



## THE CAMPAIGN OF RAMESSES III AGAINST PHILISTIA

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### ABSTRACT

*In this article I propose that Ramesses III campaigned in his eighth regnal year against the Philistines on the Northern borders of Canaan and prevented them from invading Egyptian controlled territory. Ramesses was victorious in a pitched battle, routed the Philistines to their home and destroyed their kingdom. This kingdom, named "the Land of Palestine", was possibly located in the Amuq plain in Southern Turkey, in the territory of the former Kingdom of Alalakh.*

### THE SOURCES

The main historical sources for the campaigns of Ramesses III against the land of Palestine are:

1. The mortuary temple of Ramesses III reliefs
2. The historical inscriptions at Medinet Habu
3. The historical paragraphs in Papyrus Harris I

#### The Medinet Habu Reliefs<sup>1</sup>

These reliefs are the only visual evidence from the reign of Ramesses III for the arrival of the Philistines and their allies to the Levant and their confrontation with the Egyptian forces. The reliability of these reliefs is almost without dispute.<sup>2</sup> The depictions of the naval battle of Ramesses III have no parallel in Ancient Egyptian depictions of battle.

#### The Medinet Habu Historical Texts<sup>3</sup>

As for the Medinet Habu historical texts of the battles of Ramesses III against the Sea Peoples – several researchers,<sup>4</sup> among them Barbara Cifola,<sup>5</sup> have extensively analyzed the terminology used in these texts. Even though abundant terms used in the texts are hapax legomena and many of the rest of the phrases use standard and traditional military phraseology,<sup>6</sup> while describing a single event (or more precisely an event dated to regnal year 5, and a naval battle and land battle dated to regnal year 8),<sup>7</sup> Cifola

arrived at the conclusion that it is not possible to accept the credibility of the texts. According to her, there could not have been one conclusive battle and the description hides a series of less dramatic recurring skirmishes. Although the present writer feels she did not really prove her claims, scholars, who opt for the wave theory, accept her assertions without serious criticism. However, many do accept the credibility of the Historical narrative of Ramesses III.

#### Papyrus Harris I<sup>8</sup>

The historical paragraphs in Papyrus Harris I describe the wars of Ramesses III against the Sea Peoples, the wars against the Meshwesh and the Libyans, the campaign to Še'ir against the Shasu Bedouin, the mining expedition to Ithaca (Timna?) to quarry copper, the mining expedition to Serabit el Khadem in Sinai and the journey to the fabulous land of Punt. These events can be corroborated by external sources.

### THE ARRIVAL OF THE SEA PEOPLES TO THE LEVANT

According to the text of Ramesses III:

“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 up against ('before') their arms, beginning from Hatti; - Qode,

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Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasia, cut of (all) at [once] in one [place].<sup>9</sup>

In recent years it has become clear that these words should be taken with caution. Hatussa, the capital of the Hittites did apparently not fall through actions of the Sea-Peoples.<sup>10</sup> The separate kingdom of Arzawa did not exist anymore in the days of Ramesses III and late occurrences of Arzawa are mentioned either in a general geographical sense, referring to the Arzawa lands, or in an ethnic cultural manner.<sup>11</sup> The royal line in Carchemish seems to have reigned uninterruptedly from the days of Hittite viceregal rule during the Hittite Empire until its destruction in the days of Sargon II.<sup>12</sup> However, the destruction of towns in Cyprus,<sup>13</sup> Cilicia and Antiochia,<sup>14</sup> Ugarit, and Šumru in Amurru<sup>15</sup> can be clearly attributed to the Sea-Peoples. The reason for their immigration is not stated in the text of Ramesses III.<sup>16</sup> According to the text, the Sea-Peoples set camp in Amurru and started to move southward towards Egypt.<sup>17</sup>

### THE LOCATION OF THE LAND BATTLE

Scholars disagree on the location of the land battle between the Egyptians and the Sea-Peoples. Stadelmann,<sup>18</sup> Redford,<sup>19</sup> Bietak,<sup>20</sup> Sandars,<sup>21</sup> Stager,<sup>22</sup> to name just some, suggested that the land battle occurred in geographical proximity to the sea battle.<sup>23</sup> Since, according to the text, the sea battle was held at the mouth of the Nile, it was assumed that the land battle was held either at the entrance to Egypt or in the Sinai. Hoffmeier even suggested that the land battle was held at the gate of Tell el-Borg, which shows signs of destruction, while the sea battle was held nearby in the paleo-lagoon (several lectures and a personal communication).

One should, however, disconnect the naval and the land battle against the Sea-Peoples for the following reasons:

1. There is no mention in the texts of Ramesses III or any artistic indication in the reliefs at Medinet Habu for the exact location of the land battle.
2. The two battle reliefs, naval and land battle, were intentionally physically *separated* by a lion hunt relief. Whether this relief represents a real event (as in the case of Thutmose III's elephant hunt at Nii)<sup>24</sup> or as a symbolic war against the chaotic wild animals is not relevant.<sup>25</sup>
3. During all the recorded first millennium military campaigns to conquer Egypt from the North-East, where naval and land troops were intended to move in joint forces against Egypt, they hardly succeeded in coordinating their movements.<sup>26</sup> It is even more difficult to imagine a perfect coordination between the naval and land forces, since the land forces

consisted of civilians, including women and children, with heavy wagons drawn by slow moving oxen which had to cross the Sinai desert marching on the Ways of Horus and passing by or conquering the Egyptian strongholds controlling the water sources.

4. Ramesses III organized his border at Djahi (*šḥn.i tšš.i ḥr Dšhy*).<sup>27</sup> The Egyptian sphere of control in the days of Ramesses III encompassed Byblos,<sup>28</sup> which bordered Amurru. Nothing is known of a loss of this territory during the early years of Ramesses III.<sup>29</sup> On the contrary, in Pap. Harris I it is clearly stated that he extended his boundaries (*swh tšš*) in an exclamation not found after the reign of Ramesses III, when Egypt did not extend its boundaries.<sup>30</sup>
5. Ramesses III prepared the chiefs (*wr.w*), garrison commanders and Maryannu warriors for the battle (*KRI V 40, 7*). These foreign chiefs were Egyptian vassals, who must have controlled areas to the north of the direct Egyptian foothold in southern Canaan.<sup>31</sup>

Singer was clearly right in locating the land battle of Ramesses III against the Philistines on the Northern Border of the Egyptian Empire as the text indicates.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, based on Papyrus Harris I it is an almost uncontested assumption that the reliefs depict the arrival of the Philistines in Southern Canaan, and their settlement there. However, in the frequently cited papyrus, it is clearly stated that the prisoners of war *were settled in Egypt proper*.

"I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from their lands. I slew the Danuna in their isles,<sup>33</sup> The Sekel and the Peleset were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the sea, they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the sand of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Numerous were their classes like hundred-thousands. I taxed them all, in clothing and grain from the storehouses and granaries each year".<sup>34</sup>

While there is archaeological evidence that some Philistine mercenaries were stationed in key point fortresses in Canaan such as Beth Shean, Deir el Balah, etc,<sup>35</sup> the educated guess, first raised by Albright<sup>36</sup> and later endorsed by Alt<sup>37</sup> and subsequently by the majority of scholars, was that the Philistines were settled in great numbers in Egyptian fortresses in Canaan to halt the advance of their kin, although there is nothing to support this supposition.

Furthermore, while it is true that no Philistine archaeological evidence has been found in Egypt proper,<sup>38</sup> several texts support the practice of settling POW's as mercenaries on the far borders

of the empire. This occurred in the post-Amarna period with the deporting of Kushites and the settling in their stead of ‘Apiru from Northern Canaan in Kush;<sup>39</sup> the settling of Libyans in the fortresses of Sinai and Shasu Bedouin on the Libyan borders in the days of Ramesses II and III.<sup>40</sup> The presence of Sherden mercenaries in fortresses in Middle Egypt is attested in several non-literary sources, some of them centuries after their first appearance in the Egyptian service.<sup>41</sup> It seems more than plausible that the Philistine mercenaries were indeed settled in fortresses *in Egypt proper* as is written in P. Harris I.

While it is beyond the scope of this article to attempt to review all the arguments involved, pro and con, a summary of the literature dealing with the numerous conflicting views (with respected scholars in each camp) regarding the proposed date of the settlement of the Philistines in Southern Canaan is instructive.<sup>42</sup> From the many suggestions, mostly basing themselves on the same archeological evidence (with additional data surfacing over the years, but not changing the initial theories!), it becomes clear that archaeological tools did not solve the question of the exact date of the settling of the Philistines in Canaan.

There is, then, no compelling archaeological or textual evidence of settling the Philistines en-masse in Canaan as the result of Ramesses III’s 8<sup>th</sup> year campaign. *Thus, the chronological anchor date for the settlement of the Philistines in the Southern Levant in Ramesses III’s 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year cannot be unquestioningly accepted.*

On the other hand, note especially: 1. The Egyptian hieratic ostraca from Tell Sera’ mentioning regnal year 22, likely in the reign of Ramses III, as well as additional hieratic ostraca from Southern Canaan, which strengthen the notion that Egypt did not lose control over Philistia before the last decade of Ramesses III.<sup>43</sup> 2. The last years of Ramesses III are known to have been turbulent, culminating in the famous necropolis strikes, harem conspiracy and eventual murder of Ramesses III, and thus are a more likely time frame for the Philistines settlement in Philistia.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, while the conquests of the Sea Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean and their advance towards Egypt are cited extensively, the rest of the great inscription of the Sea-Peoples battle of year eight at Medinet Habu I is not treated in the literature.<sup>45</sup> At this point of the text there appears no further scholarly interest. Scholars, who interpreted the reliefs of Ramesses III as evidence for the invasion of the Philistines by land, assumed that after his victory over them, Ramesses settled them in Southern Canaan. Finkelstein, on the other hand, who thinks that the Philistines arrived half a century later to the Southern Levant, was interested in the Philistine archaeological remains in Canaan. He did not consider the immediate consequences of the Philistine defeat.<sup>46</sup>

In the battle reliefs the defeat of the Sea-Peoples is depicted, but in the land battle, in contrast to the sea-battle and any other

Egyptian war relief (!), the Philistines maintained a structured format in some of their ranks, and their retreat was clearly an organized one.<sup>47</sup>

### THE AFTERMATH OF THE LAND BATTLE

What happened at the aftermath of the land battle on the border of the Egyptian Empire, and where did the defeated Sea-Peoples retreat to?

During the preparations for battle, while the king issued weapons to the army the officials addressed the king. And said among other exaltations that: “The heart of the land of the Libyans (Tjemehu) is removed, and the Philistines are in suspense, hidden in their towns (*dmi.w*)...”<sup>48</sup>

In the great inscription of the Sea-Peoples battle of year 8 at Medinet Habu the text describes the aftermath of the battles against the Sea-Peoples:

“(24) I made the lands turn back from (even) mentioning Nile-Land; (when) they pronounce my name in their lands, then (25) they are burned up. Since I have sat on the throne of Horakhty and Great-of –Magic has been firm on my head like Re, I have not allowed the foreign countries to (even) look at Egypt’s frontier, to boast of them(selves) to the Nine Bows. I have taken away their land, their frontier(s) being added to my (own). (26) Their chiefs and their clans<sup>49</sup> are mine in praise... (28) I have overthrown the Asiatics (*ʿ3m.w*) [x, y] *in their lands*; they fall ill (?) even as they recall my name daily... ....(29) I have shielded Egypt, I have sheltered it with my valiant arm, since I began to rule [as] king of S. and N. Egypt, on the seat of Atum; [... I came back ...] from the loot of my hands, from what the dread has brought off from the Nine Bows. No land could stand firm at hearing my name; (30) they abandoned their settlements, deserting their place(s), scattered ... (?) looking] (straight) ahead of them... (34) ... The foreign lands [... ... (?) my sword that brought] ruin to their cities, devastated at one time, their trees<sup>50</sup> and their peoples having become ashes. (35) They take counsel with themselves, (saying): “Where can we go?” [Their] chiefs come [(?) in humility], [with their tribute and their children] on their backs to Nile-Land”.<sup>51</sup>

### THE EXISTENCE OF A CONCRETE LAND OF THE PHILISTINES - PELESET

In the first open court of Medinet Habu on the base of one of the colossal Osiride statues the following is inscribed: “The foreign lands of Peleset which His Majesty slew”.<sup>52</sup> This inscription bears evidence to the existence of a territory, or more precisely territories (foreign countries and plural determinative)

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of Peleset, and a claim by Ramesses III that he afflicted damage on them.

An additional text, which describes the defeat of the Sea Peoples, is the South 'Rhetorical' Stela from Medinet Habu, erected in front of the Southern wing of the first Pylon. It is dated to Ramesses III's 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year. On the stela (ll. 7-8) he claims:

“I laid low (*dh*) the Tjekkeru, the land of the Philistines (*T3 Plst*), the Danuna, the Weshesh, and the Shaklusha...”<sup>53</sup>

While the allies are mentioned only by name, followed by the determinative of a sitting man A1, plural strokes and the throw stick determinative (sign for foreigners), Peleset is the only ally preceded with the noun *t3* 'country/ flat land'. The mentioning of a country called Peleset in the 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ramesses III is surprisingly early, especially if it was to designate the later known Philistia in Southern Canaan. Furthermore, Ramesses III routed the Philistines and their allies after the land battle at the northern borders of the Egyptian Empire to their country, which must have been located to the North of the Egyptian territory.

## THE LOCATION OF THE LAND OF PELESET AND ITS EXTENT

### 1. The Neo-Hittite sources

Recently, excavations have been resumed at the Plain of Antioch near the northern bend of the Orontes River. This Kingdom was called Mukish or Alalakh in the Late Bronze Age. In the transition to the Iron Age there was a change in its name so that in Neo-Assyrian times its name was Unqi/Pattina.<sup>54</sup> Its capital, Kinalua, Biblical Calneh (Amos 6:2; Isaiah 10:9), is identified with Tell Ta'ayinat.

Inscriptions in the Luwian language<sup>55</sup> mention Halparunda, King of Wadastini, who may be Qalparunda, King of Pattina mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions in the ninth century B.C. In the Temple of Adad, the storm-god of Aleppo, another Luwian-Hieroglyphic inscription was found, mentioning Taita, King of Padastin. In the vicinity of ancient Hamath two additional inscriptions were found mentioning Taita,<sup>56</sup> whose title was formerly read: “Hero, King of Padasatini” and “King of Walistin”. It is now accepted that the name of his kingdom should be read “Palastin” or in other words: a Northern Kingdom named “Philistia”.<sup>57</sup> The kingdom incorporated in his days the territories of the short-aged confederacy of Mukiš–Nuḫašše during the Amarna age,<sup>58</sup> and the combined area of the separate future kingdoms of Unqi, Arpad and Hamath.

### 2. The Archaeological Finds

Archaeologically, The Aegean loom weights and abundant locally produced Mycenaean III C: 1b pottery (Philistine monochrome), which are characteristic of the first stage of Philistine settlement in the Southern Levant, enjoyed widespread distribution in Tell Ta'ayinat and the North Orontes Valley.<sup>59</sup> These finds indicate an influx of new populations from the Aegean and point to a common origin with the Philistines in the Southern Levant.

### 3. The Egyptian Sources

A correlation can be found between the Kingdom of Palistin, in the area of Antiochia mentioned in the Neo-Hittite sources and toponyms from a topographical list of Ramesses III.

On the southern wing of the first pylon of Medinet Habu, a standard triumphal scene of the king smiting his enemies is depicted. Under it is a topographical list of places subdued by the king.<sup>60</sup> According to the superscriptions in the scene: “All plains and all hill countries are in the grasp of Amen-Re, King of the Gods.”<sup>61</sup>

In the superscription below the king and captives:

“All plains and all hill-countries, the (outer) Ocean, the Great Circuit, the Great Green (Sea), the Southern foreign countries of the land of Nubia, and as far as the (distant) marshlands, to the limits of the enveloping (“united”) darkness, and to the bounds of the pillars of heaven, are under the feet of this good god, the Lord of Both Lands, Usimare Meriamun, son of Re, Ramesses III. The chiefs of the foreign countries being slain at his name, and the rebellions against him belong to his sword.”<sup>62</sup>

It seems that it is no accident that the topographical list was situated under the feet of the Pharaoh. This was a visual expression of the superscription.

The topographical list records 125 place names. 69 of these place names appear on the northern end of the scene. These names are unique and do not appear in any other Egyptian topographical list. Astour tried to locate many of these places in Mesopotamia.<sup>63</sup> The places which Astour locates in different parts of Mesopotamia are insignificant. Well known locations are not listed together. They encompass diverse ends in the vast territory between the Euphrates and the Zagros. Their etymology or identification<sup>64</sup> is far from certain,<sup>65</sup> and is intermingled with place names in Northern Syria.<sup>66</sup> Some of the names appear in the topographical lists of Thutmose III from Northern Syria.<sup>67</sup>

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At least 19 of the place names which occur in the list of Ramesses III have possible counterparts in Akkadian texts from northern Syria. These places are mostly located in the Kingdom of Alalakh and are mentioned in the archives of Alalakh/Mukish from level IV, dating to the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>68</sup> There is no mention of known cities of Amurru or main cities in the Kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>69</sup> Several more place names may be identified in central North Syria<sup>70</sup> based on a phonetic resemblance augmented by Carchemish,<sup>71</sup> Pitru (Biblical Ptor) and Emar on the Euphrates. In the beginning of the text of Ramesses III it is explicitly said that the Sea Peoples reached the Kingdom of Carchemish. It thus may be that Ramesses' description was not that far from the truth.

### IN CONCLUSION

Most scholars have:

1. Dated the battle between Ramesses III against the Sea Peoples to Ramesses III's eighth year.
2. Assumed that the land and sea battle occurred in geographical proximity to the Nile Delta.
3. Assumed that in the aftermath of the battle, the Philistines settled in Southern Canaan, either as a consequence of their victory or through Egyptian initiative as described in P. Harris I.

However, in my opinion, the Historical picture is different.

#### A. *The Battle of Ramesses III against the Sea Peoples*

1. According to the inscriptions of Ramesses III and archaeological finds, large groups of people immigrated from the Aegean during the transition from the 13<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. and settled in Cilicia, in Antiochia and even reached Carchemish on the Euphrates. They advanced southwards and conquered Ugarit, settled at its port – Ras ibn-Hani, reached Amurru and devastated it.
2. A naval battle occurred between the Egyptian navy and the Sea Peoples at the mouths of the Nile.
3. A land battle was conducted on the border of the Egyptian Empire in *Northern Canaan*
4. The defeated Sea Peoples fled to their territory.
5. Ramesses III routed the Philistines *to their land*, destroyed their towns, cut down their orchards and

killed their peoples. The remnant was brought to Egypt as prisoners of war.

6. The prisoners were settled in camps within Egypt proper.
7. There is no evidence of Ramesses III settling Philistines in *Southern Canaan* after their defeat in battle

#### B. *The location of the land of the Philistines*

The recent researches of Hawkins,<sup>72</sup> Harrison<sup>73</sup> and others prove that:

1. In the valley of Antiochia a new kingdom emerged. Its material culture showed Aegean traits, which resemble the material culture found at sites in Southern Canaan of the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C.
2. It was called by its immigrating inhabitants "Palistin".
3. This new kingdom covered the territories of the former Kingdom of Alalakh, which abruptly came to an end.
4. In Neo-Assyrian sources (9 – 8 centuries B.C.) it was called Unqi (Valley) or Pattina.
5. The capital city was located at Tell Tayinat, identified as Kunulua/Kulani, Biblical Calneh
6. The borders of the Kingdom of Palistin reached Hamath during the reign of King Taita in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. at the latest.

#### C. *Neo-Hittite Palistin and Egyptian Land of Peleset*

1. *b3/h3st Plst* in the inscriptions of Ramesses III can be equated with the Neo-Hittite Palistin
2. According to the topographical list of Ramesses III, the Egyptian king acted extensively in the territories of the former Kingdom of Alalakh and in the vicinity of the Euphrates
3. There is a correlation between the territorial expansion of the Philistines in the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. according to the text of Ramesses III, archaeological finds, and the Neo-Hittite texts (above B 6).
4. *The Egyptian designation of Antiochia as Peleset is the earliest evidence of this kingdom in the Northern Levant.*

Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Harold H. Nelson, *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (Oriental Institute Publications VIII; Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press: 1930). (Henceforth *MH*).
- <sup>2</sup> On the Ramesseum sources of the cultic scenes in the Medinet Habu reliefs, see: Charles F. Nims, "Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs", *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization SAOC 39) Chicago (1976): 169–175. On the historical scenes, see: Leonard H. Lesko, "The Wars of Ramses III", *Serapis* 6 (1980): 83-86; and see comment by Colleen Manassa, 2003, 131, n. 37.
- <sup>3</sup> *MH I*; translations: William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II*, (SAOC 12; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical V* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) (henceforth *RITA*).
- <sup>4</sup> Shlomit Israeli, "Narrative in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions", *Ling Aeg* 1 (1991): 155–164; idem. "ʿ*bn* n ʿ*nh* ("Breath of Life") in the Medinet Habu War Texts", in: Irene Shirun-Grumach, (ed.), *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, (*ĀAT* 40; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998): 271–283; Richard Jasnow, "A Lexicographical Note on the Medinet Habu Inscription of Year 11", *JEA* 80 (1994): 201–202; Eve Guerry, and Tod Gillen, "Contextualising *Bin* in the Medinet Habu Historical Inscriptions", *GM* 224 (2010): 59–63.
- <sup>5</sup> Barbara Cifola, "Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions", *Orientalia* 57 (1988): 275-306; idem. "The Terminology of Ramesses III's Historical Records, with a Formal Analysis of the War Scenes", *Orientalia* 60 (1991): 9-57.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf. The terminology listed by Cifola and Spalinger, A. *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, (Yale Near Eastern Researches 9: New Haven and London, 1982).
- <sup>7</sup> *KRI V*, 18–30.
- <sup>8</sup> Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1994).
- <sup>9</sup> *KRI V* 39,14-40,2; V, 34; *RITA* 34.
- <sup>10</sup> Harry A. Hoffner, "The Last Days of Khattusha", In: William Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky, *The Crisis Years: The 12<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1992): 46-52; Jürgen Seeher, "Die Zerstörung der Stadt Hattušša", *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4. - 8. Oktober 1999*, (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 45; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001): 623-634.
- <sup>11</sup> Itamar Singer, "Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. According to the Hittite Sources", *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 206; John David Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos' Boğazköy sealings", *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998): 1-31.
- <sup>12</sup> Hans G. Güterbock "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty", In: William Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky, *The Crisis Years: The 12<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1992): 53–60.
- <sup>13</sup> Vasos Karageorghis, "Cultural innovations in Cyprus relating to the Sea Peoples", in: Eliezer D. Oren, (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000): 255–275, but see recently: Kevin D. Fischer, "The 'Aegeanization' of Cyprus at the End of the Bronze Age: An Architectural Perspective", *Scripta Mediterranea* 27-28 (2006–2007): 81–103.
- <sup>14</sup> John D. Hawkins, "Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo: New Light in a Dark Age", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72/4 (2009): 165–166.
- <sup>15</sup> *KRI V* 40,1; On Myc IIIc:1b at Tell Kazel, see: Emmanuelle Capet, "Les Peuples des céramiques 'Barbares' à Tell Kazel (Syrie)", *Scripta Mediterranea* 27-28 (2006–2007): 187–207; Reinhard Jung "Tell Kazel and the Mycenaean Contacts with Amurru (Syria)", in: Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. III: Proceedings of the SCIEM 2006--2nd Euro Conference, Vienna, 28th of May-1st of June 2003* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 37; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007): 551–570.

- <sup>16</sup> See, however, Alexander V. Safronov “One Unusual Example of the Sentence with Impersonal Subject in Ramses’ III 5<sup>th</sup> Year Inscription”, *Ling Aeg* 16 (2008): 311-318.
- <sup>17</sup> *KRI V* 40,1-40,4.
- <sup>18</sup> Rainer Stadelmann, “Die Abwehr der Seevölker unter Ramses III”, *Saeculum* 19 (1968): 164–165.
- <sup>19</sup> 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 Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000): 13.
- <sup>20</sup> Manfred Bietak, “Zur Landnahme Palästinas durch die Seevölker und zum Ende der Ägyptischen Provinz Kana’an”, *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 35; idem. “The Sea Peoples and the End of the Egyptian Administration in Canaan,” in: *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993): 292–294.
- <sup>21</sup> Nancy K. Sanders, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 BC*, (Ancient peoples and places 89; London: Thames and Hudson, 1978): 120.
- <sup>22</sup> Lawrence E. Stager, “When did the Philistines Arrive in Canaan? Multiple Clues Help Unravel the Mystery”, *BAR* 17 (1991): 35; idem. “The Impact of the Sea People in Canaan (1185–1050 BCE)”, in: Tom E. Levy, *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, (London 1995): 340 - 341.
- <sup>23</sup> Israel Finkelstein, “The Date of the Philistine Settlement in Canaan”, *Tel Aviv* 22 (1995): 228.
- <sup>24</sup> For the royal hunting of hippopotami, wild bulls, wild game, elephants, crocodiles and lions, see: Wolfgang Decker, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt*, (trans. A. Guttmann) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987): 147–158; Wolfgang Decker, and Michael Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten: Corpus der Bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, (Handbuch der Orientalistik 14; Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill, 1994) vol. I: 337, 347, 348; vol. II: tables CLXVII, CLXXVI, CLXXVII, CLXXX, J 124, CLXXXI J 127, CLXXXII. The number of royal lion-hunt depictions and mentions in texts is surprisingly small, and may hint to real events; see the numerous lion hunt commemorative scarabs of Amenhotep III. Lawrence M. Berman “Overview of Amenhotep III and his Reign”, in: David O’Connor, and Eric H. Cline, (eds.), *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on his Reign* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998): 13, n. 62.
- <sup>25</sup> Eric H. Cline, David B. O’Connor, “The Mystery of the ‘Sea Peoples’”, in: David B. O’Connor, and Stephen Quirke, (eds.), *Mysterious Lands* (Encounters with ancient Egypt; London: UCL Press, Institute of Archaeology, 2003): 130; O’Connor, 2000, 95.
- <sup>26</sup> Dan’el Kahn and Oded Tammuz, “Egypt is Difficult to Enter: Invading Egypt - A Game Plan (seventh–fourth centuries BCE)”, *JSSEA* 36 (2009): 46, 53, and 59–66 for a description of all the recorded invasions of Egypt in the first millennium BC.
- <sup>27</sup> *KRI V* 7; Jose M. Galán, *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty* (Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 40; Hildesheim 1995): 112: “The purpose of creating a *ḥš*. . . is to prevent outsiders from entering into and acting freely inside that area...”. One can define *ḥš* as border or border-zone. On p. 113, n. 589 Galán deals with the term *ḥš* in the text under discussion, but does not elaborate on the meaning of the unique combination.
- <sup>28</sup> For the statue of Ramesses III from Byblos, see: Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos 1933-1938*, Vol. II (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1958): 618 Pl. CLVII; *KRI V* 256, 15.
- <sup>29</sup> *KRI V* 39,14-40,2
- <sup>30</sup> P. Harris 75.6. Karola Zibeliuss-Chen, “Das nachkoloniale Nubien: Politische Fragen der Entstehung des kuschitischen Reiches.” In: Rolf Gundlach, Manfred Kropp, Annalis Leibundgut (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, (Nordostafrikanische/Westasiatische Studien 1; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1996): 201 incl. n. 35.
- <sup>31</sup> Eileen N. Hirsch, “Ramses III. Und sein Verhältnis zur Levante”, in: Rolf Gundlach and Ursula Rössler-Köhler (eds.), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit*. (ÄAT 36,3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003): 212–213. I thank Mr. Alexandre Vassiliev for this reference.
- <sup>32</sup> Itamar Singer, “The Beginning of Philistine Settlement in Canaan and the Northern Boundary of Philistia”, *Tel Aviv* 12 (1985): 109-122.
- <sup>33</sup> For the topographical list of Ramesses III, see: Jan J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, (Leiden: Brill, 1937): list XXVII, pp. 164–165 for the list. For a possible identification of toponyms 7-11 in Cyprus, see: Heinrich Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den*

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- Pharaonen*, (Leipzig, 1877): 608.
- <sup>34</sup> P. Harris I 76,6–76,9; Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1994): 326-327.
- <sup>35</sup> Assaf Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 189, 207-211; although, probably before the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. See: I. Finkelstein, "The Date of the Philistine Settlement in Canaan", *Tel Aviv* 22 (1995): 233.
- <sup>36</sup> William F. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim in Palestine I, The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns* (AASOR 12, 1932): 58.
- <sup>37</sup> Albrecht Alt, "Ägyptische Tempel in Palästina und die Landnahme der Philister", *ZDPV* 67 (1945): 1-20.
- <sup>38</sup> A possible LH IIIc (imitation?) strainer spout beer-jar found at Mendes. See: Donald B. Redford, *City of the Ram-man: the Story of Ancient Mendes*, (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010): 92, 94.
- <sup>39</sup> Dietz O. Edzard, "Die Tontafeln von Kāmid el-Lōz", apud. Dietz O. Edzard et al., *Kāmid el-Lōz- Kumidi: Schrift dokumente aus Kamid El-Loz*, (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1970): 55–60.
- <sup>40</sup> *KRI* II, 206-207; *KRI* II, 426; *KRI* V 91: 6-7, 9-10 and many other instances; see also: Ellen F. Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, (Probleme der Ägyptologie 22; Leiden: Brill, 2005): 472–3, 700; Bryant G. Wood "The Philistines Enter Canaan—Were They Egyptian Lackeys or Invading Conquerors?" *BAR* 17:06 (1991): 44-52, 89-92.
- <sup>41</sup> For the 5 Sherden fortresses in Middle Egypt, see: Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Der Beginn der Libyschen Herrschaft in Ägypten", *BN* 71 (1994): 79-97; Giacomo Cavillier, "Shardana Project": Perspectives and Researches on the Sherden in Egypt and Mediterranean", *Syria* 87 (2010): 339-345; Anthony J. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002): 361, 364; Colleen Manassa, 2003, 128-130.
- <sup>42</sup> **High chronology:** Trude Dothan, "Social Dislocation and Cultural Change in the 12th century B.C.", in: William A. Ward and Martha S. Joukowsky *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.* (Dubuque 1992): 93-98; Moshe Dothan, "Ethnicity and Archaeology: Some Observations on the Sea Peoples", in J. Amitai (editor) *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990: Proceedings of the second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June - July 1990* (Jerusalem 1993), pp. 53-55;
- Trude Dothan and Moshe Dothan, *People of the Sea* (New York 1992), pp. 169-170. The Dothans dated the pre-Philistine Sea People immigrants who settled in Southern Canaan between the time of Merenptah and Ramesses III.
- Middle Chronology:** Itamar Singer, "The Beginning of Philistine Settlement in Canaan and the Northern Boundary of Philistia", *Tel Aviv* 12 (1985): 109-122; Lawrence E., Stager, "The Impact of the Sea People in Canaan (1185 – 1050 BCE)", in: Tom E. Levy, *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, (London 1995) 332-348 and Amihai Mazar, "The Emergence of the Philistine Culture", *IEJ* 35 (1985): 95-107 dated the arrival of the Philistines to the Eighth year of Ramesses III.
- Low Chronology:** Israel Finkelstein, "The Date of the Philistine Settlement in Canaan", *Tel Aviv* 22 (1995): 228; idem, "Philistine Chronology: High, Middle or Low?", in: Seymour Gitin, Amihai Mazar, and Ephraim Stern, E. (eds.) *Mediterranean People in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, (Jerusalem 1998): pp. 140–147. David Ussishkin, "Lachish and the Date of the Philistine Settlement in Canaan", in: Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. III: Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000--2nd Euro Conference, Vienna, 28th of May-1st of June 2003* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 37; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007): 601-607. Both scholars date the arrival of the Philistines after the demise of the Egyptian Empire in Palestine, in the days of Ramesses VI at the earliest (ca. 1130's B.C.).
- Waves of immigration:** Assaf Yasur-Landau, "Let's do the Time Warp Again: Migration Processes and the Absolute Chronology of the Philistine Settlement", in: Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. III: Proceedings of the SCIEM 2006--2nd EuroConference, Vienna, 28th of May-1st of June 2003* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 37; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007): 609 – 620. Yasur-Landau proposes that the Philistines immigrated by land in several waves, consisting of small groups at a time. Thus, it is not possible, according to him, to pinpoint an exact date for their arrival in the land.



**Responses to the Low Chronology:** Finkelstein's low chronology was vehemently attacked by various scholars. To name just a few, cf. Steven M. Ortiz, "Does the 'Low Chronology' Work? A Case Study of Tell Qasile X, Tel Gezer X, and Lachish V," in: Aren. M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji (eds.), *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*; (Winona Lake, IN 2006), 587-611; Daniel A. Frese and Thomas E. Levy, "The Four Pillars of the Iron Age Low Chronology," in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism* (ed. Thomas E. Levy; London: Equinox, 2010), 188-189. Shlomo Bunimovitz and Avraham Faust, "Chronological Separation, Geographical Segregation, or Ethnic Demarcation? Ethnography and the Iron Age Low Chronology", *BASOR* 322 (2001): 1-10; Amihai Mazar, "Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein", *Levant* 29 (1997): 157-167. Idem. "Myc III C in the Land Israel: Its Distribution, Date and Significance", in: Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. III: Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000--2nd Euro Conference Vienna, 28th of May-1st of June 2003* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 37; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007): 571 – 582. A final refutation of Finkelstein's claim that no monochrome pottery was found with 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty artifacts, and thus the initial Philistine settlement in Philistia postdated the Egyptian retreat from Canaan, may be a scarab of Ramesses III found together with monochrome pottery. See: Lawrence E. Stager, J. David Schloen, and Daniel M. Master (eds.), *Ashkelon I: Introduction and Overview (1985–2006): Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon*, Volume 1. (Winona Lake, IN 2008), pp. 258, 260-261. For the skeptical attitude towards dating archaeological layers, see Baruch Halpern, "The Fall of the House of Omri – and the Origins of the Israelite State", in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism* (ed. Thomas E. Levy; London: Equinox, 2010), 264, second paragraph.

<sup>43</sup> For the Ostrakon, see: Orly Goldwasser, "Hieratic Inscriptions from Tel Sera' in Southern Canaan", *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984), 77-93.

<sup>44</sup> See: Leonard H. Lesko, "Egypt in the 12th Century B.C.", in: William A. Ward and Martha Sh. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From*

Beyond the Danube to the Tigris (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992): 154; 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), 135, 138.

<sup>45</sup> Manfred Bietak, "The Sea Peoples and the End of the Egyptian Administration in Canaan," in: *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, (Jerusalem, 1993): 292–306; Cifola, 1991, 9-57; Elmar Edel, "Der Seevölker bericht aus dem 8. Jahre Ramses III (MH II, pl.46, 15-18): Übersetzung und Struktur", in: Paule Posener-Kriéger, (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, (Bibliothèque d'Étude BdE 97; Kairo, 1985), vol. I, pp. 223–237; Hans Goedicke, "...They were Made to Ashes", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 28, (2001): 67-74; Manfred Görg, "Bundeterminologie' im Seevölkertext Ramses' III.", *BN* 42 (1988): 19-26; Helck, "Die Seevölker in den ägyptischen Quellen", in: *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a.M.*, München: C. H. Beck, 1976): 7-21; Ibid. "Nochmals zu Ramses' III Seevölkerbericht", *SAK* 14 (1987): 129-145; David B. O'Connor, "The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources", in: Oren, E. D. (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000): 85-102; Alexander V. Safronov "One Unusual Example of the Sentence with Impersonal Subject in Ramses' III 5<sup>th</sup> Year Inscription", *Ling Aeg* 16 (2008): 311-318; Stadelmann, 1968, 156 -171; Lawrence E. Stager, "When did the Philistines Arrive in Canaan? Multiple Clues Help Unravel the Mystery", *BAR* 17 (1991): 31-43; Pawel Wolinski, "Did Ramesses III Settle the Sea Peoples in Canaan? Searching for Reality behind Papyrus Harris I", in: Ken Griffin (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Symposium* which took place at Swansea University on the 19th-21st April 2007 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2008): 151-158; Wood, 1991, 44-52, 89-92.

<sup>46</sup> Finkelstein, 1995, 213-239.

<sup>47</sup> O'Connor, 2000, 95.

<sup>48</sup> *KRI* 28:4; *RITAV*, Translations, 24

- <sup>49</sup> *m<sup>c</sup>hi.wt.w KRIV 41,6*
- <sup>50</sup> Michael G. Hasel, "A Textual Note on *pri* and *mnt* in Egyptian Military Accounts", *GM* 167 (1998): 61–67; Anson F. Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs", *IEJ* 51 (2001): 64; Michael G. Hasel "Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs and the Origin of Israel", In: Alpert-Nakhai B, (ed), *The Near East in the Southwest: Essays in Honor of William G. Dever. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 58. (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2003): 21–27; Nicholas Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au musée du Caire (MIFAO 105)*, Cairo, 1981, 166, n. 500; for cutting down trees in Ancient Near Eastern warfare, see: Israel Eph'al, *The City Besieged: Siege and its Manifestations in the Ancient Near East*, (CHANE 36; Leiden: Brill, 2009): 53–54; Michael Hasel, "Assyrian Military Practices and Deuteronomy's Laws of Warfare." in Brad Kelle and Frank Ames (eds.), *Writing and Reading War: Rhetoric, Gender, and Ethics in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, (SBL Symposium Series 42; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008): 67-81; Jacob L. Wright, "Warfare and Wanton Destruction: A Reexamination of Deuteronomy 20:19–20 in Relation to Ancient Siegecraft", *JBL* 127, no. 3 (2008): 423–458 with earlier literature there.
- <sup>51</sup> MH I, pls. 45<sup>b</sup>, 46; *KRI V*, 41,3-42,10; *RITA V* Translations, 35.
- <sup>52</sup> Base 118c – right: Base 118c – right: *KRI V* 102,8; *RITA V* 79. It seems that the plural strokes do not denote several "Philistine" countries *per se*, since Libya and Kush are designated in the same fashion to convey total destruction.
- <sup>53</sup> *KRI V* 73, 10; *RITA V* 57.
- <sup>54</sup> John D. Hawkins, "Assyrians and Hittites", *Iraq* 36, 1/2 (1974): 81-83. Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria*, (Jerusalem 1994), 102: Stele IIB, l. 5'.
- <sup>55</sup> Hawkins, 2009, 164-173; Timothy P. Harrison, "Neo-Hittites in the "Land of Palistin": Renewed Investigations at Tell Ta'yinat on the Plain of Antioch", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72/4 (2009): 175, 179, 186-187.
- <sup>56</sup> For the approximate date of King Taita's reign between the eleventh and tenth century B.C., see: Hawkins, 2009, 171; for a low date, see: Sass, B. "Taita, King of Palistin: ca. 950–900 B.C.?" <http://www.bu.edu/asor/pubs/nea/dig-it-al-nea.html> 2010a; Sass, B. "Four Notes on Taita King of Palistin with an Excursus on King Solomon's Empire", *Tel Aviv* 37, (2010b): 169–174.
- <sup>57</sup> Actually there probably existed *three* states bearing the name Pleshet.: 1. The place of origin of the Philistines, wherever that may be, 2. Palistin in the Amuq valley and Pleshet, in Southern Canaan. See Yasur-Landau, 2010, p. 163.
- <sup>58</sup> Not too different in size from the confederacy of Mukiš–Nuḥašše–Nii during the Amarna age. Cf. Astour, M. "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš–Nuḥašše–Nii by Šuppiluliuma: A Study in Political Geography of the Amarna Age", *Orientalia* 38 (1969): 381-414; Altman, A. "EA 59: 27-29 and the Efforts of Mukiš, Nuḥašše and Niya to Establish a Common Front against Šuppiluliuma I", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 33 (2002): 1-26.
- <sup>59</sup> Harrison, 2009, 181-183.
- <sup>60</sup> *KRI V* 94; *RITA V* 73.
- <sup>61</sup> *KRI V*, 94, 11; *RITA V* 73. The visual of the Egyptian expression *m hꜥ* "in the fist, in the grasp of" is visually demonstrated in the relief as Pharaoh smiting his enemies. Cf. David Lorton, *The juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974): 107–109 who understands it as indicating the vassal status of the dependent lands. It seems that the term means a more violent situation.
- <sup>62</sup> *KRI V* 95, 4-5; *RITA V* 73.
- <sup>63</sup> Michael C. Astour, "Mesopotamian and Transjordanian Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists of Ramses III", *JAOS* 88/4 (1968): 733-752.
- <sup>64</sup> Jesse Casana, "Alalakh and the Archaeological Landscape of Mukish: The Political Geography and Population of a Late Bronze Age Kingdom", *BASOR* 353 (2009): 18–22.
- <sup>65</sup> 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.
- <sup>66</sup> Astour, 1968, 736. List XXXVII 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. Cf. Helck, 1962, 249–252; See: Dan'el Kahn, "Who is Meddling in Egypt's Affairs?: The Identity of the Asiatics in the Elephantine Stela of Setnakht and the Historicity of the Medinet Habu

Asiatic War Reliefs”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2/1 (2010): 17–18.

<sup>67</sup> Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962): 249-251.

<sup>68</sup> For the Akkadian town names in Alalakh, see: Juan A. Belmonte Marin, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* (henceforth *RGTC*) 12/2: *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften; Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2001).

In the following lines the Egyptian names (in Egyptian transliteration font), are mentioned first, and followed by a number – the place name in the topographical list as can be found in Simons, 1937, list XXVII, 167–173. These places may be equated with the Alalakhian place names. The number following the Akkadian name is the relevant p. in *RGTC* 12/2. Cf. also the list in Casana, 2009, 20.

*itm*, 16, Atinni? P. 45; see: Nadav Na’aman, “Borders and districts in descriptions of the conquest of the west in Tiglath-pileser III’s inscriptions and in Biblical historiography”, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 16 (2007): 45. *irkn* 17, Arnika? p.35; with metathesis; *Mkt* 18, Mukish, p. 197 ff; [N/A?]rby, 19, [Ni]rabu, pp. 209-210 or Aribua. See: Ariel M. Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit*, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Reihe B; Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 7/1; Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007), p. 22; Nadav Na’aman, “Aribua and the Patina-Hamath Border”, *Orientalia* 71 (2002): 292–293; *krm?* 20, Calneh, kulante?? P. 166; *kyrw* 21, kure p. 169; *ibr* 22, Ibirija 139-140; *kbr* 23, on the border of Alalakh Kibūru p.161. An additional group of toponyms which can be located in Alalakh is: *IpD* 61 Ap-sà, 27; *imrškt* Amaršage, p. 18; *sn* 63, Sinae/Sanne p. 273; *yrp* 65, yarupe p. 343. Possibly on the border of Tunip? See: Astour, M. C. ‘Tunip-Hamath and Its Region: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Central Syria’, *Orientalia* 46 (1977): 52; *nwn* 66, Nanna/\*Nānu; Nanni; p. 204-205; *hdm/hdmt* 67, hutamma, hutamme p. 131; *tbty* 68, Tappa? p. 281? 297?; *kgt* 69

*gugatiya* p. 98, 151;*mrns* 38, nurmanaše 215. With metathesis; *irkbr* 50, Akubiya? 8; *kšpt* 31, Kusipu (alalakh 169) Kuzbat p.169/171 North Syria.

<sup>69</sup> Except for border zone settlements such as *kbr* (see note above) and *irpsnn* 60, Apsuna (?) P. 27–28, which was formerly in Mukish, but was probably transferred to Ugarit by the Hittites. See: 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 Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 2000): 22.

<sup>70</sup> *ntkn* 60, Mudkanu, 196; Mutkīnu across the river from Pitru. Bagg, 2007, 181; A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of Early First Millennium BC II* (858-745 BC) (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Period, RIMA 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 19; Lipiński, E. *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100; Leuven: Peeters, 2000):168; *mrmr* 47, marmarika p. 187 possibly in Alalakh. See: Michael C. Astour, “Place-Names from the Kingdom of Alalah in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22 (1963), p. 231 contra: Michael C. Astour, 1969, 405-406. cf. Casana, 2009, 22 with critique on the identifications of Astour; *T-b-r/l* 27, Tubala? 291. See: De Vos, J. “Ramsès III et les cités néo-hittites de Syrie septentrionale: note géographique à propos de toponymes mentionnés à Médinet Habou”, *Colloquium Anatolicum* VII (2008): 157-166.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

<sup>72</sup> Hawkins, 2009, 164-173.

<sup>73</sup> Harrison, 2009, 174-189.