



## WHO IS MEDDLING IN EGYPT'S AFFAIRS? THE IDENTITY OF THE ASIATICS IN THE ELEPHANTINE STELE OF SETHNAKHT AND THE HISTORICITY OF THE MEDINET HABU ASIATIC WAR RELIEFS

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### ABSTRACT

*It is the purpose of this article to address the identity of the auxiliary Asiatic troops mentioned in the Elephantine Stele of Sethnakhte, founder of the Twentieth Dynasty. The identity of these auxiliaries will help to illuminate the political relations between Egypt and the Levant in the first quarter of the twelfth century BCE. Furthermore, it is claimed that the royal texts, reliefs, and topographical lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu dealing with campaigning in Northern Syria—usually regarded as mere copies of earlier kings' exploits—are genuine and shed light on a campaign Ramesses III conducted against Amurru and Hittite cities before his fifth regnal year, probably extending to the Euphrates. It may be that both Sethnakhte and Ramesses III were referring to the same Asiatic enemies.*

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the fifth regnal year of Ramesses II, the Egyptians fought against the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes. In Ramesses' twenty-first year, a peace treaty was signed between the two adversaries. The border was fixed in Middle Syria, while Kadesh remained a Hittite possession. Damascus stayed in Egyptian hands, as was recently confirmed with the finding and publication of a stele dating to Ramesses II's fifty-sixth regnal year, found at Kesweh, 25 km south of Damascus.<sup>1</sup> Merenptah continued peaceful relations with Hatti, as can be deduced from the grain shipment delivered there during his reign.<sup>2</sup>

However, Merenptah's successors—Amenmesse, Sethy II, Siptah, and Tawosret—did not succeed in maintaining political stability with Egypt's neighbors and even lost control of vast territories in Nubia, Libya, and probably the Levant.<sup>3</sup> Political stability in Egypt also deteriorated during this time, and the throne was contested more than once. The years prior to Sethnakhte's reign were designated in Papyrus Harris as "empty years."<sup>4</sup> Even though a propagandistic flavor cannot be denied, this designation was probably based on a kernel of truth.

### SETHNAKHT'S REIGN

A new era commenced with the ascent of Sethnakhte to the throne. A stele of Sethnakhte, found at Elephantine in 1971, adds to our knowledge of the political reality in Egypt during the transfer between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.<sup>5</sup>

Sethnakhte was a usurper and probably not even a descendent of the royal family.<sup>6</sup> The resistance to his kingship was quelled only in his second regnal year, in the second month of Shemu, day 10 (Elephantine Stele 1.15). From the stele, it is not clear who his opponents were; they are simply mentioned in the third-person masculine plural (1.9, 10, 12?, 14, 16). It is not clear if the female pharaoh Tawosret, last ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty, was Sethnakhte's opponent, or if the text refers to her followers after her demise. Papyrus Harris I states that Egypt was in chaos during the "empty years," and that without central government, Egypt<sup>7</sup> was controlled by local rulers.<sup>8</sup> Sethnakhte's Stele also describes a period in which Egypt was drowning, a pale image of itself.<sup>9</sup>

Sethnakhte's Egyptian enemies could not face his strength alone and searched for aid (1.11: *wh3 nht.w*),<sup>10</sup> which was found outside Egypt. The adjective *nht.w* usually designates Pharaoh's victory, strength, and might;<sup>11</sup> as a noun, it sometimes designates elite troops.<sup>12</sup> In the description of the Battle of Kadesh between Ramesses II and the Hittite king Muwatalli, the forces which the Hittite king brought to his aid were designated as hired *nht.w* warriors.<sup>13</sup> Ramesses II also was aided in the battle of Kadesh by Shardanu troops deemed *nht.w*.<sup>14</sup> In the "Silver Peace Treaty" signed between Ramesses II and Hattusili III, King of Hatti in Ramesses' twenty-first year, the two respective kings were obliged to come to the aid (*nht.w*) of the other in case of need, or could send troops in case they did not want to come in person.<sup>15</sup> It seems that *nht.w* troops could come to aid the Egyptians or their adversaries and were a clashing force that could be com-

posed of local warriors, mercenaries, vassals, or allies who came to the king's support. The fact that the *nht.w* troops were supposed to receive payment (I I. I O–I I) does not prove that they were mercenaries; allies were sometimes encouraged to lend help in exchange for payment.<sup>16</sup> It is also possible that it was claimed the enemy paid his auxiliary troops for propagandistic purposes, in order to portray the enemy as weak.<sup>17</sup>

Sethnakhte's external enemies were asked by his Egyptian opponents to invade Egypt and come to their aid. In line 12, traces of the word *tš* were detected by Seidlmayer. This term is usually reserved for enemy forces trying to trespass Egypt's borders and frontier.<sup>18</sup> From the description, it becomes clear that the invading forces initially succeeded in entering Egypt and joining Sethnakhte's opposition: "He stretched out his arms to uproot and remove (*fd*) from Egypt those who transgressed (*[th]š*)<sup>19</sup> it" (I.8). The enemies retreated to a place that did not survive in the text<sup>20</sup> but must be outside Egypt. The gold, silver, and other valuables, which were already given by Sethnakhte's opponents (*rdi.n.sn*)<sup>21</sup> to the auxiliaries as payment for their aid, were left behind (*wšh*) on Egyptian soil and captured by Sethnakhte (I I. I O–I I).

The transgressors are described as *nm n stty.w* "These Asiatics."<sup>22</sup> The demonstrative plural pronoun *nm n* preceding the noun *stty.w* hints that they might have been mentioned before in the text or that they are known to the reader. The noun *stty.w* describes a population from a vast area to the northeast of Egypt. The territory's borders are the Sinai desert in the south; western Anatolia is included in the north, as can be deduced from the description of the Hittite coalition in the Battle of Kadesh as *stty.w*.<sup>23</sup> There is no indication that this designation was used for the Aegean or for territories east of the Euphrates until the first millennium.<sup>24</sup>

It is possible to enumerate the political and ethnic unities that were situated in this area and could, theoretically, be identified with the *stty.w* in the Sethnakhte Stele: the Kingdom of Hatti and its dependents in inner and coastal Syria; the city-states of Canaan, including the coastal Northern city states of Phoenicia;<sup>25</sup> and nomadic elements in Transjordan and Canaan, i.e., Shasu (including the ethnicon "Israel,"<sup>26</sup> mentioned in the Merenptah Stele), 'Apiru, and possibly Arameans.<sup>27</sup>

The inclusion of the Philistines in this list should be considered. First of all, it is not clear if the Philistines already arrived in Canaan as early as the years preceding the reign of Sethnakhte.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, the Philistines were evidently not Asiatic in origin. However, they are designated as *šmw* (nomads dwelling north-east of Egypt) in the war descriptions from Ramesses III's eighth regnal year.<sup>29</sup> According to the inscriptions of Ramesses III, he conquered their lands and added their frontiers to Egypt.<sup>30</sup> In the Southern Rhetorical Stele from Medinet Habu, dating to Ramesses III's twelfth regnal year, Egypt has defeated (*dh*) the land of the Philistines (*tš Prst*).<sup>31</sup> If these descriptions are not mere imprecise boasts and exaggerations, the land of the Philistines lay not far from Egyptian territory.

The possibilities for identifying the Asiatics in the Sethnakhte Stele are numerous, but for every identification many objections can be raised. However, it may be possible to identify the Asiatics in the Sethnakhte Stele with the help of the inscriptions of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu.

## THE WAR OF RAMESSES III AGAINST AMURRU

### 1. The Texts

The inscription dating to Ramesses III's fifth regnal year describes what is commonly designated as Ramesses' first Libyan war. However, there are several other episodes dated to that year. A description of a war north of Egypt has similar features as the naval war and land battle against the Sea Peoples in the eighth regnal year and might relate to those events.<sup>32</sup> However, the first concrete events in the Year 5 account describe events in Amurru:

The Chief ("he of") Amurru is (but) ashes, his seed is no (more), all his people are taken captive, scattered and "brought low". Every survivor from his land comes in praise to behold the great Sun of Egypt over them. The loveliness of the Sun-disk is before them,—the two Re's that emerge and shine forth over the earth—the Sun of Egypt and the one which is in the sky. They say: "Exalted be Re! Our land is perished (but) we are in the land of life, with the darkness dispelled—(even by) the King of S. & N. Egypt" . . . The Asiatic and Libyan (Tjehenu) foes ("fallen ones") are seized, who had been ruining Nile-land's condition. The land lay wasted, utterly destroyed, since kings (had been), and they had persecuted the gods like everyone (else); (*nš hr.w stty.w Thmw itš wn hr s'čš šhr Tš-mri fk pš tš m skmkm dr nsy.w itš.sn ntr.w mi bw nb*). There was no hero to take them (on), since they (= the Egyptians) are weak.<sup>33</sup> Now there was a youth (*ihwnw*) like a griffon, a commander shrewd as Mehy (= Thoth), (whose) words [are . . . .]. His soldiery (= infantry) are stentorian ("heavy") in voice, they [are] like bulls, ready [to fight myriads(?)] on the battlefield. His horses are like falcons, (when) they see sparrows [ . . . ]. And they roar like lions, "stirred up" and angry. The chariot-warriors are as powerful as lightning-flashes ("Resheps") and they look on ten-thousands as (mere) droplets. His strength is before them like Montu's and the fame ("name") and terror of him scorch up the plains and hill-countries.<sup>34</sup>

In the South Rhetorical Stele of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu, dated to the pharaoh's twelfth regnal year, it is stated:

Listen to me, (O) entire land, all citizens, both young and old of Nile-land! I am the son of the

valiant, offspring of [a favoured one?], (being) strong of arm, and mighty in strength as King of Both Lands of Egypt. I have brought low the plains and hill countries that have transgressed my frontier, since I was established as king upon the throne of Atum. No land survived to aggrandize themselves before me, (while) I am established like a bull in front of them, sharp-horned. I caused to retreat the Asiatics who had trodden Egypt . . . worn out through dread of me.<sup>35</sup>

Both texts describe events of foreign transgression against the borders of Egypt; the text from Year 5 explicitly names the Asiatics and the Tjehenu Libyans, while the text from Year 12 is vague. According to the text from Year 5, these misdeeds continued for several years since the days of kingship, hinting at an interlude when there was no king—comparable to the empty years mentioned in Papyrus Harris I.<sup>36</sup> In the text from Year 12, the time of the trespassing could be understood as occurring in the time of Ramesses III, although the phrase “since I [was established] as king” could refer to the expulsion of the Asiatics. A clear connection can be drawn between the text of Ramesses III’s Year 5 battle and the Sethnakhte Stele. In both texts, the enemy is described as a small bird being chased by the falcon (cf. ES 1.10).<sup>37</sup> The mention of the role of the chariotry in both texts is also significant (1.17). Does this mean that (at least) two pitched battles against Asiatics were fought in Egypt in a short time span in the days of Sethnakhte and the early reign of Ramesses III?

### 2. *The Time of the Defeat of the Transgressors*

In his seminal work about terms of Egyptian royal propaganda, Grimal has highlighted the instances where the term *hwn* occurs, as in the description of Ramesses III in his war inscription of Year 5 (see above). This term hints at Ramesses III’s young age at the time of battle and might even suggest that he was not yet king at the time.<sup>38</sup> In this case, the punishment of the Amurrite who harmed Egypt occurred during the reign of Sethnakhte. However, this conclusion should be accepted very cautiously, for two reasons. First, the context in which the term *hwn* occurs is damaged and cannot be restored with certainty; second, in the Southern Rhetorical Stele from Year 12, Ramesses III is described as having overthrown the plain and hill-countries that transgressed his frontier since (*dr*) he was [established] (*smn?*) upon the throne of Atum (i.e., after he became king).<sup>39</sup>

These operations are described as occurring before the war of Year 8 against the Sea Peoples and against the Libyans, so if they occurred during the reign of Ramesses III (and not Sethnakhte), they happened early on. Note, however, the emphasis Ramesses III bestowed upon his father in the Southern Rhetorical Stele from Year 12: “son of the valiant, offspring of

a [. . .].”<sup>40</sup> Pointing to Sethnakhte’s bravery (and his importance for Ramesses III’s legitimacy) might hint at a connection between Ramesses III’s achievements and those of his father.

It is commonly accepted that it was the Sea Peoples who destroyed Amurru,<sup>41</sup> an assumption based on the inscriptions of Ramesses III’s war against the Sea Peoples in his eighth regnal year:

(As for) the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in battle, were the lands at one time. No land could stand against (“before”) their arms, beginning from Hatti-Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia, cut off (all) at [once] in one [place]. A camp was [pitched] in one place, within Amurru; they devastated its people and its land was like what had never existed.<sup>42</sup>

The kingdoms of Hatti, Qode, Arzawa, Carchemish, and Alasia tried to oppose the Sea-People’s advance to no avail, and the conquest of Amurru resulted. The Sea Peoples came, established their camp in Amurru, and devastated (*h*) the people and their country. However, from the description of Ramesses III’s war in his fifth regnal year (see above), it can be deduced that Amurru was destroyed prior to the advance of the Sea Peoples by the Egyptians as a punitive action against their leader and the land of Amurru for having transgressed Egypt’s borders, destroyed it, and persecuted the gods as well as all the people.<sup>43</sup>

### 3. *The War Reliefs Depicting the Siege of Towns in Amurru and Northern Syria*

The punitive campaign against a city in Amurru was also depicted on the walls of Ramesses III’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>44</sup>

The reliability of the war reliefs of Ramesses III against Amurru—like his other stereotypic war depictions against the Nubians<sup>45</sup> and against Asiatic and Hittite cities—has been seriously doubted. It is generally claimed that these are pale anachronistic copies of the war reliefs decorating the Ramesseum or the mortuary temple of Merenptah.<sup>46</sup> Even the reliability of the unique war reliefs and written descriptions of Ramesses III’s wars against the Libyans<sup>47</sup> and Sea Peoples has been doubted.<sup>48</sup> In the following, I will argue that it is possible that the war inscriptions (with their many literary clichés) and the stereotypic reliefs at Medinet Habu portraying wars against Asiatics and Hittite towns are authentic and describe actual events.

While comparing the war reliefs of Ramesses III with those remaining from his Ramesside predecessors (mainly Ramesses II and Merenptah), it becomes clear that there are no exact original reliefs to copy from—none are even similar in composition, division of registers, or even scene details.<sup>49</sup> The scenes in the different temples differ in the details of the heavily fortified town and the fierce resistance of the defenders upon the walls.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, in the roughly seventy years preceding the events

described by Ramesses III, no wars were conducted against Amurru. There was no reason to reintroduce a relatively minor foe, who was not hostile for so many years, to the walls of the temple. Surely, fiercer and more relevant could have been chosen to decorate the temple walls.

Amurru is mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Ramesses II only in passing in the description of the march of the Egyptian forces, the arrival of the Na'aruna relief force<sup>51</sup> and in the epigraphs describing the conquest of Dapur,<sup>52</sup> which is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Ramesses III. Amurru is totally absent from the topographical lists of Ramesses II and from the lists of Egypt's enemies in the royal inscriptions of Ramesses II. Amurru was a loyal vassal of the Hittites in those days and probably remained loyal until Hatti's last days, during the reign of Mahhaza, Amurru's last attested ruler.<sup>53</sup>

It seems that the reliefs and the textual references of the war against Amurru in the Medinet Habu mortuary temple are unique to Ramesses III, and thus should be regarded as authentic and describing an actual event that took place under that pharaoh's auspice.<sup>54</sup>

Several other reliefs of Ramesses III depict assaults on unidentified Asiatic towns<sup>55</sup> and on Tunip, which does not appear at all in the remaining reliefs of Ramesses II or his predecessors. When Tunip is mentioned in written texts from the days of Ramesses II and its location described,<sup>56</sup> it is placed in the land of Naharina,<sup>57</sup> while in the inscriptions of Ramesses III it is located in Hatti,<sup>58</sup> even though the defenders are depicted as Asiatics. Furthermore, the depictions of both Egyptian soldiers felling trees and what seems to be a ditch surrounding the town are unique, occurring nowhere else among the many surviving Egyptian war reliefs.<sup>59</sup>

#### RAMESSES III AND THE HITTITES

Before discussing the appearance of Hatti in the Medinet Habu temple inscriptions and reliefs, a chronological remark is needed. The exact absolute date for the destruction of Hatti and the Levantine kingdoms is not known. The last dated evidence for the existence of Hatti derives from a mention of a grain shipment by Merenptah to Hatti and should be dated to 1213–1203 BCE. In the eighth regnal year of Ramesses III, some thirty years later,<sup>60</sup> in the description of the advance of the Sea Peoples toward Egypt, Hatti is already desolated<sup>61</sup> (but so is Carchemish, which has clearly survived the onslaught of the Sea Peoples).<sup>62</sup> Singer dates the destruction of Hatti to the first decade of the twelfth century BCE.<sup>63</sup> Other scholars, however, date the fall of Hatti to the early years of Ramesses III.<sup>64</sup> No exact regnal years are known for the last kings of the Hittite empire, Arnuwanda III and Suppiluliuma II, nor is it known if Suppiluliuma II had a son who ascended the throne, or how many years he may have reigned.<sup>65</sup> Thus, for the moment, it is impossible to precisely date the fall of the Hittite empire or to assess its role, if any, in the Levant during the reign of Ramesses III.

In the reliefs at Medinet Habu, assaults on two Hittite towns are depicted. The epigraph names one of these towns *i-r-ḫ*,<sup>66</sup> commonly identified with Arzawa in Western Anatolia.<sup>67</sup> However, the name of this city is written with the *ḫ* sign rather than *t-w* signs, as is the usual orthography.<sup>68</sup> Neither Ramesses II nor Ramesses III or any other pharaoh reached Western Anatolia in a military campaign, let alone conquered it.<sup>69</sup> No Ramesside relief shows the conquest of Arzawa, nor is there any remaining relief with similar motifs (such as the king drawing an additional arrow from his quiver after having shot at his enemies, or the casting down of doors and bricks from the top of the wall against the assaulting Egyptian troops).<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, the separate kingdom of Arzawa no longer existed in the days of Ramesses III, and late occurrences of Arzawa are either in a general geographical sense (referring to the Arzawa lands) or an ethnocultural one.<sup>71</sup> Thus, *i-r-ḫ* should probably not be identified with Arzawa even though the enemy is depicted as Hittite. It is better to search for a city in Syria under Hittite influence (possibly Ulassa?).<sup>72</sup> And again, this relief is original and not copied from earlier examples, and thus may depict a historical event.<sup>73</sup>

The particular scene of presenting prisoners before the god Amun<sup>74</sup> is original to Ramesses III. Among the prisoners, it is possible to identify with certainty Libyans, Shasu, Asiatics, Hittites, and Philistines. This combination of captives does not appear in any of the remaining decorations of previous kings, and correlates with the king's inscriptions.

Even in the inscriptions of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, a hostile attitude toward Hatti can be detected.<sup>75</sup> This is generally explained as anachronistic, reflecting the period of enmity during the days of Ramesses II. However, Ramesses signed the "silver" peace treaty between Egypt and Hatti and twice married daughters of Hittite kings. Even Merenptah kept the peace with Hatti, as can be deduced from the sending of Egyptian shipments of grain to Hatti's aid<sup>76</sup> and from the description of Hatti as appeased (*htp.w*) on the "Israel Stele" of Merenptah.<sup>77</sup>

The front faces of the bases of the Osiride statue pillars in the first court symbolically show Ramesses III holding his enemies captive. The captive rulers are Nubian, Philistine, Meshwesh (a Libyan tribe), from *K̄di*, and from [Hat]ti.<sup>78</sup> Except for *K̄di*, which is not mentioned in another historical inscription of Ramesses III as a campaign target, all the ethnic and geographic entities are known from his historical inscriptions.<sup>79</sup>

The long list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is an interesting topographical blend. The first sixty-nine Asiatic names do not seem to appear in any other known list (toponyms 1–69). A few of these toponyms can be identified with certainty, such as Ptor/Pitru on the Euphrates<sup>80</sup> (3), Alepo (6), Emar<sup>81</sup> (24), and Carchemish<sup>82</sup> (29).<sup>83</sup> Astour attempted to locate many of the unidentified places in upper Mesopotamia, from Ptor eastward to beyond the Tigris.<sup>84</sup> However, there is no apparent geographical order in Astour's reconstruction. The toponyms he locates in different parts of Mesopotamia are insignificant places. Moreover, the toponyms he identifies

as geographical neighbors do not appear adjacently on the list, while toponyms that *are* listed adjacently are located by Astour in opposing ends of the vast territory between the Euphrates and the Zagros, intermingled with toponyms in northern Syria<sup>85</sup>. Last but not least, Astour's suggested etymology for these toponyms is far from certain.<sup>86</sup> The continuation of the list (GN 71–110)<sup>87</sup> includes toponyms in central Syria and the Beqa' valley<sup>88</sup>—such as Hermel (south of Kadesh, 70), Riblah (71), *k-r-m-y-m* (74), and Shabduna (south of Kadesh, 75)<sup>89</sup>—that derive from a list of Ramesses II at Karnak. Some of the toponyms appear in the topographical lists of Thutmose III from Northern Syria,<sup>90</sup> and others are still unidentified (111–122). Helck argued that this part of the list was copied from a list of Thutmose I,<sup>91</sup> but there is no proof for this assumption either; no existing extensive topographical list of Thutmose I has yet been found.<sup>92</sup> It seems this list consists of place names in Lebanon and central and northern Syria up to the Euphrates, and that it is possible that a great number of them are original to Ramesses III (however, important towns such as Tunip, Kadesh, and Amurru are conspicuously absent). Even if lists will be found that appear to be the original *vorlage* of the place names 1–69, the fact that they were chosen by Ramesses III makes a unique statement. Ramesses III did not include place names from Anatolia, east of the Euphrates, or the Aegeans, even though he knew those places; it seems that he omitted from the list places that were not within his reach.<sup>93</sup>

On the right façade of the Pavilion (“High Tower”) of Medinet Habu a relief scene of king slaying enemies before Amun-Ra-Harakhte can be seen.<sup>94</sup> The list includes Hatti, Amurru, Sekel, Sherden, Sha[su?/Shekelesh],<sup>95</sup> Teresh, and P[eleset].<sup>96</sup> The names Sekel, Sherden, Shekelesh, Teresh, and Peleset are known from Ramesses III's descriptions of his wars against the Sea Peoples.<sup>97</sup> A war against the Shasu of Se'ir is known from Papyrus Harris I.<sup>98</sup> Amurru was also a target of Egyptian activity according to the inscriptions of Year 5. Should we regard Hatti alone as a fictive toponym in this list?

Scholars often treat the mentions of Hatti in the inscriptions of Ramesses III as mere copies of the inscriptions of Ramesses II. However, the other geographical names mentioned alongside Hatti in the inscriptions of Ramesses III are generally absent from the lists of Ramesses II; in those cases where partial names appear, their order is different and is supplemented by additional names that do not appear on Ramesses III's lists.<sup>99</sup> The stereotyped phraseology describing Hatti's fate also differs between Ramesses II and Ramesses III.<sup>100</sup> Where texts have clearly been copied by the scribes of Ramesses III from an original text of Ramesses II, the copyist at Medinet Habu changed the specific details referring to relations with Hatti in the days of Ramesses II (the arrival of the Hittite princess with her dowry) to vague ideological and rhetorical phrases referring to the subjugation of all foreign countries and the bringing of all sons and daughters of foreign

rulers to Egypt.<sup>101</sup> As can be seen from this example, the scribes of Ramesses III did not copy texts unconsciously and did not claim that specific facts happened, although it is known that they did not occur in Ramesses III's days!

From checking these several aspects of originality and copying of the historical texts and reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, it becomes clear that the reliefs as well as the text may be stereotypic in their outlines, motives, phraseology, etc., but are original in their context and are not copies from any known earlier source. The historical written records and war scenes should thus be regarded as authentic depictions of historical reality in the days of Ramesses III.

It seems one has to conclude that Ramesses III indeed sacked Amurru as a punitive campaign for its involvement in Egypt's interior affairs. Ramesses apparently also campaigned against other city-states in Syria<sup>102</sup> that might have taken part in the offensive against the rise of Sethnakhte and the Twentieth Dynasty. Relations with Hatti also deteriorated during the decades from the reign of Merenptah until the early reign of Ramesses III. It is not clear if the Hittite empire still existed, but it is clear that cities regarded as being (previously?) within the Hittite sphere of influence were also attacked. In this case, it may be that Ramesses III campaigned against the Kingdom of Carchemish, which inherited the southeastern part of the Hittite Empire after its demise.<sup>103</sup> Ramesses III was portrayed as the destroyer of Hittite cities in his war reliefs, and the rhetoric in his texts was clearly hostile toward Hatti.

Given the aforementioned Egyptian texts and reliefs of Sethnakhte and Ramesses III, it seems that political relations between Egypt and Hatti, Amurru, and Northern Syria during the transition between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasties ought to be viewed in a different light.

#### NOTES

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- Caire, 1994), 219–220. Alexander J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 3. (Jonsared: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1994), 213.
5. Dino Bidoli, “Stele des König Setnacht,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 28 (1972): 193–200; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakht und ihr historischer Hintergrund*, Wiesbaden. Ägyptologischen Abhandlungen 36 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980); Antony Spalinger, “Review of Drenkhahn R. *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakht und ihr historischer Hintergrund*, Wiesbaden,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 3/4 (1982): 271–287; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Tausret und Setnacht,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 107–115; William J. Murnane, “Review of *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakht und ihr historischer Hintergrund*, by R. Drenkhahn,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 58 (1983): 133–135; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translations V: Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 671–672; Fridrich Junge, “Elephantine/11: Funde und Bauteile; 1–7 Kampagne, 1969–1976,” *Elephantine Grabung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schweizerischen Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde Kairo* 11 (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen AV 49) Mainz (1987): 55–58; Peden, 1–5; Hans Goedicke, “Comments on the Sethnakhte Stela,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 52 (1996): 157–175; Stefan J. Seidlmayer, “Epigraphische Bemerkungen zur Stele des Sethnakhte aus Elephantine,” in Heike Guksch and Daniel Polz (eds.), *Stationen Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1998), 363–386.
  6. See, however, Norbert Dautzenberg, “Einige Bemerkungen zu einigen Thronnamen des Neuen Reiches und ihren politischen Aussagen sowie zur Person des Setnacht,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 156 (1997): 42–45.
  7. For periods of dissolution before restoration by the current king, see Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga, 1986), 259–275.
  8. Grandet, 335–336.
  9. Murnane, 134; Joachim F. Quack, “Ein Altägyptische Sprachtabu,” *Lingua Aegyptia* 3 (1993): 72; Seidlmayer, 378.
  10. Seidlmayer, 381 (ag and ah).
  11. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* II, 316; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1996; orig. publ. 1962), 138; José M. Galán, *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 40 (Hildesheim, 1995).
  12. Galán, 63–64.
  13. *KRI* II 4.1; 20.1; for the relations between the Hittites and their allies in the battle of Kadesh, see Itamar Singer, “Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century BCE According to the Hittite Sources,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 206.
  14. *KRI* II 11.1 (26). For the possibility that the term “Shardanu” is etymologically and semantically related to the Hittite *šardija*, see Itamar Singer, “The Kuruštama Treaty Revisited,” in Detlef Groddek and Sylvester Röble (eds.), *Šarnikzel: Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer* (Dresden: Verlag der TU Dresden, 2004), 604, n. 45.
  15. Elmar Edel, *Der Vertrag Zwischen Ramses II Von Ägypten und Hattušili III Von Hatti* (Wissenschaftlich Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 95; Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997), 31 § 6a. In the Akkadian text, the paragraph concerning Ramesses’ obligation to come to aid the Hittite king is purposely omitted.
  16. Cf. the rebellion of Inaros in 462 BCE. See Diodorus Siculus XI, 71, 72; Thucydides I, 104; Ctesias, *Persica*, 32.
  17. Mario Liverani, “Kitru, Katäru,” *Mesopotamia* 17 (1982): 61–63.
  18. Galán, 126–128.
  19. Seidlmayer, 379 (u).
  20. Seidlmayer, 380 (aa).
  21. Relative *šdm.n.f.* See Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1988), § 389.3, 307–308.
  22. Scholars do not usually identify the Asiatics. See Seidlmayer, 384 ff.; Karl Jansen Winkeln, “Ägyptische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Wanderungen von Seevölker und Libyern,” in Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger and Hartmut Matthäus (eds.), *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion* (Möhnesee Bibliopolis, 2002), 133–134.
  23. *KRI* II 35,1. 97.
  24. I. Ladynin communication at ICANAS-37: “The Near Eastern Interregional States (‘Empires’) Viewed Through the Ancient Egyptian Toponymy: The Term *Stt/Stt*,” in *International Congress of Asian and African Studies: Abstracts* (Moscow 2004), 96–97.
  25. Patricia M. Bikai, “The Phoenicians,” in William A. Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992), 134–137.
  26. Abraham Malamat, “The Exodus: Egyptian Analogies,” in Erich S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko (eds.), *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1997), 22–24; see Kenneth A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 263–264.
  27. Abraham Malamat, “Cushan Rishataim and the Decline of the Near East Around 1200 BCE,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13 (1954): 231 ff.
  28. For an early arrival of Philistines in the Southern Levant, see Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 289–295.
  29. In *KRI* V 38:1, Ramesses III causes the Asiatics (*sttyw*) to turn back, although the Sea Peoples are not yet mentioned in this paragraph and the equation need not be made. In *KRI* V 41:13, the foes (earlier in the text mentioned as a confederation of Sea Peoples) are called *ʿmw*, “Asiatics.” However, in no instance are

- the Sea Peoples explicitly called Asiatics, and the term may be understood generally.
30. *KRI V* 41:6.
  31. William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), plate 1071. 7, pp. 130–131. *KRI V* 73,1. 7; Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache V*, “Niederwerfen,” 483–484.
  32. *KRI V*, 25:5ff.
  33. *KRI V*, 19; cf. Peden, 17: “when they (the Asiatics?) rebelled.”
  34. *KRI V*, 21:13–22:11. Kitchen 2008, 20; cf. Edgerton and Wilson, 130, 11. 4–5.
  35. *KRI V*, 73:2–73:5 After this episode, the defeat of the Sea Peoples is described (the list of Sea Peoples is similar to that in the Year 8 war description), and only then is the defeat of the Libyans mentioned. In the Year 5 description, only Peleshet and Tjeker are mentioned.
  36. See n. 4 above.
  37. Seidlmayer, 380 (ab.) after Bidoli, *MDAIK* 28 (1972): 198 n. V. For this motif, see also Theo P. J. van den Hout, “Der Falke und das Kücken: der neue Pharao und der hethitische Prinz?,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 84 (1994): 70, 79.
  38. Cf. the instances cited by Nicholas-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne: de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne 4 Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 6, Paris, 1986): 88–100, notes 244, 245, 586. for the term *hwn* in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, see Angelika Lohwasser, “Der ‘weise Alte,’” in Monika R. M. Hasitzka (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift zum 65 Geburtstag von Helmut Satzinger* (Kremser wissenschaftliche Reihe; Krems, 2003): 113–114. In these examples, the king can be a *hwn* of twenty (Taharqa) or forty-one years (Irikeamanote), but *before* his accession to kingship. See, however, *KRI V*, 76: the Northern Rhetorical Stele 1.3, where Ramesses III says *ink nswt m ihwnw*, “I am/was king as a young man,” showing that the noun *ihwnw* can refer to the king at or after his accession.
  39. *KRI V*, 22:6–7, 73:5.
  40. *KRI V*, 73:4.
  41. For the location of the Kingdom of Amurru, see Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein, and Nadav Na’aman, *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Tel Aviv Monograph Series 23; Tel Aviv, 2004), 101–125. For the history of Amurru, see Itamar Singer, “Appendix III: A Concise History of Amurru,” in Shlomo Izre’el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*, vol. II (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991), 135–179, esp. 174–176.
  42. Kitchen 2008, 34; Peden, 29. Cf. however the translations by Wolfgang Helck, “Nochmals zu Ramses’ III Seevölkerbericht,” *SAK* (1987): 129–145; and Alexandre Safronov, “One Unusual Example of the Sentence with Impersonal Subject in Ramesses III’s 5th Year Inscription,” *LingAeg* 16 (2008): 311–318.
  43. Contra Safronov, 315, n. 25.
  44. Susanna C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 316, I.37.
  45. Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia,” *Ägypten und Kush* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orient 13; Berlin, 1977): 224. Comparing the Nubian war reliefs of Ramesses III with those of Ramesses II, one comes to the conclusion that they are both stereotypic and general and do not portray specific events with recognizable details. However, the details of reliefs of both rulers differ in (1) the number of registers of Nubian enemies (for Ramesses II, two registers at Beit el Wali, one wide register at Beit el Wali’s south wall, and two registers at Derr, as opposed to three registers of Nubians for Ramesses III at Medinet Habu), (2) the placement of the Egyptian cavalry (behind the king for Ramesses II; contrast with the Egyptian chariots placed in the register beneath the king in the relief of Ramesses III), (3) the countryside scenery with fruit trees of Nubia, present in Ramesses II’s reliefs but not those of Ramesses III, (4) the blue crown of Ramesses II, as opposed to the wig in the relief of Ramesses III, and (5) the Philistine warriors depicted only in the reliefs of Ramesses III. For the reliefs of both kings, see Heinz; Ramesses II: 252, 257, 258, 261 (Beit el Wali), 263 (Derr West); Ramesses III: 298 (Medinet Habu). Cf. David O’Connor, “The Location of Irem,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 132–133. Furthermore, the Nubian campaigns, which were depicted by the artists of Ramesses II, were in temples far away from Medinet Habu, and thus were not easily accessible for an artist decorating the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, who may have wanted to make for himself an easier life and copy war scenes from a nearby temple. The texts of Ramesses III also suggests that military actions were carried out against Nubia, as can also be deduced from the lack of archaeological finds in upper Nubia from the days of Merenptah to Ramesses III and their renewed existence in the days of Ramesses III. See Karola Zibelius-Chen, “Das nachkoloniale Nubien: Politische Fragen der Entstehung des kuschitischen Reiches,” in Rolf Gundlach (ed.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Nordostafrikanisch-westafrikanische Studien, vol. 1; Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 197–199. Cf. the Ramesside archaeological remains, conveniently listed by Irmgard. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien* (Göttinger Orientalforschungen 22; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 143–144; 177: map 7. Add to these finds the remains of a cartouche on a block from Kerma, possibly mentioning *nh-[n]-R<sup>c</sup> [stp-n-Imn]* (Siptah). See Charles Bonnet, Dominique Valbelle, and Mohammed S. El-Din M. Ahmed, “Les sanctuaires de Kerma du nouvel empire à l’époque Méroïtique,” *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (Juillet–Octobre 2000): 114.
  46. Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5; Wiesbaden, 1962), 248; Rainer Stadelmann, “Die Abwehr der Seevölker unter Ramses III,” *Saeculum* 19 (1968) 166; Charles F. Nims, “Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs,” *Studies in*

- Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1976), 169–175; Leonard H. Lesko, “The Wars of Ramses III,” *Serapis* 6 (1980): 83–84.
47. On the reliability of the war reliefs of Ramesses III against the Libyans in his fifth regnal year, see Lesko 1980, 83–87. On the reliability of the numbers of Libyan warriors in the first Libyan war, see Anthony J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt* (Ancient World at War; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 239–240.
48. On the reliability on the war account against the Sea Peoples, see Barbara Cifola, “Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions,” *Orientalia* 57 (1988) 275–306; Donald B. Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Late New Kingdom: An Overview,” in Eliezer D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Monograph 108, University Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2000), 11–13. On the reliability of the boat depictions, see Michal Artzi, “The Medinet Habu Boat Depictions: Can We Trust Ramses III?” in Harry Tzalas (ed.), *Tropis VI, 6th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Lamia, 28–30 August 1996* (Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition, 2001), 35–44. Cf. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor, “The Mystery of the Sea Peoples,” in David O’Connor and Stephen Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands* (Encounters with Ancient Egypt; London, 2003), 120.
49. For this division into categories, see Marcus Müller, “Die Rekonstruktion zerstörter Schlachtenreliefs,” in Zahi A. Hawass, *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* vol. 3 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 328–336.
50. Heinz, 316 I.37. For the heavy but different fortifications of Dapur and *ḥn[h]* in *Kdi* in the days of Ramesses II, see 274, VIII.11, 12, IX.1.
51. Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated, Translations, vol. II: Ramses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 5, 19.
52. Scott Morschauser, “On the ‘Plunder of Dapur,’” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7 (1985/6): 15–28.
53. Itamar Singer, “Mahhaza, King of Amurru,” in Ch. Rüster, R. Lebrun, and J. Catsanicos (eds.), *Studia Anatolica in Memoriam Erich Neu Scripta*, Louvain-la-neuve (forthcoming).
54. It is more than possible that Ramesses III’s authority reached the southern borders of Amurru. For a statue of Ramesses III at Byblos, see James Weinstein, “The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant,” in William A. Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The Twelfth Century B.C. From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1992), 142; *KRI V* 256:15.
55. For the ingenious suggestion to identify one of the Asiatic towns with Kadesh, see Étienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier, *Les peuples de l’Orient Méditerranéen II: L’Égypte* (Paris, 1962): 438. Cf. *KRI V*, 88: 12 ff, where the motifs of being alone on the battlefield against a coalition seem reminiscent of Ramesses II Kadesh war inscriptions.
56. In the battle of Kadesh, the Hittite king is said to be in Aleppo, north of Tunip (without geographical connection to an empire). See Kitchen, *RITA II*, 15, 16, 11. 39, 57.
57. Tunip in the land of Naharin. *KRI II* 175: 2. Morschauser, 15–28.
58. *KRI V*, 78:15; see Edgerton and Wilson, 96, n. 17a. For the possible location of Tunip at Tell el-‘Asharneh, see Goren, Finkelstein, and Na’aman, 116–122.
59. Heinz, 313, I. 32.
60. 1179 BCE, according to Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Handbook of Oriental Studies 38; Leiden–Boston: Brill 2006), 212, 493; Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Methods of Humanities and Sciences for Absolute Chronology,” in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie XIX; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 42, 49; 1175/1174, according to Jürgen von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 46; Mainz am Rhein, 1997), 106. However, two chronological points from the Egyptian perspective should be taken into account. First is the recent proposal to shorten the length of the reign of Horemheb to fifteen years; see Jacobus Van Dijk, “New Evidence on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008). Furthermore, Sethnakhte’s reign lasted at least into his fourth regnal year according to the newly discovered stele of Bakenkhons, high priest of Sethnakhte; see Mansour Boraik, “Stela of Bakenkhonsu, High Priest of Amun-Re,” *Memnonia* 18 (2007): 119–126.
61. *KRI V* 39:16; Peden, 29.
62. J. David Hawkins, “Kuzi-Tešub and the ‘Great Kings’ of Karkamiš,” *Anatolian Studies* 38 (1988): 100–108; Hans G. Güterbock, “Survival of the Hittite Dynasty,” in William A. Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1992), 53–60.
63. Itamar Singer, “Dating the End of the Hittite Empire,” *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 413–421 with updating in Itamar Singer, “New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire,” in Eliezer D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Monograph 108, University Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2000), 21–33. esp. 28, n. 2.
64. Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 379.
65. Horst Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 34; Leiden, 1999), 305, n. 677, 309.
66. Edgerton and Wilson, 94–95.
67. Allan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 131. For the orthography of Arzawa, see also Elmar Edel and Manfred Görg, *Die Ortsnamenlisten im nördlichen Säulenhof des Totentempels Amenophis III, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 17, 121.



68. Simmons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1937), 165, list XXVII 88 (Ramesses III), 168. Note that in this occurrence, *i-r-β* is not listed together with the great superpowers of the day, and that here also is the only occurrence in topographical lists where the alleged \*Arzawa is written with the sign β.
69. Note the question raised by Allan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 288: "Is it possible that Ramses III reached Arzawa?"
70. Heinz, 314, I.33.
71. Singer 1983, 206; J. David Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos' Boğazköy Sealings," *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998): 1–31.
72. However, the orthography is a bit different; cf. Simmons, 197.
73. Cf. Peter W. Haider "vom Nil zum Mäander: Die Beziehungen Zwischen dem Pharaonenhof und dem Königreich Arzawa in Westkleinasien," in Peter Scherrer, Hans Taeuber, and Hilke Thür (eds.), *Steine und Wege: Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65 Geburtstag* (Österreichisches archäologisches Institut: Wien, 1999), 215–216; this suggests *i-r-β* is a northern city with people who originally came from Arzawa. Cf. the personal name *j:-r-β-w2-j2*. See Thomas Schneider, *Asiatisch Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 114; Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1992), 40; transcribed as "Arzi" in Kitchen 2008, 61, n. 1.
74. Edgerton and Wilson, 102–103; Heinz, 317, I.39, I. 40.
75. Cf. also the text and relief of Ramesses III trampling Hatti in the Karnak, Precinct of Amun. *KRIV* 87:8; Heinz, 319, II.4.
76. See n. 2 above.
77. Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 2 (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1997), 184, Israel Stele I. 26.\*
78. *KRIV*, 102; Edgerton and Wilson, 146–147, pls. 118–119a.
79. *Ḳdi* appears several times in toponymic lists of Ramesses II with Hatti and/or Naharina. See Kitchen, *RITA* II, 30, 33, 58, 59; 111: Hatti, Gasga, Arzawa Qode; 118: a war scene from the Ramesseum depicting a fort in the land of Qode.
80. Ptor occurs in this writing only in this list. It may be listed in the topographical list of Thutmose III at Karnak in a different spelling. See Simmons, list I, 154; list XXVII, 3.
81. Emar occurs only in this topographical list. The destruction of Emar can be dated after 1185 BCE thanks to the discovery of a dated tablet from the second year of Melišipak, King of Babylonia, in the destruction layer of a private house. It is not clear who destroyed Emar and when. See Singer 2000, 24–25; Murray R. Adamthwaite, "Ethnic Movements in the Thirteenth Century B.C. as Discernible from the Emar Texts," *Abr-Nabrain Supplement* 5 (1995): 91–112; Yoram Cohen and Itamar Singer, "A Late Synchronism Between Ugarit and Emar," Yaira Amit, Ehud Ben Zvi, Israel Finkelstein, and Oded Lipschits (eds.), *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman* (Winona Lake Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 134, n. 42.
82. On the appearance of Carchemish in Egyptian texts, see M. Görg, "Zum Wechsel k/q in ägyptischen Transkriptionen," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63 (1977): 178–179.
83. Kitchen 2009, 134.
84. Michael C. Astour, "Mesopotamian and Transgridian Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists of Ramses III," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88/4 (1968): 733–752.
85. Astour 1968, 736. List XVII nos. 6, 16, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 39, 42, 62 may be in Syria. Nos. 3, 6, 24, 26, 29, 47, 62, 45, 43 are definitely in Syria, and some appear in the list of Thutmose III.
86. Astour 1968, 735, but see lately the note by Astour in "Some Unrecognized North Syrian Toponyms in Egyptian Texts," in Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews (eds.), *Go to the Land I Will Show You: Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 227, n. 107: "many details need corrections," 229.
87. Simmons, 157, 165 (list XXVII); Helck 1962, 251–252.
88. Place names 76, 79, 80, 107, 109.
89. Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with 'Literary' Histories," in Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper (eds.), *Causing his Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 37; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 134.
90. Helck 1962, 249–251.
91. Helck 1962, 252.
92. For several topographical names in Syria from the days of Thutmose I (suggested by Redford to belong to Amenhotep I), see Donald Redford, "A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia During the Early 18th Dynasty," *JAOS* 99 (1979): 270–287. It seems such a list existed, since its southern counterpart has been identified and published by Helen K. Jacquet-Gordon, "Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 81 Supplement Bulletin du Centenaire (1981): 41–46
93. Contra Kitchen 2009, 134.
94. *KRIV* 104: 11–15.
95. Simmons, 176 emends name 5 as Š[*k-r-š*].
96. Simmons, 9, 85, 176 (list XXXI).
97. Peden, 17, 29, 65, 215; Grandet, 240–243, n. 918
98. P. Harris I 76,9–76,11; Grandet, 337; vol. II, 243–245, n. 921.
99. In Ramesses II's inscriptions, Hatti almost always appears alongside Arzawa, Qode, and Naharina, and sometimes as the extreme opposite kingdom of Kush. See Kitchen, *RITA* II, 2, 4, 30, 33, 54, 59, 111.
100. For Ramesses II, see Kitchen, *RITA* II:
- 30: who smites Hatti, 33: who slays Hatti, 46: Hemmed in is Hatti, The fallen one of Hatti is fallen because of him (Ramesses II). He (Ramesses II), he scatters him (=Hittite) like chaff, 92: I shall vanquish the Hatti land! The shall be overthrown beneath my feat forever, 121: Who makes

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great slaughter in the Hatti-land; 157–158: Who causes the Hatti-land to cease from its mouth boasting, . . . who tramples the Hatti-land, 160: The despicable Hatti-land grieve for themselves, . . . I plundered the Hatti-land like what had never existed.

For the terminology used by Ramesses III, see Edgerton and Wilson, 95–96 (not even mentioning Hatti by its name):

147: [The wretched chief of Hat]ti, [whom his Majesty slew] (*KRIV* 102:12): 149: Words by Amon-Re-Harakhte: “. . . My hand is with [thee], that thou mayest overthrow the land of Hatti.”

101. Kitchen, *RITA* II, 107.

102. Tunip, Kadesh (?), and note the mention of the Fenekhu lands in *KRIV* 93:8.
103. Carchemish, Emar, and Ptor (the Hittite cities that can be identified in the topographical list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu) were under the control of Ini-Tešub and Kuzi-Tešub, Kings of Carchemish, at the end of the Hittite Empire. See Hawkins 1988, 100–108; idem. J. David Hawkins, “Anatolia: The End of the Hittite Empire and After,” in Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger and Hartmut Matthäus (eds.), *Die nahostlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion: Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereiches 295 “Kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte” der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 11–12 Dezember 1998* (Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2002): 147.
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