



EGYPT AND ISRAEL: THE WAYS OF CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE (20TH – 26TH DYNASTY)*

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ABSTRACT

When did literary ideas and Egyptian motifs first find their way to Israel/Judah? The article investigates modes of cultural contact in the Late Bronze and Iron Age (20th – 26th Dynasty). According to archaeological, epigraphic and literary material two ways of cultural contact can be found: an indirect one as a kind of 'leftover' of the Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant in the Late Bronze Age (20th dynasty) and a direct one in the 25th and 26th dynasty. Because of the political development, within the 7th century for the first time direct political and various cultural contacts between Egypt and Israel/Judah existed. In Egypt this period represents a policy of openness in connection with a 'renaissance' of older material in the Saite Dynasty. This includes wisdom texts, such as the Teaching of Amenemope which was used by a Hebrew scribe when writing Proverbs 22:17-23:11.

In 1923 the British Egyptologist Ernest A. Wallis Budge published a new wisdom text. Budge had bought this papyrus when travelling in Egypt in 1888 and subsequently brought it to the British museum where it was archived under the number pBM 10474.¹ In his first edition of the papyrus in the "Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum"² Budge pointed to some similarities between this text, labelled "The Teaching of Amen-Em-Apt, Son of Kanekht"³ by him and the biblical Book of Proverbs.⁴ Budge's colleague Adolf Erman, professor of Egyptology at the University of Berlin, followed this line of interpretation. In 1924 he gave a lecture at the Berlin academy of sciences entitled "A new source for the biblical book of Proverbs".⁵ Erman drew attention to a number of similarities between the "Instruction of Amenemope" and Proverbs 22:17-23:11 and argued that these similarities had to be explained by a literary dependency. According to Erman, the passage in Proverbs was written against the backdrop of the Teaching of Amenemope. Erman's colleague at Berlin University, the Old Testament scholar Hugo Gressmann followed Erman's proposal and evaluated both texts in an elaborated article in the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" (1924).⁶ Gressmann followed his Egyptological colleagues when arguing that the author of the Israelite wisdom text knew the Egyptian instruction. He came to the conclusion that Israelite wisdom has to be seen in the context of the international world of the Ancient Near East.⁷ In many ways the articles by Erman and Gressmann influenced the research on the book of Proverbs and

the relationship between Israelite and Egyptian literature. They broke new ground as they presented for the first time an example for a direct connection between an Egyptian piece of literature and a passage from the Bible.⁸ Previous research had pointed to common motifs such as, for example, in the Song of Songs or in Psalm 104 and the Hymn of Akenaton. But the Instruction of Amenemope and Proverbs 22:17-23:11 (24:22)⁹ provided the first example for a direct literary connection. This assumption led to the question how a scribe from Ancient Israel could come into touch with an Egyptian wisdom text, especially if it was a wisdom text from the New Kingdom (20th dynasty)?

Previous research wanted to argue for cultural contacts between Egypt and Israel in the late 2nd millennium BCE. Such a view was then combined with a historical reading of the passages of the Hebrew Bible dealing with Egypt such as the story of Joseph or the Exodus-narrative. One of the first scholars to do so was a predecessor of Gressmann. Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, since 1829 Professor for Old Testament at the University of Berlin,¹⁰ published a book in 1842 called "Die Bücher Mose's und Aegypten".¹¹ It was the first study in which the newly acquired knowledge of Egypt was utilized for the interpretation of biblical passages such as the Joseph Story, the Exodus, and the naming of Moses. Hengstenberg's approach, however, was not historical-critical. Coming from a pietistic background (he was close to the so-called "Erweckungsbewegung"), his primary intention was to show that the books of Moses contain historical information that would testify to the historical reliability of the Bible and could be

used as an argument against historical-critical exegesis.¹²

Old Testament scholarship within the last 150 years has shown that such an approach is highly problematic. The Exodus narrative as well as the biblical account of Joseph are pieces of literature, which were written in later times.¹³ They can hardly be used for a reconstruction of the cultural contacts between Israel and Egypt in the late 2nd millennium BCE. If, however, the narratives about the beginnings of Israel in Ancient Egypt are questionable from a historical point of view, how then can we explain the Egyptian motifs and traditions in the Hebrew Bible?

The following paper focuses on the Late Bronze and Iron Age, i.e., the historical period from the emergence of Israel in the late 2nd century BCE to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE. It is the time, which is contemporaneous to the Egyptian “Third Intermediate Period” and the beginning of the “Late Period” (21st – 26th dynasty). It will be argued that during this period basically two ways of cultural contacts between Egypt and Israel existed: an indirect way where the heritage of the Egyptian presence in Palestine/Canaan in the Late Bronze Age influenced Early Israel and a direct way during the late 8th and 7th century, the time of the Judahite kings Hezekiah and Josiah.¹⁴

The paper falls into four parts. The first part gives an overview of the political and cultural transregional contacts in the Late Bronze Age (I). Then the historical and political relations between the kings of Israel and Egypt in the first half of the 1st Millennium BCE (the Iron Age) will be examined (II) and finally a thesis will be developed on the ways of cultural contacts in the aforementioned period. Hence, a scenario will be presented how it was possible that an Egyptian wisdom text like the Instruction of Amenemope was borrowed by an Israelite scribe (III). The article concludes with a brief summary (IV).

EGYPT AND PALESTINE/ISRAEL IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE (20TH DYNASTY)

The cultural contacts between Egypt and Palestine must be seen against the backdrop of the political history of the region. Regarding the expansion policy of the Egyptian New Kingdom – sometimes labeled “New Empire” –, it can be seen that Egyptian policy was in general not really concerned with the territory of Ancient Israel. The pharaohs of the New Kingdom were much more interested in the main trading cities and market places along the coast of Syria-Palestine, and not in political entities as such.¹⁵ From a geographical point of view the so-called Syrian-Palestine land-bridge was a transit-region with plains along the coastal strip and mountains to the East. The history of the Ancient Near East in the 2nd as well as in the 1st millennium shows that the main political powers of the time were primarily interested in control over the coastal strip and not the mountainous areas. The focus was on the two main trading routes, the so called *Via Maris* along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and the so-called “way of the kings”, which

linked the states in Northern Syria with the Southern parts down to Arabia.¹⁶ In addition to this, the geopolitical aspect was important too. The main powers of the Ancient Near East were interested in maintaining small states, which were large enough to be a buffer against the enemies in the North (for example the Hittites) but small enough not to become a threat for Egypt itself. The Egyptian way to deal with this was to create a network of vassals together with a number of garrisons.¹⁷ This can be seen with Thutmose I, who was according to the sources the first pharaoh who became active in Syria-Palestine, and also with Ramsesses III in the 12th century BCE, when the Egyptian hegemony comes to an end.¹⁸ A number of sources present a picture of this period. The most interesting source is the corpus of the Amarna letters, a collection of more than 350 cuneiform tablets, most of them written in Akkadian. These letters not only provide a plethora of information about the diplomatic correspondence between the rulers of Mitanni or of the Hittites with Egyptian pharaohs like Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, but also include correspondence from the rulers of the small city states of Syria-Palestine. In our context, the letters from the ruler of Jerusalem are interesting. In one of the letters of Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem one reads:¹⁹

Say to the king, my lord. Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times.

The passage is continued by a report about some hostilities and mentions the lack of a garrison like Gaza (= Hazzatu):

*And now as for Urusalim, if this land belongs to the king, why is it <not> of concern (?) to the king like Hazzatu?
[...]*

Accordingly, as truly as the king lives, his irpi-official, Pu'uru, has left me and is in Hazzatu. May the king call (this) to mind when he arrives (?). And so may the king send 50 men as a garrison to protect the land.

The letters of the city-ruler of Jerusalem are important for two reasons. Firstly, they document the vassal relationship between the rulers of Syria-Palestine and the Egyptian hegemonic power. Obviously, Egypt sent messengers to Syria/Palestine and provided protection for the city-states against enemies. Secondly, the letter shows that an Egyptian garrison existed in Gaza but not in Jerusalem. From the Egyptian perspective, Jerusalem was one of the less important city-states on the Syrian-Palestine land-bridge. According to current research one has to distinguish different types of city-states. Israel Finkelstein differentiated five size categories.²⁰ The city-state of Jerusalem had a large territory (ca. 2400 sq.km) but only eight settlements; it was the “most sparsely settled region in Late Bronze Canaan.”²¹ Jerusalem was

one of the less important city-states besides strong ones such as Lachish, Megiddo, or Gath. The Egyptian pharaohs had installed a network of different administration centers, with Megiddo and Beth-Shean in the North and Gaza in the South as the most important of them. Concerning the quest of cultural contacts, it is interesting that some places hosted Egyptian temples. One of them was Beth-Shean.

The city of Beth-Shean had been an Egyptian garrison since the times of Thutmose III, when he conquered the city of Beth-Shean after his victory in the Battle of Megiddo.²² Despite the fact that the evidence for an Egyptian presence during the 18th Dynasty is weaker compared to the situation in the 19th and 20th dynasty²³ it can be seen that during the 19th dynasty at latest Beth-Shean became a strong Egyptian base in the Southern Levant. If one follows the interpretation of the archaeological evidence provided by Frances W. James and Patrick McGovern, the ground plan of the city was created in an Egyptian style – as it can be seen for instance at Tell el-Amarna or Deir el-Medineh.²⁴ The presence of Egyptian specialists in Beth-Shean is documented by a stela for the local god Mekal. This object mentions a man with the name ‘Paremheb’, son of the architect Amenemope.²⁵ During the 19th dynasty a new street system was designed and a new temple constructed. This new status is documented by two monumental stelae which were erected by Sety I.²⁶ Chemical analysis has shown that these stelae as well as another one from the time of Ramesses II were produced in Palestine, supposedly by Egyptian craftsmen who lived in Beth-Shean.²⁷ The archaeological material gives support to the assumption that not only Egyptian craftsmen lived in Beth-Shean but that local craftsmen were trained there to produce Egyptian style pottery.²⁸ Moreover, small items such as scarabs or seals document a combination between Egyptian and ‘Canaanite’ iconography as Daphna Ben-Tor has recently shown.²⁹ Thus, one can speak, for the time of the Egyptian domination of Beth-Shean, of an “Egyptian-Canaanite” style at the site.³⁰ Besides such a combination of Egyptian and Canaanite elements, a second aspect becomes remarkable questioning respect of cultural contacts. The aforementioned large monumental stelae of Sety I and Ramesses III document not only a political claim of the Egyptian pharaoh to Beth-Shean, they also serve as markers of Egyptian religion. These stelae include motifs such as the Pharaoh making an offering to the falcon-headed god Re-Horakhty (on the victory stela of Sety I), or document the literary genre of the so-called eulogies of the kings. Claudia Maderna-Sieben in her Heidelberg dissertation has shown that these eulogies have a fixed form with typical motifs.³¹ Often they include the so-called king’s-novel, a piece of literature, which can also be found in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 2 Sam 7). If one searches for an explanation for the knowledge of Egyptian royal ideology in Palestine and in some passages of the Hebrew Bible, one has to take these stelae from Beth-Shean into account.³²

Going back to the archaeological evidence itself one issue

stands out. The stelae from the Egyptian Pharaohs were used in later times. The excavations of the University of Pennsylvania (1921-1933) showed that the old garrison was renovated under Ramesses III. This garrison also includes an Egyptian temple, which displays a combination of genuine Egyptian objects and local culture.³³ Additionally we have a number of Egyptian artefacts and pieces like scarabs or amulets from a depot of this temple. And, following the aforementioned line, the material documents a combination of ‘Canaanite’, i.e. ‘Syrian’, and Egyptian motifs.³⁴



Figure 1: Cylinder Seal of Ramesses II (Schipper, Vermächtnis, 274, No. 2)



Figure 2: Scene from the Basalt Stele of Ramesses II (Schipper, Vermächtnis, 274, No. 1)

In the small temple of the 20th Dynasty a cylinder seal was found with an illustration showing Pharaoh Ramesses II (19th Dynasty). The style of the presentation of the Pharaoh is close to the large monumental stela with Ramesses II in front of a deity. He wears the battle-crown and shoots two arrows at the enemies. On the other side there is a local, Syrian-Palestine deity giving the Pharaoh the ritual saber. If we follow the interpretation proposed by Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger,³⁵ the small thing visible on the forehead is the head of a gazelle. This could be a hint that the Syrian god is Reshep, who was linked to Mekal, the

local deity of Beth-Shean.³⁶ In sum, the illustration shows a combination of Egyptian and local iconography and illustrates what I would like to call the indirect way of cultural contacts: that is via the Egyptian presence in Syria-Palestine, where motifs of royal ideology or even Egyptian religion became part of the cultural heritage of Palestine.

When moving to the Southern part of Syria-Palestine, the archaeological and literary evidence shows that this was not only the case in Beth-Shean. Apparently the same picture can be seen in the city of Gaza, located close to the Egyptian border. Because of its location Gaza was of strategic importance. Since no excavations had been possible at Gaza,³⁷ the literary evidence becomes important. According to the sources Gaza became important under Thutmose III and served as an Egyptian administrative centre and garrison under Sety I and his followers. The well-known Papyrus Harris documents the existence of an Egyptian temple. The Papyrus from the time of Ramesses IV mentions a number of temple endowments from Ramesses III.³⁸ The list also includes the construction of a house for the God Amun (9,1-3).³⁹

*(1) „I build for you a hidden house in the land of Djahi
(as) an image of the horizon of heaven, which is in the sky,
(as) “The Temple of Ramesses III in p3-Knˆn”
as a bequest for your name.*

*I created your statue
(as) a big one resting therein
(as) “Amun of Ramesses III”*

*It is according to its being divine
that the foreigners of Retenu are coming to it
with their tributes to its front.*

The text mentions a temple for the god Amun-Re in *p3-Knˆn*. According to other textual evidence the formulae “*p3-Knˆn*” is the synonym for the city of Gaza.⁴⁰ And if we follow the words, the text reports that the people to the South of Palestine in the vicinity of Gaza were in the habit of giving tributes to the Egyptian temple.⁴¹ A current excavation of a place in the so-called

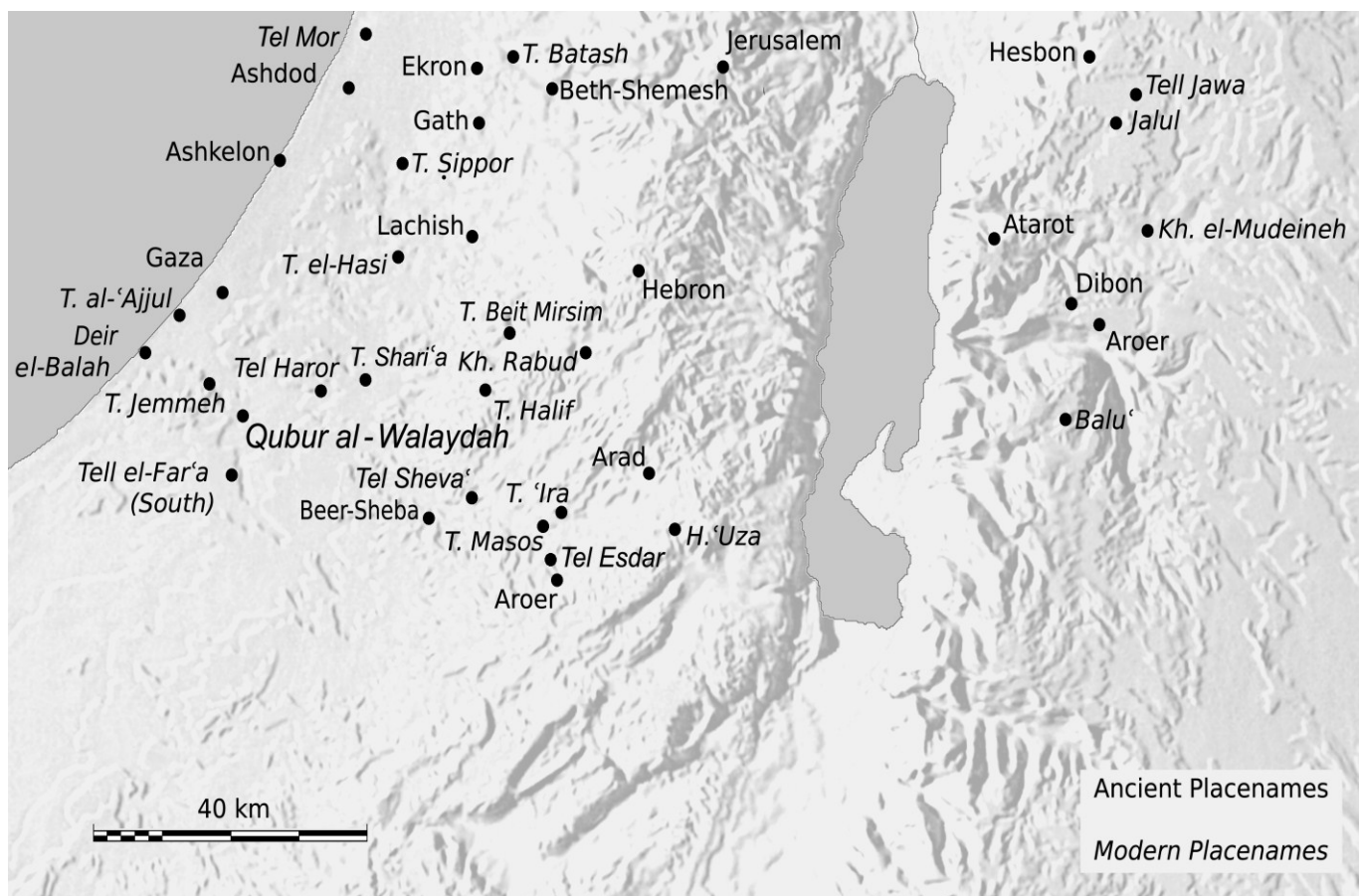


Figure 3: Map of Southern Palestine (Lehmann, WdO 40/2, 137)

“hinterland” of Gaza gives further evidence of the Egyptian influence in the Southern region of Palestine.

In Qubur al-Walayda on the Wadi Gazze (Nahal Besor) between Tell Jemmeh and Tell el-Far’a (South) a small city was excavated. Interestingly, no architectural remains of the Late Bronze Age were retrieved, but monumental mud-brick architecture from Iron Age IA (12th Century, Stratum VIII). The building-style of the structures “resembles buildings labeled ‘Egyptian Residences’ dating to the late 13th and early 12th centuries BCE.”⁴² The pottery associated with this stratum and the architecture of the building have close parallels to the corresponding “residences” at Tell esh-Sharia (Stratum IX), Tel el-Far’a (South) and Tell Jemmeh building JF.⁴³ Because of the lack of international pottery such as Cypriot and Mycenaean ware and because of the comparisons with Tell esh-Shari’a Stratum IX the “Egyptian Residence” of Qubur Al-Walayda should be dated to the 12th century. Ann Killebrew in her investigation of the pottery discovered some typical Egyptian pottery types, which correspond to Egyptian ceramic vessels of the 20th dynasty.⁴⁴ The same can be found in Beth-Shean, where the Egyptian influence continued to the 12th century. According to the archaeological evidence Egyptian objects were used after the end of the Egyptian domination in the Southern Levant by the local inhabitants of Beth-Shean. New excavations by Amihai Mazar have shown that Beth-Shean was still under Egyptian control during the 20th dynasty (Iron Age IA). A new building, which can be defined as a small palace was erected and other buildings document that Egyptian officials were in Beth Shean in the 12th century.⁴⁵ The garrison town of Beth-Shean was apparently destroyed between the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses VI.⁴⁶ The new excavations of the Hebrew University Jerusalem, however, have shown that the monumental statues and objects were also in use in the post-Egyptian levels of the 11th century (21st dynasty, Iron Age IB). A number of Egyptian monuments were retained in Level V, i.e. at a time “when the Egyptians were no longer present at Beth-Shean.”⁴⁷

If one combines this data with the information of Papyrus Harris, the Egyptian hegemony includes not only the construction of administrative districts but also the installation of Egyptian temples, bringing the people of Palestine in contact with Egyptian religion. This cultural contact in terms of Egyptian dominated cities existed only in the time of the Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant (Late Bronze and Iron Age I / 18.–20. Dynasty) but with the end of this presence under Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI⁴⁸ this influence does not terminate. It became part of the cultural heritage of the Southern Levant, which then determines the following centuries.

This can be illustrated, to give only one example, by a piece of iconographical (and also archaeological) evidence. Othmar Keel

has drawn attention to a group of scarabs, which he calls the group of the “Eckig-stilisiert-Thronender” (that translates something like “the angled-styled-enthroned”).⁴⁹ This Early Iron Age group is characterized by an iconography which on the one hand rests in an Egyptian tradition but on the other hand breaks with it. The scarabs of the group picked up one main motif of Egyptian iconography: the sitting pharaoh, as we find it on scarabs of the New Kingdom and also from the Third Intermediate Period:



Figures 4 (Tel Zeror) and 5 (Gezer)
(Schipper, Vermächtnis, 274, No. 4 and 8)



Figures 6 (Tell el-Ajjul) and 7 (Achzib)
(Schipper, Vermächtnis, 274, No. 5 and 6)

Obviously, this iconography was adopted by the local scarabs, but the style and the design are quite un-Egyptian. The scarabs still show a sitting person, but without the symbols of a pharaoh. And we have also some hieroglyphic signs, like for instance the *nbw*-sign for gold, or the big one on the right side which is interpreted by Flinders Petrie as the *nfr*-sign, by Raphael Giveon as the *dd*-pillar and by Othmar Keel as the *wd3*-sign (for the papyrus column).⁵⁰ What can be seen here too is a change of objects. For example, the uraeus of the original Egyptian scarab, where it is a part of the head, is now something protruding from the mouth of the enthroned. Objects of this group of scarabs were found in layers of the 11th to the 9th century (late Iron I up to Iron IIB). This documents on the one hand the constancy of

the Egyptian heritage in the Southern Levant but also the independence from Egypt. If one takes into account that scarabs of this group were found in Achzib, Megiddo, Taanach, Tel Zeror, Gezer, Tell el-^cAğūl and elsewhere,⁵¹ it becomes apparent that this tendency applied to the Southern part of Syria/Palestine in general.

In sum, a double way of cultural contact within the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age can be found: on the one hand a direct contact based on the Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant, on the other hand an indirect contact as a leftover of this presence where Egyptian motifs become part of the cultural heritage of Syria/Palestine. The material from Beth-Shean illustrates that this process should not be seen as a linear development as even in the time of the Egyptian domination a kind of 'Egyptian-Canaanite' style was developed. One reason for this obviously was that the Egyptians used local craftsmen and trained them in Egyptian art. Furthermore, with the end of the Egyptian presence in the late 20th dynasty monumental objects such as the stelae of Sety I or Ramesses II were not put out of use but were erected by the local inhabitants of Beth-Shean. Hence, a different picture emerges: a leftover of Egyptian monuments, which serve as carriers of Egyptian royal ideology and religion and the local adaption of such motifs in the glyptic of Syria-Palestine. This process determines the Iron Age IB as well Iron Age IIA with the 10th century. Or in other words: According to the material discussed above, it is possible to trace a way of cultural contact whereby Egyptian motifs and parts of Egyptian religion become a part of the cultural heritage of Palestine. These parts of Egyptian religion or, for instance, of Egyptian royal ideology continued to have an effect even in the times after the hegemony of Egypt in Syria-Palestine had come to an end. They are like a leftover from the time of the direct presence of Egypt in Palestine during a historical period when Egypt was focused on domestic affairs. This was the case after the decline of the New Kingdom by the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st dynasty and during the period which Egyptologists label the "Third Intermediate Period." Hence, one can find an indirect way of cultural contact between Egypt and Israel via the Egyptian presence in Syria/Palestine. This was, however, not a direct one, since the Kingdom of Israel emerged after that period and the tribes of the later Israelites can be located in the hills and not in cities such as Beth-Shean in the North or Gaza in the South.⁵²

EGYPT AND ISRAEL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C. (21ST – 26TH DYNASTY)

When inquiring into the question of direct cultural contact between Egypt and Israel in the first millennium BCE, research usually focused on the time of David and Solomon.⁵³ According to the biblical view, the Solomonic kingdom was an empire in the Ancient Near Eastern world with established trading relations and a widespread diplomatic network. So for instance, in 1 Kings

3:1 a kind of diplomatic marriage between Solomon and the Egyptian King is mentioned. According to this text, Solomon was married to the daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh. Some Egyptologists would like to follow this information by assuming that Solomon had close relations to the Tanite pharaohs of the 21st dynasty. For example, the renowned Kenneth A. Kitchen in his book "The Third Intermediate Period" wanted to reconstruct the Solomonic period mainly by using the biblical sources.⁵⁴ Recent research, however, has shown that one has to be very careful using the biblical narrative about Solomon for a reconstruction of history.⁵⁵ The passages in the book of Kings or in Chronicles are religious literature which can hardly be read as historical sources. Most of the text stems from later times and reflects a historical-political situation hundred years after Solomon. A careful evaluation of the texts in 1 Kings 3-11 shows that especially the passages about Solomon's international trade relations (1 Kings 9:26-28; 10:11-12; 21-22; 28-29) and his marriage with a nameless daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh reflect the political context of the 8th and 7th century BCE.⁵⁶ Hence, historical information about the state of Ancient Israel during the Davidic and Solomonic period, i.e. the 10th century BCE, can only be made against the backdrop of archaeological data. According to the archaeological material the period of David and Solomon appears not to be a time of a major empire. Israel was located in the mountains of Palestine, including the former "Canaanite" city of Jerusalem, which becomes Israelite under David.⁵⁷ This new capital was far away from the trade routes and from the part of the Syrian-Palestine land-bridge which had greater geo-political relevance. This fact as well as the difference between the biblical account and the historical events can be seen in the final decades of the 10th century when for the first time after the Ramessides, an Egyptian pharaoh campaigned to Syria-Palestine.⁵⁸

It was the decipherer of the hieroglyphs who first drew attention to this. In 1822 Jean Francois Champollion connected a large inscription on the so-called 'Bubastite portal' of the Karnak temple⁵⁹ with a passage in the Book of Kings mentioning a campaign of an Egyptian pharaoh against Jerusalem. Champollion argued that the brief note in 1 Kings 14:25-28 mentioning a pharaoh "Shushaq" who campaigned against Jerusalem refers to the same historical event as the triumphal relief at Karnak temple.⁶⁰ Further investigation has shown that the so-called Palestine list of Sheshonq I (945-924 BC) contains a number of place-names, which can be interpreted as follows:⁶¹ Obviously Sheshonq I campaigned on the "Ways of Horus"; the Southern part of the Via Maris and went to Megiddo. From Megiddo several smaller troops were sent into the hill area and the Negev. Interestingly, the different smaller troop activities were oriented against the territory of the Northern kingdom of Israel and not against the kingdom of Judah with its capital Jerusalem. The city of Jerusalem is actually not mentioned in the list. This stands in contrast to 1 Kings 14:25-28. According to

the brief note at the beginning of the report of the reign of Rehoboam, the main target of pharaoh Sheshonq was Jerusalem where he took a part of the temple treasure.⁶² An exegesis of the text shows that the brief note in 1 Kings 14 may stem from the chronicle of the kings of Judah but that it documented only the fact that an Egyptian pharaoh with the name Sheshonq campaigned against Palestine in the time of Rehoboam and not more.⁶³ Hence, the main target of the campaign becomes visible against the backdrop of the archaeological data and the Egyptian list from the Karnak temple. And here, we have some interesting evidence. In Megiddo a fragment of a large Egyptian stele was found.⁶⁴ This fragment bears the name of Sheshonq I and originally belonged to a monumental stele like the ones of Sety I or Ramesses II in Beth-Shean. If one combines this with the fact that in the Palestine list many names of sites of the Negev are mentioned, a double focus of the Egyptian campaign can be seen: on the one hand, Sheshonq was interested in control over the trade routes (including those to the South) and on the other hand he wanted to take over the coastal plain. The fragment from Megiddo supports the assumption that Sheshonq wanted to re-establish the Egyptian hegemonial system of the late Bronze Age.⁶⁵ Despite the question how much destruction in the Southern Levant can be connected with this campaign,⁶⁶ one fact becomes striking: in the 10th century the same principles can be seen as in the Late Bronze and Iron Age I. The primary aim of Egyptian activities in the Southern Levant was to gain control over the trade routes and over strategic important cities and not to conquer the hill-region. In contrast to this, Ancient Israel can be located in this territory, the hills and mountainous region beyond the coastal plain or cities such as Beth-Shean or Megiddo.⁶⁷ Thus, the historical period of David and Solomon was obviously not a time of direct cultural contacts between Israel and Egypt.

From an Egyptian perspective this is hardly surprising, since the predecessors of Sheshonq, the pharaohs of the 21st dynasty, were forced to concentrate on domestic affairs and even the campaign of Sheshonq I at the beginning of the 22nd dynasty was no more than a brief episode without a wider aftermath. During the 21st dynasty Egypt was locked in the struggle of the rivalry between Tanis in the North and Thebes in the South.⁶⁸ One side was represented by the rulers of the 21st dynasty in the new capital of Tanis, the other by the priests and their families in the traditional cultic center of Thebes. It is no wonder that external affairs and an orientation towards Syria/Palestine are documented again only after a pharaoh who was able to solve the internal problems of Egypt and who brought the priesthood of Thebes under control. By installing his son Iuput as new Highpriest of Amun in Thebes, the founder of the 22nd dynasty in Egypt, Sheshonq I, was able to pacify the situation.⁶⁹ Ruling over a unified Egypt he was able to shift the focus to external affairs. According to the sources, Sheshonq I made the aforementioned campaign against Palestine in the final years of

his rule.⁷⁰ This led, however, not to a new cultural contact between Egypt and the Southern Levant. The campaign was without effects and Sheshonq's successors Osorkon I, Takeloth I and Osorkon II again had to concentrate more and more on internal affairs.⁷¹ For the next decades up to the 8th century the situation in Egypt was determined by the so-called "Libyan Anarchy", a period with a number of local, rival centers of power.⁷²

This situation changed when a new power steps into the arena of Ancient Near Eastern politics: the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The so-called 'Western-expansion' of the Neo-Assyrian Empire is the main political factor in the 9th and 8th century and it is this factor which leads to the situation that forced the kings of Jerusalem as well as the Egyptian Pharaoh to develop contacts.

The so-called Western expansion of the Assyrian Empire is linked to the names of Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884), Shalmaneser III (858-824/823), Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) and Sennacherib (705-681).⁷³ The reign of these kings spans the period of the ninth to the seventh century. It was Tukulti-Ninurta II who installed a new military power and started a campaign towards the West.⁷⁴ The events of the following decades show that the more the Assyrian kings pressed to the West the more the small political entities felt the pressure to seek diplomatic contacts. This was the situation under Shalmaneser III when he marched on a coalition of "12 kings" of the North-Syrian territory. From 853 to 838 BCE Shalmaneser III undertook a number of campaigns to the West, facing, if one follows the Assyrian sources, for ten years the same coalition of "twelve kings of the shore of the sea".⁷⁵ According to these sources, the anti-Assyrian coalition included the kings of Damascus, Ugarit, Hamath and as well the king of Israel. In the report on the "battle of Qarqar" in the year 853 BCE king Ahab of Israel is mentioned next to Hadad of Damascus, Irchuleni of Hamath and others.⁷⁶ On the so-called 'black obelisk' of Shalmaneser III from 841 BCE King Jehu (841-818), one of Ahab's successors to the throne of Samaria, is mentioned.⁷⁷ Interestingly, the Southern Kingdom of Judah with its capital Jerusalem was not involved in these events. The military operation of the Assyrians was limited to the Northern part of Syria-Palestine and not concerned with its Southern part, which was important for Egypt. Hence it is not surprising that the Egyptian pharaohs did not become active in this conflict. From the Egyptian point of view, with the Kingdom of Judah and the Philistine territory two small buffer states existed guaranteeing a safe distance between the Assyrians, the territory occupied by them, and Egypt.⁷⁸

This changed in the 8th century BCE when the Assyrian kings penetrated more and more into Southern Palestine. Comparable to the time of Shalmaneser III in the 8th century the small states of Syria-Palestine, the city-states of the Phoenicians and also the Philistine cities were seeking coalition partners. One coalition was headed by the Philistine prince Chanunu, the ruler of the

city of Gaza.⁷⁹ When the Assyrian King Tiglath-pileser III campaigned against this coalition in the year 734, Chanunu fled to Egypt.⁸⁰ According to the sources the Egyptian pharaoh does not react. Chanunu “like a bird, he flew (back)” and Tiglath-pileser III “returned him to his position”.⁸¹ The sources provide no information whether an Egyptian pharaoh was involved in these events. However, if one takes the political situation in Egypt in the last quarter of the 8th century into account it becomes apparent that there existed no Egyptian ruler who had the power to risk a military conflict with Assyria.

In the 8th century Egypt was in a situation, which can be compared in many ways to the situation during the 10th century under the 21st dynasty. Egypt was divided into different regional centers of power. In the last quarter of the 8th century different dynasties existed in parallel. This is documented by the so-called ‘Napata-stele’ of the Cushite ruler Pije/Piankhy.⁸² In this text no less than four rulers are mentioned for the Egyptian Delta: in the Western Delta Tefnachte of Sais who founded the 24th dynasty, in the middle part Iupet II king of Leontopolis, in Heracleopolis the last ruler of the Theban 23rd dynasty Pef-tjau-awy-Bast and in the Eastern Delta Osorkon IV the last ruler of the Libyan 22nd/23rd dynasty.⁸³

Against the backdrop of this situation in Egypt, it is no wonder that the Egyptian ruler did not become active when Chanunu from Gaza fled to Egypt. The sources give no information to which Egyptian ruler (or local Pharaoh) Chanunu fled but it could be the ruler of the part of Egypt which borders to the Southern Levant: Padibasted II (740/35-730/28), the predecessor of Osorkon IV (730/28-715/13) and a member of the Bubastite Dynasty. Neither Padibasted II nor Osorkon II had the power to fight against the Assyrians. This can be seen in a brief notice in the Hebrew Bible.

According to 2 Kings 17:4 the last ruler of the kingdom of Israel, Hoshea, sent messengers to the Pharaoh of Egypt:

But the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea, who had sent messengers to So king of Egypt and had offered no tribute to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year; so the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison.

Given that the Hebrew word נִיּוּ is an abbreviation of the Egyptian name Osorkon,⁸⁴ Hoshea of Israel tried to make contact with the last ruler of the Bubastite dynasty, Osorkon IV. According to the brief report in 2 Kings 17:4 the king of Samaria, Hoshea, was a vassal of the Assyrians and rebelled against the Assyrian king without success. The Hebrew text mentions in brief words that the Assyrian king found conspiracy (רָשָׁע)⁸⁵ in Hoshea, that he shut him up and bound him in prison. Obviously, Osorkon IV was not willing to support the ruler of Samaria, a city that was far away from his sphere of interest.⁸⁶ This strategy can be seen too when Sargon II campaigned close to

the Egyptian border. According to the Assyrian texts, in his 6th year (716 BCE), Sargon II was at the “brook of Egypt” and received from “Ši-il-kan-ni, king of Egypt” 10 horses as “hansel”.⁸⁷ Obviously Osorkon IV preferred to pay a tribute to the Assyrian king instead of risking a military confrontation.

The situation changed in the last quarter of the 8th century when a new power was able to unite Egypt. This new power was the 25th dynasty with the Nubian kings Shabako, Shabtaka and Taharqa. Over a period of more than 50 years the Cushite rulers were able to seek control over Egypt. With the occupation of Thebes in 715 the Cushite Shabako established the 25th dynasty. After succeeding Piankhy who died in 716,⁸⁸ Shabako successfully took control over the different small dominions. With these events the way was paved not only for a new policy in Egypt but also for an orientation in the situation in Syria-Palestine. Comparable to the situation at the turn from the 21st to the 22nd dynasty under Sheshonq I, the Egyptian Pharaoh was able to initiate a foreign policy only when Egypt was not tied up by domestic problems with rival local rulers. In contrast to the events in the 10th century, however, the sources give evidence that now the historical situation led to direct contacts between the Egyptian court and the royal court of Jerusalem.

The new Egyptian policy is connected with the Nubian Pharaohs Shabako and Shabtaka who both were involved in the events in the final years of the 8th century. An episode about the Philistine ruler Iamani of Ashdod who fled to Egypt, documents that during the first years the Nubian Pharaoh was not interested in a confrontation with the Assyrians. The annals of Sargon II, published by Andreas Fuchs, and the Tang-I Var inscription document that Iamani fled to Egypt in 711 and that the Egyptian pharaoh, obviously Shabatko, handed Iamani over to Sargon II around 706.⁸⁹ In contrast, a few years later Egypt participated in an anti-Assyrian coalition. This coalition was headed by Hezekiah, king of Judah and included the Phoenician cities Byblos and Sidon, the Philistine cities Ashkalon and Ekron, the lands of Ammon, Edom and Moab.⁹⁰ In fact, nearly all of the city-states and kingdoms of the Southern Levant were united. This coalition was interested in getting support from the Egyptian pharaoh and the Nubian rulers were obviously willing to do this. A few passages in the biblical book of the prophet Isaiah support the assumption that under Hezekiah close diplomatic contacts to the Cushite pharaohs existed.⁹¹

*Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help,
who rely on war horses,
and trust in Egypt's many chariots
and in their many, many horsemen.
But they do not rely on the Holy One of Israel
and do not seek help from the Lord.
(Is 31:1)*

The information, given in the text, fits very well to the

Assyrian reports on the battle between the coalition and Sennacherib where “the kings of Egypt, (and) the bowmen, chariot corps and cavalry of the kings of Ethiopia” were mentioned.⁹² The wording of Isaiah 31⁹³ shows that some people in Jerusalem were asking for military support from Egypt. This is not really new since the Assyrian sources mention that the Philistines, too, in the last quarter of the 8th century were interested in military support by the Egyptians. It cannot be said whether the prophet Isaiah was a member of a political party at the royal court of Jerusalem, which was against this new policy of fostering contacts to Egypt, or whether he basically argued on the basis of the Philistine experience Egypt, but the position itself is clear. This is illustrated by another text from the book of Isaiah:

*18:1 Woe to the land of buzzing wings,
the one beyond the rivers of Cush,
18:2 that sends messengers by sea,
who glide over the water's surface in boats made of papyrus.
Go, you swift messengers,
to a nation of tall, smooth-skinned people,
to a people that are feared far and wide,
to a nation strong and victorious,
whose land rivers divide.*

The passage from Is 18:1-2⁹⁴ presents a description of the Cushite messengers as well as the land of Cush: a nation of tall, smooth-skinned people, the rivers of Cush and a land of buzzing wings.⁹⁵ If both passages can be dated to the time of Isaiah who was a prophet at the court of King Hezekiah we have an indication for contact on the highest level. Official messengers were sent from the royal court of Egypt to the king of Judah. As a consequence, at the battle of Eltheke in 701, an Egyptian army participated. The line of events shows, however, that the Egyptians only stepped into the conflict when the Philistine city of Ekron was in danger. Neither the Assyrian sources nor the Hebrew Bible mention that the Egyptian Pharaoh sent troops to help Hezekiah or to protect Jerusalem.⁹⁶ Obviously, Egypt now was interested in such a coalition against the Assyrians and the new Cushite king realized that the political situation demanded a participation in a coalition against the Assyrians.

From a historical point of view this is the very first time of a direct and close contact between Egypt and ‘Israel’. Furthermore, these events in the last years of the 8th century were the starting point for a historical period where Egypt and ‘Israel’ (i.e. the historical kingdom of Judah) were linked in many ways. The archaeological material as well as the literary sources provide evidence for contacts on different levels. Despite the fact that the anti-Assyrian coalition of Hezekiah was not successful and the kingdom of Judah became (or was still) a vassal of the Assyrians, the following events lead to these close contacts:⁹⁷

During the time of Manasseh, the king with the longest reign

on the throne of Jerusalem, Judahites had to serve as mercenaries in the Assyrian army. The Assyrian documents about the first campaign to Egypt mention vassals from the kings of the Southern Levant such as the rulers of Gaza, Ashkalon, Ekron, Byblos and “Manasseh, King of Judah”⁹⁸ With the decline of the Assyrian empire after the year 640 Egypt under the new 26th Dynasty once again moved more and more into the Southern Levant. Psammetichus I of Sais who first was appointed by the Assyrians,⁹⁹ started to fill the vacuum of power left by the Assyrians, firstly in Egypt, then in the Southern Levant. A detailed evaluation of the material supports the assumption that the Egyptian dominance already started during the time of King Josiah of Judah.¹⁰⁰ Presumably, after his march to the Tigris in 616, Psammetichus I with the help of his Greek mercenaries established an Egyptian-controlled system of vassal-states. This includes an Egyptian-Greek fortress in Mezad Hashavyahu, a network of royal messengers, and the procedures for collecting taxes. Textual sources such as the Serapeum Stele from Psammetichus I's 52 regnal year (612 BC), the statue of the messenger Pediese (Baltimore 221203), and the Hebrew-Egyptian (hieratic) ostraca of Mezad Hashavjahu, Arad and Tell el-Qudeirat illustrate the organization and the effects of this new Egyptian Hegemony.¹⁰¹ As a consequence of the Egyptian control over Southern Palestine in the year 609 the Egyptian pharaoh displaced one king in Jerusalem with another one. When pharaoh Necho II, shortly after his enthronement, marched to Syria the Judahite king Josiah went to him. Eventually Josiah as an Egyptian vassal wanted to pay tribute to the new Egyptian ruler.¹⁰² The biblical text, a brief note in 2 Kings 23:29, only gives the information that Necho II killed Josiah when “he saw him” at Megiddo.¹⁰³ After that Necho marched to the North and the people of Jerusalem installed a new king. But this king, his name was Joahas, had to go to the military camp of the Egyptian Pharaoh as 2 Kings 23 reported:¹⁰⁴

(33) Pharaoh Necho imprisoned him in Riblah in the land of Hamath and prevented him from ruling in Jerusalem. He imposed on the land a special tax of one hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.

(34) Pharaoh Necho made Josiah's son Eliakim king in Josiah's place, and changed his name to Jehoiakim. He took Jehoahaz to Egypt, where he died

(35) Jehoiakim paid Pharaoh the required amount of silver and gold, but to meet Pharaoh's demands Jehoiakim had to tax the land. He collected an assessed amount from each man among the people of the land in order to pay Pharaoh Necho.

The verses illustrate the status of the kingdom of Judah as a vassal of Egypt. They record, too, one aspect which is documented by the sequence of events. The Egyptian Pharaohs

did not have a genuine interest in the Kingdom of Judah with its capital Jerusalem. The rulers of the 26th dynasty, Psammetichus I and Necho II, were - as it was the case for the Cushite kings - interested in keeping the enemy in the North (first the Assyrians, then the Neo-Babylonian Empire) away from their own sphere of interest. However, the following decades up to the fall of Jerusalem in the year 587 BCE illustrate in many ways that from the end of the 7th century until the first years of the 6th century BCE a number of cultural contacts between the Southern Levant and Egypt existed. The kingdom of Judah was part of this cultural network.

But what does this mean for the question we posed at the beginning of this article, the question of cultural contacts in general, and, more precisely, how one could explain the ways in which pieces of Egyptian literature like the Instruction of Amenemope came to bear influence on the Hebrew Bible?

EGYPT AND JUDAH IN THE 7TH CENTURY. THE CULTURAL CONTACTS WITHIN THE 25TH AND 26TH DYNASTY

The historical outline has shown that for the first time direct cultural contacts between Egypt and “Israel” (or more precisely: the kingdom of Judah) existed during the period of the 25th and 26th dynasty. The reason for this was not a general interest of the Nubian or Saite Kings in the kingdom of Judah but the general political situation. Because of the military activities of the Neo-Assyrian (and later the Neo-Babylonians) kings, the Egyptian sphere of interest was touched. The sequence of events shows that the pharaohs were more focused on the Philistine territory (which borders to Egypt), but by the time of Hezekiah the kingdom of Judah and the kings of Jerusalem came more and more into focus. Given that from the time of Hezekiah a group at the royal court of Jerusalem was oriented towards Egypt, it is plausible that members of this group were also interested in Egyptian culture and religion. But how was it possible – to return to the starting point of this article – that a piece of Egyptian literature, such as the Instruction of Amenemope was borrowed from Egypt? From an Egyptological point of view, a number of aspects have to be taken into account.¹⁰⁵

First the general changes in Egypt during the Saite period are important. Psammetichus I was able to seek control over Egypt because of his Greek mercenaries.¹⁰⁶ These mercenaries stayed in the land and lived in own cities such as Naukratis in the Delta region or Memphis.¹⁰⁷ Although the foreigners in Egypt, whether they were Greeks or Phoenicians¹⁰⁸, lived in their own cities, some of them were assimilated. Frank Kammerzell has shown by using the example of the Carians that foreigners learned the Egyptian language and became familiar with Egyptian religion.¹⁰⁹ Also a number of Egyptians in Southern Palestine or in the Assyrian dominated territory are attested.¹¹⁰ On a cuneiform tablet from Gezer, for example, an Egyptian with the name Ḥar-ú-a-ši is mentioned as a witness to a land sale.¹¹¹ For the question

of the present article the main point is the process of opening in Egypt itself. This means on the one hand the “homines novi” in the time of the Saite kings and on the other the “Archaism” of the 26th dynasty.

One strategy of Psammetichus I when bringing the main temples under control was to limit the power of the traditional priestly families. He did not accept inner familiar successions¹¹² which led, for example, to a situation where members from more local families were appointed to high positions at the Egyptian court or at important temples.¹¹³ The idea was to terminate the tradition of the local priestly families by installing new officials. The funerary architecture of this period provides evidence that such *homines novi* (i.e. members of merely low-ranking families) had access to the cultural heritage of Egypt. The tombs of these officials document that during this period a number of religious texts were in use, which were previously only accessible to members of royal or traditional priestly families.¹¹⁴ Moreover, recent Egyptological research has shown that within the 26th dynasty a certain form of ‘archaism’ was practiced by using texts from older periods. One of the most impressive examples is the Tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33), which contains a number of texts from previous periods, including Hymns, chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead and a ritual text from Medinet Habu.¹¹⁵ Moreover, Jochem Kahl in a detailed analysis of the material from Thebes has shown that the Theban libraries of older texts were used also outside of Thebes.¹¹⁶ The literary evidence gives support to the thesis that several kind of pattern books (“Musterbücher”) with a collection of older texts, were in use.¹¹⁷

Interestingly, the same evidence can be seen for the wisdom literature. An elaborated and widespread use of instructions from the Old, Middle and New Kingdom is documented. Thus, allusions on the instruction of Ptahhotep can be found in the “Dream stele” of Tanutamun, quotations from the Instruction of Amenemhat I in the Pije-stele and in an inscription of the Temple of Kawa from the time Taharqos and allusions on the Loyalistic Instruction in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36).¹¹⁸ Moreover new wisdom texts were composed by using motifs and phrases from previous instructions.¹¹⁹ It seems no surprise that such knowledge of older texts is also attested for the Instruction of Amenemope and its reception. This can be especially seen by the fact that the only complete version of the text known to us is the aforementioned Papyrus British Museum 10474 (the one Ernest Wallis Budge bought 1888 in Egypt) that stems from the 26th dynasty. Secondly, a number of writing boards show that the ‘Amenemope’ was well known during the 7th century BCE. The French Egyptologist George Posener has already drawn attention to a few writing boards from the 25th and 26th dynasty.¹²⁰ These documents from the education system proved a widespread knowledge of the instruction which stems from the Ramesside period.¹²¹ Based on paleographical reasons the Papyrus British Museum 10474 has to be dated to the early years of 26th dynasty.¹²²

This means that in a time when Egypt had close contacts to the kingdom of Judah a certain Egyptian wisdom text that was prominent in Egypt was used by an Israelite scribe for a Hebrew wisdom composition. The present article is, however, not the place to discuss the similarities and differences between the Instruction of Amenemope and Proverbs 22:17-24:22. A closer examination, however, shows that the Israelite scribe used the Egyptian wisdom texts in a way wisdom texts were normally used in Egypt.¹²³ Obviously the Israelite scribe was tied to a literary method, which is typical for the literary process within the Egyptian wisdom tradition and which can be seen in other material from the 25th and 26th dynasty, mentioned above.

As a result, a number of arguments lend support to the thesis that the historical and literary process when the Instruction of Amenemope was borrowed by an Israelite scribe should be located during the 7th century. This was not only the time of direct cultural contacts between Egypt and the kingdom of Judah but also the period of a genuine interest in Egypt at the royal court of Jerusalem and a general opening of Egyptian culture under the Saite 26th dynasty.

SUMMARY: THE CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND 'ISRAEL/JUDAH'

The aim of this article was to examine the modes of cultural contact between Egypt and Israel in the Late Bronze and Iron Age. The approach was a historical one asking for the political contact against the backdrop of the history of the Ancient Near East during the Egyptian 20th to 26th dynasty. This methodological approach led to a double result.

On the one hand a strong hegemony of Egypt in the Late Bronze Age existed. It was a hegemony manifested by a network of vassals and a few garrisons. These cities also included Egyptian temples and monuments like monumental stelae or statues. Henceforth, the people of Palestine came into contact with Egyptian religion and royal ideology. The main point is that these parts of Egyptian culture continued to have an effect even during times when the Egyptian hegemony in Syria-Palestine had drawn to a close. We can detect something like a leftover from the time of the direct presence of Egypt in Palestine. And it becomes remarkable in this context that, for example, in the city of Beth-Shean the Egyptian artefacts from the Late Bronze Age were still in use during Iron Age II. This means, that Egyptian material was in use when 'Israel' as a state emerged. From a more systematic point of view, these leftovers from the Egyptian presence in Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age have to be seen as one way of cultural contact. It is an "indirect way" whereby motifs and symbols became a part of the heritage of Palestine. This could have been a way where motifs such as royal ideology, certain words or knowledge of Egyptian administrative titles came to Early Israel.¹²⁴ Hence, the present author would like to argue that the "Egyptian" motifs at the royal court of Saul, David and

Solomon should be explained by being such "leftovers" from the Egyptian presence in the Late Bronze age. Obviously the Israelites participated in an Egyptian heritage, which was part of the culture of the Southern Levant since the period of the Egyptian presence in Palestine under the pharaohs of the New Kingdom (20th dynasty).

The material discussed in the present article leads to the conclusion that a direct way of cultural contact only existed in later times. This way can be situated in the late 8th and especially the 7th century BCE and includes, as has been shown, for the first time contacts on a political and diplomatic level. If we were to follow some biblical sources like passages from the book of Isaiah or the book of Jeremiah there was obviously a political party at the court of Jerusalem which was quite interested in Egypt.¹²⁵ However, such a genuine interest was not found amongst the Egyptian Pharaohs where simply the political situation created some contacts. Because of the Western expansion of the Assyrian Empire the small states of Syria-Palestine were forced to form a coalition and this coalition understandably looked for a strong partner, which means, they asked Egypt for help. On the Egyptian side there was after the time of the Third Intermediate Period with its different rulers a new strong power, the Nubian kings and later the Saite pharaohs. So Egypt was interested in holding the Assyrians and later the Neo-Babylonian Empire away from its territory.

The situation reached a new level in the last quarter of the 7th century when the Egyptian kings Psammetichus I and Necho II were able to take over the territory formerly dominated by the Assyrians in the Southern Levant. Obviously, they used the administrative structures, established by the Assyrians, and founded for the first time after the New Kingdom an Egyptian hegemony in a part of Syria/Palestine with vassal kings and local states which had to pay tribute to the Egyptian authority. According to the archaeological sources, the Greek mercenaries of the Egyptian pharaohs lived in certain garrisons in Palestine and represented the Egyptian interests in Palestine. Although this Egyptian 'empire' existed only for a short period, the cultural and the political contacts between the kingdom of Judah and Egypt should not be underestimated. The development from the days of Hezekiah towards the end of the 8th century to the final years of Jerusalem at the beginning of 6th century led to an orientation towards Egypt in Judah, which was the reason for a group of Judahites to flee to Egypt when the Babylonians took over control in Judah.¹²⁶

In sum, the one and only historical period with close and direct cultural relations between Southern Palestine (so to say, 'Israel'), and Egypt in the Late Bronze and Iron Age (20th-26th dynasty), was the period of the Egyptian 25th and especially 26th dynasty. It is, too, the period when a number of older texts in Egypt were in use and when due to the general opening under the Saite rulers and the so-called 'Saite renaissance' the foundations were laid for a strong cultural contact between Egypt and the

kingdom of Judah. This was the time when it was possible that Egyptian literature was brought to the court of Jerusalem, probably not only the Instruction of Amenemope.¹²⁷

NOTES

- * This article is dedicated to my esteemed colleague Christoph Marksches on the occasion of his 50th birthday and may remind him of some of our conversations when traveling together in Israel this past spring. – I am grateful to Anselm C. Hagedorn for his help in preparing the English version and to my colleagues at the University of California – Los Angeles (UCLA), Jacco Dieleman and William M. Schiedewind, who – some years ago – gave me the opportunity to present the thesis in a guest-lecture.
- ¹ On the circumstances of the finding of the papyrus see Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris I* (London: J. Murray, 1888), 337, with a picture of a part of the teaching.
 - ² Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 2nd Ser., (London: British Museum, 1923), 9-18.41-51; Taf. I-14.”
 - ³ This was the title of the edition of the text published in 1924. The edition was preceded by an article in the collection of essays in memory of Champollion: “The Precepts of Life by Amen-Em-Apt, the Son of Kanecht,” *Recueil d’Études égyptologiques dédiées à la Mémoire des Jean-François Champollion* (Paris: H. Champion, 1922), 431-446.
 - ⁴ Amenemope 6 and Proverbs 15:17 / Amenemope 7 and Proverbs 23:7, see Budge, *Facsimiles*, 357.
 - ⁵ Adolf Erman, “Eine ägyptische Quelle der Sprüche Salomos,” first published in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische Klasse* 15 (Berlin: 1924): 86-93 (republished in Adolf Erman, *Akademischeschriften [1880-1928]*, [Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1986], 339-346).
 - ⁶ Hugo Gressmann, “Die neugefundene Lehre des Amenemope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 42 (1924): 272-296.
 - ⁷ Gressmann, *ibid.*, 285. Gressmann placed Israelite wisdom „im internationalen Verkehr des vorderen Orients von Ägypten im Westen bis nach Indien im Osten.“
 - ⁸ For an overview on research see John A. Emerton, “The Teaching of Amenemope and Proverbs XXII 17-XXIV 22,” *Vetus Testamentum* 41 (2001): 431-464 and Paul Overland, “Structure in the Wisdom of Amenemope and Proverbs,” in Joseph E. Coleson and Victor M. Matthews (eds.), *Go to the Land I will show you* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 275-291.
 - ⁹ Some scholars also see parallels in Prov. 24. See Diethard Römheld, *Wege der Weisheit. Die Lehren Amenemopes und Proverbiens 22,17-24,22*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 184 (Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 1989).
 - ¹⁰ Hengstenberg was from 1826 “Extraordinarius” and from 1828 “Ordinarius” for Biblical Exegesis. See Joachim Mehlhausen, “Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm (1802-1869),” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie XV* (Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 1986), 39-42 (40). John W. Rogerson, “Art. Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm”, in *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation Vol. I* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 494-495.
 - ¹¹ Ernst W. Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Moses’ und Ägypten: nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos* (Berlin: Oehmigke, 1841).
 - ¹² Hengstenberg divided his book into a ‘negative’ and a ‘positive’ part (arguments against/ for Egyptian influence on the books of Moses). With 215 pages, the ‘positive’ section is considerably longer than the negative part (with 21 pages). Needless to say, the present author argues on the basis of “historical-critical-exegesis” which is, since the middle of the 19th century, the “state of art” in biblical scholarship in Europe as well as in a number of US universities. See n. 14 below.
 - ¹³ See for a critical, recent interpretation Christoph Berner, *Die Exoduserzählung*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 73 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) and Konrad Schmid, “Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch”, in Jan Christian Gertz et al. (eds.), *Abschied vom Jahwisten*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 315 (Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 2002), 83-118. See Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid (eds.), *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).
 - ¹⁴ In this way, the present article presents thoughts which I developed in different articles and books, published on the issue in the last decade. I may be forgiven when – due to the constraints of space – I simply refer at some points to my own publications. There the reader will find further bibliography as well as more detailed discussions of scholarship (including scholars like Kenneth A. Kitchen and the so-called “comparative school”).
 - ¹⁵ See for a more elaborated argumentation Bernd U. Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit. Die kulturellen Kontakte von Salomo bis zum Fall Jerusalem*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 170 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 287-291.
 - ¹⁶ David A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (Baltimore / London: John Hopkins University Press, 1992).
 - ¹⁷ For a historical outline of this period see: Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapter 6 and 7.

- ¹⁸ It is an open question whether the Egyptian hegemony comes to an end under Ramesses III or later. See n. 48 below and for a broader discussion Bernd U. Schipper, "Vermächtnis und Verwirklichung. Das Nachwirken der ramessidischen Außenpolitik im Palästina der frühen Eisenzeit," in Rolf Gundlach and Ursula Rößler-Köhler (eds.), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 36,3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 241-275 and William G. Dever, "The Late Bronze-Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, 'Sea Peoples', and Proto-Israelites," in W.A. Ward and M. Sharp Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque: Kendall / Hunt, 1992), 99-110.
- ¹⁹ EA 289, translation from William H. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture. Vol III: Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2003), 238.
- ²⁰ Israel Finkelstein, "The Territorial-Political System of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age," *Ugarit Forschungen* 28 (1996): 221-255 (227). See Magen Broshi and Ram Gophna, "The Settlement and Population of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age II-III," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 253 (1984): 41-53.
- ²¹ Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 235.
- ²² The earliest reference to Beth-Shean in texts from the New Kingdom is the topographic list of Thutmose III at Karnak (No. 110: bt šir); see Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 16 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2003), 257 and Michael G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant 1300-1185 B.C.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 11 (Leiden / Boston / Cologne: Brill, 1998), 134. For the archaeology and the history of excavation on Tel Beth-Shean see the instructive overview by Amihai Mazar, "The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean," in S. Bar et al. (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel. History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2011), 155-189 (155f.).
- ²³ See Mazar, *ibid.*, 159.
- ²⁴ Frances W. James and Patrick McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shean. A Study of Levels VII and VIII*. University Museum Monographs 85 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1993), 25.
- ²⁵ This stele was found in locus 1010, Level V, see Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shean* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1930), 37-38, pl. 49:1 and Frances W. James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shean. A Study of the Levels IV-VI* (Pennsylvania: University Museum, 1966), 16-17, 39.171.
- ²⁶ The first Sety I stele was found in secondary use in Level V (in front of the Northern temple), the second stele was found out of context in a late level, see Rowe, *Topography*, 25-30 and the overview in Schipper, *Vermächtnis*, 254.
- ²⁷ Cp. Carol Hiddingbotham, "The Statue of Ramses III from Beth Shean," *Tel Aviv* 26 (1999): 225-232.
- ²⁸ See for example Anat Cohen-Weinberger, "Petrographic Analysis of the Egyptian Forms from Stratum VI at Tel Beth Shean," in Seymour Gitin and Amihai Mazar (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 406-412.
- ²⁹ Daphne Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs," in Shay Bar et al. (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel. History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2011), 23-43 (35 with Fig. 4: Beth Shean scarabs and Egyptian prototypes).
- ³⁰ Ben-Tor, *ibid.*, 35.
- ³¹ See Claudia Maderna-Sieben, "Ausgewählte Beispiele ramessidischer Königseulagen," in Rolf Gundlach and Ursula Rößler-Köhler (eds.), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36,3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 77-98
- ³² See for this the summary at the end of the present article.
- ³³ This is as well under discussion for the temple of Level VII which was compared to Amarna and Deir el-Medineh chapels, but is obviously inspired from Canaanite traditions too, Mazar, *The Egyptian Garrison*, 161.
- ³⁴ Mazar, *ibid.*, 160 with reference to further literature.
- ³⁵ Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 90f.
- ³⁶ See Henry O. Thompson, *Mekal, The God of Beth-Shean* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 144f.
- ³⁷ See the overview given by A. Ovadiah, "Gaza", in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeology of the Holy Land II* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 464-467; C. Uehlinger, "Gaza", in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart III*, 4th edition (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 481.
- ³⁸ See Wolja Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I. Hieroglyphische Transkription*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 5 (Brüssel: Fond. Égyptolog. Reine Élisabeth, 1933), 11, l. 4-8 and Herbert D. Schaedel, *Die Listen des großen Papyrus Harris*. Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien 6 (Glückstadt / Hamburg / New York: Augustin, 1936), 30f.
- ³⁹ Pap. Harris I (BM 9999), 9,1-3 (1155). The translation is by the present author (see Bernd U. Schipper, "Ein ägyptischer Tempel in Gaza," in Manfred Weippert [ed.], *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 10, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 173f. See the English translation by John A. Wilson, in James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press²1955), 260f. and the discussion by Stefan J. Wimmer, "Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai," in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990), 1056-1066.
- ⁴⁰ For a detailed argument see Schipper, *ibid.*, 173 with n. 185. For a different position see Michael G. Hasel, "Pa-Canaan in the Egyptian New Kingdom: Canaan or Gaza?," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnection* 1:1 (2009): 8-17 who

- argued that the wording refers to territory rather than to a city.
- ⁴¹ See Christoph Uehlinger, "Der Amun-Tempel Ramses' III. in p3-Kn'n, seine südpalästinischen Tempelgüter und der Übergang der Ägypter- zur Philisterherrschaft. Ein Hinweis auf einige wenig beachtete Skarabäen (1988)," in Othmar Keel et al. (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 100 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 3-26 (5-9).
- ⁴² Gunnar Lehmann et al., "Excavations at Qubur al-Walaydah, 2007-2009, *Die Welt des Orients* 40 (2010): 142. For the Egyptian residences see Eliezer D. Oren, "Governor's Residences' in Canaan under the New Kingdom. A Case Study of Egyptian Administration," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14 (1984): 37-56.
- ⁴³ Lehmann et al., *ibid.*, 143.
- ⁴⁴ Anne Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity. An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300-1000 B.C.E.* Archaeology and Biblical Studies 9 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 76-78, Fig. 2.17 and 2.18 (Typ EG 18).
- ⁴⁵ See Amihai Mazar, "Tel Beth-Shean. History and Archaeology," in Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann (eds.), *One God – One Cult – One Nation. Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 405 (Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 253.
- ⁴⁶ The latest New Kingdom object which was found in Beth-Shean was a scarab of Ramesses IV, Mazar, *ibid.*, 259.
- ⁴⁷ Mazar, *ibid.*, 260. For an overview of the material of Level V see Schipper, *Vermächtnis*, 254f.
- ⁴⁸ The question whether or not the Egyptian presence comes to an end before Ramesses VI depends on the interpretation of a statue base of Ramesses IV from Megiddo: James H. Breasted, "Bronze Base of a Statue of Ramses VI Discovered at Megiddo," in G. Loud et al. (eds.), *Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39, Text.* Oriental Institute Publications 62 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 1948), 135-138 and for a very careful interpretation Trude Dothan, "Some Aspects of the Appearance of Sea Peoples and Philistines in Canaan," in Sigrid Deger-Jalotzky (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr.* Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 418 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), 99-107 (104).
- ⁴⁹ This was first published by Keel in 1982: "Der Pharao als 'vollkommene Sonne'. Ein neuer ägypto-palästinischer Skarabäentyp," in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies.* Scripta Hierosolymitana 28 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 406-529 + Pls. III-VI. In the following I refer to the detailed argument in Keel and Uehlinger, *Gods*, § 83 (p. 136f).
- ⁵⁰ For a detailed discussion with reference to further scholarly literature see Schipper, *Vermächtnis*, 261.
- ⁵¹ See Othmar Keel, *Studien zur den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel, Vol. IV.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 135 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 233.
- ⁵² See Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. 10,000 – 586 B.C.E.* The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York et al.: Doubleday, 1990), 338f.
- ⁵³ See for example Ronald J. Williams, "A People come of our Egypt'. An Egyptologist looks at the Old Testament," in *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974.* Vetus Testamentum. Supplement 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 231-252, Abraham Malamat, "The Kingdom of David & Solomon in Its Contact with Egypt and Aram Naharaim," *Biblical Archaeologist* 21 (1958): 96-102 or Kenneth A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).
- ⁵⁴ Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips LTD, ²1986 /New Preface 1995), §§ 231, 235, 236 and Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Egypt and East Africa," in Lowell K. Handy (ed.), *The Age of Solomon. Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium.* Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 11 (Leiden / New York / Cologne: Brill, 1997), 106-123 (116ff "Egypt and East Africa in Relation to Solmon's Reign").
- ⁵⁵ See for example Nadav Na'aman, "Sources and Composition in the History of Solomon," in Lowell K. Handy (ed.), *The Age of Solomon. Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium.* Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 11 (Leiden / New York / Cologne: Brill, 1997), 57-80. There are numerous other publications on the issue, which could be mentioned. See for example the articles in a volume edited by André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, *The Book of Kings. Sources, Composition, Historiography, and Reception.* Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series 129 (Leiden / Boston: Brill 2010).
- ⁵⁶ For an elaborate and detailed discussion of this see Bernd U. Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, chap. 2.1.1; 2.1.2.4. Cf. Paul S. Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt. A Reassessment.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 297 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).
- ⁵⁷ Amihai Mazar, "Jerusalem in the 10th century B.C.E.: the Glass Half Full," in Yairah Amit et al. (eds.), *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context, A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 255-272.
- ⁵⁸ I am still of the opinion that there is no serious evidence which supports the thesis, developed by Pierre Montet and followed by many others, of a campaign to Palestine under the penultimate ruler of the 21st dynasty, Siamun. The fragment of a stele showing Siamun with an object like a double-ax does not provide an argument; the same has to be said of the brief note in 1 Kings 9:16.17a about a

campaign of a nameless Egyptian Pharaoh, see Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 19-35 and Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis. Fouilles de Tanis I* (Paris: Jourde et Allard, 1947), Taf 9A.

- ⁵⁹ This Bubastite Portal is in the South corner of the Karnak temple between the second pylon and the temple of Ramesses III.
- ⁶⁰ Champollion le Jeune, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829* (Paris: Libraires-Académique, 1868), 80-81.
- ⁶¹ See for an broader discussion Schipper, *ibid.*, 125-129. In the meantime two new translations of the Sheshonq-list have been published which also present an elaborate discussion of the toponyms mentioned in the text: Gerald Moers, "Der Palästinafeldzug Scheschonqs I.," in Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte zur Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge, Vol. 2* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 246-271 and Manfred Weippert, "Der Palästina-Feldzug Šošenq I. (um 925)," in Manfred Weippert (ed.), *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament. Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 10* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 228-238. For a new transliteration and English translation see Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy. Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 193-213.
- ⁶² The biblical passage mentions the "gold shields which Solomon had made" (V. 26). The parallel account in 2 Chr 12:2-9 is secondary to 1 Kings 14, since it uses phrases from 1 Kings 14:25-28 and combines this with a new frame, see Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 106 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 175 who labeled 2 Chr 12:2-8 as "detaillierte Ausweitung" of 1 Kings 14:25, and Peter Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 42 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1973).
- ⁶³ See Martin Noth, *Könige I,1-16*. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament IX/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1983), 330f.; Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings*. The Anchor Bible 10 (New York et al.: Doubleday, 2000), 390f.
- ⁶⁴ This fragment was first published by Clarence Fisher, *The Excavations of Armageddon. Oriental Institute Communications 4* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), Fig. 7 A and B. See as well David Ussishkin, "Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in the Tenth to Ninth Centuries B.C.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 277/78 (1990): 71-91 (72, Fig. 1).
- ⁶⁵ Alexander Fantalkin and Israel Finkelstein, "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th century BCE Earthquake. More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron Age I-IIA," *Tel Aviv* 33 (2006): 18-42.
- ⁶⁶ See Israel Finkelstein, "The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine. A Guide to the 10th Century Policy," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins* 118 (2002): 109-135.
- ⁶⁷ The present author is aware of the elaborated and highly controversial discussion whether or not sites such as Megiddo, Hazor or Gezer were "Israelite" in the 10th century. However, this article is not the place to discuss this. For the evidence in Megiddo which is important for the present argument see Israel Finkelstein, "The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah: The Missing Link," in Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew (eds.), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology. The First Temple Period*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 18 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 2003), 81-101 (90).
- ⁶⁸ See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 47-49 and the classic contribution to this issue by Jürgen von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben. Historische Grundlagen der Ramessidenzeit in Ägypten*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 16 (Glückstadt / Hamburg / New York: Augustin, 1951). A more recent evaluation of the sources is given by Malte Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 21, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994).
- ⁶⁹ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 288f and Karl Jansen-Winkel, "Der Beginn der libyschen Herrschaft in Ägypten," *Biblische Notizen* 71 (1994): 78-97 (96).
- ⁷⁰ Kitchen, *ibid.*, 294 and Schipper, *Israel*, 125 with n. 56.
- ⁷¹ It may be that economic contacts with the Phoenician coast continued until the reign of Osorkon II. (874-835/0 BCE). It all depends on the evaluation of Egyptian royal statues found at Byblos containing the cartouches of Osorkon I and Osorkon II. If the fragments of the statues that were secondarily inscribed with Phoenician inscriptions reached Byblos during the time of the pharaohs mentioned they have to be seen as evidence for direct contacts. If they were used secondarily this is not the case; for a detailed discussion see Bernd U. Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun. Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 209 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 185f and Donald R. Vance, "Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria. The Phoenician Inscriptions, Part I," *Biblical Archaeologist* 57 (1994): 2-19 (8f).
- ⁷² The best interpretation of the sources is still found in the studies by Jean Yoyotte (who coined the term "libyan anarchy") and Farouk Gomaà: Jean Yoyotte, "Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne (Études d'histoire politique)," in: *Mélanges Maspero I: Orient Ancien*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 66/1 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961), 121-181, pl. I-III. Farouk Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas. Vom Tode Osorkons II. bis zur Wiedervereinigung Ägyptens durch Psametik I*. Beihefte

- Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 6 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1974).
- ⁷³ For a detailed evaluation of the historical process see Ronald Lamprichs, *Die Westexpansion des neuassyrischen Reiches. Eine Strukturanalyse*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 239 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995).
- ⁷⁴ See Lamprichs, *ibid.*, 62f.
- ⁷⁵ Annals (Assur Clay Tablets), William W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture, Vol II. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2003), 265 and for a recent interpretation Shigeo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Sbalmanesar III (859-824 B.C.) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3 (Leiden / Boston / Cologne: Brill, 2000) and with special regard to Aramean history: Sigurour Hafthorsson, *A Passing Power. An Examination of the Sources for the History of Aram-Damascus in the Second Half of the Ninth Century BC*. Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 54 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006).
- ⁷⁶ Hallo (ed.), *ibid.*, 266f.
- ⁷⁷ Jehu is mentioned as “son of Omri”, see Nadav Na’aman, “Jehu Son of Omri. Legitimizing a Loyal Vassal by His Overlord,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 48 (1998): 236-238.
- ⁷⁸ Egypt did not take part at the events of the 9th century. Some scholars wanted to argue – on the basis of 2 Chr 14:8-14 – for a military campaign of a certain Zerach in the time of Osorkon I (Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 309, § 268), but the text in 2 Chronicles can hardly be interpreted as a historical document giving information about the 9th century, see H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*. New Century Bible 13-14 (Grand Rapids / London: Eerdmans / Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), 255-258 and Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 133-139.
- ⁷⁹ See the Assyrian reports about these events and for the historical events Carl S. Ehrlich, *The Philistines in Transition. A History from ca. 1000-730 B.C.E*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 10 (Leiden / New York / Cologne: Brill, 1996), 95.
- ⁸⁰ See Nadav Na’aman, “Tiglath-pileser III’s Campaigns Against Tyre and Israel (734-743 B.C.E.),” *Tel Aviv* 22 (1995): 268-278.
- ⁸¹ See Hallo (ed.), *ibid.*, 288 and Christoph Uehlinger, “Hanun von Gaza und seine Gottheiten auf Orthostatenreliefs Tiglatpilesers III.,” in Ulrich Hübner and Ernst A. Knauf (eds.), *Kein Land für sich allein. Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnari für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 186 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 92-125 (109f).
- ⁸² Nicolas C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(cankh)y aux Musée du Caire. JE 48862 et 47086-47089. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire* 105 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archeologie Orientale, 1981).
- ⁸³ See Grimal, *ibid.*, 212; Gomaà, *Fürstentümer*, 112f and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 369-374.
- ⁸⁴ See Bernd U. Schipper, “Wer war ‚So‘, König von Ägypten‘ (2 Kön 17,4)?,” *Biblische Notizen* 92 (1998): 71-84 with further discussion of the possibilities.
- ⁸⁵ The term שׂוֹרֵק means an “alliance” or “conspiracy, cf. 2 Sam 15:12; 2 Kings 11:14, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (HALOT)*. Study edition, Vol II (Leiden / Boston / Cologne: Brill, 2001), 1154.
- ⁸⁶ See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 372f.
- ⁸⁷ VA 8424 II 1’-11’, Ernst F. Weidner, “Silkan(he)ni, König von Musri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II. Nach einem neuen Bruchstück der Prisma-Inschrift des assyrischen Königs,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14 (1941-44): 40-53 (43) and par. BM 79-8-8,14 I’ (Andreas Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 8 [Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998], 28f, IIIe, 1-11).
- ⁸⁸ Kitchen, *ibid.*, 378f.
- ⁸⁹ See Fuchs, *Inschriften*, 125f; G. Frame, “The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-I Var,” *Orientalia* 68 (1999): 31-57, Taf. I-XVIII (35-48) and the overview in Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 200-202.
- ⁹⁰ See James Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah. Second Edition* (Louisville / London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 415f. and H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. Vol II. Von der Königszeit bis zu Alexander dem Großen*. Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 4/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ²1995), 354.
- ⁹¹ For a more elaborated argument see Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 207-211 and Robb Andrew Young, *Hezekiah in History and Tradition*. Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series 155 (Leiden / Boston: Brill 2012). The issue was discussed recently by James H. Hoffmeier, K. Lawson Younger and J.J.M. Roberts in Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew (eds.), *Jerusalem in Bibel and Archaeology*, 235-290.
- ⁹² Rassam Cylinder, Hallo (ed.), *Context of Scripture II*, 303 and Weippert, *ibid.*, 332.
- ⁹³ For a critical exegesis of the text see Reinhard Müller, *Ausgebliebene Einsicht. Jesajas “Verstockungsauftrag” (Jes 6,9-11) und die jüdische Politik am Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts*. Biblisch-theologische Studien 124 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2012), 46-50 and Matthijs J. de Jong, *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets. A comparative Study of the Earliest stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies*. Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series 117 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2007).
- ⁹⁴ See Müller, *ibid.*, 62-65 with references to other literature and a detailed examination of the text.

- ⁹⁵ Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 208f.
- ⁹⁶ The brief notice in 2 Kings 19:9, mentioning a “rumour” (V. 7: רִמְיָהוּ), documents only that the Egyptians became active and cannot account for an Egyptian interest in Jerusalem; see Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 215.
- ⁹⁷ As the period of the 7th century and the contacts between Egypt and the kingdom of Judah were described by the present author elsewhere, in the following only a few aspects should be mentioned. See Bernd U. Schipper, “Egypt and the Kingdom of Josiah and Jehoiakim,” *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 200-226 and Bernd U. Schipper, “Egyptian Imperialism after the New Kingdom. The 26th Dynastic and the Southern Levant,” in Shay Bar et al. (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel. History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52 (Boston / Leiden: Brill, 2011), 268-290.
- ⁹⁸ Prisma C II 39. Rykle Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 27-30 and Jean Elayi, “Les cités phéniciennes et l’empire assyrien à l’époque d’Assurbanipal,” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale* 77 (1983): 45-58 (46-50). For a detailed analysis of the Assyrian sources see Hans Ulrich Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 27/1-2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 149f.
- ⁹⁹ See Onasch, *ibid.*, 151-154.
- ¹⁰⁰ For further arguments see Schipper, *Egypt and the Kingdom of Josiah and Jehoiakim*, 220 and Nadav Na’aman, “The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah,” *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991): 3-71.
- ¹⁰¹ See Schipper, *ibid.*, 210-213. The Serapeum-Stela has been known since the end of the 19th century as well as the Pediese-statue, now in Baltimore (found in the Delta in 1894): Georg Steindorff, “The Statue of an Egyptian Commissioner in Syria,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (1939): 30-33 and Karl S. Freed / Donald B. Redford, “The Dates in Ezekiel in Relation to Biblical, Babylonian and Egyptian Sources,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 462-485.
- ¹⁰² Schipper, *Egyptian Imperialism*, 282f.
- ¹⁰³ The wording of the Hebrew passage does not imply a hostile movement. Hence, it is difficult to use the notice in 2 Kings 23:29 to reconstruct a battle between Josiah and Necho, Abraham Malamat, “Josiah’s Bid for Armageddon. The Background of the Judean-Egyptian Encounter in 609 B.C.,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 5 (1973): 267-279 (275).
- ¹⁰⁴ Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön. 17-2. Kön. 25*. Das Alte Testament Deutsch 11/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 466-469.
- ¹⁰⁵ For a more elaborated discussion see Bernd U. Schipper, “Kultur und Kontext. Zum Kulturtransfer zwischen Ägypten und Israel/Juda in der 25. und 26. Dynastie,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 29 (2001): 307-318 (313-317)
- ¹⁰⁶ See for example Anthony J. Spalinger, “Psammetichus, King of Egypt I,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13 (1976): 133-147 (134f.).
- ¹⁰⁷ On Naukratis see the articles collected in in Alexandra Villing and Udo Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt. Studies on East Greek Pottery and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean*. British Museum Research Publication 162 (London: The British Museum Press, 2006) and the detailed study by Astrid Möller, *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- ¹⁰⁸ See Herodotus II, 112 and Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Commentary 99-182*. Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain 43/3 (Leiden: Brill 1988), 44f.
- ¹⁰⁹ Frank Kammerzell, *Studien zur Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten*. Göttinger Orientforschungen IV/27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 174 who pointed to the funerary stele.
- ¹¹⁰ See Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten*, 266-267 for further examples.
- ¹¹¹ Bob Becking, “The Two Neo-Assyrian Documents from Gezer in Their Historical Context,” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”* 27 (1981-82): 76-89 (82-86). The text is published at Wayne Horowitz et al., *Cuneiform in Canaan. Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 51-60.
- ¹¹² Ursula Rößler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit. Private Quellen und ihre Königsbewertungen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Erwartung und Erfahrung*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV/21 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 199-212.
- ¹¹³ One example is a certain Ankh-Hor, who became majordomo of the pharaoh or a certain Basa from a regional priestly family of Koptos, see Schipper, *Kultur*, 314f with n. 45f. and Günther Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 1 (Wien: Afro-Pub, 1978), 125; 132f.
- ¹¹⁴ See Peter der Manuelian, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*, *Studies in Egyptology* (London: Kegan Paul, 1994), XXXV-XXXIX and Jochem Kahl, *Siut – Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im Alten Ägypten*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 13 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 1999), 351.
- ¹¹⁵ See for example Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), XXXIV and Schipper, *Kultur*, 316 with references to examples from the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead and other texts.

- ¹¹⁶ Kahl, *ibid.*, 287.
- ¹¹⁷ Der Manuelian, *ibid.*, 54.
- ¹¹⁸ See Schipper, *Kultur*, 317 and Hellmut Brunner, “Zitate aus Lebenslehren”, in Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 28 (Fribourg / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 107-171 (122-167).
- ¹¹⁹ An example for such a new wisdom text is P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 with a hieratic wisdom Instruction from the 26th dynasty: Richard Jasnow, *A Late-Period Hieratic Wisdom Text. P. Brooklyn 47.218.135*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 52 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992).
- ¹²⁰ George Posener, “Quatre tablettes scolaires de basse époque. Aménémopé et Djededef,” *Revue d'égyptologie* 18 (1966): 45-62 and George Posener, “Une nouvelle tablette d'Aménémopé,” *Revue d'égyptologie* 25 (1973): 251-252.
- ¹²¹ There should be no doubt that the Instruction of Amenemope was composed in the New Kingdom (20th dynasty). Cf. Vincent P.-M. Laisney, *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2007).
- ¹²² See Ursula Verhoeven-van Elsbergen, “Von hieratischen Literaturwerken der Spätzeit,” in Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal (eds.), *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*. Bibliothèque d'étude 127 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999), 255-265 (259).
- ¹²³ Bernd U. Schipper, “Die Lehre des Amenemope und Prov. 22,17-24,22. Eine Neubestimmung des literarischen Verhältnisses,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 117 (2005): 53-72 + 232-248.
- ¹²⁴ Helpful lists of the Egyptian influence in the Old Testament can be found by Ronald J. Williams, “Egypt and Israel,” in John R. Harris (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon, ²1971), 257-290 and Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, Chap. 13.
- ¹²⁵ This was still the situation in the first decade of the 6th century: Manfred Görg, “Jeremia zwischen Ost und West (Jer 28,1-6). Zur Krisensituation in Jerusalem am Vorabend des Babylonischen Exils,” in Manfred Görg (ed.), *Studien zur biblisch-ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge 14 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 190-207.
- ¹²⁶ See Schipper, *Israel*, 278-283.
- ¹²⁷ Regarding this, an evaluation of the argument of Donald B. Redford would be interesting, who wanted to place most of the Egyptian influence on literature from the Hebrew Bible (including the biblical story of Joseph) in the Saite period, Redford, *Egypt*, chapters 13 and 14. – It has to be said that the present author does not imply that the pre-exilic period was the one and only historical period of a close cultural contact between Egypt and Palestine. It was, nevertheless, the starting point of contacts that, subsequently, reached a new level during the Persian and Hellenistic period.