



THE EGYPTIAN ENCLAVING OF SOUTHERN CANAAN DURING THE LATE FOURTH MILLENNIUM BCE – SOME THEORETICAL, CULTURAL, AND SPATIAL ASPECTS

In memoriam of Prof. Ram Gophna

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ABSTRACT

Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant during the late fourth millennium BCE (Early Bronze Age IB, henceforward EB IB), centered in southwestern Israel, is an issue thoroughly studied for several decades. These studies covered every aspect of material culture, relative and absolute chronology, socio-political and economic implications, and more. Scholars characterized this Egyptian presence in different ways: from a military or colonial occupation focusing on the establishment of Egyptian enclaves within local settlements, to a minimal, purely commercial activity with almost no physical Egyptian presence. The current paper will attempt to outline theoretical, cultural, and spatial aspects of encounters between Egyptians and the local Canaanite population based on old and new data from sites like Tel Maahaz, Tel Lod, and Al-Maghar. The results of the study of various settlements between the Besor and Yarkon River basins where Egyptians physically resided may point toward a short-term foreign presence with variable influence on the local Canaanite population not always reflected in Canaanite material culture. At the same time, the 'enclaving' process led by Egyptian state institutions probably prompted hostility that may have resulted in resistance leading, in turn, to the demise of Egyptian enclaves.

KEYWORDS

Egyptian colony; group agency; colonial encounters; resistance; Early Bronze Age

INTRODUCTION: SOME NOTES ON THE THEORY OF MIGRATION, COLONIES, AND COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS

The current paper does not aim to cover all theoretical aspects of colonial phenomena but to outline some nodes in the relevant theoretical research that may have implications for our discussion on Egyptian presence in the southern Levant during the late fourth millennium BCE.

In his article dealing with the theory of migration, Anthony,¹ aware of the complications scholars face when defining and identifying immigrating groups in the archaeological record, created a model including various types of migrations.

Aspects common to migrations are push and pull factors: a movement of individuals and groups in two directions (both into the new place and back to their homeland), a variety in the distance made by migrants to their new destiny, and the employment of scouts to detect the best places and opportunities in the new place, sometimes establishing the first bases for the migrant population. Push factors are represented by elements such as population pressure, violence, or the exhaustion of resources in the land of origin, while pull factors are the benefits that await in the new place.² Anthony also notes that migration movements may be characterized by

‘leapfrogging,’ reflected in the landscape as ‘islands’ separated from one another, or by ‘migration streams’ represented by continuous settlement patterns along main routes, water sources, and others.³

Numerous theoretical models analyzing migration and migrating groups focus on the bilateral agency between migrating groups (newcomers) and indigenous populations (hosts). Most interesting is a new model, posed by McSparron and others, describing four agency scales—low, medium, high, and very high. Very high and high group agency represent situations where the migrant group has a technological and quantitative advantage over the host community. In these situations, a migrant group with very high group agency would not need to differentiate between external and internal domains since their dominance across society would be complete. Indeed, it may well be the host community members who must begin to differentiate their lives into internal and external domains. Moreover, high group agency of migrating groups will possibly press a host community into accepting aspects of the culture and technology of the newcomers, although it may also cause the opposite reaction, that of resistance.⁴ Medium and low group agency represent situations where newcomers are forced to respond to their new environment through adaptation and adjustment to their local host community. The model described above is most valid to our attempt to understand the agency Egyptian colonial entities had on Canaanite settlements and *vice versa*, based on our estimation of the scale of bilateral agency.

Focusing our lens on colonial aspects of migration, it seems that ‘world system’ and acculturation theories⁵ that tend to adhere to unilinear models by which colonies established by the messengers of state societies are the only influential side, while host communities are passive, are no longer applicable.⁶ Not for nothing has the new scholarly focal point shifted from the description of colonies and colonization to the archaeological manifestation, in material culture, of aspects such as symbolic power between regions⁷ and, more generally, to the analysis of ‘colonial encounters.’⁸

In his study, Stein—acknowledging the many types of settlements that can be referred to as ‘colonies’—offers the following general definition of a colony and how it can be identified in the archaeological record: “A colony can be

provisionally defined as an implanted settlement established by one society in either uninhabited territory or the territory of another society.”⁹ And then “in general, one can identify as colonies those settlements whose architecture, site plan, and material culture assemblage are identical to those of another region but are located as spatially discrete occupations surrounded by settlements of the local culture.”¹⁰ Going one step further, Stein tries to show how colonial encounters can be traced in the archaeological record through a close examination that should be conducted at household levels in settlements where a colonial existence is suspected. In her research about the Chinese enclave at Market Street, San Hoze, Voss describes several aspects of material culture that can shed light on the complex nature of these encounters. It turns out the Chinese population in Market Street preferred Asian-made pottery and Chinese culinary habits while adopting western ways reflected in butchery methods, thus showing no resistance to western culture.¹¹ Stein tried to define foreign population behavior, at the domestic level, as living together in a spatially contiguous area, separated from a host community, and employing practices that differ from local patterns in the host community while resembling the cultural practices of the homeland.¹² At the same time, a continuous interaction between newcomers and host populations in the same settlement can be seen in the emergence of new, creolized, or hybridized identities, artifactual styles, and forms of social organization.¹³

SOME SCHOLARLY NOTIONS OF EGYPTIAN PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN CANAAN IN THE FOURTH MILLENNIUM BCE

In an analysis of Egyptian presence in the land of Israel, Miroschedji, and Sadek¹⁴ portray three main strategies reflected in settlement patterns and the spatial distribution of Egyptian material culture traits. Another suggestion for a hierarchy of Egyptian influence was made by van den Brink and Braun, who divided settlement sites into four ‘tiers’ according to the volume of Egyptian presence.¹⁵ Sites with Egyptian or Egyptianized finds can be roughly divided, as proposed by Miroschedji, into three main categories:

1. Settlements that reflect direct domination and control by the Egyptian governing apparatus, which was concentrated in a ‘hardcore’ area

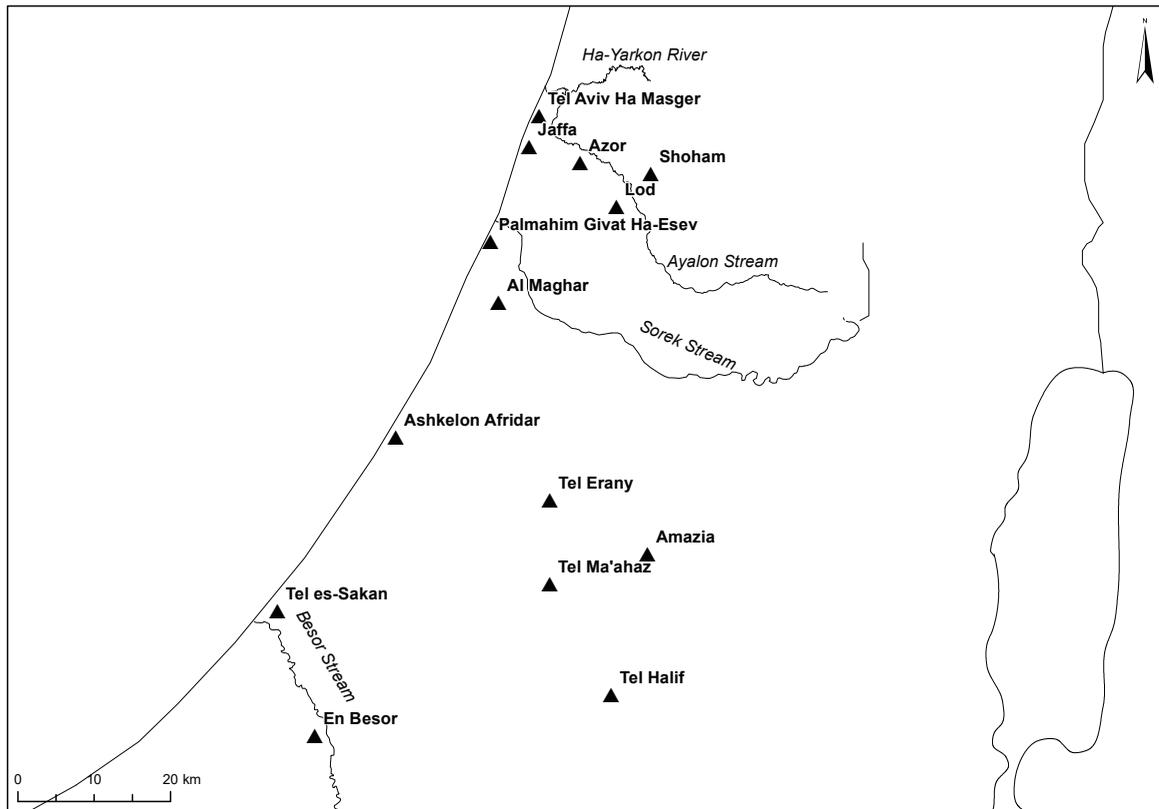


FIGURE 1: Sites mentioned in the text.

of the Besor stream basin and manifested in Egyptian outposts. In these settlements, Tel Sakan and 'En Besor, the vast majority of the material culture traits (architecture, pottery, administrative paraphernalia) are Egyptian.¹⁶

2. Settlements located between the Besor basin and the Yarkon River, where Egyptians physically resided within the local Canaanite population (e.g., Tel Lod, Al-Maghar). In these settlements, Egyptian pottery, especially kitchenware, flint artifacts, and in some cases royal 'serekhs,' could identify the foreign enclave residents from host populations. Numerous sites that relate to this type have already been excavated and thoroughly studied.¹⁷
3. Settlements located north of the Yarkon River, where Egyptian (or Egyptianized) pottery and artifacts were found, reflecting trading relations rather than the physical presence of Egyptians (sites like 'En Esur and Tell Abu Al-Kharaz).¹⁸

It should be stressed that the current paper will only focus on the second settlement category

(FIG. 1), where Egyptian 'enclaves' were found within the indigenous Canaanite population. Also, the discussion only relates to the latest EB IB horizon (EB IB2),¹⁹ the period when Egyptian presence in the land of Israel reached its zenith, in the days of Dynasty 0, Naqada IIIb–c1. Thus, this paper will focus on selected sites where colonial encounters can be traced and plausibly characterized, such as Tel Maahaz, Al-Maghar, and Tel Lod.²⁰

The controversy around the exact nature of Egyptian presence in southern Canaan is still going on and is clearly connected to the interpretation given by various scholars regarding Egyptian interests in the southern Levant. The current study does not aim to describe the full scholarly debate on this issue but focuses on potential evidence of the nature of colonial encounters between the local population and the Egyptian foreigners.

First, it is revealing to compare the spatial distribution of Egyptian outposts and sites where extensive Egyptian presence between the late fourth millennium BCE and the Late Bronze Age (henceforward LBA) was detected. Although it is a well-known difference between the two remote

periods that the LBA was characterized by the full-fledged direct control of the Egyptian New Kingdom over the southern Levant (clearly not the situation in the fourth millennium BCE), it is still interesting that the headquarters of Egyptian presence were located at virtually the same location in both periods. These headquarters were situated adjacent to the outlet of the Besor stream (at Gaza of the LBA and Tell Sakan of the EB IB), a point that most probably monitored both land and maritime routes along the coastal plain from south to north.²¹ The same can be said about other 19th-Dynasty bases sharing the same general location with late fourth-millennium Egyptian outposts: Tell el-Farah (S) and 'En Besor, Tel Shera' and Tel Maaḥaz.²²

The archaeological record in the 'hardcore' area of Egyptian presence presents Egyptian-style masonry, kitchenware, culinary habits, and traces of an administrative system, as well as a military presence in Sinai.²³ Also, Yekutieli suggested that Egyptian locations were remote from the origins of natural resources and, therefore, had a political rather than an economic goal, aiming at the prosperous Canaanite settlements.²⁴ The Egyptian strategic plan was conducted, according to Yekutieli,²⁵ in two stages:

1. The first stage included plundering and the occupation of new territory. Miroschedji ascribed a 'colonial situation' to the exploitation of southern Canaanite resources by the bearers of the Naqada culture, dating it to the period ending around 3150 BCE (Naq. IIC-d to IIIa).²⁶
2. The second stage was the creation of a colony that exploited Canaanite resources. This stage should probably be dated to the late EB IB (Naq. IIIb-c1).²⁷ During this stage, Egyptian presence in the land of Israel expanded northward toward the Yarkon River and reached a zenith defined by the three settlement categories described above.

CHARACTERIZING EGYPTIAN-CANAANITE COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

In order to try and characterize Canaanite-Egyptian interactions, it will be sufficient to outline the main possible scenarios for such interaction between host and newcomers' communities.

In their study on acculturation attitudes in plural societies, Berry and others define four divergent strategies by which newcomer groups engage host

societies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. The first two strategies represent a successful social interaction between the groups, and they differ from one another by the extent to which original cultural traits of the new group (customs, clothing, culinary habits, and others) are maintained within the larger societal framework. Assimilation means that none of the original cultural traits are maintained, while integration points to the preservation of some original traits alongside the actions made by the group to become an integral part of a larger societal framework.²⁸

When no positive interactions with the larger society are present, that is, when accompanied by the preservation of ethnic identity and traditions, another scenario is in place. Depending on which group (the dominant or non-dominant) controls the situation, this scenario may take the form of either segregation or separation, the model being imposed by the dominant group.

Classic segregation tends to keep people "in their place," with group maintenance of a traditional way of life outside full participation in the larger society deriving, perhaps, as in the case of a separatist society, from a group's desire to lead an independent existence.²⁹

Egyptian presence within Canaanite settlements can be evaluated given the above-discussed issues, and the main questions to be asked should relate to the level of agency Egyptian residents had on the local population,³⁰ and which of the four strategies suggested by Berry and others can be valid for this colonial encounter. I will try to address these questions by examining the available information from selected sites located between the Besor stream and the Yarkon River (see FIG. 1).

The results of the limited excavations at Tel Maaḥaz may hint at a horizontal rather than vertical relation between Strata II and I at the site, both dated to the late EB IB. Moreover, these strata may actually represent two contemporaneous occupations within the same settlement: a five-dunam Canaanite occupation, and a smaller one dominated by Egyptian ceramics (with an incised *serekh* amongst these) concentrated at the center of the site.³¹ The uniqueness of the Egyptian presence at Tel Maaḥaz rests upon its location – on the western edge of the Judean Shephelah, where a vast Canaanite population inhabited numerous settlements,³² testifying, perhaps, to an Egyptian attempt to expand its influence in this direction. The

limited data from Tel Maaḥaz hint at a short-lived Egyptian occupation that ceased to exist by the late EB IB, whereas the local Canaanite occupation continued well into the third millennium BCE.³³

It seems that colonial encounters between Egyptians and Canaanites at Tel Maaḥaz lacked any 'positive' traits of assimilation or integration and can instead be classified as segregation. While we cannot establish which population dominated the situation, we can still see no signs of a creolized culture emerging during the late EB IB at the site. On the contrary, each community maintained its material culture and spatial location within the settlement.

Another site with an extensive Egyptian presence and where bilateral encounters can be examined is Tel Ḥalif Terrace (Naḥal Tillah). Here, quite a different picture emerges compared to Tel Maaḥaz. The excavated areas reflect a similar distribution of Egyptian and local pottery (found on the same floors), and it seems there was no distinct or separated Egyptian quarter at the site. These finds may reflect a high degree of integration between both communities, where each group kept its material culture and habits and did not assimilate into one another or create a 'creolized' culture. The finds may also represent a reality where social-cultural boundaries between the groups were fluid and flexible.³⁴

The EB IB settlement of Amaziah, located c. 15 km north of Tel Ḥalif, encompassed an extensive storage facility comprising at least eleven silos, their capacity clearly exceeding the village's need. The silos, probably reflecting a centralized administrative-economic system, were dated by local and Egyptian pottery to the EB IB.³⁵ The Egyptian vessels found at the site included storage jars, cylindrical vessels, and bread molds. These molds were not considered by the excavators as evidence for the physical existence of Egyptians at the site but rather as vessels used by the local population to bake bread for Egyptian customers.³⁶ However, I believe that an alternative suggestion seems preferable, based upon the possible relation of Amaziah to Tel 'Erani, located northwest, where a significant Egyptian population resided in the last centuries of the fourth millennium BCE, after the demise (or destruction) of the early EB IB fortified city.³⁷ Thus, it can be suggested that the Egyptian colony situated at Tel 'Erani was one of the customers (but not necessarily the only one) for grains and other

commodities stored at Amaziah. Consequently, a group of Egyptians (soldiers?) would have been stationed at Amaziah to obtain and secure the flow of these commodities. Furthermore, it can even be suggested that the silos were reused as an Egyptian initiative to supply Egyptian residents in southwestern Canaan. In this sense, the Egyptians exploited the fertile lands of the Shephelah, where Amaziah is located, and it can be speculated that the commodities stored in the silos were used by both the local Canaanite population and the Egyptian foreigners. Furthermore, the Egyptian colonial apparatus may have taxed and even implemented corvée work on the local population.

The site of Al-Maghar is located on the easternmost Kurkar ridge parallel to the coastal plain of Israel, close to the western flank of the Soreq stream. Al-Maghar was thoroughly surveyed (but not excavated), and it seems to have been an extensive settlement during the EB IB, its size estimated at c. 7 ha.³⁸ During the survey of the site, numerous Egyptian vessels were found, amongst them wine jars, cylindrical vessels, and many fragments of bread molds. Petrographic analysis conducted by M. Iserlis on three molds suggests that they originated in the vicinity of 'En Besor or Tell Sakan.³⁹ Thus, and as the site was located on the highway leading northward toward the Yarkon–Ayalon settlement cluster, it would appear that the Egyptian presence at Al-Maghar was much further 'state-oriented,' initiated and equipped by formal administrative outposts.⁴⁰ However, it is not possible to reconstruct the exact relationship between Egyptians and Canaanites within this settlement since the site was not excavated.

Located c. 10 km north of Al-Maghar, Palmahim Giv'at Ha-Esev, where an Egyptianized vessel was found, may reflect a small navigational landmark for sailors that may testify to Egyptian efforts to secure and maintain maritime activity during the EB IB.⁴¹

Tel Lod, one of the major sites in the eastern Yarkon–Ayalon basin (estimated size between four and five ha),⁴² was excavated by several expeditions, each of which detected complex stratigraphy for the Early Bronze Age. In the current paper, I will refer to the excavations carried out by Yannai and Marder; van den Brink; Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ; and Golani.⁴³ The published results from these excavations reveal that the Egyptian presence was detected in all the excavated areas (save the not

yet studied northwestern side) and is reflected in a wide array of pottery types—lotus-shaped bowls, cylindrical vessels, wine jars, many bread molds—as well as Egyptian originating flint tools and objects.⁴⁴ The nature and derivation of the Egyptian occupation at Tel Lod are by no means clear. No exclusive ‘Egyptian’ quarters or structures were reported in any of the excavations. Also, Egyptian pottery and finds were found together with local Canaanite pottery, sometimes in pits. Moreover, the share of Egyptian/Egyptianized pottery compared to the local one was negligible (no more than 2% of the assemblage in Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ’s excavation).⁴⁵

Despite the above, several points may reflect a ‘state-oriented’ Egyptian presence. First, the petrographic analysis of bread molds (made by M. Iserlis),⁴⁶ clearly shows that these were brought from the vicinity of ‘En Besor-Tell Sakan, just like those from Al-Maghar (see above), meaning that the settlers of the Tel Lod colony were equipped through the state facilities at the Besor basin. Second, the seven incised majestic *serekhs* found at the northeastern side of the settlement⁴⁷ may hint at a more formalized existence, maybe even one with a facility for wine jars.

At any rate, the Egyptian presence at Tel Lod was probably very limited in time, at least at the southeastern and southwestern sides of the site (Golani; van den Brink; Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ’s excavations).⁴⁸ This can be mainly deduced from the stratigraphy of the three excavations mentioned above, which report a pre-Egyptian phase, dated to the EB IB: Stratum IVb in van den Brink’s excavation, Stratum VI in Paz, Rosenberg and Nativ’s excavation, and Stratum VII in Golani’s excavation (mixed Neolithic, Chalcolithic and EB IB remains). Two out of the three excavations report post-Egyptian strata, where Egyptian finds are rare or completely lacking, which should still be dated within the late EB IB: Stratum III in Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ’s excavation,⁴⁹ and Strata III–II in Golani’s excavation (note that Golani first dated Strata III–II to the EBII, but a thorough examination of the pottery related to these strata, conducted by Golani and Paz, resulted in the belief that the pottery and the strata should be dated to the EB IB).

Thus, the Egyptian presence at Tel Lod, ‘sandwiched’ between pre- and post-colony local EB IB settlements, seems to have been short-lived. Also, its spatial distribution throughout the site

remains unclear. We may try to reconstruct a process by which this encounter with the local population was initially peaceful, as Egyptians were able to settle in various points within the local population. However, it seems that already during the late EB IB, with the rise of Egyptian exploitation of Canaanite resources, the local population expressed growing signs of hostility that may have led Egyptians toward separation in a restricted location, finally abandoning the site.

Tel Aviv Ha-Masger Street is probably the northernmost point where Egyptian kitchenware was found. It should be pointed out that several excavations conducted at the site have mainly exposed an EB IA settlement characterized by the employment of large rock-cut pits. The EB IB occupation at the site, which includes stone-built architecture, was seemingly more or less restricted to the center of the site and was only revealed in one excavation⁵⁰ At any rate, a notable relic of this small settlement was two large fragments of basins used for beer making in Egyptian settlements.⁵¹ Being the only remnants of possible Egyptian-oriented activity, one may speculate that there was only a restricted Egyptian presence at Ha-Masger Street during the EB IB. The motivation behind this presence may be a possible relation with the nearby Jaffa, a natural anchorage point that was probably of importance for maritime activity during the EBA, as evidenced by sherds found during excavations.⁵²

DISCUSSION: SOME SPATIAL OBSERVATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF CANAANITE RESISTANCE

Egyptian presence in the land of Israel was probably multi-faceted and characterized by more than one interest group (besides official state institutions), as already suggested by Kansa and Levy for (at least) Naḥal Tillah.⁵³

It can be stated that the spatial deployment of Egyptian enclaves in the study area is by no means accidental and was planned in order to gain maximal efficiency and control over land and maritime routes, economic resources, and agricultural lands. Thus, Tell Sakan was located where it could command maritime activity heading northwards, probably aided by the small post of Giv’at Ha-Esev towards Jaffa. The Egyptian colonial apparatus ‘planted’ an enclave in each major Canaanite settlement system. Each enclave was planted in the largest and most powerful settlement and probably monitored some aspects of socio-political activities within each

settlement cluster. A good example can be seen in the eastern Yarkon-Ayalon basin, with settlements like Lod, Shoham North, and Azor. Tel Lod, the largest and probably most crowded and strong settlement, was chosen as the host of the implanted enclave in the area.

Egyptian physical presence seems to have created two levels of control: direct control—through state-level administration—and indirect control, maybe powered by other interest groups. Direct control can be seen in the spatial deployment of the Egyptian colonization apparatus. At least one site with Egyptian presence existed along each of the main streams that transverse the c. 90 km long area between 'En Besor and the Yarkon River, staffed and equipped by the state administration and the facilities stationed and built along the Besor stream (Tell Sakan and 'En Besor). Along the Soreq stream, the site of Al-Maghar, which yielded kitchenware equipped from 'En Besor, may have operated the small beacon/observation point of Palmahim Giva'at Ha-'Esef. Also, along the Yarkon-Ayalon River system, the site of Tel Lod, which again yielded kitchenware equipped from 'En Besor, may have been somehow connected with Jaffa and Ha-Masger Street, and maybe also Azor. Also of note is the Egyptian effort to establish a physical presence on the western edges of the Shephelah, which was probably fertile enough to be economically exploited. Thus, we see Egyptians residing at Tel Halif Terrace, Tel Maahaz, and Amaziah, all three sites located in this region.

Although Egyptian presence in southern Canaan was multi-faceted, and commercial and economic considerations were definitely present, a violent aspect still seems to have affected local resistance to this alien presence. As was suggested by Yekutieli,⁵⁴ there is evidence of a considerable Egyptian military presence in northern Sinai and possible destruction of the early EB IB city of Tel 'Erani and the village of Afridar (probably during the first stage of Egyptian intrusion, see above).

Another intriguing issue is that numerous fortified settlements were present in Canaan during the late EB IB as part of an early urbanization process.⁵⁵ The mere fact is that none of these fortified settlements was located south of the Yarkon River. In fact, the study area—between the Yarkon and the Besor basin—was completely devoid of fortified settlements, with only one exception: Tell Sakan, the Egyptian stronghold in southwestern Canaan.

Moreover, no fortifications were found even at Tel Lod, a large flourishing Canaanite settlement, while at the same period, Tel Aphek, located c. 20 km north of Tel Lod, was fortified with a 2.8 m wide wall.⁵⁶ One can only wonder whether the pre-planned implanted Egyptian enclave, equipped through existing state-level facilities and expressing power symbols (such as the *serekh* incised vessels) within Tel Lod has something to do with this fact. It would seem that during the later stage of Egyptian colonial presence, the re-enforcement of the fortifications at Tell Sakan and, possibly, also the deposit of the Kfar Monash hoard may all point toward military activity related to a Canaanite resistance and even a threat to Egyptian presence. The LBA Egyptian fortress at Jaffa, which was attacked, destroyed, and rebuilt several times during the LBA, can illustrate this point.⁵⁷ A physical threat due to hostility may have been the reason for the short-lived enclave of Tel Lod and maybe of other settlements as well, where segregated Egyptians had explicitly boasted symbols of power and dominance. However, at other sites, like Tel Halif Terrace, where distinctions between Egyptians and Canaanites were less pronounced and lower agency and patronage were expressed by the foreigners, hostilities were probably minimal.

Other aspects of Canaanite resistance to Egyptian presence during the late fourth millennium BCE that characterize this colonial encounter may be viewed in light of post-colonial archaeological finds.⁵⁸ One form of this resistance may have been the symbolic destruction of Egyptian power symbols, as observed in the Stratum XIX Temple at Megiddo.⁵⁹ It can also be speculated that the fact that no Egyptian material-culture traits were adopted by Canaanite society may reflect a traumatic aspect of this colonial encounter. This rejection of Egyptian traits is seen in many domains; at the domestic level, the employment of brewing and baking vessels left no manifestations in the local EB IB–EBII material culture. The employment of organic inclusions for ceramic manufacture was rare in Canaanite pottery-making. In architecture, mudbrick structures were not adopted. Most of all, the Egyptian administrative, record-keeping, and writing systems, all vehicles of control and power during the colonies' life, were rejected and were not adopted by Canaanite society. This rejection seems to reflect a bipolar reaction to colonial encounters where one side (the newcomers) has higher agency

than the other side (the host community). We can thus suggest that some Egyptian enclaves (probably at sites like Tel Maahaz and Tel Lod) had high or very high agency over the local population. Power symbols were explicitly projected by the Egyptian population (incised *serekhs*, the majestic bull) in the loci of interaction between Canaanites and Egyptians, and some aspects of material culture reflect hybridization and imitation of Egyptian pottery.⁶⁰ At the same time, other enclaves (such as Tel Halif Terrace) may have had a bilateral, low- to medium-level agency with the Canaanite population within a flexible socio-political relationship.

CONCLUSION

The current paper has outlined several nodes deduced from available data on several spatial, theoretical, and socio-political aspects of an 'enclaving' process employed by the newly established Egyptian state during the late fourth millennium BCE. This process was multi-faceted and probably operated by more than one agent, which may have resulted in several types of encounters between the Canaanite host populations and the Egyptian newcomers. However, there is reason to believe that this 'enclaving' process was pre-planned and spatially deployed in a way that would have secured Egyptian socio-economic and political interests. The exploitation of Canaanite resources by the Egyptians eventually triggered resistance and hostility from the host population and may have been one of the reasons for the withdrawal of Egypt from Canaan by the end of the fourth millennium BCE.

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- 18 Paz, Elad and Cohen-Weinberger 2021; Fischer 2002.
19 See Yekutieli 2000.
20 Gophna, Paz, and Taxel 2010; van den Brink 2002; Yannai and Marder 2000; Golani 2013.
21 See Morris 2005, Fig. 21.
22 See Miroschedji 2002, Fig. 2.4; Morris 2005, Fig. 21.
23 Yekutieli 1998, 213.
24 Yekutieli 1998, 221.
25 Yekutieli 1998, 222–223.
26 Miroschedji 2002, 41–44, Table 2.1.
27 See, e.g., Miroschedji 2002, table 2.1.
28 Berry et al. 1989, 187–188.
29 Berry et al. 1989, 188.
30 McSparron et al. 2019.
31 See Beit-Arieh and Gophna 1999, 195; Amiran and van den Brink 2002.
32 Beit-Arieh and Gophna 1999, 205–206.
33 See Beit-Arieh and Gophna 1999, 197.
34 Kansa and Levy 2002, 201–205.
35 Milevski et al. 2016, 67–69.
36 Milevski et al. 2016, 75.
37 See, e.g., Yegorov and Milevski 2017.
38 Gophna, Paz, and Taxel 2010, 11.
39 See Gophna, Paz, and Taxel 2010, 20, Fig. 9.
40 See also Gophna, Paz, and Taxel 2010, 30.
41 See Gophna 2002.
42 See, e.g., Getzov, Paz, and Gophna 2001, 48; Golani 2013, Fig. 1.
43 See Yannai and Marder 2000; van den Brink 2002; Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ 2005; Golani 2013.
44 See, e.g., Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ 2005, 147–149, Fig. 28; Yannai and Marder 2000.
45 Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ 2005, 147.
46 See Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ 2005, 147–148.
47 Yannai and Marder 2000.
48 See Golani 2013, Fig. 1.
49 Paz, Rosenberg, and Nativ 2005, 139.
50 IAA Permit 5538, see Barkan and Abu-Salah 2017, Fig. 1; Kanas 2011; a full publication of Kanas' excavation is being prepared by Y. Paz.
51 See Barkan and Abu Salah 2017, fig. 7.
52 Paz, Forthcoming.
53 Kansa and Levy 2002, 203–206.
54 Yekutieli 1998, 222; 2007, 73–74.
55 See, e.g., Getzov, Paz, and Gophna 2001, 22–24; Paz 2002; Paz, Elad, and Cohen-Weinberger 2021, 54–58.
56 See Gal and Kochavi 2000, 63.
57 Burke et al. 2017.
58 Given 2004.
59 Yekutieli 2007, 74.
60 See, e.g., Yekutieli 2007, 72–74.

NOTES

- 1 Anthony 1990.
2 Anthony 1990: 900–902.
3 Anthony 1990: 902–904.
4 McSparron et al. 2019, 228–229.
5 See, e.g., Algaze 1993.
6 See, e.g., Dietler 1998.
7 Gosden 2004, 3.
8 Stein 2005.
9 Stein 2005, 8.
10 Stein 2005, 12.
11 Voss 2005, 431–435.
12 Stein 2005, 13.
13 Stein 2005, 21.
14 Miroschedji and Sadek 2000.
15 van den Brink and Braun 2003, 78–85.
16 See also Gophna 1995; Miroschedji and Sadek 2000; Braun 2002.
17 E.g., Nahal Tillah (Kansa and Levy 2002); Tel Maahaz (Amiran and van den Brink 2002); small Tel Malhata (Ilan 2002); Tel Lod (van den Brink 2002).