 (but not when cited on p. 270) and to the isolated third example on p. 270.

served as protection from snakebite, and was a popular amulet from the Middle Kingdom through the Saite Period. Representations are found with great variation, and in both clay and faience.⁶⁸ The bottom of the Antakya figure shows the remains of the animal's feet but is otherwise undecorated.



FIG. 12.9A-C: Antakya Museum no. 4979, hedgehog amulet (top, head, and bottom).

“PATAIKOS” FIGURE

One must also note the unpublished, faded blue faience “Pataikos,” Antakya Museum inventory number 4861 (FIG 12.10A-B). The figure measures 28 mm in height, and while designated AT 2270 on its back pillar, it does not appear in Woolley's discussions of amulets, though he does dismiss “very many objects of no intrinsic interest.”⁶⁹ Despite the AT number, the Hatay museum inventory list assigns the amulet to Catalhöyük (personal communication Murat Akar), where other (broken) examples are noted. As this complete example escaped the attention of the Chatalhöyük editors, perhaps because of its AT designation, a short description is provided here.⁷⁰ The modern name derives from the term *pataikoi* used by Herodotus to describe dwarfish protective figures on Phoenician triremes, noted by him as similar to the formal image of the god Ptah at Memphis.⁷¹ The ancient Egyptian name was “Ptah the dwarf.” Similar to images of Bes and Horus on the crocodiles, the Pataikos may be shown clutching (and thus controlling) snakes, as on Antakya Museum 4861. The form of the craftsman god Ptah as an achondroplastic dwarf may be related to the Old Kingdom use of dwarves in craft production,⁷² but the amuletic representations are common only from the New Kingdom onward. In style, material and size, the Antakya museum Pataikos corresponds to Egyptian standards and is an import.

68 For examples and discussion, see Friedman 1998, pp. 129 and 220; Patrick F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1996, pp. 66-68; and Dorothea Arnold, *An Egyptian Bestiary*, New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1995, pp. 22-23. The form is later imitated in Greek workshops; see Caubet and Pierrat-Bonnefois 2005, p. 135.

69 Woolley 1955, p. 401. I did not have access to the set of Field Records preserved in the museum.

70 Mariana Pucci, ed., *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch III: Stratigraphy, Pottery, and Small Finds from Chatal Höyük in the Amuq Plain*, Part 1: Text, Oriental Institute Publications 143, Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2019, pp. 308-309.

71 John G. Griffiths, “Pataike,” in Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. IV, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982, cols. 914-15.

72 See Ibid., Véronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 84-98 and plates 12-14 and 16 (for examples with snakes); and Chahira Kozma, “Historical Review II: Skeletal Dysplasia in Ancient Egypt,” *American Journal of Medical Genetics* (2008) Part A 146A: 3104-3112.



FIG. 12.10:A-B: AT 2270 Antakya Museum no. 4861, Pataikos (front and reverse)

SCARAB NO. ATWD 18602

Other Egyptian and Egyptianizing pieces are found among the Tell Atchana finds recovered by Woolley, but these require little or no emendation to the published record.⁷³ During my examination of the relevant Alalakh scarabs in the Antakya Museum, a single, unpublished addition was discovered in a top storage drawer of the Atchana dig house (**FIG 11A-C**). The faience piece is numbered ATWD 18602⁷⁴, but any AT designation is unknown to me. Longitudinally pierced for suspension, the scarab measures 20 mm (length) x 6 mm (height) x 13 mm (width). The upper scarab body is very worn, and the base is anepigraphic with no evidence of original design or text. It is noted here for the sake of completeness.



FIG. 12.11A-D: No. ATWD 18602 from dig house, scarab (top, bottom, and side views).

73 E.g. the Egyptian female figure AT/46/8 (museum inventory no. 6075, Level II, marked as Level V in the museum display) —and perhaps AT 38/152— and the Egyptianizing derivative AT/38/38 (Level II), in Woolley 1955, p. 289 and plate LXXVI. Further Egyptianizing pieces include the *ankh*-pendant AT/39/282 on p. 274 and pl. LXIX; the toilet-boxes AT/37/236, AT/45/15, AT/38/117 and AT/38/74, on pp. 289-90 and plates LXXV-LXXVI; and the shell fragment AT/38/6 on p. 402 and plate LXXXIII f. Although Woolley preferred not to designate stone vessels of Egyptian type as imports (p. 292), the alabaster examples are Egyptian in both form and material; see pp. 295-96 and plate LXXX, top two rows.

74 The ATWD designation was given for Atchana Woolley on-site Depot collections, now in the Alalakh dig house compound, Tayfur Sökmen Village.