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Going East: Mapping the Egyptian Influence on the Personal Adornment of Metal Pendants from the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant

MA Dissertation

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Ὁ βίος βραχύς,
ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή.

Chronology (following Levy 1995)

Late Bronze Age	IA	1550-1450 BCE
	IB	1450-1400 BCE
	IIA	1400-1300 BCE
	IIB	1300-1200 BCE
Iron Age	IA	1200-1150 BCE
	IB	1150-1000 BCE

Abbreviations

EBA	Early Bronze Age (3500-2200 BCE)
MBA	Middle Bronze Age (2200-1550 BCE)
LBA	Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BCE)
EIA	Early Iron Age (1200-1000BCE)
IA/ Iron	Iron Age (1200-586 BCE)
OK	Old Kingdom Egypt (3^{rd}-6^{th} dynasties ca. 2686-2181 BCE)
MK	Middle Kingdom Egypt (11^{th}-12^{th} dynasties ca. 2125-1773 BCE)
NK	New Kingdom Egypt (18^{th}-20^{th} dynasties ca. 1550-1069 BCE)

Contents

Abstract

Metal jewellery that survives from the LBA provides evidence of strong elite Egyptian influence. Whether the Egyptians were the ones that procured and wore the distinctly Egyptian styles is ultimately unknown. The Southern Levant in the LBA was a unique period of Egyptian influence that followed the Egyptian garrisons and trade routes. But it seeped beyond this parameter to be seen throughout smaller Canaanite areas and in less international sites. Coastal cities proved to be the highest recorded for Egyptian style jewellery and there were also tombs that had distinct Egyptian objects, representing the idiosyncratic Egyptian communities that inhabited the region during the 18th and 19th dynasties. The jewellery shows what the elites considered to be stylish, and what was a politically important and religiously pertinent to the community at that time. Most of the materials required for making the jewellery of the elites would have only been available to the Canaanite population through the trading of the Egyptians and therefore presents already a strong influence. This thesis argues that the Egyptian influence reflected particularly in the metal pendants of the LBA represents a larger scale that filtered through to the lower classes that is not available in the current archaeological record.

1. Introduction

Jewellery, as a form of adornment, has been recorded in the Fertile Crescent as among some of the earliest artefacts produced. Humans began by using readily available material such as stone, shells or bones, but as societies developed, so too did their use of adornment. The smelting and exploiting of metals by the Egyptians in the Predynastic period were crucial steps in the formation of jewellery with precious metals. This development of techniques happened independently in many cultures throughout the world, which is suggestive of an intense need by humans to adorn and elevate the human condition and provides evidence of the global development of urban society with this craft specialisation.[1]

Prior to the destruction of the Hittite and Egyptian states, was a period of interdependence that led to new opportunities and great influence in the Levant which was depicted in the jewellery. This study will encompass the Southern Levant, which is the modern-day equivalent of the Israel and Palestinian territories, and will be focussed on the period of the LBA Canaanites. This region has been chosen due to its strategic trade importance, being the crossroads in the major Eastern Mediterranean powers of the LBA, and subsequently the exotica and wealth here is unique. The successive conquests and substantial amount of gold in Levantine excavations bear witness to the importance of this region as a major trade route.[2]

There were three centuries of Egyptian control in the Levant, beginning with Thutmosis III and ending around the time of Ramses VI with their withdrawal from Canaan. The Amarna letters suggest how the Pharaonic influence seeped into every aspect of the life of the Canaanites.[3] The transition from LBA to EIA in the Southern Levant, as with much of the region, marked a significant decrease in skill and jewellery craftsmanship. This is the case in the transition from the Canaanite period to the Israelite

[1] Genz 2000, 55.
[2] Altman 1979, 75.
[3] Finkelstein et al. 2017, 249.

period of the Levant. Multiple factors are to blame and are still the subject of much debate but it is clear that such intense change dramatically altered even the jewellery produced and demonstrated the changing Egyptian controls on the region.

The jewellery discovered within this context can be difficult to determine its place of manufacture: whether it was produced in Egypt or made locally in the Levant for its population will be explored in this thesis. The topic of this thesis will be further confined to metal pendants in order to delve deeper into the iconography prescribed to artisans. This thesis is focussed on pendants, which while similar in the function to beads, can be defined as jewellery with a stringing hole near an end that needs to be made light enough to be worn comfortably around the neck.[4] They can provide an ornamental function as part of more elaborate necklaces and collars, or they can be used throughout other areas of the body like girdles, headdresses or earrings, as evidenced in Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt.[5] Particularly in the Southern Levant, pendants could have more specific cultic meaning, used on cult figurines and in votive offerings.[6] Traditionally, they can be made out of a number of materials including metal, stone, bone, shell, silicates, terracotta and possibly other more perishable items like wood.[7] The pendants made of metal provide more freedom for artisans to create more detailed and intricate techniques that would not have been possible in other materials, yet comparatively speaking, metal pendants are found less frequently than pendants made of more readily available materials.

This thesis is focussed on the metal pendants of the LBA Southern Levant. They provide a unique insight into those who were willing to spend a significant amount of money to replicate Egyptian items. As the iconography of pendants is habitually talismanic and is more indicative of the religious influence in the area, it is also possible to observe the cultural influences that would have trickled down into the less elite and more general population who would not have been able to afford such luxuries. Often metal pendants were made in the same style of the non-metal pendants, although the amount and variety

[4] Golani 2013, 153.
[5] James, McGovern, and Bonn 1993, 129.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Golani 2013, 153.

of metal pendants found is not representative of the amount made. The jewellery that remains is the costly non-perishable materials that only the elites would have been able to afford. Ancient jewellery could have been also made from organic materials like wood, leather, textiles and, without this corpus of jewellery, we are interpreting a skewed view of the styles used by the Canaanite population.[8] Pendants of faience, other stone and non-metal materials provides an amount that is too large to study in this confined thesis. Additionally, the large corpus of jewellery with Egyptian influences like the rings, scarabs, earrings and bracelets also fall outside of this thesis. Pendants, however, offer the unique ability to provide more details than most other forms of personal adornment and are often considered the most important to the wearer, being positioned closest to the heart.

The ultimate purpose of this thesis is to better understand life in the Southern Levant at the end of the Bronze Age, when it was about to enter a tumultuous period. The period prior to such downfall was a time of great prosperity and internationality, which is reflected in the pendants. Behind these extant pieces, there are innumerable amulets that adorned people in different classes and this study aims to shed led on not just the elite's life but on those, particularly the women, who do not exist in the archaeological record. This is a necessary study because without extant documents or jewellery made of organic materials pertaining to the lives of women in this period, their voices are not heard. The remaining jewellery, despite being limited by class, does help to further comprehend the religious and societal styles and importance in the lives of women in the LBA Southern Levant. Even though the male population were also buried with and are depicted in iconography as wearing pendants, this thesis will be viewed through the lens of the female as they are too often neglected in the current archaeological literature.

The thesis will begin by examining the historical context of jewellery in Egypt and the Southern Levant and their relationship in the LBA. Then, the available literary sources will be assessed and a literature review will be undertaken. An overview of the sites and a description of metal pendants with

[8] Limmer 2007, 250.

accompanying tables and maps will then ensue, followed by a discussion of the metal pendants which will analyse the spread of the Egyptian influence going east.

2. Historical Context

2.1 The Egyptian History of Jewellery

2.1.1 Background

Before attempting to understand how the Egyptians influenced life in the Levant, the history of jewellery from Egypt and its stylistic tendencies first needs to be assessed. The Egyptians were an enduring and rich regime, and such prestige was clearly reflected in the opulence that was steadily displayed in artwork and artefacts for thousands of years. Unfortunately, much of the jewellery produced no longer exists due to gold's reusable nature and monetary value.

Most of the extant Egyptian jewellery was found undisturbed accompanying the dead. Unfortunately, with Egyptian jewellery, there is no definitive way to distinguish between ornamental and apotropaic jewellery. This is similar to most cultures, where the only real distinction to make is between jewellery made specifically to be worn in the afterlife and jewellery for the living, as that made to adorn the dead is too fragile or impractical for daily use.

Of the extant jewellery from the OK, most was made specifically for use in the afterlife, like the akh-bird crowns. However, this is different from the jewellery that was found buried with the princesses in Dashur and the wives of Thutmosis III who were buried with some jewellery which must have been worn prior to death as there are evident signs of repair, as well as other jewellery distinguished by its fragility which was created specifically for the afterlife. Compared with contemporaneous Mediterranean societies, the Egyptians were the most distinctive in their use of jewellery for talismanic purposes, something which was adopted by the Canaanites. For the Egyptians, specific iconography provided different benefits and its use is evidenced by the popularity of snakes and scorpions, being used to ward off evil, while scarabs, falcons and cowrie shells were used to protect wearers.[9] This stems

[9] Salisbury 2001, 172.

from the Egyptian belief that they would continue living in the same manner in the afterlife, thus they would require the same talismanic protection after death. Additionally, they needed talismanic protection for the journey into the netherworld which was considered dangerous.[10]

Although the fashions in Egypt were slow to change, there is evidence of them changing. An example of one that changed is the collar, which is the most often represented piece of jewellery from the OK, and this was comprised of cylindrical beads and either beetle or petal type pendants.[11] However, the MK saw the addition of hieroglyphs to jewellery for their individual amuletic properties and falcon headed terminals were also introduced.

2.1.2 New Kingdom (Contemporaneous) Jewellery

The NK dates from 1550-1069 BCE and encompasses the LBA. The jewellery found from tombs at the beginning of the LBA in Egypt exhibits a wealth of extravagance, which is particularly well displayed in the palace of Thutmosis III.[12] A variety of rich materials and techniques are found with intricate scarabs containing the cartouche of the contemporary pharaoh. These help to date the period of production, which in turn helps to date the corresponding artefacts found with the scarabs.[13] Arguably, the height of Egyptian jewellery techniques is demonstrated in the jewellery from Tutankhamun's treasure.[14]

The introduction of coloured glass, produced in large quantities and often used as an imitation for stones as beads or as inlays in the NK jewellery, is comparable in style to that of the MK. During this time, both earrings and earplugs became a new fashion, worn by both men and women.[15] Some of the most popular earrings found in the 18th dynasty were made of tubes of triangular sheet gold and were worn

[10] Aldred 1978, 16.
[11] Wilkinson 1971, 196.
[12] *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry: A Picture Book* 1940, 7.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Wilkinson 1971, 200.
[15] Tait 2008, 42.

by women. Additionally, there were earrings that dilated the piercing in the lobe as well as glass earplugs.[16] A set of large gold earrings from Ramses III included techniques of embossing, granulation and cloisonné which displays the wealth of technology applied in this time.[17]

In the NK, there was an introduction of floral motifs with the use of a variety of flowers and fruits, particularly in the Amarna period. Another form of fashion introduced in this period was the broad collar, which imitated a garland. These were decorated with floral elements of many different colours of glazes and included different iconography like date-palm leaves and lotuses.[18]

In terms of the form of personal adornment of the NK, women would wear several bracelets on both arms. Oversized gold objects adorning the bodies of the pharaohs are specific to the NK. A good exemplar of the exaggerated style are the pair of Ramses II gold bracelets with two headed geese, inlaid with large lapis lazuli and containing extremely fine granulation.[19] The anklets were often of bead types almost exclusively worn by women, but men were depicted wearing them up to the end of the 19th dynasty.[20] Between the Early Dynastic period and the NK, rings were not commonly found, but there were some swivel rectangular bezel rings. However, during the NK, rings were more prevalent and the most common decoration was scarabs, with varying innovations like metal shanks and scarabs that acted as the bezel,[21] or the bezel in the form of a cartouche, chasing decoration, or a miniature tableau.[22] There is a glass cylinder bezel ring of gold that dates to the 18th dynasty, although this is rare from that period. Other types of jewellery included ornamental girdles in the NK which were worn by women, but the girdles with beads and tails were used only for funerary purposes.[23]

[16] Tait 2008, 42.
[17] Wilkinson 1971, 156.
[18] Tait 2008, 43.
[19] Ibid, 151.
[20] Wilkinson 1971, 200.
[21] Tait 2008, 44.
[22] Wilkinson 1971, 200.
[23] Ibid.

For the styles worn around the neck, there were distinctive Egyptian pectorals. In Tutankhamun's tomb, his pectoral was more flamboyant than the previous kingdom's style and contained inlaid straps with no beads beneath. The pectorals of the 21st and 22nd dynasties use cheaper materials with more limited designs.[24] In the NK, the broad collared necklace was one of the most commonly worn pieces of jewellery amongst the elite class, like those once worn by one of the foreign wives of Thutmosis III. [25] The pendants found from NK contexts were primarily made of carnelian and gold.[26] Towards the end of the NK there was a significant increase in the number of amulets and figurines of deities that were used as iconography in jewellery. Almost none of this jewellery was found in the succeeding impoverished period.[27]

In terms of style, at the end of the 17th dynasty, there were new more lively designs emerging from the rule of the Hyksos. Petrie described "sculpture of clumsy figures and badly formed hieroglyphs."[28] Then the 18th dynasty saw the beginnings of their "seductive grace".[29] The subsequent abduction of thousands of Syrians by Thutmosis I and Thutmosis III meant that, even though the Syrians were being held against their will in Egypt, Asiatic influences permeated the Egyptian style.[30] Of course, style and influence go both ways: even if one is seen as the conqueror, both parties invariably influence each other, just as Horace (*Epistles* 2.1) pronounced in *graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*.

As with colonisation and expansion of any empire, inevitably there was an influx of new styles, fashions and techniques that occurred in the capital. This was particularly prevalent in some of the jewellery found in the richly ornamented burials from Egypt that sometimes displayed a reversal of the Levantine influence. Specifically, these indicated the Asiatic tendencies of foreign craftsmen as seen on some features of the jewellery in the tomb of Tutankhamun, such as the running spiral motif on elaborately

[24] Wilkinson 1971, 200.
[25] Tait 2008, 44.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Petrie 1910, 19.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

made earrings and the particular granulation of some bracelets. Despite its first appearance of granulation in the Egyptian context from the MK, granulation was most likely an imported technique from western Asia, and Sparks suggests that local artisans may not have used it until the end of the Second Intermediate period.[31] From the MK jewellery in Egypt around the time of Thutmosis III, there were significant foreign or Levantine influences portrayed within the funerary context. Furthermore, Sparks identifies two ways the Levantine influence in Egypt can be seen: with either stylistic and technical indications that were most likely acquired through trade and warfare, or greater hybridisation in jewellery with items created by multiple specialised artisans, some that had trained in Levantine workshops.[32]

2.1.3 Techniques and Iconography Exhibited in Egyptian Jewellery

Co-existing with the longstanding stability of power in Egypt was the stability of fashion and styles, such that techniques were altered slowly and jewellery styles and designs were slow to change, with new fashions only gradually added and heirlooms being commonly worn. While Egyptians possessed the necessary skills to produce granulation from the OK onwards, this only became prevalent in jewellery of the NK.[33] This is a demonstration of how Egyptian style was slow to change and therefore such a move towards an international technique was important.

The Egyptian use of polychromy was a distinctive feature of their style. Gold and silver were used together in jewellery from the Predynastic period onwards, particularly in personal possessions and funerary objects. OK Egypt was the first to incorporate contrasting colour into precious metal jewellery. This practice of polychromy became more widespread in the MK and the best examples of it were seen

[31] Sparks 2004, 46.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Politis 2001, 185.

in the 18th dynasty, particularly with the finds of Tutankhamun, which was the only Egyptian pharaoh's tomb that was discovered largely undisturbed.[34]

In terms of design, the meaning of symbols and hieroglyphs could be either outward facing to provide information for others, or inward facing to act as a personal talisman. Hieroglyphs themselves have two functions on personal adornment. Firstly, they represent the individual amuletic properties of the symbol. Secondly, they combine to form whole words as in a cartouche.[35] Floral designs were popular in Egyptian iconography with papyrus symbolising Lower Egypt and the lotus for Upper Egypt.[36] Animals were not commonly depicted but, of these, birds were the most commonly depicted, including such symbols like Horus (falcon), the goddess of El-ka (vulture), the god Thoth (ibis) or the Ba bird for the souls of the dead.[37] There were also references made to lions as honorific decoration, Thoth as a baboon,[38] and the scarab was representative of the winged sun disc, persistence and resurrection.[39] The dual function of the hieroglyph, being either talismanic or vital to the spelling of a name, suggests that the iconography used was of a more advanced form than just for aesthetics alone.

2.2 The History of Jewellery in the Southern Levant

Given its geographical position in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Southern Levant was a melting pot of different cultural influences**.** Prior to the influence of the Egyptians in the Southern Levant, there were distinctive styles of the region that were then incorporated into the Egyptian style. This region was unique with its sociocultural complexity which was more heterarchical and patrilineal as opposed to the hierarchical institution in other regions of the Near East. The Southern Levantine BA (3700-1200 BCE) encompassed great transformations from the small villages to walled urban settlements, urban renewal

[34] Schorsch 2001, 63.
[35] Wilkinson 1971, 198.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Andrews 1994, 27.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid, 50.

and regeneration, before once again sociocultural devolution and collapse in ca.1200 BCE.[40] This made the region a perfect combination of wealth and exotica, plus hoarding of jewellery during the times of catastrophe. This has led to the significant finds in this area from this period.

The general consensus of the temporal limits of the LBA are stated as beginning when the Ahmose drove out the Hyksos from Egypt at the beginning of the 18th dynasty.[41] At this time, several sites in the Southern Levant also suffered destruction.[42] The end of this period is commonly marked by the invasions by the so-called Sea People and the Israelites, and the Egyptians attempting to regain control. All of this is reinforced on an archaeological scale with the destruction of sites and the new styles of pottery and artefacts that define the advent of the IA in the Southern Levant.[43]

The earliest extant jewellery in Israel was from the Natufian period ca. 10000-8000 BCE, made from readily available material like shells, stones and bones.[44] The first evidence of contact between Israel and the Nile Valley is known from the Chalcolithic period ca. 4000-3200 BCE.[45] The use of semi-precious stones was found, many of which were more abundant in Egypt than the Levant, which suggests an early trade network.[46] From the Bible, it can be discerned that elites in the Fertile Crescent highly treasured and pursued gold.[47] The finds from Ur, Troy and Byblos, among many other sites, confirm this, and also illustrate that filigree and granulation came into the jeweller's repertoire around the second half of the 3rd m. BCE with granulation first displayed in the royal tombs of Ur (ca. 2500 BCE)[48] and in Troy II (ca. 2500-2200 BCE). This was an extremely opulent period, but techniques like cloisonné were not known anywhere before 2000 BCE.[49] This desire for gold changed over time, as the metal pendants that will be examined make it evident that the Canaanite population of Israel were more

[40] Potts 2012, 629.
[41] McGovern 1980, 4.
[42] Ibid, 4.
[43] Ibid, 7.
[44] Rosenthal 1973, 17.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Rosenthal 1973, 19.
[47] Ibid, 10.
[48] Golani and Galili 2015, 19; Rosenthal 1973, 32.
[49] Rosenthal 1973, 14, 24.

inclined to have luxury adorning them as opposed to the later population of Israelites who would forbid such extravagances due to changing religious and cultural practices.[50]

In the MBA, there were artisans skilled in combining the styles of Egyptian, Levantine and Mesopotamian in the Northern Levantine workshops and the increased demand for jewellery due to the increased wealth in the LBA could have caused such skills to travel to the Southern Levant.[51] The tradition of skill in gold working in the Southern Levant, prior to Egyptian influence, is seen with the Byblos styles found in Ajjul.[52] The first evidence of working gold jewellery in the Southern Levant dates to the 17th c. BCE. According to Maxwell-Hyslop, the reason that extant jewellery before this period is lacking is not due to insufficient excavation but due to insufficient qualified artisans.[53]

The techniques of granulation, filigree and cloisonné were all known by the Ajjulian artisans with great similarity to the work done in Byblos. There are strong technical connections in MBA between Byblos and the jewellery found at Ajjul. Maxwell-Hyslop cites the example of the winged pendants that have paste, cloisonné and granulation that date to the 16th c. BCE.[54] While the technique of granulation first appeared in Ajjul in the MBA gold hoards, it became more popular later in the LBA-IA, often on the spacer beads used on necklaces.[55]

Focussing on the metal pendants of the Southern Levant during the BA, Golani details the styles used. The more common types were: flat ovoid or rounded (LBA-Persian periods), flat rounded with 'dtar' (MBA-LBA), crescent with stringing holes (MBA II- Iron II), crescent with tubular stringing attachments (MBA II-Iron II) and triangular jewellery plaques (LBA-Iron I).[56] Pendants that were rarer included: double flat oval (LBA), thin flat strip (LBA-Iron I), pomegranate (LBA-Iron I or II), palmette

[50] Rosenthal 1973, 16.
[51] Tucci 2018, 423; McGovern 1985, 103.
[52] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 106
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid,108.
[55] Golani and Galili 2015, 19.
[56] Golani 2013, 156.

(LBA II), cloisonné fly (LBA) and flat rectangular (LBA).[57] These styles are able to traverse periods of time due to their enduring symbolic meaning and the simplicity of their design, such as found with the crescent. But even in these simple designs, the Egyptian styles can be gleaned, permeating through into the Southern Levant.[58]

2.3 Relationship Between Egypt and the Levant

The NK was a time of Egyptian control over the Levantine region which was established in order to have a buffer zone between the Near Eastern (specifically Hittite and Mitanni) and Egyptian powers of the time, and to create and establish important trading contacts for Egypt.[59] The by-products of such trade meant that the Canaanite societies benefitted with increased materials and wealth.[60] The military expansion in the NK cemented the Egyptian hegemony over the Levant and this cultural influence continued into the LBA, which will be further explored.[61] The Egyptian control in the Northern Levant came to an end during the 14th c. BCE with the Egyptian influence and Egyptian objects mostly disappearing from the region at this time.[62] This is especially noticeable after the battle of Qadesh, from which time Egyptian objects, including jewellery, are only found at the major sites in the Northern Levant.[63]

However, in the Southern Levant, by the beginning of the NK, the Egyptian style was fully immersed in the Canaanite culture.[64] The political and religious influence of the Egyptians was emphasised in the jewellery, mostly found in the burials of the Canaanite elite. What this meant was that by the end of the Egyptian power in the Southern Levant in the early 12th c. BCE, the Egyptian influence had become so

[57] Golani 2013, 156.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ahrens 2015, 147.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid, 150.
[63] Ibid, 150.
[64] Politis 2001, 184.

entrenched in the Canaanite culture that the influence endured.[65] Prestige items were critical in royal agreements and royal gift exchanges like diplomatic marriages and could also be seen as a critical element in the transferring of jewellery making techniques and styles.[66]

A cosmopolitan style became common in the Near East which had the potential to blur the individual styles of indigenous artisans, making it more difficult to ascribe specific techniques to regions. Also, the large majority of jewellery that was found in recent years suggests that the common forms which were adapted and used for long periods in this large region, have made it more difficult to pinpoint information about them. However, Egyptian jewellery can still be identified by some of its distinct characteristics, such as the use of specific religious iconography, specific materials and specific techniques like cloisonné, which are not present in distinctly Levantine jewellery. Granulation was largely missing from the Egyptian repertoire but is common in many other areas at this time. [67]

There are examples of particular Egyptian elements of LBA jewellery that faded or disappeared in the proceeding EIA like swivel bezel mount rings, lotus seed vessel stone pendants and various earrings and earplugs with hieroglyph decorations.[68] By the time of the EIA, there is little or no direct influence on Levantine jewellery, and the surrounding cultures seem to have had only a limited or indirect influence over the jewellery styles. However, the time of the Orientalising period in Greece was not replicated in the Southern Levant, suggesting a more one-sided flow of influence which was most likely as a result of Phoenician trade routes.[69]

Egyptian influence noticeably changes in the transitioning from the LBA to EIA I as the Egyptian control over the region decreased. There was a general Egyptian style that remained in the region in the IA, particularly in the Southern Levant, although these pieces were not often made in Egypt. The

[65] Golani 2013, 59.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, 85.
[68] Ibid, 60.
[69] Ibid, 85.

Egyptian power therefore can be seen to be strongly entrenched in the Canaanite culture, particularly seen in the Egyptian style amulets that continued to be in use after the LBA, like the lotus still in use by the Phoenicians. There were no new influences seen after EIA I in the Southern Levant by the Egyptians, as this was generally overtaken by the style and influence of the Phoenicians.[70]

2.3.1 The Interplay of Technique

Egyptian jewellery was characterised by its opulent use of gold, faience and semi-precious stones often in bead form, incorporating fine cloisonné and openwork. Techniques were more difficult to track, as without clear evidence of workshops, it was difficult to discern where the workshops were, whether there were travelling artisans working in the Southern Levant or whether these pieces were produced in Egypt and transported as finished products. With no new Egyptian style brought in after Iron I, the techniques were difficult to trace as it was almost non-existent in the Southern Levant within Iron II.[71]

From the beginning of the Early Dynastic period, metal amulets were being produced in Egypt. Most likely, the earliest of these were the gold amuletic beads of serekh in a bracelet from King Djer's tomb at Abydos.[72] These would have been made with an open back pottery mould. The more elaborate amulets would have been made with the lost wax casting method which did not allow for mass production. One of the earliest extant examples of this was the gold falcon on a necklace from a tomb in Mosgagedda from the 4th dynasty.[73]

Egyptian artisans did not have shears or fine saws and so had to separate sheet metal with a chisel using the ajouré technique. Any other additions to the pendants were achieved by chasing (indentation by blunt edged chisel), engraving (gouging out material therefore not used in Egypt until NK) or repoussé

[70] Golani 2013, 85.
[71] Ibid, 60.
[72] Andrews 1994, 104.
[73] Ibid.

(this is complementary to chasing to achieve a raised relief). Both chasing and repoussé were found in the gold amulet from 1st dynasty tombs in Nag ed-Deir. This technique was then modernised to facilitate quicker production by changing from free-formed to using stone or metal die where the design had already been incised.

Decorative techniques like cloisonné were seen in Egypt from the 4th dynasty onwards and reached sites in the Levant like Lachish and Megiddo in the LBA.[74] It was made by creating wire shapes on top of a solid surface and then filling those shapes with an inlay.[75] Cloisonné work became popular in Egypt in the OK.[76] The technique of soldering was first found in the Levant in the crescent shaped gold earrings in the Ajjul hoards (ca.1800-1600 BCE),[77] where thin gold sheets were soldered back to back to allow for the jewellery to appear solid, whilst being hollow.[78]

2.3.2 The Interplay of Egyptian Raw Materials on the Levant

Egyptian amulets were made in all the metals that were available to them: gold, electrum, silver, copper, bronze and iron.[79] The pendants found from the LBA in the Southern Levant were predominately made of gold and only a few were made of silver, bronze and electrum. However, the majority of the metal objects from the LBA have disappeared.[80] Fortunately, the common tradition throughout the Eastern Mediterranean of burying the dead with status symbols, which often included metal objects, is where many of the extant jewellery objects were found.

[74] Verduci 2018, 335.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Rosenthal 1973, 22.
[77] Altman 1979, 76.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Andrews 1994, 105.
[80] Mieroop 2010, 167.

Gold

Egyptians prized gold as it was believed to be the flesh and colour of divinity. The gold sources in Egypt were confined in the NK to three locations: to the east of Thebes in the desert, closer to the Nile east of Elkab, and north east of Wadi Halfa in lower Nubia.[81] Egypt practically had a monopoly on the metal through the East Mediterranean during the LBA and the source of gold from Nubia gave them a distinct advantage over other Bronze Age societies,[82] with the Amarna letters attesting to this wealth in the form of requests from Babylonian and Hittite royalty. No other Mediterranean society at this time had direct access to gold and no Mediterranean society would have direct access to it again until the Roman Empire established their Spanish gold mines.[83]

It is possible there were other sources of gold in the Near East, located in the rivers of Cilici, Neluhha (southeast Iran and Pakistan), and Al-Mina (northern Lebanon), north-east Armenia, northern Persia, the Caucasus, western Anatolia, and even Thrace.[84] Despite its availability, gold was less common in the Southern Levant than silver, bronze, and iron due to its higher cost.[85] Gold was symbolically and commercially important to the people of the Southern Levant but would have been out of reach of the average population.[86]

Gold was being used for its harder properties in amuletic jewellery as early as the OK Egypt.[87] It was the most commonly used material of the extant metal pendants, and was often alloyed with other metals to make it even harder. Gold is unique as it is not affected by moisture or acid and cannot be altered at an atomic level, therefore is a great example of how jewellery was used to store wealth.

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[81] Andrews 1994, 105.
[82] Mieroop 2010, 170.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Limmer 2007, 177; Maxwell Hyslop 1971, 230.
[85] Limmer 2007, 178.
[86] Ibid, 219.
[87] Andrews 1994, 105.

Electrum

Electrum is a naturally occurring alloy consisting of gold with 20-50% silver which leads to variation in colour from pale gold to white. The advantage of the high silver content was that it provided a harder material to work with which is better suited to jewellery. Much of the gold mined in Egypt contained up to 20% silver which makes the distinction difficult between low-grade gold and high-grade electrum without chemical analysis.[88] An example of jewellery where this distinction is not possible are the earrings from Lachish.[89]

Silver

Silver is harder and less malleable than gold but unlike other metals can become reflective after polishing. In the Ancient Near East, silver was used for both monetary value and as a status symbol with jewellery. The silver jewellery could also be melted down or the scraps could be used as monetary value, with a fluid exchange between the two.[90] In contrast to Egypt, silver was more available in the Ancient Near East due to the deposits in Anatolia, Persia and Greece.[91] According to Petrie, the silver supply to Egypt became more common in the 18th dynasty as sources in northern Syria, supplied through the Hittites, became accessible.[92] A small amount of silver was naturally found in all ancient Egyptian gold, meaning that most of the 'silver' artefacts prior to the MK were silver-rich gold presumably obtained from the Egyptian gold mines. Silver jewellery may have been more prevalent in the Levant, but due to silver's corrosive nature, not all of it could have survived.[93] Silver was used as early as late OK and was used symbolically for items moon-related and even occasionally for amulets related to

[88] Limmer 2007, 179.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Gitin and Golani 2001, 33.
[91] Limmer 2007, 178; Andrews 1990, 55-56.
[92] Petrie 1910, 96.
[93] Andrews 1994, 105.

Thoth.[94] In the Southern Levant, silver also represented wealth and status but may have had more symbolic importance than it did in Egypt. [95]

Copper and its Alloys

Copper and the alloys produced by it, particularly bronze, but also brass and arsenical copper, were the most popularly used metals in the Near East from the Chalcolithic period onwards.[96] It was not until the EIA, and particularly the MIA throughout the Mediterranean, that copper was usurped as the cheapest and most popular metal by iron.[97] Copper sources in the Southern Levant have been exploited since the 4th m. BCE in the south Negev and Sinai.[98] Copper was the first metal the Egyptians used in the Predynastic Badarian period but was not used for amulets prior to the OK. Bronze was not used in huge quantities in jewellery of the Southern Levant, despite being a native metal, with copper being mined in Sinai during the NK and from Syria, Cyprus, and Asia Minor, as well as tin from northern Iran and Afghanistan.[99] The bronze that was discovered in Southern Levant tombs must have been an expendable amount of bronze that was not needed within the daily context and suggests a population able to engage in conspicuous consumption.[100]

Summary

Bronze, silver, gold and electrum could all be melted down and reused, meaning that the metal jewellery remaining must have had a reason for its survival. Such extant materials allow for clear evidence of trade throughout the Levant. The people of the Southern Levant evidently relied heavily on the

[94] Andrews 1994, 105, 106.
[95] Limmer 2007, 219.
[96] Ibid, 175.
[97] Golani 2013, 20.
[98] Lucas and Harris 1962, 201ff; Golani 2013 20.
[99] Andrews 1994, 106.
[100] Limmer 2007, 219.

Egyptians to provide not only the material but the iconography and techniques involved in producing such metal pendants.

3. Literature Review

The earliest records of excavations in the Southern Levant were probably the French adventurers in 1659, although excavations were not systematically started or recorded until Warren began in Jerusalem in 1867.[101] While there has been cataloguing and documenting of the LBA metal pendants uncovered, along with a plethora of Egyptian artefacts, there has yet to be a substantial overview of this specific topic. Using the various excavation reports, smaller articles, along with the larger compilations done in the 20th century, this information permits a better understanding of the changing area and the dynamics of the Egyptian period in the Southern Levant. The 1970s and 80s saw several more widely researched publications appear that provide the basis for this thesis.[102] Additionally, there are other examples of the site reports and museum catalogues that can be consulted for information on these pendants including earlier works like Petrie 1932-4, Grant 1931, Guy 1938, Rowe 1936 and Tufnell 1940.[103]

As one of the key excavators in the late 19th and early 20th century, Petrie is pertinent as his reports of some of these Canaanite sites are the best preliminary indicators of the extent of Egyptian jewellery uncovered in the Levant. Specifically, as he excavated in both Egypt and Canaan, he was able to make connections and comparisons.[104] He devotes an entire publication to the amulets uncovered in Egypt and, as the first to publish on this particular area**,** it provides a good basic foundation of knowledge, which was then updated by Andrews in 1994 to cover all extant amulet forms from ancient Egypt.[105]

Maxwell-Hyslop in 1971 was the first to systematically examine Southern Levantine jewellery within the context of Western Asia.[106] The first evidence of the specific trends and styles that were prevalent in this region emerged by examining the existing reports of excavation, and the large scale of this study

[101] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993.
[102] Namely Maxwell-Hyslop 1971; McGovern 1980; Herrmann 1985.
[103] Petrie 1932, 1933, 1934; Grant, Wood, and Wright 1931; Guy 1938; Rowe 1936; Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, 75-76.
[104] Petrie 1932, 1933, 1934; Petrie 1891.
[105] Andrews 1994.
[106] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971.

made it possible to see these specific trends change over time. One limitation she did put on her work was that she did not include the obvious Egyptian jewellery in Western Asia, as she asserted that was Wilkinson's domain in her corresponding Egyptian study. However, the equivalent publication on Egyptian jewellery by Wilkinson did not include the study of the Egyptian style jewellery outside of the Egyptian borders, creating a gap in the literature for Egyptian Jewellery in the Southern Levant.[107] Egyptian jewellery more generally was again studied by Aldred in 1978 on the Dynastic periods,[108] and later by Andrews in 1990.[109]

The recent studies on specific sites and specific stylistic themes have been primarily published by Golani of the Israel Antiquities Authority and others including Sass, Ben-Shlomo and Gitin.[110] Golani's updated chapters on the excavations at Ashdod, Azor Cemetery, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tel Miqne-Ekron, Tel Beth Shean, Yavneh Yam and Tel Jemmeh allow for additional understanding in the review of the renewed excavations in the Southern Levant.[111] However, many of these site analyses in the Southern Levant are not relevant to this study as very few metal pendants have been excavated during the 21st century.

The corpus of information of the Southern Levantine archaeological sites compiled by McGovern for his PhD (and supplementary book) on the topic of LBA Palestinian pendants provides the basis of information for this thesis.[112] For McGovern's PhD, he categorised the Palestinian pendants into six categories: Egyptian deities, the human form, fauna, flora, hieroglyphs and geometric forms.[113] His research and compilation of all current data enables this thesis to add to it. Due to the small number of specifically Levantine style pendants being produced, all of these will be noted and discussed

[107] Wilkinson 1971.
[108] Aldred 1978.
[109] Andrews 1990.
[110] Sass 2000; Golani and Ben-Shlomo 2005; Gitin and Golani 2001.
[111] Golani and Ben-Shlomo 2005; Golani 2004, 1996, 2013; Golani and Galili 2015; Golani 2009, 2013, 2012, 2004, 2019; Gitin and Golani 2001.
[112] McGovern 1980.
[113] McGovern 1985, x-xii.

accordingly. Prior to McGovern, the study of LBA Palestinian pendants was mostly confined to the museum catalogues and site descriptions. McGovern aimed to compile all the current information on all the metal and non-metal examples but additions can now be made to such a list. McGovern's definition of pendant is quite concrete and the distinction between pendant and beads is blurred in several cases in both his book and PhD.[114]

Hermann's first corpus of Southern Levantine amulets with Egyptian influence, published in 1985,[115] was the first full compilation of this, only to be updated by Hermann in 2002,[116] 2006,[117] and 2016,[118] with new data. Although this is such a large corpus, it does not allow for an equally in-depth analysis. Additionally, it does not consider many of the pendants which are considered amuletic in this thesis. The available metal pendants demonstrated by Hermann, namely the gold objects in the LBA, were very rare, compared with the plethora of other pendants. The gold pendants he does analyse were often created by rolling the gold into a thin sheet which then had the subject matter punched into it and moulded accordingly. Silver amulets were also found but they were even more rare as silver was one of the most valuable metals in Egypt. Bronze amulets were also found although they too are rare. Occasionally, bronze amulets were made with a gold or electrum coating.[119]

The purpose of this thesis is to go further into the analysis of the jewellery and its cultural and religious significance. By confining the repertoire to purely metal pendants, unlike Hermann, and just pendants, unlike McGovern, it allows for deeper analysis.

[114] McGovern 1985, x-xii.
[115] Herrmann 1985.
[116] Herrmann 2002.
[117] Herrmann 2006.
[118] Herrmann 2016.
[119] Herrmann 2003, 3.

There are several recent publications on Iron I-II metal jewellery in the Southern Levant which provides context for the areas excavated and the techniques and styles that were in existence after the LBA. Verduci's 2018 PhD on metal jewellery of the Southern Levant allows for up to date evidence of excavations and current research in the area.[120] Plus, Golani's 2013 publication of his PhD on Iron II jewellery,[121] whose catalogue of jewellery and its chronological range from the Bronze to Persian periods, is also helpful in understanding the longevity in some of the styles that originated in the LBA.

Summary

The focus of the literature on this topic has been on the tangible and visible aspects of the jewellery, analysing and interpreting through a positivist perspective. More recently, there have been works that view the jewellery through a different perspective, for example, Limmer's 2007 PhD on Iron II Southern Levant which looks at both the societal and religious implications of the jewellery in the region.[122] While some of the work has been done by pioneering women, Maxwell-Hyslop, Wilkinson and Negbi as prime examples, the vast corpus of work over the centuries has come from male scholarship.[123] There is a tendency that in the early, predominately male based scholarship, the voice of the women who wore the jewellery and considered it a piece of themselves is ultimately lost. While specific uses and meaning of pendants do not represent all jewellery, they will be studied to provide an insight into female life, to provide an adequate understanding of the unseen population.

[120] Verduci 2018.
[121] Golani 2013.
[122] Limmer 2007.
[123] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971; Wilkinson 1971; Negbi 1970.

4. Synchronous Sources

Using the contemporaneous reliefs, texts, and imagery of the Southern Levant and Egypt, some conclusions can be drawn about the role of pendants and the role of women in the LBA which provides a solid foundation on which to study the metal pendants.

4.1 Textual References

The Amarna letters are important because they assist with the identification of the particular types of jewellery in circulation in the 14th c. BCE. These letters were found in Amarna and list in detail objects that were transported between Egypt and the Levant. Tell el-Amarna, in Middle Egypt, was a new capital built by Akhenaten on a previously uninhabited site, which was subsequently abandoned (ca. 1346-1332 BCE) within a generation of its establishment. This allows for distinct dating which is not possible with finds from other regions in Egypt.[124]

The Amarna archive is the main archive of the history of the Canaanite kingdoms and was found in the Egyptian royal residence at Amarna. Such texts display the international royal correspondence that occurred between Amenhotep III and IV with the various rulers between ca.1360-1330 BCE.[125] These letters allow insight into the political landscape of the Levant and its relationship to the pharaohs. Of the sites included within this thesis, there are documented exchanges with the rulers or officials from the cities of Hazor, Megiddo and Lachish.[126]

Two of the Amarna letters from Qatna identify Akhenaten and can be attributed to his reign. The Hittites in the 14th c. BCE controlled the strategic region between Canaan and Mesopotamia and the encroaching Hittites made a buffer zone in the north of the Levant, a crucial region for Egypt. The letters demonstrate

[124] Moorey 2001, 5.
[125] Potts 2012, 772.
[126] Potts 2012, 773; Moran 1992.

that, at this time, there was definitive trade between Qatna and Egypt, although the number of objects that can be attributed to the LBA IIB in the Northern Levant was relatively small.[127]

Another letter from Ushratta of Mitanni was an urgent request to Egypt for gold.[128] The exchange of silver for gold was in practice, reinforcing the commonly held belief that the Egyptians found gold more plentiful than dirt.[129] There were 400 silver anklets, pendants, earrings and bracelets that were sent in exchange, suggesting the Near East did not depend on Egypt for their supply of silver.[130] The techniques employed included cloisonné and lapis lazuli inlay and listed large quantities of goldwork by these goldsmiths supplying Mitanni.

Within the corpus of Amarna letters, they listed a large number of objects that were transported from Egypt to the Levant which were all described in detail, however, there is a difficulty with correlating the equivalent extant objects to the described objects due to lack of clarity in the terms used in the texts.[131]

The Amarna texts written from Ugarit further illustrate this cosmopolitan period of the LBA in the Levant,[132] with seemingly more texts from the northern Levant as opposed to the Southern Levant. Including such texts from Alalakh Level IV, or Qatna which provide insight into the palatial life in mid-14th c. BCE. The Ugaritic texts help significantly by their mentioning of a deity called Astarte, helping with the identification of the deity depicted in the human figure pendants.[133] There are three major Canaanite goddesses that are mentioned in the Ugaritic texts who are Ashera, Astart and Anath, with Ashera considered an epithet of Qudshu.[134] However, according to these texts, all these goddesses share

[127] Ahrens 2015, 147.
[128] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 133.
[129] Hesse 2008, 195.
[130] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 133.
[131] Ahrens 2015, 147.
[132] Potts 2012, 774.
[133] Aruz et al. 2008, 349.
[134] Ben-Arieh 1983, 76.

similar attributes and, as most depictions rarely bore inscriptions, it makes attribution of these images to a particularly deity a fruitless task.[135]

Although there are other letters and inscriptions from LBA Canaan, these are few in number and have not yet been examined through a female gaze.[136] However, the Amarna letters have 153 letters that were from the Levant and such texts are seen as a primary source concerning women in the region and consequently their personal adornments. There were two tablets 273-274 that were sent to Egypt from a female Canaanite ruler or the mistress of the lions/lionesses, who was begging for help at the time of turmoil in her city and, as she mentioned the king of Gezer, it was suggested by Na'aman that she was the ruler of Beth Shemesh.[137] There was also reference to females in trade negotiations, listing them with slaves or with gifts.[138] Of the 55 texts from Hazor, Shechem and Tenaach, women were mentioned but only in relation to arranged marriages, ransom money, and one woman of elite status was discussed who was of interest to a prince.[139] Apart from these few exceptions, women were ultimately absent from the textual references and so this does not advance our understanding of the jewellery, how it was worn and its relationship with the wearers.

4.2 Visual Iconography

The iconography of pendants across reliefs in the Levant and Egypt did not extend much beyond their presence on a number of figures. The pendant was often associated with religious processions and was not gender exclusive. Apart from occasionally being able to decipher a crescent or circular shape, and only as a schematic representation, these indicated that the pendant had a purpose but nothing more can be determined.

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[135] Ben-Arieh 1983, 77.
[136] Ebeling 2016, 465.
[137] Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004, 277; Ziffer, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 2009, 339.
[138] Ebeling 2016, 465.
[139] Horowitz and Oshima 2006, 10, 16; Ebeling 2016, 466.

The same experience occurred with anthropomorphic figurines, which can be made of clay, stone, ivory and sometimes metal, that were often representative of high figures, like rulers, priests, priestesses, or religious figures, like deities and goddesses.[140] On such figurines, the pendants which were worn on the upper chest or neck were regarded as the central ornament.[141] These figurines were often found with other metal jewellery in hoards or temple offerings. So, the presence of these crescent necklaces on figurines (or found on reliefs) could have been an insignia of religious or royal officials.[142] The necklace and crescent pendant style were depicted on figurines from Gezer,[143] Tell Aphek, Kibbutz Revadim,[144] Tell Harasim, all dating to the LBA- EIA I.[145] There were depictions of star decoration rounded pendants from Lachish, from an unknown date,[146] and another from Tell es Safi-Gath from the LBA.[147]

Some Hazor statues have pendants displayed, possibly representing the Egyptian deity Khonsu.[148] Circular pendants were depicted on LBA Syrian figurines in Tell Alakh, Hama and Tell Mumbaqt and others from the IA which are indicative of the longevity of this style.[149] One LBA Canaanite priest or deity from Hazor was depicted wearing a circular star and crescent pendant.[150] Another depiction found in Tutankhamun's tomb on a Syrian figure was a circular pendant,[151] which was also seen in other Egyptian depictions of Asiatic men.[152]

Most of the anthropomorphic figurines that wear pendants were female terracotta plaques, the popularity of which continued from LBA to Iron II.[153] There were several crescent pendants on the

[140] Moorey 2003; Negbi 1976.
[141] Platt 1972, 222.
[142] Golani 2013, 158.
[143] Macalister 1912.
[144] Beck 1986.
[145] Givon 1995, fig. 16: 2.
[146] Kletter 2004.
[147] Maeir 2003.
[148] Ilan 2016, 138.
[149] Conrad 1985.
[150] Bonfil 2011; Ilan 2016, 139.
[151] Sparks 2004, fig. 3.6: D.
[152] Golani 2013, 185.
[153] Ibid, 13.

figurines and statues from the LBA, with this level of significance most likely continuing into the Iron II.[154] Foreigners were often portrayed as such by other cultures through the distinction of jewellery worn on the figurines. The circular pendant with star decoration was used to depict Syrians in the Egyptian NK.[155] Evidently, the pendant contained religious and cultural significance.

Summary

This overview of a sample of terracotta figurines and plaques indicates that pendant iconography had multiple purposes but predominately these artifacts were used to indicate elevated status. In the instance of high priests, officials or deities, pendants were an identity item. Foreigners were also represented wearing pendants and it begs the question as to whether this stereotype meant that all foreigners wore pendants and whether this was because all foreigners were from higher status or whether, no matter what class the foreigners were, they all wore pendants. Clearly, the amount of pendants worn in the Levant was a matter of importance to the Egyptian and provides some grounds for the versatility of types found. Yet, there are scant details specifically found on the textual sources of this period.

[154] Golani 2013, 74.
[155] Golani 2013, 74; Sparks 2004, fig. 3.6: D.

5. The Sites and Their Style

This chapter will provide an outline of the sites from the Southern Levant which include the LBA levels containing metal pendants. While there were more sites that contained jewellery in the LBA Southern Levant, the particular sites described are exemplars as they are the sites of all known metal pendants and provide evidence of clear Egyptian occupation. The more prominent cities in the Levant in the Bronze Age included Hazor, Beth-Shean, Megiddo, Chechen, Jerusalem, Ajjul, Lachish and Ascalon for whom their wealth increased rapidly with the Egyptian connections.[156] The Canaan region was made of dependent kingdoms of Egypt during the MBA and LBA which meant that the city-states within this region, as with many other cultures, tried to emulate the Egyptian capital. Therefore, many jewellery techniques and styles would have been imitated by the local artisans at the behest of the elites in the area.[157] The Southern Levant in the Bronze Age was influenced by their ruling capital of Egypt, including the quantity, style, material and form of pendants.

The sites that have metal pendants from LBA include many of those aforementioned major Canaanite cities and smaller sites: Ajjul, Beth Shean, Beth Shemesh, Dhahrat el-Humraiya, Hawan, Kittan, Lachish, Megiddo, Shechem and Yavneh Yam. These will be discussed below in relation to the importance of the site, the context in which the jewellery was found and other aspects of the site that can help in understanding their relationship to the Egyptians in the LBA.

5.1 Tell el-'Ajjul (50)

Tell el-'Ajjul (Ajjul) is located 6km SW of Gaza and Petrie hypothesised that it was actually the site of Gaza in the MBA and LBA.[158] It was the third site to be excavated by the British School of Egyptian

[156] Rosenthal 1973, 25.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Petrie 1934.

Archaeology, starting in 1930 by Petrie.[159] Three hoards where found which might have been collected for use after melting down. These have been dated to the 16th-14th c. BCE. The amount of jewellery found here is the largest collection in this region including gold, silver, electrum and occasionally lead. The wealth from this site from this period was unparalleled in previous regions and times. After the lack of personal adornment in the preceding period, there is an abundance of diversity in the wearing of pendants, earrings, and bracelets. The finds also include solid gold toggle pins and scarabs with the name of one of the great kings of the 15th dynasty, so it can be ascertained that some of the jewellery has been crafted after the fall of the Hyksos capital, Avaris.[160] Additionally, Ajjul is unique in that no other place has as many inscribed seals. While there are no royal scarabs, there is a scarab from the 18th dynasty and on the pottery were the seal impressions which indicate the presence of Egyptians at Ajjul in 1483 BCE.[161] It is hard to determine the specific date of each piece as they were found together, which suggests that they were gathered to be melted down and to be reworked by a Canaanite artisan. It is equally difficult to determine if they were in popular use in the city itself or whether they were collected together from other sites to be transported and traded for their monetary value, and then to be reworked in the contemporary style at their destinations, as was the case with the scrap metal onboard the Uluburun.[162]

The jewellery of Ajjul illustrates the artistic ability of the Canaanite artisans not only in their ability to imitate the Egyptian court style but ultimately to develop their own unique style.[163] From a general overview, it seems that Ajjul was the most impressive in terms of jewellery production, but more recent discoveries suggest that other city states also had impressive jewellery operations. In Ajjul, there are hints of influence from most of the surrounding regions including Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Crete

[159] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 49.
[160] Ibid, 51.
[161] Ibid, 51.
[162] Golani 2013, 85.
[163] Rosenthal 1973, 25.

and Cyprus, namely a cosmopolitan approach to the luxury arts. Ajjul seemingly reached its zenith in the MBA and was less critical as a site during the LBA as other centres emerged.[164]

The jewellery from Ajjul was found in several different locations within the site, including the palace, town precinct and burials, and was, according to Steward "the best representation of Palestinian jewellery."[165] Ajjul has multiple gold hoards dating from MBA-LBA and was once thought to be the last site of the Hyskos, ancient Sharuhen.[166] The sophisticated level of jewellery found in Ajjul indicates that this was one of the most important Canaanite cities between Egypt and Western Asia.[167] While the pieces found here cannot be concretely identified as being made in situ, they exhibit distinctive Canaanite traits.[168] Of the three nude goddess pendant exemplars in hoard 1299 and 1312**,** two are wearing conical hats and the third is partially clothed.[169] The hoard 1299 pendant is made in a distinctively dagger shape and the iconography incorporates a necklace, breasts, navel and pubic region.[170] Similar examples to these are found in Lachish, and from further outside the Southern Levant in Minet el-Beida and onboard the Uluburun**.**[171] Platt posits that these pendants may not have been exclusively worn on the neck and instead worn as a pelvic girdle, serving as a more protective amulet for fertility purposes.[172]

The gold finds from Ajjul are dated to a relatively small window ca. 1560-1480 BCE of which Negbi indicates is the height of the Palestinian jewellers' craft.[173] The techniques used to make the jewellery in these hoards include granulation, repoussé and cloisonné, using the style that was reminiscent of the Egyptian MK, which is also seen in jewellery in Lachish and Megiddo.[174] Negbi suggests the Ajjulian

[164] Tucci 2018, 422.
[165] Tucci 2018, 422. Stewart 1974, 28.
[166] Massafra 2016, 65.
[167] Negbi 1970, 37.
[168] Aruz et al. 2008, 349.
[169] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 140.
[170] Negbi 1970, 43.
[171] Aruz et al. 2008, 349.
[172] Platt 1976, 103.
[173] Negbi 1970, 37.
[174] Ibid, 30.

hoards were a result of the stowing away and stashing of valuables in tumultuous times.[175] Therefore, the precise dating of these pieces is more difficult as heirlooms and more modern pieces would have been stashed together and these hoards demonstrate the array of styles spanning different periods.[176] There were 88 pendants found throughout the sites, of which the majority were crescent variations and primarily collected in hoards.

5.2 Beth Shean (21)

When Beth Shean was first excavated in the 1930s, it yielded the largest quantity of Egyptian artifacts in the region, indicating it to be on a strategically important trade route between Egypt and Mesopotamia.[177] During the Ramesside period, Beth Shean was an Egyptian imperial administrative and military base, and is one of the most studied LBA sites.[178] While it was almost continuously inhabited from the late Neolithic period to the early Islamic period, it was as an Egyptian garrison for 300 years that it provides unparalleled insight into Egyptian influence in the region.[179] It contains a production area which may be a jewellery workshop,[180] and it is evident from the inscriptions in this building that local artisans were being overseen by Egyptian specialists who transmitted their knowledge this way.[181] The city is mentioned in Egyptian texts of the NK, including once in the Amarna letters.[182] Excavations were started by Fisher of Pennsylvania University in 1921 at the mound, but it was the 1923-28 seasons focussing of the Iron and LBA levels, under the direction of Rowe, that uncovered these pendants.[183]

[175] Negbi 1970, 42.
[176] Ibid.
[177] McGovern 1990, 17.
[178] Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009, 1.
[179] Mullins 2012, 127.
[180] Tucci 2018, 421.
[181] Ibid, 424.
[182] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 214.
[183] Ibid.

There were five settlement phases from the LBA, four being when Beth Shean was the administrative centre.[184] The LBA, which was stratigraphically confined to the Pennsylvania expedition strata of LBA IB /IIA = IX, LBA IIB = VIII/ VII and in the Mazar expedition strata of LBA IA = R3, LBA IB = R2, LBA IIA = R1,[185] saw the most development of technologies and typologies that this region had experienced.[186] The material particularly shows Egyptian influence with the use of imported stones, more gold and the introduction of religious motifs.

Silicate workshops, which were found adjacent to the temple in Beth Shean, are where Egyptian style scarabs and amulets have been found, which provide the only real evidence of Egyptian artisans producing such works in situ. Importantly, the silicate amulets found in Beth Shean were made of a different chemical composition than those made in Egypt, which suggests they were made in situ but using Egyptian techniques and possibly Egyptian artisans.[187]Additionally, Ben-Tor suggests that some of these scarabs could have been made by the Egyptians stationed in the region.[188] In the northern cemetery at Beth Shean LBA III, distinctly Egyptian style artefacts like the anthropoid coffin, 22 20th dynasty scarabs and six figurative amulets have been found.[189]

5.3 Beth Shemesh (5)

Beth Shemesh is located 30km west of Jerusalem and is named after the Canaanite ‘house of the sun’. In the LBA, it was a border town between the larger city states of Gezer, Tell Zafit and Jerusalem. It was first excavated in 1911 by Mackenzie for the Palestine Exploration Fund and has been excavated on and off by various institutions in the 1920s, 30s, and 90s.[190] The stratum relevant to the LBA is

[184] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 216.
[185] Ibid, 215.
[186] Tucci 2018, 424.
[187] Braunstein 2011, 19.
[188] Ben-Tor 2017, 196.
[189] Koch et al. 2017, 23.
[190] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 249.

Stratum IV which shows signs of local prosperity and contains both Cypriot and Mycenean pottery, along with ornate jewellery.[191] The LBA strata are separated by evidence of destruction with LBA I Stratum IV 15th c. BCE, and LBA II 14-13th c. BCE.[192] Wright identifies the destruction of Stratum IV to the end of the 13th c. BCE or beginning of 12th c. BCE but this is not definitive.[193] There are five extant pendant types found from this stratum including two crescent pendants, a drop, lotus and a bud style.

5.4 Dharat el-Humraiya (2)

Dharat el-Humraiya is a cemetery which is located 13km south of Jaffa and is situated on a small hill on the north bank of the Rubin River.[194] It is a MBA cemetery with 63 graves excavated in 1942, with a group of the graves containing pottery exclusively dated to the LBA.[195] Among the pottery and other grave goods, were two sets of gold pendants reflecting wealthy, cosmopolitan burials. The first was found in Grave 8 which was found generally undisturbed apart from a shoulder and skull missing.[196] The objects associated with it suggest that it was a female grave, that is, 30 gold lotus bud pendants and gold finger rings, gold beads and scarabs.[197] The second set of gold pendants were found in Grave 57 which was the only built grave in the necropolis containing perhaps a male, female and child burial.[198] The 23 gold lozenge shaped pendants were accompanied by a faience ring, gold beads and bronze mirrors.[199]

[191] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 250; Ziffer, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 2009, 333.
[192] Ziffer, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 2009, 333.
[193] Wright Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 250.
[194] Ory 1948, 75.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid, 80.
[197] Ibid, 80-81.
[198] Ibid, 87.
[199] Ibid, 87.

5.5 Tel Hazor (1)

Hazor is an important site for its Egyptian goods, despite only having one relevant silver nude goddess pendant. Excavations began in 1955 by Yadin for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.[200] The three strata relevant to the LBA in the lower city of Hazor are Stratum 2/15th c. BCE, Stratum 1b/14th c. BCE, Stratum 1a/13th c. BCE, with Stratum 1b demonstrating the height of prosperity for the town.[201] In the upper city, Stratum 15 parallels Stratum 2 in lower city, Stratum 14 parallels 1b, and Stratum 13 parallels 1a.[202] Canaanite Hazor was destroyed at the end of the 13th c. BCE.[203]

In his PhD, Hesse discusses the opulence found in the LBA Hazor, relative to its surrounding areas.[204] Additionally, Hazor exhibited more Syrian than Egyptian stylistic influences, particularly in its religious architecture, which in this region is more traditionally Egyptian than its northern counterparts.[205] Hazor clearly was a cosmopolitan place with North Syrian influenced buildings, Cypriot pottery, Aegean ivories and jewellery and Egyptian statues.[206] The Egyptian finds are primarily confined to the statues, scarabs, alabaster and ivory, which are found in the tell and the cultic artefacts in Area F. Objects like the Egyptian goddess Hathor, which was depicted as a Canaanised hybridisation, appears on a jewellery box, and the scarabs in the temple reinforce this conglomeration. Most of the scarabs are from the LBA II context. However, many of them were heirlooms and so indicate strong relationships with Egypt in the MK. There was a child burial from LBA I which contained jewellery and MBA scarabs which were found in a drainage tunnel that had been re-used for a burial site.[207]As the finds were mainly confined to the upper city, this was where there would be only the royal elite: families, high priests, or officials.[208] These pendants were also mostly found in LBA II context but appear to be heirlooms from the MK, so

[200] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 595.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid, 600.
[203] Ibid, 600.
[204] Hesse 2008.
[205] Greener 2019, 11.
[206] Hesse 2008, 167.
[207] Ibid, 126.
[208] Ibid, 166.

it suggests Hazor used them for diplomatic purposes, attempting to emulate fashion, rather than as contemporaneous pieces.

The main corpus of the Egyptian artefacts was found in the more recent excavations in the palaces and temples of LBA II which are primarily associated with luxurious objects, reflecting the elite location.[209] The attempts by the elite to emulate the Egyptians in higher positions is contrasted by the scarce amount of Egyptian influenced objects that are found in the less elite areas of the city.[210] The presence of moulds for this type of jewellery, that were found in Area A in Hazor, are interesting because they indicate artisans who were trained in using such moulds to produce significant numbers of the same piece of jewellery and not just one-off pieces.[211]

5.6 Tel Abu Hawan (1)

Hawan was an ancient harbour city located on the estuary of the Qishon River. It is the middle point between Cyprus and the delta of the Nile. The occupation of this site most likely began on the mound ca. 1400 BCE,[212] with one settlement and two necropolises. The recovery missions began in 1922 by Guy and Fitzgerald at the necropolis and later at the tell in 1929 by Mayer and Makhouly which were prompted by urban development projects.[213] Stratum V (LBA-EIA IA) is a particularly good example of the boom in international trade and commerce.[214] This is the level in which one pendant of an engraved human figure was uncovered. The dating of this level has been often questioned as the destruction of the fortifications of the level have been attributed to natural causes ca. 14th c. BCE, or later by the so-called Sea People.[215]

[209] Hesse 2008, 169.
[210] Ibid, 191.
[211] Ibid, 218.
[212] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 8.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid, 11.
[215] Stern, Lewinson-Gilboa, and Aviram 1993, 12.

5.7 Tell Kitan (1)

Kitan was first excavated in 1975 by the Israel Department of Antiquities and the results first published by Eisenberg in 1977.[216] Nine layers of the settlement were uncovered, with the dating beginning at the Chalcolithic period, reaching prosperity in EBA I with the latest strata of settlement dating to the Umayyad period.[217] The Stratum II temple was built over a MBA IIB temple in LBA I.[218] Jewellery was found in some of the bowls in the temple and include a faience bead, semi-precious stones and silver pendants.[219]

5.8 Tel Lachish (18)

Lachish was first identified by Petrie in 1891,[220] and is located 40km SW from Jerusalem. Excavations first began at the site in 1932 by Tufnell with the British expedition. The site has evidence of habitation since the Neolithic period and the height of the Egyptian power in the region is exhibited with the acropolis temple dating to 13-12th c. BCE.[221] With papyrus shaped stone capitals, some Egyptian fluted shafts and specific Egyptian colouring, the combination of Canaanite and Egyptian architectural styles indicate the religious syncretism and demonstrate the welding of styles was part of their daily life.[222] Level VI was the last Canaanite city and was destroyed by a large fire in ca. 1130 BCE. [223] The jewellery excavated from Lachish from Cave 4004, now in the Ashmolean Museum, is dated to the LBA III period (ca. 1225-1175 BCE).[224] Apart from the pendants, there is a circular mount that would have been

[216] Eisenberg 1977, 77.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid, 78.
[219] Ibid, 80.
[220] Petrie 1891.
[221] Greener 2019, 8.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Weissbein et al. 2020, 1.
[224] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 138.

for a scarab with granulated triangles.[225] There is also Syro-Palestinian type jewellery such as the mulberry earrings. [226]

Weissbein analyses four different pendants from Lachish and notes that these similar pendants demonstrate the external influences at play in this town.[227] The recent Lachish excavations of 2013-2016 unearthed a silver pendant on Level VI (1200-1130 BCE).[228] It was found in the temple section of the settlement and is from the 20th dynasty when there was strong influence of Egyptians in the Levant which is emphasised with the distinctive finds and features from Level VI like the anthropoid coffins. These indicate the international network of trade that passed through this region.[229] The pendant has the Hathor coiffure and a pubic triangle which was partially preserved,[230] plus an inverted triangle next to the figure which was most likely a lotus flower or papyrus. The techniques used were repoussé and incised lines.[231] The female goddess pendants were most likely imported or reworked from other regions and reattributed to the local fertility cults.[232]

5.9 Tel Megiddo (5)

Megiddo has a strategic importance as it was the port for Egyptians goods being transported to the rest of the Near East. More famously attributed as the biblical Armageddon (corruption of the Hebrew for mount of Megiddo), the site has been excavated several times since the German Society for the Study of Palestine by Schumacher in 1903.[233]

[225] Tur-Sinai and Tufnell 1958, 40.
[226] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 138.
[227] Weissbein et al. 2016, 51.
[228] Ibid, 41.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid, 48.
[231] Ibid, 49.
[232] Ibid, 52.
[233] Finkelstein and Ussishkin 1994.

There are quite a few Egyptian amulets found in Megiddo. Five of these are metal pendants, including a gold pendant from Megiddo Stratum VII 13th-12th c. BCE which has clearly distinguished repoussé facial features. It is in the typical pointed triangular style with a band separating the lower pubis.[234] Other metal pendants also include some crescent pendants: the sheer size and weight of them suggest they were not used by people in daily life and were perhaps made for animals.[235]

5.10 Shechem (1)

Shechem was the first Palestinian city mentioned in the Bible (*Gen* 12.6), and was also mentioned in several Egyptian texts.[236] It was first excavated in 1913 by Sellin from Vienna.[237] Much of Shechem was destroyed by the Egyptians in the 16th c. BCE,[238] and the rebuilding of the city in the 15th c. BCE included a distinctly Canaanite temple and fortifications. There is only one extant metal pendant from this site which is in the form of a star disc. However, due to its simplicity, it does not lend itself to an interpretation of any direct Egyptian influence.

5.11 Yavneh Yam Anchorage (2)

Yavneh Yam was settled first in the MBA with occupation up until the Middle Ages. It is a natural anchorage and the underwater surveys have uncovered assemblages from unspecified shipwreck which suggest evidence of intense marine activity.[239] From the excavations in the 1980s-90s, an abundance of rich finds have been uncovered that come from ships sheltering from the LBA to Middle Ages.[240] The ones pertinent to this investigation were found amongst a large assemblage of LBA items which even

[234] Platt 1976, 106.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Horn 1969, 9.
[237] Ibid, 12.
[238] Ibid, 16.
[239] Galili, Oron, and Cvikel 2018, 122.
[240] Golani and Galili 2015, 17.

without a ship hull were able to be attributed to the LBA. There are two pendants which are from the Yavneh-Yam Anchorage. The first is a gold leaf pendant which is made of gold wire that is hammered on both ends to create flat leaves and the techniques of folding, twisting and repoussé are also used.[241] This is a popular style that was found in Lachish Fosse Temple area and from Ajjul in Town II, hoard 277 and hoard 1312.[242] The crescent shaped pendants were worn in cultic settings and were popular throughout the Southern Levant during the LBA I-II, and are made from gold, silver, electrum and occasionally a copper alloy.[243] Golani asserts that these pieces would have been produced in Canaanite workshops but ultimately were made from Egyptian gold.[244]

Summary

From the overview of the sites, a greater understanding of the locations of many of the pendants can be gleaned. Pendants were found in various contexts such as in a hoard, private housing, burials, or temple contexts. All of these pendants would have different amuletic value to their owners and without further information very little can be extrapolated about the pendant's functions. The sites also show that metal pendants were clearly confined to the elite context and to places with clear Egyptian presence in the LBA. This further suggests that it was unlikely that the majority of the population of the Southern Levant ever had access to any metal pendants.

[241] Golani and Galili 2015, 17.
[242] Ibid, 19.
[243] Ibid, 19.
[244] Ibid, 26.

6. Catalogue of Pendants

From the brief overview in Chapter 2 of the Egyptian style of jewellery production during the 19th and 20th dynasties of the NK Egypt, a classification system can be created for the specific characteristics which help identify the key components of the Egyptian style jewellery, further breaking down into whether the pendants include hieroglyphs, representations of Egyptian deities and specific Egyptian flora or fauna.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, the only remaining extant jewellery unfortunately tends to be funeral metallic jewellery or chance finds of hoards or scrap metals. Continuing from the beginning of Egyptian involvement in the Levant, an intermediate elite class emerged who had ongoing interactions with Egyptian officials and were influenced by the techniques and styles that they then would have selectively adopted and appropriated. This was a gradual and constant transformation that happened in many aspects of Canaanite culture.[245] The amulets most likely belonged to the local population in Canaan whose use reflects the appropriation of Egyptian artefacts in local practices. The Egyptian amulets also took on new meanings in the Canaanite context and may have been "taken as protective intermediaries between the common people and the divine sphere."[246] This led to Egyptian amulets being used by both Egyptian and local populations for the living and for the dead and, furthermore, these Egyptian iconographies became appropriated for new purpose and meaning amongst the Canaanite population.[247]

[245] Koch et al. 2017, 19.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.

6.1 Geometric Forms

The geometric forms of pendants make up the largest category, as they incorporate all the star, disc and crescent pendants plus the other miscellaneous pendants. The reason for their popularity is most likely due to the simplicity in some of the designs of these pendants. The crescent and the disc pendants were the most widely depicted in iconography and were archetypal of the Southern Levant.

6.1.1 Crescent Pendants

The crescent is a simple form that can be worked on to create many variations using various techniques. In the MBA and LBA, this style pendant is popular and found in Ajjul, Megiddo and Beth Shean (this is the form with the hollow tube attached for the thread).[248] It does not appear in the Levant after Iron I.[249] There are examples of simple silver crescents from Beth Shean, Gezer Tomb 10a, Tel el-Farah South, Ajjul,[250] and Tel Dan.[251]

The crescent shaped symbol is not an Egyptian import but was a distinctive Canaanite symbol that most likely made its way into the Egyptian sphere during the NK, with some found at sites like Amarna, Zawiyet el-Aryan, Gurob and Qau.[252] The crescent therefore came to connote different amuletic and religious properties that it would not have had before the expansion of the Egyptian region.

The type of crescent with stringing holes has a long history of use, probably beginning in MBA, continuing to Iron II.[253]An example of one from Gezer was found with cloth impressions on one side which indicate the amulet could have been sewn into fabric.[254] Macalister interpreted the symbol as

[248] Ilan 2016, 140.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Barnett 1951, 77.
[251] Ilan 2016, 140.
[252] Sparks 2004, 40.
[253] Golani 2013, 157.
[254] Ibid.

amuletic, representing two boar tusks bound together at the base, functioning as a prophylactic to avert the evil eye from horses.[255] Although his excavations did not produce any bound tusks as evidence to support his interpretation, there were tusks excavated.[256]

Maxwell-Hyslop connected these pendants to the moon cult,[257] symbolising the waning moon. The symbol acted as "an iconographic representation of the moon god that conferred apotropaic powers,"[258] and was associated with the women's fertility, particularly in childbirth.[259] Not only was it used to protect women by invoking the moon god during childbirth,[260] but was worn by depictions of Canaanite priests or deities as in the LBA basalt statues in Hazor.[261]

Some crescent pendants feature a tubular stringing attachment: some of these are plain, some are decorated with grooves, brands, with crosses or incised chevrons. The distinctive characteristic of this form of pendant is the suspension loop which implies they were all worn with the tips facing downwards. This particular style is popular in LBA to Iron I but becomes relatively rare by Iron II.[262]

6.1.2 Star Pendants

There are variations in nomenclature and style to these pendants, but ultimately these all fall under the category of the star or ray pendant style. It is not an exclusively Egyptian import as it existed in the Southern Levant prior to Egyptian occupation.

[255] Golani 2013, 157; Macalister 1912, 449-450.
[256] Golani 2013, 158.
[257] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 64-82, 149-151.
[258] Golani 2013, 87.
[259] Ornan 2007, 218-219, 229.
[260] Ornan 2007, 231.
[261] Golani 2013, 75; Bonfil 2011.
[262] Golani 2013, 159.

There are three surviving examples with schematised incision lines on the rays, including one from Megiddo Stratum IX in a child's grave and a four-rayed variety from Shechem found in the dump, most likely LBA. The four-rayed stars, which are worked in repoussé on piriform pendants, may have had similarities with ones from sites like Minet el-Beida and Ras Sharma[263] The plain eight-rayed type only exists in metal versions. The pendants from Shechem had comparable examples at Alakah, Tell al-Rimah and Tel Mevorakh.[264] The Ajjul examples are from LBA IA hoards and the Lachish examples are from the Fosse Temple area and this style is unique to both of these sites.[265] There are many parallels to the eight-rayed star disc with gold and glass examples found in places like Alalakh and Tepe Giyan. Six-rayed varieties are found at Ras Shamra in hoards.[266] Such finds indicate that these star pendants were most likely dispersed in a fairly wide geographical area for the duration of the LBA.

6.1.3 Disc Pendants

Disc pendants, which can be similar in form to the star disc pendants, are ultimately quite simple. One example, a silver pendant from Ajjul, has only a central boss and a folded over suspension loop.[267] There is a similar example from Tell Brak which is from ca. 2000 BCE, showing the longevity of the style.[268] Some of this style also contain repoussé dots, like those found at Gezer, or contain rays, like those at Ajjul.[269] The circular style pendant with rays was a typical representation of the Canaanite peoples in the NK context.[270] Therefore, there is no distinctive Egyptian influence exhibited on this style.

[263] McGovern 1980, 233.
[264] Ibid, 235.
[265] Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, 66; Petrie 1934, 5-7, pl. 62; Golani 2013, 236.
[266] McGovern 1980, 238.
[267] McGovern 1980, 221 ; Petrie 1932, x 7-8, pl. 52
[268] MaiIowan 1947, 177, pl. 35.
[269] McGovern 1980, 222.
[270] McGovern 1985, 75–77.

6.1.4 Drop Pendants

Due to their simplicity, drop pendants are represented over a long period of time and over a large geographical distribution. There are multifarious forms of the simple drop pendant, and many varieties are found in stone and from the prehistoric times in the Levant up until the IA.[271] Examples of this type are found at Beth Shean, Beth Shemesh and Megiddo.[272]

Many of the drop pendants resemble the nude goddess pendants in their shape, [273] and perhaps were unfinished versions of these pendants. The triangular gold sheet pendants have triangular shaped dot clusters in repoussé and long folded suspension loops. The stylistic technique is also similar to some of the pictorial and representational versions of the nude goddess pendants.[274] Golani indicates then that these could symbolise further schematisations of the pubic triangle.[275] One type is also reminiscent of the petal or leaf type pendant but has horizonal grooves and Negbi suggested it could have represented an insect pupa, which is another style like the fly pendant.[276]

6.1.5 Double Spiral Pendants

The double spiral pendant excavated from a burial pit in Lachish along with LBA II pottery was made of a strip of copper/bronze that has been wound into a double spiral and most likely had a suspension loop that would fit on a hoop earring. This style most likely originated in Early Dynastic III and was still in use until at least the 6th c. BCE. Understandably, jewellery of such simple design has an origin that cannot be definitively traced and was found in various cultures include similar styles in India, Europe and Egypt.[277]

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[271] McGovern 1980, 227.
[272] Ibid, 230.
[273] Ibid, 229.
[274] Ibid, 229.
[275] Ibid, 229.
[276] Negbi 1970, 44.
[277] McGovern 1980, 223; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 11, 23, 78-79, 166, 172, 267; MaiIowan 1947,: 171-76.

6.1.6 Hieroglyphs

Hieroglyphs demonstrate the direct incorporation of Egyptian deities into the Canaanite sphere and these symbols are used to construct words or to connote individual meanings. The Egyptian hieroglyph pendants are popular throughout the Southern Levant LBA but in metal there are the 39 identical pendants from Dharat el-Humraiya. These pendants portray the 'nfr' symbol and the gold examples are similar to the six blue-green glazed faience examples found at the same site and most likely from the same mould. This type of gold pendant was made and worn in Egypt during most of the LBA at least until the LBA IIA.[278] There are also other extremely common hieroglyph amulets found along with the metal exemplars but they are outside of the realm of this thesis.

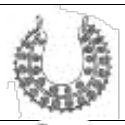
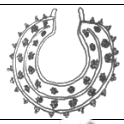
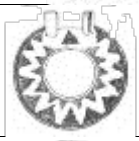
The 'nfr' or 'nefer' symbol is generally considered to represent the throat and oesophagus or a long neck musical instrument like a lute and to symbolise the goodness, excellence or beauty.[279] The symbol is often attached to names of some of the commonly known pharaohs. Its amuletic purpose in Egypt is only seen in collar form.[280] The gold pendants were made from gold sheet that was soldered on a flat base which in other examples is sometimes inlaid.[281] Andrews attribute their popularity to 18th dynasty openwork collars, including those found in the burial of one of the wives of Thutmosis III.[282]

The styles of pendant depicting hieroglyphic symbols is evidently the most obvious of the clear Egyptian influenced pendant types. The pendants could have been reinterpreted by the Canaanite population to suit their culture. But the sheer number found indicate that they had a significant impact on the wider population and not just the Egyptians stationed in the region.[283] This type of pendant is

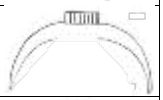
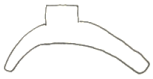
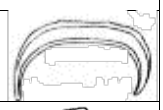
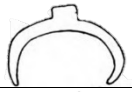
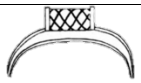
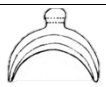
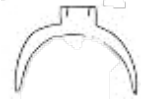
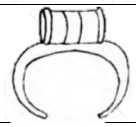
[278] McGovern 1980, 199.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Andrews 1994, 87.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] McGovern 1980, 183.

only seen in the LBA II, with the majority of them from LBA IIB.[284] They are first seen in LBA IIA in small number in sites in the south. The Beth Shean temples are where most of these types were found.[285]

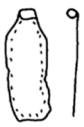
Table 1: 117 Geometric Pendants confined to the LBA Southern Levant

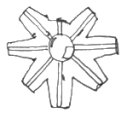
Subtype	Site	Provenance	Date	Material	Dimensions	References	Figures
Circular crescent with granular clusters	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?: Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameter: 35 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:30-31, 14:30-31; McGovern 1980, 357.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameter: 45 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:28-29, 14:28-29; Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. B:23; McGovern 1980, 357.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameter: 33 mm	Petrie 1934, pl . 13:26-27, 14:26-27; McGovern 1980, 357.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GD 793; Tomb 1998; probably Towns III-II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameter: 25 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. 7:23-24; McGovern 1980, 357.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277j probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameters 39 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:23, 6:4-5; McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: Diameters 30 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 19:132-33, 20:132-33; McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV; Hoard 1313; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	Diameter: 32 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 15:67, 16:67; McGovern 1980, 358.	
Crescent/horns-standard:	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1234	LB	Silver	15 x 30 mm	McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Beth Shean	Level VIII; 1068 (below floor)	LB IIB	Gold	21 x 20 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 34:12; McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Beth Shean	Level VIII; 1068 (below floor)	LB IIB	Gold	11 x 10 x 1 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 34:13; McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Beth Shean	Level VII ; 1085	LB IIB	Gold	25 x 23 mm	McGovern 1980, 358.	
	Hazor		LB IA	Copper alloy		Yadin et al. 1961, pl. 278: 11; Golani 2013, 260.	

[284] McGovern 1980, 205.
[285] Ibid, 206.

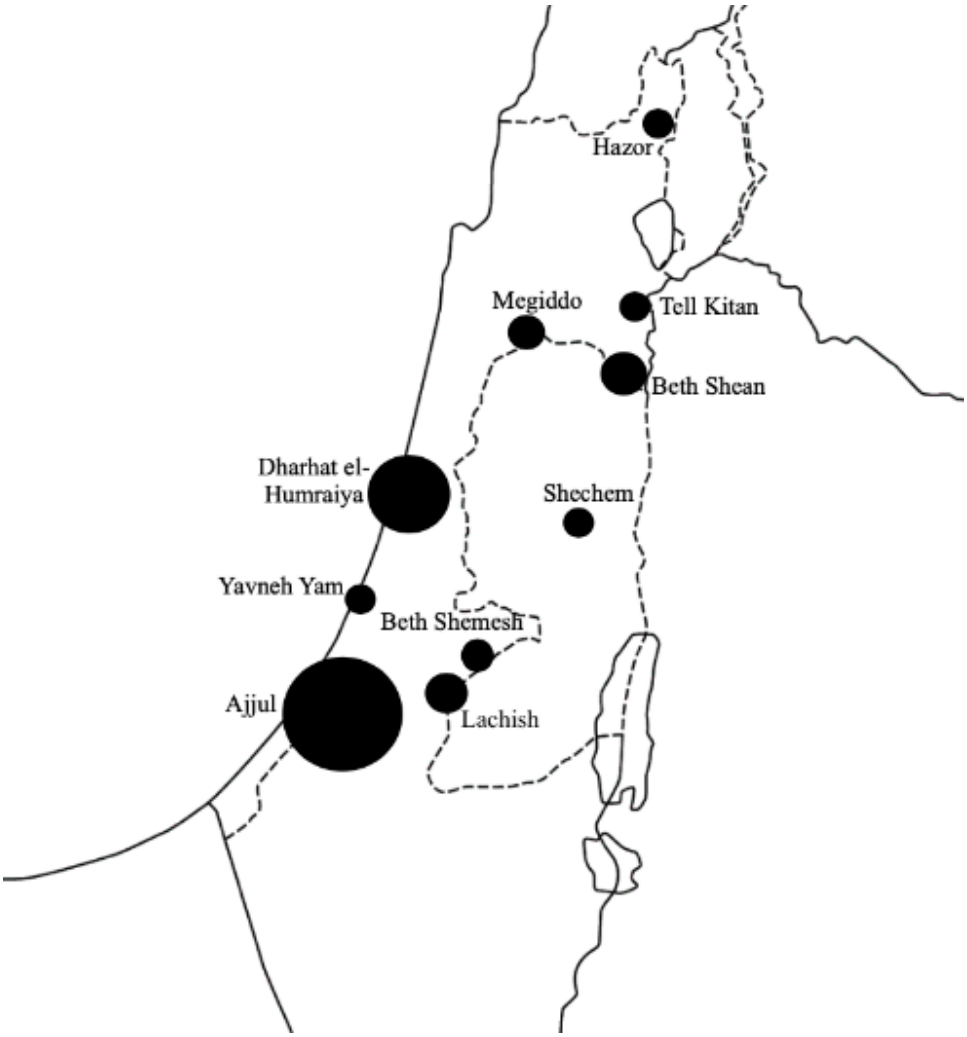
	Hazor		LB IA	Copper alloy		Yadin et al. 1961, pl. 278: 12; Golani 2013, 260.	
	Megiddo	Sq. U 17; Tomb 1145 B	LB I	Silver	16 x 15 mm	Guy 1938, pl. 152:11; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	AN 748; road; Town II	LB IA	Gold	22 x 39 mm	Petrie 1933, pls. 14:29, 15:29; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	AT 659-760; pit; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	28 x 38 mm	Petrie 1931, pls. 13:43,'15:1; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	14 x 22 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:12, 14:12; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	13 x 18 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 14:11; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	25 x 43 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 12; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	17 x 33 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 11:4; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAD 877; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	2 examples: 30 mm; 29 mm	McGovern 1980, 360.	Figure unavailable[286]
	Tell el-'Ajjul	LH^ 976; Palace II	LB IA	Silver	14 x 27 mm	Petrie 1933, pl. 14:33; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	LK 1002; Palace IIIA	LB IA	Electrum	12 x 23 mm	Petrie 1933, pls. 14:31, 15:31; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	NB 995; Palace II or IIIA	LB IA	Probably bronze	24 x 21 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 18:241; McGovern 1980, 360.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	33 x 64 x 10 mm	McGovern 1980, 361.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Silver	10 x 19 mm	McGovern 1980, 361.	Figure unavailable
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	21 x 34 mm	Petrie1934,pls.19:128, 20:128; McGovern 1980, 361.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	10 x 14 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 19:154, 20:154; McGovern 1980, 361.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVTII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1502	LB I	Silver	21 x 30 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:29; McGovern 1980, 361.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	West end of tell; Grave 425	LB I-IIA	Gold	13 x 14 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 20:174; McGovern 1980, 361.	

[286] For 11 of these pendants, no figure has been able to be included as Covid-19 restrictions have limited access by the author to the relevant texts and artefacts.

	Yavneh-Yam		LB	Gold	11 x 11 mm	Golani and Galili 2015, 18.	
	Beth Shemesh	Stratum IV; Sq. W 27; Room 73	LB IIB	Gold	2 examples: 24 x 27 mm	Grant 1931, pl.18; Grant 1932, pl. 49:20; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Beth Shemesh	Stratum IV; Sq. W 27; Room 73	LB IIB	Probably gold	12 x 15 mm	Grant 1931, pl. 18; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Lachish	Area 500; Sq. A.25; Pit 542	LB II	Gold	10 x 10 mm	Tufnell 1958, pl. 25:65; McGovern 1980, 359.	Figure unavailable
	Megiddo	Stratum VIIB; Area AA; Sq. K 6; 3187	LB IIB	Bronze	79 x 90 mm	Loud 1948, pl. 213:80; McGovern 1980, 359.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	West end of tell; Grave 425	LB I-IIA	Gold	13 x 14 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 20:174; McGovern 1980, 361-2.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	MO 1040; probably Palace IIIB	LB IIA	Silver	30 x 72 x 5 mm	Petrie 1933, pl. 14:32; McGovern 1980, 362.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1080	LB IIA	Gold	11 x 11 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:22; McGovern 1980, 362.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1095	LB IIB	Gold	13 x 12 mm	Petrie 1932, pls. 3:22, 5 ; McGovern 1980, 362.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	Northeast fosse; Tomb 1166; LB II	LB II	Probably gold	14 x 16 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:23; McGovern 1980, 362.	
Disc- with central boss and grouped dots	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVI11 Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1037	LB IIA	Gold	12 x 10 x 4 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:32; McGovern 1980, 364.	
Disc- with central boss:	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1502	LB I	Silver	31 x 25 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:41; McGovern 1980, 364.	
Double spiral	Lachish	Area 500; Sq. A.25; Pit 542	LB II	Bronze or copper	10 x 14 mm	Tufnell 1958, pl. 25:44; McGovern 1980, 364	
Drop-elongated	Beth Shean	Level VIII; 1092	LB IIB	Gold	28 x 9 mm	McGovern 1980, 365.	
	Beth Shean	Level VIII ; 1068 (below steps)	LB IIB	Gold	26 x 5 mm.	McGovern 1980, 365.	
	Beth Shean	Level VII; 1087	LB IIB	Gold	25 x 17 mm	McGovern 1980, 366.	
	Megiddo	Stratum VIII; Area DD; Sq. K 11; 5020	LB IB-IIA	Gold	32 x 7 mm	Loud 1948, pl. 213:69; McGovern 1980, 367.	

Drop-miscellaneous, including fancy types:	Beth Shemesh	Stratum IV; Sq. W 27; Room 73	LB IIB	Gold	11 x 7 mm	Grant 1931, pl. 18; Grant 1932, pl. 49:17; McGovern 1980, 367.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	19 x 12 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:14, 6:9; McGovern 1980, 368.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TDV; Tomb 1740; Towns III-II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: 30 x 14 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 17:88, 18:88; McGovern 1980, 368.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV; Hoard 1313; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	16 x 8 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 15:61, 16:61; McGovern 1980, 368.	
Hieroglyph "nfr":	Dhahrat el-Humraiya	Sq. e/4; Grade 8	LB IIA	Gold	30 examples: 18 x 4 mm	Ory 1947, pl. 13:17; McGovern 1980, 357.	Figure unavailable
Star disc-eight-rayed; plain:	Beth Shean	Level VIII; 1068 (below steps)	LB IIB	Gold	Diameter: 9 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 30:60; McGovern 1980, 369.	
	Shechem	Stratum 14; Field 13; cellar under Room G	LB IIA	Probably electrum	30 x 24 mm	Campbell, Ross, and Toombs 1971, fig. 7:c; McGovern 1980, 369.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	13 x 10 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:10; McGovern 1980, 369.	
	Tell Kitan	Stratum 3 "temple"	LB IA	Silver	size unspecified	Eisenberg 1977, 81; McGovern 1980, 369.	Figure unavailable
Star disc-eight-rayed; cut-out:	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Structure I; Room D	LB I	Gold	24 x 22 x 4 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:15; McGovern 1980, 369.	Figure unavailable
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	24 x 22 x 1 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:14; McGovern 1980, 369.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	27 x 16 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:11; McGovern 1980, 369.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	20 x 10 x 1 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:12; McGovern 1980, 370.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	Diameter: 45 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 14:13; McGovern 1980, 370.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: 63 x 54 mm; 59 x 57 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:14-15, 14:14-15; Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. A:10; McGovern 1980, 370.	

	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	Diameter: 30 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:36, 14:36; McGovern 1980, 370.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	3 examples: 47 x 43mm; 64 x 54mm; 46 x 42mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray, pls. A:10, 6:6-8, 8:3, 5; McGovern 1980, 370.	
Star disc-eight-rayed; with dots:	Megiddo	Stratum VIIB; Area BB; Sq. M 13; 2064	LB IIB	Silver	62 x 48 mm	Loud 1948, pl. 213:79; McGovern 1980, 371.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	G 950; probably Town I	LB II	Gold	41 x 38 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 17:112, 18:112; McGovern 1980, 371.	



Map 1: Geometric Pendants dispersed throughout the LBA Southern Levant sites

6.2 Human Figures

Human figure pendants are among the most popular metal pendants found in this region. It suggests a local style but this will be broken down to examine how indigenous these pendants were. Nude goddess pendants are distinctive styles of the Syro-Palestinian region of which Maxwell-Hyslop categorises into three distinctive variations demonstrated by those found in Ugarit, Minet el-Beida and Ajjul.[287] The majority of these pendants are found in Ajjul which have strong Egyptian features depicted on the upper body and the schematic lower body in more of a Canaanite style.[288] The nude goddess pendant from Lachish also has a strong Egyptian influence. The 'Qudshu' type pendant is an Egyptian version of the Canaanite goddess and this influence is evident in Level VI of Lachish.[289] The goddess has the Hathor coiffure on the silver pendant and the plaque figurine. When the coiffure is accompanied with holding of the breasts this is distinctive of the Canaanite style from the MBA.[290]

The nude goddess pendants found in the Levant LBA are strong exemplars of the long tradition of Egyptian iconography adopted in this jewellery. Two particular Egyptian goddesses that have influence in this jewellery iconography are Hathor and Qadesh. Hathor is a goddess of love and beauty and had a distinctive Hathor coiffure that is seen portrayed in a multitude of Canaanite pendants.[291] The Hathor coiffure is depicted on reliefs and sculptures in both Egypt and the Levant and is thick shoulder length hair with flicked curls. This type of coiffure was originally associated with Hathor but should only refer to the hairstyle of this period as it had a long existing tradition in the Near East.[292] This was an older tradition in Mesopotamia,[293] and they were described as being only attributed as 'Hathoric' by

[287] Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 138; Negbi 1970, 30.
[288] Altman 1979, 76.
[289] Weissbein et al. 2016, 51.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Bouillon 2014, 209.
[293] Ibid, 213.

Albright.[294] Such an attribution therefore erroneously made a connection between these Astarte pendants and the Egyptian goddess Hathor.[295]

Qadesh refers to the 'holy' or 'sacred one' and there are specific goddess plaques that mention this Egyptian deity and highlight the popularity of this goddess in the surrounding regions.[296] Although this goddess had popularity in Egypt, she may have originated in the Levant and was then adopted in the late NK Egypt.[297] The style of Qadesh-like figures are also found further north in Minet-el Beida with a gold plaque pendant depicting the Hathor coiffure and holding flora or fauna.[298] This was a style that was introduced into Egypt during the 18th dynasty from Asia and is not found in the Levant following the Egyptian removal of the Hyksos.[299] The 'Qadesh' symbolism in Egypt is generally a full-frontal nude goddess standing on a lion holding either snakes or lotuses. It is associated with other Egyptian gods like Min (who she offers lilies to) or Reshep (who she offers snakes to).[300] The use of a brandishing stance is indicative of a war goddess as depicted in the Egyptian worship of her and the association with lions and snakes connotes Qadesh, or even fertility goddesses from the Aegean.[301] There is an example of a pendant which has a female shape that is incised on the piriform sheet of gold, using the Egyptian pose (head and feet in profile, body in three quarter view).[302] Negbi however excludes this pendant from her corpus due to its Egyptian style.[303] This 'pictorial Qudshu' type pendant,[304] which was found on the west side of the temple in Beth Shean, is dated generally to the LBA. Also, the imagery of the 'was' sceptre in her left hand and Egyptian pose suggest an Egyptian origin, although the manufacturing style, the particular shape of the pendant is more Syro-Palestinian in origin.[305] The technique utilising the

[294] Albright 1943, 41.
[295] Bouillon 2014, 214.
[296] Budin 2015, 315.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ziffer et al. 2009, 335.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, 349.
[302] McGovern 1980, 103.
[303] Negbi 1970, 200.
[304] Negbi 1976, 99-100.
[305] McGovern 1980, 103.

engraving is considered a late development, but the use of a piriform shape was an early development which makes McGovern hypothesise that this mixing of styles suggest a date of ca. 1300 BCE.[306]

Female deities are more commonly depicted than male deities for fertility but also war purposes. These particular female pendants are not found in other regions and seem indigenous to this population, although other cultures also display worship for female deities with figurines and personal adornment more so than their male counterparts i.e. mother goddess worship in Crete.[307] This is due to the universality of the importance of fertility and motherhood. From the 19th dynasty Egyptian stelae, the nude goddess iconography was incorporated with the figure standing on lions, holding snakes and lotus flowers.[308] Such stelae help to identify the pendants of similar iconography, and they sometimes include Qudshu, or the triple name of Qudsh-Astarte-Anath,[309] suggesting that the pantheon was merged and interchangeable in the various regions and time periods. This was described by Weissbein as an "Egyptianized standard of the goddess from the Canaanite pantheon".[310]

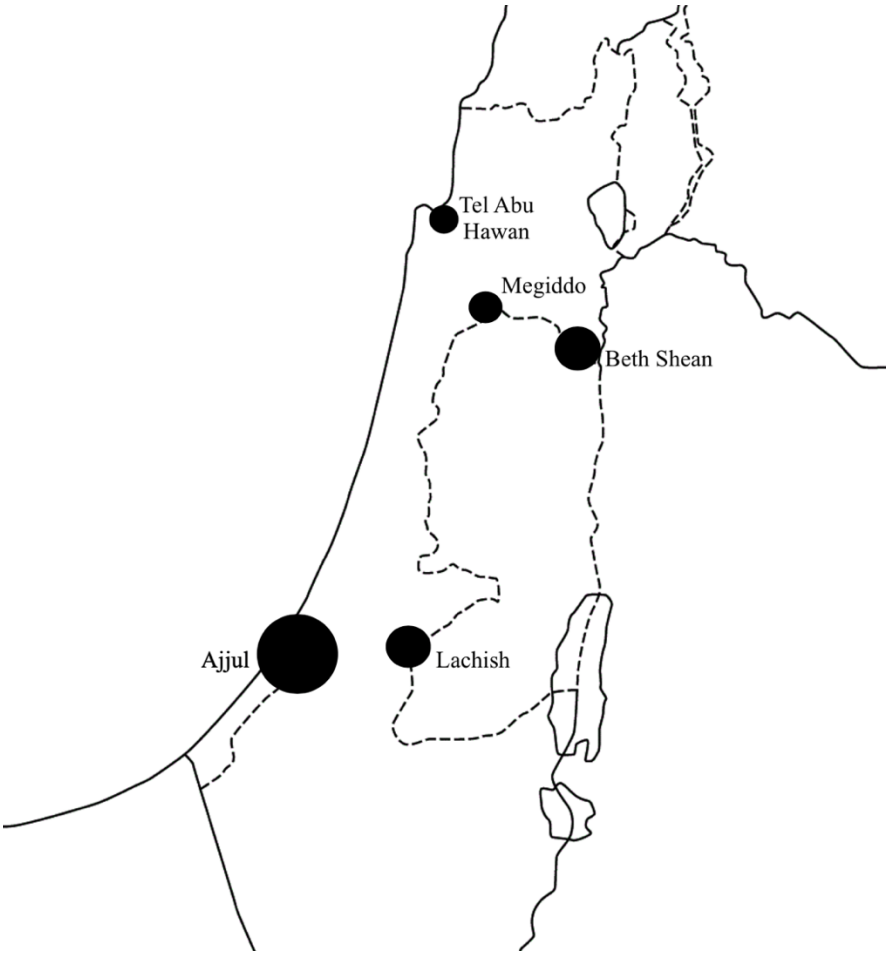
Ultimately, they are a conglomeration that represent just how cosmopolitan these trading cities were in this epoch. The distinctive plethora of gold pendants of this style can represent only a small percentage of the total number of nude goddess pendants that would have existed that were made of more perishable materials or less costly ones.

[306] McGovern 1980, 104.
[307] Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, 349.
[308] Ben-Arieh 1983, 73.
[309] Ibid, 76.
[310] Weissbein et al. 2016, 51.

Table 2: 16 Human Figure Pendants confined to the LBA Southern Levant

Subtype	Site	Location	Period	Material	Dimensions	References	Figures
Head or face-bearded:	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Room D (below altar)	LB IIB	Gold	27 x 9 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:5; McGovern 1980, 327.	 Detailed figure unavailable
Head or face-crude:	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1322	LB	Gold	32 x 7 mm	McGovern 1980, 327.	
Hathor- with flanking uraei:	Tell el-'Ajjul	North of tell ; Tomb 1514	LB II	Gold	26 x 13 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 3:27; McGovern 1980, 320.	
Pictorial figure-sex uncertain:	Beth Shean	Level VIII; 1068 (below floor)	LB IIB	Gold	43 x 16 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 34:57; McGovern 1980, 330.	
	Tel Abu Hawan	Stratum V; Sq. D 6	LB IIB	Gold	67 x 22 mm	Hamilton 1934, pl. 39:1, fig. 416 (p. 64); McGovern 1980, 330.	 Detailed figure unavailable
Standing figure-pictorial female plaque:	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1403	LB	Gold	47 x 21 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 68A:5; McGovern 1980, 328.	
Standing figure-representational female; cut-out figurine plaque:	Tell el-'Ajjul	EAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold and electrum	105 x 24 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:6, 14:6; McGovern 1980, 328.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	80 x 18 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 19:134, 20:134; Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. B:17; McGovern 1980, 328.	
Standing figure-representational female; plaque:	Tell el-'Ajjul	BAA?; Hoard 1299; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	97 x 60 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:8, 14:8; Negbi 1970 pl 2:4; McGovern 1980, 329.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	BAA?; Hoard 1299, probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	71 x 14 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 13:9, 14:9; McGovern 1980, 329.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	79 x 43 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:17, 6:12; McGovern 1980, 329.	

	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	46 x 23 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. 6:14; McGovern 1980, 329.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town I	LB IA	Gold	91 x 53 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:17, 6:13, 8:1; McGovern 1980, 329.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Structure II; Room D	LB IIA	Gold	23 x 9 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:4; McGovern 1980, 329.	 Detailed figure unavailable
	Megiddo	Stratum VIII; Area BB; Sq. 0 14	LB IB-IIA	Gold	66 x 25 mm	Loud 1948, pl. 213:68; Platt 1976 106; McGovern 1980, 329.	
	Lachish	Area BB, Temple; Level VI	LB IIB	Silver	~70 x 50 mm	Weissbein et al. 2016, 48-51.	



Map 2: Human Figure Pendant distribution throughout LBA Southern Levant sites

6.3 Fauna

The fauna metal pendants are unfortunately limited and, despite the detailing in the fly example, they are all fairly ambiguous in the specific iconography. Fauna examples are much more plentiful in the non-metal examples, perhaps because their iconography was more susceptible to change or required more in-depth skills that were not found in the Southern Levant at this time.

6.3.1 Falcon Pendants

Falcons are Egyptian royal birds and those falcon pendants found in Ajjul (although not in LBA II) might have been inspired by the MK Egyptian pectorals. This style is only found from LBA IA and are likely to have been manufactured in Ajjul.[311]

Two of these are archetypes of the Ajjulian artisans. In these, the falcons have high arched and outstretched wings in a frontal view. There is a significant amount of twisted wirework and repoussé worked together to create the pendant. Another of the pendants also has granulation of triangular and circular clusters on its body. There are no exact parallels but there are distinct similarities with the Egyptian pectorals of the MK, which probably inspired it. However, this style only appears in the LBA IA and most likely only was produced in Ajjul.[312]

There are iconographic similarities with the Tutankhamun earrings and the falcon pendants.[313] A similar example is found onboard the Uluburun which has a similar date to the Egyptian examples.[314] The

[311] McGovern 1980, 122.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Politis 2001, 186; Edwards 1976, Fig. 7.
[314] Politis 2001, 186.

techniques involved do not indicate they were made in Ajjul at that time so these either were made at different time or place than those found in Ajjul.[315]

6.3.2 Fly Pendants

The fly amulet has a long history in ancient Egypt, first seen in in the Predynastic period (before 3100 BCE).[316] Earlier examples are made of serpentine or steatite, then in the OK they were also made of cornelian or lapis lazuli.[317] The amethyst style was used in the MK and glass was first used in the NK.[318] The NK does provide some exquisite gold sheet examples, similar to those found in Ajjul.[319] According to Andrews, such pendants would have formed part of an honour awarded for military valour, where the fly could have been a reference to the persistence in attacking the enemy. However, as there are also examples from the tombs of Thutmosis III wives,[320] they may have first been an amuletic symbol and then later became a military award.[321]

The fly pendant examples are from Hoard 1313 in Town II of Ajjul.[322] There are four identical pendants that show schematic representations of their body with incised lines made from gold sheet. They are dated to the LBA IA and there are comparable to such pendants in MK sites like Kahun, Buhen and Qau where they exist in gold and silver.[323] In Amarna, they are found in a variety of other materials, plus they are found at multiple other sites throughout Egypt,[324] as this type of pendant had a long timeframe of use, spanning from the MK to at least the end of the NK. Petrie discusses a collar of gold flies from an 18th dynasty tomb and several other examples of non-metal have been uncovered from

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[315] Politis 2001, 186; Tufnell 1983.
[316] Andrews 1994, 62.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid, 63.
[322] McGovern 1980, 123; Petrie 1934, 7, 11.
[323] McGovern 1980, 123.
[324] Ibid, 123-4.

various 12th-18th dynasty tombs.[325] He suggested that the fly was a symbol of swiftness which was also indicated by the pointed and rounded wing variations.[326] When describing the fly pendants in the Ajjulian hoards, Petrie says they are not of the same form as the Egyptian equivalents which have narrower rings and are not striated. He suggests that the Ajjulian fly pendants have Canaanite origins and were worn in honour of Baal.[327]

6.3.3 Ram Pendants

The ram pendant falls under Andrews' term of the "amulets of assimilation" where the characteristic trait of the animal was conferred to the owner.[328] There is also the possibility that when using powerful animals on amulets, then it was used in an apotropaic function, wishing to ward off evil with it.[329]

The tradition of ram head pendants has long existed in Egypt and the variations of both flat and rounded types were mostly made in the LBA II period. The examples from the EIA in Megiddo are more intricate than the earlier styles.[330] McGovern suggests that this 'type IIIG' originated from Egypt. There are seven examples from Ajjul of a cruciform pendant with a stylised ram head.[331] They exhibit the cloisonné technique using gold and blue glass and fine granulation. At the back of the head of all of these pendants, a gold ring has been soldered and is curving forward, which Golani attests to be the ram's horns.[332] Others within this type have large circular cloisonné with inlaid glass between the pieces that resemble wings. These examples of 'cruciform with stylised ram head' type pendants are all found in pairs suggesting they are pendants to be worn as earrings.[333]

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[325] Petrie 1914, 12.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Petrie 1934, 7.
[328] Andrews 1994, 60.
[329] Ibid.
[330] McGovern 1980, 128.
[331] Ibid, 217.
[332] Ibid, 218.
[333] Ibid, 219.

The other 'Ram?' style pendant is made of badly corroded silver so many of the details are no longer identifiable, but its upright stance and the sagging of the throat are indicative of a ram or a sheep. It also has a suspension loop soldered to the back. This pendant was found in Tomb 1037 which contained a large collection of LBA IIA pottery, including Base-Ring I ware.[334] The period of manufacture is difficult to determine because of the lack of parallels, but it is possibly, but not necessarily, limited to LBA IIA.[335] McGovern suggests the fine workmanship of such a pendant could have been made in Ajjul but the following periods of further Egyptian influence like LBA IB and LBA IIA display the penetration of the Egyptian style in the stone and faience variations of the ram with a peak of the influence evident from the LBA IIB.[336]

Table 3: 15 Fauna Pendants confined to the LBA Southern Levant

Subtype	Site	Location	Period	Material	Dimensions	References	Figures
Cruciform with stylised ram's head	Tell el-'Ajjul	near ECC; Tomb 1203; Towns HI-Iij	LB IA	Gold and blue glass	2 examples: 52 x 38 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 15:51-52, 16:51—52; McGovern 1980, 302.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GAN 852; Tomb 2070; Towns III-II	LB IA	Gold and blue glass	2 examples: 52 x 38 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. A:2, 7:28; McGovern 1980, 302.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GD 793; Tomb 1998; Towns III-II	LB IA	Gold and blue glass	2 examples: 62 x 35 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. A:2, 7:27; McGovern 1980,303.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TDV; Tomb 1740; Towns III-II	LB IA	Gold and blue glass	30 x 20 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 17:90, 18:90; McGovern 1980, 303.	
Falcon	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	Diameter: 33 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:20, 6:1, 3; McGovern 1980, 330.	

[334] Petrie 1932, 7, 8, 10, 15-16.
[335] McGovern 1980, 133.
[336] Ibid.

	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 921; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	43 x 45 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. 6:2, 8:4; McGovern 1980, 330.	
Fly	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV; Hoard 1313; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	4 examples: 12x8 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 16:63-66; Petrie, MacKay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:26, 8:2; McGovern 1980, 331.	
Lion fighting bull or dog	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1235	LB	Copper or bronze	125 x 111 x 42 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 71A:1; McGovern 1980, 331.	
Ram?	Tell el-'Ajjul	"18th Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1037	LB IIA	Silver	20 x 21 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 8:176; McGovern 1980, 333.	

Map 3: Fauna Pendants dispersed throughout the LBA Southern Levant sites

6.4 Flora

All growing plants as amulets were symbolic of new life. Some of the flowers that would open each morning were symbolic of resurrection.[337] There are several non-specific forms of petals and leaves that cannot be attributed to a specific plant but generally reflect naturalistic iconography that would have symbolised new growth and life. Floral pendants are characteristic of the 18th dynasty Egyptian style and were often made with a multicoloured glazed composition.[338] These simple motifs were widely popular with artisans, most likely due to the enduring inspirations from nature.

6.4.1 Rosette Pendants

The flower/rosette type pendants comprise two varieties that are made of sheet gold with eight rays or petals which are made from repoussé with a rolled suspension loop on the top.[339] The eight-rayed variety only occurs at Lachish, with one found amongst beads and pendants near a wall in Room E in the Fosse Temple which dates it to LBA IIB, and the other is from Tomb 216 which has burials dating to LBA II.[340] A second style was also discovered in the Fosse Temple area with twelve petals in repoussé on the sheet gold. This type became popular elsewhere in the IA and was used as an appliqué on garments, but there are no exact parallels of this type, so it is confined to LBA II Southern Levant.

6.4.2 Lotus Pendants

Lotus pendants were popular in the region in the LBA and, as such, there are several variations including the palmette, seed and bud varieties.[341] The lotus flower for Egyptians was a representation of the rising sun and of regeneration. Thus, it features quite heavily in funerary pendants.[342]

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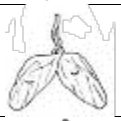
[337] Andrews 1994, 88.
[338] Ibid.
[339] McGovern 1980, 144.
[340] Tur-Sinai and Tufnell 1958, 232-35.
[341] McGovern 1980, 148.
[342] Golani 2009, 631.

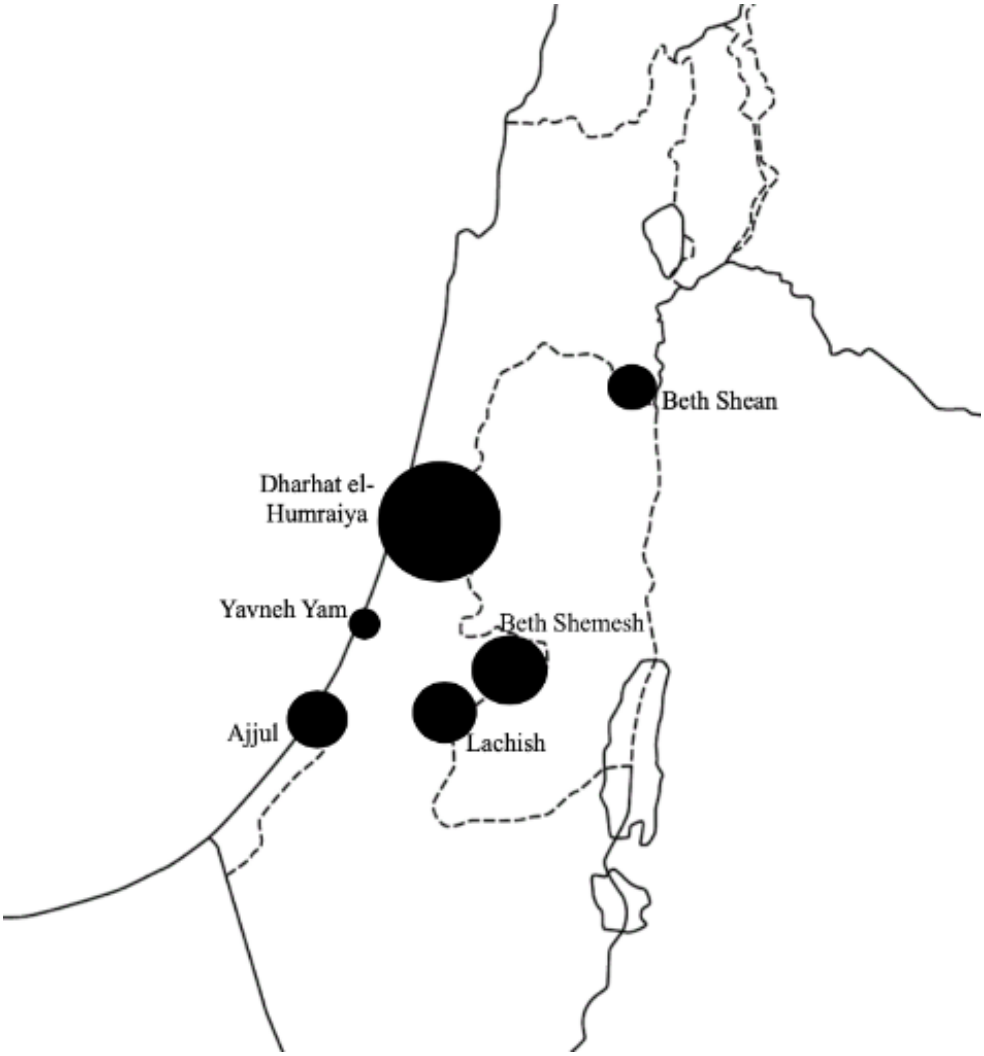
Lotus seed pendants are very popular in LBA II and are distinct examples of Egyptian influence in Canaan.[343] This style is found in Deir el-Balah (Tomb 116) and in EIA I it continued to be used in Tel Miqne-Eqron.[344] McGovern reasserts that it is a lotus seed rather than other possibilities suggested such as a poppy head, lotus bud, pomegranate or thistle head.[345] There are two variations of this style a flat-back one and a more rounded style. There is an example of such a pendant from Ajjul, although this round variety is also found in faience and glass and carnelian.[346]

Table 4: 58 Flora Pendants confined to the LBA Southern Levant

Subtype	Site	Location	Period	Material	Dimensions	References	Figures
Bud?:	Beth Shemesh	Stratum IV; Sq. W 27; Room 73;	LB IIB	Gold	4 examples: 39 x 14 mm	Grant 1931, pl. 18 (top, centre); Grant 1932, pl. 49:22; McGovern 1980, 346.	
Flower or Rosette - 8 rayed:	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Structure III; Room E	LB IIB	Gold	17 x 15 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:9 ; McGovern 1980, 334.	Figure unavailable
	Lachish	Area 200; Sq. A.6; Tomb 216	LB II	Gold	14 x 13 mm	Tufnell 1958, pls. 25:24, 54:27; McGovern 1980, 334.	
Flower or Rosette - 12 rayed:	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	23 x 21 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:13; McGovern 1980, 335.	
Lotus Bud:	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1073	LB IIA	Gold	9 x 7 mm	McGovern 1980, 336.	Figure unavailable
	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1085;	LB IIA	Probably gold	9 x 7 mm	McGovern 1980, 336.	Figure unavailable
Lotus Flower:	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1403	LB	Gold	31 x 24 mm	Rowe 1929, pl. 8:6; McGovern 1980, 339.	
	Beth-Shean	Level IX; 1403	LB	Gold	47 x 31 mm	Rowe 1929, pl. 8:7; McGovern 1980, 339.	
Lotus Palmette:	Beth Shemesh	Stratum IV; Sq. W 27; Room 73;	LB IIB	Gold	8 examples: 23 x 21 mm	Grant 1931, pl. 18; Grant 1932, pl. 49:19; McGovern 1980, 339.	

[343] Golani and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 250.
[344] Ibid.
[345] McGovern 1980, 156.
[346] Ibid.

	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Structure II; Room D	LB IIA	Gold	24 x 17 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:6; McGovern 1980, 340.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	22 x 20 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:7; McGovern 1980, 340.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II;	LB IA	Gold	37 x 35 mm	Petrie 1934, pls. 19:141, 20:141; McGovern 1980, 340.	
Lotus Seed Vessel-Round:	Tell el-'Ajjul	"XVIII Dynasty" Cemetery; Tomb 1080;	LB IIA	Gold	6 x 2 mm	Petrie 1932, pl. 8:177; McGovern 1980, 342.	
Petal or Leaf - Decorated:	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	2 examples: 15 x 5 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:8; McGovern 1980, 349.	
	Lachish	Fosse Temple area	LB	Gold	29 x 8 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl 26:3; McGovern 1980, 350.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	GDF 321; Hoard 277; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	2 examples: 34 x 5 mm	Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pls. B:15, 6:19-20; McGovern 1980, 350.	
	Tell el-'Ajjul	TV (above 910); Hoard 1312; probably Town II	LB IA	Gold	26 x 8 mm	Petrie 1934, pl. 20:144; McGovern 1980, 350.	
	Beth Shean	Level VIII ; 1068 (below floor)	LB IIB	Gold; brown and white glass	2 examples: 20 x 9 x 2 mm	Rowe 1940, pl. 34:16; McGovern 1980, 349.	
	Beth Shean	Level VII ; 1068 (north of steps);	LB IIB	Gold	23 x 9 mm	McGovern 1980, 349.	
	Yavneh-Yam		LB	Gold	25 x 17 mm	Golani and Galili 2015, 17.	
Petal or Leaf - Plain:	Dhahrat el-Humraiya;	Sq. c/6; Grave 57	LB II	Gold	23 examples: 10 x 4 mm	Ory 1948, pl. 33:16; McGovern 1980, 348.	Figure unavailable
	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Pit 172	LB IIB	Bronze	16 x 9 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:1; McGovern 1980, 349.	Figure unavailable
	Lachish	Fosse Temple; Pit 176	LB IIB	Silver	24 x 12 mm	Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, pl. 26:2; McGovern 1980, 349.	



Map 4: Floral Pendants dispersed throughout the LBA Southern Levant sites

7. Discussion

Religion has always been linked with personal adornment. Much of the earliest evidence of bodily adornment relates to apotropaic purposes, attempting to give the wearer protection or warding off evil sprints. This is inevitably true also of the jewellery examined within this context. As the majority of these pendants were amuletic, this has led to the main question of this thesis as to how much the religion of the Canaanites was influenced by the Egyptian religion and its direct impact on the iconographical motifs of the Canaanites. This in-depth study of such pendants allows this influence to be better understood and allows for discourse on what such impacts meant throughout Canaanite culture.

The Egyptian population were most likely the only members of the population of the Southern Levant that attached the same religious importance to the pendants as was originally intended. However, these pendants would have been reinterpreted and incorporated into the local belief systems. They may have also incorporated some of the Egyptian meaning, so that the pendants might still contain the original cultural significance even without the Canaanites' knowledge of the Egyptian religion and may have taken on a new significance.[347] Pendants with a clear Egyptian influence with specific Egyptian iconography, including those of flies, falcons and lotuses, may all have been reimagined at a local level as the aforementioned evidence suggests that both religious spheres incorporated such iconography.

There existed an upper urban class construct where the palace and temple, or the spiritual and secular powers, had access to funds to produce such goods that the rest of the population did not. The temples and surrounding precincts often included workshops to produce votive offerings.[348] The idea of innovation in the jewellery world was unlikely to be generated by the individual artisan. The elites patronised the arts and the artisans depended on them for both the commissions and the procuring of the materials. However, in workshops that existed within the sacred precincts, that organisation would

[347] Limmer 2007, 377.
[348] Tucci 2018, 422.

be the procurer of all necessary goods for the jewellery.[349] The artisans were then trained to reflect the cultural ideologies and characteristics of their society. It begs the question of how much influence women had on the choices of designs. Influence is even harder to determine when art is imported as it makes the concept of the jewellery reflecting the surrounding society a bit harder to determine, whether such works were produced in situ or imported as finished products and further, what exotica meant in either society.[350]

The location of these finds also provides important information about the intrinsic value of such pendants to the wearer and the society. Many of these pendants were found in hoards, which suggests that they were being stored in a time of peril, with the jewellery acting as a transportable means of both wealth and religious devotion. They could have also been stored by artisans for use prior to remelting and modelling. The findings from temple contexts evidently reinforce the religious significance of pendants and how the religious and political leaders held the most sway in metal trade and commissions. For pendants found within the burial context, these are not made as delicately as other burial jewellery which has been made solely for the purpose of accompanying the deceased in the afterlife, so that the pendants adorning the dead most likely were worn throughout life, sometimes existing as heirlooms worn by multiple people.

The metal pendants discussed here were overall not as Egyptian as their non-metal counterparts that have been studied by Hermann.[351] Several inferences can be made from this, but ultimately the reusability of metal must account for such differences in the styles and volume. Other factors to consider include that Canaanite artisans may not have possessed the required skills to produce new moulds for pendants, and so they may not have fully embraced the Egyptian style. This is different for non-metal pendants which seem to have been more Egyptian and this is a recurring theme in other cultures, that

[349] Tucci 2018, 423. Sasson 1990, 24.
[350] Tucci 2018, 423.
[351] Herrmann 2016.

exotic materials lend their way to more exotic styles. True Egyptian influence in metal pendants may not be visible in the extant metal pendants because the style would have changed and so the push to melt the pendants to rework it into something more contemporary would have been strong. It is unclear whether the Egyptian style was not fully embraced as the traditionally Canaanite style pendants were still present in burial settings, so perhaps Egyptian styles were more prevalent in daily use as fashion statements, therefore being reworked as style progressed.

The jewellery presented here only provides insight directly to a very small portion of the elite Canaanite population, but by examining it, hopefully there can be further understanding of the wider culture. Many of these pendants are related to the female deities and would therefore be designed for women. Almost a quarter of the studied pendants were crescents and another 12 were nude goddess pendants which combined create a significant percentage of extant metal pendants that could have fertility connotations. Other pendants may have been less obviously linked to females or female deities, but ultimately these pendants exist as indicators of what was important to the women of this society. Furthermore, the 58 extant flora pendants must reflect a larger, more prevalent style that, considering their symbolic importance in regrowth and new life, could have played important roles as female pendants during life, whilst still being an important aspect of the burial jewellery of both women and men.

The nude goddess pendants have apotropaic functions. The symbolism within these pendants includes the goddess's domination of nature by the clutching of various plants or the standing on animals. These present evidence of the diffusion of religion from the Near East to Egypt.[352] Other variations of this style of nude goddess are seen with plaques and figurines and have been attributed to multiple deities.[353] Goddesses throughout history are integral to male-dominated, polytheistic religions that worshipped both gendered deities. In these cultures, goddesses were never the principal deities and there was no evidence of goddess religions as such. As it was a male-dominated religion, we cannot know what the

[352] Budin 2015, 315.
[353] Ben-Arieh 1983, 76.

women felt concerning religion. As women were not involved as heavily in religion or politics as men, they may not have been so heavily influenced by the Egyptians. Whether this means that such pendants represented true changes to their religious beliefs or were as a result of the men desiring cultural appropriation. Given that the pendants were made by men for women, or bought by men for women means women did not have as much choice in the matter and the pendants may not be indications of their devotion to religion or their choice in style or symbolism of the pendants. These pendants represent a familiar trope of fertility pendants and due to this would not have existed with a reversed gendered role.

The high infertility and maternal and infant mortality rates led to disempowerment of women embarking on childbirth and fertility. As it was not possible to promise certainty in maternity outcomes, a logical need arises for an apotropaic gift to be given in order to provide reassurance. These pendants would have worked as practical pieces of jewellery during a woman's lifetime. Subsequently, they could have been used to honour both women and children who had died in childbirth and could have been the reason for incorporating them into burial. There is specific iconography only found on the metal pendant examples which were evidently reserved for the elite, yet there are images like the goddesses, which are found on both gold and terracotta plaques, suggesting these were more universally used images.

As explored, the religious implications of many of these pendants can be examined through the clay examples which were most likely the predecessor of the metal pendants beginning in MB IIB. Clay plaques are able to be produced in much greater number to be used in periaptic settings.[354] Gillis' study suggests that, in the LBA Aegean, there were inclinations towards shininess and lustre in choosing of the colour of grave goods possibly in order to reflect life and regenerative powers.[355] The local Canaanite culture established their own individual identity using Egyptian iconographical,

[354] Golani 2013, 75.
[355] Gillis 2012; Golani 2013, 76.

morphological and technological roots as they entered the international economic trade. Such iconographical elements became entrenched and continued until at least Iron II.[356]

The mobility of goods that travelled such as gifts, booty and trade items meant that the techniques and iconography incorporated in these goods could be copied, if the local artisans were able to do so.[357] Raw materials including precious metals may have been traded for the Syro-Palestinian style pottery found in Egypt. These raw materials would have been refined and reworked. The gold could have also been transported to Canaan for it to be worked by Canaanite artisans before then being exported, like those pendants found onboard the Uluburun. However, when artisans moved, which was often the case, they took with them the technical knowledge which allowed accurate reproductions of the jewellery to be made.[358] Although artisans were not highly distinguished members of society and did not make jewellery without commissions from religious leaders or elites, they had power and the ability to bring new styles to foreign places.

Egypt and the Southern Levant are "inextricably intertwined" in the LBA, with the political, economic and cultural hegemony providing a backdrop for metal trades, with the largest number of extant metal pendants being gold.[359] However, the extant non-metal pendants found provide a more realistic representation of the styles available of pendants at the time. Unfortunately, the extant metal pendants cannot do justice to the worth of the objects created and used at this time, as metal is such a highly prized material and, wherever possible, it would be melted down and reworked, leaving little to examine.

[356] Golani 2013, 67.
[357] Golani 2013; Moorey 2001,1; Feldman 2006.
[358] Golani 2013; Markoe 2003, 210–215; Hoffman 1997.
[359] Golani 2013, 50.

8. Conclusion

Jewellery in the Southern Levant was at its height of technological and typological innovation during the LBA. Prior to this, the style was typically simple shapes and was limited in the materials used. Ultimately, it was the internationalisation and an overall increase in commerce that led to more raw materials and more introduced techniques that had been previously unseen in the Southern Levant. This changed the face of Levantine jewellery beyond what archaeological evidence can display, particularly because metal jewellery was often melted down to be reused and remodelled and so no longer exists in its original form.

In order to expand on this thesis, the main improvement would be to physically study these artefacts. Without any ability to do this, information has only been able to be taken from sources of which many have not been updated since their preliminary investigations. Further studies that could be ideally undertaken include expanding the parameters on the time period studied, the different materials and type of jewellery examined, which could provide the necessary outlying information to further comprehend the current data. Also, further analysis of the discrepancies with the metal pendants uncovered in the MBA and IA contexts would assist in examining how Egyptian control of the LBA affected the style.

Considering the purpose to the wearer, pendants are not distinctly gendered, unlike some other forms of jewellery, so it is noteworthy that more than a quarter of the metal pendants had fertility connotations which in turn genders them. As the metal examples found are of the elite class and fertility was an issue throughout society, there most likely would have been a much larger percentage of female driven pendants in non-metal examples. It tells us quite pertinently, that the need for fertility amulets was not discriminatory of class and no matter the wealth accrued, the risk of dying in childbirth was unacceptably high.

All of the metal pendants exhibit an aspect of Egyptian style. Whether style was direct or indirect, there was real impact on the pendants found in the Southern Levant. Ultimately, these pendants are a permanent reminder of the interconnectivity of the Canaanite elites during the LBA. These pendants are an important reminder of those members of society, often women, who wore these pendants for assistance in life or in death and did not leave a mark on the world in any other way but are able to live on through these pendants.

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