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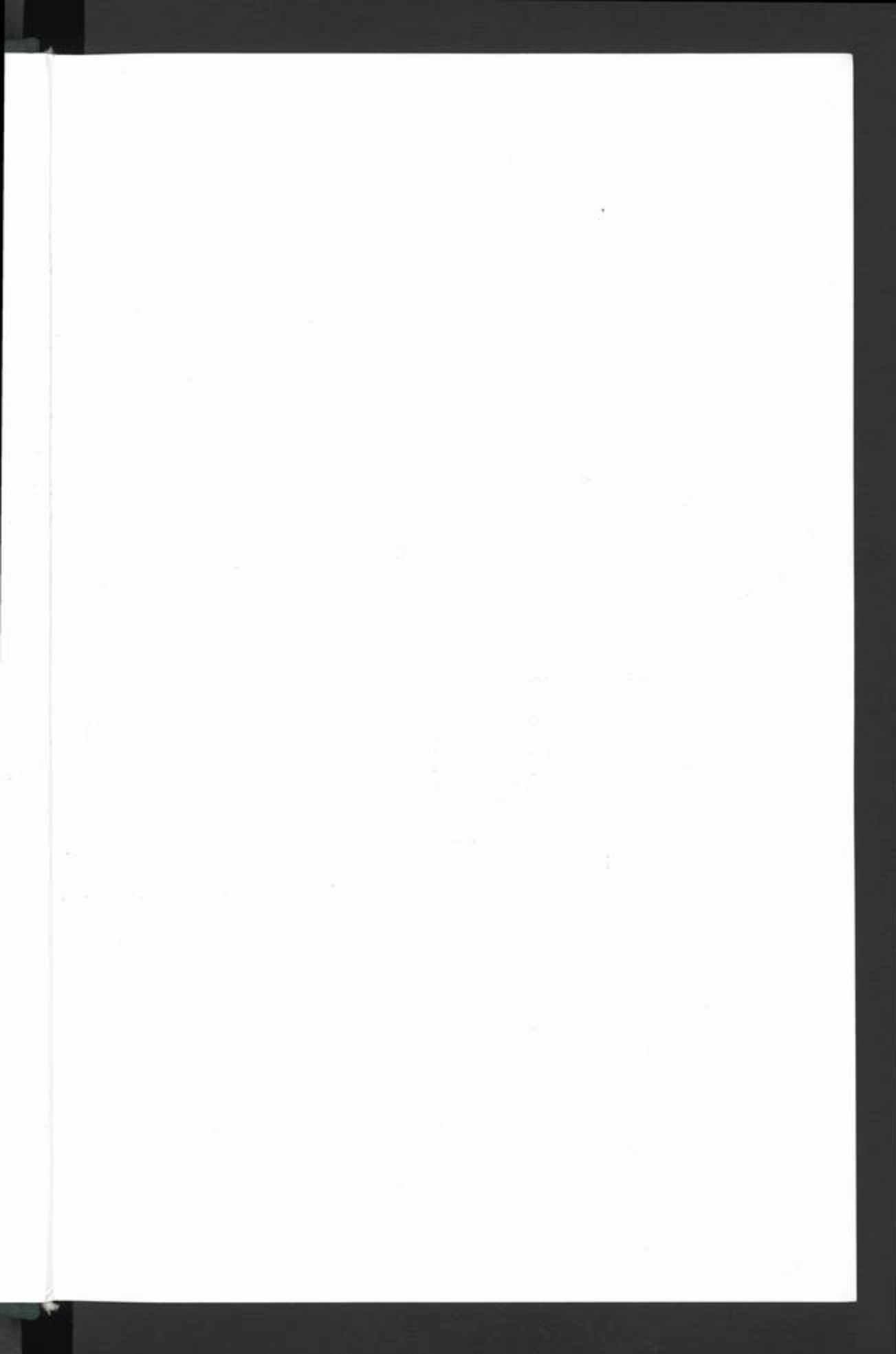
DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

MICHAEL G. HASEL





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DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

PROBLEME DER ÄGYPTOLOGIE

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DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE



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*Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant,
ca. 1300-1185 B.C.*

BY

MICHAEL G. HASEL



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the memory of
my father

Gerhard F. Hasel

July 27, 1935 - August 11, 1994

"Those who walk uprightly enter into peace;
they find rest . . ."

Isaiah 57:2

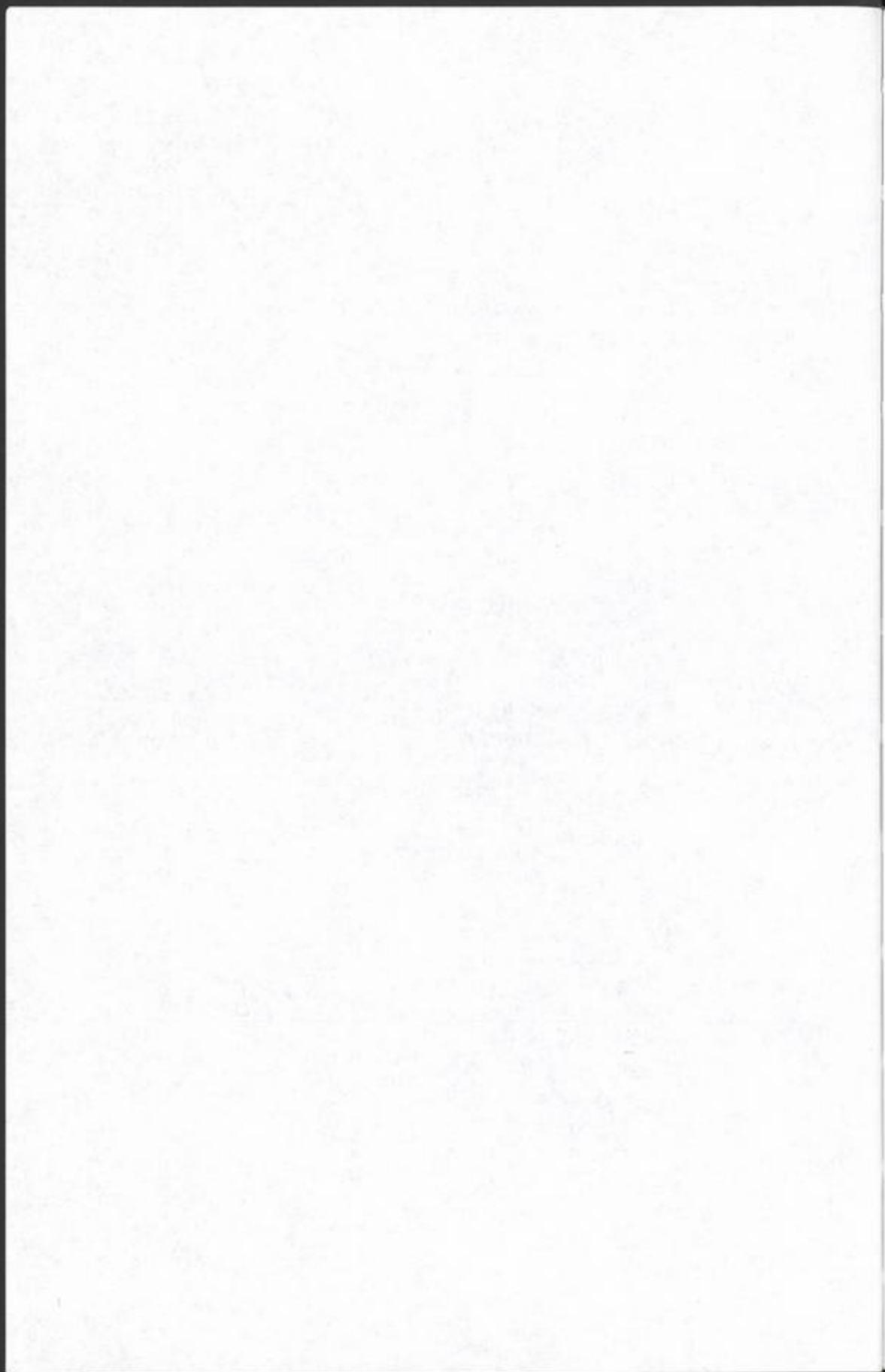


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PREFACE

Over a century has passed since Petrie's pioneer excavations at Tell el-Hesi in 1890 opened the horizons of archaeological research in the southern Levant. The campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 had facilitated an increase of knowledge in Egyptian history and had, in effect, given birth to the infant discipline of Egyptology nearly a century earlier. It can certainly be said that the amount of information produced from these two areas of the world has exponentially increased over time so that we find today in the present the pressure for specialization in either Egyptology or Syro-Palestinian archaeology. Indeed, the results of such detailed attention have provided outstanding and penetrating work in particulars, increasing our understanding as a whole. Concurrently, it has led to an often unavoidable isolation from surrounding disciplines that may impact the interpretation of events as they relate to a wider understanding of sociopolitical dynamics and interaction in the ancient Near East.

The object of the present work is to suggest a procedure for integrating the various facets of Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian historical sources (military accounts, toponyms, iconography) and archaeological remains, overcoming the apparent conflict between text and *tell*. What follows is a study of methodological procedure in both disciplines and by necessity focuses on a "case study" for such integration: Egyptian military activity. The integration of sources results in a suggested paradigm for Egyptian military tactics which will facilitate interpretation inferences in the field.

This present study is a revised doctoral dissertation presented to the Department of Near Eastern Studies of The University of Arizona. It is impossible to mention all those who contributed to its completion, for the areas and facets that in some way augmented the process were many.

Special thanks are reserved for William G. Dever who first introduced me to fieldwork at Gezer. Since then he has been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration throughout my graduate studies and as director of my dissertation during its inception and subsequent two years of research and writing. Appreciation is also extended to other committee members who contributed significant suggestions and insights along the way: Professors Al Leonard, Jr.,

Classics; J. Edward Wright, Near Eastern Studies; Richard H. Wilkinson, Egyptology; and T. Patrick Culbert and David Killick, Anthropology.

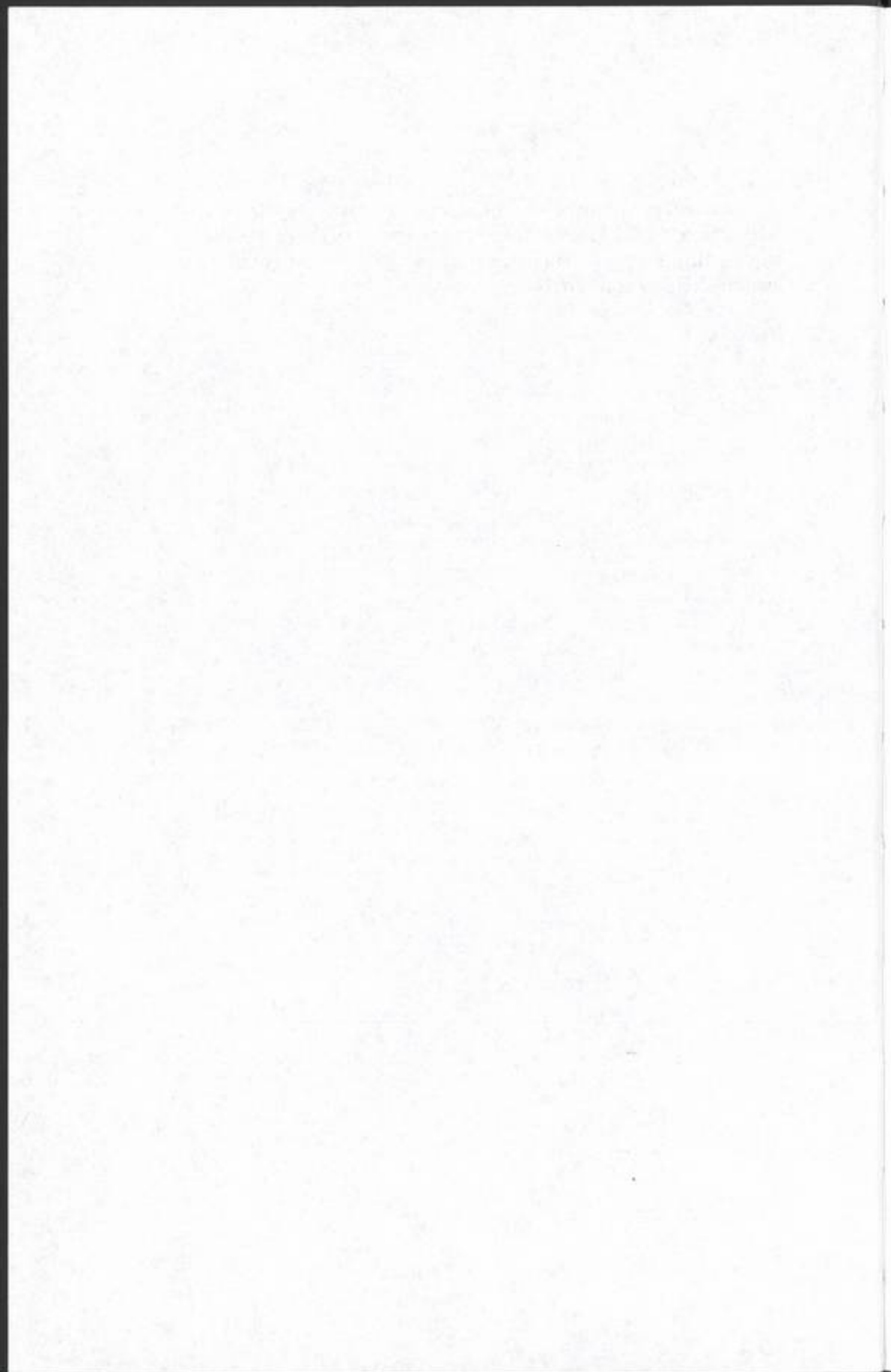
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This year abroad made it possible to consult numerous specialists in both Syro-Palestinian archaeology and Egyptology. Gratitude is extended to the kind offices of Michal Artzy, University of Haifa; Jaqueline Balensi, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; Amnon Ben-Tor, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Stephan Bourke, Pella Project; Trude Dothan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Yossi Garfinkel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Sy Gitin, W. F. Albright Institute; James K. Hoffmeier, Wheaton College; Amihai Mazar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; William J. Mumane, Memphis State University; Anthony J. Spalinger, University of Auckland; Lawrence E. Stager, Harvard University; Kent Weeks, The American University in Cairo; and James Weinstein, Cornell University. While I take full responsibility for the content and conclusions reached in this study, I thank these individuals for providing stimulating discussion and recent research results.

Research was conducted at a number of institutions that were most accommodating. I would like to thank the following for extending library privileges: The American University in Cairo; Andrews University; W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research; Arizona State Museum Library; British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem; École Biblique et Archéologique Française; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology; Rockefeller Museum; Oriental Institute Archives, The University of Chicago; Graduate Library, The University of Michigan; and the Anthropology Library, The University of Pennsylvania.

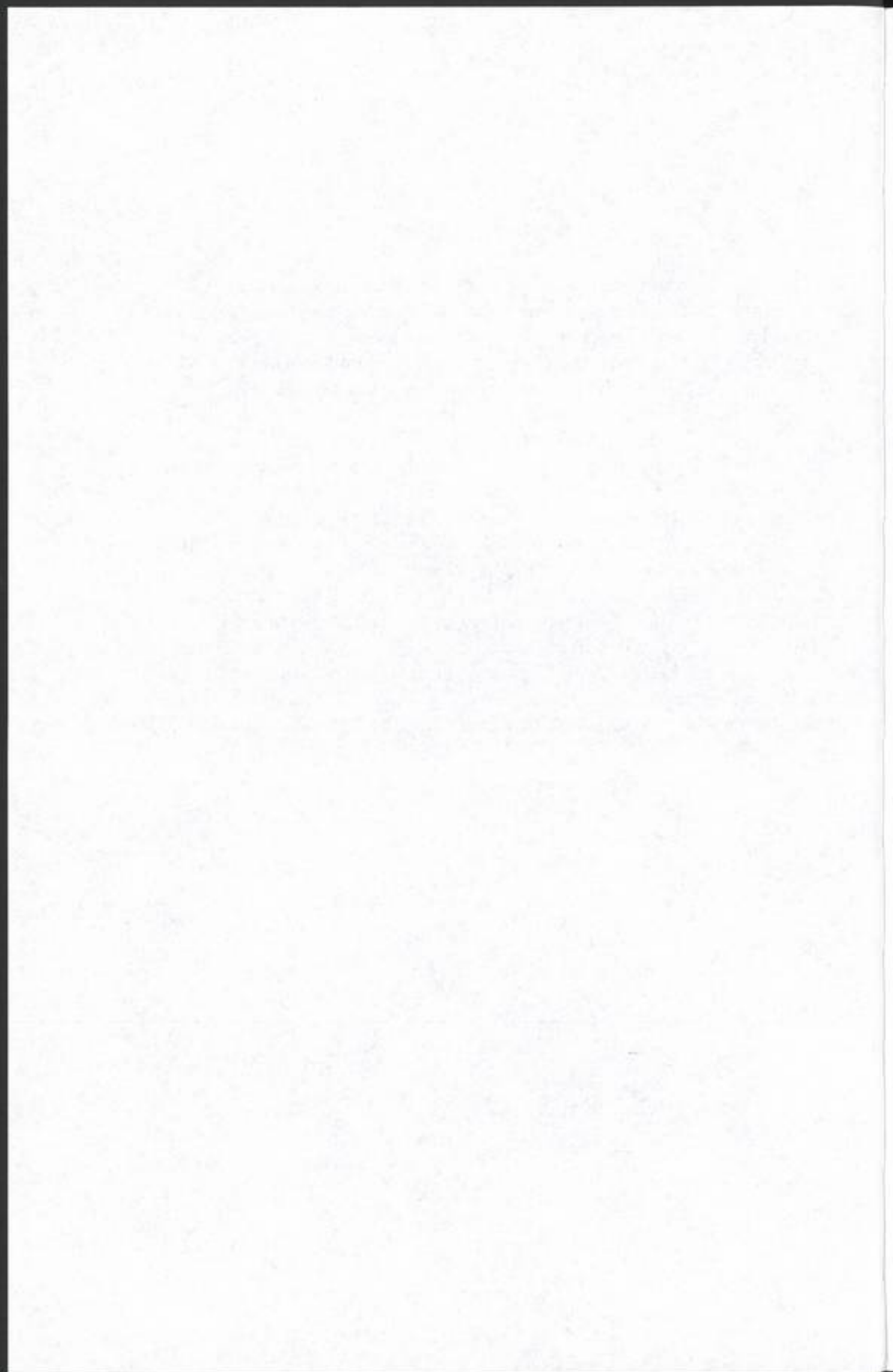
Special thanks go to Ms. Patricia Radder, desk editor for Ancient Near East and Asian Studies and the staff at E. J. Brill for their excellent and efficient assistance in getting this volume off the press. I must also express my thanks to those who have contributed to the copy-editing work of this volume, especially Mrs. Bonnie Proctor and Professor Leona Glidden Running.

In the end, this work would never have been possible without the constant encouragement of Giselle who embarked on this journey with me not fully knowing the triumphs and sacrifices ahead. Her unwavering love and faithfulness during these years have given renewed strength and purpose.



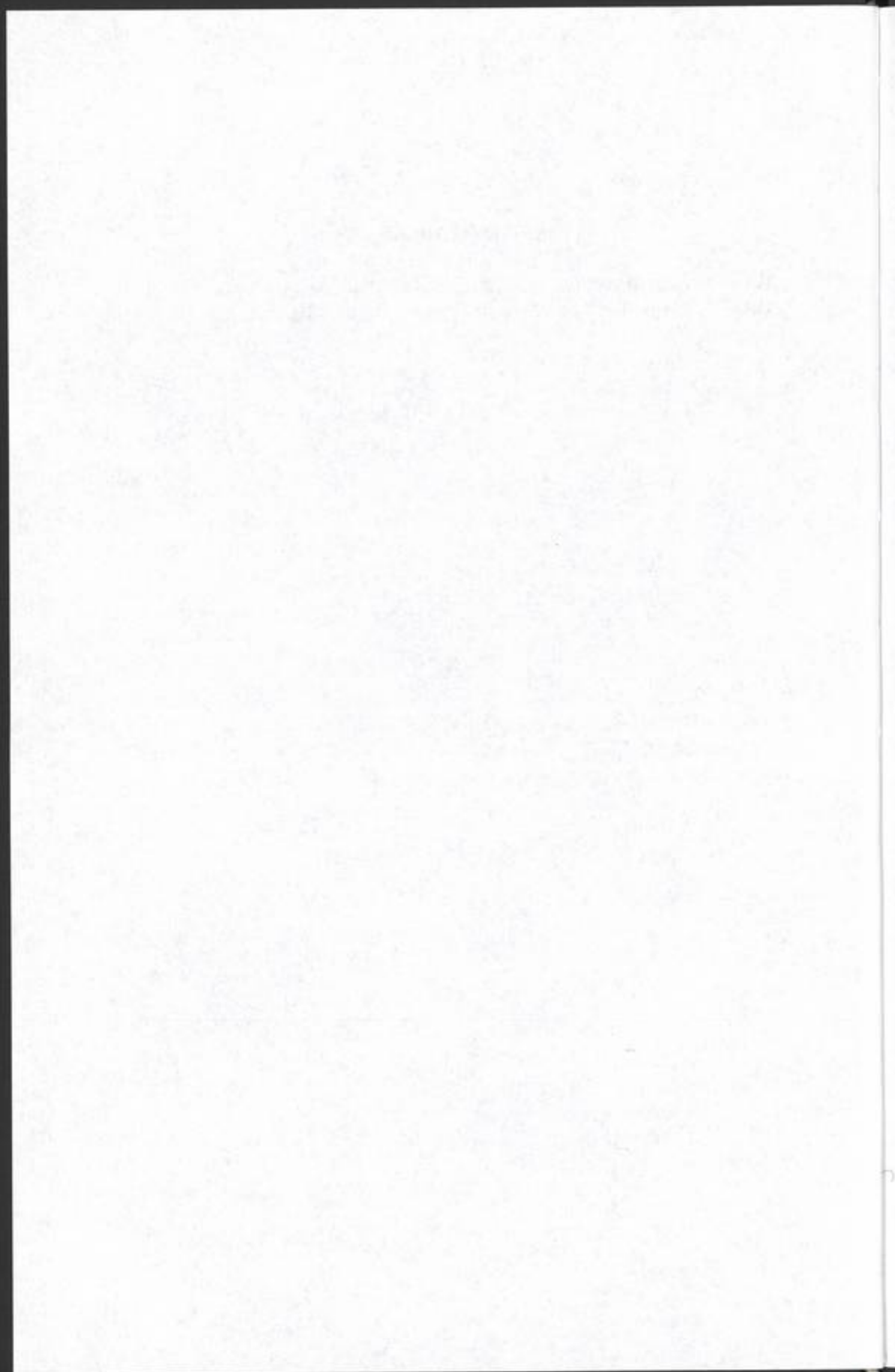
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Abydos, Temple of Ramses II
A-S	Amada Stela
Ak	Aksha Temple
As	Aswan
AS	Abu Simbel
AW	Amara West
B-S S ₁	First Beth Shan Stela
B-S S ₂	Second Beth Shan Stela
Bull	"Bulletin," Battle of Kadesh
BW	Beit el-Wâli
C	Cairo
ChB ₁	Papyrus Chester Beatty III, <i>verso</i> , 2-3
ChB ₂	Papyrus Chester Beatty III, <i>verso</i> , 1
CH	Campaign against the Hittites, Undated
CL	Campaign against the Libyans
Cl	Clysmia
CQA	Campaign Against Qadesh and Amurru
CSP	Campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Year 1
CYL	Campaign to Yeno am and Lebanon
GC	Fragment of a Granite Column with Libyan War Text
GS	Gebel Shaluf
H	Heliopolis
I	Abu Simbel, N. Wall of the Great Hall
I-S	Israel Stela
K	Karnak
K ₁	Karnak, N.-W. Corner of the "Cour de la cachette"
K ₂	Karnak, W. Face of W. Wall, between Pylons IX and X
K _p	Karnak, Palimpsest, S. Wall exterior, Hypostyle Hall
Kan	Kanais
KAS	Kom el-Ahmar Stela
L	Luxor, Undated War Scenes
Lu	Luxor
L ₁	Luxor, Pylon, N. (front) Face
L ₂	Luxor, Court of Ramses II, E. Wall (S. Half) S.-E. Wall (S. Face)
L ₃	Luxor, Court of Amenophis III, W. Wall exterior

L _p	Luxor, palimpsest, Pylon (W. Tower, N. Face)
LWI	Great Libyan War Inscription
M	Memphis
R	Ramesseum: "Poem" = Pylon II, N. Tower, Front Face
R ₁	Ramesseum: "Bulletin" = Pylon I, N. Tower, Rear Face
R ₂	Ramesseum: "Bulletin" = N. Wall (Destroyed), 2nd Court
Reliefs	Pylon II, N. Tower, Rear Face
Rf	Papyrus Raifé
S	Papyrus Sallier III
T	Tanis
T-S	Triumph-Scene
TM	Tell es-Maskhuta; Pithom Stela
TR	Tell er-Raṭāba
VC	Victory Column, Libyan War, Year 5

Other Abbreviations

<i>ANET</i>	Pritchard, J. B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University, 1969.
<i>ARE</i>	Breasted, J. H. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents</i> , vols. 1-4. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1906.
<i>DLE</i>	Lesko, L. H., ed. <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , vols. 1-5. Berkeley: B. C. Scribe, 1982-1990.
<i>EA</i>	<i>El Amarna</i> . Refers to the numbering of the letters in Knudtzon, J. A., <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907-1925.
<i>Kbo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916- .
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen, K. A. <i>Ramesseum Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969- .

- MH I* The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: The Earlier Records of Ramses III*, Oriental Institute Publications 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1930.
- MH II* The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II: The Later Historical Records of Ramses III*, Oriental Institute Publications 9. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1932.
- Urk* Sethe, K., and Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1921.
- Wb* Erman, A., and Grapow, H. *Wörterbuch des ägyptischen Sprache*, 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926-1931.

INTRODUCTION

The impact of military activity on sociopolitical dynamics is widely recognized in the fields of sociology,¹ social anthropology,² and archaeology.³ Egyptian military activity continues to play a significant role in historical reconstruction by specialists in the ancient Near East. The nature of Egyptian military activity, its tactics, its effects on the archaeological record, and its impact on Levantine culture during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition is the subject of this study.

It is well attested that the Bronze Age came to a violent end in a series of severe destructions that occur at sites throughout the southern Levant for a period of about a century.⁴ In the words of one

¹ On the sociology of warfare, see Jacobs (1973) and Tilley (1990).

² For social anthropological aspects of warfare and its central role in the interaction and development of complex societies, see Fried (1961-62; 1967), Caneiro (1970), Nettleship, Givens, and Nettleship (1973), Webster (1975; 1977), Renfrew (1986), and Renfrew and Bahn (1991: 193).

³ Archaeological research has historically focused attention on warfare for considerable time. More recent treatments include the work of Freidel and Sabloff (1984) and Freidel (1986) on Mayan warfare and Vencel (1984) on the archaeology of warfare.

⁴ Sites that exhibit evidence of discontinuity and/or destruction in Cisjordan include Tell Abu Hawam (Stratum VC; Balensi; Herrera; and Artzy 1993: 11-12); Apehek (Stratum X-12; Beck and Kochavi 1985; 1993: 68); Ashdod (Stratum IV; M. Dothan 1979; 1993a: 96); Tell Beit Mirsim (Stratum C2; Greenberg 1993: 179); Beth Shan (Level IX and VII; A. Mazar 1997); Beth Shemesh (Stratum IV; Bunimovitz and Lederman 1993: 250); Beitin (Kelso 1968: 32; 1993: 194); Tell Dan (Stratum VII; Biran 1993a: 326; 1994: 108, 120); Tell el-Far'ah (N) (Stratum 4, Period VIIa; Chambon 1993: 440); Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Residency; Yisraeli 1993: 442); Gezer (Stratum XV; Dever 1974; 1986); Hazor (Strata VIII, 1b and 1a; Yadin 1993a: 606; Ben-Tor 1995a: 67); Jaffa (Stratum IVB; Kaplan and Ritter-Kaplan 1993: 656); Lachish (Stratum P-1; Ussishkin 1993: 898); Megiddo (Stratum VIIIb; Shiloh 1993: 1012); Tell Miqne-Ekron (Stratum VIII; T. Dothan 1995); Tell Mor (Stratum 7; M. Dothan 1993c: 1073); Qashish (Stratum V; Ben-Tor 1993b: 1203); Tell Sera' (Stratum IX; Oren 1993a: 1331); Shechem (Stratum XII; G. E. Wright 1965: 101-102; Magen 1993: 1352); Timnah (Tell Batash, Stratum VIIb; Kelm and Mazar 1995: 69); Tell Yin'am (Liebowitz 1993: 1516); Tell Yoqne'am (Stratum XIX; Ben-Tor 1993c: 809); and Tell Zippor (Stratum III; Biran 1993b: 1527).

Transjordanian sites that exhibit evidence of discontinuity/destruction include: Deir 'Alla (Phase E; Van Der Kooij 1993: 340); Pella (Phase 1A; Potts *et al.* 1988: 136-137); Tell es-Saidiyeh (Stratum XII; Tubb 1988; 1990; 1993: 902); and Tell el-'Umeiri (Younker *et al.* 1996: 74-75).

Those Syrian sites that show evidence of discontinuity/destruction during the transition include: Tell Brak (Oates 1987: 189-190); El-Qitar (McClellan 1986: 438); Emar (Arnaud 1984: 181 note 6; 1987: 9, 20 note 22); Tell Faq'ous (Margueron

recent study, the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition is characterized as one of "catastrophe" (Drews 1993) while another describes this century or so as a period of "crisis" (Ward and Joukowsky 1992). But what caused this crisis? Who or what was responsible for the mass destruction of cities and civilization? As the years continue to bring forth more material and information, so have the number of explanatory theories multiplied. These theories of causation include: (1) An invasion by foreign peoples. This includes the military invasion and "conquest" of Canaan by Israel (Albright 1939; 1949; G. E. Wright 1962; P. W. Lapp 1967a; B. Mazar 1981a; Yeivin 1971; Malamat 1979; 1982a; Bright 1972; Yadin 1982; 1993a; Ussishkin 1987); the military invasion of the "Sea Peoples" along the coast and later penetrating inland (Malamat 1971; A. Mazar 1985b: 105; Stager 1985b: 62*; 1995a; 336-337; Wood 1991: 52; but see Cifola 1994); and the military activity of several Egyptian campaigns during the XIXth Dynasty attempting to regain control of the region (Helck 1971; Yadin 1975; Ahituv 1978: 105; Weinstein 1980; 1981; Singer 1988); (2) Natural causes such as seismic activity (Schaeffer 1948; Kilian 1980; 1988; cf. Drews 1993: 33-47); (3) A systems collapse with factors that included the decline of Egyptian domination, exhaustion of natural resources, the cessation of international trade, technological decline and innovation, as well as ethnic movements (Dever 1992c: 104-108); (4) Ecological factors such as drought or famine (Klengel 1974; Weiss 1982; Stiebing 1980; 1989; 1994); (5) Conflagration of cities for disease control (Meyers 1978); (6) Internecine warfare among competing city-states (for MB-LB, cf. Hoffmeier 1989: 190; 1990); and (7) Changes in warfare tactics that allowed the penetration of city-state defensive systems (Drews 1993).

The domination of military activity as a major causative theory of the collapse of the Late Bronze Age is not without significance nor is it unwarranted. Textual records such as Egyptian campaign records, the Amarna letters, and the Hebrew Bible give descriptions of foreign domination and resistance. The archaeological data have been compared to these descriptions resulting in various inferences and inter-

1982: 62); Tell Fray (Stratum IV; McClellan 1992: 167); Hammad el-Turkman (Period VIIIb; Smit 1988: 489; Akkermans and Rossmesl 1990: 32); Qatna (du Buisson 1935: 34-35); Khirbet esh-Shenef (Bartl 1990); and Ugarit (Yon 1992: 117; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1978). For the disputed destructions at Tell Rifa'at (Seton Williams 1961; 1967), Tell Abu Danné (Tefnin 1980), and Hama (Levels G and F2; Fugmann 1958: 134-149), see the discussions by Sader (1992: 160), McClellan (1992: 167), and Caubet (1992).

pretation. Many of these attempts at correlation have led to disparity—the two sources of information not fully reconciled or integrated. One of the best examples of the complexity involved is found in the military activity of ancient Egypt.

Egyptian campaign records of the XIXth Dynasty kings Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah make claims of military conquest and victory over specific geographical, socioethnic, and sociocultural entities throughout the southern Levant. Campaign accounts in narrative and poetic form as well as lists of specific entities are recorded on temples, stelae, and other media. Egyptologists have studied these textual sources by (1) Linguistically analyzing the toponymy of the accounts and proposing identifications with known sites (Jirku 1937; Simons 1937; Görg 1978; 1980c; 1983b; Astour 1996); (2) Reconstructing the routes of specific campaigns (Gardiner 1920; Helck 1971; Habachi 1980; Murnane 1990; Yurco 1990); (3) Analyzing the poetic structure of the texts (Hornung 1983; Fecht 1983; M. Lichtheim 1976); (4) Establishing the genre of different accounts (Spalinger; 1983b; 1985a; 1985b; Redford 1986b); (5) Investigating the iconography of military activity (D. Müller 1961; Gaballa 1976; Tefnin 1979; 1981; Wilkinson 1987; 1991; Van Essche-Merchez 1992; 1994); and (6) Addressing general military organization (Faulkner 1953; Christophe 1957; Schulman 1964a; 1995; Gnirs 1996) and administration (Abdel-Kader 1959; Giveon 1978a; Helck 1971; Na'aman 1975; Israelit-Groll 1983).

Lexicographic studies on military terminology in Egyptian texts were largely neglected until recently (Lorton 1974a; 1974b; Grimal 1986; Morschauser 1988; Bleiberg 1984b; 1988; Hoffmeier 1989; Galán 1995). Few Syro-Palestinian archaeologists deal with the original textual material relating to military campaigns and rely primarily on secondary sources. Hence, no extensive study of Egyptian military terminology during the XIXth Dynasty has yet been attempted by either Egyptologists or archaeologists.⁵ Essential questions persist. What is the terminology used in the context of military accounts? Are there historical and textual indications of physical activities taking place against geographical, socioethnic, and political entities? Are

⁵ The study of Hoffmeier (1989) pertains to the campaign of Thutmose III and only addresses a few terms. Lorton's (1974a; 1974b) study of juridical terminology also ended with the XVIIIth Dynasty. The recent dissertation by Galán (1995) is restricted to terminology of Egyptian imperialism during the XVIIIth Dynasty as well and does not adequately address the later campaigns of the XIXth Dynasty.

indications given as to the extent of the destructions or what specifically is destroyed? What are the roles of ideology, kingship, and legitimation in these documents? Terminology and iconography understood in their original context would seem essential in establishing the Egyptian perception of campaigns into foreign lands.

While many of these aspects contribute to an overall understanding of the Egyptian perception of military activity, they fail to address a fundamental question. What is the reality behind the claims made in campaign accounts and lists? What was the physical impact of military campaigns on the entities mentioned? This remains the task of archaeological investigation (Helck 1985: 12; Dever 1990). Archaeologists employing careful stratigraphic excavation and working within a clear theoretical framework are able to pose important questions which may reveal the nature of military activity employed at a given site.

The development of specific paradigms continues to be proposed for archaeological destructions caused by natural phenomena (i.e. seismic activity; Karcz and Kafri 1978; Soren 1985; Dever 1992g; cf. Schiffer 1987: 231-233). Yet, such paradigms remain to be developed for other types of destruction, especially military destruction. For the most part archaeologists working in the southern Levant have relied heavily on Egyptological secondary literature describing military campaigns without carefully investigating the nature of these accounts and the Egyptian perception of events. This is especially evident in theories proposed for a number of transition periods.⁶

⁶ The cause of collapse at the end of the Early Bronze Age was attributed to invading Amorites from Mesopotamia (Albright 1961; Kenyon 1966; Kenyon; Posen; and Bottéro 1971; but see Kamp and Yoffee 1980), or an intrusive people from the trans-Caucasus (P. W. Lapp 1966). However, recently a more systemic approach is used to analyze various processes that contributed to the collapse of Early Bronze Age culture (Dever 1989; Esse 1989). Likewise, it was proposed "the Egyptian conquest of Palestine about the middle of the sixteenth century ushers us into the Late Bronze Age" (Albright 1949: 96). This view is followed today by American, European and Israeli Syro-Palestinian archaeologists (G. E. Wright 1961: 110; Kenyon 1973; de Vaux 1978; Aharoni 1967: 140-153; Yadin 1955; 1963; Seger 1975; 1976; Dever 1976; 1985; 1987: 177; 1990; A. Mazar 1990b: 226-227). The argument is based on the large-scale destructions that took place during the MB-LB transition at sites throughout Palestine. These were subsequently assigned to the campaign of Thutmose III. The destructions encompassed numerous sites followed by subsequent abandonment for varying lengths of time (see lists in G. E. Wright 1961: chart 6; Dever 1976: chart 2; Weinstein 1981: 2).

This hypothesis of the end of Middle Bronze culture is supported by a number of Egyptologists (Helck 1971; Weinstein 1981; 1991). However, other scholars have

Other archaeologists seem content with a simple correlation between campaign accounts and destructions at sites during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. For example, Yadin equated the destruction of Stratum 1B at Hazor with Seti I (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 159; Yadin 1975: 145). Yet, he gave no reference to pertinent Egyptian texts, neither is the destruction described in detail (but see A. Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989; cf. Bienkowski 1987). Only the chronology of the destruction level was discussed in relation to ceramic sequences. Thus, Yadin assumed a correlation based on corresponding chronology rather than on specific correlates in the archaeological context. This approach is practiced widely in the discipline (Albright 1953a; Seger 1975; Dever 1974; 1986; Biran 1994).

As a result, questions concerning the nature of Egyptian military destruction have not been widely discussed (but see Hoffmeier 1989; 1990; 1991; Dever 1990; Weinstein 1991). What was the extent of Egyptian destruction? Was the city burned? Were walls, gates, domestic and cultic buildings affected, and if so, to what extent? It has been suggested that military campaigns were punitive rather than widely destructive (Dever 1990). In this case, wide-scale destruction would not be present and perhaps little archaeological evidence would remain to be analyzed. Such questions, however, require testing within an archaeological framework.

Currently Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have not provided an adequate model or destruction paradigm to answer these questions. Yet major correlations continue to be made that are decisive in determining (1) the sociopolitical history of the region; (2) the chronology of the southern Levant—based as it is on synchronisms with Egyptian and Mesopotamian absolute chronology; and (3) the assessment of the archaeological record. Because of these significant implications a study into the nature of Egyptian military activity is long overdue.

Part of the difficulty lies in the nature of the evidence itself. It is well known that events in the past included actions that left material remains and those that did not. There are a number of features in archaeological contexts that may reflect military activity. (1) The

recently argued against a monocausal view of cultural collapse on the basis of both archaeological (Bimson 1978; Bartlett 1982; Bienkowski 1986: 127-128; G. I. Davies 1986: 56) and philological (Shea 1979; Redford 1979; 1982b; Hoffmeier 1989; 1990; 1991) grounds. The resulting debate has left an unresolved tension between philological and archaeological arguments pertaining to Egyptian military accounts of the early New Kingdom.

presence of weapons may indicate certain military practices.⁷ (2) Warrior burials constitute another important source of warfare in archaeology. (3) The presence of fortifications may indicate a period of internal or external conflict requiring defensive strategies. (4) The destruction of cities may indicate aspects of the type of tactics and military strategies used in cases of siege and other methods of destruction (conflagration, battering walls). These features may be detectable in archaeological contexts and could be analyzed in assessing the impact of military activity on a given region or culture.

Many additional actions of warfare are not preserved in archaeological contexts. (1) The actions of open-terrain battle are absent from most archaeological contexts as they often leave little stratigraphic evidence and no remains in significant spatial concentrations. (2) Captives and prisoners taken during battle are known from historical sources of all periods but this action leaves no archaeological evidence. (3) Evidence for the annihilation of a population through military activity (genocide, enslavement, or transfer) does not appear in archaeological contexts. (4) The destruction of subsistence sources including orchards and fields leaves no trace archaeologically. (5) Aspects of military organization such as troop transfers, commanding officers, and methods used are not detectable from archaeological remains (cf. Vencl 1984: 123-125). As Sl. Vencl observes,

For this reason, it is advisable to complement the usual procedure of archaeology, namely of research on the past through the analysis of finds, . . . by additional study of the past from the viewpoint of things not preserved, in order to prevent the identification of the level of study of the past with the one-sided and fragmentary structure of archaeological data. The vanished past will be more comprehensible if all components of the cultures in question are treated with a measure of attention in proportion to their significance within the original (historical) structure rather than in proportion to incidental and mechanical factors conditioning their archaeological, i.e. partial, existence or nonexistence.

⁷ The possible absence of weapons does not necessarily imply the absence of warfare. A number of weapons were constructed of perishable materials (all-wood javelins or spears, maces, clubs). Other weapons may not be recognized as such since they were used from the natural surroundings (hand-thrown stones, pebbles as sling-shot, simple awl-like points used for javelins) or by using common objects of multiple usage like all-purpose tools (knives, axes, lassos), animals (war dogs), poisons or objects used as weapons by chance or in a case of emergency (Vencl 1984: 126). Many weapons were left in the open battlefield and may not be found in graves or at sites, while others were taken as booty and transported to locations far from the place of battle.

This type of study would include all available sources (historical, iconographic, and archaeological) pertaining to the military action of a specific culture.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of Egyptian military activity during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (the XIXth Dynasty; ca. 1274-1203 B.C.). Specific attention will be placed on the archaeological evidence relating to destructions at sites—cities—as well as the type of action taken against socioethnic and sociocultural entities—people groups such as Israel and the inhabitants of *ššw*, “Shasu”—designated in campaign documents. It is presumed that the tactics and policy toward these various entities differed as they related specifically to social, environmental, and economic factors. To facilitate this endeavor, a contextual study of military terminology and iconography contained in XIXth and XXth Dynasty campaign accounts will also be carried out so that a more complete understanding of the Egyptian perception of military activity may be attained.

The thesis of this study is that the nature and tactical practices of Egyptian military activity can be deduced from a combined study of archaeological, textual, and iconographic records. This will produce a general paradigm of Egyptian military activity as it was implemented in the southern Levant during the period indicated and will provide a basis for assessing military destructions at sites as they relate to Egyptian military policy. A study of this nature is crucial in understanding the Egypto-Canaanite relations and will refine the perception of the sociopolitical history of the region, stimulating further discussion concerning the interpretation of archaeological data and its integration with historical and textual sources.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Despite the continued association of “destructions” with various polities, there have been few investigations of the correlates of destruction present at a site in comparison with known military documents.⁸

⁸ Most recently, the proposal of “destruction correlates” or paradigms for seismic activity has been developed (see Dever 1992g). For the inadequacy of C. F. A. Schaeffer’s (1948) proposal for widespread earthquake destruction of Late Bronze Age sites at 1365 B.C., see Dever (1992g: 31*) and Drews (1993: 33-47). Similar approaches for other types of destruction or discontinuity are in need of investigation.

A research design for the investigation of destructions is necessary before investigating individual sites.⁹ A major factor in formulating a research design is to develop relevant questions that will contribute information to the issue(s) under investigation (Read and LeBlanc 1978). In the case of military destruction,¹⁰ the following questions are deemed relevant for this investigation and should be addressed to the historical, iconographic, and archaeological data.

Identification, History, and Chronology

First, one of the key issues is the nature of the texts used for historical associations. Where does the toponym appear in textual documents? Is it on a toponym list or in an account giving further details of activities? Does it appear in more than one location or genre of documents? What is the reliability of these accounts? These are all important questions to ask of the textual evidence from Egypt before associations are made with the archaeological contexts.

Second, is it possible to identify the toponym with a known site in the region? What is the degree of certainty in this identification? What strategic role could this site play in political, cultural, and economic dynamics and how might this have been important for Egypt?

Third, how does the chronology of a given campaign correlate with a destruction level? Here emphasis must be placed on establishing the overall chronology of the reigning king and specifically the chronology of his campaigns. This is compared with the ceramic evidence present in the destruction and the stratigraphic relationship with architecture and other material remains.¹¹ Other material-cul-

⁹ Although a model or paradigm should be in place before excavations begin (Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1984: 187-188), unfortunately, one has not yet been developed in our field. As a result, the sites investigated in this study are, out of necessity, limited in the amount of data they contribute to this problem.

¹⁰ There are other known causes for destruction and discontinuity in the archaeological record. These causes may be (1) manmade (warfare/siege; deliberate alterations in construction; razing or burning areas for disease control); (2) natural (forest or brush fires; floods; tidal waves; volcanoes; earthquakes); (3) accidental (collapse due to poor construction; fire, etc.); and (3) gradual, long-term degradation processes (abandonment; robbing; erosion; exposure; etc.; cf. Dever 1992g: 32*). Relevant inquiry into both the systemic context and the ultimate formation processes involved in the archaeological context is important as well (Schiffer 1976; 1983; 1987).

¹¹ It should be noted that the relative chronology based on ceramics has a long range of usage and during this period in particular demonstrates wide-scale continuity (Wood 1985; Dever 1995b). Nevertheless, certain correlations can be drawn on the basis of imports (Mycenaean IIIB; IIIC:1b; see Hankey 1986; T. Dothan 1982a)

ture indicators, such as scarabs and ostraca, might provide further chronological information. This will facilitate a more certain association between the absolute and relative chronologies.

Fourth, what is the history of archaeological work and during what period was the site excavated? The methods and theoretical orientation of the excavators often determine the quality of their results and the reliability of their conclusions. Excavations conducted in the first half of the twentieth century differ greatly from later excavations not only in method but also in the questions and research designs that are being tested. This can strongly affect conclusions and assumptions that are subject to change with further data.

All of these factors are significant when attempting relationships between textual and iconographic sources and archaeological contexts. Their purpose is to incorporate and evaluate both previous and present conclusions of interpreters and attempt to determine the validity of those conclusions in an integrated manner that includes all of the sources and evidence currently available. Once this is accomplished and a reasonable association is deemed possible, further questions must be posed to determine the correlates of destruction present at the site.

Destruction Correlates

Once a plausible chronological and historical connection is established between textual accounts and an archaeological site, the investigation must deal with the specific details of the archaeological context in order to determine what types of action were taken and what the extent of their effects was. It is proposed that these actions should be discernable in an archaeological context and for the purposes of this study they will be called *destruction correlates*. The term correlate is used here as a destructive feature that is preserved in an archaeological context and may be inferred as the result of human behavior or one that may be reconstructed from textual or iconographic evidence (see Schiffer 1976: 12-14; 1987: 4-5). These correlates of destruction may be preserved in either historical sources, archaeological contexts, or both. When they occur in both sources a more reliable determina-

and other indicators like scarabs and textual documents found in association with them. Here much rests also on the Egyptian chronological correspondence since it is on these synchronisms that the relative ceramic chronology is based. Investigations of the typology and relative chronology of local wares were conducted by Wood (1985).

tion can be made and incorporated in an overall paradigm of destruction for Egyptian military activity. This paradigm would serve as a working model when interpreting or inferring the type of military activity at sites that show such evidence. The following questions are essential before proposals of cultural connections can be offered.

First, what is the focus of the destruction? Is the military activity directed against walled cities and settlements, against the people that occupy them, or both? Can such a distinction be made and, if so, is there a priority in the focus of military activity?

Second, what is the means of destruction? Were cities, life-support systems and other belongings of the enemy burned in conflagration? Was sword warfare, infantry, or chariotry used? Was the battering ram and other siege equipment employed against city walls and defensive structures? Or were battles generally fought out in the open terrain?

Third, what life-support systems are destroyed? Are the defensive structures destroyed, or tents, water, and the fields, orchards, and crops of the enemy confiscated or destroyed?

Fourth, what is the extent of the destruction? Are gates and defensive systems destroyed in part or completely? Are cultic or domestic structures affected or is the entire city destroyed completely?

Each of these questions is important in determining the focus, nature, extent, and content of the military activity employed by one polity against another. The first-through-third set of questions would presumably leave little evidence in archaeological contexts and might be addressed primarily to the textual and iconographic sources. The fourth set of questions can be tested primarily in archaeological contexts. Once these destruction correlates are established, archaeologists will be better able to evaluate the archaeological context and make proper inferences. Other questions may further illuminate a reconstruction of events and the identification of the polities involved.

Elements of Continuity/Discontinuity

One of the important ways of determining both the nature of activity causing a destruction and the polity or polities that may be identified with this activity is to look at subsequent continuities and discontinuities. Several questions are crucial in this regard.

First, is the site abandoned or reoccupied? What is the gap between the destruction and subsequent occupation? Often a long

abandonment indicates a very significant event that has major repercussions on the population of the site (i.e. loss of life; modes of subsistence; etc.). At other times an immediate rebuilding may indicate minor adverse effects.

Second, what is the scale of subsequent occupation? Is all of the site reoccupied or only parts of it? Are all the buildings that may have been destroyed rebuilt (cultic, administrative, or domestic structures)? This may indicate that life continued together with previous religious, political, and economic stability. If small-scale reoccupation occurs, it may be inferred that the disruption was significant.

Third, what was the degree of cultural continuity/discontinuity present in the reoccupation? Were buildings reconstructed in their original lines with little change? Or were there major changes in the spatial plans and organization of the site? Are there distinctive elements in the material culture that can be distinguished from previous strata, or is the material culture continuous with few changes? These are basic questions that will be addressed to the archaeological data and might aid in inferring both causes for the destruction and identification of the subsequent cultures that occupy the site.

Together all of these three categories of questions, (1) Identification, History, and Chronology; (2) Destruction Correlates; and (3) Elements of Continuity/Discontinuity, aim toward providing a model for assessing and identifying military activity through destruction correlates found in both textual/iconographic and archaeological sources. The investigation of these sources produces significant results that provide a possible paradigm for Egyptian military activity during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

LIMITATIONS

This study is limited by the nature of the evidence. As S.I. Vendl pointed out in addressing the epistemological issues of warfare in archaeology, "A significant part of military behavior is intertwined with questions of political power, which does not immediately generate material remains" (Vendl 1984: 117). Indeed, the material remains alone cannot provide a complete picture of Egyptian military activity or of any behavior, for that matter. It is for this reason that several approaches are incorporated in this study. The resulting quantity of data requires certain restrictions in order to focus on

specific research goals. When assessing the textual and historical aspects of Egyptian military activity it would be interesting to investigate the history of the terminology from a wider perspective of development over time. Although earlier textual evidence from the Middle and early New Kingdom would be helpful, this study attempts to provide a comprehensive but manageable overview by analyzing the military terminology and iconography of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties during the reigns of four major rulers. This consists of the lexicographical study of terms pertaining to: (1) the Egyptians in battle and the resulting defeat of their enemies; and (2) the means of destruction (including conflagration, siege, sword warfare, and destruction of crops and other life-support systems) in the context of their semantic domain in campaign documents. This investigation is intended to serve as a model for future studies on earlier and later periods and may extend to topics beyond military activity.

Another limitation concerns the overview of recent research on archaeological evidence for Egyptian presence and administration. Several recent studies have dealt with the architecture and material cultural influences of Egypt (Weinstein 1981; Higginbotham 1993; 1996; 1998; C. Herrmann 1994; Yannai 1996; Mumford forthcoming). While a brief overview of this evidence is provided in Chapter Three, the reader is directed to these and other current references for further analysis. These limitations indicate that this book will not only be a comprehensive historical study as might be made from an Egyptological perspective, but it will contain the crucial analysis of the archaeological material in an unprecedented manner. The study is further limited geographically to the modern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Sinai, Israel, and Jordan.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study encompasses historical, textual, and archaeological aspects in an attempt to provide an integrated approach to the research problem.¹² Chapter One contains the main

¹² Several archaeologists have pointed to the importance of an integrated approach (Renfrew 1980; Yoffee 1982; Trigger 1984: 287-95; Bindiff 1991; Knapp 1992; 1993b; Levy and Holl 1995). For the most recent methodological and theoretical issues, see the discussions of Kepecs, Thursten, Kelly, and Feinman in the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (1997).

historical, textual, and iconographic components of the study. It is devoted to a new contextual investigation of over thirty terms and expressions used in describing XIXth and XXth Dynasty Egyptian military activity. To provide a broader perspective this investigation will not be limited to accounts pertaining to the southern Levant, but will include campaigns to other surrounding regions as well. It is hoped that this will indicate the development of patterns of expression and meaning with a more accurate understanding of military activities in surrounding regions as perceived in Egyptian scribal tradition. Iconographic evidence will be brought into the discussion when it pertains to specific terms and practices.

Chapter Two surveys the evidence for Egyptian influence in the southern Levant before providing a detailed archaeological analysis of the specific sites mentioned in the records of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah. Over twenty toponyms are included in this analysis. The chapter will follow the parameters of the research design in investigating the evidence for site identification, history of research, archaeological data, destruction correlates, and subsequent activity before providing an assessment for each site and a general reconstruction of the campaigns of each king.

In Chapter Three the socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural entities are investigated separately. These toponyms represent a contrasting sociopolitical structure and are subject to a different military strategy from the sites investigated in the preceding chapter. These entities, which include Israel and the inhabitants of *ššw*, "Shasu," are significant for the reconstruction of history in this period. Indeed, Israel represents the only socioethnic group mentioned in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty and is of special importance for the construction of a balanced paradigm of Egyptian military activity.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Four, provides a synthesis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence which forms the basis for the proposed paradigm of Egyptian military activity. Evidence from Chapter One supplies the Egyptian perception of tactical and destruction components as preserved in the textual and iconographic record combined with the archaeological evidence for Egyptian destruction in Chapters Two and Three as preserved in archaeological contexts. These will include the focus, nature, extent, and content of the military activity employed by one polity against another. Each of these components contributes to the proposed para-

digm of Egyptian military destruction which is presented in full in this concluding chapter.

Egyptian military activity is then placed in the context of an expansionism model which best describes the policies of Egypt during the New Kingdom (Eisenstadt 1963; Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1978; Weinstein 1981). The sociopolitical changes occurring at the close of the Late Bronze Age will be set in the context of the declining control of Egyptian power to the east resulting in the upheaval characteristic of the period. This augments and builds toward an essential goal of this book—to provide a case study in the integration of archaeological, textual, and anthropological areas of inquiry, for it is only within this framework that a more complete picture of the sociopolitical dynamics of the southern Levant during this period can emerge in a vital and stimulating way.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL, TEXTUAL, AND ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

The Egyptians possessed a vital interest in the events of the past. This manifested itself in a variety of literary and artistic sources that included commemorative inscriptions, stelae, toponym lists, ostraca, scarabs, and pictorial reliefs. This chapter represents the major historical, textual, and iconographic component of the present study. Terminology, expressions and representational art present in Egyptian military records will be investigated in an integrated approach encompassing lexicographic, semantic and contextual frameworks. Such an approach is entirely new and crucial for the study of XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents as it is based on a comprehensive concordance of Egyptian military terminology. Because of the historiographic nature of this investigation, an analysis of the "concept of history" in Egyptian literary tradition as well as an overview of the various types of sources available is necessary before the analysis of texts and reliefs in Egypt and the southern Levant is conducted.

BACKGROUND TO EGYPTIAN MILITARY DOCUMENTS

Historiography and Egyptian Military Documents

Despite the plethora of written and iconographic sources available to modern historians, Egypt "has been almost totally neglected in discussions of ancient Near Eastern history writing" (Younger 1990: 165; but see Liverani 1990). Numerous writers have denied that the Egyptians possessed any idea of history in the modern sense that history is understood today (Bull 1955: 32; Gese 1958: 128).¹ Thus,

¹ The historiography of the ancient Near East is well documented from various perspectives (cf. Dentan 1955; Gese 1958; Albrektson 1967; Krecher and Müller 1975; Wyatt 1979). However, a number of difficulties exist for these approaches. Van Seters has shown that often these studies reflect the notion of a uniform idea of history in a particular culture (Van Seters 1983: 57-58; cf. Younger 1990: 279 note 145). Moreover, many approaches are too selective (Press 1982: 142) or have a tendency to oversimplify similarities (e.g., Malamat 1955).

L. Bull concludes, "it seems fair to say that the ancient Egyptians cannot have had an 'idea of history' in any sense resembling what the phrase means to thinkers of the present age" (1955: 32). Following Bull, Gese in his study of ancient Near Eastern and biblical history maintains, "We shall leave Egypt completely out of account, since at first glance the Egyptian evidence seems to be quite irrelevant to our question" (Gese 1958: 128). Helck, as well, is comfortable stating, "Aus all diesem geht hervor, daß Geschichte in unserem Sinn dem Ägypter unwichtig war" (Helck 1977f: 1226). E. Otto (1966) posited a tension in Egyptian literature between the world of facts (*geschichtlicher Realität*), the historical ideal (*Geschichtsbild*), and history writing (*Geschichtsschreibung*), the distinguishing factors being the notion of time and the function of the king. This view is reflected in the authoritative *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* in articles on "Geschichtsauffassung" (Wildung 1977b: 560-562), "Geschichtsbild" (Wildung 1977c: 562-564), and "Geschichtsschreibung" (Beckerath 1977b: 566-568). Most recently, E. Hornung states, "Historical inscriptions and images from Egypt do not narrate actual events. Instead they provide entry into a solemn, ritualistic world that contains no chance or random elements. The Egyptians had no historiography as we know it, no objective narrative of the past" (1992: 154).

Others point out the problems in these interpretations, stating that "it is not legitimate to compare ancient Near Eastern history writing to a twentieth century historicist or positivist model" (Younger 1990: 166). Most Egyptologists recognize that the Egyptians had a strong sense of the past (Bull 1955: 3; Björkman 1964). This past was indeed understood as cyclical in nature and not as a linear sequence of events (Wildung 1977c: 563). Furthermore, the Egyptian view of history was intimately tied to the concept of kingship and ideology (Barta 1975; Blumenthal 1978; Baines 1995a). This is evident in the deified nature of the king and his central role in Egyptian military documents. But the historicist presuppositions of these positions are subject to scrutiny. "The Egyptians seemed to be aware of their long history and come to terms with it" (Younger 1990: 167). Indeed, one can concur with Van Seters that "no Near Eastern society was more meticulous in its record keeping as represented in the annals and king-lists, and yet more ideological in its presentation of past events as they centered upon the king" (1983: 129). The concepts of ideology, kingship, and legitimation therefore played a dominant role.

Ideology

Ideology is widely associated with the concept of kingship throughout the ancient Near East (Engnell 1943). In Egypt "kingship is almost always associated with religious values; rulers are often credited with divine power and status as well as divine sanction and support" (Baines 1995a: 3). S. Morenz states, "Strictly speaking the only acceptable subject [of historiography] is the Egyptian sacrosanct ruler, through whom or in relation to whom all essential things happen. . . . To this extent history is written as a dogma of sacrosanct monarchy" (Morenz 1973: 11). This is evident in Egyptian military accounts where the dependence on ideology is strongly present. Often the king is viewed as the "Good god" (*ntr-nfr*) going forth to battle. Ramses II portrays himself with Amun-Re in a cycle of affliction and divine mercy (M. Lichtheim 1976: 65-66; Way 1984). The gods pre-ordain military activity and promise triumph (M. Lichtheim 1976: 35-38; 46-47). Often the strengths ascribed to the king originate directly from the gods who indicate that they are the source of skills and power possessed by the king. In Egyptian iconography the gods are shown with the king as he goes forth in battle. One scene depicts Thutmose IV going forth in his chariot (ca. 1400 B.C. from Thebes, now in Cairo) and protected by Monthu who supports his arms while he shoots at the enemy (Keel 1980: Fig. 357; Cornelius 1995: 18, Fig. 5). In these ways, ideology is strongly associated with the military campaign records of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. But how does the ideological nature of Egyptian military documents affect contributions to historiographic interests? How can ideology be viewed when attempting to reach historical conclusions?

Inquiries regarding the relationship of ideology and historiography are often complex. Yet despite the difficulty to understand the definitions employed for ideology in this regard, it continues to be a major area of focus in studies pertaining to ancient Near Eastern historiography. While numerous definitions for "ideology" exist, Younger (1990: 47-52) suggests that there are essentially three ways to view the role of ideology in ancient military documents (cf. H. M. Johnson 1968: 76-77):

(1) Ideology has been defined as "false consciousness," or, in other words, as the distortion of reality because of society's "false consciousness." In this view humanity cannot understand its role through true consciousness since this is not available to them. Karl

Marx gave prominence to this idea, using "ideology" "for distorted or selected ideas in defense of the *status quo* of a social system (i.e. 'a capitalist ideology')" (Younger 1990: 47; cf. G. Lichtheim 1965: 173).

(2) Ideology is defined as those ideas within a social system that are distorted from a positivist viewpoint. Thus, "ideology consists of selected or distorted ideas about a social system or a class of social systems when these ideas purport to be factual, and also carry a more or less explicit evaluation of 'facts.' This definition is narrow in that ideology consists *only* of those parts or aspects of a system of social ideas which are distorted or unduly selective from a scientific point of view" (H. M. Johnson 1968: 77).

(3) Ideology, as Geertz defines it, is a "schematic image of social order" (Geertz 1964: 63). According to Geertz, ideology in this neutral sense cannot be scientifically defined as distortion or selectivity. Instead, ideology consists of normative and factual elements which are not in themselves distorted through bias (cf. Gould 1964: 315-317).

Each of these definitions differs in its degree of viewing the concept of ideology as a distortion. In regard to the first two definitions, Marx had wide influence particularly on G. Lukács (1923) and K. Mannheim (1936) and the subsequent Frankfurt school of sociology that focused on the ideological basis of all forms of social knowledge (Habermas 1963; 1971; cf. Friedman 1985: 375-376). Mannheim used "ideology" to refer to conservative ideas as distortions (H. M. Johnson 1968: 77). In this view "ideology is by its nature untruthful, since it entails a 'masking' or 'veiling' of unavowed and unperceived motives or 'interests'" (Shils 1968: 73). According to U. Eco, ideology is "a partial and disconnected world vision" producing a "false consciousness" (Eco 1976: 297). As Younger correctly summarizes, "Thus ideology has the unfortunate quality of being psychologically 'deformed' ('warped', 'contaminated', 'falsified', 'distorted', 'clouded') by the pressure of emotions like hate, anxiety or fear" (Younger 1990: 49).

Others have pointed out the problems with this restricted view of ideology. Shils maintains that since all ideologies are complex cognitive patterns containing many presuppositions, ideologists are never truly successful in possessing systematic integration. Thus, true formulations can coexist alongside false ones (Shils 1968: 73). Indeed, D. Apter correctly noted that "ideology is not quite like other subjects. It reflects the presuppositions of its observers" (Apter 1964: 16). With-

out doubt, some distortion continues to exist, but everything is not necessarily distorted because it is ideological. Geertz has shown that many confuse figurative language often used in ideological texts as distortion. Not recognizing or studying carefully the types of figurative language used in ideological discourse (including metaphor, metonymy, analogy, meiosis, synecdoche, oxymoron, and personification), social scientists often dismiss all as "distortion" when in reality much more can be understood from the language of these texts (Geertz 1964: 57). Thus, the semantic structure of ideological texts is much more subtle and complex than appears on the surface. For the purposes of this study, the third, neutral sense for understanding the concept of ideology seems preferable when examining Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties that are rich in metaphor and other semantic patterns. This understanding allows one to come to a more complete meaning of the text as understood from an Egyptian perspective.

Kingship and Legitimation

Ideology in Egyptian literature is closely related to the concepts of kingship and legitimation (Frankfort 1948; Otto 1969; Baines 1995a). Already beginning in the Middle Kingdom, as the ideological foundations for kingship were reformulated, divine authority took precedence over monarchy (Hornung 1973: 188). In order to legitimate his rule, the king demonstrated his election by the gods. Even the powerful Thutmose III does so by proclaiming an oracular pronouncement of the god Amun and ascribes his victories to him (*Urk* IV:610,23-619,25). Amenhotep II asserts that "he himself [Amun-Re] caused him to appear as King upon the throne of the living. . . . He bestowed upon him a heritage forever, a kingship for all time" (*Urk* IV:1276,17-21). According to Hornung, it is this unique relationship that eventually culminates in the "theocracy" of the XXI Dynasty (Hornung 1973: 188; cf. Radwan 1985).

Fundamental also to the king's standing in society and the cosmos was the concept of *ms't*, "truth, justice, order" (Volten 1963; Jankuhn 1973; Assmann 1990; Hornung 1992: 131-145). The idea of *ms't* "encompasses both the harmonious cooperation which was projected as a social ideal and the constant struggle to maintain the cosmos against the forces that threaten it" (Baines 1995a: 12). Egyptian military activity may be viewed as an attempt to maintain this cosmos.

The king is often referred to as the "protector of Egypt" (*Urk* IV:1276-1283; *KRI* II:151,6-7; *KRI* IV:17,2-4). In Egyptian military commemorative reliefs the king is also often depicted alone pursuing his enemies by chariot, smiting his enemies (E. S. Hall 1986), or presenting prisoners to the gods. He is clearly shown in larger scale than his enemies and other warriors depicted in scenes (Baines 1995a: 10). In the Battle of Kadesh, the king alone is depicted as defeating the Hittites as his own forces retreat and leave him standing alone (Goedicke 1985b; Ockinga 1987).

Thus Egyptian ideology, the concept of kingship, and legitimation are closely associated with one another. They are part of Egyptian consciousness and as a result inherently depicted in its commemorative texts, reliefs, and other textual sources relating to Egyptian military activity. Textual analysis of these accounts must not overlook the propagandistic nature inherent in texts employed for these purposes (Williams 1964; Bleiberg 1985-86). E. Bleiberg studied the historical texts of the New Kingdom as political propaganda and concluded that "all of the propaganda was aimed at securing the perception that the reigning king was in fact legitimate" (Bleiberg 1985-86: 12). But simply to conclude, as Hornung does, that these inscriptions "do not narrate actual events" fails to go beyond questions of historicity. New literary approaches that focus instead on a "close reading" of the texts themselves (Barthes 1971: 49) put aside the dilemma of historical veracity or reliability (at least temporarily) and shift attention to the texts themselves (Younger 1990: 56). Thus, records of the past, in this case Egyptian military accounts, can be studied within their own context and frame of reference (together with elements of ideology, kingship, and legitimation; Liverani 1973; 1990). The *Egyptian* perspective of events in the past as they related to their worldview is the purpose of such study (Galán 1995). Modern Egyptological studies in this direction include the lexicographic and contextual analysis of ancient Egyptian texts.

Intended Audience

After establishing that Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs must be understood within the concepts of ideology, kingship and legitimation, one may move a step further and inquire what the intended audience of such discourse might have been. If these texts were meant as propaganda for legitimizing the king, what would have been their

effect on the common people of that day? Who would have read them or seen them? J. Baines (1983) and Baines and Eyre (1983) maintain that during the Old Kingdom only 1% of the population (ca. 1 million; cf. Wentz 1995: 2214) were literate. The literati of Egypt consisted of those administrators who had inscribed tombs (Baines and Eyre 1983: 67). This extensive study states at the outset that these estimates "are scarcely more than informed guesses" (Baines and Eyre 1983: 65). More recently Lesko (1990) argues that one must define literacy more accurately than previous attempts; there are several levels of literacy that must be considered. He points out that even in society today many "who can read newspapers and magazines are not able to write or construct a proper sentence much less a paragraph" (Lesko 1990: 658). Lesko then distinguishes between true authors and the scribes who handled some of the correspondence between individuals. He also maintains that many individuals could make out cartouches of reigning kings, as well as ancestors and probably some gods and local officials. Although the percentage remains small, Lesko maintains that there was a much larger group that had some degree of literacy just as there are today in society, although he admits that many would not have been creative writers or authors.

During the New Kingdom it is most important also to take into account the commemorative reliefs that accompanied texts. The iconography of ancient Egypt provided a direct mode of communicating aspects of ideology and legitimacy to the king who was represented in grand scale together with the gods and going forth in battle (Gaballa 1976). Together the textual material and reliefs served the purpose of communicating their intended message to both literate and illiterate during the New Kingdom, giving them a sense of the military prowess of their king, his victory over foreign lands, and ultimately his protection of Egypt.

Textual Sources in New Kingdom Egypt

The task of categorizing texts into various genres of history writing has made a major impact on Egyptological studies in recent years. As early as the 1930s, A. Hermann devoted a study on the genre of *Königsnovelle* (1938). He was followed by S. Herrmann who also devoted two articles to the subject (1953-54; 1985; but see Redford

1985 and Jansen-Winkel 1993).² W. Helck (1956) provided a detailed study of the king-lists. A recent monograph by D. B. Redford (1986b) investigates king-list, annal, and day-book genres. In the same volume Redford also addresses the Egyptian view of history. Van Seters, in his seminal work on ancient Near Eastern historiography (1983), employs literary genre analysis as a major methodology to determine which ancient texts can be considered "history." Finally, A. J. Spalinger provided an important study, entitled *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (1983b), where he analyzes the campaign accounts of the New Kingdom.

Thus many scholars have maintained that genre analysis is imperative to identify history writing. Some, like Van Seters, believe that if one is able to determine which genre is employed, then the correct interpretation will follow. But current criticisms of genre analysis bring into question this essentialist categorization of textual documents (Gerhart 1977; Derrida 1980; Ralph Cohen 1986). Accordingly, Van Seters's approach, in following the Dutch historian J. Huizinga, has been called tautological. "For Van Seters the question of genre is the key issue. Genre determines what is history, but the definition of history determines what is history's genre" (Younger 1990: 27). Instead, it must be recognized that "genres are open categories. Each member alters the genre by adding, contradicting or changing constituents, especially those of members most closely related to it. Since the purposes of critics who establish genres vary, it is self-evident that the same texts can belong to different groupings or genres and serve different generic purposes" (Ralph Cohen 1986: 204; cf. LaCapra 1986: 221). Thus, genre analysis must be open to a variety of interpretations and possibilities.

For the purposes of this study Egyptian military records as a whole will be analyzed as one genre. Spalinger (1983b) establishes categories within this corpus of material. This work is of great value to scholars because of its results in defining general features and connec-

² This genre was questioned by Helck (1969: 288) and Spalinger (1983b) who believe that the *Königsnovelle* must be divided further morphologically. Spalinger maintains that there are several types of texts utilizing this form (including building inscriptions, expeditions, and other occupations of the king). Thus, according to Spalinger, this form is not restricted to military usage. Van Seters (1983: 160-172) also discusses the unrestrictive nature of the *Königsnovelle*, stating "the genre allows for excessive variation and flexibility in form and content" (1983: 161). In the end there is little agreement over the confines of this genre (see discussion in Jansen-Winkel 1993).

tions within the texts that are examined (Cifola 1991: 10). He distinguishes between texts beginning with the *iw.tw* formula (Spalinger 1983b: 1-33), the *Königsnovelle* (1983b: 101-113), daybook reports (1983b: 120-173), and literary reports (1983b: 193-221). This study will follow his organization and indicate the vocabulary taken from these genres. Because this study is concerned with a lexicographical and contextual study of military terminology, the focus will differ. Nevertheless, Spalinger's categories are important for understanding the background to these texts.

iw.tw Formula Reports

The *iw.tw* formula, translated, "He came . . .," is a manner of address where a messenger arrives to report the information and results of a campaign to the king. Most often these types of text indicate that the king was not present leading out the campaign (Spalinger 1983b: 120). This genre of military document was developed by scribes to record military activity of the king briefly and within set formulations that did not allow much freedom of expression or introduction of unique information. It was recorded on stelae and it was not long before this genre "became rather bland and stereotyped" (Spalinger 1983b: 1). The first instance of this type of account was found on the Assuan Philae Inscription of Thutmose II and subsequently occurs throughout the New Kingdom down to the fourth century B.C., where it deteriorates and eventually goes out of use. Although Grapow (1936: 23-24) was the first to point out this formula, Spalinger insists on viewing the *iw.tw* formula within its present form in New Kingdom texts rather than tracing their development from Middle Kingdom formulations. The *iw.tw* formula inscriptions that are part of the present study and belong to the XIXth and XXth Dynasties are listed below according to the order of the reigns in which they occur (see Table 1).

Daybook Reports

Both Grapow (1949) and Noth (1943: 156-174) noticed in their analysis of the "Annals" of Thutmose III that a specific literary form was employed which they called the "Daybook Style" (*Tagebuchstil*; Wilson 1969a; cf. Redford 1986b). This form consisted of a series of bare infinitives listed without a subject. It was hypothesized that be-

SETI I

TEXT	LOCATION	REFERENCES
Northern Wars	Karnak, Hypostyle Hall	<i>KRI</i> I:6,15-11,7 Kitchen (1993a)
First Beth-Shan Stela, Yr. 1	Beth Shan	<i>KRI</i> I:11,11-12,14 Kitchen (1993a: 9-10)
Second Beth-Shan Stela	Beth Shan	<i>KRI</i> I:16,1-16,15 Kitchen (1993a: 12-13)
Stela of Nubian War, Yr. 4	Amara West Sai	<i>KRI</i> I:102,6-104,9 Kitchen (1993a)

RAMSES II

Poem, Battle of Kadesh	Karnak ^{1,2} Luxor ^{1,2} Ramesseum	<i>KRI</i> II:2-101 Wilson (1927: 266-77) Gardiner (1960: 7-14) Kitchen (1996: 2-14)
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MERENPTAH

Nubian War Stelae	Amada Wadi es-Sebua ^c Amara West	<i>KRI</i> IV:1,5-2,7 <i>Le Temple d'Amada</i> , Pls. IV, V, VI, VI bis
Libyan War Inscription	Karnak	<i>KRI</i> IV:2,12-12,6 Breasted (<i>ARE</i> : 3.240)

Table 1. *iw.tw* texts

hind this form lay day-to-day accounts of the king's progress in his campaigns (Osing 1980; Spalinger 1983b: 122). It is clear that the king himself led these campaigns. The Egyptian scribes wrote the events of the day and the activities of the king down on leather rolls (in hieratic; *Urk* IV: 662,5-6). Traces of the daybook accounts can be found throughout Egyptian literature (Grapow 1949: 51-52; cf. Spalinger 1983b: 123). During the XIXth and XXth Dynasties this literary form appears only in the *Poem* and *Bulletin* of the Battle of Kadesh during the reign of Ramses II (Spalinger 1983b: 127).

Literary Reports

In most cases the Egyptians incorporated a variety of methods and styles when writing their war records. As was previously stated, in most cases the shorter campaigns were recorded in the *iw.tw* mold. Those campaigns in which the king personally took part were narrated with the daybook as the core (Spalinger 1983b: 193). However, numerous accounts cannot be strictly categorized and employ a variety of formulations and patterns that are unique. It is important to note the differences in these accounts. The Merenptah Stela (also called "Israel" Stela) has usually been described as a hymn of victory (Breasted *ARE*: 3.265) or a hymn of triumph (Wilson 1969b: 376). Bresciani (1969) argued that only the concluding strophes can be labeled poetic. At the same time M. Lichtheim (1976:73) regarded the entire composition as epic poetry. More recently, some scholars have attempted to analyze the structure of the stela (Fecht 1983) as others continue to focus on the final concluding verses (cf. Hasel 1994). Because of the interest, not only of this report, but others that are referred to as poetic accounts, the poetic and prose usage in Egyptian military accounts deserves further attention.

Literary studies indicate that while the Egyptian language had no words for "poetry" or "prose," meter was a feature widely present in the elevated language of ancient Egypt (Fecht 1964; 1965; 1983; 1993: 69; Mathieu 1994). After providing an overview of the possible types of meter, Fecht concludes that "it is evident that for Egyptian only a 'stress-based, cola-counting' primary metre is acceptable as basic" (1993: 79). Others have recognized verse structure as well in varying degrees (Assmann 1975; 1982; Osing 1976; Shirun-Grumach 1977; Foster 1977; 1980; 1988; Burkard 1983). Recently, M. Lichtheim (1971-72) recognized the cola as a possible "unit of meaning," but does not accept higher units such as *Parallelismus membrorum* in its variations. Instead, she argues that middle-age poetry is based on the syntax of the clause that cannot be divided into two lines. Furthermore, there is a distinct difference in her view between prose and poetry, whereas Fecht sees this distinction as less pronounced (Brunner 1982: 121). It is clear, however, that *Parallelismus membrorum* continues to be seen as a major element in Egyptian and other ancient Near Eastern literatures (Assmann 1982).³ For the purposes of this

³ *Parallelismus membrorum* is a poetic form in which two lines are set in parallel to one another in various ways (Assmann 1982: 900). The term was introduced in the

study it may be noted that poetic forms and meter are characteristic in Egyptian military accounts and can influence the understanding of these texts.

Summary

This brief overview of some of the elements present in Egyptian literature of the New Kingdom indicates the variety and complexity of these military accounts. Ideology is evident in the permission and blessings sought by the kings before engaging in military campaigns as well as the location of military texts and reliefs on the walls of temples. The idea of kingship as a divine institution depicting the king as protector of Egypt is also a key element. Conversely, the king, as he goes out to defend and conquer other lands, legitimizes himself as protector and rightful Pharaoh of the land. In this way ideology, kingship, and legitimation are closely bound together as mutual elements of Egyptian military narrative. It is imperative that historiographic investigation begin with these elements as a basis in order to comprehend the Egyptian concept and meaning of military activity as they were understood by the scribes and literati of Egypt. This will enable a proper understanding of Egyptian conceptions before a comparison between historical and archaeological evidence for both Egyptian presence in Syria-Palestine and military activity is conducted to enhance the perspective and provide balance to the reconstruction of military activity in the southern Levant.

TERMINOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Recent lexical analyses are often complex and extensive, dealing with a large corpus of textual material over an extended period of time. Thus, D. Lorton's (1974a) study of juridical terminology surveyed the Egyptian conceptualization of international relations from the beginning of the historical period to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Others examined terminology related to kingship (Blumenthal 1978; Grimal 1986)

middle eighteenth century by Lowth (1753). Among the numerous types of parallelisms that occur in Egyptian, three semantic types have been defined and include (1) synonymous P.m.; (2) antithetic P.m.; and (3) synthetic P.m. Other types of P.m. exist as is evident from ancient Near Eastern languages such as Hebrew (Geller 1979; Kugel 1981; Alter 1985; Berlin 1992; W.G.E. Watson 1984: 114-159; 1994) and Ugaritic (Rosenthal 1939; Dahood 1972; S. Parker 1974; Craigie 1979; Segert 1979; 1983).

and military activity (Lorton 1974b; Morschauser 1988; Hoffmeier 1989; Galán 1995). Few studies with such breadth, however, were able to provide detailed investigations of a specific period or reign (but see Cifola 1991) and none have attempted a detailed analysis of all the military terminology of the XIXth Dynasty.

The monumental military inscriptions of ancient Egypt that were recorded on temples were accompanied by corresponding representations of the king going forth and returning from battle. According to G. A. Gaballa (1976), many of the scenes, particularly from the New Kingdom, were employed to express narrative, that is, they were intended by the artist to communicate the story or parts of the story recorded by the scribes. Two forms of narrative art are found in Egypt. In the first method the artist illustrates the most significant moment to convey the entire story, the "culminating scene" (Perkins 1957: 55). This more allusive form of communication is found primarily in the prehistoric periods (Gaballa 1976). The second method of artistic expression was the "multiple-scene narration" (Moscati 1963) and depicted shared, progressive episodes of the story. This became the most favored method during the historic periods.

According to Gaballa (1976), before the Amarna period, few detailed representations showing the king in the battlefield existed. These were documented only in inscriptions. The single, culminating scene of the king smiting his enemy was sufficient to establish his credibility. The new concepts advanced during the Amarna period had a damaging effect on the position and stature of the Egyptian kingship. The artists still depicted the king as divine, but also portrayed his human elements and features in daily life. The ultimate result was the demotion of the concept of kingship. It is only with Horemhab, the successor to the Amarna period, that the first war scenes involving the king emerge. Now the idea of the king taking an active part in the battlefield in deified form served to reestablish his authority and the prestige of kingship once again. This was accomplished in both written and pictorial narrative depictions.

I. Cornelius recently stated, "The textual sources which describe 'divine war' should be studied in comparison with the visual sources. The second type sometimes provides additional and independent information not contained in the texts" (1995: 24). For this reason the narrative depictions are of crucial interest to this investigation, for they mirror and augment in a pictorial way events that are described by accompanying texts.

In this section, a lexicographical and contextual analysis of Egyptian military terminology and iconography is conducted on the surviving military accounts of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah for the first time. This study is largely concerned with the battles and their perceived effects on the population and its possessions (including cities, camps, fields, orchards, and material culture). The results of this analysis are organized in sections with terms appearing in the following categories: Battle; Enemy Defeat; Annihilation; Submission/Tribute/Gifts; Military Activity on Crops/Orchards/Trees; and Conflagration. Moreover, the investigation of specific terms is divided into Lexicographical meanings; Occurrences and context in Egyptian military documents; and Iconography. The information is provided in summaries with examples of the usage of each of these terms and the actions depicted in the reliefs.⁴

Battle

The battle itself is described with terms that are often associated directly with the king as epithets. The characterizations are often stereotyped and generalized reflecting the king as the subject of action. His qualities of "strength" (*phy*) and "heat" (*hh*) cause the enemy to be conquered by Egypt and more importantly by the king. Only a few words and expressions typically refer to the military encounter itself. Most of the terminology pointing to the destructive effects of military action is stated in the passive form in describing the enemy's defeat.

w'w'

Lexicography. This term is defined as "(einen Feind) im Kampf niedermachen" (*Wb* I: 280); "to kill, to slaughter, to massacre, butcher, to mow down" (*DLE* I: 107).

Occurrences and Context. The finite verb *w'w'* is not found in the military documents of Seti I or Merenptah. It appears only twice in the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (*KRI* II:52,9; II:69,15) and once in

⁴ Terminology that appears in both XIXth and XXth Dynasty contexts will be evaluated in a comparative manner. However, due to spatial restraints, terms occurring only in the inscriptions of Ramses III will not be analyzed in this chapter since this study focuses primarily on the XIXth Dynasty. The reader is referred to the contextual studies already conducted on the terminology of Ramses III (Cifola 1988; 1991).

the *Reliefs* at Karnak during the reign of Ramses II (*KRI* II:135,8). During the reign of Ramses III it is employed six times (*KRI* V:24,12; V:33,6; V:43,10; V:43,15; V:50,4; V:64,9).

The contextual usage during the reign of Ramses II indicates that *w'w'* is an action attributed to the king himself. He "slaughters" his enemies (*KRI* II:52,9; II:69,15; II:135,8). This act of slaughtering those rebellious against Egypt reiterates the power of the king over his enemies. Cifola (1991: 29) has correctly indicated that this is also the case in the inscriptions of Ramses III where the king is often figuratively described as a wild animal (*KRI* II:69,15; *KRI* V:64,9).

Enemy Defeat

The destructive results of the "king's action" are described in Egyptian military documents as accomplished acts. Verbs are most common in the passive form and express effectively the consequences of military activity on the defeated enemy. Often these expressions and terms are grouped together in a list that describes the condition of the peoples, lands, and entities of the subjugated enemy.

w'f

Lexicography. The finite verb *w'f* is defined as "eine Person niederdrücken: (den Starken, Ungehorsamen u.ä.) bändigen 6. Zumeist vom Niederzwingen der Feinde und der feindlichen Länder" (*Wb* I: 285); "subdue nations" (Faulkner 1962: 54); "to crush, to subdue, to curb, to bind" (*DLE* I: 108).

Occurrences and Context. The term *w'f* appears eight times in the military inscriptions of Seti I: in the inscription of his campaign against the Libyans (1, *KRI* I:21,2); on the rock stela from Kanais (1, *KRI* I:72,8); on a monument at Qantara (2, *KRI* I:107,4; I:107,9); on the Flaminian Obelisk from Heliopolis (1, *KRI* I:118,7); and at Abydos (3, *KRI* I:110,7; I:126,13; I:199,5). It appears thirty-six times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: on a stela from Byblos (1, *KRI* II:224,6); on rhetorical stelae at Abydos (3, *KRI* II:309,2; II:309,12; II:310,6); at Abu Simbel (2, *KRI* II:317,1; II:317,2); at Buhen (1, *KRI* II:321,13); at Giza (3, *KRI* II:337,4; II:338,3; II:338,10); at Serâbit el-Khâdim (2, *KRI* II:339,5; II:339,13); at Aswan (1, *KRI* II:344,10); at Qantara (1, *KRI* II:403,3); on obelisks (VI, XXII, XXIII, XXVI) from Tanis (4, *KRI* II:415,14; II:427,3; II:427,10; II:428,4); on pillars

at Tanis (3, *KRI* II:438,15; II:441,12; II:446,4); on a dorsal pillar at Mendes in the Eastern Delta (1, *KRI* II:464,15); on a granite lion statue (1, *KRI* II:467,10; British Museum 857); on a fragment from Kom Firm (1, *KRI* II:472,14); on the Flaminian Obelisk from Heliopolis (1, *KRI* II:476,10); on the Companion Obelisk from Heliopolis (1, *KRI* II:481,3); on a reused block from Cairo (1, *KRI* II:484,15); on statues from Memphis (2; *KRI* II:495,3; II:497,8); and on the temple at Abydos (2; *KRI* II:509,9; II:513,7; II:514,3-4; II:515,3). It is copied three times from earlier inscriptions of Seti I (3, *KRI* I:83,3; I:83,5; I:84,14). The term is not used in the inscriptions of Merenptah, but appears three times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (3, *KRI* I:84,6; I:84,9; I:84,5; all copies from the earlier inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II).

The context of the term is almost exclusively an epithet of the king, describing him as the "subduer/binder (*wf*) of the foreign lands" (*KRI* I:21,1; I:107,4; *KRI* II:309,2; II:309,12; II:310,6; II:317,1; II:317,2; II:344,10; II:415,14). A variation is that he is "subduer/binder (*wf*) of the Nine Bows" (*KRI* I:110,7; I:126,13). This rhetorical epithet communicates the commanding status of the king *vis-à-vis* the surrounding nations.

phd

Lexicography. The finite verb *phd* is defined as "II. niedergeworfen sein, sich niederwerfen (von den besieigten Feinden) 10; III. (die Feinde) niederwerfen [transitiv] 11" (*Wb* I: 544); "var. of *pshd*, be turned upside down" (Faulkner 1962: 93); "to cast down, to make prostrate, to turn upside down, to overturn" (*DLE* I: 180).

Occurrences and Context. The term *phd* does not occur in the campaign records of Seti I but does appear once in the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh in the inscriptions of Ramses II (1, *KRI* II:89,6-8) and again in the Merenptah Stela (1, *KRI* IV:19,3-4). It also occurs twelve times as a transitive verb in the military documents of Ramses III (*KRI* V:23,8; V:35,12; V:61,12; V:63,1; V:63,5; V:69,13; V:70,9; V:70,15; V:71,9; V:73,12; V:93,12; V:97,11).

The contextual setting of this term indicates that it was employed most often in a generic manner to describe the situation of the people after the battle. In this context the king himself was the one who caused them to be "cast down," *phd*, out of defeat, submission, or fear of his valor and strength (*KRI* IV:19,3-4; *KRI* V:69,13; V:71,9). They

are made *phd* under his feet out of humility (*KRI* V:97,11). In one case (*KRI* II:89,6-8) it also describes the condition of the enemy after they have been killed "lying stretched out" on the field of battle.

Iconography. There is no direct iconography associated with the textual sources, but it is possible to picture this description in the numerous depictions of the enemy strewn on the battlefield before the advancing king. They are indeed cast down as the king rides forward and tramples them beneath the feet of his advancing horses and chariot (see *ptpt*, 32-33; and *titi*, 62).

ptpt

Lexicography. The finite verb *ptpt* is defined as "mit Objekt der Feinde: sie niedertreten, sie niederschlagen" (*Wb* I: 563); "trample enemies—also written as bull trampling prostrate foe" (Faulkner 1962: 96); "to trample, to crush, to tread, to smite" (*DLE* I: 185).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ptpt* is employed extensively in the military inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. During the reign of Seti I it is found seventeen times: in the First Beth Shan Stela (1, *KRI* I:12,4). It is found eleven times on the east and west registers of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: in his campaign against Yeno'am and Lebanon (1, *KRI* I:13,14); against the Hittites (3, *KRI* I:18,5; I:18,15; I:19,10); against the Libyans (4, *KRI* I:20,16; I:21,5; I:21,11; I:21,12); against Kadesh and Amurru (1, *KRI* I:24,12); in topographical lists (2, *KRI* I:26,1; I:29,15); and once in a topographical list at Kanais (*KRI* I:36,7). It occurs at East Silsila (2, *KRI* I:60,2; I:80,10); Qasr Ibrîm (2, *KRI* I:98,16; I:99,7); and on the stela of his Nubian War, Year 4 at Sai (1, *KRI* I:103,10). The term occurs forty-four times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: in the undated war scenes and topographical lists at Karnak (11, *KRI* II:154,5; II:155,14; II:156,2; II:157,10; II:157,14; II:157,15; II:158,13; II:160,6; II:162,9; II:167,11; II:170,13); Luxor (2, *KRI* II:180,13; II:188,2), and Abydos (1, *KRI* II:195,11). It occurs at Beit el-Wâli in the undated Syrian and Libyan scenes (1, *KRI* II:195,11) and in the Triumph-Scenes (2, *KRI* II:199,14; II:200,2); in the Gerf Husein Temple Triumph Scenes (1, *KRI* II:200,10); at Wadi es-Sebua' (2, *KRI* II:201,1; II:201,13), at Derr (1, *KRI* II:202,10); at Aksha (3, *KRI* II:210,5; II:212,7; II:212,9); at Amara West (3, *KRI* II:214,6; II:214,9; II:220,5); Tanis (8, *KRI* II:289,5; II:289,10; II:291,7; II:291,8; II:294,10; II:300,1; II:407,16; II:409,16); Bubastis (1, *KRI* II:306,7); Wadi Sannûr (1, *KRI* II:308,8);

Abu Simbel (5, *KRI* II:314,5; II:317,7; II:317,8; II:318,3; II:318,4); and Aswan (2, *KRI* II:344,6; II:344,15). *Ptpt* appears thirty-one times in the military documents of Ramses III (*KRI* V:9,15; V:20,15; V:28,13; V:30,5; V:32,13; V:33,12; V:40,12; V:43,14; V:49,15; V:59,12; V:67,8; V:69,2; V:70,8; V:80,1; V:84,15; V:87,8; V:91,11; V:92,10; V:93,13; V:96,15; V:96,15; V:101,13; V:101,15; V:105,4; *MH* II:120A,8; II:120B,7; II:120C,8; II:121B,3; II:121C,4; II:121C,7; II:122B,7).

This term is often used as an epithet of the king (*Wb* I: 563). It is the king who crushes "every country" (*ts nb*), tramples the "chiefs" (*wr*; *KRI* I:21,12), the "foreign lands" (*h3swt*; *KRI* I:20,16; *KRI* II:157,11), the "Nine Bows" (*pd-t-psdt*; *KRI* I:21,11; *KRI* II:156,2; *KRI* V:33,12), and various peoples (*KRI* I:18,5; *KRI* V:20,15) under his feet. It is important to note that this verb is also used twice to portray the destruction of "settlements" or "villages" (*dmi*; *KRI* I:24,12; *KRI* V:9,15).

The general nature of this term makes it difficult to determine the concrete nature of what is meant by "trampling." The usage of *Parallelismus membrorum* makes it possible in some instances to define further what the Egyptian perception was. For example, at Karnak Seti I is said to be he who "makes them [prostra]te, who tramples down (*ptpt*) their settlements (*dmi*), [and devas]tates (*sksk*) [their] villages (*wht*) [upon] his paths." In this instance two clauses are placed in parallel indicating the same action. Two verbs (possibly synonymous)⁵ are used to describe the effect of military activity (*ptpt* and *sksk*), while the two objects indicate what is "crushed" and "destroyed" (see *sksk*, 57-59). This allows the more definite conclusion, in this case at least, that destructive activity took place against settlements and/or villages during this particular campaign of Seti I. In the inscriptions of Ramses III, it is often Amun-Re who gives the king a sword and commands him to go out and *ptpt* the chiefs or specific lands. Other instances point to the stereotypical usage of this term to describe the victorious strength of the king who "tramples" his enemies, and especially the chiefs, subjugating them.

Iconography. The iconographic evidence provides more insight into the meaning of *ptpt*. In the undated war scenes of Ramses II at Karnak, the king is shown with drawn bow against a Syrian city. He

⁵ The synonymous nature of *ptpt* and *sksk* may be attested in other contexts where these terms are found in parallel (*KRI* I:19,10; *KRI* II:180,13; *KRI* V:49,15).

stands on a supine Asiatic soldier with his foot upon the enemy's head (Figure 1). The accompanying text reads, *ptpt t3 Rtnw . . . wr.sn*, "Trampled is the land of Retenu . . . [with] their chiefs" (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a). Here a direct parallel between the text and the relief is drawn by the artist and scribe. In this case the action of *ptpt* taken against this particular city is represented by the king trampling the chief(?). The same action of this king trampling his enemies under his feet as well as his horses and chariot is seen frequently (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 45, 50, 53, 55, 55a, 54, 57, 66; see *titi*, 62).

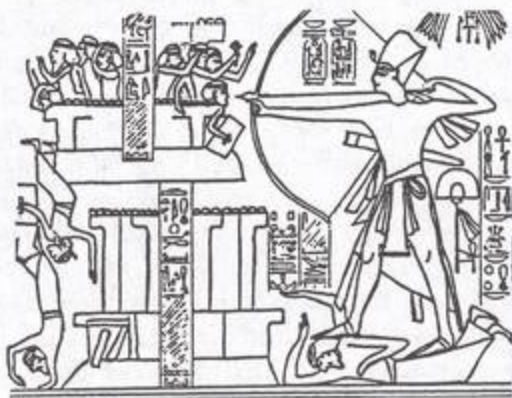


Figure 1, Ramses II trampling on the head of an enemy
(Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a)

ft

Lexicography. The finite verb *ft* is defined as "etw. zerstören, zu Grunde richten. Besonders im Kriege: ein Land und seine Bewohner zu Grunde richten; zu Grunde gehen 11. Auch von verfallenden Mauern 12" (*Wb* I: 578); "to loose, release; loosen; cast off, get rid of; destroy, obliterate" (Faulkner 1962: 98); "to slay, to destroy, to desolate, to dismantle, to devastate, to ruin, to crumble, to break into, to annihilate, to be neglectful" (*DLE* I: 191).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ft* is found once in the military documents of Seti I (*KRI* I:102,11) and thirteen times during the reign of Ramses II: on various copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (2, *KRI* II:20,1-5; II:76,7); in the texts accompanying the *Reliefs* (1, *KRI* II:142,3); at Luxor (1, *KRI* II: 180,14); Tanis (3, *KRI*

II:289,14; II:409,1; II:409,14); Gebel Shaluf (1, *KRI* II:302,16); Abu Simbel (2, *KRI* II:318,15; II:318,16); Aswan (2, *KRI* II:344,15; II:345,3); and on a fragment from Bubastis (1, *KRI* II:465,7). It also occurs seventeen times during the reign of Ramses III (*KRI* V:40,1; V:42,8; V:44,2; V:45,13; V:46,2; V:46,3; V:49,14; V:58,7; V:58,12; V:60,7; V:62,15; V:63,9; V:65,8; V:73,11; V:79,4; V:113,2).

During the XIXth Dynasty *ḥt* is found in context with the destruction of "rebellious seed" (*KRI* I:102,11); the land of Ḥatti and other foreign lands (*KRI* II:76,7; II:409,1; II:409,14; II:465,7). This general usage is reflective of other language during this period. Once again it is the king who "destroys." During the time of Ramses III the contextual setting changes to incorporate a wider semantic domain. Although many usages remain similar, *ḥt* is now also employed to describe the destruction of towns (*nḥwt*; *KRI* V:42,8; *KRI* V:60,7; *KRI* V:79,4). For example, "Devastated (*kḥ*) and desolated (*ḥt*) were their towns (*nḥwt*); non-existent was their seed (*pri*)" (*KRI* V:60,7). In this clause, two words (*kḥ* and *ḥt*) are used to describe the actions of the Meshwesh. The word *kḥ* means "to plunder, to take captive." This phrase seems to indicate then that the towns were first "plundered" and then also "desolated" or "destroyed." The cause of destruction may be inferred from the previous phrase "having fallen upon the Tehenu, who were made ashes." In this instance the Tehenu themselves are made ashes as their towns are plundered and then destroyed by fire. This action of the Meshwesh (a Libyan socioethnic group) against the Tehenu must not be interpreted as Egyptian military activity, but it provides a further contextual understanding of the verb *ḥt* as it is used in Egyptian military documents.

Iconography. For the military actions against cities and towns, see *ḥt*, 44-52.

mḥ

Lexicography. The finite verb *mḥ* is defined as "II. ohne *m* (der jüngere Gebrauch) jem. 14 (etw. 15) fassen, packen; eine Stadt erobern 16" (*Wb* II: 119); "[2] etw. packen, sich eine Sache bemächtigen (mit *m*), *m mḥ* gefangen" (Erman and Grapow 1921: 68); "seize, lay hold of, capture" (Faulkner 1962: 113); "to hold fast, to grasp, to seize" (*DLE* I: 231).

Occurrences and Context. The term *mḥ* occurs once in the reliefs of Seti I in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak on the register that

contains the record of his campaign against the Libyans (*KRI* I:21,1). It occurs one time during the reign of Ramses II (*KRI* II:228,2) and once in the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5). It is employed seven times in the military inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:26,4; V:26,12; V:43,12; V:69,12; V:70,8; V:70,12; V:101,12; V:113,2).

During the time of Seti I *mḥ* refers to the king who "seizes (*mḥ*) in every foreign land" (*KRI* I:21,1). Here, as in the time of Ramses III, the king is compared with Montu. Later in the Merenptah Stela it is stated that the city of "Gezer has been seized (*mḥ*)" (*KRI* IV:19,5). From the context the usage of the term seems to mean that Gezer was "captured." Although the terminology in the Merenptah Stela does not preclude the destruction of the city, it also does not provide "destruction" as a meaning that can be associated with *mḥ* (see Weinstein 1991). Moreover, in the titulary of Merenptah at Amada, the king is described again as the "plunderer (*ḥf*) of Gezer."⁶ This reinforces the Egyptian perception of actions taken at this site. The term *ḥf* has a number of extended meanings (see 41-44) but most often signifies the "plundering" of a city. Thus, while the Egyptian terminology during the reign of Merenptah leaves open the possibility of the destruction of Gezer, it implies consistently a "seizing" and "plundering" of that city.

During the reign of Ramses III *mḥ* is found typically as a stereotypical epithet of the king who is often depicted as Montu (*KRI* V:113,2), or predatory animals such as falcons (*KRI* V:26,12; *KRI* V:43,12; *KRI* V:69,12), lions (*KRI* V:70,12), or panthers (*KRI* V:26,4; cf. Cifola 1991: 29) who "seize upon" their prey.

Iconography. For the reliefs during the reign of Ramses II depicting plundering and capturing, see *ḥf*, 44-52.

nwh

Lexicography. The finite verb *nwh* is defined as "fesseln, binden 14; mit *n* den Bösen an den Pfahl binden 15" (*Wb* II: 223); "bind enemies" (Faulkner 1962: 128); "to bind, to bandage" (*DLE* II: 12).

⁶ Some scholars have translated *ḥf* here as "conqueror" (Gauthier 1913; erny 1959); "binder" (Breasted *ARE*: 3.259; Kitchen 1966b: 60); "subduer" (Yurco 1986: 27) and "defeater" (Redford 1986a: 197). All of these terms signify that *ḥf* does not necessarily imply destruction but refers instead to the subjugation of the city of Gezer.

Occurrences and Context. The term *mwḥ* is used only twice during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears in a triumph scene and topographical list of Seti I at Karnak (*KRI* I:26,13) and in a topographical list of Ramses III (*KRI* V:97,8).

In both cases where it occurs it is Amun-Re Harakhty who claims to "bind," *mwḥ*, the enemies for the king so that they are united in his grasp. This again implies the close relationship between divine approval of military activity and the importance of ideological legitimation of the activities of the crown.

Iconography. The reliefs accompanying the textual account depict the king grasping his enemies in one hand as they kneel before him with hands raised in submission (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 53a). Amun stands before the king handing him a sickle sword, thus providing the means for the king to carry out his actions against the bound enemy (see *ḥwi*, 37).

ḥwi

Lexicography. The finite verb *ḥwi* is defined as "Tätigkeit einer Person; auch von der Keule u.ä., die den Feind schlägt 1; Insbesondere: b) feindliche Wesen schlagen (fremde Völker 8, die Feinde 9; auch Feindliche Götter u.ä. 10)" (*Wb* III: 46); "beat, strike, smite" (Faulkner 1962: 165); "to strike, to smite, to clap, to beat, to tresh, to repress" (*DLE* II: 100).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ḥwi* is often employed in Late New Kingdom military records. It was written ten times in the inscriptions of Seti I: at Karnak on the register of the Hypostyle Hall depicting his battle against the Hittites (1, *KRI* I:19,2) and the Libyans (2, *KRI* I:21,7; I:21,11); on the topographical lists at Karnak (4, *KRI* I:26,2; I:27,5; I:29,13; I:30,1); on the Alabaster Stela (1, *KRI* I:39,6); on the Great Dedicatory Inscription at Speos Artemidos (1, *KRI* I:42,13); and on the rock-stela at Qasr Ibrîm (1, *KRI* I:98,15). It appears eighteen times during the reign of Ramses II: in two versions of the *Bulletin* of the Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:134,6-9); in undated war scenes at Karnak (3, *KRI* II:155,5; II:165,12; II:168,14); at Abydos (1, *KRI* II:191,12); at Beit el-Wâli (1, *KRI* II:198,13); at the Gerf Husein Temple in Wadi es-Sebua^c (1, *KRI* II:201,15); at the temple in Aksha (1, *KRI* II:210,15); at the temple at Amara West (1, *KRI* II:212,11); on various rhetorical stelae from Tanis (3, *KRI* II:291,1; II:291,5; II:294,12); Stela II from Bubastis (1, *KRI* II:306,5);

Tell el-Maskhuta fragment (1, *KRI* II:405,2); and obelisks from Tanis (2, *KRI* II:408,14; II:413,9); and twenty times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:10,12; V:16,9; V:17,7; V:21,8; V:23,8; V:26,6; V:26,12; V:28,8; V:32,10; V:38,5; V:39,13; V:41,1; V:60,10; V:61,11; V:73,14; V:98,1; V:101,12; *MH* II:111,7-8).

The generic term *ḥwt* is common in Late New Kingdom military records as a direct action of the king (Schäfer 1957; E. S. Hall 1986). The epithets of the king indicate that he "smites" his enemies, overthrowing those who rebel against him. In this context he is also referred to in a deified form as Horus "who smites (*ḥwt*) the foreign lands" (*KRI* I:30,1; Wildung 1977a). Here, these actions are attributed to the king.

In the inscriptions of Ramses III the god ordains the battle by ordering the king, "Receive thou the sword, that thou mayest smite (*ḥwt*) the Asiatics" (*MH* II: 121A,3; II:121B,6). In other cases, he is referred to as he who *ḥwt*, "smites," the Nine Bows (*KRI* V:28,8), every land (*KRI* V:21,8), and the rebellious countries (*KRI* V:10,12). Again his depiction as lion or a divine falcon devouring or grasping his enemies is frequent (*KRI* V:17,7; V:26,12).

Iconography. The scene of the king smiting his enemies is widely evident in the military reliefs of the New Kingdom (cf. E. S. Hall 1986: Figs. 43-81) and shows the king grasping his enemies with one hand as his other is raised with either a mace, sickle sword, or spear. Several times it is Amun who stands before the king to hand him the sickle sword (E. S. Hall 1986: Figs. 45, 46, 50, 52, 55, 56, 64, 65, 70; Figure 2). This parallels the phrase, "Receive thou the sword, that thou mayest smite (*ḥwt*) the Asiatics" (*MH* II: 121A,3; II:121B,6). Once again the iconography mirrors what is communicated in the textual account regarding the king's actions against the enemies of Egypt.

ḥwtf

Lexicography. The finite verb *ḥwtf* is defined as "II. mit Objekt der Sache: etwas rauben, erbeuten (auch im Kriege) 1; III. ohne Objekt: rauben, stehlen 2" (*Wb* III: 56-57); "rob, plunder" (Faulkner 1962: 166); "to plunder, to rob" (*DLE* II: 105).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ḥwtf* is found only once in the military inscription of the Late New Kingdom, in the Beth Shan Stela of Ramses II (*KRI* II:151,7).

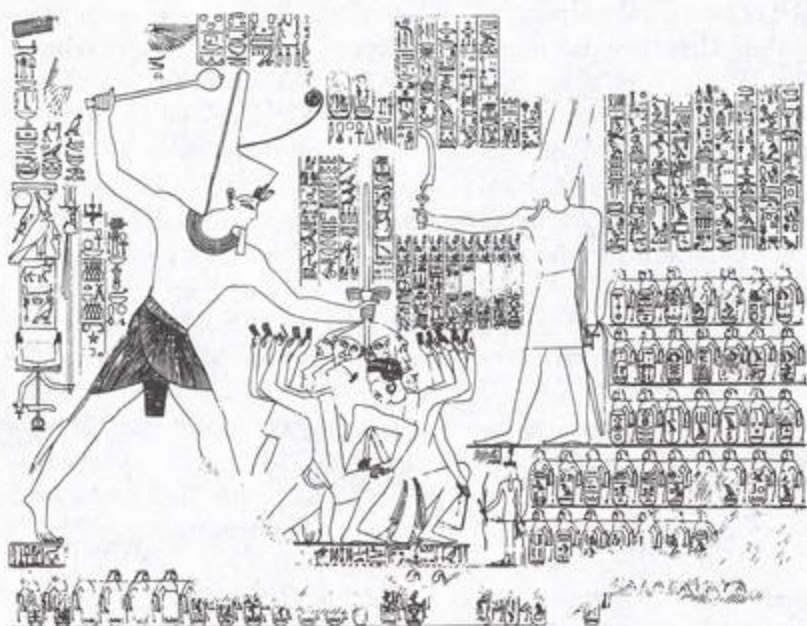


Figure 2, Seti I receiving the sword to smite his enemies
(E. S. Hall 1986: Pl. 45)

Its use in the Beth Shan Stela, Year 18, is in a description referring to Egypt being "plundered" probably by the Asiatics. Ramses II is pictured as one who "has rescued Egypt when it was plundered (*hwtf*), marching against the Asiatics." This term is therefore referring to the wrongful act of Egypt's neighbors, from whom Ramses must "rescue" or "deliver" (*nḥm*) Egypt (Černý 1958: 77*). In this sense it does not refer to a military activity by Egypt against a foreign land, but an aggressive act against Egypt itself.

ḥsk

Lexicography. The finite verb *ḥsk* is defined as "I. Arme, Beine, Kopf abhauen, abschneiden 14; II. enthaupten, köpfen: a) Feinde 16; b) ein Tier 17; III. das Herz ausschneiden 18" (*Wb* III: 163); "cut off head, cut out heart, behead" (Faulkner 1962: 178); "to cut off" (*DLE* II: 141).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ḥsk* appears twice during the reign of Seti I: in his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (1; *KRI* I:9,7); and at the Kanais Temple

on a triumph and topographical list (1, *KRI* I:35,9). It occurs once during the subsequent reigns of Ramses II on Pylon II at Karnak (*KRI* II:168,15; cf. Kitchen 1996: 43); Merenptah (*KRI* IV:24,3), and Ramses III (*KRI* V:35,12).

In every context where it occurs, this term refers to the beheading of "dissidents" (*KRI* I:9,7), the "chief" of Kush (*KRI* I:35,9), and in the case of Ramses III to the "cutting off" of the heads of the Asiatics (*KRI* V:35,12). Moreover, this is always an action that is solely attributed to the king.

Iconography. The image of the king beheading the enemy is a familiar theme on the walls of temples (E. S. Hall 1986: Figs. 44, 50, 51, 57, 63). At the conclusion of his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Seti I stands before the gods grasping his enemies in one hand and raising a mace in the other. Amun stands before him as he hands over the sickle sword to behead the enemies of Egypt (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 15a; see Figure 2).

hdb

Lexicography. The finite verb *hdb* is defined as "I. niederwerfen: a) ohne Angabe wohin: die Feinde, Länder, Städte niederwerfen, unterwerfen 8 (auch mit *n*: jemanden 9); b) (jedes land) unter [*hr*] die Füße des Königs werfen 10; c) jemanden (den Feind) zu Boden werfen; II. zu Boden geworfen sein, daliegen: von den besiegten Feinden 12. Oft mit *hr*: auf einem Platz liegen 13, in ihrem Blut daliegen" (*Wb* III: 205); "overthrow, be prostrate" (Faulkner 1962: 181); "to prostrate, to cast down, to overthrow, to stretch out" (*DLE* II: 150).

Occurrences and Context. The term *hdb* occurs throughout the Late New Kingdom military documents. It parallels *phd* but occurs primarily in the reliefs of Seti I, Ramses II and Ramses III; at the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in the reign of Seti I (2, *KRI* I:8,11; I:18,2); in the *Report* of the Ramses II's Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:134,6); possibly on a rhetorical stela (VII) from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:296,8); as well as in a stela from El-'Alamein (1, *KRI* II:475,6). It occurs twenty-seven times in the reliefs of Ramses III (*KRI* V:12,8; V:15,1; V:16,16; V:17,13; V:20,1; V:21,13; V:23,8; V:25,9; V:34,2; V:39,10; V:41,1; V:45,6; V:58,6; V:58,9; V:66,13; V:69,6; V:71,9; V:71,14; V:73,12; V:79,4; V:81,13; V:86,2; V:87,8; V:101,3; V:106,12).

During the XIXth Dynasty the term *hdb* is used solely to describe

the enemy or the chiefs' prostrated "in their own blood" (*KRI* I:8,11; I:18,2; *KRI* II:134,6). It is also used in close association with the terms *ptpt* and *titi* (*KRI* I:18,2). During the reign of Ramses III this remains part of the semantic context (*KRI* V:28,3), although the term is now employed also to describe the enemies' prostration before the king's horses (*KRI* V:69,6), under the king's soles/feet (*KRI* V:15,1; V:17,13; V:39,10). This subjugation of the enemy is usually done by the king, who is empowered by the gods (*KRI* V:39,10; V:45,6). Often the "heat" (*hh*) and "awe" of the king induces the effect of prostration (*KRI* V:71,14; cf. Cifola 1991: 28). This is a stereotypical term describing the effects of the battle on those peoples who rebel against the king.

Iconography. For prostration under the king's horses, see *ptpt*, 33; and *titi*, 62. In other contexts the inhabitants of the attacked cities are found bowing down in prostration before the king as he advances on his chariot. This is the case on the reliefs of Seti I at the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The princes of Lebanon are fallen on their knees bowing before the king (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 10; see Figure 9). The inhabitants of Yeno'am are standing in the upper part of the city bowing down before the approaching king (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 11).

hf

Lexicography. The finite verb *hf* is a later form of *fh* (*Wb* III: 271; Kitchen 1964: 57). It is defined as "lösen, etw. aufgeben; etw. zerstören, verderben; zu Grunde gehen" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 58); "plunder" (Faulkner 1962: 190); "*hfy*, to capture, to plunder" (*DLE* II: 174).

Occurrences and Context. The term *hf* occurs throughout the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty and to a more limited extent in the XXth. It appears five times in the accounts of Seti I; at Karnak as part of the register of his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan (2, *KRI* I:8,8; I:11,4; note 4^{2-a}) on the register of his campaign against the Hittites (1, *KRI* I:23,8); and against Kadesh and Amurru (1, *KRI* I:24,14) on the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall; as well as the Nubian War stela, Year 4 (1, *KRI* I: 102,11). It appears much more frequently during the reign of Ramses II, particularly in his campaign to Syria in Year 8 recorded in the Ramesseum (13, *KRI* II:148,8; II:148,8; II:148,9; II:148,10; II:148,10;

II:148,11; II:148,12; II:148,12; II:148,13; II:149,2; II:149,3; II:149,4; II:149,5); in his undated war scenes at Karnak (12, *KRI* II:153,5; II:153,5; II:155,11; II:155,16; II:156,5; II:156,5; II:156,16; II:157,12; II:157,12; II:157,16; II:157,16; II:158,5; II:159,15; II:167,4), and at Luxor (13, II:180,2; II:180,3; II:181,2; II:181,3; II:181,4; II:181,11; II:182,5; II:182,6; II:182,12; II:182,13; II:183,4; II:183,4; cf. Kitchen 1964). It also occurs in the records of his Nubian War at Amara West (1, *KRI* II:222,15) and on Obelisk V from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:413,10). It appears six times in the inscriptions of Merenptah; in the Amada Stela (4, *KRI* IV:1,9; IV:1,9; IV:1,13; IV:1,15), the Merenptah Stela (2, *KRI* IV:15,11; IV:19,3) and in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (1, *KRI* IV:21,16). Finally, it occurs only three times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:44,9; V:55,2; V:55,3).

The term *hf* is most widely used to describe the military actions taken against a particular geographical and political entity, whether a geographical territory, town, or fortress. It is significant to note that in forty cases *hf* refers to toponyms (cities/forts), in five cases to regions, and in only four to an action taken against people. In other words, 96 percent of its usage in military inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties refers to the cities and regions encountered on these campaigns. The campaign of Seti I to southern Canaan in his first year describes the *hf* that took place to the *Š3sw* "beginning from the fortress of Sile as far as Pa-Canaan" (*KRI* I:8,8; Kitchen 1993a: 9). In the upper register on the west side of the doorway at Karnak, one reads "The ascent which Pharaoh, LPH, made to *hf* the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru" (*KRI* I:24,14; Kitchen 1993a: 20). In both of these instances, regions and fortresses are being spoken of. What is meant by this "plundering" or "destruction"? Is destruction even part of this activity according to the Egyptians? These are significant questions for they bear directly on the archaeological record as it relates to these towns/fortresses.

In several instances further description is given regarding the specific events associated with *hf*. Regarding the *Š3sw*, the Karnak reliefs further state, "His Majesty seized upon them like a terrifying lion, turning them into corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if (they) had never existed." In describing *hf* against *Retenu* (Syria) the texts continue, "He has slain (*sm3*) their chiefs." In both of these cases the killing of the inhabitants and their chiefs is implied by the writer. Several wider contextual references during the reign of Ramses II provide further insight.

In the inscriptions of his Syrian War in Year 8, Ramses II mentions the "plundering" of thirteen toponyms in the following manner, "Town which His Majesty plundered (*hf*) in year 8: (the toponym)." In some cases the year formula is excluded: "Town which His Majesty plundered (*hf*), GN: (the toponym)." The list is repeated again in his undated war scenes at Karnak (12) and Luxor (13) where toponyms themselves are duplicated. Sometimes two toponyms are listed with each clause so that a total of thirty-five toponyms are said to have been *hf*.⁷ Although this formula is repeated again and again, there are several significant possible variations which deserve attention.

The toponym Dapur is recorded twice at the Ramesseum and once at Luxor.⁸ On the Ramesseum Pylon the reference reads, "Town which His Majesty plundered (*hf*) in the land of 'm-wr: *D3prw*" (*KRI* II:148,12). The term *hf* here has been translated as "sacked" (Gardiner 1947: 178*) and "plundered" (Kitchen 1964: 50). However, other texts referring to the same action employ different terms. In the parallel listings in the undated war scenes at Luxor the term *ini*, "carrying away," is employed (see, 66-67). The reference states, "Town which His Majesty carried off (*ini*) in the land of Hatti: Dapur" (*KRI* II:173,1). The Hypostyle Hall at the Ramesseum has a similar formula, "To[wn] of Hatti, which His Majesty carried off (*ini*), Dapur" (*KRI* II:173,3). The relationship of these two terms (*hf* and *ini*) depends on whether the various references to Dapur relate to one campaign or two. Several specialists connect the action taken against "Dapur in the land of Amurru" with the undated war scenes against "Dapur in the land of Hatti" as occurring in Year 8 (Breasted *ARE*: 3.158-160; Gardiner 1947: 178*-179*; Helck 1971: 212-213; Rainey 1971: 147; on the date see Schmidt 1973: 30; Youssef; Leblanc; and Maher 1977: vi-viii, xli note 1), while others have argued that the reference on the Ramesseum Pylon must be considered a separate

⁷ It is not the purpose in this chapter to identify each toponym. For this analysis, see Chapter Two.

⁸ The orthography of the town of Dapur in the Ramesseum Pylon text differs from that in the Ramesseum Hypostyle Hall and the Luxor Forecourt. Due to the variation some scholars have suggested two locales for this toponym (Noth 1941: 69-72). Others insist on one location for the city of Dapur (W. M. Müller 1910: 163; Wreszinski 1935: remarks to Pls. 79, 90; Breasted *ARE*: 3.158-159; Gardiner 1947: 178*-179*; Kitchen 1964: 63, note 1; 68, note 4; 1982: 68-70; Helck 1971: 209; Rainey 1971: 147; Schulman 1978: 135 note 32; Morschauser 1985-86: 17). These locations vary (cf. Morschauser 1985-86: 17-18).

campaign (Morschauser 1985-86: 19-21; see Chapter Two, 119-124). If all references are considered as part of the same campaign, one may view the terms *hf* and *ini* as describing similar actions. It is tempting to equate the "plundering of Dapur" with the "carrying away" of its goods.⁹ Although Dapur itself is used here as the object it may be that an extended meaning can be inferred, as this formulation is common throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties (*pace* Morschauser 1985-86; see *ini*, 66-67). This relationship may be present in another inscription.

Kitchen (*KRI* II:167, note 4^{a-a}) conjecturally reconstructed a reference at Karnak in the following manner: "[Town captured (*h3k*) and taken (*ini*) by] His Majesty: *3n3n-š3sw*; which His Majesty plundered (*hf*)" (*KRI* II:167,4). If this reconstruction is to be accepted, then the stereotypical form of the text is written in a different manner, providing a significant insight into the military action of *hf*. Here the terms *h3k* and *ini* are used to describe the action taken against the town. Thus, the town *3n3n-š3sw* is "captured" and "taken." The following clause, "which His Majesty plundered (*hf*)" may be interpreted as an epexegetical phrase in parallel with the action described by *h3k* and *ini*. If this is true, then in this instance *hf* would refer to an action that would not necessarily include the destruction of the town itself.

A further example of the contextual usage of *h3k* and *hf* is found in an interchange among the undated war scenes at Karnak and Luxor. The Karnak reference states, "Town which His Majesty plundered (*hf*): [*M*]w-ti-r" (*KRI* II:156,5). Another reference to the same toponym at Luxor states, "[Town of] *Mw-ti-r* which the Mighty Sword of Pharaoh captured (*h3k*)" (*KRI* II:176,8). This interchange may point to the semantic relationship between these two terms, as is also evident from a lexicographical perspective (see *h3k* [Verb], 71-73). Both terms are defined as "to plunder, to capture" (Faulkner 1962: 163, 190; *DLE* II: 97, 174).

During the reign of Merenptah *hf* is used several times in the titulary of the king. The epithets of the Amada inscription, "Plunderer (*hf*) of Gezer . . . who crushed (*hf*) the Libyans, bringing their end." As was outlined above, the term used for the action against

⁹ Others have thought that this may indicate a technical meaning of "to bring back (under authority, control)" (Morschauser 1985-86: 20). However, in order to interpret this way Morschauser follows D. Lorton (1974a: 75), who refers to this in the case of *ini dnw*, "acquiring boundaries." This terminology does not exist in the texts referring to Dapur. Instead *d[m]i n H3j in.n hm.f Dpr* is the formula employed.

Gezer in the Merenptah Stela was *mh*, "to seize." There is no contextual or lexicographic evidence to suggest that this plundering resulted in massive destruction of the site. The term employed does not preclude destruction (Weinstein 1991: 107; Hoffmeier 1991: 121-122), neither does it tell us explicitly that this type of activity took place. The newly uncovered representational evidence at Karnak (Yurco 1986; 1990) may further elucidate the meaning of *hf* in this context. Again in reference to his campaign against the Libyans the writers of the Amada stela use the term twice: first, in the titulary and second, in the description, "The awe of his might against the land of the border-landers destroyed (*hf*) them at once; there became no heir to their land" (*KRI* IV:1,15). This again refers to human destruction and not to the destruction of their villages or cities. It is reflected once again in the Merenptah Stela, "Laid waste (*hf*) is Tehenu" (*KRI* IV:19,3). In one other case *hf* occurs in connection with villages. "Seth turned his back upon their chief, by his word their villages were ruined (*hf*)" (*KRI* IV:15,11; M. Lichtheim 1976: 75). Wilson (1969b: 377) has translated "their settlements are abandoned" based on the following statement: "There is no work of carrying *baskets* in these days." If a city were "plundered" and its people and goods taken, this might be a loose translation. However, lexicographically, "plundered" is a better translation here.

It is significant then that although *hf* has been equated with *fb* (*Wb* III: 261; Kitchen 1964: 57), defined by the *Wb* (I: 578) as "ein Land und seine Bewohner zu Grunde richten," contextual usages of the term *hf* with *h3k* and *int* during the reign of Ramses II have important implications for the meaning of *hf* as "plundering." Lack of other contextual support for the meaning of physical destruction of the fort or town itself in these cases should also be considered as significant (Morschauser 1985-86: 20). It has been noted above that during the reign of Seti I this term was employed in conjunction with *smj* and the destruction of human life. In this context the political leader of the town is the one dealt with as well as his followers. What follows is the plundering of his city. Likewise, the lexicographical evidence seems to support the idea of "plunder" or "capture" as the primary meaning of *hf* with severe retributions for the inhabitants and local rulers, as implied by contextual references.

Iconography. The reliefs add important information to the contextual and semantic analysis presented above. The cities are frequently portrayed in stereotypical fashion together with the textual

description. "There are occasional departures, however, from idealized representations, and these are highly instructive" (Schulman 1964b: 17).

In his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan several forts are depicted around the chariot and figure of Seti I. Gardiner (1920) outlined his reconstruction of the route, attempting to identify each fort with its well or pool depicted. Since the forts appear empty and there are no signs of destruction, it was assumed that these were Egyptian garrison forts located in strategic places along the "Way of Horus" (Gardiner 1920: 101). This is confirmed by the names accompanying the forts (e.g. "The Migdol of Menma'ere" prenomen of Seti I; "Buto of Sety-Meneptah"; Gardiner 1920: 107-110). This interpretation is enhanced more recently on the basis of archaeological excavations (Oren 1987: 70-71; T. Dothan 1987; see Chapter Two, 96-99). The significance of these forts lies in their iconographic elements. They represent the artists' stylized depiction of forts which is typical during the XIXth Dynasty and quite standardized (Oren 1987: 73). However, it is important that none of them are shown as being attacked by the Egyptians or any signs of destruction such as skewed gates. Thus, the artist remained faithful to the textual account, which mentioned nothing of these cities being destroyed.

In further campaigns depicted on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall other elements may be observed. In all the scenes, the king is shown going forth against the cities. The fortress of Pa-Canaan is shown empty with several *šsw* walking toward the king with hands raised in surrender (Pritchard 1954: 109, Pl. 329) while others out on the battlefield are being slain. In the battle against Yeno'am, the king confronts the inhabitants on the battlefield. Several are depicted on horses while others hide in the trees with hands on their heads in submission. Those remaining in the city itself are depicted with hands raised in surrender (Pritchard 1954: 109, Pl. 330). In the battle against Lebanon, some are cutting down trees for the king and others are bowing themselves to the ground. The top part of the city which they inhabit is gone, as the top register is missing (Pritchard 1954: 110, Pl. 331). Finally in the battle of Kadesh, defendants of the city are depicted on the walls still fighting while two Syrians below have opened the gate and are shown emerging on their knees in supplication (Pritchard 1954: 107, Pl. 324; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 23; Figure 3). In each of these scenes at Karnak, there is no evidence of siege or destruction of the cities. The inhabitants meet the king on



Figure 3, Seti I attacks the town of Kadesh
(Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 23)

the battlefield, thus possibly preserving their cities, or surrender before the inevitable takes place. Only one clue as to what might have taken place after the cities were plundered appears in the campaign against Lebanon (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 34a; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 10). Underneath the king's horses a city is depicted accompanied with the title, "Town of Qader, in the land of Hinuma" (*KRI* I:14,7; Kitchen 1993a: 11). No description of the action taken against this city is provided, but it is portrayed as deserted and empty with its gates skewed. This is the only city depicted in this manner on the reliefs of Seti I.

The reign of Ramses II marks one of the most productive periods, not only for monumental architecture and building (for which Ramses is characterized; Kitchen 1982: 36-37) but also for narrative art (Gaballa 1976: 114). The extensive iconographic evidence displayed in the minor war scenes at Luxor, Karnak, the Ramesseum, Beit el-Wāli, and Amara West provides the bulk of iconographic evidence for the plundering of these cities.

The conquest of the city of Dapur is cited as the first example of Ramses II where a fortified site is besieged (Ramesseum; Youssef; Leblanc; and Maher 1977: Pl. XXII; see Figure 4). The city is shown on a hill with a glacis as a siege is under way. The site consists of an inner and outer fortified wall and several towers (Type 3b; Badawy 1968: 253; Fig. 241). The defendants are depicted on the towers and walls of the fortress. The Hittite enemies are shown to be falling off

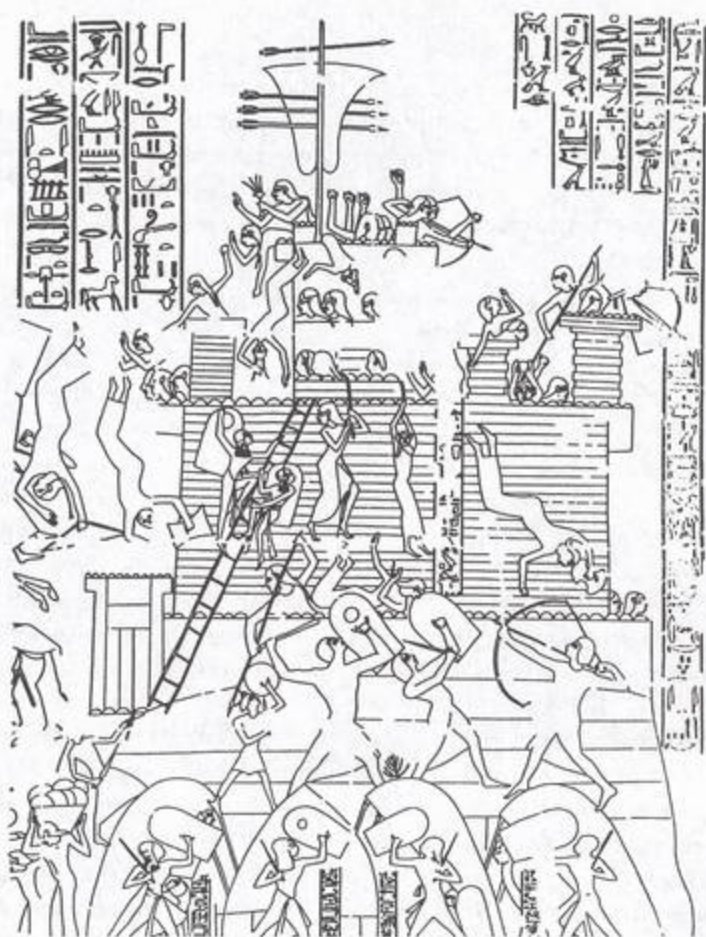


Figure 4, Ramesseum; Ramses II attacks the town of Dapur
(Youssef; Leblanc; and Maher 1977: Pl. XXII)

the walls. Others are being pulled up on rope to more secure positions within the city. They are shooting down at the Egyptian attackers or throwing missiles at them.

Pharaoh rides, larger than life, toward the city shooting his bow and arrow. A scaling ladder stretched to the inner wall is being climbed by two Egyptians. At the base of the glacis, four mantelets are depicted. Beneath the protection of the mantelets battering rams are being worked against the walls. In the foreground, a number of infantrymen are shielding the men underneath from a possible attack

from behind. In another part of the scene the Hittites are carrying away various goods in baskets toward the king. This seems to be part of the plunder that is referred to in the inscriptions. In a parallel scene of the attack on Dapur at Luxor (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 77-80), Ramses II is shown approaching the city on foot shooting his bow at the fortress. The king tramples several prone Asiatics under his feet. The inhabitants of the city, again depicted as Hittites, are throwing stones and spears at the attacking troops. A group of three on the right are burning incense. The results of the battle are not shown in either scene.

Additional reliefs at Karnak and Luxor contain scenes of Syrian fortresses that show attacks in progress and the results of these attacks. Each of these is accompanied by the inscription "Town which His Majesty plundered (*hf*), GN: (the toponym)." At Karnak, two cities stand in relief, one above the other. The names of the cities are almost completely destroyed (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a). The king tramples his enemies below his feet while he raises his bow against the upper city. The inhabitants of that city are on the walls bowing in submission to the king. The lower city stands empty with its gate askew. The same pattern is repeated in the plundering of [...]ruza and Mutir. Here the king is riding forth on his chariot while the enemies are crushed and trampled below the horses. His bow is aimed toward the upper city of [...]ruza. Its inhabitants are bowing before the oncoming fury of his chariot. The gates are still intact. The city of Mutir is depicted empty with its two gates askew (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54-55; Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 57-58). At Beit el-Wâli the same city is shown with the king advancing on foot. Beside and slightly in front of him, a prince is depicted waving an axe and charging at the city. No siege equipment is portrayed (cf. Schulman 1964b: 17-18).

In another relief at Karnak two cities are again shown one above the other (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a; Figure 5). The upper city has soldiers falling from the walls while inhabitants bow before the king. The king is shown trampling the enemy with a raised mace ready to smite the city. Its two gates are intact. The lower city of Akko has its gates askew and stands empty.

At Luxor there are two scenes published by Kitchen (1964: Pl. V-VI) in which the upper fort contains suppliant Asiatics being conquered by the king. He stands before them brandishing a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. The lower forts are already conquered and abandoned, "symbolized by the skewed left jamb of each

of its two doors" (Kitchen 1964: 57). These forts all indicate structural damage primarily to their gate areas where the Egyptians entered into the city before plundering it.

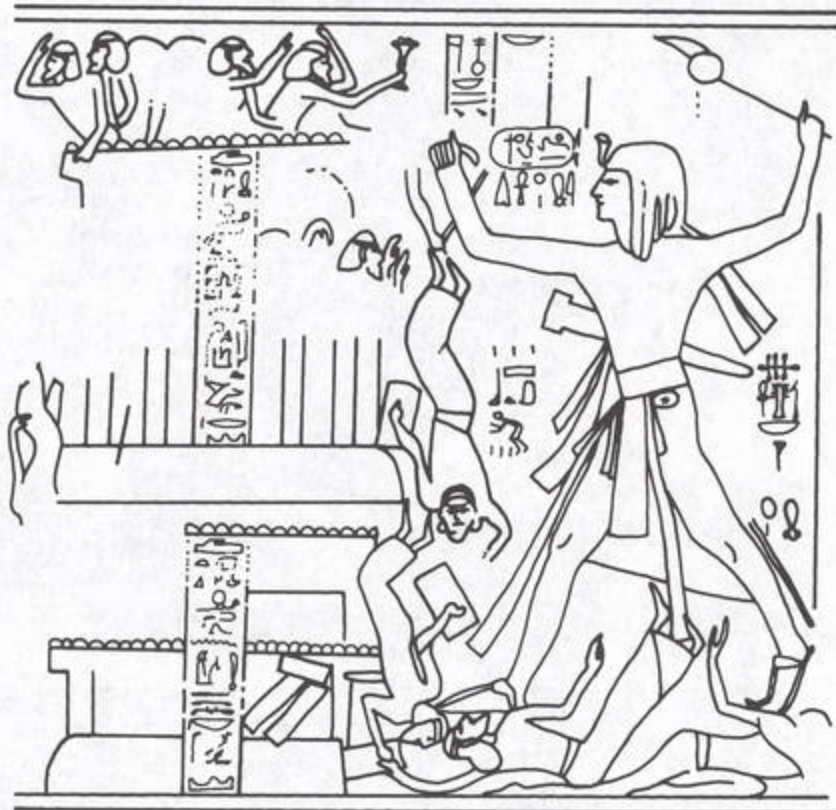


Figure 5, Ramses II attacking the town of Akko and 'A-sa-ira (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a).

The final example from the reign of Ramses II is an unnamed Syrian city on a hill pictured in the Luxor temple (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 65) with both gates askew. The window lattices are hanging awry and bricks are shown falling off the walls. To the left of the city, in the surrounding hills, the fruit trees have been cut down and the only vegetation allowed to survive is the shrubs and bushes (see *Military Activity Against Crops/Orchards/Trees*, 82-83). There is no accompanying textual description to which this relief may be compared.

There is a series of four reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at

Karnak. These scenes were long attributed to Ramses II, but most recently have been reassigned to Merenptah and correlated with the entities mentioned in the Merenptah Stela (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; see Chapter Three, 199-201). The first city in Syria-Palestine that is mentioned on the stela is Ashkelon, a city that is specifically depicted and named on the reliefs at Karnak (Pritchard 1954: 112, Pl. 334; Yadin 1963: 228; Figure 6). This is the only portrait of this city known from Egyptian reliefs. The king is shown on the right charging in on his chariot, bow and arrow pulled in readiness against the city. The city consists of a double wall filled



Figure 6, Merenptah attacks the town of Ashkelon
(Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 58)

with Asiatics raising their hands in subservience and burning incense. Two scaling ladders are portrayed, one with an Egyptian ascending. While a land battle is also taking place below the rampart, another infantryman has climbed to one of the gates and is hacking it down with a battle-axe. Since this is a depiction of the battle in progress, it does not indicate the outcome. The inscription states, "the wretched city which His Majesty carried off (*ini*) when it was wicked, Ashkelon" (Yadin 1963: 228).

Ramses III, in his battle against Tunip (*MH* II: Pl. 88; Figure 7), charges against the city in his chariot. Two scaling ladders have been placed against the outer wall and are being climbed by four infantryman. Several have already overcome the defenses above and are shown striking the Syrian soldiers. Below and between the ladders three Egyptians have climbed to the gate and are hacking away at it with battle-axes. A row of Egyptian archers stands and shoots against the city. On the top of the second wall the defenders raise their hands in surrender to the oncoming king and burn incense.

The importance of these representations from the XIXth and



Figure 7, Ramses III attacks the town of Tunip
(*MH* II: Pl. 88)

XXth Dynasties lies in the tactical information they provide for the siege and defense of a city. A pattern emerges in these reliefs. The city above that is being attacked and defended is consistently intact. The fortress below is always shown empty with its gates askew or its window lattices hanging awry. One may conclude that the upper city shows a stage in the battle where it is in the process of being plundered, while the lower city shows the effects of the plundering. Whether this is primarily symbolic or portrays the actual military actions of the Egyptians is impossible to know from these highly stylized reliefs. It might also be possible to conclude that when the defenders surrender and abandon the city, it does not necessarily suffer destruction. But if they continue to resist, the Egyptians are forced to penetrate the walls by force or extended siege. The relief of Merenptah's actions against Ashkelon and the military action of Ramses III against Tunip indicate further details as they depict Egyptian soldiers hacking at the gates of the cities. Other actions include the use of siege equipment, i.e., the battering ram and scaling ladders. Often the reliefs and the accompanying texts are able to aid in identifying which action was taken by the two opposing forces. Open land battles were predominant, but at times they ultimately developed into a face-off against a fortified city, if such a city existed.

The *hf*, "plundering," of a city implied a penetration into the city and a confiscation of spoils and goods from that city. If there was no immediate surrender and force was required to enter the city, one might expect some evidence of destruction. However, the city's total annihilation or destruction following this act of plundering is neither implied nor evident in the textual and iconographic sources of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties.

htb

Lexicography. The finite verb *htb* is defined as "niederwerfen, niederstrecken (die Feinde u.ä.), Allein 12 oder mit Angabe: unter die Sohlen u.ä. des Königs 13; Auch mit *n*: vor des Königs Macht, Namen 14; Auch *D. 20*: sich niederwerfen (mit *n*: vor dem König) 15" (*Wb* III: 402); "overthrow" (Faulkner 1962: 205); "to overthrow, to prostrate" (*DLE* II: 213). It is often written with only the determinative during the late New Kingdom (*Wb* III: 402).

Occurrences and Context. The term *htb* occurs four times in the military documents of Seti I: on a triumph scene and topographi-

cal list at Karnak (1, *KRI* I:26,9); on his Great Dedicatory Inscription of Year 1 (2, *KRI* I:42,1; I:42,13); and at Kanais (1, *KRI* I:68,14). It is employed four times during the reign of Ramses II: at Luxor (1, *KRI* II:176,3); and at Abydos (2, *KRI* II:191,16; II:213,3).

In most cases this stereotypical term refers to the final outcome of the campaign. In its general usage it refers to the "overthrowing" of "all lands" (*KRI* I:42,1; *KRI* II:191,16; II:213,3) and the subjugation of the enemies beneath the sandals of the Pharaoh (*KRI* I:26,9; I:42,1). The contextual usage with other terminology indicates that this action means that Egypt will "rule over lands" (*KRI* I:68,14). The scribe seems to refer directly to political capitulation and subjugation.

Iconography. See *ptpt*, 32-33; and *titi*, 62.

hdb

Lexicography. The finite verb *hdb* is defined as "II. jemanden töten a) Feinde im Kampf 5. Seit *Nä*; b) vom Gott der den Frevler tötet u.ä. 6. Seit *Nä*; c) als vulgäres Wort für: jemanden totschiagen 7; jem. hinrichten 8" (*Wb* III: 403); "kill" (Faulkner 1962: 205); "to slay, to kill" (*DLE* II: 214).

Occurrences and Context. The term *hdb* occurs throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs once at Abydos during the reign of Seti I (*KRI* I:46,9; *sic*).¹⁰ In the inscriptions of Ramses II it appears ten times: in several copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (6, *KRI* II:47,7-10; II:69,12-16; II:71,6-10; II:88,15-16; II:94,5-10); in several copies of the *Bulletin* (1, *KRI* II:121,11-12); in the Reliefs (2, *KRI* II:132,11; II:135,8-9); and at Beit el-Wâli (1, *KRI* II:196,14). It appears eight times in two tribute (*mw*) lists of Merenptah found in his great inscription at Karnak (3, *KRI* IV:8,5; IV:8,6; IV:8,13) and in the Kom el-Ahmar (Athribis) Stela (5, *KRI* IV:22,3; IV:22,5; IV:22,6; IV:22,7; IV:22,10). It is used infrequently in the inscriptions of Ramses III (3, *KRI* V:86,2; V:95,2; V:97,2).

This term is employed stereotypically to depict the action of the king in "slaughtering" or "slaying" the enemies of Egypt. Often it is used together with other verbs like *w'w'* (*KRI* II:69,12-16; II:135,8-9) to accentuate its effects of totality. This is also referred to by the accompanying clause *sn nn* "so that they were not" (*KRI* II:71,6-10; II:88,15-16) or "and did not allow one of them to escape" (*KRI*

¹⁰ From the context and translation (Kitchen 1993a: 39), this term seems to be a scribal error and should read *hdb*.

II:132,11). This concept of totality is often repeated in other contexts as well when referring to the "slaughtering" of the enemy. The term *hdb* is also closely associated with the collection of *imw* "tribute, booty" (see 69-71). During the campaign of Merenptah against the Libyans an *imw* of phalli and hands are recorded as being brought back from those "slain" (*hdb*; *KRI* IV:8,5; IV:8,6; IV:8,13; IV:22,3). The contextual setting of terminology during the reign of Ramses II adds very little to the usage during the XIXth Dynasty.

Iconography. For the iconography of slaughtering or killing in general, see *smj*, 55-56.

smj

Lexicography. The finite verb *smj* is defined as "A. töten, schlachten (durch den Menschen mit einer Waffe). I. Menschen töten; a) allgemein: einen einzelnen töten, morden 8; b) besonders: Feinde im Kampf töten 11. auch: die fremden Völker töten, seit *D.19* vom König 12" (*Wb* IV: 122); "kill, destroy" (Faulkner 1962: 226); "to slay, to murder, to slaughter, to sacrifice" (*DLE* III: 47).

Occurrences and Context. The term *smj* is employed forty-one times during the XIXth Dynasty and fifty-six times in the military documents of Ramses III, making it one of the most frequent verbs describing Egyptian military action against its enemies. It occurs nine times in the inscriptions of Seti I: on the north face of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak against the *ššw* (2, *KRI* I:9,5; I:9,7), the Hittites (1; *KRI* I:18,1), and the Libyans (referring to Retenu; 1; *KRI* I:23,8); and twice on the Great Dedicatory Inscription, Year 1, at Speos Artemidos (*KRI* I:42,14; I:42,15). It also appears in the rock stela of Year 6 at Silsila (1, *KRI* I:60,1); the rock stela at Qasr Ibrîm (1, *KRI* I:98,16); and a stela fragment from Amara West (1, *KRI* I:104,14). The scribes of Ramses II employ the term twenty-four times: in two copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:52,9); in several copies of the *Bulletin* of the Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:122,4-7); in two copies of the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh (2, *KRI* II:134,6; II:135,15); in the undated war scenes at Karnak (1, *KRI* II:157,9); at Beit el-Wâli (1, *KRI* II:197,6); at Aksha (1, *KRI* II:212,9); Amara West (1, *KRI* II:220,5); a stela at Byblos (1, *KRI* II:224,8); rhetorical stelae from Tanis (7, *KRI* II:289,6; II:289,13; II:291,5; II:294,12; II:296,5; II:296,9; II:407,10); Gebel Shaluf (1, *KRI* II:302,4); Tell er-Retâba (1, *KRI* II:304,14); Bubastis (1, *KRI*

II:306,11); Abu Simbel (1, *KRI* II:321,1); obelisks from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:409,16; II:414,11). It is often employed in the reign of Ramses III (56, *KRI* V:39,10; V:41,1; V:45,6; V:58,6; V:58,9; V:66,13; V:69,6; V:71,9; V:71,14; V:73,12; V:79,4; V:81,13; V:86,2; V:87,8; V:101,3; V:106,12; V:26,5; V:34,2; V:34,7; V:35,11; V:36,5; V:36,12; V:39,11; V:41,2; V:43,13; V:44,7; V:44,11; V:45,4; V:46,14; V:47,1; V:47,14; V:48,5; V:48,9; V:51,5; V:53,7; V:57,13; V:60,8; V:61,8; V:69,11; V:70,3; V:70,8; V:70,9; V:70,10; V:71,14; V:76,9; V:82,14; V:83,14; V:87,8; V:92,14; V:93,15; V:97,4; V:97,15; V:99,8 *sic*; V:100,15; V:102,6; V:102,8; V:102,8; V:102,10; V:102,10; V:102,12; V:102,12; V:104,5; V:107,9).

The term *smj* is most often employed to describe the action taken by the king against his enemies. It refers to the final outcome of the battle and is often used in association with *hwi*, "to smite" (*KRI* II:134,9; II:134,6; II:212,9). The action of *smj* is carried out against the enemy in general (*KRI* II:134,9), the Nine Bows (*KRI* II:134,9; II:134,6) or the chiefs of various enemy lands (*KRI* I:18,1; I:23,8; II:197,6). Often there is a sense of totality that accompanies the usage of *smj*, so that "His Majesty slays (*smj*) them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them" (*KRI* I:9,7; Kitchen 1993a: 8) or "slays (*smj*) instantly before the entire populace" (*KRI* I:42,14; Kitchen 1993a: 35). Often stereotypical phrases like "slaying hundred-thousands" or "slaying a million in a completion of an instant" are employed (*KRI* II:134,6; Wilson 1927: 283, note 1; *KRI* II:212,9). This all-encompassing terminology is meant to reflect the prowess of the king, his bravery, and triumph. During the reign of Ramses III it becomes much more frequent, reflecting the bombastic nature of his accounts (cf. Cifola 1991: 30-31). The wide usage of *smj* and other terms like *hwi* may reflect the action taken against enemy peoples and leaders and would leave little evidence in the archaeological record. This seems to be one of the main actions attributed to the king and his army.

Iconography. The reliefs repeatedly show the results of the military action taken in the battlefield. Often the enemy is shown in a chaotic state of disarray before the chariot of the king. In the reliefs of Seti I on the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak this is often the case. The inhabitants of *Šsw* can be seen in a pile of bodies pierced by the swords and arrows of the approaching king (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 6). The same takes place against the inhabitants of *Yeno'am* (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 11) as well as *Kadesh*

and Amurru (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 23). This depiction can represent a number of actions but also explicitly shows the slain enemies in a state of confusion before the Egyptians.

shr

Lexicography. The finite verb *shr* is defined as "den Feind niederwerfen, zu Boden strecken; töten; I. von irdischen Feinden 3, besonders 4 des Königs. Selten auch mit *m*: mit einer Waffe töten 5. Häufig im Sinne von: ein feindliches Land unterwerfen, eine Stadt niederwerfen 7" (*Wb* IV: 257); "overthrow, throw down" (Faulkner 1962: 242); "to overthrow, to cast down, to throw down, to banish, to lay low" (*DLE* III: 88).

Occurrences and Context. The term *shr* is employed in military inscriptions throughout the late New Kingdom. It occurs three times in the documents of Seti I: on a topographical list at Karnak (2, *KRI* I:30,1; I:30,6) and at Kanais in the record of a war against the Nubians (1, *KRI* I:35,8). During the reign of Ramses II it is found fifteen times: on the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (2, *KRI* II:86,7-9; II:101,10), the Reliefs (1, *KRI* II:142,15); in the Beth Shan Stela of Year 18 (2, *KRI* II:150,13; II:151,10); in the undated war scenes at Karnak (7, *KRI* II:153,8; II:157,14; II:158,3; II:160,10; II:166,9; II:167,12; II:168,13); at the Ramesseum in connection with the "plundering" of Dapur (1, *KRI* II:173,11); at Beit el-Wāli (1, *KRI* II:196,14); and at Abu Simbel (1, *KRI* II:313,2). It is found only twice in the inscription of Merenptah, at Amada (*KRI* IV:1,12) and on the formal triumph scene of Merenptah at Karnak (*KRI* IV:24,5). It appears much more frequently during the reign of Ramses III (20, *KRI* V:16,15; V:19,3; V:19,9; V:20,1; V:32,12; V:41,12; V:43,14; V:53,14; V:55,2; V:58,7; V:68,13; V:70,14; V:71,14; V:79,15; V:80,15; V:88,8; V:92,13; V:100,15; V:107,5; V:110,5).

The contextual setting of *shr* indicates that it is part of the stereotypical language portraying the defeat of the enemies before the king. The king himself is depicted as "overthrowing" his "enemies" (*rhy* or *hft*; *KRI* I:30,6; *KRI* II:86,7-9; II:142,15; II:150,13; II:158,3; II:166,9; II:167,12; II:168,13; IV:24,5), their "chiefs" (*wr*; *KRI* I:35,8; *KRI* II:151,10; II:157,12), and the Nine Bows (*KRI* II:196,14). Often this is associated with another action like "beheading the chiefs" (*KRI* I:365,8); "slaying" them (*hdbw*; *KRI* II:196, 14-15) or "smiting" them (*hwi*; *KRI* I:30,1; *KRI* II:166,9). Once the action of *shr* is mentioned, in

several cases this is followed by the action of *im̄ t3.k*, "the carrying off of all the foreign lands" (*KRI* II:167,12; II:168,13; *KRI* IV:24,5). Thus, before the carrying off of foreign lands the overthrowing of its inhabitants was necessary.

ski

Lexicography. The transitive verb *ski* is defined as "vernichten, zu Grunde richten; II. etwas zerstören u.ä. a) ein Bau 4; b) Stadt, Land der Feinde 5, *N.R.* ähnlich wie *sksk*" (*Wb* IV: 313); "to destroy, to wipe out, to destroy" (*DLE* III: 105).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ski* appears only three times during the reign of Seti I: in his campaign against Amurru and Kadesh at Karnak (1, *KRI* I:24,13); at Giza (1, *KRI* I:77,10); and on his rock stela at Qasr Ibrîm (1, *KRI* I:99,10). It occurs five times during the reign of Ramses II: in the Beth Shan Stela of Year 18 (1, *KRI* II:150,16); at Karnak (1, *KRI* II:164,15); in a rhetorical stela (IX) from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:300,1); another from Abu Simbel (1, *KRI* II:320,5-6); and an obelisk from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:409,13). It does not occur again in the military documents of the late New Kingdom. Another variation with the meaning "fray" (*DLE* III: 105) occurs more frequently. This term does not describe the military action of Egypt but rather portrays the heat of the battle.

The semantic context of this term occurs in reference to the Pharaoh going forth "to destroy (*ski*) the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru" (*KRI* I:24,13). Other contexts describe the general destructive action taken against "all lands" (*KRI* II:300,1). It may refer generally to the hopes of the Pharaoh before his action against these peoples, the writer assuming the eventual outcome.

sksk

Lexicography. The finite verb *sksk* is defined as "zerhacken, zerstören; II. eine feindliche Stadt zerstören 9. ein feindliches Land verwüsten 10; III. die Feinde vernichten 11, auch mit *m*: unter den Feinden metzeln 12" (*Wb* IV: 319); "destroy" (Faulkner 1962: 252); "to destroy" (*DLE* III: 108).

Occurrences and Context. The term *sksk* is found throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs four times in the northern wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak during the reign of Seti

I: in his description of the battle against Yeno'am and Lebanon (1, *KRI* I:13,14) and in his battle against the Hittites (3, *KRI* I:18,14; I:18,16; I:19,9). It appears again on the rock stela at Qasr Ibrîm (1, *KRI* I:99,3). During the time of Ramses II it appears only six times: in the undated war scenes at Karnak (3, *KRI* II:157,9; II:164,16; II:180,13); on Stela II from Gebel Shaluf (1, *KRI* II:303,7); and at Abu Simbel (2, *KRI* II:319,15; II:319,16). *Sksk* occurs once in the Great Libyan War Inscription of Merenptah at Karnak (*KRI* IV:5,8). The frequent use of this term in the inscriptions of Ramses III demonstrates a dramatic increase when compared with the XIXth Dynasty (21, *KRI* V:10,10; V:11,4; V:12,6; V:13,13; V:28,10; V:29,16; V:37,11; V:43,14; V:45,14; V:45,15; V:49,15; V:55,2; V:55,7; V:60,15; V:65,8; V:81,14; V:85,1; V:91,13; V:93,7; V:93,14; V:97,5).

The most frequent context of the verb *sksk* is in reference to the destruction of enemy lands and towns. Only in a few cases does it refer to the "hacking up" of people. In the records of Seti I at Karnak, it is stated that he "*sksk* the [entire] land of Dja[hy]" (*KRI* I:13,14) and again in the campaign against the Hittites that "he has *sksk* the foreign lands, he has trampled down (*ptpt*) the Hatti-land" (*KRI* I:18,16). In both of these cases the destruction of the land as a whole is emphasized. But there is a more specific usage as well. Only a few lines earlier the strength of the pharaoh is referred to in metaphorical terms. The text states, "How mighty is his [the King's] power against them, (just) like fire when he destroys (*sksk*) their towns" (*KRI* I:18,14). While this general statement may be interpreted as a direct reference to the destruction of cities by conflagration, the actual subject being described is the king. He is "like fire" in his activity against the towns. Given the wider contextual setting of this expression that repeatedly describes the king metaphorically, and by extension his army, this one occurrence does not describe a literal action of conflagration of cities, but the general fury and power of the Egyptians against their enemies (see Conflagration, 184-186). In another case Ramses II is referred to as the "destroyer (*sksk*) of Qode, making all foreign lands as if they had never existed" (*KRI* II:180,13). There are also references to the destruction of the Naharin (*KRI* II:157,9). Only once during the XIXth Dynasty does *sksk* refer to the destruction of peoples. Seti I is described, as he returns from Hatti with prisoners and *inw*, as one who is "*sksk* the rebels and trampling down (*ptpt*) the Asiatics in their places" (*KRI* I:19,9). Here the verb *sksk* is used in parallel with *ptpt* indicating their close relationship.

The occurrence of the term *sksk* in XIXth Dynasty military accounts suggests that the Egyptians perceived major destructive activity as taking place against a limited number of foreign lands, people, and in one place a town. Often it is part of a larger metaphorical context concerning and describing the actions of the king. The relatively rare usage of *sksk* in relation to military activity in the southern Levant suggests that the Egyptian practice of totally destroying lands and villages was quite infrequent and out of place.¹¹

sd

Lexicography. The transitive verb *sd* is defined as "I. zerbrechen; a) Feinde, ein feindliches Land 'zerbrechen' vom König im Kampf 17, auch von einer Waffe 18, und *sp.* von der Flamme, die den Bösen vernichtet 19; b) die Herzen 20; II. Mauern (einer Festung brechen 11, auch eine Öffnung brechen 12" (*Wb* IV: 374); "to break, penetrate, to inflict, to smash, to beat" (*DLE* III: 120).

Occurrences and Context. The verb *sd* occurs four times in the military inscriptions of Seti I at Karnak: once in the campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan (*KRI* I:7,11); in his campaign against the Hittites (*KRI* I:19,2); and twice in his campaign against the Libyans (*KRI* I:21,4; I:30,8). It appears eleven times in the records of Ramses II: on the Beth Shan Stela, Year 18 (1, *KRI* II:150,16); in the undated war scenes at Karnak (1; *KRI* II:166,7); in his undated war scenes in Luxor (2, *KRI* II:170,13; II:172,4); in the record of his attack against Dapur in the Ramesseum (1, *KRI* II:173,6); again on the west colossus in Luxor (1, *KRI* II:184,14); on a rhetorical stela from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:291,2); on Stela II from Gebel Shaluf (1, *KRI* II:303,14); on a stela of Year 2 from Aswan (1, *KRI* II:344,14); and on obelisks III and VI from Tanis (2, *KRI* II:410,13; II:416,2). It appears again eight times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:12,7; V:21,9; V:32,10; V:80,1; V:83,2; V:91,14; V:92,16; V:97,16).

The verb *sd* occurs three times in the context of "breaking" the enemies' heart (*KRI* I:19,2; *KRI* II:150,16) or inflicting fear which "penetrates" the enemy (*KRI* V:21,9). This more abstract usage depicts the king as the cause of this action. More often *sd* is employed to describe the effects of military action against foreign lands and countries. Here again is the "dread" caused by the king that results in

¹¹ During the campaigns of Thutmose III in the XVIIIth Dynasty *sksk* appears even more infrequently (cf. Hoffmeier 1989).

their being "shattered," "crushed," or "broken" (*KRI* I:21,4; I:30,8) or the direct results of military action taken by the king (*KRI* II:170,13; II:173,6; II:184,14). The contextual setting of *sd* as the idea of "piercing" through something as an arrow would is also found in the records of Ramses III, where the king is both described and depicted as shooting arrows through his enemies (*KRI* V:32,10; V:80,1). This rhetorical language seems to have little explicit meaning as to the effects of Egyptian military activity on specific sites. However, in other semantic contexts this term may be significant in assessing specific actions taken by the Egyptian military against towns or lands.

As was noted above, lexicographically the meaning of "breaking through walls" is also given to this term (*Wb* III: 374). This usage occurs in two instances during the XIXth Dynasty. In the undated war scenes of Seti I at Karnak the following description is found: "Victorious king who protects Egypt, who breaches (*sd*) the wall(s) in rebellious foreign lands" (*KRI* I:7,11). This text is undated and is general in terms of designation, i.e., no specific toponym is found with it. However, another identical text attributed to Ramses II seems to have another context, for it appears after the description of the capture of the town of Dapur (*KRI* II:166,7; see 42-43). Although it may be feasible to associate this description with the attack on Dapur, there are several reasons not to accept a direct correlation. First, the walls of Dapur are not explicitly mentioned as being "breached." Dapur is said only to be "carried away," *imi* (see 66-67) in the description on the fort. Second, it is the defenders of Dapur who give this designation to the king. It is not made by Egypt directly. Only the general description of "those wall(s) in rebellious foreign lands" is given by the defenders. Not even Hatti is mentioned. Finally, it is important to consider that this text may have been copied from Seti I since both are identical and appear at the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. If this is true, it may have nothing to do with Dapur. However, it is significant that even though this term may not be directly related to Dapur, it represents a clear concept of "breaching walls" during Egyptian military campaigns, a usage that already occurs in the records of Thutmose III (*Urk* IV:894,17; cf. Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 8 note 13a).

Iconography. For the iconography depicting Dapur, see *hf*, 46-48; Figure 4, 47.

gbgb

Lexicography. The finite verb *gbgb* is defined as "(den Feind) niederwerfen, hinstrecken 3; II. *gbgb.t* von den erschlagenen Feinden a) haufenweise niedergestreckt (fallen 5; daliegen 6); b) zu Leichenhaufen machen, werden" (*Wb* V: 165); "zerhackt; *gbgb.t* leichenhaufen; *m gbgb.t* niedergeworfen" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 198); "to make lame, prostrate?" (*DLE* IV: 56).

Occurrences and Context. The verb *gbgb* appears only during the XIXth Dynasty in military inscriptions of Ramses II. The term is employed almost exclusively in the various accounts of the Battle of Kadesh: in the many copies of the *Poem* (2, *KRI* II:45,14-15; II:89,4-5, 10); in the *Bulletin* (2, *KRI* II:122,9; II:123,4-5); and in the Reliefs (3, *KRI* II:134,10; II:135,12-13; 141,5). It occurs only once at the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (*KRI* II:191,2). It occurs twice again in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:14,4; V:55,7).

Consistently, when appearing as *gbgb.t*, the enemy is described as "heaps of corpses" before the king's horses (*KRI* II:45,14-15; II:89,4-5,10; II:122,9). The second usage actually refers to the "casting down" of enemies. Here *gbgb* is employed to describe the action taken against the "vile chiefs" (*ur hst*; *KRI* II:191,2) and the Hittite enemy (*KRI* II:123,4-5; II:135,12-13; II:141,5). This term is exclusively found in the context of the king's action against enemy peoples and does not describe actions against cities.

titi

Lexicography. The finite verb *titi* is defined as "(die Feinde) niederschlagen, niedertreten, zertreten; die Feinde unter sich treten" (*Wb* V: 244); "zertreten" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 202); "trample on" (Faulkner 1962: 294); "to trample on" (*DLE* IV: 73).

Occurrences and Context. The verb *titi* occurs in the XIXth Dynasty exclusively in the records of Seti I at Karnak: in the campaign account from Sile to Pa-Canaan (1, *KRI* I:7,10); in his campaign against the Hittites (2, *KRI* I:18,1; I:18,8); and in his campaign to Kadesh and Amurru (1, *KRI* I:24,13). It is employed only once during the reign of Ramses III (*KRI* V:87,7).

In almost all cases this term is employed in a rhetorical and stereotypical way to describe the action taken by the king against his enemies. They are trampled on by the king himself, his horses, or both (*KRI* I:7,10; I:18,1; I:18,8). Often the term *ptpt* also appears in

parallel to *titi* (*KRI* I:18,1; I:24,13). Only in one case is the term used in the possible context of destruction of settlements and villages (*KRI* I:24,13), but here it is reconstructed by Kitchen in a very fragmentary text. It appears that this is a more general term that describes the king subduing his enemies.

Iconography. The iconography accompanying the textual account of the campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan at Karnak maintains striking parallels with the text (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2). Here the inhabitants of *ššsw* are depicted being trampled under the feet of the king's horses. In an accompanying scene two captives are to be seen amid the wheels of the chariot (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 6).

dr

Lexicography. The finite verb *dr* is defined as "Feinde, feindliche Völker niederhalten, bezwingen 5; töten, niederwerfen u.ä.; (die Feinde) vernichten in ihrem Lande" (*Wb* V: 474); "subdue enemies, expel, drive out people, remove, repress, destroy" (Faulkner 1962: 314-315); "to subdue, repel, to overwhelm, to remove, expel, to dispel, to resist, deter, to cast down" (*DLE* IV: 138).

Occurrences and Context. The term *dr* occurs frequently in the military documents of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears fifty-five times during the reign of Seti I (*KRI* I:13,11; I:16,2; I:33,4; I:34,7; I:39,2; I:40,11; I:41,11; I:44,4; I:44,6; I:46,3; I:62,7; I:63,2; I:65,14; I:71,3; I:74,7; I:75,9; I:77,5; I:80,4; I:97,6; I:98,14; I:100,7; I:105,9; I:106,5; I:106,6; I:109,6; I:117,7; I:118,7; I:121,1; I:129,16; I:130,13; I:131,10; I:132,11; I:133,13; I:135,8; I:136,4; I:136,12; I:138,2; I:139,2; I:154,4; I:159,2; I:161,11; I:163,13; I:163,15; I:167,10; I:193,14; I:201,3; I:212,16; I:214,13; I:217,9; I:221,1; I:226,9; I:227,7; I:235,6), fourteen times during the reign of Ramses II (*KRI* II:141,4; II:200,2; II:289,7; II:291,1; II:294,13; II:297,10; II:300,2; II:303,13; II:345,6; II:408,15; II:411,1; II:414,14; II:439,2), and one time in the documents of Ramses III (*KRI* V:15,7).

The verb is exclusively used as an epithet of the king. He is called the "subduer (*dr*) of all lands" (*KRI* I: 13,11; I:39,2; I:41,11; *KRI* II:141,4; II:200,2; II:294,13). The rhetorical nature of this epithet makes difficult any association with actual military activities of the kind. There is never a specific entity associated with the verb. Instead it is the totality of the king's power over all lands that is emphasized in this phrase.

Annihilation

The result of the analysis of terminology relating to the defeat of the enemy indicates that a number of terms were employed to describe the totality of destruction caused by the Egyptians. Terms such as *štm* and *sksk* are but a few that occur frequently in the documents. Other terms that are more comprehensive in their usage are likewise found in the texts and will be analyzed in this section.

spī

Lexicography. The finite verb *spī* is defined as "übrig bleiben" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 144); "remain over, be left" (Faulkner 1962: 226); "to spare, to occur, to live on, continue, to remain; also *spyt*, remainder, remnant, remains" (*DLE* III: 37).

Occurrences and Context. The term *spī* occurs in several of the inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty as a verb and in the form of a noun. It occurs once during the reign of Seti I in his recorded campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan on the outer face of the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (*KRI* I:9,8). The scribes of Ramses II employ it twice in several copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (*KRI* II:57,3-5; II:72,5). It appears four times during the reign of Merenptah: on the Amada Stela (2, *KRI* IV:1,12; IV:1,13); in the Great Libyan War Inscription recorded at Karnak (1, *KRI* IV:6,3); and on the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (1, *KRI* IV:21,5). The military inscriptions of Ramses III contain another five occurrences (*KRI* V:20,14; V:23,12; V:62,14; V:64,15; V:71,2).

In military documents of the XIXth Dynasty the totality of destroyed human life is expressed by the term *spī*. Often it is stated that "no remnant" survived the onslaught of the king (*KRI* II:57,3-5; II:72,5; *KRI* IV:1,12; IV:6,3). Ramses II is portrayed in the *Poem* as one who "slaughtered among them" (*hdb im.sn*; *KRI* II:57,3-5; II:72,5). The utter and complete annihilation of the enemies of Egypt, by the action of the king, is implied. However, there are other usages of this term that would indicate otherwise.

In several cases there is a "remnant" left over or spared. In the Karnak inscriptions of Seti I it states, "His Majesty slays (*smj*) them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them. Who(ever) escapes (*spī*) his hand is (but) a prisoner brought (*ini*) to the Nile land" (*KRI* I:9,8). The claim that the king "slays them all at once" is further established by the parallel phrase, "he leaves no heirs among them." But the

following clause states that there is a "remnant," *spi*, that is brought back to Egypt. The Kom el-Ahmar Stela of Merenptah makes a similar claim that "every survivor (*spi nb*) among them [is carried off as a living captive]" (*KRI* IV:21,5). This semantic context becomes a dominant one in the records of Ramses III (*KRI* V:20,14; V:23,12). Thus, the Egyptians claim to have caused massive destruction among the inhabitants of foreign lands by (1) slaying them totally so that not one is left, or (2) slaying among them and taking everyone who is left alive back to Egypt. The result of these actions is the same according to the writers of these documents, for the enemy is *totally* subjugated so that no one is left in the land to rebel or cause conflict for Egypt. In the view of the writer, the land is left completely empty with indeed no remnant remaining.

tm

Lexicography. The finite verb *tm* is defined as "zum nicht existierenden machen = jem. vernichten" (*Wb* V: 303); "vollkommen sein; vollenden; vollendet sein; zum Ende sein, aufhören" (Erman and Grapow 1961: 205); "negative verb, lest, nonexistent, those who exist not" (*DLE* IV: 85-86).

Occurrences and Context. The term *tm* occurs throughout the XIXth Dynasty. During the reign of Seti I it appears three times: at Karnak in his campaign record from Sile to Pa-Canaan (1, *KRI* I:9,8); and in the record of his campaign against the Hittites (2, *KRI* I:18,1; I:18,13). It is employed twelve times during the reign of Ramses II: on the Beth Shan Stela, Year 18 (1, *KRI* II:151,6); at Karnak (2, *KRI* II:155,9; II:160,6); at Luxor (1, *KRI* II:180,13); rhetorical stelae (V, frag.) from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:294,12; II:298,3); the twin stelae from Abu Simbel (2, *KRI* II:317,3; II:317,4); the temple at Tell er-Retâba (1, *KRI* II:405,6); on a fragment from Clysma (2, *KRI* II:406,5); obelisks (I and VII) from Tanis (2, *KRI* II:408,15; II:416,14). It appears only once on the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5-7). It occurs six times during the reign of Ramses III (*KRI* V:8,7; V:28,8; V:33,15; V:57,5; V:96,15).

In its contextual usage *tm* most frequently occurs as an accompanying clause to describe the final outcome of military activity. For example, for Seti's campaign against the Hittites, the writer records, "their chiefs are fallen to the sword, reduced to non-existence (*tm*)" (*KRI* I:18,13). Here both clauses describe the action taken against one

subject, the "chiefs," *wr*. Other examples of this may be cited (*KRI* I:18,1; *KRI* II:160,6; II:180,13). In all of these usages either people, chiefs, or general lands are the subject of the verb. In only one case does it involve a city. In the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela the city of Yeno'am is said to have been "reduced to non-existence" (*KRI* IV:19,5-7). The context of this phrase when viewed with the actions taken against other surrounding city-states does not make certain whether the inhabitants of the city are meant or the city itself. The determinative ("throw stick + hill-country"; Gardiner 1957: 488) seems to indicate that the political entity or city-state, was meant and not the people inhabiting the city. In any case, the concept of total destruction is maintained in all the texts of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties.

Enslavement/Tribute/Gifts

An important aspect of Egyptian military activity involved the capturing and transportation of prisoners and their assorted goods back to Egypt (Helck 1980d). In Egyptian texts these activities were expressed in several ways. Both verbal and noun forms were employed in the description of the action of confiscation and the specific subject of plunder. Each of these will be discussed as they appear in Egyptian military documents and reliefs.

ini

Lexicography. The finite verb *ini* is defined as "I. herbeibringen, a) mit Objekt der Person, b) Tiere vorführen 8, c) Sachen aller Art herbeibringen, d) Gaben, e) Orte 17, Länder 18, Gewässer 19 dem Gott vorführen, ihm herbeibringen (Meist als symbolische Handlung des Königs); II. hinwegbringen: als Beute u.ä. wegführen, erbeuten, erobern 20" (*Wb* I: 90); "bringen, herbeibringen, holen, hinwegbringen" (Erman and Grapow 1921: 14); "bring, fetch, carry off, bring away" (Faulkner 1962: 22); "to bring, to bring back, to fetch, to carry, to return, to obtain" (*DLE* I: 36).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ini* is common throughout the military inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It appears twelve times during the reign of Seti I: on the recorded campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan (1, *KRI* I:9,8); the campaign to Yeno'am and Lebanon (3, *KRI* I:14,10; I:14,10; I:14,15); in his cam-

paing against the Hittites (3, *KRI* I:19,6; I:19,14; I:19,16); on a Triumph Scene and Topographical List at Karnak (1, *KRI* I:30,7); in his great dedicatory inscription of Year 1 at Speos Artemidos (1, *KRI* I:41,3); the threefold inscription at Kanais (1, *KRI* I:65,16); on the stela of his Nubian War, Year 4, at Amara West (2, *KRI* I:103,15; I:104,1). This term is frequent in the inscriptions of Ramses II where it is employed twenty-seven times: in several copies of the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:20,6-10); in the *Bulletin* (1, *KRI* II:109,14-15); and in the *Reliefs* (2, *KRI* II:143,11; II:146,13). It occurs in the undated war scenes at Karnak (6, *KRI* II:153,10; II:154,12; II:161,8; II:163,11; II:167,4; II:170,15). It appears in reference to Dapur at Luxor and the Ramesseum (2, *KRI* II:173,1; II:173,3) as well as other locations in Luxor and the Ramesseum (2, *KRI* II:177,6; II:179,5). It occurs at Beit el-Wâli (1, *KRI* II:198,8); Derr (1, *KRI* II:202,15); Amara West (3, *KRI* II:213,15; II:215,6; II:222,11); Tanis (3, *KRI* II:289,5; II:289,11; II:290,2); Abu Simbel (3, *KRI* II:314,4; II:317,3; II:317,4); Tell el-Maskhuta (1, *KRI* II:404,7); and Clysma (1, *KRI* II:406,6). It appears frequently during the comparatively short reign of Merenptah (seventeen times): on the Amada Stela (3, *KRI* IV:1,9; IV:1,13; IV:1,15); on the Great Libyan War Inscription at Karnak (10, *KRI* IV:6,10; IV:6,14; IV:8,6; IV:8,6; IV:8,12; IV:9,1; IV:9,2; IV:9,2; IV:9,4; IV:9,5-6); on the Merenptah Stela (1, *KRI* IV:19,5); and on the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (3, *KRI* IV:22,1; IV:22,5; IV:22,11-12). The inscriptions of Ramses III contain twenty-four occurrences (*KRI* I:86,15; V:8,14; V:9,15; V:14,16; V:22,2; V:23,2; V:23,12; V:25,8; V:51,5; V:53,12; V:54,11; V:61,14; V:66,14; V:68,10; V:70,8; V:71,13; V:84,4; V:86,3; V:86,4; V:88,11; V:91,6; V:99,8; V:110,7; V:111,18; V:111,21; V:115,5).

The most common contextual setting for the verb *ini* in Egyptian military records is the "carrying off" of prisoners (*tp-^hnh* or *skr-^hnh*; *KRI* I:14,10; I:14,15; I:15,12; *KRI* II:161,8; II:163,11; II:177,6; cf. Vycichl 1972; 1982) and captives (*h3kaw*; *KRI* IV:6,10; IV:22,1). This may include the "chiefs" (*wr*) of the enemy (*KRI* I:14,15; *KRI* II:146,13; II:154,12; II:179,5), their wives (*hmt*; *KRI* IV:6,10; IV:9,2), their children (*ms*; *KRI* IV:8,6; IV:9,5-6; IV:22,5) and brothers (*sw*; *KRI* IV:8,6; IV:22,5). Often their uncircumcised phalli (*hnyy*) are cut off and taken along to Egypt (*KRI* IV:8,6; IV:22,11-12). Those who had no foreskins had their right hands cut off (*KRI* IV:8,12). Other spoils were taken as well, including weapons, copper swords, cattle, and goats.

In addition to things that the scribes claim were taken from en-

emies, *ini* was used in a more general way to describe what happened to those who *thj t3šf*, "transgressed his boundaries" (*KRI* I:30,7; *KRI* II:198,8), including the foreign lands and towns (*KRI* II:170,15) that were often named specifically (Dapur, *KRI* II:173,1; II:173,3; Ashkelon, *KRI* IV:19,5). It is possible that in these contexts the carrying off of plunder, spoils, and prisoners was meant by the scribe (for Dapur, see *hf*, 42-43).

From the semantic contexts of the verb *ini* it is clear that the Egyptians intended to "carry off" much of the spoils and other evidences of their victory over various enemies. Not only do we have records of the types of things that were taken, but detailed accounts of the number of each item that was confiscated.

Iconography. The action of procuring spoils and captives as described in the inscriptions comes alive dramatically in the pictorial representations accompanying them. On the outer north face of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the campaign(s) of Seti I are depicted against the Ššw and Pa-Canaan; Yeno'am and Lebanon; Kadesh and Amurru; the Hittites and the Libyans (see Chapter Two 119-124). Following the victorious defeat of each entity, captives are shown to be led away and presented before Amun (Breasted *ARE*: 3.39). In each case the king himself is depicted in a proportionally larger scale¹² leading or driving the captives before Amun (Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 54-57). It is pointed out that the scenes in each register lead progressively from the outer extreme corners of the building to the central doorway (Breasted *ARE*: 3.80-81; Gardiner 1920: 99; Kitchen 1964: 48; Broadhurst 1989: 231). The final scenes depict Seti I smiting his captives before Amun and Khons.

In addition to captives, these final scenes depict the spoils of the battle taken back to Egypt. The third register of the campaign against the Ššw depicts Seti I driving three rows of Ššw captives from his chariot (Pritchard 1954: 106, Pl. 323). Those Syrians taken captive from Yeno'am and Lebanon are shown with the king leading both captives and spoils to Amun while carrying two captives in his right arm (Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 55; Pritchard 1954: 107, Pl. 325). The types of spoils shown include pottery, vases, and other items being presented to the gods (Figure 8).

¹² Cornelius points out that "pharaoh is a 'good god', a superhuman. He is depicted as a giant and his adversaries as ants" (1995: 25). This is in stark contrast to the Mesopotamian visual representation of their kings who are often depicted on the same scale as the enemy (Frankfort 1948: 8-9).

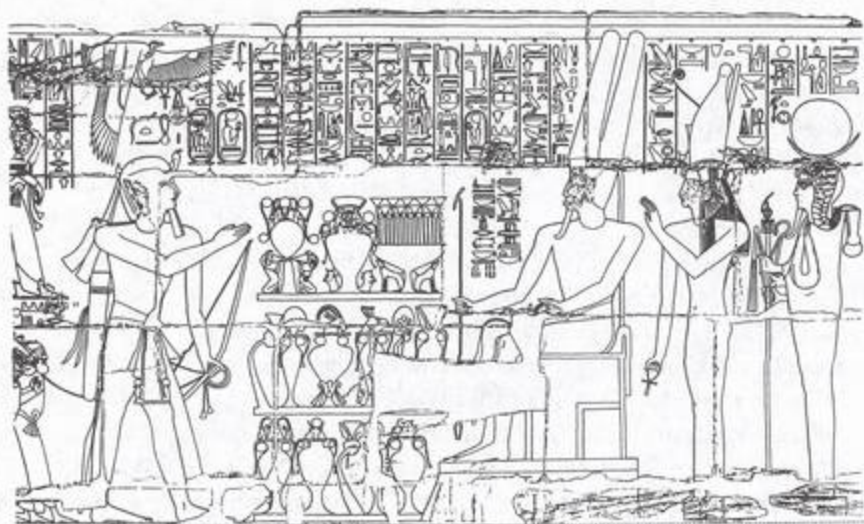


Figure 8, Seti I presenting tribute from the *Ššw* Campaign
(Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 14)

The reliefs of Ramses II display vivid representations of the king leading away his captives and plunder. The king is depicted in battle with his Syrian enemies and forts recorded on three registers on the southern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. In the fourth scene of registers II-III, he presents his captives to Amun (Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 57). Two sets of minor war scenes at Luxor also follow a similar progression and captives are always presented to Amun-Re (Gaballa 1976: 108-113; Porter, Moss; and Burney 1972: 333-336). Other temples record these presentations as well (Ramesseum; Beit el- Wâli; Derr; and Abu Simbel). The most spectacular battle is against the city of Kadesh on the Orontes in Year 5 and it is recorded on numerous temples (Luxor; Ramesseum [2]; Abu Simbel; Abydos; and Karnak, the latter two being poorly preserved; Gaballa 1976: 117). Ramses II claimed victory in this battle but failed to capture the city. Nevertheless, he is depicted on reliefs at Abu Simbel and Karnak as leading three rows of bound Hittite prisoners who are then presented by the king to the Theban Triad; Amun, Mut, and Khons (Karnak; S. Wall, Hypostyle Hall).

The reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak, once attributed to Ramses II, have now been redated to Merenptah (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; Rainey 1992; 1995; see Chapter Three, 199-201). In these scenes captives from both Canaan and *Ššw* are

depicted (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2). The inhabitants of Šjsw are shown being led before the king's chariot, bound and driven back to Egypt (Giveon 1971: 93-94, Doc. 21; Pl. VIII). Upon their arrival in Egypt the scene shows that they are presented before Amun.

imw

Lexicography. The noun *imw* is defined as "I. herbeigebrachte Gaben, Lieferungen 12, oft im Sinne von: Abgaben, Tributgaben 13, Geschenk 14; II. Produkte eines Landes, der Bote 19" (*Wb* I: 91); "Gaben, Abgaben, Geschenk" (Erman and Grapow 1921: 14); "produce of region, tribute of subject lands, gifts from palace" (Faulkner 1962: 22); "tribute, deliveries, gifts, contribution, impost, produce" (*DLE* I: 37).

The definition of *imw* continues to be widely debated. The traditional translation of "tribute" was first challenged by Gardiner (1947: 127*; 1956: 11) who translated it as "gifts." Helck spoke more cautiously of "angebliche Tribut" (1971: 166) which he surmised were gifts.¹³ However, in his article on "Angaben and Steuer" in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Helck 1976b), he also perceived another possible meaning, that of "Handelsanlieferungen" which lay parallel to the terms for taxes. Lorton (1974a: 104) maintains that this was a term employed generally to describe all types of wares. A new approach is taken by M. Liverani (1973: 192-193), who compared the lists of *imw* with the Amarna letters, approaching the subject from Polanyi's interpretive model of reciprocity and redistribution.¹⁴ He argues that the Amarna texts that document the single movement of goods as an exchange of gifts, "with no gain but rather a show of generosity," must be equated with the monumental inscriptions of Thutmose III who records these same transactions as "tribute" in the sense of something gained from persons of different rank. The difference is in the perspective taken of exchanged goods. The king portrays the exchange as something that is given out of force, not a gift among equals.

¹³ Müller-Wollermann (1983) supports the view that *imw* must be understood simply as gifts and that under no circumstances should it be taken as "tribute."

¹⁴ Reciprocity, as defined by Polanyi, is a system of exchange relationships between symmetrically organized elements of a society, while redistribution occurs in a system where goods flow to a central place from which they are distributed (cf. Gledhill and Larsen 1982: 197-229).

Bleiberg (1984b) followed a similar line of thought and interpreted *inw* to be specific contributions by others to the king's privy purse. Liverani criticized this view as "too faithful with the Egyptian ideology [as if it were coincident with reality], and the conclusions . . . absolutely minimizing and misleading" in his more extensive monograph entitled *Prestige and Interest* (1990: 257 note 13). However, Bleiberg offers a much more detailed discussion of the texts and their implications than does Liverani. The presupposition of Liverani that the king by nature grossly distorts the reality of what occurs in *inw* is unfortunate. As Bleiberg has demonstrated, there are numerous contexts in which *inw* occurs. Ideology and kingship do play a major role but the context of these records must be addressed (cf. Boochs 1984). In the military documents, *inw* seems to occur at the conclusion, and as Bleiberg suggests it may be "more a sign of return to normal relations at the end of a war" (Bleiberg 1984b: 160) than tribute taken as a result of war. The weight of the evidence seems to indicate that *inw* must be considered in a wider framework than previously thought. It must not be confused with terms like *h3kw* and *kf* that signify the true spoils "taken" (*ini*) in battle.

Occurrences and Context. The term *inw* is common in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. It occurs fifteen times during the reign of Seti I: in his campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan recorded at Karnak (2, *KRI* I:10,12; I:11,4); his campaign to Yeno'am and Lebanon (2, *KRI* I:15,8; I:15,12); against the Hittites (2, *KRI* I:19,6; I:19,9); against the Libyans (2, *KRI* I:23,3; I:23,5; I:23,6) in two triumph scenes at Karnak (4, *KRI* I:26,10; I:26,12; I:26,13; I:30,11); on the Temple of Ptah at Karnak (*KRI* I:41,3); and on the Qasr-Ibrim rock stela (1, *KRI* I:98,16). It is found another twenty-five times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: in the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh (8, *KRI* II:144,13; II:145,3; II:145,5; II:145,10; II:145,12; II:145,14; II:146,10; II:147,9); in the undated war scenes at Karnak (6, *KRI* II:154,10; II:154,12; II:156,8; II:162,12; II:167,4; II:167,7); and in the undated war scenes at Luxor (1, *KRI* II:171,6). It also occurs on rhetorical stelae found at Tanis (3, *KRI* II:290,4; II:294,11; II:298,3); Gebel Shaluf (2, *KRI* II:302,5; II:304,8); Abu Simbel (4, *KRI* II:317,15; II:317,16; II:318,7; II:318,8); and on Obelisk VIII from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:414,13). No mention is made of *inw* in the records of Merenptah. The term occurs again ten times during the reign of Ramses III (*KRI* V:9,3; V:9,4; V:27,6; V:49,8; V:65,14; V:68,10; V:93,4; V:97,3; V:97,9; V:105,4).

At the conclusions of his recorded campaigns from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Yeno'am and Lebanon, the Hittites, and the Libyans, Seti I presents the *imw* to Amun-Re. Listed are stereotypical goods that include silver, gold, real lapis-lazuli, and prisoners (*KRI* I:10,12; I:15,8; I:19,9; I:23,3). This is followed by a response from Amun-Re (*KRI* I:11,4) or prisoners (*KRI* I:15,12). Indeed, as Bleiberg (1984b: 156-157) indicates, the gods themselves promise the *imw* to the king (*KRI* I:26,10; I:30,11). But in the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty, the *imw* is always presented by the king to Amun-Re. It is not accepted by the king himself (*contra* Bleiberg 1984b: 158). This is most evident in the reign of Ramses II, when in all inscriptions *imw* is presented directly to Amun-Re and at times to other gods as well (*KRI* II:145,12). Bleiberg (1984b) has demonstrated that these gifts are part of yearly gifts that were presented directly to the king. According to the military texts under discussion the king presents the *imw*, accompanied by captives, to the gods. It is uncertain, therefore, whether it is the king who benefits directly or the temple economy.¹⁵

h3k (Verb)

Lexicography. The finite verb *h3k* is defined as "I. Gewöhnlich im Kriege: erbeuten, gefangen nehmen, a) Personen gefangen nehmen 14; die Weiber der Feinde erbeuten 15, b) Herden 16; Pferde 17; Zelte 18; Schiffe 19; erbeuten; c) Städte und Länder erobern" (*Wb* III: 32); "plunder, capture towns, carry off captives" (Faulkner 1962: 163); "to capture, to plunder, to seize, to make prisoner, to take captive" (*DLE* II: 97).

Occurrences and Context. The term *h3k* is common throughout the late New Kingdom military documents of Egypt. It is employed five times in the inscriptions of Seti I: on the northern face of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (1, *KRI* I:7,2), on the Stela of Year 1 from Karnak (1, *KRI* I:41,1), and on the Amara West and Sai Stela describing the Nubian War, Year 8(?) (2, *KRI* I:103,12-14; *KRI* I:104,3). It occurs twenty-seven times in the inscriptions of Ramses II: in two copies of the *Reliefs* of the Battle of Kadesh (1, *KRI* II:143,5-6); at Karnak in the undated war scenes (1; *KRI* II:167,4); at Luxor in the undated Syrian War scenes (2; *KRI* II:171,3; 171,6); in the un-

¹⁵ In another article Bleiberg (1988) maintains that the *imw* was destined for the king's private use and that *b3kw(t)* consisted of products destined for the temple economy. A convincing argument is made from the texts analyzed in this study.

dated accounts of the attack on the fort of *stn* (1; *KRI* II:176,5) and *Mtr* (1; *KRI* II:176,8); at Abydos where the king views the Nubian tribute (1; *KRI* II:193,7); at Derr among the Syrian (?) war scenes in the first hall (3; *KRI* II:202,15; 202,16; 203,1); at Amarah West (1; *KRI* II:222,15); on stelae at Tanis (7, *KRI* II:289,11; II:289,16; II:290,4; II:294,11; II:296,7; II:298,6; II:300,2); Gebel Shaluf (1, *KRI* II:303,6); Tell er-Raṭāba (1, *KRI* II:304,14); Abu Simbel (1, *KRI* II:321,5); on obelisks at Tanis (5, *KRI* II:404,5; II:409,1; II:409,12; II:409,14; II:414,12); on a statue from Tanis (1, *KRI* II:446,4); at Bubastis (1, *KRI* II:465,7); and on a stela from El-ʿAlamein (1, *KRI* II:475,7). It appears three times in the military documents of Merenptah: at Karnak in his Libyan War Inscription (1; *KRI* IV:9,7); on the Merenptah Stela (1; *KRI* IV:19,3) and in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (1; *KRI* IV:22,1). It appears twenty-eight times throughout the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:9,15; V:19,9; V:20,10; V:21,14; V:23,12; V:23,13; V:25,14; V:29,8; V:34,6; V:35,11; V:37,10; V:50,11; V:51,5; V:57,13; V:58,9; V:80,1; V:80,13; V:81,9; V:81,13; V:86,1; V:91,14; V:104,5; V:105,10; V:106,11; V:107,4; V:107,9).

The contextual setting of the verb *ḥꜣꜥ* is varied. During the XIXth Dynasty it often describes the action of the king in "capturing" various enemies (*Šꜣsw*, *KRI* I:7,2; *KRI* II:300,2; II:304,14; others, *KRI* II:143,5-6), the possessions of enemies (*KRI* IV:9,7) or the foreign lands in general (*KRI* II:289,11; II:289,16). In one case, it points to the "plundering" of an entire region in the Merenptah Stela (Canaan, *KRI* IV:19,3). The specifics of this action may be inferred from the subsequent description of actions taken against city-state and socioethnic entities in Canaan (i.e., Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am, and Israel). However, the verb *ḥꜣꜥ* in its own context implies little more than "plundering" or "capturing" (cf. Hoffmeier 1989).

During the reign of Ramses III *ḥꜣꜥ* appears in a number of additional contexts. The defeated enemies refer to the king of Egypt as the one who "plundered" the countries (*KRI* V:9,15). Now those "taken captive" are the various enemies of Egypt themselves (*KRI* V:21,14; V:35,11), as well as the Asiatics (*KRI* V:37,10), and the Meshwesh (*KRI* V:57,13).

The documents of Ramses III refer in a geographical and general sense to the "plundering of every land" (*KRI* V:25,14), of the "plains and the hill-countries" (*KRI* V:29,8; V:86,1), the "lands of the Nine Bows" (*KRI* V:58,9), and the "lands of the Asiatics" (*KRI* V:80,13). In one instance the specific "plundering of towns (*dmi*)" is claimed (*KRI*

V:80,1). In a number of cases, lists of the items captured and taken as booty or "plunder" are also listed. In most cases, however, the destruction of material culture and towns, villages or forts is not implied by *ḥꜣḳ*. Instead, it seems to be the interest of the Egyptians to preserve the goods of their defeated enemies which are then brought back as *ḥꜣḳ(w)* (noun; see 73-74) and *ḳf* to be redistributed in the palace and temple economies throughout the empire.

ḥꜣḳ(w) and *ḥꜣḳ(t)* (Noun)

Lexicography. The nouns *ḥꜣḳ(w)* and *ḥꜣḳ(t)* are defined as "die Kriegsbeute, bes. auch von Kriegsgefangenen" (*Wb* III: 34); "plunder" (Faulkner 1962: 163); "captives, plunder, spoil, captive, booty, spoils, things carried off" (*DLE* II: 97).

Occurrences and Context. The term *ḥꜣḳ(w)* is employed four times in the inscriptions of Seti I: in his campaign from Sile to Paganan recorded at Karnak (2, *KRI* I:10,6; I:11,4); on the Second Beth Shan Stela (1, *KRI* I:16,5); and on the Stela of Year 1 at the Temple of Ptah at Karnak (1, *KRI* I:41,4). In the reign of Ramses II, it occurs three times: in the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh (*KRI* II:11,9; II:36,7-8) and in the stela of Year 2 at Aswan (1, *KRI* II:344,15). It appears three times in the Great Libyan War Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak (*KRI* IV:6,11; IV:8,2; IV:9,4) and once on his Kom el-Ahmar Stela (*KRI* IV:22,1). The inscriptions of Ramses III contain twelve references to *ḥꜣḳ(w)* (*KRI* V:19,3; V:26,13; V:41,15; V:42,7; V:46,14; V:53,2; V:71,13; V:76,9; V:80,7; V:85,12; V:105,4; V:115,5).

In earlier references of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it appears that "plunder" was the regular successor to "fighting" (Lorton 1974b: 56). Most often this plunder consisted of human captives. There is also some evidence that these plundered persons were taken to the king who redistributed them as rewards (Lorton 1974b: 57). In its most common contextual setting *ḥꜣḳ(t)* refers to human captives also during the period under investigation in this study (*KRI* I:16,5; I:41,4; *KRI* II:11,9; II:36,7-8; *KRI* IV:6,11; IV:8,2; IV:22,1) who are taken from foreign enemies. It also has a more general meaning of "plunder" (*KRI* I:10,6; I:11,4). Among this "plunder" or "spoils" were weapons like copper swords (*KRI* IV:9,4). During the reign of Ramses III, it is said that storage rooms were filled with the *ḥꜣḳ(w)* (*KRI* V:26,13). It is this term for plunder or spoils that is often referred to as being "carried off" (*im*) from the enemy lands.

Iconography. After the Nubian wars of Ramses II two files of dignitaries are shown bearing Nubian tributes of gold rings, gold dust, skins, chairs, tusks, fans, giraffes, leopards, cattle, etc. (Gaballa 1976: 112). The reliefs of Seti I and Ramses II also depict the spoils and prisoners that result from his campaigns in the southern Levant and Africa (see Figure 8).

In the fourth scene of registers II-III, Ramses II presents his captives to Amun (Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 57). The presentation of captives to Amun or the Theban Triad is repeated in several other registers recording his confrontations with the Syrians (known as his "undated war scenes at Karnak"; *KRI* II:152; Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 57-59). Two sets of minor war scenes at Luxor also follow a similar progression and captives are repeatedly presented to Amun-Re (Gaballa 1976: 108-113; Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 333-336).

kf

Lexicography. The finite verb *kf* is defined as "I. Beute machen im Kriege, etw. erbeuten 2, auch in der Verbindung: Kriegsgefangene Leute 6" (*Wb* V: 121); "make captures, make requisition" (Faulkner 1962: 285); "to plunder, to take captive, to grasp" (*DLE* IV: 39).

Occurrences and Context. The term *kf* is employed twice in the military documents of the XIXth Dynasty: once in Amara West in the record of Seti I's war in Nubia, Year 8(?) (verb; *KRI* I:102,10) and in undated war scenes during the reign of Ramses II at Karnak (noun; *KRI* II:180,13). It occurs another four times in the inscriptions of Ramses III (*KRI* V:32,12; V:44,9; V:60,7; V:112,16).

The verbal usage of *kf* in the text of Seti I at Amara West indicates the king who "has fought and captured (*kf*) in every foreign land" (*KRI* I:102,10). The text does not indicate what was captured or plundered in this case. The same holds true for Ramses II's text at Karnak where the king is simply said to be "abounding in booty (*kf*)" (*KRI* II:180,13). The contextual setting of these passages is intertwined with rich rhetoric and may be viewed as stereotypical phrases that describe the king's ability to "plunder" his enemies.

From its contextual setting, it is possible to conclude that a variety of terms were used to describe the military action of taking spoils and prisoners. The verb *ini* indicates the "carrying off" of various goods and people. These appear to be spoil (*h3k[w]*, noun) rather than trib-

ute or gifts (*inw*). *Inw* is to be considered a separate activity from plunder or spoil for it was part of a yearly gift-giving activity to Egypt. The rare occurrence of *kf* precludes any definite designation, but is part of the rhetoric associated with the king in these texts and most likely was part of the *h3k(w)* (Lorton 1974b: 63). These terms indicate the importance of taking spoils which were then used for the palace or temple economy (Bleiberg 1984b; 1988).

Military Activity Against Crops/Orchards/Trees

Egyptian military records indicate that while action was taken against foreign socioethnic, village and city-state, and larger political entities, it was also applied against the life-subsistence systems of those attacked. Analysis demonstrates that grain, produce, and orchards were destroyed or confiscated by the Egyptians. This type of military activity is known as early as the VIth Dynasty, where the 'Autobiography of Weni' states, "The army returned safely, it had cut down its figs, its vines" (M. Lichtheim 1973:20).

During the New Kingdom the records of Thutmose III's campaign to Syria-Palestine read, "Now his majesty destroyed (*sk*) the town of Ardata with its grain (*it*). All its fruit trees were cut down (*š'd*)" (Fifth Campaign; *Urk* IV:687,5-7; cf. Wilson 1969a: 239). The same text affirms "Arrival at the town of Kadesh. Destroying it (*sk*). Felling (*š'd*) its trees (*mnw*), cutting down (*wh3*) its grain (*it.w*)" (Sixth Campaign; *Urk* IV:689,7-10; cf. Wilson 1969a: 239). In the final campaign, Year 42, a similar statement is made for the city of Tunip, "Arrival to Tunip. Destroying (*sksk*) the town. Cutting down (*wh3*) its grain (*it.w*) and felling (*š'd*) its trees (*mnw*)" (*Urk* IV:729,15-730,1; cf. Wilson 1969a: 241). These texts explicitly state that both "grain" (*it*) and "trees" (*mnw*) are "destroyed" (*sk*) "cut down" (*š'd*) and "felled" (*wh3*). This is an action that is largely destructive.¹⁶ The destruction of

¹⁶ The destruction of grain and trees in the texts of Thutmose III must be differentiated from the collection of *inw* mentioned in these same documents. A different term is used, namely *šmw*, "harvest, harvest tax" (*DLE* III: 151-152), for the collection of *inw*. The nature of *inw* and how it functioned in the Egyptian economy was first discussed by Gardiner (1947; 1956), who viewed it as "gifts." Helck (1971: 166) spoke of "angebliche Tribut" which he surmised were gifts (cf. Müller-Wollermann 1983), but later perceived another possible meaning as "Handels-anlieferungen" or trade goods which lay parallel to the terms for taxes. Bleiberg (1984a) argued that *inw* consisted of specific contributions to the king's privy purse. Although M. Liverani criticized this view as "too faithful with the Egyptian ideology [as if it were coincident with reality], and the conclusions . . . absolutely minimizing and misleading"

grain and trees is, therefore, well attested in the Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose III against city-states while the receiving of harvest (*šmw*) took place at other sites (Hasel 1994: 56 note 13). Because of their rhetorical and somewhat abstract nature, the verb *fk* and the clauses, *n prt.f*, "his seed is not," and *fdq tzy.sn mnt*, "their root is cut off," warrant further investigation.

fk

Lexicography. The intransitive verb *fk* is defined as "I.a) wüst sein, brach liegen (vom Land 14, vom Acker 15)" (*Wb* I: 579-580); "be empty, be wasted through oppression" (Faulkner 1962: 99); "to desolate, to waste" (*DLE* I: 192). According to the *Wörterbuch* there are fourteen cases where this term refers to the emptiness of the land and fifteen cases where it refers to the emptiness from the harvest (*Wb* I: 579). Thus, there is a lexical connection made between the emptiness of the land from its harvest.

Occurrences and Context. The term *fk* occurs only once in the military inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty on the Merenptah Stela.¹⁷ It is employed an additional six times in the records of Ramses III (*KRI* V:15,3; V:22,5; V:24,10; V:47,2; V:60,7-8; V:83,14).

The one use of the term *fk[t]* in the Merenptah Stela is in the widely debated phrase in the final, hymnic-poetic unit: "Israel is laid waste (*fk[t]*), its seed (*prt*) is not" (*KRI* IV:19,7). The verb *fk[t]* in the first clause, "Israel is laid waste (*fk[t]*)," provides support to the translation of *prt* as "grain." Here in a stative form it appears that *fk[t]* is describing an action against the fields of the people of Israel. The people are portrayed in a state of having been laid waste. Thus, the two phrases, "Israel is laid waste (*fk[t]*), its grain (*prt*) is not," are describing similar events, the second clause in epexegetical relationship to the first. The scribe in effect is describing the desolation of Israel's grain, communi-

(1990: 257 note 13), Bleiberg offers a much more detailed discussion of the texts and their implications.

It is interesting that there is no mention of *šmw* coming as *imw*, "tribute," from those towns that had their "grain," (*it*) destroyed. Perhaps it was because no tribute was forthcoming that the Egyptians decided to attack these cities. On the other hand, it may have simply been that the food supply was destroyed by the Egyptians rather than gathered for temple or palace economy (on this practice, see Bleiberg 1984a; 1988). In either case, the scribe is consistent in his description of events and does not seem to confuse the destruction of "grain" with the collection of *imw*.

¹⁷ The actual reading here is *fk*, a form that should probably be emended to *fkaw* (Fecht 1983: 113; Yurco 1986: 190 note 3), a stative.

cating that food supply/subsistence of this socioethnic group is no longer in existence. In other words, "its seed is not" reflects what is meant by "Israel is *fk* [t]." If the term *fk* is to be understood as the "laying waste of land or harvest" as lexicographers suggest (*Wb* I: 579), it reinforces the interpretation of *prt* as "grain" (cf. Kalpony-Heckel 1985; Ahlström 1991; Hasel 1994). The clauses refer to the same military action taken against Israel in the destruction of its "grain."

During the reign of Ramses III *fk* is used again to describe the laying waste of the land during the First Libyan War (*KRI* V:22,5). In another inscription the enemy describes itself in a long discourse as being *fk*, and sometime later exclaims, "Our seed (*prt*) is not" (*KRI* V:24,10-14). Later, in the Great Inscription of Year 11, it is stated, "Their cities are made ashes, wasted and desolated (*fk*), their seed is not" (Breasted *ARE* IV:258; *KRI* V:60,7-8). In this case the Meshwesh are actively inflicting destruction upon Tehenu. Thus, *fk* is associated with *n prt* three times. In other cases it occurs in the context of the land. This is significant for the contextual and semantic meaning of *fk* as it applies to the military action against the socioethnic entity of Israel (see *prt*, 78-80).

prt

Lexicography. Two major meanings are provided for the noun *prt*. The first definition includes, "A. Frucht einer Pflanze; I. Frucht eines Baumes; II. Besonders: Feldfrucht 11; Getreide 12; Saatkorn 13." The second meaning is "B. Same = Nachkommenschaft; I. Allgemein: Nachkommen, Kinder 1" (*Wb* I: 530-531); "Same, Nachkommenschaft; 2) Frucht, Korn" (Erman and Grapow 1921: 54); "fruit, seed, in the sense of 'offspring,' 'posterity'" (Faulkner 1962: 91); "seed" (*DLE* I: 177).

In this context when *prt* means grain (German *Korn*) and seed for planting (German *Saatkorn*) three determinatives are used either separately or conjunctively, (1) the "plow" (Gardiner 1957: 517, U13), although not exclusively, *Wb* I: 531); (2) the "grain" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 483, M33); and (3) the "grain of sand" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 490, N33; cf. *Wb* I: 530). Helck points out that while *prt* can refer to seed (for planting), it generally may be understood as grain (*Korn*; Helck 1984a: 321; cf. Petrie 1898; Janssen 1961: 82). It is important to observe that there exists no specific hieroglyph for seed (for planting) (Helck 1984a: 321-322). In other cases *prt* may refer to seeds of various types of spices and seasonings when associated with

certain colors (Helck 1976a: 594-595). A second meaning occurs in some contexts where the noun *pri* must be understood as descendants or offspring. The contextual usage is the clear determiner for this extended meaning. *Pri* in this context is often accompanied by two determinatives either separately or conjunctively: (1) the determinative of the "phallus with liquid issuing from it" (Gardiner 1957, 456, D53; *Wb* I: 530-531; although this is not always indicative, cf. *Wb* I: 531) and (2) the "grain of sand" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 490, N33; cf. *Wb* I: 531).

Occurrences and Context. The term *pri* occurs only once in the military inscriptions of Thutmose III (*Urk* IV:687,10); twice in those of Seti I (*KRI* I:18,12; VII:9,7); and once by Merenptah (*KRI* IV:19,7). It occurs twelve times in varying contexts during the reign of Ramses III (*KRI* V:14,5; V:20,2; V:20,6; V:21,14; V:24,14; V:36,8; V:40,15; V:59,7; V:60,7-8; V:65,8; V:86,13; V:113,2).

A major semantic domain of meaning pertains to the usage of *pri* in regard to plants and trees. The inscriptions of Thutmose III state, "Now [his majesty] found [the] entire [land of] Djahi, with their orchards filled with their fruit (*pri*)" (Wilson 1969a: 239; *Urk* IV:687,10). Here *pri* is interpreted as fruit and appears with the "plow" determinative.

In the XIXth Dynasty texts, the term appears only three times, twice with the "grain of sand" but without the "plow" determinative (*KRI* I: 115,12; IV: 19,7). In the campaign against the Hittites in the reign of Seti I, the writer states, "He lets go(?) seed as he wishes, in this despicable land of Hatti, their chiefs are fallen to his sword, reduced to non-existence" (*KRI* I:18,12). The phrase *wsh.f pri* is difficult to translate in this context. Kitchen (1993a: 15) translates, "He lets go(?) seed." But he remains uncertain. It might also be possible to translate "He omits seed" (*DLE* I: 102). The idea of negation is common with this verb¹⁸ and may indicate that seed is destroyed in this context.¹⁹ The question as to what kind of seed is destroyed in this case cannot be clearly determined.

During the reign of Merenptah, the term *pri* appears in the well-known Merenptah Stela in the phrase, "Israel is laid waste, its seed is not." The earliest translations of the Merenptah Stela by Spiegelberg

¹⁸ Other meanings include "to stop" (TR 10052 [Pl. 27] 3,17); "to cease" (CS IV8; *DLE* I: 102).

¹⁹ In this context *pri* may be referring to the chiefs of Hatti who appear in this description.

rendered *pri* "Frucht" (1896: 23; 1908: 404) and "grain" according to Breasted (1897: 66). Breasted later correctly pointed out (Breasted *ARE*: 3.258) that this phrase in its context with Israel could not mean the slaying of male children in Egypt. Surprisingly, later scholars cited Breasted without reference to his major arguments, assuming that this was merely a conventional phrase to denote a defeated people and took *pri* to mean descendants/offspring (Erman 1923: 346; Stein 1982: 158; Fecht 1983: 120; Homung 1983: 232; Yurco 1986; P.R. Davies 1992). Yet, other scholars continued to translate *pri* as grain or *Saatgut* (Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Ahlström 1991). This interpretation is supported by the preceding verb *fk*, "to lay waste" which can refer to the emptiness from the harvest (*Wb* I: 579). Thus, the couplet, "Israel is laid waste (*fk*), its grain (*pri*) is not," is a synonymous parallelism that describes the desolation of Israel's grain, communicating that Israel's food supply/subsistence is no longer in existence.²⁰

The wider contextual domain of the phrase *n pri.f* can be found in the inscriptions of Ramses III. Here the term occurs twelve times. In six of these occurrences *pri* appears in the clause *n pri.f* (*KRI* V:20,2; V:21,14; V:24,14; V:40,15; V:60,7-8; V:65,8). It is significant that in each of these examples *pri* has the "plow" determinative. This determinative may give support to the translation "grain" in this particular clause.²¹ In addition, several of the texts show that the destruction of *pri*

²⁰ For the implications on the identification of Israel as a rural, sedentary group of agriculturalists without its own city-state support system, see Hasel (1994: 53-54 and Chapter Three, 201-203).

²¹ In other contexts *pri* accompanied with the "plow" determinative may also indicate the enemy of the Egyptians that may be metaphorically described as insignificant seed or grain (cf. Grimal 1986: 100; 131 note 374; 665). In the remaining six occurrences during the reign of Ramses III *pri* is not employed in the clause *n pri.f* (*KRI* V:14,5; V:20,6; V:36,8; V:59,7; V:86,13; V:113,2) and may be often interpreted in these contexts as referring to the enemy soldiers who are being attacked by the Egyptians: (1) "His arm has laid low their seed" (*KRI* V:14,5). This is most likely referring to the Temeh who are in the same context described as lying prostrate before the king's horses, slain in their places (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 11); (2) "For thou hast made our seed to turn back when fighting to advance themselves against Egypt, forever" (*KRI* V:20,6; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 19) describing the "fallen ones from Libya"; (3) "Thy strong arm is that which is before me, overthrowing their seed" (*KRI* V:36,8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 47). The preceding phrase states, "My strong arm has overthrown [those] who exalt themselves; the Peleset, the Denyen, and the Shekelesh." It seems the overthrowing of seed is in parallel with the overthrowing of Egypt's enemy; (4) "He chose a lord, one whom he had created, the seed which issued from his body, a divine youth, a noble lad" (*KRI* V:59,7; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 75). This is a distinct case where descendants/offspring are meant and is so indicated by the "phallus" determinative; (5) "Thou makest [our seed] to turn back (by) fighting on the battlefield" (*KRI* V:86,13; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 105). *Pri* is reconstructed

took place by means of conflagration. In the record of the First Libyan War the enemy cries out, "The fire has penetrated us, our seed (*prt*) is not" (Breasted *ARE* 4.24; *KRI* V:24:13-14). One might expect the slaying of descendants or offspring to be accomplished by the sword and not the flame.²² However, here fire and its flame are used to describe the destruction of *prt*, "grain." Fires and its flames are also used to destroy the boats of the invading "Sea Peoples" with their subsistence supplies. Although one might argue that in these occurrences there is a clear association with fire and the destruction of seed, it is also possible to view the fire metaphorically as the fury of the advancing army. Again it is informative to note the contrast in the inscriptions of Thutmose III where the *mw*, "tribute," is differentiated from the destroyed "grain." Also in these texts of Ramses III a strong sense is given of the type of destruction which befalls the *prt*.

In other contexts there is a close parallel between the "land" (*tj*) and the negation of *prt*. The text of the First Libyan War states, "I laid low (*dh*) the land (*tj*) of Temeh, their seed (*prt*) is not" (*ARE* 4:33; *KRI* V:20,2). Here the laying low of the land is summed up by the epexegetical clause "their seed is not." Again the record of the Second Libyan War states, "The land of the Meshwesh is desolated (*fh*) at one time, the Libyans and Seped are destroyed (*stsk*), their seed (*prt*) is not" (Breasted *ARE* 4.55; *KRI* V:65,7-8).²³ These might both be examples of how the fields or land in which a people lived were destroyed by removing their means of subsistence.

(1936: 105 note 26b) and again is a description of the captives of Egypt in reference to themselves; (6) "He is like Montu; a mighty bull when he rages, slaying the lands of the Asiatics, desolating (*fh*) their seed, and making the strong turn back, lifting their faces" (*KRI* V:113,2; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 145). In this case the desolating of seed may be a reference back to the "slaying of lands." This phrase may indeed refer to *prt* as "grain." However, the context does not make this certain.

²² There are no iconographic or textual sources currently known that depict the use of fire or conflagration as an Egyptian military tactic against cities or population groups (see 86). There are numerous examples of the use of sword warfare, archery, and cavalry in open-field combat (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 23; Youssef; Leblanc; Maher 1977: Pl. XXII; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 58; *MH* II: Pl. 88). Note the repeated depiction of the king ritually smiting his enemies with a sickle sword or mace (E. S. Hall 1986: Figs. 45, 46, 50, 52, 55, 56, 64, 65, 70).

²³ In another context Ramses III is described as "entering among them like a falcon spying small birds, (so that they are) beaten into heaps in their places like the mowing down of grain [*it*]" (*KRI* V:113,11-12; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 144). Here his destruction of desert animals is described metaphorically with the "mowing down of grain."

mnt

Lexicography. The noun *mnt* is defined as "1. Wurzel einer Pflanze 2. auch von bestimmten Pflanzen in offizineller Verwendung 3; *fdk tzy.sn mnt.t* ihre Wurzel ausreißen = die Feinde ausrotten 5. *D. 20'* (*Wb* II: 77); "Wurzel" (Erman and Grapow 1921: 64); "root" (Faulkner 1962: 108); "root" (*DLE* I: 218).

Occurrences and Context. This noun occurs only four times in the inscriptions of Ramses III: in the record of the First Libyan War at Medinet Habu (1, *KRI* V:15,2); in the First Libyan War - Great Inscription, Year 5 (1, *KRI* V:24,5-6); in the Second Libyan War - Great Inscription, Year 11 (1, *KRI* V:63,1); and in a topographical list at Medinet Habu (1, *KRI* V:93,11).

In two cases *mnt* is found in the context of the phrase *fdq tzy.sn mnt*, "their root is cut off." In this context, "Their root was cut off; they are not, in a single case" (*KRI* V:15,2; V:24,5-6) implies the destruction of plants, as is evident from another example which states, "-- was a mighty torch hurling flame from the heavens to search out their souls, to devastate their [root] (*mnt*) which was (still) in their land" (*KRI* V:63,1). Here it appears that it is the explicit purpose of the Egyptians to "devastate" or "plunder" (*fb*) the root that exists in enemy lands and by extension their harvest. In another vivid description, the gods are said to "cause them to see thy majesty like the sky when it is concealed and pregnant with tempest, so that it has removed the trees (*mnw*) from their roots (*mnt*)" (*KRI* V:93,11). Thus, trees (*mnw*) are also the object of destruction.

Aside from the specific terms *fk*, *prt*, *mnw*, and *mnt*, destruction of grain is found in the wider context of the Merenptah Stela. In the concluding lines previous to the hymnic-poetic unit concerning Syria-Palestine appears, "He who plows his harvest will eat it" (*KRI* IV:18,15; Wilson 1969b: 378). This phrase is in the contextual setting of a longer description of the land at peace. It would imply that in war times the conqueror will not allow him who plows to eat the harvest, to eat his grain, because the conqueror will have destroyed it or confiscated it for his own use. This is made clear earlier in the text where it states in the description of the Libyan war: "the grain (*it*) of his supplies was plundered and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive" (*KRI* IV:14,10). In the Kom el-Ahmar Stela it says that the king is one who "puts Libya under the might of his terror ----- making their camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking ----- every herb that came forth from their fields. No field grew, to keep alive . . ." (*KRI*

IV:20,7-8; Breasted *ARE*: 3.254). The condition of unyielding fields may have been caused by the military activity of the Egyptians. However, the fragmentary nature of this text makes this conclusion only tentative.

A later Egyptian military campaign record of Pi(ankhy) from 720 B.C. gives evidence for the same military practice. An enemy exclaims, "You can yet double the punishment for me, but protect the grain . . . do not cut off the plant to its roots!" (Campaign against Libyans; Kausen 1985: 583).

The weight of evidence seems to suggest that the destruction and/or confiscation of grain and fields was perceived by the writers to be a widespread military tactic of the Egyptians throughout the New Kingdom and later. The texts indicate two types of destruction. One method was the cutting down of grain which may then later be used for subsistence for troops or taken back as "tribute" to Egypt. The second method was the burning down of fields and villages where grain was cultivated and stored.

Iconography

There are several cases in the late New Kingdom where the cutting down of trees and the destruction of grain (?) are portrayed. There is one unique case in the reliefs of Seti I on the outer face of the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The second register on the left side depicts the Syrians cutting down trees and bowing in supplication before the advancing king in his chariot (Pritchard 1954: 110, Pl. 331; Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 53; Figure 9). At first this may seem strange. Usually it is the army of Egypt that is shown conducting the destructive activity. However, on further thought one may suspect that the Syrians from Lebanon are seeking the mercy of the advancing king and in a last desperate measure attempt to appease the king by offering him their most valuable commodity: the well-known cedars of Lebanon. The trees are depicted in a totally different manner from conventional drawings in the scenes to the left and below. This may indicate their identification as a cedar, given their long trunks.²⁴

²⁴ The cedar of Lebanon (*C. libani*) was a coniferous tree that could attain a height of 30 m and was capable of reaching an age of two to three thousand years (Zohary 1982: 104-105). The trees depicted in this relief are not coniferous if one examines the leaves shown. Nevertheless, their height could indicate a cedar of Lebanon. The

At Luxor an unnamed Syrian city has been plundered by Ramses II (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 65; Schulman 1964b: 18). Its gates are askew and the city lies empty. The surrounding hills depicted to its left are covered with what is left of its fruit trees. All of them have been cut down. Only the bushes and the smaller vegetation remain standing. The scene depicting the battle of the city of Tunip during the reign of Ramses III further illustrates the destruction of trees (*MH* II: Pl. 88-89). In the upper right-hand corner soldiers are shown cutting down trees with axes. Behind one of the soldiers several fruit trees are piled up. Others are approaching mounds of grain (?) with sickle swords or possibly fire.²⁵ These two depictions are the clearest portraits of the destruction of trees, orchards, and possibly grain.



Figure 9, The cutting of trees in Lebanon before Seti I

artist may have known only of their long trunks and added the leaves as part of the representation. On the stylistic depiction of these cedars, see Meiggs (1982: 67).

²⁵ Schulman (1964b: 18) suggests that the scene depicts an infantryman casting fire into a hayrick. This may be a possible interpretation of the second soldier, situated beneath the first and holding his right hand against the pile of hay/grain. But the soldier above him seems to hold a sickle.

Conflagration

Conflagration is known as a military tactic throughout the ancient Near East. This is especially the case in the Assyrian period when cities are spoken of as being burned to the ground (Younger 1990: 98, 106-107; see Chapter Two, 191-192). The Egyptians also refer to fire and burning throughout their military records, but frequently not in a direct manner. Instead, there are several ways that conflagration is implied: (1) as a metaphor for the king; (2) as a metaphor for the army of Egypt; and (3) directly as a military activity.

Metaphor for the King

The primary contextual setting of flame, fire, or burning is part of the rhetoric employed to illustrate the power of the king and the fear that he imparts to his enemies. This metaphor is found in military documents throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In his campaign against the Hittites, Seti I is described as one "who enters among them like a fiery flame (*sdt*) reducing them to non-existence" (Kitchen 1993a: 15; *KRI* I:18,1). Later "He is like a flame (*ht*) in its shooting forth, unchecked by water!" (Kitchen 1993a: 19; *KRI* I:23,9). Here both *sdt* and *ht* are attributed to the king who destroys his enemy. On the exterior northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the text states, "How mighty is his [the king's] power against them, (just) like fire when he destroys (*sksk*) their towns" (*KRI* I:18,14; Kitchen 1993a: 15). Here the power of the king is expressed by comparing him metaphorically to fire.

Likewise, Ramses II in the *Poem of the Battle of Kadesh* is portrayed as one who is "Like a flame (*ht*) at its time of devouring; bold as a bull arrayed [on] the field of combat" (Wilson 1927: 267; *KRI* II:7,7). Ramses II is compared with Re (the Sun) rising at dawn, "My uraeus-serpent overthrew for me [my] enemies and gave forth its fiery blaze (*hh*) in a flame (*nswt*) in the face of my foe, (so that) I was like Re in his rising at dawn, and my rays burned (*wbd*) the flesh of my enemy" (Wilson 1927: 276; *KRI* II:86,10). The concept of *wbd.i h3w.s*, "my rays burning the flesh," of the enemy is found also in the *Bulletin*: "His every district before him was encompassed by a blaze (*rkh*) of fire (*ht*), and he burned up (*wbd*) every foreign country with his blast (*hh*), while his two eyes were glaring when he saw them, and his personality blazed fire against them" (Wilson 1927: 281; *KRI* II:120,10).

The inscriptions of Ramses III make the most metaphorical use of the king as a flame or heat. His heat (*wbd*) causes the burning up of the Nine Bows (*KRI* V:13,8), their villages (*KRI* V:17,12) and their bodies (*KRI* V:30,12; V:69,10). His heat may be equated with his name (*m,f*) and the terror of him (*nrv.f*) that "burn up (*mḥḥ*) the plains and the hill countries" (*KRI* V:22,11) and the lands of the enemies (*KRI* V:49,4). Indeed, when nations pronounce his name they are said to burn up (*mḥḥ*; *KRI* V:41,4). His fire is compared with the heat of an oven (*KRI* V:65,10).

The metaphoric depiction of the king as giving out heat (*hh*), burning (*mḥḥ*) victims, villages, and lands and going forth like a flame (*sdṯ*) could be interpreted as having some historical validity as an Egyptian military tactic inflicted by the king (or military) upon Egypt's enemies, but it is more likely that when viewed within the larger contextual setting it is stereotypical rhetoric, especially during the reign of Ramses III.

Metaphor for the Egyptian Army and Battle

A second semantic domain for the usage of conflagration imagery is in reference to the battle itself or the army of Egypt. Such imagery occurs first in the *Poem* of the Battle of Kadesh, where the following description is provided: "Their total was 1,000 spans of chariotry, which came straight on to the fire (*ḥt*)" (Wilson 1927: 272; *KRI* II:51,15). Here the enemy is described by the number of their chariotry and said to come directly into the fire, i.e., into direct confrontation with the armies of Egypt. This metaphor is again more frequent in the documents of Ramses III. The "Sea Peoples" are said to be "coming, while the flame (*rkḥ*) was prepared before them, forward toward Egypt" (*KRI* V:40,2). Again the writer states, "As for those who reached my frontier, their seed was not. Their heart and their soul are finished for ever and ever. As for those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame (*ḥ3wt*) was in front of them [at] the Nile mouths." Here again, the terms for flame (*rkḥ*, *ḥ3wt*) seem to speak metaphorically of the Egyptian army preparing itself for battle. This is evident in several references where a direct claim of conflagration is made, ones that are not necessarily couched in metaphorical terms.

Direct References to Conflagration

Several direct references to conflagration as a military tactic exist during the XIXth Dynasty. In Merenptah's Great Libyan War Inscription at Karnak it states that "They were taken away ----- fire (*ht*) was set to the camp and their tents of leather" (*KRI* IV:9,10). Apparently this action was taken after the inhabitants were removed. This statement occurs in a non rhetorical section of the inscription as the conclusion to the list of spoil that was "taken off (*ini*) as plunder (*hskw*)." Among those items were 9,111 copper swords of the Mesh-wesh, drinking vessels, armor, and knives (Breasted *ARE*: 3.250-251). All of these items were apparently taken before fire was set to the camp. Another statement in the Merenptah Stela is similar, "Their camp was burned and made a roast, all his possessions were food for the troops" (*KRI* IV:14,14). Here there is again evidence of food being confiscated by the Egyptians and used as food for their soldiers. Only when these items were taken was their camp burned.

These direct references are significant for several reasons. (1) It is apparent that settlements/camps comprised of tents of leather were subject to conflagration. (2) From the references of Merenptah, this action was apparently taken only after all objects valued by the Egyptians were removed for booty. This included a variety of items such as vessels, pottery, swords, armor, cattle, and grain/food. The absence of this type of material culture might be significant for archaeological investigations.

The metaphoric usage of fire and burning to describe the power of the king represents an important theme through the military terminology of the XIXth Dynasty. Although these uses of metaphor may represent the reality of fire as a major military tactic in the late New Kingdom, the lack of depictions illustrating the use of conflagration in the iconography is also significant. Furthermore, there are only three direct textual references to conflagration: two of these associated with tents/camps and only one statement dealing with unspecified towns/villages. This indicates that, overall, these references are rare in the literature and cannot be interpreted as a general military tactic of the Egyptians.

CONCLUSIONS

The lexicographic and contextual investigation of Egyptian military terminology has provided several significant conclusions concerning the Egyptian perception of military activity in the southern Levant.

(1) The contextual usage of the terms indicates that the king is at the center of all military activity. He is the one who "smites" (*hwt*), "overthrows" (*štr*), "slays" (*w'w'*, *hdb*, *smj*), "casts down" (*phd*, *hdb*, *ghgb*), "tramples" (*ptpt*, *titi*), "destroys" (*sksk*), and "cuts off heads" (*hsk*). The focus of these actions is in most cases solely on the inhabitants of regions or cities, rarely against cities or villages themselves. It is the king who defeats these enemy peoples and nations. Many of the terms are employed as epithets of the king. Thus, the actions of the military establishment are attributed to the king for legitimation purposes. Regardless of who caused these actions, or the rhetorical way that they are presented, the military action itself is significant. Obviously the Egyptians had specific reasons for directing their actions against people and nations who were viewed as "wretched" (*hst*) "wicked" (*bin*) and "evil" (cf. Younger 1990: 183-184). Another inscription states, "The wretched city which His Majesty carried off (*ini*) when it was wicked, Ashkelon" (Yadin 1963: 228). From these designations it appears that the Egyptians viewed the surrounding nations as causing upheaval and unrest. It was their duty to uphold *mj't*, "truth, justice, order," in the surrounding regions. Although this might simply have been an attempt to legitimize their will to expand the empire by extending their boundaries (*tsj*; Galán 1995), the superiority of the king in protecting Egypt is a major factor for these actions.

(2) Not only was the king powerful, but his power and authority to exercise military action originated from Amun himself and it was to Amun that the spoils (*kf*) and captives (*hsk/tj*) were brought (*ini*). Thus, in addition to a legitimation role, there is an important ideological factor involved.

(3) It is within this ideological context that another interest is couched. These spoils, plunder, and captives were of primary economic importance to both the temple and palace (Bleiberg 1984a; 1984b; 1988). The amount and types of goods brought from these regions were significant (Na'aman 1981).

(4) Military action against crops, orchards, and trees applied to cities and socioethnic groups in the destruction, conflagration, or

confiscation of their life-support system. These actions were widely practiced in the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties.

(5) Allusions to conflagration are employed as metaphors of the king and army in battle. Direct references are also present, but are primarily associated with socioethnic groups living in tents. No evidence of burning larger fortresses, cities, or sites exists in textual and iconographic records even though destruction by conflagration seems to be a major factor at sites throughout the southern Levant during this period (see Introduction, 1-2).

(6) It is significant to note that of the thirty terms that comprised this study, only five have an extensive and meaningful semantic context of describing the means by which military activity is taken against cities, fortresses, or villages. Of these, the most common claim is that Pharaoh "plundered" (*hf*) a given fortress. This verb is often replaced in parallel texts with *ini*, "to carry off." The semantic context of these terms indicates that spoils and captives were taken from the city which became subject to the king and to Egypt. This general term does not necessarily imply the destruction of the city itself. Related to *hf* and *ini* contextually is the term *mh*, "to capture, seize." This term is used to indicate the action taken against Gezer. *Sksk*, "to hack up, destroy," is a term employed more generally to describe the action against the lands of different nations and in only one case against towns. Its relatively infrequent usage in the XIXth Dynasty indicates that this was not a major action. There is only one possible reference to the destruction of the walls of a city. In a very fragmented text the "breaching" (*sd*) of walls is mentioned. But overall it should be noted that the Egyptian scribes were very stereotypical and general in their references to specific military actions. In the inscriptions there is never any indication of what parts of cities were destroyed. The reader is told only that everything was "destroyed," "plundered," or "carried away." It is only from a second, accompanying source of communication that more specific conclusions can be drawn concerning the military action taken against cities: the iconography in representational depictions.

The study of iconographic aspects of Egyptian military activity complements and expands the database of available Egyptian historical records, providing a wider framework of communication. It provides the following significant conclusions concerning the Egyptian practice of warfare in the southern Levant:

(1) The iconography associated with the textual accounts displays

close parallels in describing the focus of military activity. The acts of "smiting" (*hwi*) and "cutting off heads" (*hsk*) are shown as the king "grasps" his enemies by the cords around their necks with one hand and with a mace, sickle-sword, or spear in his other outstretched arm. The actions of "trampling" (*ptpt*, *titi*), "casting down" (*phd*, *hdb*, *gbgb*), and "overthrowing" (*shr*) of the enemy are depicted by the king standing on the head of the chiefs, his horses trampling the overthrown enemy beneath their feet, and running over them with his chariot. All of these battle actions are shown in relief, providing a parallel iconographic portrayal of the actions described in the text.

(2) The depictions of fortresses and cities give a more complete concept of the means by which Egyptian military activity was executed against these entities. These data relate directly to the terms *hf* and *ini*. The iconography provides two perspectives: one that depicts the actions as they are taking place and another that shows the results of the activity. Both are crucial to delineate military practices. The first type of depiction provides information on the perceived military tactics of the Egyptians and the defenders of cities (the use of siege equipment; the type of weapons employed; the manner and focus of the attack, etc.). The second type of relief conveys the Egyptian perception of what remained after this activity was completed (standing walls of the city; the gates of the city askew; fruit trees cut down, etc.). Although the primary goal of these attacks was the destruction of rebellious and wicked enemy peoples, the confiscation of prisoners and their possessions, and the ultimate expansion of Egypt's borders that served to legitimize the king of Egypt and the gods, the means through which this was accomplished is provided by this iconographic information.

(3) The reliefs confirm that spoils and captives were brought back to Egypt from surrounding regions where they were presented to Amun or to the Theban Triad. The depictions portray the Pharaoh guiding the tied captives or driving them before his chariot and horses. Moreover, the reliefs depict the types of spoils that are taken and the dress of prisoners, details that provide significant evidence for the goods Egyptians were interested in and the ethnic distinctions among the defeated enemies.

(4) Reliefs of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III indicate the method by which crops, trees, and orchards were destroyed—by hacking them down with battle-axes.

(5) There is no iconographic evidence for the use of fire against

cities during the attack. After the city is "plundered" it is still depicted as standing and largely intact. This has important implications for archaeological interpretation.

The preceding analysis was crucial in delineating some important aspects of the Egyptian perspective of military activity in surrounding regions. Egyptian military documents and representations consist of highly rhetorical forms of "language" that portray the king as sole protector and legitimate ruler over Egypt. The ideology is reflected in the medium of communication (temple walls) as well as in the terminology and depictions. These are broadly stereotypical and rhetorical. By examining this rhetoric in a broad contextual framework, certain elements begin to emerge with clarity. These include the focus, means, and extent of military activity. Although one might find that the description of the effects of military activity lack many of the specific details that may be addressed from an archaeological perspective, it must be recognized that the Egyptians possessed their own purposes for discourse and in their view the descriptions achieved the desired results. This fact has provided the discipline with an additional source of data that stands as a basis of comparison and aids in supplementing the archaeological evidence in an altogether new way.

For the reconstruction of Egypt's military activities in the southern Levant, an investigation of the comparative archaeological contexts in the regions claimed to have been overcome and subjugated is necessary. The following chapters will focus on these archaeological contexts. By analyzing these data on their own parameters the impact of Egyptian military activity can be evaluated from another, independent perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT— CITY-STATE AND TERRITORIAL ELEMENTS

Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth Dynasty contain toponyms of specific sites and larger geographical territories. They are distinguished as foreign entities by their determinatives and orthography and many are also depicted in Egyptian reliefs that portray them in the fray of the attack or abandoned. In the previous chapter certain conclusions were drawn on the basis of this textual and iconographic evidence from Egypt. The main goal of that chapter was to establish what military activities took place in upholding *ms't*, "truth, justice, and order," in Egypt and in surrounding regions. This chapter concentrates on the concrete effects of that Egyptian military activity in archaeological contexts and their interpretation.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with the archaeological evidence for Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant. Elements of Egyptian-type architecture and material culture are briefly outlined. This is followed by an evaluation of the interpretive models that these data have generated. The aim of this section is to emphasize the economic and political interest of Egypt in this region as evident in Egyptian presence/influence. This interest precipitated military action when the security of the region was threatened by possible internal and external factors, a thesis that is tested in the chronological framework of the campaigns in archaeological contexts.

The following three sections deal with sites appearing in the military accounts during the reigns of the three major rulers of the XIXth Dynasty (Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah). Each section begins with a brief overview of the individual chronologies of these rulers with more specific interest addressed to the chronology of the campaigns. Once the chronology of the campaigns is established, a detailed investigation of toponyms in Syria, Transjordan, and Cisjordan is conducted. These sites are each analyzed according to the research design outlined in Chapter One. First, the context of their occurrences in Egyptian military accounts is evaluated. Second, their

identification according to Egyptian and Semitic orthography is established. These steps are undertaken before an assessment of archaeological contexts is conducted.

For the archaeological contexts it is important to understand the history of investigation for each site. This is outlined in one section. Second, the occupational history of the site is summarized with specific attention given to the Late Bronze Age horizon. Third, the correlates of a possible destruction are addressed. Questions concerning the focus, means, and extent of the destruction are directed to the archaeological data. Fourth, an attempt to establish the chronological framework of the destruction is made. Fifth, subsequent activity at the site, following the destruction, is evaluated for possible indications concerning the effects of the destruction on the local population and the cause of the destruction. This includes an investigation of elements of continuity and discontinuity. Once each of these steps has been taken, an assessment of the evidence is provided for each toponym. The results of the analysis of toponyms during the reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah are given in summaries at the end of each section before general conclusions and implications are presented.

THE NATURE OF EGYPTIAN PRESENCE IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

Egyptian presence in the southern Levant is a matter of great importance in establishing the impetus for Egyptian military activity in the region. The thesis that Egyptian military action was carried out to reestablish *m3't*, "truth, justice, order," rests on the premise that dominance over the region was based on economic, political, and ideological concerns resulting in wide-scale Egyptian presence/influence over the region. Archaeological investigations of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant have focused largely on influences detectable in architecture and material culture. Recent excavation results have added to the growing corpus of material. Specific categories are arranged as follows: (1) Architecture ("governor's" residences; forts; temples; and naval bases); (2) Material culture (weapons; ivory; doorjambs and lintels; stelae, statues, and plaques; anthropoid coffins; pottery and alabaster; pendants and amulets, scarab seals; and hieratic inscriptions). The archaeological data for each of these categories are summarized in this section to indicate the degree of

Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

Egyptian Architecture

"Governor's" Residencies

The notion of a "governor's" residency is based on an imperialist model with the expected local rulers exacting control of their assigned regions. Such residencies have been identified in early excavations in Palestine (Leonard 1989: 31). Macalister suggested in 1912 that there was such a residency located at Gezer (Macalister 1912a: 206; cf. Singer 1986; 1994: 288).¹ During his excavations at Tell el-Far'ah (S), Petrie, likewise, detected a significant building and called it a "governor's residency," postulating that it may have belonged to the highest official at the site or the Egyptian governor (Petrie 1930: 17; Albright 1938: 357-359; cf. Oren 1984b: 39). Similar residencies were identified at numerous sites including buildings 1500 and 1700 in Stratum VI at Beth Shan (James 1966: 4-13, 161-179; James and McGovern 1993: 1-5); Building 906 at Tell Sera' (Stratum IX; Oren 1984b: 39-45; 1993a); Building JF at Tell Jemmeh (Stratum JK; Petrie 1928: Pl. VI; Van Beek 1993; cf. Oren 1984b: 46); Building

¹ The residency at Gezer, first suggested by Macalister (1912a: 206), has recently received additional support and interpretation as an Egyptian "governor's" residency (Singer 1986; 1994: 288). Singer argues that other material culture found at the site including a large stone block that contains half of the hieroglyphic sign *nb* ("gold") signifies Egyptian building. He furthermore points out that many of the features of the building are similar to other "governor's" residencies found in Canaan (1986: 28-30; citing Oren 1984b). Singer's conclusion has been challenged by Maeir (1988-89) who proposes that the residency dates to an earlier time period while Bunimowitz (1988-89) proposed an entirely different location for the "governor's" residency.

Maeir's conclusion is based on a perceived parallel with Beth-Shemesh Stratum V (MB IIC-B). He makes some important points concerning the presence of Egyptian material culture at the site, contending that these objects could have found their way to Gezer in numerous ways (i.e. trade). The lack of Egyptian pottery seems to indicate that Egyptians were not residing there (Maeir 1988-89: 66). But this argument is problematic. Macalister's excavations were uncontrolled so that Egyptian pottery may have been present but unrecognized and discarded. Subsequent excavations revealed that Macalister had completely excavated the area. No additional ceramic evidence could be gathered (Younker 1991; Dever and Younker 1991; Dever 1993a) although excavators support that this structure dates to the period of the New Kingdom (LB II) due to its stratigraphic relationship with the Middle Bronze Inner Wall (Dever 1993a: 40). Because of these difficulties, the identification of this building as an Egyptian structure remains unconfirmed (cf. Dever 1993a: 40).

410 at Tell Masos (Stratum IIIA; Kempinski and Fritz 1977; Kempinski *et al.* 1981: 154-180; Fritz and Kempinski 1983); Tell el-Hesi (Stratum "City Sub IV"; Bliss 1898: 71-74; cf. Weinstein 1981; Oren 1984b: 46-47) and most recently at Tell es-Sa'idiyah (Stratum XII, Areas AA and EE; Tubb 1988; 1990; Tubb; Dorrell; and Cobbing 1996; 1997) and Pella (Phase VA-B; Potts and Smith 1990: 47-64; Walmsley *et al.* 1993; Bourke 1994).² Another building at Aphek has received this designation (Stratum X-12; Kochavi 1978; 1980; 1981: 78; 1990).

In his analysis of these possible "governor's" residencies, Oren posits that these buildings exemplify what he calls "a special category of domestic architecture" (1984b: 51). These reflect strong Egyptian influences which can be differentiated from other Syrian-influenced royal palaces known during the Middle and Late Bronze ages at Hazor, Shechem, and Megiddo (cf. Harif 1979; Fritz 1983b; Oren 1992; see Figure 10).

Despite some of the difficulties at several sites it seems proper to concur with Higginbotham (1993) that this type of Egyptian architecture has valid parallels in Egypt.

But what evidence is there that these residencies were occupied by Egyptians? At Beth Shan a major concentration of Egyptian statues,

² The expedition to Pella by the University of Sydney uncovered a Late Bronze Age building which they designated as a "Governor's Residence" (Bourke 1994: 65) or "Palatial Residence" (Bourke *et al.* 1994: 104). Excavators classified it with the courtyard houses of Oren (1984b; cf. "center hall houses," Higginbotham 1993) although they note that this architectural type "is a local form derived from Middle Bronze Age predecessors" (Bourke *et al.* 1994: 104-105; cf. Bietak 1992). This structure had three phases. The first phase (VB2) dated to the Late Bronze I period based on an abundance of Chocolate-on-White ware; the second (VB1) to the Late Bronze I-II where Chocolate-on-White and White slip wares are more distinctive. Finally, Phase VA witnessed the erection of small stone and mudbrick walls and the addition of two to three small rooms in the eastern and western margins of the courtyard. The occupational contexts contained sherds of Mycenaean IIIA2/IIIB.

Excavators have noted that although the construction resembles that of the Beth Shan residency, it predates Beth Shan by about two centuries. Furthermore, there "are no Egyptian features obvious in the construction of the Pella residence. Walls are trench-built, footings are of massive field-stones, topped with neatly-laid yellow-brown mudbricks, showing no signs of added wooden beams or separation of brick courses with matting" (Bourke *et al.* 1994: 107; 106, Figs. 15, 16). Possible Egyptian-type material culture includes a Serpentine tazza fragment (dating to the XVIIIth to XIXth Dynasties; cf. Clamer 1988: 108-109); and a scarab seal (XVth Dynasty; Bourke *et al.* 1994: 113-114). Decorated ivory boxes (Potts 1986; 1987), cuneiform tablets, and one scarab seal impression (cf. Potts and Smith 1990: 50, 59-64) indicate to the excavators that this building served as the residence of the local governor (Bourke 1994: 107).

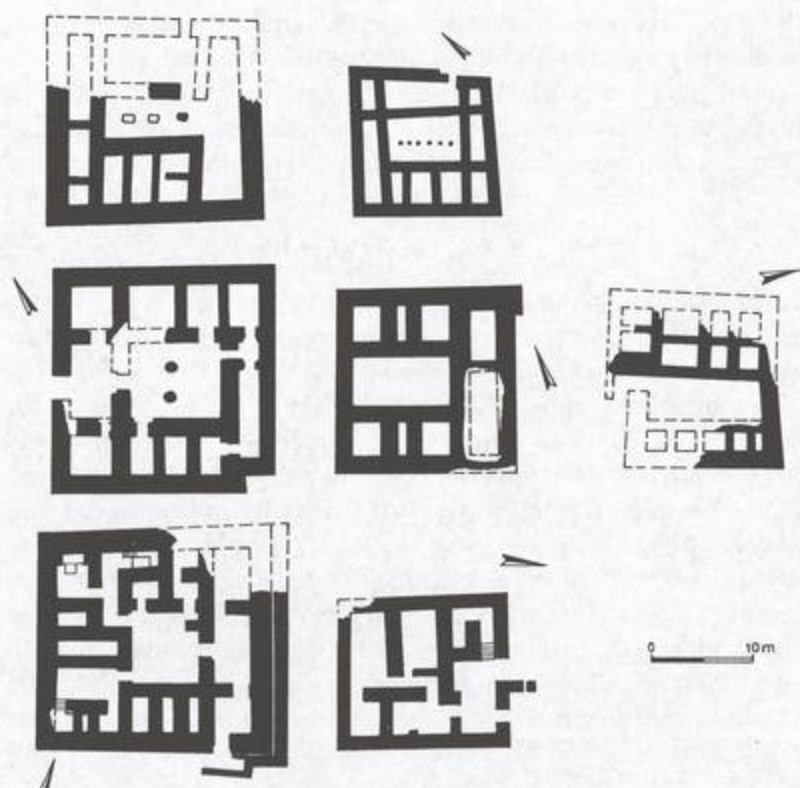


Figure 10, "Governor's" residences in the southern Levant
 1. Tell Sera'; 2. Tell Masos; 3. Beth Shan; 4. Tell el-Hesi
 5. Tell Jemmeh; 6. Tell el-Far'ah (S); 7. Aphek
 (Oren 1984b: Fig. 2)

stelae, architecture, and other material culture indicates that it was an Egyptian stronghold. At Aphek a tablet (dated to ca. 1250 B.C.) written by Takuhlina, prefect of Ugarit, to Haya, presumably an Egyptian vizier and royal messenger to foreign lands, was found in the destruction debris (Stratum X12) of the residency (Owen 1981: 1-3). This tablet may indicate that the Egyptian *H(w)y*, who was active during the reign of Ramses II (Habachi 1971: 64-71; cf. Owen 1981: 9-10; Singer 1983), was a resident at Aphek in the residency there around 1250 B.C. The hieratic inscriptions at Tell Sera' indicate that there were Egyptian or Egyptian-trained scribes who kept records of the taxed grain income to Egyptian *Stützpunkte* (Goldwasser 1984: 86; see 113-114).

The implication that at least some "governor's" residences may have been occupied by Egyptians, or Egyptian vassal rulers, indicates the economic and political interest of the Egyptians in the region. The fact that many buildings were built in Egyptian-style architecture may reflect the influence of Egypt in a concrete way.

Forts on the "Ways of Horus"

Smaller fortifications began to appear along the "Ways of Horus" during the Late Bronze III period. Several proposals that these fortresses exhibited Egyptian influence in their structural design and in the accompanying material culture have been made (Oren 1980; 1987; T. Dothan 1987; Oren and Shereshevski 1989; Kempinski 1992; for Egyptian architectural parallels, see Clarke 1913; Badawy 1977). This interpretation is supported by both archaeological and textual/historical evidence. In an article published in 1920, Gardiner studied the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak and toponyms mentioned in Papyrus Harris I. At Karnak, Seti I is depicted fighting the "foes of Š3sw" and subsequently driving several lines of captives back to Egypt. On these reliefs twenty-two toponyms appear along the route and can be classified as forts or larger fortified towns, with accompanying bodies of water (reservoirs). Unfortunately, only Sile (Thele) and Gaza, the first and last toponyms, and possibly Rafia, have identifiable names. The others are names reflecting the king. It is suggested that these depictions represent the actual system of fortification lining the "Ways of Horus" (T. Dothan 1982b; 1987; 1993; Oren and Shereshevski 1989). Oren and Shereshevski (1989: 11) postulate that the reliefs of Seti I depict eleven actual locations with accompanying bodies of water. Z. Gal (1993: 80-81) suggests that the distances between these locations can be calculated as approximately 25 km based on the inscriptions of Thutmose III and a correlation with Mesopotamian royal road systems.

Higginbotham (1993: 455-466) classified this category as "administrative buildings." Her study encompassed only three sites in modern Israel without extending along the northern Sinai. The term *migdol* was first used during the reign of Seti I to describe and depict forts in the southern Levant (Gardiner 1920). The only true *migdols* have been found at Tell Mor (Strata VIII-VII; and possibly VI-V; M. Dothan 1960a: 124) and at Beth Shan (Stratum VII; James and McGovern 1993a: 237). Following a destruction at the end of the fourteenth

century, the *midgol* at Tell Mor was constructed in a square plan of 23 x 23 m of mudbrick (Stratum VIII-VII). During the second half of the thirteenth century the city was completely destroyed a second time, as is evident in a thick layer of ash of 1.5 m which was attributed to Ramses II (M. Dothan 1993c: 1073). On top of the ruins a smaller fort was erected which resembled a *midgol*, as mentioned by the Egyptians (M. Dothan 1960a: 124; see plan in M. Dothan 1993c: 1073). At Beth Shan (Level VII) a *midgol* was identified by excavators (Rowe 1928; 1930: 20, Fig. 2). It is a square, buttressed structure that served as a defensive position inside the town for military personnel (James and McGovern 1993a: 237). Other fortresses were found during the survey and excavation of the Northern Sinai (1972-1982) under the direction of E. Oren of Ben-Gurion University at Bir el-'Abd (Oren 1973b; 1993b)³ and Haruba (Oren 1987; Kempinski 1992).⁴ Excavations

³ Following excavations in 1973, it became apparent that Area A consisted of 40 x 40 m (1600 m²) fortress surrounded by a wall 3 m wide and constructed of three rows of sun-dried mudbricks laid side by side. According to the excavators, the size of the bricks (.44 x .22 x .12 m) and "the building technique are characteristic of the public architecture in New Kingdom Egypt" (Oren 1973b: 112). On the beaten earth floor associated with the walls of this fortress, "domestic Egyptian pottery vessels of the New Kingdom period [were found], including store-jars, ring stands, plain bowls, and sherds painted in typical Amarna style" (Oren 1973b: 112). South of the fortress a large magazine building once existed, now evident only from its foundations.

Nearby, in Area B, an excellently preserved granary was discovered, "consisting of four cylindrical silos, each about 4 m in diameter, with walls approximately 50 cm thick" (Oren 1993b: 1389). It is estimated that the granary could have held up to 44,600 liters or 40 tons of grain or legumes. One silo still retained several courses of the corbelled dome and, therefore, could be reconstructed (Oren 1992b: 1389). Similar granaries are depicted in tomb paintings, one in particular in the tomb of Pehsukhet, Thebes (cf. Oren 1987: 82, Fig. 5).

The depression in Area C measured 10 x 15 m and was bordered by a kind of clay plastered embankment. Thick layers of silt that lined the edges and floor of the depression were recorded, leading excavators to believe that it was a reservoir supplying fresh water to the fortress (Oren 1993b: 1389).

The material culture at this site exhibited clear Egyptian influence or occupation. Pottery painted in "Egyptian blue," hundreds of specimens of thumb-indented, thick-based flower pots, small vessels decorated with heads of gazelles, alabaster and faience vessels, scarabs from the XVIIIth Dynasty as well as an important jar handle impressed with the cartouche of Seti I were found. Only a very few Canaanite vessels were present along with Cypriote ware and a examples of Mycenaean pottery (Oren 1993b: 1389).

⁴ The fortress (Site A-289) is the largest in the northern Sinai at 2,500 sq. m (50 x 50 m; Kempinski 1992: 141). The enclosure wall is 4 m wide and was preserved to a height of one meter. The excavators estimate that the whole structure must have risen to at least 6 m (Oren 1987: 87). The standard size of the bricks (.45 x .22 x .12 m) and the bonding pattern are typical of domestic and public architecture in New Kingdom Egypt (Oren 1987: 87; cf. Spencer 1979: 104-106). The massive gate house

under the directions of T. Dothan uncovered a similar fortress south of Gaza at Deir el-Balah (T. Dothan 1972a; 1972b; 1973; 1979; 1982b; 1985a; 1985b; 1987; 1993). A fifth New Kingdom site, Tell Haboua, was partially excavated in 1986 (Maksoud 1987; cf. Hoffmeier 1997: 60-61).⁵

at the eastern side of the fortress (13 x 12 m) had an entry about 16 m long and 3.7 m wide and was flanked by two buttresses (8 x 13 m each). The fortress consisted of a large courtyard (possibly for pitching tents and parking chariots). Other rooms indicated domestic and storeroom usage. Two phases (II-III) of construction and floors were excavated inside the fortress.

The ceramic repertoire of Phase III included a high percentage of LB vessels typical of the southern coastal plain, such as shallow straight-sided bowls with string-cut bases, carinated kraters, large flasks decorated with concentric circles painted in red, and numerous storage jars. Cypriote imports such as White-Shaved dipper juglets, White Slip milk bowls, Base-Ring jugs and juglets were found as were Mycenaean stirrup vases, pyxides, and flasks. Phase II was represented by Iron I wares including storage jars with straight, tall necks and bowls with a cyma profile (Oren 1987: 95-96). Both phases also contained large amounts of locally made Egyptian-type vessels and Egyptian imports characteristic of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties paralleled at Gurob, Deir el-Medinah, and Tell el-Yehudiyeh in Lower Egypt and nearby Deir el-Balah (Oren 1987: 95-96; cf. Petrie 1974: Pls. XVII-XX; 1906b: Pls. XXXIC-D; Brunton and Engelbach 1927: Pls. XXXIII-XXXIX; Nagel 1938). Other material culture included a group of scarabs, clay duck heads that once decorated clay bowls, clay uraei (cobra heads), a stone fitting from a chariot and fragments of a sandstone sphinx-like statuette (Oren 1987: 96).

The administrative center (Site A-345) was located 400 m north of the fortress. The perimeter of the building was not defined and only three building units were excavated (perhaps as little as 8% of the site). A complex of magazines at the center of the site, a casemate-walled structure to the northwest, and an industrial center to the east were excavated. The floors of the magazines and the courtyards in front were covered by a thick layer of carbonized grain (Oren 1993b: 1391). In the industrial area a large potter's workshop contained two circular pottery kilns and the remains of a third one. From fragments found to the west of one of the kilns, it is evident that the workshop produced Egyptian-type vessels such as bowls and kraters, drop-shape containers, "flower pots," and offering stands. According to Oren, these vessels "were distributed to other Egyptian localities in northern Sinai" (Oren 1993b: 1391; cf. Goren; Oren; and Feinsein 1995).

The Haruba complex exhibits a strong Egyptian presence at this junction of the "Ways of Horus" and dates well within the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, indicating that it may well be one of the stations depicted in the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak (Gardiner 1920).

⁵ Excavations revealed a large fortress extending over an area of 140,000 m² (400 m x 350 m). Two walls preserved to a height of 3 m were uncovered. They were constructed of mudbrick measuring .38 x .19 x .06 m each. The ceramic corpus of this site dates exclusively to the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. These dates are verified by scarabs from these periods as well as a doorjamb inscribed with the name of Seti I (Maksoud 1987: 15-16). An inscription of the king Nehsy indicates that this site dates back to the seventeenth century B.C. (Hoffmeier 1997: 60). This is the only fortress excavated along the "Ways of Horus" that is built in a rectangular fashion. Further excavations are expected to reveal more about the site.

These fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" have recently been compared with the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak (Oren 1987; Oren and Shereshevski 1989; Gal 1993). Oren and Shereshevski (1989) conclude that the reliefs do not fully reflect the reality of the forts that occupied the "Ways of Horus." The vertical dimensions of the forts seem to correspond well, but the horizontal dimensions are abbreviated in an emphasized way. Furthermore, it is not possible to identify one site or another with the depictions on the reliefs. These depictions, according to Oren and Shereshevski, are simply fortress hieroglyphs that point to a fortified structure. Others have indicated the close similarities between the reliefs and the archaeological remains (T. Dothan 1985a; 1987), but the specific identification of these sites with toponyms on the reliefs is fraught with difficulties.⁶ What is certain is that such sites did exist along the "Ways of Horus" and served as police or customs stations that protected merchants and military traffic (Oren and Shereshevski 1989) or as garrisons and outposts (T. Dothan 1985b; Oren 1987).

Temples

Egyptian temples in the southern Levant have been the topic of numerous essays (Alt 1953b; Helck 1971: 444-445; Giveon 1978a; Weinstein 1981: 19-20; Uehlinger 1988; S. Wimmer 1990). They have been identified at a number of sites during the XIXth Dynasty including (1) the rock-hewn caves of Serâbît el-Khâdem which served as a mining center of turquoise (Egyptian *mṣkꜣ.t*; S. Wimmer 1990: 1066 note 4; cf. Petrie 1906a; Giveon 1978a: 61-67; I. Beit-Arieh 1984: 41, 46; Ventura 1987b); (2) the Hathor temple at Timna (Stratum II; Giveon 1969a; Rothenberg 1972a; 1972b; 1988; 1993; Schulman 1988); (3) and possibly the mound temple at Lachish (Stratum VI; Ussishkin 1978a). Weinstein concludes that, of all of these,

⁶ Several difficulties presently preclude the specific identification of these fortresses: (1) The toponym Gaza is mentioned only in Papyrus Harris I and is not shown or designated on the reliefs of Seti I; (2) The toponym Raphia is reconstructed from Papyrus Harris I to be identified with Gardiner's fortress U (Gardiner 1920: 113). Thus, the end of the "Ways of Horus" remains uncertain; and (3) Only the initial toponym is identified with any degree of certainty as *Thel/Sile* (Gardiner 1920: 104; Gal 1993). This, together with the eastern canal of Egypt (Sneh; Weissbrod; and Perath 1975; Shea 1977) appearing vividly on the relief, provides a beginning point in the east from which one must work in a westward direction. For these reasons sites such as Deir el-Balah that are situated between Gaza and Raphia are difficult to identify.

only the Hathor temple at Timna "can be presently shown to have been a place of worship of an Egyptian deity" (1981: 19). During the XIXth Dynasty, artifacts bearing the names Ramses II, and Merenptah (S. Wimmer 1990: 1069) have been found at Timna.⁷ This may indicate an important connection between the economic resources available at Timna and the interest of the Egyptians during the XIXth Dynasty.⁸

Most of the other so-called Egyptian temples in the southern Levant which have been identified at Beth Shan (Stratum VI and V; Rowe 1930; 1940); Fosse Temple at Lachish (Phases II and III, Tufnell; Inge; and Harding 1940; for Egyptian artifacts, see Clamer 1976, 1980; Giveon 1983); and Jerusalem (Barkay 1990; 1996) are most likely not Egyptian temples but reflect Canaanite cultic practices (S. Wimmer 1990; cf. Weinstein 1981). Textual sources refer to other temples including one at Ashkelon dedicated to Ptah (Giveon 1978a: 23; Stager 1985b). A foundation deposit plaque was also discovered at Aphek (Giveon 1978a: 26-27) which may be evidence for a Ramesside temple there (Weinstein 1981: 19-20). Although these inscriptions have no architectural parallels due to the lack of stratigraphic excavation, they attest to the influence of Egyptian ideology on the region.

Naval Bases

The Egyptians, in addition to campaigns conducted overland, were seafaring during the Late Bronze Age, and according to textual and iconographic sources conducted battles in the open sea (Säve-Söderbergh 1944). This is most evident in the battle of Ramses III against the "Sea Peoples" depicted on reliefs at Medinet Habu. Studies on the types of ships employed by the Egyptians and other groups have revealed that only one type of ship is depicted among the various entities (Artzy 1987: 75; cf. Wachsmann 1981); other studies have

⁷ According to Rothenberg's earlier publications (1972a) Seti I was the first attested king at the site. This was based on information supplied by Giveon (1969a). More recent publications have established that the earliest Egyptian king at Timna was Ramses II (Schulman 1976: 126 note 2; 1988).

⁸ Baron (1978; 1981; 1983) claims that Timna was occupied only during the Iron Ages based on her analysis of the pottery, but her analysis fails to incorporate all of the evidence from Timna. Rothenberg (1983) has shown that Baron did not have access to much of the material that demonstrated evidence for this period (scarabs, pottery, etc.).

shown that several types were in existence during this period (Artzy 1988; 1998). Depictions of ships were discovered on reliefs in Egypt at Deir el Bahri (Clowes 1932: 23); Medinet Habu (*MH* I: Pl. 4); Kition on Cyprus (Basch and Artzy 1986: Pls. 1b, 2b, 8c); and Akko (Artzy 1984; 1988; Fig. 1). This leads to the question of naval bases. If Egyptian dominance was dependent on military forces in the southern Levant is there any evidence of the construction of Egyptian naval bases for military and trading purposes along the coast of the Mediterranean?

One such suggestion was made for Tell Abu Hawam. Excavations at Tell Abu-Hawam, directed by Hamilton, uncovered remains from Stratum V that were dated to 1400-1200 B.C. (Hamilton 1934: 11). In 1951, B. Mazar [Maisler] reassessed the stratigraphic sequence and dated Stratum V to 1300-1180 B.C. (Maisler 1951). He suggested that the "settlement was founded by the Egyptian government during the days of Sethos I, and that it was intended to serve as a base for the Egyptian navy as a port for the Valley of Jezreel" (1951: 22). These dates have been further revised by subsequent excavations by E. Anati, who divided Stratum V into Va (fourteenth century B.C.) and Vb (thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C.; Anati 1959; 1963; 1975; cf. Gershuny 1981; Balensi 1985; Balensi and Herrera 1985; Raban and Galanti 1987; Raban 1989-90; Balensi; Herrera; and Artzy 1993).

Weinstein (1980) argues that the hypothesis of an Egyptian naval base at Tell Abu Hawam during the XIX Dynasty is without foundation. This is due to several reasons: (1) No Egyptian architectural influences were found; (2) No major Egyptian objects such as stelae, statuary, or inscriptions were evident; (3) No XIXth Dynasty royal names were found; (4) No Egyptian pottery was present during Stratum V; (5) No Egyptian objects were located in any of the eleven LB II tombs 1 km north of the tell (Weinstein 1980: 43-44). Instead, Weinstein suggests that the pottery of the site indicates that its destruction occurred during the reign of Ramses II rather than Seti I (as proposed by Maisler). This must have taken place at the same time that Akko was destroyed in the thirteenth century B.C. (Stratum 9; M. Dothan 1976: 20; 1977: 242). Artzy (personal communication b) points to Abu Hawam as an excellent place for a harbor. The mountains guard the harbor from the south-western winds during the summer. However, access to the hinterland, due to the swampy conditions caused by the Qishon river and the Carmel ridge, renders this

site less ideal for a naval base than Akko. The possibility of an Egyptian harbor at Akko (where depictions have occurred) seems stronger at this time even though excavations at Akko produced no architectural evidence for such an interpretation.

The evidence suggests that there was some distinct Egyptian architecture present in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. The "governor's" residency at Beth Shan, which appears with great quantities of Egyptian-type material culture, indicated that this was a major outpost for Egyptian activities during Late Bronze II and III. The tablet from Ugarit, found in a residency at Aphek, indicates that it might have been occupied by Haya, an important Egyptian official during the reign of Ramses II. The hieratic inscriptions from Tell Sera^c indicate Egyptian scribal activity in the recording of harvest tax. Although it is not possible to ascertain from the current data available whether other buildings of this design and construction served local rulers who acted in Egyptian interest as vassals, or whether Egyptians themselves occupied these buildings, the pattern proposed by Alt of a *Stützpunktsystem* still seems valid today.

The forts at Tell Mor, Deir el-Balah, Bir el-'Abd, Haruba, and Tell Haboua indicate that the fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" pictured on the exterior northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak were based on such a system of garrison outposts. Egyptian temples appear to be less dominant with only one presently known at Timna, Serâbit el-Khâdem, and others possibly at Aphek and Ashkelon. Together these architectural examples attest to the wide extent of Egyptian presence/influence in the southern Levant. This portrait emerges with more clarity from the distribution of material culture present at these and other sites.

Egyptian Material Culture

The Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant has been the subject of several recent studies (McGovern 1985; Higginbotham 1993; 1996; 1998; C. Herrmann 1985; 1994; Yannai 1996; Mumford forthcoming). Higginbotham (1993) analyzed categories of Egyptian-type material culture including pottery and alabaster. More recently, G. Mumford (forthcoming) is completing a dissertation that compiles all the Egyptian material culture in Syria-Palestine from 1150-525 B.C. Other studies have focused on specific aspects including armory

and weapons; ivory; doorjambs and lintels; stelae, statues and plaques; pottery and alabaster; anthropoid coffins; pendants and amulets; scarab seals; and hieratic inscriptions. These categories of material culture are important for establishing Egyptian presence/influence.

Armory and Weapons

The archaeological evidence for weaponry during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition includes javelin and spear-points, swords, and chariot fittings. The data demonstrate that this type of weaponry was at hand, confirming the depictions of these types of weapons and vehicles in Egyptian reliefs. One of the most comprehensive discussions of weapons and changes in weaponry during the transition is given by Robert Drews in his recent book *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (1993: 174-208). On the basis of examining the weaponry in the eastern Mediterranean, Drews concludes that there were major changes in both armor and weaponry.

Javelin and Spear-Points. The short javelin is shown on the reliefs of Seti I at Kamak in his battle against the inhabitants of *Ššw* (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2). Several men are portrayed on the far right to be holding these weapons. It was observed that this weapon first appeared in the XIXth Dynasty (Bonnet 1926: 105-106). During the reign of Ramses III, javelins are shown in greater number. The reliefs at Medinet Habu depict several meter-long javelins. The short javelin was most probably used against chariot horses. A group of foot soldiers with javelins might have easily disabled a chariot force in little time, so that Drews concludes, "the javelin played a key role in bringing the era of chariot warfare to an end" (Drews 1993: 182). Since the shaft was wooden, little of the archaeological evidence remains. The bronze weapon-heads that have been found may be associated with either a spear or a javelin. It is suggested that many javelin heads were erroneously identified as arrowheads (Drews 1993: 185). De Maigret's (1976: 154-167) classification assigns one type, Tipo B 7, as belonging to a javelin. There are forty-three of these heads from the Levant (in particular Megiddo) dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Another hoard found at El Khadr in 1953 includes five that are inscribed with *ḥs' bdlb't*, which Cross translated as "dart of 'Adb-Labi't" (Milik and Cross 1954: 5-15). Due to their large size, Milik and Cross suggested that this weapon was a missile

thrown rather than shot. Thirteen of these types were found in the destruction stratum at Ugarit alone (Chavane 1987: 357). The three heads published to date measure 7, 8.5, and 8.7 cm in length (Yon; Lombard; and Renisio 1987: 46-48, Figs. 27-28). A Stratum XI jar (late eleventh century B.C.) from Hazor also contained several tanged heads and shaft butts (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: Pl. CCV, nos. 6, 7, 10, and 11, Pl. CCCXLVII). The socketed spear-head also reappeared during the Late Bronze II (Höckmann 1980; Tubb 1985).

Swords. One of the most widely shown weapons in Egyptian iconography is the sickle-sword, a weapon that measured between 40 and 44 cm (E. S. Hall 1986: Pls. 41, 44-47, 50, 53, 55-57, 60). The sword has its origins in Mesopotamia but came to be used throughout the rest of the Near East (but not in the Aegean; H. W. Müller 1987: 112; Maxwell-Hyslop 1946: 41-44). This sword is found at numerous sites in the southern Levant during the second millennium B.C., including Shechem (M. Tadmor 1970: 63; cf. H. W. Müller 1987); Ugarit (Schaeffer 1936: 145, Pl. XVIII, no. 2); Tell Gedor (S. Ben-Arieh 1978: 60-61); Amman Airport (Lancaster Harding 1958: 7-18); Kâmid el-Lôz (Hachmann 1983: 118); Beth Shan (Rowe 1929-30: 90, Pl. XV, no. 2); and Gezer (Macalister 1912a: 312-314; 1912c: Pl. LXXV, no. 16). The sword continued in use until the beginning of the Iron Age.

Drews maintains that at the end of the Late Bronze Age a new type of sword was introduced that would revolutionize warfare throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This sword, the Naue Type II or *Griffzungenschwert* (Naue 1903; Catling 1956; Cowen 1955; 1961), was the first slashing sword that made a major difference in military capabilities. It was an average of 70 cm in length and was designed primarily for cutting or slashing (Drews 1993: 194). The earliest bears a cartouche of Seti II and was found in the Egyptian delta (Catling 1956: 116). Only eight others were found in the Near East and five in Cyprus (Catling 1956; 1968: 101-104). One of the most celebrated discoveries was a cut-and-thrust sword from Ugarit bearing the name of Merenptah (74 cm; Schaeffer 1955; 1956: 169-177). This sword, although not a Naue Type II, was found in pristine condition, with unsharpened edges, in the destruction level of Ugarit. The dating of the Ugarit swords is disputed (see the discussion in Drews 1993: 206-208).

Chariot Fittings. According to historical and iconographic records, chariots were commonly used by both Hittite and Egyptian

forces (Schulman 1963; 1979-80; cf. Drews 1993: 104-134). No complete chariots have been found other than those from the tomb of Tutankhamen in Thebes. However, chariot fittings such as saddle bosses and yoke terminals (of stone and alabaster) are present at several sites including Beth Shan (Levels VIII-VI; James 1978); Gaza (Petrie 1933: Pl. XXVII, nos. 65, 82-83; 1934: Pl. XXXVII, nos. 51-52; Pl. XLI, no. 120); Gezer (Macalister 1912b: 252; 376); and Megiddo (Lamon and Shipman 1939: Pl. 103:13), all sites that show additional evidence of strong Egyptian presence/influence. Francis James pointed out that (1) all three strata that contain these fittings at Beth Shan are those that contain Egyptian architecture and other military installations; and (2) that several of these fittings were made of local gypsum—considerations that may indicate that these were the products of Egyptian chariot workshops (James 1978: 103). The use and manufacture of chariots in the southern Levant seem highly probable on the basis of this material culture and would have facilitated Egyptian military activities to locations further north.

This survey of armory and weapons highlights the point that there are relatively few of these items from stratigraphic contexts in the southern Levant. Most of the objects have come from tombs. Why is there so little evidence? The scarcity of javelin, spear, and sword remains may be attributed to the practice of taking plunder and booty. In his campaign against the Libyans, Merenptah is said to have taken only twelve chariots but 9,111 swords (Breasted *ARE*: 3.589). This practice of plunder was carried out after the battle and the booty was transported back to Egypt (see Chapter One, 51-52). Other possibilities for the scarcity of weapons exist. Bent or damaged weapons may have been melted down and recast for other uses. The few examples that do exist testify to the accuracy of Egyptian reliefs in depicting the weaponry of the Late Bronze Age and point toward Egyptian presence/influence at several important sites in the region.

Ivory

The Late Bronze II period witnessed an increase in ivory work when compared with the bone-incised patterns of the Middle Bronze Age (Barnett 1975; 1982). Many of these ivories depict Egyptian motifs including both military and feast scenes (Liebowitz 1980). Liebowitz argues that these ivories, especially those found at Megiddo (cf. Loud 1939) and Tell el-Far'ah (S), were of local manufacture and were not

imported from Egypt (Liebowitz 1987: 5). The Palestinian ivories feature less detail in their military portrayals than do the reliefs of Seti I and Ramses III (Liebowitz 1987: 6). Some of the motifs on the openwork plaques of Megiddo Stratum VIIA include (1) the recumbent winged sphinxes; (2) Bes images; and (3) an Anubis image. Of importance to Egyptian influence is an ivory plaque depicting a local Canaanite ruler (Figure 11). The scene shows a ruler on his throne being served by attendants while a lyre-player entertains him. On some ivories, the recumbent sphinxes are male figures (Montet 1937: 173) but some female figures are known to exist as well (Dessenne 1957: 21) including one depicting Hatshepsut (Montet 1937: 173-174; cf. Liebowitz 1967; 1987: 8).

Other ivory figurines of the period include (1) sculpture in the round; (2) duck-shaped cosmetic containers; (3) cosmetic spoons ending in duck heads; (4) cosmetic bowls; (5) decorative strips; and (6) gaming boards. Liebowitz uses these ivories as examples of the elegance and sophistication of the LB II which reflects "a high point in the material culture of Palestine" (Liebowitz 1987: 18; 1989) rather than a period of decline. Bienkowski (1989) responded to Liebowitz by pointing out that all of his examples come from Megiddo, Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Beth Shan. He suggests that all of these sites were under Egyptian control. Moreover, the luxury items were found in "palaces" and reflect the upper classes and not the common towns where one would expect to find a cross-section of the quality of life in Canaan (Bienkowski 1989: 59). Liebowitz (1989: 64) maintains that it was just this Egyptianizing factor that caused many of the common motifs found on the ivories. He also points out that the quality in ivory work increases from the LB I to LB II and that this reflects increased prosperity rather than decline (1989: 63). In any case, the ivories do reflect Egyptianizing features that become more frequent during this period. The most recent ivory from Tell Mique-Ekron (found reused in Stratum 1b) contains the cartouche of Merenptah (Gitin personal communication; cf. Wolff 1996: 745-746; Fig. 20).

Doorjambs and Lintels

A number of architectural fragments that can be identified as Egyptian have been found throughout Cisjordan. Weinstein (1981: 19) has compiled a list which includes: (1) Fragments of two blocks inscribed with the names of Ramses II found south of Gaza (Giveon 1975d); (2)



Figure 11, A local Canaanite ruler on an ivory from Megiddo
(Loud 1939: Pl. 4, no. 2b)

A fragmentary doorjamb from Ashdod containing the following inscription "... fanbearer, on the king's right hand" (Area G, Stratum XII; M. Dothan 1969: 244; M. Dothan and Porath 1993: 218-219, Fig. 37; 290, Pl. 47:1); (3) A stone block inscribed with the *nbw* sign from Gezer (Macalister 1912b: 307, Fig. 446; cf. Singer 1986); (4) Doorjambs from the gateway of Ramses II at Jaffa (Kaplan 1972: 79, Fig. 8); and numerous doorjambs, lintels and other architectural elements found at Beth Shan (Level VI; James 1966: 4-8, 161-174; James and McGovern 1993). These architectural features indicate Egyptian influence in terms of building activity at sites which have not been excavated extensively (Gaza, Jaffa) or those which already exhibit monumental Egyptian architecture (Beth Shan).

Stelae, Statues, and Plaques

Numerous stelae or fragments of stelae, plaques, and statues have been found throughout the southern Levant (for summary and list, see Weinstein 1981: 20). The stelae are discussed below as they appear in the archaeological contexts of various sites. Recent discoveries since Weinstein include an Egyptian statuette from Petra (Meza 1993); an ivory plaque bearing the cartouche of Merenptah from Tell Mique-Ekron (Stratum 1b; Gitin personal communication; cf. Wolff 1996: 745-746; Fig. 20); and an Egyptian statue from Hazor dating to Amenemhet III (Ben-Tor personal communication). These mate-

rial remains, especially the monumental stelae at Beth Shan, indicate that the Egyptians were present in the southern Levant and exerted their influence over the populations present there.

Pottery and Alabaster

This section would require a monograph in itself. Only a short synopsis will be attempted here based on earlier studies (Clamer 1976; Higginbotham 1993). According to Leonard, "the quality of Late Bronze IIB [LBIII] pottery continued to decline already in the preceding periods" (1989: 31). Indeed, the amount of Cypriote imports significantly changed and eventually they were no longer imported (Gittlen 1981; cf. Leonard 1989: 31). Nevertheless, Mycenaean wares continued to be popular (Leonard 1987; cf. 1994).

The portrait of Egyptian-type pottery presents other issues concerning Egyptian trade, influence, and presence. In 1969 Amiran reported a "scarcity of Egyptian imported wares in Palestine" (Amiran 1969: 190). Excavations over the past two and a half decades have changed this conclusion. Weinstein (1981) believed that Amiran was correct in that most of the pottery seemed to have been locally made wares. Weinstein concluded that the highest concentration of pottery occurred at Beth Shan (James 1966: 27-28). Other sources included (1) Tell el-Far'ah (S) (MacDonald; Starkey; and Harding 1932: Pl. 88); (2) Deir el-Balah (T. Dothan 1979; Goldberg *et al.* 1986); as well as Tell Sera' (Oren and Netzer 1973: 55; Oren 1993a).

The most recent comprehensive study of Egyptian pottery, alabaster, and other containers during the Ramesside period was undertaken by Higginbotham (1993: 124-215; 216-307; 1996). Higginbotham has systematically gone through attested sites with Egyptian influence and studied their Egyptian-style pottery. She makes several significant conclusions: (1) That compared with the New Kingdom ceramic corpus in Egypt (based on Nagel 1938; Holthoer 1977), very little variety is reflected in Palestine; (2) In her analysis of the distribution of these types she concludes that "only a small number of Egyptian-style pottery types are widely distributed in Palestine, being attested at more than four or five sites" (Higginbotham 1993: 206). Missing are Egyptian-style cooking pots, bread molds, bottles and flasks, as well as canopic jars and libation jars (Higginbotham 1993: 207); (3) Egyptian-style pottery is always accompanied with local wares which are usually predominant; (4) Egyptian-style pottery is

significantly more common in ritual and funerary contexts than in domestic contexts; (5) The sites where Egyptian-style wares are found cluster in three general regions: southwestern Palestine, the Shephelah and western Negev, and the Great Rift Valley; (6) There occurs a large proportion of locally manufactured Egyptian-style pottery as well as actual imports; (7) The locally manufactured wares are said to have been modified through the adoption of Egyptian production techniques (this was not tested by Higginbotham; 1993: 206-212; cf. 1996; 1998). Based on these conclusions, Higginbotham suggests that the evidence does not support Egyptian direct rule over the region. Instead she argues that these Egyptian-type vessels represent elite emulation, i.e., the local population copied Egyptian-style artifacts from the Egyptians whom they viewed as culturally "superior."

However, there are other ways to interpret these data. The limited production (in terms of quantity and forms) and distribution do not necessarily indicate that the local Canaanites were emulating their Egyptian neighbors to the south. If this were the case one would expect a much wider distribution in the southern Levant. The fact that the distribution is limited to a few areas that exhibit other Egyptian architectural and material-culture correlates seems to indicate that these were indeed Egyptian centers.⁹ Higginbotham's implication that all of the pottery needed to be imported from Egypt and be equally diverse in regions far from Egypt's "center" in order to support Egyptian presence is unfounded. Why would the Egyptians insist on using only Egyptian-type pottery? It would have been economically sound to utilize many of the local forms for daily use and retain the imported or locally made Egyptian-type forms for significant occasions such as ritual or funerary contexts. Undoubtedly some emulation of Egyptian customs and material culture carried over to the indigenous populations, but the evidence supports the thesis that the Egyptians

⁹ The southwestern Negev contains the fortress sites of Tell Mor, Deir el-Balah, Bir el-'Abd, Haruba, and Tell Haboua which all contain both imports and locally made Egyptian-type pottery. The southwestern Shephelah contains the sites of Gaza, Jaffa, Ashdod, and Tell Mique-Ekron where other Egyptian material culture was found. In addition, sites like Tell Sera', Tell Masos, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, and Tell el-Far'ah (S) exhibit evidence for "governor's" residences and even contain hieratic inscriptions (Tell Sera'; see 93-96). The Rift Valley contains such important sites as Beth Shan, which contained most of the samples analyzed in Higginbotham's dissertation. Higginbotham's interpretation that all of these sites (with the exception of Deir el-Balah and Beth Shan) reflect elite emulation is stretching all of the information, both textual and archaeological, into a preconceived model that cannot account for the complexity and diversity of the evidence.

did indeed expand into southwestern Palestine (the region closest to Egypt), the Shephelah and western Negev, and the Rift Valley.

Anthropoid Coffins

Recent investigations of burial practices during the Late Bronze Age at southern Levantine sites indicate that the method of burial in full-sized anthropoid coffins "derived from Egyptian prototypes" (Gonen 1992a: 28) and was a limited phenomenon. Anthropoid coffins "consisted of an approximately two-meter-long ceramic box tapered at one or both ends, with a modeled lid depicting a human face or body" (Bloch-Smith 1992: 135). Excavations at Deir el-Balah revealed over 50 anthropoid clay coffins in the cemetery south of the site (T. Dothan 1972b; 1973; 1979; 1985a; 1985b; Beit-Arieh 1985a). The cemetery was in use from the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. to the end of the Late Bronze Age (T. Dothan 1972b: 71). The site also contained a large amount of Egyptian imported pottery and alabaster vessels (T. Dothan 1973: 135-138). Scarabs of Thutmose III, Amenophis II, Thutmose IV, Amenophis IV, Seti I (?) and Ramses II were found throughout the cemetery. Scarabs of Ramses II predominate (T. Dothan 1973: 138). The anthropoid coffins are "clearly modelled on the pottery coffins found in Egypt from the period of the 18th dynasty onwards" (T. Dothan 1973: 139; cf. Steindorff 1937: 72; Leclant 1971: 227-228). Engelbach (1915) states that the XIXth Dynasty coffins from Riqqeh contain mummified remains. Other sites in the southern Levant which produced anthropoid coffins during this period were: (1) two coffins at Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Tombs 552, 562 and 935; Petrie 1930: 6-8, Pls. 19-24); (2) fifty anthropoid coffins at Beth Shan (Level VII-VI; T. Dothan 1973: 143-145); and (3) two coffins from Lachish (Tomb 570; Tufnell 1953: 219, Pl. 126).

The emergence of anthropoid coffins at the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition was interpreted at one time to support the theory that Ramses III had settled Philistines as garrison troops in Palestine (Albright 1932; 1975b: 509; T. Dothan 1982a; G. E. Wright 1966). One of the clay coffins bore a "feathered" headdress (Beth Shan; Fig. 3:51) that was compared to the reliefs at Medinet Habu depicting the Philistines, Denyen, and Sikils wearing such headdresses. This led T. Dothan to suggest the coffin contained Philistines (1957; 1982a) while Oren concluded that they contained Denyen (Oren 1973a). The anthropoid clay coffins at Deir el-Balah, however, date two centuries

earlier than those from other sites in the southern Levant, thus indicating that they were most likely used by groups other than the "Sea Peoples" who did not arrive until the twelfth century B.C. (Stager 1995a: 341). This led Stager to suggest that the coffins were initially occupied by Egyptians (Stager 1995a: 342). Neutron Activation Analysis indicates that the coffins from Deir el-Balah were made of local clays (Perlman; Asaro; and Dothan 1973: 149) and were not imported. The possibility exists that these coffins contained local Egyptian soldiers or officials stationed in Palestine (T. Dothan 1979: 104; Gonen 1992a: 29) or other officials serving the interests of Egypt. This seems to be supported by four Egyptian basalt stelae that were found at the site (Ventura 1987a). E. Bloch-Smith (1992) concludes,

Evidence for the Egyptian origin includes their occurrence in Egypt proper, their limited distribution beginning in the late thirteenth century BCE at southern Levantine sites with an attested Egyptian presence (figs. 16-18), the Egyptian-style head depicted on some lids, the hieroglyphic inscription on a Lachish coffin, and the high incidence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing provisions (Bloch-Smith 1992: 135).

It is evident from excavations at Deir el-Balah that the anthropoid coffins were deposited with both external and internal burial goods. The external burial goods consisted of large vessels such as storage jars while the internal burial items included "local Canaanite, Cypriote, Mycenaean and Egyptian types or their local imitations" (T. Dothan 1979: 98). This supports the thesis concerning pottery. It appears that the imported wares, or locally imitated specialty wares, were saved and used for funerary and other significant occasions. There are also other prestige items associated with the cemetery at Deir el-Balah, including three alabaster vessels dating to the XIXth Dynasty and a large collection of bronze vessels reflecting the metal-work repertoire of New Kingdom Egypt. Other artifacts include jewelry (gold necklaces, pendants, spreaders, amulets and rings) as well as scarabs and seals. These items indicate, according to excavators, that "the cemetery was perhaps for high-ranking Egyptian officers or officials serving in Canaan, or for members of Egyptian garrisons stationed in strongholds in Syria-Palestine; or it may have served Canaanite rulers or dignitaries steeped in Egyptian culture" (T. Dothan 1979: 104). The provenience of these coffins during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. at sites with Egyptian architecture and high concentrations of Egyptian-type material culture (Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah) indicates that Egyptian presence was strongly felt in these centers.

Pendants and Amulets

Egyptian-style pendants and amulets are found in abundance throughout the southern Levant during the Late Bronze III period. McGovern (1985) has conducted the most comprehensive survey and typology of this category of material culture. Although he attempts to make no conclusions as to the religious or cultural significance of these items, he concludes that "Egyptian-related pendants and types greatly overshadow the Syro-Palestinian contribution; 83 percent of the total pendants and 70 percent of the types for Late Bronze Age Palestine are Egyptian related" (McGovern 1985: 95). The statistics point to a large Egyptian influence during LB III corresponding to the increased military activity of the XIXth Dynasty (McGovern 1985: 96-100). The distribution of amulets and pendants include sites like Beth Shan (comprising 51 percent of the corpus), Beth Shemesh, Gezer, Lachish, Megiddo, Tell Abu Hawam, Tell el-'Ajjul, and Tell Beit Mirsim (McGovern 1985: 7-8), sites that exhibit other Egyptian influences. C. Herrmann surveys 1433 amulets (600 of which are unpublished) in *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel* (1994; Müller-Winkler 1987), providing another important reference work. The majority of LB III amulets are related to Egyptian deities (Bes, Hathor, Ptah-Sokar, Taurt, Uraeus, etc.) or hieroglyphs ('*anh*, *wd*'t eye, *nfr*, etc.). Egyptian presence/influence was strongly felt at these sites based on the distribution of this important aspect of Egyptian culture.

Scarab Seals

The scarab was known in ancient Egypt as one of the most popular of amulets. It was formed in the shape of the dung beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*) and in Egyptian called *hpr* (meaning "to come into existence"). It came to embody the creator god who was self-engendered (D. Ben-Tor 1989: 9). Scarabs were usually made of precious stone, metal, or pebbles and strung on a cord (Platt 1992: 829) or worn as rings (Aldred 1971: 160; cf. Bianchi 1984). The carved, flat underside make them especially important: they contain inscriptions of names, titles, slogans, as well as animal and geometric designs. These inscriptions and other features make them significant for dating purposes.

Scarab seals are commonly found in the southern Levant, especially during the Late Bronze Age when royal name scarabs are common (Rowe 1936; Horn 1962; 1966; 1973; Giveon 1985; Giveon

and Kertesz 1986; D. Ben-Tor 1989). Nineteenth Dynasty scarabs have been found at sites such as the Tell el-'Ajjul cemetery (1; Ramses II, Petrie 1933: 5, Pl. 8.4); Akko (3; Ramses II, Giveon and Kertesz 1986: 20, Pls. 52-53; Ramesside, Giveon and Kertesz 1986: 20, Pl. 54); Aphek (3; Ramses II, Giveon 1988: 54-55, Pl. 53; Ramesside, Giveon 1988: 46-47, Pl. 40); Ashdod (6; Area G, Brandl 1993: 133-138, nos. 6-11); Beth Shan (25; Level VII; Ramesside, James and McGovern 1993b: Pl. 165.1-5; Ramses IV, James and McGovern 1993b: Pl. 165.8; Level VIII=3; cf. Weinstein 1993: 221-222); Beth Shemesh (1; Ramesside, Rowe 1936: no. 660); Deir el-Balah cemetery (12; Ramses II, T. Dothan 1979: 27, Pl. 64; XIXth Dynasty, T. Dothan 1979: 86-87, Pls. 206-214); Lachish (7; Ramesside, Giveon 1988: nos. 94, 96-98, 102-103, 107); Tell Masos (1; Seti II, Brandl 1982; Fritz 1983a: 31); Qubeibeh tomb (Ben-Arieh; Ben-Tor; Godovitz 1993: 82-83); Tell Sera^c (2; Stratum IX, Oren 1984b: 41, Fig. 7.7-8); and Timna (9; Ramesside, Schulman 1988: 137-139, nos. 182-188, 191, 193).

The wide distribution of scarabs in cemeteries and other archaeological contexts and the fact that the largest quantities are found at sites that already exhibit evidence of additional Egyptian architecture and material culture (Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah, Lachish, Tell Sera^c, and Timna) corroborate the thesis that Egyptian presence/influence was a major factor throughout these cities of the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.¹⁰

Hieratic Inscriptions

Ostraca containing "hieratic inscriptions are exceedingly rare in the land of Canaan" (Goldwasser 1984: 77). While only four sites in the

¹⁰ Scarabs are also often used by archaeologists for chronological purposes (Ward and Dever 1994; Ward 1984; 1987; 1994). Royal-name scarabs, containing the name of an Egyptian king, are of primary importance if found in an archaeological context. However, the use of scarabs for purposes of chronology is not without limitations. It was customary to use an Egyptian name long after the life or reign of that king. Indeed, scarabs continued to be manufactured in the southern Levant because of the special ideological properties that came with a certain name (Giveon 1978: 102). Thus, scarabs were often used as heirlooms for generations after the reign of a particular king. These interpretational problems relating to typology indicate that scarabs of the Late Bronze Age provide a *terminus post quem* for a given stratum (cf. Brandl 1982). Despite the continued refining of scarab typology and possible local manufacture, they represent an important factor in measuring the influence and possible presence of Egypt in the southern Levant.

southern Levant have produced hieratic inscriptions (Deir el-Balah, Lachish, Tell Haror, and Tell Sera⁶; Goldwasser 1984; 1991a; 1991b; S. Wimmer in press)¹¹ the quality and content of the inscriptions are significant in understanding the nature of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant. The Tell Sera⁶ inscriptions consist of about a dozen inscribed sherds found in Late Bronze Age contexts at the site. One bowl is translated, "b3 . . . which [---(southern)] of regnal year 22 (+x) . . . record . . . grain measured in the first(?) quadruple *ḥkjt* making 460 sacks" (Goldwasser 1984: 77). The others are more fragmentary, but are related to the grain offerings presented as votives in temples (Goldwasser 1984; cf. Groll 1973b). The Lachish ostraca were not found *in situ* or very near to the Fosse temple (Goldwasser 1984: 85; cf. Gilula 1976; Goldwasser 1991b) although there are several bowls on the floors of the temples that are typologically similar (Ussishkin 1978a: 19). Goldwasser concludes that "all these bowls undoubtedly played an important role in the rituals of the temples, most likely as containers for the offering presented to the temple god or gods" (1984: 85). Another sherd found in the Late Bronze occupational debris at Lachish contains the word *sš*, "scribe" (Goldwasser 1991b). This may indicate that Egyptian or Egyptian-trained scribes resided in the southern Levant, keeping record of economic transactions for Egyptian interests. These inscriptions "constitute the first documentation from Egyptian sources in Canaan itself concerning administrative practices connected with grain. . . . Much of this taxed grain may have remained in Canaan, where it was transferred to the *Stützpunkte* and used there for the sustenance of the Egyptian troops and all those belonging to the administrative network" (Goldwasser 1984: 86; cf. Gardiner 1941; Helck 1963: 632; Schulman 1964c: 63-64; Redford 1972: 155; Ahituv 1978: 96-97).

Summary

From the above survey of research it is evident that Egyptian influence and presence in the southern Levant is well established during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition period (XIXth-XXth Dynasties). Several interpretations of this evidence have been suggested.

¹¹ Petrie (cf. Goldwasser 1991b: 248 note 1) alluded to a hieratic inscription from Tell el-Far'ah (S) but it has never been published.

According to Weinstein (1981), these aspects of Egyptian presence as attested both textually and archaeologically are cited as evidence for Egyptian dominance over the region. The reasons for this dominance have been debated. Ahituv (1978) maintains that the primary concern of the Egyptians lay in the geographic position Canaan offered as an overland link between Egypt and the rest of Western Asia. He deemphasizes an economic interest by stating, "It is indeed probable that there was no economic interest in the Egyptian conquest of Canaan, and if such an interest existed it was very limited" (Ahituv 1978: 104; *contra* Albright 1975a: 106). He bases his conclusion on the written materials available from the Amarna period, various economic and administrative documents, as well as later campaign records.

Na'aman (1981) responds to Ahituv by demonstrating that Canaanite vassals contributed vast sums in silver and personnel as tribute to their Egyptian overlords. Na'aman further points out the process of intensification of Egyptian activity that takes place in the thirteenth century (following Alt 1959a). Thus, sites such as Aphek, Beth Shan, Lachish, Tell Sera^c, Tell Masos, Deir el-Balah and Timna were able to flourish during the last stage of the Late Bronze period (Na'aman 1981: 185).

The effects of Egyptian presence in Canaan, regardless of its motivation for expansion, has been viewed in various ways as well. Albright stated that "the wealth and culture of southern Canaan decreased rather steadily under foreign misrule, until it reached an extremely low ebb in the thirteenth century" (1949: 101). Later he maintained that "the regular tribute alone must have been an extensive burden" (1975a: 106). Kenyon, on the other hand, suggested that "by the last years of the Eighteenth Dynasty . . . almost every town from which there is evidence in the Middle Bronze Age was once more flourishing and some . . . had been newly established" (1973: 556).

These opposing views concerning Egyptian interest and its effect in the southern Levant have been addressed by Gonen (1984). She suggests in her study of site distribution and demographics that Late Bronze Age culture never regained momentum after the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The increase in small settlements, she argues, "served Egyptian imperialistic intentions" (Gonen 1984: 70).

In most of the current discussion terms like "empire" (Weinstein 1981), "imperialism," and "colonialism" (Oren 1984b) seem synony-

mous and occur virtually without definition. The wealth of scholarship in the social sciences is not cited (Eisenstadt 1979; Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Bartel 1985; but see Kemp 1978; S. T. Smith 1991).

This has led, most recently, to Carolyn Higginbotham's dissertation (1993; cf. 1996; 1998). She challenges the concept of "empire" as applied to Egyptian domination during the Ramesside period. Employing an elite emulation model based on recent studies of core-periphery interaction (cf. Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Champion 1989), Higginbotham investigates the nature of Egyptian material culture in Syria-Palestine and proposes that the application of "empire" to the phenomenon occurring in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age is inaccurate. Her analysis of the archaeological material culture and related textual evidence leads her to the conclusion that elite emulation is preferable to direct rule (Higginbotham 1993: 488; 1996; 1998). Her model of elite emulation attributes the Egyptian-type architecture and material culture to the local, indigenous population. According to Higginbotham, they produced and built in an attempt to emulate the Egyptians whom they viewed as culturally superior. However, such an interpretation does not take into account several important aspects.

The well-written hieratic inscriptions need to be accounted for in the context of Egyptian "governor's" residencies and the economic structure that seems to have existed in the western Negev and Shephelah. Architectural features, such as temples (Timna and Serâbit el-Khâdem), must be accounted for and other textual references to temples at Ashkelon and possibly Aphek explained. The high occurrence of stelae, plaques, and monumental inscriptions claiming military victory and domination over specific sites certainly indicates more than elite emulation. Even the pottery and alabaster evidence that Higginbotham collects and presents may be interpreted to support Egyptian presence rather than elite emulation. All of these factors seem to favor a much stronger Egyptian presence in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty.

From the previous discussion and assessment of the archaeological evidence of Egyptian presence in the southern Levant, several issues emerge. (1) Egyptian interest in the southern Levant is under discussion. Hypotheses for Egyptian involvement include economic interests (Albright 1949; Na'aman 1981) or geographical control for reasons of access to neighboring areas (Ahituv 1978). (2) The interaction between Egypt and the southern Levant has been viewed as debilitat-

ing (Albright 1949; 1975a; Gonen 1984; Singer 1988) or conducive to further development (Kenyon 1973; Na'aman 1981; Liebowitz 1987). (3) The nature of such activity has been questioned, producing models of imperialism/colonialism (Kemp 1978; Na'aman 1981; Oren 1984b; McGovern 1985; Singer 1988-89; A. Mazar 1990b: 232 note 1; S. T. Smith 1991; Weinstein 1981; 1992a; Dever 1992c; Knapp 1992: 94) or elite emulation viewed within a model of core-periphery interaction (Higginbotham 1993; 1996; 1998).

Although treated marginally, most of these discussions are more concerned with the effects of Egyptian presence on the material culture of Palestine in general rather than on addressing Egyptian military activity. Questions regarding the nature of Egyptian military activity during the XIXth Dynasty, its effects on the archaeological record, and its relationship with Egyptian presence in the southern Levant in general remain an open area of inquiry. Do the destructions compare with the Egyptian perception of events and chronologically with those sites mentioned in Egyptian accounts? Can the wide-scale destruction that engulfs the eastern Mediterranean during the transition be partially attributed to the campaigns of the Egyptians?

The preceding survey of architecture and material culture suggests that the Egyptians had a strong interest to dominate the region for economic, political, and even ideological reasons. Egypt's interest was to provide a sense of *ms't*, "truth, justice, order," in these territories while fulfilling its economic interests through taxation and trade. The thesis that Egyptian military activity was a response to rebellious and unruly elements that worked against these interests mitigates against the wholesale destruction of cities and populations that were the source of revenue and part of a larger socioeconomic structure. Indeed, the military actions described so vividly during this last period of Egyptian domination attest to the resistance Egypt was facing for other internal and external reasons. An assessment of the archaeological and chronological basis for military activity during the individual reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah is a significant part in addressing these issues and will be discussed in the following sections.

SETI I

General Chronology

There is no clear accession date for Seti I nor is the length of his reign known (Helck 1966: 233-34; Murnane 1975; 1975-76: 26-27; Spalinger 1979a). His accession date was placed by Helck (1966: 233-234) at 3 Shomu 24, a holiday date upon which the "Procession of Seti" occurred. Murnane (1975-76) argues against this date, suggesting the temporal boundaries in which the accession must be placed. Murnane's main point of opposition is that accession dates must be on holidays. The date 3 Shomu 24 was not a holiday, since there is evidence that work was carried out on that day in the Year 14 of Ramses II. But there are some weaknesses in this argument. As Spalinger has pointed out, "it is not clear that a holiday for the workmen at Deir el Medinah meant a holiday for individuals engaged in private transactions or deliveries of goods, and vice versa" (1979a: 234). Furthermore, there is some question as to whether such a holiday occurred on the accession or the coronation date. In the end, Spalinger accepts Murnane's suggestion that the accession occurred sometime between 3 Shomu 18 and 4 Shomu 23, but attempts to further define the accession date based on Seti's campaign into Asia. He places the date closer to 4 Shomu 23 (1979a: 240).

The length of the reign of Seti I is also vigorously debated. The Gebel Barkel stela provides Year 11, so that one can assume a reign of at least ten years, although it has been suggested that the reign of Seti I lasted for 14 to 15 (Hornung 1964: 40-41) or 15 to 19 years (Helck 1956: 69-70), based on the traditions of Manetho. Bierbrier has posited a length of not under 15 years (1972), but his suggestion has some problems.¹² Based on Manetho, the 15-year hypothesis has received some acceptance in recent years (Kitchen 1987: 40; Krauss 1989a). Others have opted for a shorter reign for Seti I. These include Wentz and van Siclen (1976: 233), who follow Redford (1967: 208-215) for a

¹² His reconstruction of the prenomen of Seti I on the Munich statue of Bakenkhons' I has merit but has not met without opposition. Another possibility could be Ramses I, whose prenomen also includes the *mn*-sign. In addition, Bierbrier does not take into account the possibility that the time span mentioned on the statue actually represents a longer reckoning including Bakenkhons' year in which he changed office and the year in which he concluded it (Wentz and van Siclen 1976: 233). For these reasons, his longer dates are also rejected by Murnane (1975-76). Most recently, after a masterful review of the evidence, it has been argued that the biography of Bakenkhon "can no longer be used for the calculation for the minimal length of the reign of Sethos I" (Jansen-Winkel 1993:225; cf. Schoske 1987).

reign of 10 years, and recently Helck, who revised his earlier position (based on the Gebel Barkal Year 11), and argues for 11 years (Helck 1987: 19, 26; but see Kitchen 1989a: 153), who correctly points out that Helck's dates imply a 12-year reign, bringing him closer to 15 years). Further complications may result from the alleged coregency between Seti I and Ramses II (Seele 1940; but see Murnane 1975; 1977). The debate concerning the accession date and length of reign directly affects the chronology of the campaigns of Seti I. The parameters of this study include primarily the campaigns of Year 1 for which the accession date remains crucial (Murnane 1990; Kitchen 1989a: 276-277). The length of the reign is less important for reconstructing the military campaigns into the southern Levant.

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns

The campaigns of Seti I into the southern Levant are largely recorded on the exterior north wall and extend to the north sides of the east and west walls of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak so that they are perfectly symmetrical (Wreszinski 1935, II: Pls. 34-53a; Gaballa 1976: 100; Murnane 1990: 39). Originally, the scenes occupied three registers on each side of the doorway. However, the top registers are no longer completely preserved, their remnants lying scattered at the base of the walls (Broadhurst 1989: 230). The temple was begun by Seti I and finished by his son Ramses II. Other commemorative military accounts include the First Beth Shan Stela dated to Year 1 and the undated Second Beth Shan Stela. Topographical lists including names from the southern Levant are located at Karnak (Simons 1937: Lists XIV, XIII), the El Qurneh Temple (Simons 1937: List XV, plus matching list, *KRI* I:34-35), Abydos (Simons 1937: List XVI), the Kanais Temple (Simons 1937: List XVII), and a list at Sesebi (Simons 1937: List XVIII).

A major issue continues to revolve around the chronology of Seti I's campaigns. Much discussion has centered on (1) the order of the reliefs recorded at Karnak; (2) the number of campaigns taken into the southern Levant; and (3) how these campaigns fit into the events of Seti I's reign.

The detailed discussion surrounding the campaigns of Seti I began with the publication of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*. Breasted (*ARE*: 3.38-43) suggested that the order of the registers began with the march through southern Palestine and the victory against the

"foes of Ššw," the register labeled year 1 (Breasted's scenes 1-2). According to Breasted, Seti I continued in the same campaign to Pa-Canaan and onward to Yeno'am and as far east as the Hauran; then "westward along the Phoenician coast as far as Simyra and Ullaza" (Breasted *ARE*: 3.40). Breasted interpreted all of these destinations as part of a single campaign in Year 1, although he did allow for the possibility that each register represented a single campaign. If this was the case, then as many as four Asiatic campaigns (including the Hittites) may have taken place (Breasted *ARE*: 3.40-41 note c).

Gardiner concurred with Breasted that in all likelihood several campaigns took place, "possibly even one for each register" (Gardiner 1920: 100). He reconstructed the campaigns in the following manner. The first campaign took Seti I against the "foes of Ššw" and Pa-Canaan. Gardiner doubted that Yeno'am (depicted in the middle register) was encountered in this first campaign but thought it was part of a subsequent one (Gardiner 1920: 100). Naturally, Gardiner was not yet privileged to know of the First Beth Shan Stela dated to Year 1 in which Yeno'am is specifically mentioned, as it was found by Rowe in 1923 (1929a: 89; 1930). This confirms that the register concerning Yeno'am still reflects the campaign of Year 1. Gardiner was mostly concerned with the forts along the route of Seti I and does not comment further on the other registers except to say that Libya probably represents a separate, later campaign.

Several years later Faulkner (1947) returned to the topic of the wars of Seti I, also maintaining that Breasted was correct in assuming several separate campaigns, and viewed the registers as representing a chronological order that began with the bottom register on the east wall from the doorway (the Ššw campaign). Moving upward he included the "capture of Yeno'am" and the extension into Lebanon (Faulkner 1947: 35). The top register is lost, but this register, Faulkner suggested, "portrayed the conquest of at any rate a portion of the Amorite coast lands of which Zimyra was the most important seaport" and represents the second campaign (Faulkner 1947: 37). For the reliefs to the west of the doorway Faulkner followed the registers from top to bottom so that the Hittite campaign occurred last. Faulkner suggested that the third campaign of Seti I included the capture of Kadesh on the Orontes¹³ and a further push to conquer Amurru.

¹³ The upper portion of a stela of Seti I was found at Kadesh and supports Kadesh of the Orontes as the toponym mentioned in the reliefs of Seti I rather than the Galilean Kadesh (Pézarid 1922: 108-109; cf. Breasted *ARE*: 3.71 note a).

The middle registers on the west side depict a separate campaign against the Libyans. Faulkner disagreed with Breasted that this campaign occurred in Year 2, but suggested that it may have taken place after the campaign of Kadesh. The Hittite war is viewed as the last campaign. Thus, Faulkner argued for four Asiatic campaigns and one Libyan campaign. While the Libyan campaign occurred before the war with the Hittites, Faulkner did not clearly indicate when each campaign occurred. One is led to believe that all campaigns occurred in Year 1 since he rejects the view that the Libyan campaign took place in Year 2 and provides no further comment.

The debate has continued to the present. In an investigation of the narrative art of the Egyptians, Gaballa (1976) discusses at length the war reliefs of the Ramesside kings. Each register recorded in Karnak during the reign of Seti I is interpreted by Gaballa as referring to separate campaigns (thus six in all) in an ascending chronological order on both the right and left sides (Gaballa 1976: 100-106). This would seem to correspond to the ascending order in other representations of the Ramesside period (Kitchen 1989b: 277). However, several problems remain unresolved with this interpretation. No scenes of departure are depicted on the second (or middle) register showing the campaign against Yeno'am. This seems to give support to the possibility that the two registers were part of the same campaign (Spalinger 1979b: 31). This seems to be confirmed chronologically. The First Beth Shan Stela mentions a campaign against Yeno'am dated to Year 1. Could Seti I have taken two campaigns in the same year (see Kitchen 1989b)? Furthermore, there are sufficient reasons to accept that the registers on the right side follow a descending chronological order (cf. Murnane 1990; Kitchen 1989b).

Spalinger (1979b) follows the general outline of Faulkner (1947) by accepting five wars with Register IV immediately following III. He proposes a more definite chronological sequence, claiming that in Year 1 Seti I campaigned throughout southern and central Cisjordan (Registers I and II), the Lebanese coast and up to Amurru (Register III). The campaigns to the hinterland of Amurru and Kadesh occurred in Years 3 to 5. The campaign against the Libyans must have taken place by Year 6, as the one against the Hittites occurred by Year 7. Finally in Year 8 Seti I led his troops against Nubia (not recorded at Karnak; Spalinger 1979b: 43). Thus the wars of Seti I in the southern Levant are seen as part of one campaign taking place during Year I.

In the explanatory monograph accompanying the Epigraphic Survey's documentation of the reliefs of Seti I, Murnane (1985; 2nd ed. 1990) provides the most extensive investigation of the campaigns. He concludes that the registers on the east side should be read in an ascending order and that the wars in Palestine should be divided into two distinct campaigns; one against the "foes of Ššw" and Pa-Canaan, the other against Yeno'am (Murnane 1990: 70-76, 80). He is supported by Kitchen (1989b), who suggests that both campaigns could still have occurred in Year 1. The first campaign against the "foes of Ššw" and Pa-Canaan could have taken place during the embalming of Ramses I, between 3 Shomu 24 and 1 Akhet 29. The second campaign to Lebanon and his dealings with Yeno'am and the other entities mentioned in the First Beth Shan Stela could have occurred between 1st through 3rd Shomu in Year 1 (Kitchen 1989b: 276-277). The missing register at the top of the east side (Register III) is identified with some of the toponyms mentioned in the topographical lists. Murnane makes the strong case for a descending chronology for the western registers (following Spalinger 1979b).

Broadhurst (1989) approaches the subject from an angle altogether new. He focuses on the composition and structure of the iconography. He continues the traditional approach of maintaining that scenes which chronicle historical events are located furthest away from the doorway and that all registers have scenes leading to the doorway where prisoners are presented or slain before Amun (Broadhurst 1989: 231; cf. Breasted *ARE*: 3.80-81; Gardiner 1920: 99; Kitchen 1964: 48). Each of the registers, he argues, reflects a separate campaign. Broadhurst suggests that both the left and right walls should be read in an ascending order (1989: 233-234); however, he does not commit himself to a time frame for each individual campaign.

The most recent appraisal of the chronology of Seti's wars is offered by El-Saady (1992). Accepting the accession date for Seti I as 3 Shomu 24, El-Saady suggests that all of the battles recorded on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak refer to a single campaign in Year 1. In El-Saady's reconstruction Seti I began his campaign against Ššw before showing force in Canaan. Upon reaching Megiddo in the north, he used this as a base for dominating the inland towns of Rehob, Pella, and Yeno'am and sent troops to deal with the 'Apiru tribes (Second Beth Shan Stela). Then the king moved north, where he received the homage of the Lebanese chiefs of the coastal towns. According to El-Saady, these chiefs did not appear to be

hostile (cf. Spalinger 1979b: 32), but rather "showed peaceful intentions toward the victorious pharaoh, to avoid suffering Egyptian anger" (El-Saady 1992: 287). Following this action he was free to move northward into Hittite territory and attacked Kadesh as well as the coastal cities of Amurru to Ullaza. Then he turned back to Egypt, but on the way heard of a rebellion and seizure of Beth Shan. He sent three columns against the rebellious cities (First Beth Shan Stela) before returning to Egypt, where he presented his prisoners and booty to the god Amun (El-Saady 1992: 287).

Although this scenario seems logical on the surface, there appear to be major difficulties. First, El-Saady does not seem to take into account the order of the registers. The Libyan campaign that appears between the Kadesh and Hittite registers is not explained. Certainly this represents some chronological break (Gaballa 1976; Spalinger 1979b; Kitchen 1989b). Even if it does not constitute a break, it would follow in El-Saady's interpretation that this campaign also occurred in Year 1. But it does not fit within the chronological sequence. Seti I could not have been in two places at once (although it would be possible that his armies were). Furthermore, El-Saady simply inserts information from both the Beth Shan stelae and topographical lists without commenting on his methodology for reconstructing the campaign in this way. Spalinger's caution that the topographical lists are "ahistorical" and must "at first be employed independently of the historical data" should apply in this case (Spalinger 1979b: 37). Indeed, the earliest statement by Breasted still seems valid: "It is absurd to suppose that Seti I completed a war with the Libyans, a campaign against the Shasu, the conquest of Palestine and some of southern Syria, and a war with the Hittites, and finally accomplished the return to Thebes, all in one year" (Breasted *ARE*: 3.38). These problems demonstrate the difficulty in this proposed reconstruction.

The debate surrounding the war reliefs of Seti I can be summarized as follows. Concerning the order in which the reliefs are arranged, there is a consensus that one must begin with the bottom register (dated Year 1) to the east of the entrance and that the sequence ascends from bottom to top. It is the wall west of the entrance that has caused the most difficulty. Some have read the registers from top-to-bottom (Faulkner 1947; Spalinger 1979b; Murmane 1990) while others have argued for a bottom-to-top interpretation (Gaballa 1976; Broadhurst 1989). Several positions have been taken concern-

ing the number of campaigns depicted on the reliefs: (1) Two campaigns into Palestine in Year 1 (Registers I and II) and three later into Amurru, Ḫatti, and Libya (Murnane 1990; Kitchen 1989b); (2) One campaign into Palestine in Year 1 (combining Registers I and II) and four into Amurru, Ḫatti, and Libya (Faulkner 1947; Spalinger 1979b); (3) Two campaigns into Palestine (Registers I and II) and four others, each register representing a separate campaign (Gaballa 1976; Broadhurst 1989; cf. Breasted *ARE*); (4) Only one campaign dating to Year 1 which include the activities depicted in all registers, stelae, and toponym lists (El-Saady 1992).

It is pertinent for this discussion to focus on the scenes and toponyms indicated in the first two registers of the Hypostyle Hall and other sources for this campaign(s), since these occur in the geographical region of the southern Levant (see Figure 12). Thus, the consensus that these campaign(s) occurred in Year 1, ca. 1294-1293 B.C., as the date on the reliefs indicates, establishes the chronological framework for this investigation.

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

Transjordan

The area of Transjordan is well-attested in the Amarna letters, particularly the regions of Ge<shu>r and Bashan (Kitchen 1992b: 26). Seven towns are mentioned from Geshur (EA 256; including Udamu, Aduru, Araru, Meshta, Magdalu, Kheni-anabu and Sarqu). However, during the subsequent reign of Seti I only the toponym Pella occurs in military accounts. A stela of Seti I was set up at Tell esh-Shihab (Kitchen 1993a: 14; *KRI* I:17). Unfortunately, only the top part survives, providing no date or historical detail (Kitchen 1992b: 26). This leaves open the question of whether Seti I actually campaigned in Transjordan or whether he merely dealt with certain entities in that region from a further distance.

Pahil/Pella

Occurrences and Contexts. The entity *phr/l* occurs a total of six times in both topographical lists and in the First Beth Shan stela of Seti I. It occurs twice on the Karnak list (List XIV: 54A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; List XIII: 49A; Kitchen 1993a: 26); on the north and

south sphinxes at the Qurneh Temple (XV: 15; Kitchen 1993a: 27; *KRI* I:33,14; XVa: 13, 15; Kitchen 1993a: 28; *KRI* I:34,11); and on the topographical list at Abydos (List XVIa: 2; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:32,10). The most specific occurrence is on the First Beth Shan Stela where it is included among the three cities that have rebelled and attacked Beth Shan (Kruchten 1982). The pertinent part of the account is translated,

The despicable chief who is in the town of Hammath has gathered to himself many people, seizing the town of Beth Shan, and is joined up with those from Pahil (*Pella*); he is preventing the chief of Rehob from coming out. Then His Majesty sent out the First Division of Amun, 'Rich in Bows', against the town of Hammath; the First Division of Re, 'Abounding in Valour', against the town of Beth-Shan; and the First Division of Sutekh, 'Strong of Bows', against the town of Yeno'am (Kitchen 1993a: 10; *KRI* I:12;6-12).

It is important to note that in this action Egyptian troops are sent in response to the military activity of local leaders who have rebelled against Egypt's garrison city of Beth Shan. Possibly the king of Rehob was wanting to act in defense of Beth Shan but was not allowed to leave the city.

It is clear from the text that while Pella is mentioned as one of the cities joining in the rebellion (Kitchen 1992b: 26), it is not singled out specifically as one of those pursued by one of the divisions of Seti I. Instead, Hammath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am are the subjects of military action and defense. The question remains, was the site of Pella actually affected by the campaign? This is a possibility since it is mentioned repeatedly in topographical lists. Troops were possibly sent there to quell the rebellion. However, it could be that the individuals joining up with Hammath were dealt with in the military action against that city. In that case, the site of Pella would not necessarily have been directly affected. The archaeological context at Pella may elucidate the nature of military activity further.

Identification. The identification of Ṭabaqat Faḥl as ancient Pella was first suggested by Edward Robinson in 1852. The site lies about 19 miles south of the Sea of Galilee among the foothills of the eastern side of the Jordan Valley (R. H. Smith 1993: 1174).

History of Investigation. Small-scale excavations were carried out by Funk and Richardson under the auspices of the American School of Oriental Research in 1958. In 1964 the Department of Antiquities in Jordan excavated about eleven tombs at the site. The

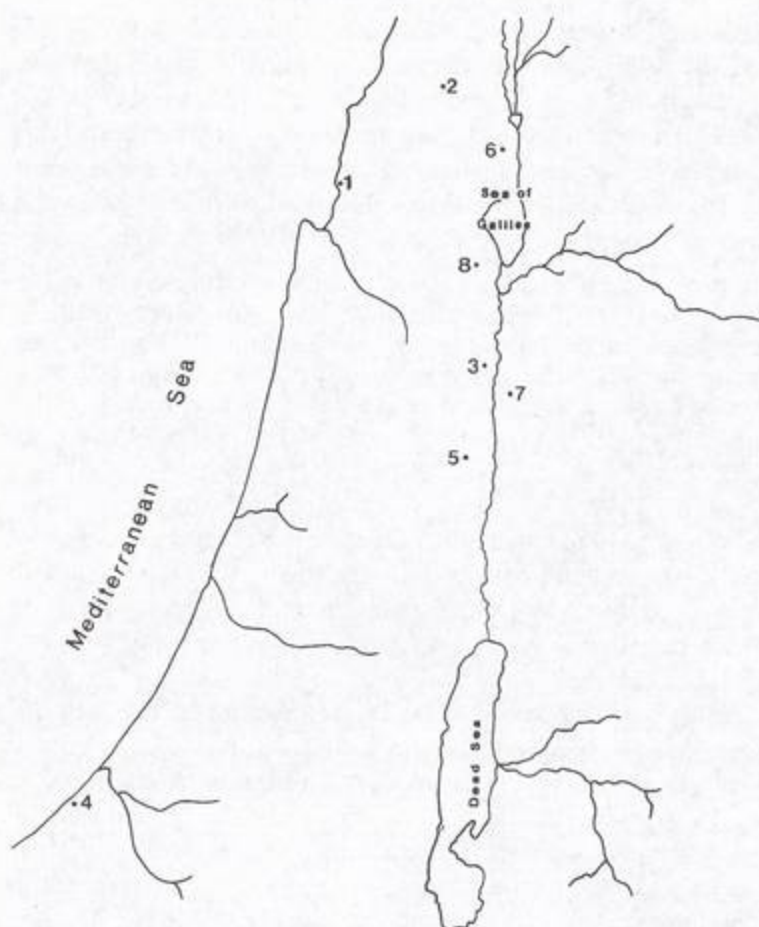


Figure 12, Map of cities mentioned in the military accounts of Seti I

1. Akko; 2. Beth 'Anath; 3. Beth Shan; 4. Gaza;
5. Tell el-Hammah; 6. Hazor; 7. Pella; 8. Tell Yin'am

first major excavations were conducted by R. H. Smith of The College of Wooster in 1967. Interrupted by the Six-Day War excavations did not resume until 1979, when the college was joined by the University of Sydney with J. B. Hennessy and A. W. McNicoll as co-directors of the Sydney contingent. Over 34 areas were excavated at the site and surrounding vicinity from 1979 to 1995 (R. H. Smith 1983; Potts *et al.* 1988; Edwards *et al.* 1990; Walmsley *et al.* 1993; Bourke *et al.* 1994; Bourke 1994).

Archaeological Data. The site was occupied during the Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic periods, according to sherds and artifacts found. The Chalcolithic through Bronze periods are also well attested (R. H. Smith 1993: 1178). The Middle and Late Bronze Age material can be divided into two categories: finds from the stratigraphic excavations on the tell, and material from the tombs south and east of the site. The stratigraphic remains of the Late Bronze were excavated in Areas III and VIII. Recently, excavators and other scholars have spoken of the meager archaeological remains at Pella during LB II (R. H. Smith 1993: 1178; Knapp 1993b: 38, 50). Knapp (1993b: 38) observes that during the Middle Bronze III - Late Bronze I transition Pella remained intensely occupied, while a "more parochial material culture" characterizes the city during LB II. He submits that the stratigraphic evidence may support the theory of cultural collapse during this period (cf. Ahituv 1978; Weinstein 1981; Gonen 1984; McGovern 1987a).

a. Destruction Correlates. Knapp and Smith do not mention the recent excavated evidence of a major destruction during the terminal phase of Late Bronze III (Phase IA). Excavations during the course of the 1984 and 1986 seasons revealed a massive destruction extending over most of Area III (an exposure covering approximately 300 m²; Potts *et al.* 1988: 136-137; Smith and Potts 1992: 100). Conflagration was a major factor in the destruction. In Plot IIIIP there appeared to be a "succession of burnt levels, some perhaps from collapsed ceilings" (Potts *et al.* 1988: 136). The buildings affected in the destruction seem to be mostly domestic structures. The upper courses were made of mudbrick. No defensive system dating to the Late Bronze Age has been excavated at Pella,¹⁴ leaving the question of the destruction of defensive systems an open issue.

In summary, the focus of the destructions was complete in the exposed LB levels. Although it cannot be certain from the current extent of excavated LB levels, it may be possible that the destruction encompassed the entire site (Smith and Potts 1992: 83). The extent of the conflagration includes all exposed areas where LB occupational deposits are found (Area III; 300 m²).

b. Chronology for Destruction. A preliminary assessment of the pottery indicates a corpus fitting into the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transi-

¹⁴ This may be due to erosion (Smith and Potts 1992: 101) or it may be that no defensive system existed at Pella during this period (Bourke personal communication).

tion, as suggested by the excavators. A number of complete vessels that were broken during the conflagration were recovered from a large room (Locus 101; Potts *et al.* 1988: 138, Fig. 11). Some of the diagnostics include a shaved ware dipper juglet with pinched mouth (Fig. 11:4);¹⁵ a jug and krater that are a fired grey-buff, decorated in red-brown paint, both displaying the common "palm-tree and ibex" motif (Fig. 11:2,6; cf. Amiran 1969: 161-162, Pl. 50). These forms are typical of the Late Bronze III. The ceramic evidence does not give a precise indication of when this destruction took place in the thirteenth century. It may well have occurred in the latter half of LB III.

c. Subsequent Activity. Structures in Plots IIIN, IIIP, IIIQ, and IIIR were rebuilt along architectural lines similar to those of the previous houses following the Phase IA destruction. Sometimes the orientation follows earlier wall alignments precisely (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137). The pottery of Phases Oa-e (*Pella 2* sequence) also displays strong continuity (Smith and Potts 1992: 100). In Plot IVE at least three post-Phase IA phases were excavated but were so poorly preserved that reconstruction was not possible (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137).

The apparent movement toward collapse that has been noted in the stratigraphic remains at Pella is somewhat of an enigma when viewed together with the excavated tomb materials. At least seven contemporary tombs have been excavated in Areas VI and XI and range from MB III to LB II (Knapp 1993b: 33). The Late Bronze tombs are generally rich, with a large amount of pottery and other luxury items, including imported Late Helladic III A2/B and Late Cypriote II (White Slip, Base-Ring) ceramics (R. H. Smith 1973: 13-14). The recently discovered "Lion Box" also demonstrates the high level of craftsmanship and international influence (Potts 1986; 1987). This may provide some evidence for ongoing connections with the Aegean and Mediterranean, contributing to the internationalism of Pella during LB II (Knapp 1989: 67; 1993b: 38). As Knapp (1989b: 66) has suggested, Pella may well have been part of a more complex hierarchy of settlement in the Beth Shan valley.

Assessment. It is clear from the archaeological data that the site of Pella suffered a major destruction during the Late Bronze III period. Both the Egyptian absolute chronology and the ceramic se-

¹⁵ This is a typical Cypriote imitation of a Canaanite dipper juglet which is hand-made and knife-shaved and occurs throughout the Late Bronze II and III (Amiran 1969: 173). A parallel is found at Tell Abu Hawam Stratum V (Hamilton 1935: 47, Fig. 288).

quence indicates that it might be possible to connect this destruction with the activities of Seti I. But it is more likely that the destruction occurred at a later time in the second half of the thirteenth century or even in the first part of the twelfth century (Bourke personal communication). Moreover, it has been argued that a correlation of this nature must go beyond chronological indicators. From a textual standpoint, such a destruction may not even have taken place. The First Beth Shan Stela does not state that an infantry division was sent to Pella, although it specifically singles out three other cities. It only states that Pella was part of the rebellion against Beth Shan. Although its numerous mention in the lists of Seti I must also be taken into account, there are difficulties archaeologically with assigning this destruction to Seti I. First, it must be observed that no Egyptian-type remains were to be found in Phase IA.¹⁶ Second, all exposed LB III areas were consumed by massive conflagration, a tactic not widely practiced by the Egyptians, who preferred open-terrain conflicts and used sieges only to draw out the enemy. Even when violence against the city was used, it revolved around the gates, as the iconographic evidence considered in Chapter One clearly indicates. Conclusions concerning this tactic cannot be established since a gate system has not been uncovered at Pella. Together the factors seem at this time to weigh against the identification of this destruction with the military activity of Seti I, who may have met the residents of this city-state somewhere in closer proximity to their conflict at Hammath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am.

Cisjordan

In addition to the First Beth Shan Stela, both the reliefs at Karnak and topographical lists indicate that Seti I encountered toponyms in Cisjordan. Seti I also ventured north into Lebanon, Syria, or Hatti, as the war reliefs at Karnak demonstrate. He would have traveled along the coastal highway, taking necessary detours as circumstances might dictate (Gardiner 1920).

¹⁶ The numerous scarabs found in tombs should not be indicators in this regard since they occur in another context (Richards 1992). This, of course, is an argument from silence, and it should be stated that were such evidence to be found, these conclusions would require possible adjustment.

Akko

Occurrences and Context. The mention of the entity ḫ is frequent subsequent to the XII Dynasty.¹⁷ It is mentioned four times in the topographical lists of Seti I; twice on the Karnak list (List XIV: 59A, Kitchen 1993a: 23; *KRI* I:29,2; List XIII: 54A, Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:416,7); and on both the north and south sphinxes at the Qurneh Temple (List XV: 13, Kitchen 1993a: 27; *KRI* I:33,14; List XVa: 12; Kitchen 1993a: 28; *KRI* I:34,11).

Identification. This site is located on the southern fringes of Lebanon and is mentioned together with Lebanese cities further north (Uzu, Tyre, and Kumidi; Murnane 1990: 44). The ancient seaport city was located at the site of Tell el-Fukhar, 8 miles north of Haifa on the Mediterranean coast (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 16).

History of Investigation. Twelve seasons of excavation were conducted at Tell el-Fukhar between 1973 and 1989, directed by M. Dothan with the assistance of A. Raban and M. Artzy, under the auspices of the Center for Maritime Studies and the Department of the History of Maritime Civilizations at the University of Haifa. The later seasons were conducted as a joint project of the Center for Maritime Studies, the University of Marburg, Germany, and the Israel Exploration Society (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 18).

Archaeological Data. Preliminary reports (M. Dothan 1973c; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1981; Dothan and Goldmann 1993) indicate that the earliest occupation of the site dated to the MB I or II. The first two phases of the rampart fortifications system are dated to the MB II (MB IIa, Dothan and Goldman 1993: 18) and in Area F, on the northeastern end of the site, a city gate was excavated. The glacis was later shaved during the MB III at the upper part to form a flat area for the construction of buildings. Building A, a large public building that served as either "a fortress, a governor's residence, or a temple," was probably founded during this period (M. Dothan 1975: 165). The mudbrick structure was two stories high and constructed "in the

¹⁷ The earliest reference occurs in the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts where the ruler of Akko, *ḫm*, is cursed as one of the many Canaanite princes threatening the stability of Egypt's rule (Posener 1940: 87-88). A scarab found at the site from the XIIth Dynasty has been cited to confirm this identification (Giveon 1967: 34). Other occurrences include its appearance on the Karnak topographical list of Thutmose III (Simons 1937: 27-44) and its mention thirteen times in the Amarna letters (Knudtzon 1915: 8, 85, 88, 111, 232, 234-236, 245, 250; Rainey 1970: 366). It also appears on the topographical list of Ramses II (Simons 1937: 71-75).

form of a broad-house with a deep niche in the north wall projecting outward, in which many pottery vessels were found in a layer of burnt organic matter" (M. Dothan 1977: 241). Beneath the floor an elaborately built tomb containing a woman and a child was excavated, yielding a large amount of pottery, some jewelry, and scarabs. The dating of this building seems to be uncertain; it is placed in one of the preliminary reports at the "end of the seventeenth century B.C." (M. Dothan 1977: 241), while later reports conclude that Building A "ceased to function at the beginning of the thirteenth century BCE" (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21). According to M. Artzy, the earlier dating is more likely (Artzy personal communication a).

a. Destruction Correlates. The last phase of fortifications was composed almost entirely of sand. These ramparts probably continued to function into Late Bronze since the last phase of this sand rampart extended over the remains of Building A (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 18, 21). However, little material remains indicating occupation were present during this period and there was no evidence of a destruction. In addition, no Late Bronze walls or city gate were found despite this being a major focus of the excavations (Artzy personal communication a).

b. Subsequent Activity. The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition was characterized by workshops as well as stone silos, granaries, and an apparent pottery kiln or metal production installation. This installation contained half of a Mycenaean IIIc:1b bowl on top of the floor (Dothan and Goldman 1993: 21; Artzy personal communication b). Areas A, B, and AB showed remains of a craft-production area complete with workshop installations, a number of other installations, possibly kilns, and additional evidence of industry such as a unique pottery vessel with thick sides containing crushed murex shells. Pottery fragments were found *in situ* in the ashen debris surrounding the "kilns," and in Area H, a pit containing a complete group of local pottery confirmed the dating of the transition period. Area F produced another occupation of Mycenaean IIIc:1b. The excavators associate this pottery with the arrival of the "Sea Peoples" and specifically the Sherden, who are mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Amenem-Opet (ca. 1000 B.C.) as occupying the northern coastal region (Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21).

Assessment. There are some stratigraphic difficulties during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. The confusion concerning

the stratigraphy and dating of the buildings and phasing in Area A, which is crucial for this investigation, prohibits any definite conclusions at this time. It is hoped that the final reports will clear up this uncertainty, facilitating a thorough assessment of this period and its possible relationship with the campaigns of Seti I.

Beth 'Anath

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *B'yty'nty* occurs in four topographical lists of Seti I: at Karnak (2, List XIII: 59 [Palimpsest]; *KRI* I:32,5; List XIV: 64a; *KRI* I:29,5); at Qurneh (1, List XV: 23; *KRI* I:33,14); and at Abydos (List XVI: A3; *KRI* I:32,13).

Identification. This toponym has been identified as Beth 'Anath (Breasted *ARE*: 3.159; Ahituv 1984: 75; Gal 1992: 61). The identification of the specific site of Beth 'Anath is widely debated. Early identifications included Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley (Albright 1923: 19-20); Be'ana in the Beth-Netopha Valley (Alt 1926: 55-57); Tell Ro'sh (Amiran 1953: 125-126); and Tell el-Hirbeh (Garstang 1931: 244-245). Aharoni (1957: 70-74) suggested that Şafed el-Baṭiḥ in southern Lebanon should be identified as Beth 'Anath. He based his conclusion on biblical and classical sources.¹⁰ Based on the archaeological evidence, Gal (1992: 61) has favored Tell Ro'sh as the location for the Late Bronze Age city of Beth 'Anath, and placed the location of the classical city at Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley, where both archaeological and historical data support it.

History of Investigation. Survey work was conducted at Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley by S. Safrai and Z. Safrai (1976) and at Tell Ro'sh by R. Frankel and Z. Gal (Gal 1992: 61). Aharoni (1957) and Amiran (1953) surveyed the Upper Galilee at sites like Tell Kadesh, Tell el-Hirbeh, Jis, Tell Ro'sh, 'Iqrit, and Jatt. Only Tell Kadesh and Tell el-Hirbeh were occupied during the Late Bronze Age, even though other sites were founded during the Early Bronze Age (Aharoni 1957: 10-16; cf. Garstang 1931: 101-102). Gal has resurveyed these sites (1992).

¹⁰ Based on sources from the Hebrew Bible (Josh 19:38) and the classical period, the analysis of Aharoni (1957: 71-74) places the site north of Tell Kadesh (Tell Qadis) in the Upper Galilee. He supports this by Eusebius' statement in his *Onomasticon* that the distance between Caesarea and the village of Beth Anath is 15 miles (cf. Klostermann 1904: 24-26). Aharoni identifies Caesarea with Caesarea Philippi and establishes that the distance to Şafed el-Baṭiḥ is the same.

Archaeological Data. According to Gal, the Late Bronze occupation in the Upper and Lower Galilee was not as dense as once supposed by Aharoni (1957). Several sites identified as Beth 'Anath by others were not occupied during this period (Be'ana in the Beth-Hakkerem Valley; Safed el-Baṭiḥ). Tell el-Hirbeh and Tell Ro'sh yielded LB pottery; however, Gal (1992: 61) points out that the former site does not exhibit the characteristic features of a tell or fortified city of this period. He posits that Beth 'Anath played a similar role to that of Shechem, as is reflected in the reference by Ramses II to "the mountain of Beth-'Anath" and "the land of Shechem" (Khu-Sebek Stela) as well as references in the Amarna Letters. These indicate that the names of these two toponyms extended beyond the limits of a town or settlement, encompassing an entire region. Further stratigraphic excavation is required at several of these sites in order to overcome the limitations of survey data and establish their occupational history.

Beth Shan

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Bt-šr* is mentioned on the First Beth Shan Stela found at the site as one of the cities seized by the rebellious cities of Hammath, Pella, and possibly Yeno'am (Kitchen 1993a: 10; *KRI* I:12,8; see Pella, 124-125). It is also listed five times in the topographical lists of Seti I: twice on the Karnak list (List XIV: 56A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *KRI* I:29,1; List XIII: 51A; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:32,1); on the north and south sphinxes at the Qurneh Temple (List XV: 16; Kitchen 1993a: 27; *KRI* I:33,11; List XVa: 16; Kitchen 1993a: 28; *KRI* I:34,13); and on the topographical list at Abydos (List XVI B1; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:32,15).

Identification. The site is identified with Tell Beth-Shean (Arabic, *Tell el-Huṣn*) located at the junction of the Jordan Valley road and the road leading from the Jezreel and Harod valleys to Gilead (A. Mazar 1993c: 214). The identity of the site is confirmed by the Beth Shan stelae of Seti I and another found there dated to the reign of Ramses II (Rowe 1929a).

History of Investigation. Beth Shan was excavated by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (1921-1933) directed by C. S. Fisher (1921-1923), A. Rowe (1925-1928), and G. M. FitzGerald (1930, 1933). The American excavations concentrated on the Early Bronze through Byzantine strata (Rowe 1927; 1928;

1929b; 1929-30; 1930; 1940). In 1983 a short season was conducted by the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, directed by Y. Yadin and S. Geva, investigating the Iron Age strata (Yadin and Geva 1986). From 1989 to 1996 excavations were conducted under the direction of A. Mazar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (A. Mazar 1990a; 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; 1997).

Archaeological Data. Archaeological excavations at Beth Shan revealed a long history dating from the Neolithic to the modern Early Arab periods. During the Late Bronze Age, after the LB IA period (pre-Level IX), archaeological evidence demonstrates the strong Egyptianization of Beth Shan. In Level IX a series of rooms and halls were built into the north and south of a new courtyard which formed the base for a new cultic compound which was called by the excavators a "Canaanite temple" (Rowe 1930: 10, Pls. 16, 17, 57). The building is constructed of mudbrick on stone foundations with brick pedestals on their walls (for description, see Rowe 1930: 11-14). Although Rowe (1930: 10) dated this complex to the time of Thutmose III, concentrations of pottery indicated that this stratum followed his campaigns and should be dated to the fourteenth century (A. Mazar 1993c: 216). A number of Egyptian-style vessels were also discovered, indicating that at this time Beth Shan appears to have become an Egyptian administrative complex (A. Mazar 1993c: 216). One of the rooms had a bath covered with impermeable plaster. It also contained four plastered steps. Another room in this same structure contained a basalt orthostat relief "depicting a struggle between a lion and a dog or lioness" (A. Mazar 1997: 68). It is in this stratum that the Mekal stela, a small monument dedicated to the Egyptian official Pa-Re-em-Hab in memory of his father, Amenemope, was found (Rowe 1930: 14-16; Pl. 33; A. Mazar 1993c: 216; cf. H. O. Thompson 1970).

In the northeastern corner of the site a "small segment of a building relating to the later phase of Level IX was excavated, which yielded evidence of a fierce destruction. . . . The evidence in this area indicates that Level IX was violently destroyed in the fourteenth century BCE, perhaps as a result of the riots against Egyptian rule which broke out in Canaan, encouraged by Egyptian weakness at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty" (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

The Israeli excavators relate a miniature clay cylinder found in 1993 to this same level (Horowitz 1994; 1996; 1997). The cylinder, which contains an Akkadian inscription, was found in secondary con-

text in the University of Pennsylvania dump on the western slope of the site. At first thought to be a cylinder seal, the Akkadian inscription has since been translated and is, in fact, a letter between two known vassal governors of the Amarna period: Tagi of Ginti-Kirmil and Lab'ayu of Shechem (Horowitz 1997: 97).¹⁹ It is known from an Amarna letter (EA 289:18-24) that military personnel from Ginti-Karmil were stationed at Beth Shan (Horowitz 1996: 214-215). This has led Horowitz to conclude that the cylinder "was written during a transitional period when Tagi was openly allied with Pharaoh, but still loyal to Lab'aya" (Horowitz 1996: 213-214). Several possibilities exist which may explain the cylinder's presence at Beth Shan: (1) It may have been deposited there by Tagi's men before they could reach the field headquarters of Lab'ayu in the east; (2) Tagi himself could have written the letter and then discarded or lost it at Beth Shan; (3) Lab'ayu may have received the cylinder in Beth Shan; (4) The cylinder may have been discovered by forces sympathetic to the Egyptian king and been confiscated either in Beth Shan or in route. This may have been one of the factors leading to Lab'ayu's death (Horowitz 1997: 99-100). The cylinder and Amarna letters re-emphasize the fragile relationship between Egyptian domination and local resistance.

After the destruction of Level IX, Level VIII witnessed a re-planning of the cultic area which continued into the following two levels (VII and VI). Level VIII can be dated approximately to the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., or contemporary with the reign of Seti I.²⁰ Although found in later contexts, the two stelae of Seti I (First and Second Beth Shan stelae), made of local basalt, are dated to Level VIII (James and McGovern 1993: 236; A. Mazar 1993c: 217; but see Dever 1992e: 17). Level VIII most likely lasted for only a short duration, perhaps corresponding to the ten-year reign of Seti I, whereas Level VII lasted for a longer duration which corresponds well to the long reign of Ramses II.

¹⁹ Both persons are previously known from the Amarna letters although never in reference to each other. The texts mentioning Tagi include EA 249:8; 263:33; 264-65:2; 266:4; 289:11, 19, 25 while those mentioning Lab'ayu are EA 237:2; 244:11, 17, 29, 38, 41; 245:6, 25, 43; 246 rev. 6; 249:17, 29; 250:6, 11, 14, 16, 26, 30, 36, 39, 40, 54; 252:3; 253:2; 255:15; 263:34; 280:30, 33; 287: 30; 289:6, 22; see Moran (1992).

²⁰ Rowe (1940) attributed Stratum VIII to the period before Amenhotep III, more than a century earlier.

a. Destruction Correlates. According to the recent excavations three major destructions occurred between Levels IX and VI. The first took place at the close of the fourteenth century B.C. and is described as a "fierce destruction" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The second appears in Stratum VII and was accompanied by a "fierce fire" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The second destruction came a century after the first. There were smooth transitions between the reigns of XIXth Dynasty rulers Seti I and Ramses II, indicating peaceful dismantling and rebuilding (James and McGovern 1993: 2.237) until the destruction of Level VII late in the thirteenth century B.C.

b. Chronology for Destruction. According to the excavators, the pottery and stratigraphy indicate that the first destruction of Level IX took place in the fourteenth century B.C. The ceramic evidence of the destruction horizon has not been published. This destruction, according to excavators, took place before the beginning of the thirteenth century, i.e., before the reign of Seti I, and was "perhaps as a result of the riots against Egyptian rule which broke out in Canaan" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Was this destruction the result of the attack by the city-states Hammath, Pella, and Yeno'am against the Egyptian garrison of Beth Shan (according to the First Beth Shan Stela)? Did these cities succeed to the extent of actually destroying (partially) the city of Beth Shan? This would clearly be the reason for the campaign of Seti I in Year 1 (ca. 1294-1293).

c. Subsequent Activity. After the destruction of Level IX Beth Shan was rebuilt according to an entirely different plan. Citadels, "governor's" residencies, and other important buildings indicate that this site again became an important Egyptian administrative/military center (cf. A. Mazar 1997: 69). A new temple was constructed along with domestic buildings (Levels VIII-VII; Rowe 1940; James and McGovern 1993). Beth Shan was once again firmly established as an Egyptian center along the major highways leading north.

Assessment. The initial "fiery" destruction at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Level IX) indicates that military activity might have been taken *against* Beth Shan. As the excavators suggest, it is likely that this was the result of resistance and rebellion against Egyptian domination over the surrounding region. The textual evidence suggests that this be related to the rebellion described in the First Beth Shan Stela as being caused by the alliance of Hammath, Pella, and Yeno'am. Did these city-states attack and perhaps destroy (even partially) in the belief that they would overcome what was a weak

Egyptian force? Indeed, the evidence of the First Beth Shan Stela, which depicts the sending forth of one military division against Beth Shan, seems to indicate the defense of the city rather than its destruction (contra Dever 1992e: 17). Whether this action was accomplished in one day as is related on the stela or not, it seems that Seti I saved the day rather than destroying the city. The recurrence of Beth Shan on the topographical lists indicates that the Egyptians perceived that the city remained under their control in subsequent reigns. In the end the possible defeat of Pella, Hammath, and Yeno'am by the Egyptians may be what made possible the rebuilding of Beth Shan during the early reign of Seti I.

Gaza

Occurrences and Context. The entity $\rho\beta$ $\text{Kn}^{\prime}n^{\prime}$ appears twice in Register I on the left at Karnak (Kitchen 1993a: 7; *KRI* I:8,9,15). Gardiner, who studied the military route of Seti I, interpreted this as the city of Gaza, indicated by the definite article $\rho\beta$ (Gardiner 1920: 104). His interpretation was followed by others (Faulkner 1947: 35-36; Giveon 1971: 57; Helck 1971: 196; Spalinger 1979b: 44 note 9; Katzenstein 1982: 112; Mumane 1990: 40; Kitchen 1993a: 7, 14-15).

Identification. Gaza is identified with Tell Harube or Tell 'Azza located along the coastal plain about 3 miles from the Mediterranean Sea (Ovadia 1993: 464).

History of Investigation. The tell was excavated by W. J. Phythian-Adams on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1922 (Phythian-Adams 1923a; 1923b; 1923c), and renewed excavations began in 1996 by the Palestinian Department of Antiquities and the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, although no preliminary reports have been published (Shanks 1997).

Archaeological Data. Phythian-Adams excavated three trenches revealing pottery dating to LB (Cypriote ring-base ware, white-slip wishbone-handle bowls, and part of a pointed juglet), Iron I (Philistine Bichrome ware), Iron II as well as Roman and Byzantine periods (Phythian-Adams 1923a; 1923b; 1923c). Unfortunately, further excavations did not take place to expose the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age periods. Because of the political situation, Gaza was not further excavated (except for later remains, Ovadia 1993). Several Egyptian artifacts were found in the vicinity of Gaza, including two inscriptions of Ramses II (Giveon 1975d) and several finger rings

dating to Ramses IV, indicating its importance as an Egyptian stronghold (Giveon 1977a).

Hammath

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Hmt* appears on the First Beth Shan Stela (see Pella, 124-125) where Seti I directs the "First Division of Amun" against the site which rebelled with Pella against Rehob and Beth Shan. It also appears three times in the topographical lists of Seti I; on the Karnak list (2, List XV: 14; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *KRI* I:29,2; List XVa: 14; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:416,7); and on the Abydos list (reconstructed; List XVII: 7; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:32,15).

Identification. The toponym is identified with the site of Tell el-Hammah located 10 miles south of Beth Shan (Albright 1926: 13-74; Wilson 1969a: 255; Helck 1971: 314; Aharoni 1979: 165; Ahituv 1984: 112-113).

History of Investigation. The site was surveyed by W. F. Albright from 1925-1926 (1926: 13-74) followed by R. Gophna and Y. Porath from 1967-1968 and N. Zori in 1977. Three seasons of excavation and survey were conducted by J. Cahill, D. Tarler, and G. Lipowitz under the auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Archaeological Data. The site was occupied during the EB I-II, the EB IV, the MB I and II, LB I-III, Iron I and II and well into the Roman and Byzantine periods (Tarler *et al.* 1985: 41-42). Egyptian or Egyptian-type "beer bottles" dating to the XIXth or XXth Dynasties were recovered during the 1984 survey (Tarler *et al.* 1985: 41). Three seasons of excavations have taken place from 1985 through 1988 in Area A comprising 360 m² of the site's southeastern quadrant. To date, excavations have revealed Iron I and II strata but have not penetrated the Late Bronze Age levels (Tarler *et al.* 1989-90: 134-135; Cahill *et al.* 1987; 1987-88; Cahill and Tarler 1993: 561-562). Further excavation must be conducted before the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age horizon can be evaluated for the purposes of this study.

Hazor

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Hdnr* appears twice in the topographical lists of Seti I at Karnak (List XIII: 64A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *KRI* I:32,5; List XIV: 69A; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI*

I:29,5).²¹ It does not appear further in the reliefs, stelae, or other accounts. There remains, therefore, a lack of specific textual and representational evidence for Egyptian military activity taking place at *Hdr* during the reign of Seti I.

Identification. The site was identified with Tell el-Qedah by J. M. Porter in 1875 (Porter 1875) and reconfirmed in 1926 by J. Garstang (1927). It is located in northern Israel about fourteen miles north of the Sea of Galilee in the Huleh Basin (Dever 1992g: 578).

History of Investigation. Hazor was first excavated in 1928 by J. Garstang, who made trial soundings on the mound and the lower city. Extensive excavations were later conducted by the James A. de Rothschild Expedition under the direction of Y. Yadin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1955 to 1958 with a follow-up season in 1968 (Yadin 1957; 1975; Yadin *et al.* 1958; 1960; Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997). New joint excavations began in 1990 by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Complutense University of Madrid, directed by A. Ben-Tor (Ben-Tor 1993a; 1995a; 1995b; 1998).

Archaeological Data. The upper city of 30 acres in area was occupied from the Early Bronze Age through the Hellenistic periods (Yadin 1993a: 599-603). The lower city spread out over another 170 acres and was occupied from MB III to LB III (eighteenth to thirteenth century B.C.; Yadin 1993a: 595). Hazor was by far the largest city in Palestine during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Gonen 1984: 66-68) and was a major center for trade and commerce during MB I-II (Malamat 1982b). After a rebuilding of Hazor during LB I, this trade seems to have decreased during the subsequent phases of the Late Bronze Age (Bienkowski 1987: 54). The city gate in Area K was reused, as were some of the earlier walls (Dever 1992b: 579). The Area A rectangular temple was rebuilt. Bichrome ware and other common wares were found in this stratum (Yadin 1993a: 600) as well as bronze figurines, and a clay liver model with an Akkadian inscription (Landsberger and Tadmor 1964). During the Late Bronze II-III, Hazor is said to have "reached the peak of its recovery" (Dever 1992b: 580). The fortifications continued, as did the temples in the

²¹ It occurs first in the Egyptian Execration texts of the nineteenth or eighteenth century B.C. (Posener 1956; Redford 1992c: 682) and then also in the topographical lists of Thutmose III as *Hdr* (#32, Aharoni 1967: 148; Ahituv 1984: 116-117), that of Amenhotep II (Aharoni 1967: 155; Ahituv 1984: 117), and in the Papyrus Leningrad 1116-A (Yadin 1993a: 594).

lower city. The Area H temple was converted from a bipartite to a tripartite structure. A new temple was erected in Area C that was especially significant. It had a semicircle of stelae of dressed basalt with a statue of a seated king or deity. The center stela also had a bas-relief depicting a pair of upraised palms pointing toward a disc within a crescent (Yadin 1975: 44-45).

The new excavations in the upper city, directed by Ben-Tor during the summers of 1994-1997, exposed a large palace. This palace was built of mudbrick (.15 x .38 x .38 m) on a stone foundation. It dates to the Late Bronze period (Ben-Tor personal communication b). The use of cedar beams placed in the walls at irregular intervals, the lining of the walls by orthostats, the architectural plan of the palace, and several other details indicate to the excavators Syrian influence on the local architecture. Ben-Tor points to parallels between this building and the palace of Alalakh IV which is dated to the second half of the second millennium B.C. (Ben-Tor 1995a: 66-67; 1998: 459, 460, Fig. 2; cf. Woolley 1955: 110-131; 115, Fig. 45).

a. Destruction Correlates. According to the initial reports in *Hazor I* and *II Stratum 1B* (end of LB II; ca. 1300 B.C.) in the lower city seems to have ended in destruction. Yadin repeatedly refers to the destruction of City 1B (Yadin *et al.* 1958: 84; 85). However, he does not indicate how or by what means it was destroyed. Furthermore, these early excavation reports do not describe the correlates of destruction. At one point Yadin simply hypothesizes that the missing masonry from a wall could have "collapsed at the destruction of City 1B" (Yadin *et al.* 1958: 84). The Area C Stratum 1B temple was said to have been destroyed (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 159-160; Yadin 1975: 145). He states that the destruction is evident by the fact that "several of the steles which were in it [Shrine 1B] at the time appear to have been thrown onto the slope of the rampart" and "were discovered in or on a layer of masonry debris" (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 97). Elsewhere in Area C Stratum 1B, Room 6220 was full of masonry debris (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 99) and Room 6219 had traces of ash and cracked walls (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 100-101). The gate in Area K showed evidence of an ash layer, but excavators were uncertain whether it belonged to Stratum 1B or 1A (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 62-63). Nevertheless, Kenyon took the position that there was a major destruction: "Everywhere, the buildings of Stratum 1B were found seriously destroyed" (1973: 538). Only recently has Bienkowski (1987) pointed out that the destruction of Stratum 1B is not as evident as was previously main-

tained. Bienkowski argues that several factors in the history of Hazor are obscure during the Late Bronze Age. According to Bienkowski, stratigraphic division between Strata 1B and 1A is often very unclear. Since the publication of *Hazor III-IV* and *Hazor V* in 1989 and 1997, respectively, a more complete examination of earlier excavated material is made possible.

According to *Hazor III-IV*, Strata XIV and XIII of the Area A temple in the Upper City are contemporaneous with Strata 1B and 1A in the Lower City. In Stratum XIV the Area A temple remained fundamentally the same as in the previous stratum (XV). The only major change was in the entrance, which was lined and paved with orthostats similar to those from the Stratum 1A orthostat temple in Area H (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 18). The temple, the tower, and the surrounding area did not witness a major destruction at the end of Stratum XIV. There is considerable continuity into Stratum XIII (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 21-22). In Stratum XIII no new floor was associated with the temple. In Yadin's view this meant that the orthostat temple and open area were obsolete in Stratum XIII, while Aharoni felt that the building continued to be used (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 23). Stratum XIII ended in a major destruction that affected the orthostat temple and tower. Yadin concluded that the basalt pillar base and most orthostats in the northern area fell during this destruction. There were traces of burning on the floors of rooms 263b and 365. Mudbrick debris and evidence of burning can be seen in the sections in Loci 259b and 262a. The 1989 reports conclude that "Stratum XIII was the last Canaanite stratum in Area A, and was entirely burned" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 25). No correlates of destruction can be reconstructed from the remains of Areas B and AB in the upper city.

In *Hazor V* (Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997), the report of the 1968 season, the relationship of the Area A temple stratigraphy is reassessed. Phases 9A-9D are tentatively identified on the basis of ceramic assemblages to Strata XVII-XV (Bonfil 1997: 50) while Phase 8 is correlated with Stratum 2 in the Lower City. Bonfil (1997: 72-73) concludes that courtyard only consisted of one phase that did not extend to the end of the Late Bronze Age (*contra* Yadin 1972:103-104). The temple was "constructed during the course of LB I and ceased to be used before the end of LB II" (Bonfil 1997: 85). In other words, "the temple continued to be used at the beginning of LB II—that is, during Stratum XIV" (Bonfil 1997: 108; cf. Ben-Tor 1989: 12, 18; *contra* Aharoni) or until Stratum 1B in the Lower City (Bonfil 1997: 84).

Massive destruction is much clearer in the upper city where the new excavations directed by Ben-Tor, beginning in 1992, have uncovered a large palace which ended in "a huge fire, the intensity of which was augmented by the extensive use of timber in the walls. Temperatures were sufficient to melt part of the mudbrick walls and crack the basalt orthostats; a thick layer of ashes covers the floors" (Ben-Tor 1995a: 67). In some parts the destruction debris was more than 1 m thick (Ben-Tor 1995b: 12). This destruction is connected with one that extended over "the rest of Hazor" (Ben-Tor 1995a: 67) and "the temples in Areas H and A" (Ben-Tor 1995b: 12).

In the lower city, the Area H temple was apparently destroyed at the end of Stratum 1B. The pillars of the Stratum 1B temple became obsolete in 1A and in their place new ones were constructed slightly to the north (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 257-258). The porch also was reconstructed in Stratum 1A although the extent of change is "difficult to estimate" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 262). Statements are made in other places that there is considerable continuity from Stratum 1B to 1A (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 264). This does not clarify the question of whether there was a destruction or whether these changes simply indicate modifications to the building itself. In fact, no signs of conflagration were evident at the end of the Stratum 1B temple (Yadin 1993a: 598). The end of Stratum 1A is marked with a clear destruction in Area H as in other areas. The "resulting debris reached a height of over a metre on the floor of the holy of holies and was piled in the centre of the room" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 258). The destruction of this temple marks the final phase in the series of temples that were constructed from the beginning of Stratum 3 onward.

The fortification system in Area K suffered a massive destruction, as evidenced by a 1.5 m thick layer of ash and rubble on the cobblestone floor of the passageway consisting of the fallen brickwork of the gate and towers (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 292-293; Yadin 1993a: 599). It is uncertain whether this destruction belongs to Stratum 1B or 1A. In terms of the fortifications there is no significant structural change between Stratum 1B and 1A and the stone pavement was likewise used in both strata.

b. Chronology of Destruction. In the lower city, the ceramic evidence for Strata 1B and 1A is almost identical. A distinction in phasing can only be made on the basis of architectural changes within Stratum 1. Because of this there has been some disagreement concerning the phasing of this occupation based on architectural and stratigraphic

relationships. In the final reports of the 1957-1958 seasons, *Hazor III-IV* (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989), an attempt is made to clarify the stratigraphy.

For the gate and fortifications in Area K, the editors write: "I. Dunayevsky and area supervisor, M. Dothan, were of the opinion that the description which follows here relates to Stratum 1B alone and that Stratum 1A actually represents the situation after the destruction of the gate" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 286). Thus, there is a discrepancy between the views of the excavators. The issue is this: Did the major destruction that occurred in Area K bring an end to Stratum 1B (1300 B.C.), or did it bring an end to Stratum 1A (1250-1240 B.C.)? Yadin attributed two destructions to Stratum 1. The first (more ephemeral and poorly documented) destruction at the end of his Stratum 1B was attributed to Seti I; the second major destruction, which destroyed the gate area and the walls, he viewed as the end of Stratum 1A and associated it with the Israelites. Dunayevsky, the site architect, and M. Dothan interpreted the major destruction to have occurred at the end of Stratum 1B. The postdestruction remains were part of the unfortified settlement which followed (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 296-297).

In the Area H temple, a scarab of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) was discovered in the rubble of the destruction of the holy of holies (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 258-260; Pls. CXXIV,2; CCLXXXIII,2). This would provide a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of Stratum 1A.²² The ceramic corpus from this stratum included Mycenaean IIIB sherds and a Mycenaean IIIB horned animal figurine that was nearly complete. Area F also produced a few Mycenaean IIIB sherds. This evidence was used by Yadin to date the destruction to "not later than the last third of the 13th century" (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 160) or to "sometime before 1230" (Yadin 1979: 62). According to the Mycenaean IIIB pottery alone, the date may extend to 1200 B.C.²³ How-

²² It should be noted that the scarab of Amenhotep III does not exclusively indicate a destruction of the city by this pharaoh. Scarabs were often kept as heirlooms long after the reign of the pharaoh (see Ward and Dever 1994 and Scarab Seals, 112-113). It simply provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction.

²³ Yadin follows the chronology for Mycenaean pottery established by Furumark (1941). While stratigraphic finds from Canaanite sites indicate that the end of Mycenaean IIIB pottery dates to the last third of the thirteenth century (T. Dothan 1982a: 218), this dating has subsequently been lowered by the finds at Tell Deir 'Alla. The destruction layer which contains Mycenaean IIIB pottery also includes a broken Egyptian faience vessel inscribed with the royal cartouche of Tewosret, the wife of Seti II. Confirmation is provided on the basis of C¹⁴ dates from a burnt roof beam

ever, others have recently posited a higher date to the first quarter of the thirteenth century B.C. (Kenyon 1973: 538; Beck and Kochavi 1985: 38; cf. Dever 1992c: 103) based on the presence of carinated bowls of the Middle Bronze II tradition. The flexibility of the dating of this stratum must be considered when assessing the cause of destruction at the end of Stratum XIII/1A.

The new excavations in the upper city provide important chronological indicators for the date of the destruction. Certain artifacts in the destruction debris indicate an earlier date during the fourteenth century B.C. A statue of a sphinx with cartouche was found incorporated in an Iron Age wall above the palace courtyard and has been dated by Egyptologists to the time of Amenemhet III (1843-1798 B.C.; Ben-Tor personal communication a and b). The ceramic evidence, which includes finely carinated bowls, striped bowls, and krater sherds, seems to indicate the destruction of the palace in the mid-fourteenth century B.C. This date is confirmed by the most recent discovery in 1997 of a scarab dating to Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.). Found in the destruction debris covering the throne room, it provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the palace and a crucial link to the destruction of Stratum 1A in the Lower City (Ben-Tor personal communication b). According to Ben-Tor (1996b), the Egyptian statues and other material culture were defaced during the destruction of the palace. This suggests to him that the Egyptians were not responsible for the destruction but that this activity must be attributed to another group.

c. Subsequent Activity. Following the Stratum XIV destruction of the palace, little appears to have survived or been rebuilt in the upper city. The Area A temple may have been abandoned in LB II (this was Yadin's view; cf. Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 23; Bonfil 1997: 85). This virtual abandonment and destruction indicates that the upper city, which contained the main buildings for administrative and ritual purposes, was not in operation during the LB III period (Stratum XIII).

(1180 B.C. \pm 60; Franken and Kalsbeek 1969: 245) indicating that Mycenaean IIIB can be dated as late as 1200 B.C. The destruction debris at Ugarit (Level 1) contains a sword bearing the royal cartouche of Merenptah (Schaeffer 1955; 1956: 169-179) appearing together with Mycenaean IIIB forms. After this destruction Mycenaean IIIB pottery no longer appears (Hankey [1967: 112-113] and Courtois [1973] hold that Mycenaean IIIC pottery appears after the destruction of Ugarit). Further evidence for a lower dating is to be found in Renfrew (1985: 261-280) and French (1971: 151-159).

There is a modest reoccupation during Iron I. The Stratum XII "structures are scanty and makeshift in character, most of the area being occupied by ovens, paved areas, and narrow, short parts of walls" (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 25). Storage pits were also found throughout the site (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1989: 25, 76). This new settlement, which has been identified as "Israelite" (Yadin 1993a: 601), differs completely from the Stratum XIV (LB II) city in its architectural nature and administrative purpose.

Assessment. The destruction of the palace and abandonment of the Area A temple in the upper city seem to have occurred sometime during the second half of the fourteenth century B.C. This was a massive destruction which consumed the entire palace in a fierce conflagration. The temple in Area A was never rebuilt. It was accompanied by less severe discontinuity and rebuilding in the lower city (Stratum 1B).

The ephemeral nature of the "destruction" of Stratum 1B in the lower city makes it nearly impossible to suggest correlates. Unlike the upper city, there was little or no sign of conflagration. The changes that occurred may simply have been changes in architecture due to other factors unrelated to military activity. Indeed, the degree of continuity present from Stratum 1B to Stratum 1A indicates that there was no cultural break until the end of Stratum 1A.

When evaluated in isolation, the possibility exists that the Stratum 1B "destruction" in the lower city was caused by Egyptian military forces. The destruction correlates in the lower city are consistent with the textual and iconographic evidence for Egyptian military activity. However, if the Stratum 1B "destruction" is to be correlated with the destruction of the upper city, as has been suggested (Ben-Tor 1995a; 1995b), then these added correlates would cause difficulties. The Egyptians are said never to destroy by conflagration the cities or palaces in the southern Levant. Indeed, as Bienkowski correctly points out, there is no direct indication that Seti I destroyed the site of Hazor (1987: 59). The mention of this toponym occurs only on a topographical list without any further definite historical/textual context. Its occurrence could simply indicate a stop on the itinerary (for Thutmose III, see Redford 1982a) of Seti I's campaign through Palestine. Moreover, the defaced Egyptian statues and other material culture indicate that they were not responsible for the destruction of the Upper City palace (Ben-Tor 1998: 465).

More importantly, the chronological evidence of the new excava-

tions in the upper city indicate that its destruction took place sometime prior to the reign of Seti I. Indeed, it is highly likely that its destruction occurred during the turbulent period described in the Amarna letters. This leads one to several possible causative agents for military destruction: (1) Conflicts between rival city-states in the region;²⁴ (2) The uprising of unruly and local sociocultural elements ('Apiru); or (3) The extension of Hittite power to the south; or (4) A campaign by Israelites (Ben-Tor 1998: 465). These known forces in the region, when combined with the nature of the destruction, would mitigate against an association with Egyptian campaigns.

When Seti I ascended the throne some years later, he did indeed campaign throughout the southern Levant in response to the rising turbulence in the region. Since it was already known to the Egyptians that Hazor was having difficulties and that it was one of the major city-states of the region, it is obvious that it would have been listed on the topographical lists of Seti I. It is within this context that the appearance of Hazor may be understood. Already weakened by the destruction of the upper city, Hazor may simply have been one stop on Seti's itinerary to ensure its inhabitants of Egypt's support and continued protection during the years to come.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Yn'm* appears on Register II of the reliefs on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. It is depicted on the reliefs as being close to a river and a forest from which soldiers peer as if hiding from the Egyptian forces (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 36). It is also mentioned on the First Beth Shan Stela where it is stated that Seti I sent his "First Division of Sutekh, 'Strong of Bows', against the town of Yeno'am" (Kitchen 1993a: 10; *KRI* I:12,13). Finally, it is listed five times in the topographical lists of Seti I; at Karnak (2, List XIV: 57A; Kitchen 1993a: 23; *KRI* I:29,1; List XIII: 52; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:32,1); on the north and south sphinxes at the Qurneh Temple (List XV: 17; Kitchen 1993a: 27; *KRI* I:33,14; List

²⁴ Several of the Amarna letters refer to the aggressive actions taken by Hazor against neighboring city-states. In one letter it is reported that "the king of Ḥašura has abandoned his house and has aligned himself with the 'Apiru" (EA 148:41; Moran 1992: 235). In another case, Ayyab reports that "it is the ruler of Ḥašura who has taken three cities from me. From the time I heard and verified this, there has been waging of war against him [the king of Hazor]" (EA 364:17-21; Moran 1992: 362). The purported acts of aggression by the king of Hazor evidently met with resistance and even retaliation against his own city.

XVa: 17; Kitchen 1993a: 28; *KRI* I:34,15); and on the topographical list at Abydos (List XVIa: 17; Kitchen 1993a: 26; *KRI* I:34,15).²⁵

Identification. The identification of Yeno'am continues to be a widely debated issue. Since it is mentioned in the Merenptah Stela between the toponyms of Gezer and Israel, it was most often assumed that the site was located in Cisjordan. In 1907 Clauss suggested that Tell en-Na'ameh in the Huleh Valley was Yeno'am. He was followed by Albright (1925: 12-13; 1926: 18-24), who maintained that the preliminary surface survey showed occupation through the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages.

Later Albright stated that the identification of Yeno'am with Tell en-Na'am (Tell Yin'am), as Saarisalo (1927: 112-118) had suggested, could not be possible due to its "excessively small size (less than 50 metres across)" (Albright 1929a: 10).²⁶ However, Saarisalo was followed in this identification by a number of scholars (Alt 1928: 53; Jirku 1937: 33 note 3; Noth 1937: 217; Gardiner 1947: 146; Horn 1948: 78; Helck 1968-69: 28; Fritz 1973: 137). Tell en-Na'am is located among the fields of Yavne'el in the eastern Lower Galilee. Garstang (1931: 73) had proposed that Yeno'am was to be identified with Tell el-'Abeidiyeh located about 2 miles south of the Sea of Galilee in the Jordan Valley. This hypothesis was revived by Aharoni (1957: 125-129; 1979: 165), who conducted some small-scale excavations which indicated that the site not only dated to the Late Bronze Age but also was situated near a river which surrounded the site and by a forest. These aspects seemed to correspond with the Seti I's Karnak scene of Yeno'am (see also Kallai 1967: 200). However, his limited excavations, due to their small extent, did not produce any detailed evidence for the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

In 1977 N. Na'aman rejected all previous proposals and suggested that Yeno'am was located in the Bashan region. He based his conclusions on several lines of evidence which included: (1) The mention of Yeno'am in an Amarna letter (EA 197) written by Biryazawa of

²⁵ Other references to Yeno'am in Egyptian texts include its occurrences on the topographical lists of Thutmose III (2; Wilson 1969a: 237; 237 note 42), Amenhotep III (Edel 1966: 11-13) and the Merenptah Stela. The reading of *ʾn* as Yeno'am on the Papyrus Anastasi I has been suggested (Wilson 1969c: 477; Aharoni 1957: 123, 128) but others have shown that this reading is not comparable with the Egyptian transcription of Yeno'am (Albright 1926: 21; but see Helck 1971: 316; Na'aman 1977: 170-171; cf. Givon 1978c).

²⁶ The actual size of Tell Na'am is 80 x 85 m with an outlying terrace settlement of yet undetermined dimensions (Saarisalo 1927: 44; Liebowitz 1981: 79).

Damascus, placing it in a Jordanian context; (2) The listing of Yeno'am among other toponyms in Syria mentioned in the topographical list of Amenhotep III (Edel 1966: 11-13; Helck 1971: 260); and (3) The fact that Yeno'am is listed in the topographical lists of Ramses II after Qatna and Tahshi (Kitchen 1965: 6; Helck 1971: 192), again in a Syrian context. Based on this evidence he suggests that Yeno'am is to be identified with Tell esh-Shihab, situated west of Edrei on the Yarmuk river. A waterfall is situated in the vicinity (G. A. Smith 1901: 344). Perhaps most crucial to the argument of Na'aman is the discovery of a stela of Seti I found at the site (G. A. Smith 1901: 344-350). A surface survey conducted by Albright (1925: 16-19) produced sherds representing all the Bronze Ages.²⁷ Iron Age pottery is missing, which Na'aman states corroborates "the historical records concerning Yeno'am, which is mentioned in Late Bronze Age documents—but not hereafter" (Na'aman 1977: 169).

However, the mention of Yeno'am in the inscriptions of Ramses II is largely dependent on earlier sources and does not imply that Ramses II campaigned there (Ahituv 1984: 17-19). The mention of this toponym in both the Amarna letters, the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak, and on the Merenptah Stela provides significant evidence for a location in Cisjordan. Recent excavations at one suggested location, Tell Yin'am (Tell en-Na'am), have produced important results relating to the transition.

History of Investigation. Seven seasons of excavation were conducted at Tell Yin'am (Tell en-Na'am) from 1976 to 1989 under the direction of H. Liebowitz of the University of Texas at Austin (Liebowitz 1977; 1978; 1981; 1982; 1985; 1987-88; 1989-90; 1993).

Archaeological Data. Although material culture was collected from surface surveys from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, investigators have not located any occupational strata from these periods. Early Bronze architectural remains were found west of the tell and a patchy MB I surface was found just below the LB remains (Liebowitz 1993: 1515). The site was abandoned until the late fourteenth century B.C. (LB II). During the LB II a series of four strata was uncovered during the 1977 and 1978 seasons, but only in square M/9 in Area B (Liebowitz 1981: 81). In LB III (Stratum VIB) a large palace was discovered (Building 1) that was later reused as an indus-

²⁷ Albright does not comment on the identity of Tell esh-Shihab, but he does emphatically state at an earlier point in the same article that Yeno'am should be identified with Tell en-Na'ameh (Albright 1925: 12-13).

trial installation. Eight rooms were exposed, four of which served as storerooms to the west of the building. The area east of the storerooms consisted of a broadroom with a secondary closed room at its western end (Liebowitz 1993: 1516). Storerooms 2-4 contained an abundance of restorable store jars, pithoi, kraters, and small jars. Room 5 had a collection of fine wares including Mitannian cylinder seals, a necklace with an exquisite chalcedony lion pendant, faience and glass beads, and two Egyptian heart amulets.

Room 1 also must have served as a storeroom since a 10-cm-thick accumulation of charred wheat was found there. Excavators have maintained that this room was later turned into an iron-smelting installation during the thirteenth century B.C. (Liebowitz 1981; but see Rothenberg 1983). A single row of mudbricks was laid directly across the cobbled floor and dome-shaped furnaces were constructed against the walls. The analysis of the samples from the 1-m-thick accumulation "yielded 9 percent iron oxide, no trace of copper or bronze, and spherical iron droplets" (Liebowitz 1993: 1516).

a. Destruction Correlates. Stratum VIB ended in a massive conflagration and destruction. A destruction layer .50 m thick had inclusions "of ash, charred wood, fire-cracked rock, and burned and disintegrated mudbrick" (Liebowitz 1993: 1516). It was found on the floors of all the major buildings and may have extended over the entire site.

b. Chronology for Destruction. The final Late Bronze Stratum (VIB) yielded store jars, jugs, and a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar (Liebowitz 1982: 114). The date for the primary Late Bronze occupation is dated by the excavator to the thirteenth century B.C. (Liebowitz 1988-89: 189); however, the pottery from this stratum is not published.

c. Subsequent Activity. A relatively short period of time separated the destruction of Stratum VIB from the Iron I settlements. Some of the walls from Late Bronze buildings were reused and new floors were laid directly above the destruction debris (Liebowitz 1993: 1516). Six or possibly seven distinct Iron Age strata could be distinguished (Liebowitz 1982: 114) but cannot be analyzed due to the lack of final publications.

Assessment. Despite the rich evidence that indicates Yell Yin'am (Tell en-Na'am) served as a major site during LB III, ending in a violent destruction, Liebowitz does not commit to the identification of the site as Yeno'am (Liebowitz 1981: 92 note 1). Evidence positive for identification is not available at this time. However, the

nature of destruction—massive conflagration—does not comport with Egyptian military activity. According to the textual and iconographic evidence presented in Chapter One, it was not Egyptian policy to destroy the entire site by conflagration. This makes the identification of this destruction with Seti I, Ramses II, or Merenptah unlikely. Furthermore, no evidence for fortifications exists at Tell Yin'am (Liebowitz 1993) but appears on the reliefs of the Hypostyle Hall (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 11). If this site is to be identified as Yeno'am, then its destruction must be attributed to factors not associated with Egypt.

Summary

The preceding survey and analysis of toponyms indicate that numerous cities mentioned on the reliefs at Karnak, stelae, and the topographical lists of Seti I have been identified with known sites in both Transjordan and Cisjordan. Though most of these identifications are well established (Pahil/Pella; Akko; Beth Shan; Hammath; Hazor; and Gaza), others continue to be intensely debated (Yeno'am, Beth 'Anath). Furthermore, several sites have not been adequately excavated (Gaza, Hammath, Tell Ro'sh).

A careful investigation of well-excavated sites indicates that the majority of them suffered a destruction that included massive conflagration (Pahil/Pella; Akko; Hazor; Tell Yin'am). According to the textual records, this measure was rarely employed in Egyptian military campaigns of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. This seems logical, since conflagration would not fit with the economic aims of Egyptian dominance over the region. It would be senseless to completely burn down a site if one intended to have extended economic revenue from that site and its surrounding region. Of the few sites that might have suffered some destruction as a result of their rebellion against Beth Shan and Rehob, only Pella has been excavated to the Late Bronze occupation. But the First Beth Shan Stela does not indicate that any division was sent against Pella, only against Yeno'am, Hammath, and Beth Shan. Beth Shan shows evidence of a major destruction with massive conflagration at the end of the fourteenth century B.C. Could it be that this destruction of one of the central garrison cities of the Egyptians provided part of the impetus for Seti I's campaign to the southern Levant in his first year? It is likely that the battle against these cities may have occurred out in the open. Indeed, the depiction of

Yeno'am in Register II on the northern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall indicates that the war was being fought outside the walls of the city. The defenders are shown hiding in the trees while others are running with their horses toward the city as if in flight. Several civilians are standing on the battlement of the city with hands raised in surrender as the Egyptians approach. It is possible that they were in the process of fleeing back to their strongholds and were encountered by the Egyptians just before they reached their cities. The texts do not indicate that the cities were destroyed. Further excavations at Ham-math and a definite identification and excavation of Yeno'am would provide supplementary data. At this point the discontinuities at other sites seem uncharacteristic of Egyptian military practices as indicated by the accompanying textual sources.

RAMSES II

General Chronology

The dates for the XIXth Dynasty are largely extrapolated from the known lunar dates of Ramses II (R.A. Parker 1957; 1981; Casperson 1988). Five possible dates fit the lunar calendar for the accession of Ramses II: 1304, 1301, 1290, and 1279, and 1276 B.C. (Krauss 1989a: 161; Kitchen 1987: 39).²⁸ Rowton, an Assyriologist, attempted to make a correlation between Mesopotamian chronology and the reign of Ramses II by looking at the background of his treaty with the Hittites (Hattušiliš III; cf. Edel 1953a) and maintained the high chronology (1304 B.C.; Rowton 1959; 1960; 1966). However, the first date of 1304 has been ruled out according to Kitchen (1987: 39; but see Hayes 1970a; Rowton 1959; 1960; 1966; Redford 1973; Ward 1992a).²⁹ Most specialists support the middle or low chronologies with

²⁸ For a possible coregency of Ramses II with Seti I, see Seele (1940); Murnane (1975; 1977).

²⁹ Kitchen argues against the high chronology and the 1304 date by maintaining that to add 25 years to the basic reigns of the Ramesside kings cannot be justified (cf. Schmidt 1973: 2). It causes "serious problems in genealogies, generation-counts, and unrealistic ages for people in office" (1987: 39; cf. Bierbrier 1975). Bierbrier (1978) has commented on Emar (modern Meskene) in Syria, linking its destruction with Carchemish and other Syro-Hittite sites which were presumably destroyed during the raids of the "Sea Peoples" in Year 8 of Ramses III, casting "strong doubt on the 1304 B.C. date" (1978: 136).

the dates of 1290 B.C. (Rowton 1948; Hayes 1959; R. A. Parker 1957; 1981; Hornung 1964; Redford 1966) and 1279 B.C. (Bierbrier 1975; 1978; Wentz and Van Siclen 1976; Helck 1987; Kitchen 1968; 1987; 1989a; 1992a; Caspersen 1988), with a certain consensus emerging in recent years for the low chronology (but see Krauss' ultra-low chronology). The genealogical/generation count data (Bierbrier 1975) clearly stand in favor of 1279 over the other dates. This change from the 1290 to 1279 corresponds well with the recent shift in Mesopotamian chronology (Brinkman 1970: 305-307).

It is apparent that there have been numerous changes in position over the years. The complexity of the issues involved contribute to these changes; however, it should be noted that Ramses II reigned for 66/67 years (Breasted 1940a; Kitchen 1977-78: 67; Stadelmann 1981; Eaton-Krauss 1984: 110; Ward 1992a), making his the longest reign during the Egyptian New Kingdom. For the purpose of this study the low chronology will be adopted for Ramses II (1279-1213 B.C.).

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaigns

The chronological reconstruction of Ramses II's campaigns into Asia are complex (Gaballa 1976: 106). A survey of the evidence indicates that most of his campaigns were directed against Syria and the Hittites (Dever 1992e: 18; Wentz 1992: 18). His first campaign was recorded on the Nahr el-Kalb stela found near Beirut and dated to Year 10 (*KRI* II:1,1-10). During this campaign he secured the Phoenician coast (Gaballa 1976: 106; Kitchen 1982: 51). His second, and most celebrated campaign, is dated to Year 5 and is directed against the Syrian city of Kadesh. This campaign was described extensively and repeatedly (10 times) on the walls of temples at Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, and Abu Simbel (*KRI* II:2-128). Reliefs of the battle are also provided (*KRI* II:125-128). These sources of information make the Battle of Kadesh a significant resource in understanding the tactics and practice of the Egyptian military during the time of Ramses II from a textual and iconographic perspective.

Gaballa (1976: 107) suggested that a third campaign may have taken place against Syria in Year 8, as is recorded at the Ramesseum and probably at Luxor and Karnak as well (cf. Langdon and Gardiner 1920; Helck 1971: 219-220, 223-231). Numerous sites are depicted in Egyptian reliefs and indicate that this campaign was one of the most encompassing of his reign. Kitchen suggests that in Years

8/9 Ramses II campaigned in Galilee (Merom, Beth-Anath) and occupied the port city of Akko on his way inland, marching east through the Eleutherus valley and then north to Orontes, conquering Dapur and Tunip further north (Kitchen 1982: 68). That there were additional campaigns to Syria between Year 10 and 18 (Kitchen 1964: 68) is certain, based on the reliefs as well as the Nahr el-Kalb (Year 10) and Beth Shan (Year 18) stelae.

There is considerable evidence that Ramses II campaigned in Transjordan and in southern Canaan (Negev and Sinai; Kitchen 1964; 1982; 1992b). The date of the Transjordanian campaign has not been firmly established. Kitchen first suggested that the campaign occurred between Years 11-20 (Kitchen 1964: 69). He later revised these dates and postulated Years 7/8 (Kitchen 1982: 67). Timm (1989: 20-21) maintains that the campaign took place in Year 4. But Ramses II was campaigning on the Phoenician coast that year. Furthermore, the change of the relief label must have occurred after Year 5 (Kitchen 1992b: 31 note 41). Recently Haider (1987: 121-122) suggests that the campaign occurred after Year 9 and is followed by Kitchen (1992b: 31 note 41; cf. 1975b: 268). This new date is most convincing and is significant for a chronological placement of Ramses II's only Transjordanian campaign. Another campaign against Phoenicia in Year 10 is recorded on the second Nahr el-Kalb stela (*KRI* II:1; Gaballa 1976: 107).

One question yet remains. Did Ramses II ever campaign west of Jordan and south of modern Syria? It is without doubt that he traveled through the region on his way to the Phoenician coast, Syria, and Hatti. But did Cisjordan require military action as did the northern (Syria, Hatti), southern (Sinai, Negev), and Transjordanian regions? Here the only hints are: (1) The Beth Shan Stela, (*KRI* II: 150-151) which is somewhat ambiguous about the details of its commemoration (Wilson 1969a: 255; Rowe 1930: 33-36, Pl. 46); and (2) The topographical lists and reliefs mentioning Akko, ³*Ip̄k* (ʿAphēk), Beth ʿAnath, Beth Shan, Dor, Sharuhen, and Yenoʿam.³⁰

³⁰ The reliefs at Karnak depicting a campaign to Ashkelon were formerly attributed to Ramses II (Wreszinski 1935: Pls. 57-58b; Gardiner 1961: 263-264; Kitchen 1964: 68 note 9). Although some continue to uphold this view (Redford 1986a; 1992b; Higginbotham 1993), recent evidence has been produced placing them under the reign of Merenptah (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; 1991), a view that has received considerable support (Staubli 1991; Kitchen 1993b; Rainey 1991; 1992; 1995; Stager 1985b; 1995a; see Chapter Three, 199-201).

An inherent problem has been noted concerning the ahistorical nature of topographical lists (Spalinger 1979b). During the reign of Ramses II some toponyms may have been copied from previous reigns. Noth (1941: 41-48) postulated that perhaps only two out of the eight lists contained in Simons' collection (1937: 64-77) can be considered original productions, but his study is superceded by more recent study. The Amara West lists are often interpreted as copies of the Soleb inscriptions of Amenhotep III (Fairman 1940: 165; cf. Horn 1953: 202). Indeed, the repetition of certain toponyms may indicate that Ramses II campaigned at numerous sites. This is made more evident by the reliefs of fortresses often associated with many of the toponyms. Generally, the military actions of Ramses II are interpreted as limited to the regions of southern Canaan (Negev and Sinai, Edom and *Ššw*), Syria, Hatti, and Amurru (the Phoenician coast; Dever 1992e: 18; Wentz 1992: 18). It is from these scattered monuments that a basic chronology of the military campaigns of Ramses II can be reconstructed (cf. Schmidt 1973; Table 2).

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

The identification and archaeological investigation of specific entities is especially crucial for reconstructing the campaigns of Ramses II. Unfortunately, stratified excavations at many sites have not been extensive enough at this stage to provide significant results from an archaeological perspective. Nevertheless, this section will provide an analysis of those specific toponyms in the texts and reliefs of Ramses II that may be identified with archaeological sites in Syria, Transjordan, and Cisjordan (Figure 13).

Syria

The most celebrated campaign during the reign of Ramses II was undoubtedly that of Year 5 in Syria. This campaign, known as the "Battle of Kadesh," was recorded ten times on Egyptian public buildings both in written form (*KRI* II:2-128; Faulkner 1958) and pictorially (Tefnin 1981; Spalinger 1985a; 6-7; Goedicke 1985b: 111; Broadhurst 1992; Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, Abu Simbel, and the

³¹ On text-critical evaluations of these accounts, see Gardiner (1960: 46-54); Way (1984); and Spalinger (1985b). For translations, see Breasted (1903; *ARE*: 3.125-157); Wilson (1927; 1969a); Gardiner (1960); and M. Lichtheim (1976).

Ramesseum).³¹ References to the battle are also found in other inscriptions in Egypt (Beth Shan Stela, Year 18; *KRI* II:150-151) and another version among Hittite documents (Fecht 1984: 41-45, 50; Edel 1950; 1994a; 1994b; the Hittites view themselves as victors).

The outcome of the battle of Kadesh is a matter of intense debate. There are scholars who doubt the historical veracity of the texts altogether (Otto 1953: 177; Helck 1971: 197). Some take the position that Ramses II changed an ambush and a possibly overwhelming defeat into a respectable draw (Wilson 1951b: 246; Hayes 1959: 339; Desroches-Noblecourt 1976: xxiv; Hornung 1978: 104; Kitchen 1984: 62), while others see these accounts as political propaganda to cover up Egypt's defeat by the Hittite king Muwatalliš (Helck 1968b: 185; Beckerath 1971: 43; Simpson and Hallo 1971: 279; Mayer and Mayer-Opificius 1994). However, the unity and remarkable detail of the account testifies that it reflects an actual campaign to Syria (Gardiner 1968: 52; Goedicke 1985b: 78). Goedicke (1985b: 98) argued that no decisive battle was ever fought at Kadesh (followed by Mayer and Mayer-Opificius 1994). Instead, he maintains that after the ambush of the Division of Pre' and the events of the first day, Ramses II punished the rebels within his own ranks who did not support him in the day of battle (Goedicke 1985b: 100-102; supported by Morschauser 1985). Thereafter, he was approached by an "envoy bearing a letter in his hand" (Gardiner 1960: 13, P300). This letter contained a written declaration of mutual recognition and an invitation to peace which is agreed upon by the king in consultation with his military leaders (Goedicke 1985b: 103-104). This was followed some years later by the signing of the treaty. Regardless of the position taken, while the "Battle of Kadesh" is important for an understanding of Egyptian and Hittite military practice, it can offer little in the way of destruction correlates at the site of Kadesh. It is clear that the "battle" never reached Kadesh and was to be decided out in the plains south of the city.³² Its depiction on the walls of Ramses' most important temples may point toward the religious and ideological factors involved in the campaign. As Ockinga (1987: 46) states, "the poem is therefore not only an expression of personal piety on the part of the king, it also expounds the official dogma of kingship, thus on both counts it belongs in the sphere of religion." Here ideology, kingship, and warfare are once again bound together.

³² On the mutual prearrangement of Kadesh as the location for this confrontation between Egypt and Hatti, see Goedicke (1985b: 84).

Kadesh

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Kdš* appears nine times in the various copies of the *Poem* (*KRI* II:4,6-11; II:14,12-16; II:16,1-5; II:18,6-12; II:21,1-4; II:26,1-6; II:26,8-10; II:27,12-16; II:74,7-11); eight times in the *Bulletin* (*KRI* II:102,12-16; II:108,1-5; II:108,11-14; II:109,5-6; II:111,15-16; II:112,5-8; II:115,7-11; II:118,8-9); and twice in the *Reliefs* (*KRI* II:134,11) and where reliefs of the toponym are labeled "City (*dmṯ*) of Kadesh" (*KRI* II:140,14-16).³³

Identification. The site of Tell Nebi Mend was first identified as the location for Kadesh by Robinson and Smith (1841: 555) followed by Conder (1881: 166). Today this identification is widely accepted (Breasted 1903: 16-17; *ARE*: 3.126; Goetze 1929; Alt 1932; 1943; Gardiner 1960: 58; Goedicke 1966; Rainey 1973; Kuschke 1979; 1984a; 1984b; Goedicke 1985b; Morschauser 1985; Spalinger 1985a; 1985b).

History of Investigation. Excavations at Tell Nebi Mend were conducted by M. Pézard (1922; 1931) from 1921 to 1922. Modern excavations at the site, begun in 1975 under the direction of P. J. Parr, are sponsored by the Institute of Archaeology, University College of London (Mathias and Parr 1989; Parr 1983; 1991). To date more than ten field seasons of excavation have taken place (Bourke 1993: 155).

Archaeological Data. Pézard (1922; 1931) excavated for two seasons, reaching the Middle Bronze Age remains in his *Tranche A* (Kuschke 1984a: 32). Modern excavations have extended over three major areas of the site and have established a sequence of occupation beginning with the pottery Neolithic (Mathias and Parr 1989). The sequence of Trench I Area 200 covers eight architectural phases (A-H) of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Phase A, just below the surface, was heavily eroded. The only piece of imported ware was found in Phase B. A small body sherd from a Mycenaean III B1 stirrup jar suggests a *terminus post quem* sometime within the thirteenth century B.C. (LB III). Phase C corresponds to the LB II period and was divided by excavators into four subphases of which Phase C(ii) is to be associated with Pézard's "Niveau 4" subphase of his "Syro-Hittite" stratum (Bourke 1993: 158; cf. Pézard 1931: 45-62).

³³ A variant at Luxor (*L₁*) reads "Kadesh the wretched" (Gardiner 1960: 42).

	Campaign and Toponyms	Sources
Year 4	Phoenicia	Nahr el-Kalb Middle Stela (KRI II:1,1-10)
Year 5	Kadesh on the Orontes	Poem (KRI II:1-101) Bulletin (KRI II:102-124) Reliefs (KRI II:129-147)
Year 8/9	<p>North Galilee and Syria (1. [-?]j-ty; 2. g3-b3[- -?]; 3. M^ck3-ti[-?]; 4. 'n-n3-h-m^c; 5. k3-r-pw[?] [... on the mountain of Beth 'Anath]; 6. K3-n3 [Cana]; 7. D3-pw-r [Dapur ... in the land of Amurru]; 8. K3-y-ur; 9. Iun-m^c-y-m^c; 10. [- -?]-I; 11. [-?]pw-n3; 12. Mr-m^c [Merom]; 13. [lost]; 14. [-?]b-rw; 15. B³ty-[-?]S3; 16-17. [lost]; 18. S²-r²-m)</p> <p>Coastal Plain and Syria; Bottom Register (1. S-I-b3-ä; 2. t3 K3-it) Middle Register (1. [lost]; 2. K3w-t3-t-sr; 3. I-t3-y; 4. ʕ3 [Akko]; 5. [-?]r-S3; 6. [M]w-ti-r [Mutir]); Top Register (1. [lost]; 2. K3r-mi-n3; 3. [lost]; 4. [lost]; 5. [-?]m-[-?]; 6. K3-y-[-?]; 7. I-pw-k3; 8. [lost]; 9. I-y).</p> <p>Inland Syria (1. D-pw-r [Dapur ... in the land of Hatti]; 2. S3-tw-n3 [Satuna]; 3. Mw-ti-r [Mutir])</p> <p>Inland Syria (1. D3-pw-r [Dapur])</p>	<p>Ramesseum, First Pylon (KRI II:148-149; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 90-91)</p> <p>Karnak (KRI II: 153-158; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54-56)</p> <p>Luxor (KRI II:170-176; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 72-75)</p> <p>Ramesseum, Hypostyle Hall (KRI II:173,3; Wreszinski 1935: 107-109)</p>
Year 9 (or later)	Transjordan (Moab; Dibon; B(w)trt; Shasu-lands; Se'ir/Edom)	Luxor List (KRI II: 183-185; Kitchen 1964) Amara West List
Years 10-18	Syria	Nahr el-Kalb South Stela (KRI II:149)
Year 18	Beth Shan	Beth Shan Stela (KRI II:150-151)

Table 2. Chronology of Campaigns by Ramses II

a. *Destruction Correlates*. At the end of the LB II period both the sites of Kâmid el-Lôz and Tell Nebi Mend are said to show some evidence of reduction in size that is apparently accompanied by destruction debris (Marfoe 1977: 232-233; Bourke 1993: 189).

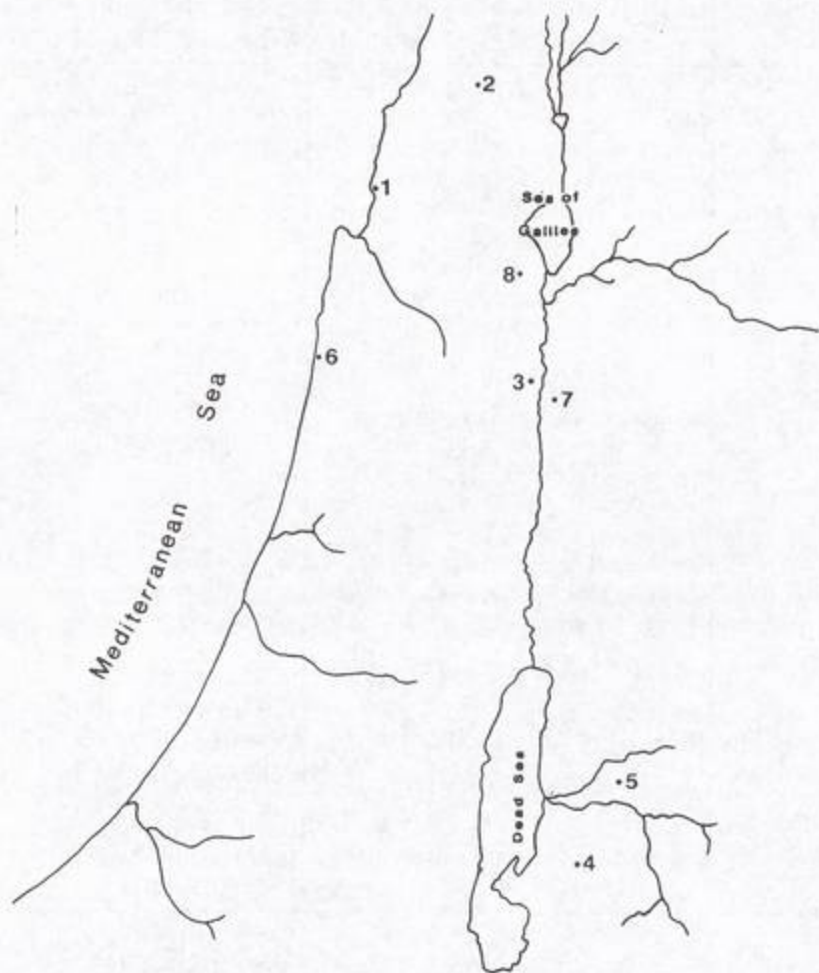


Figure 13, Map of toponyms mentioned in the military accounts of Ramses II
 1. Akko; 2. Beth 'Anath; 3. Beth Shan; 4. Er-Rabbah (*Bt[wr]?*); 5. Dhiban;
 6. Dor; 7. Pella; 8. Tell Yin'am (Yeno'am?)

Disturbed levels also continue in Phases B and A (LB III). However, the final reports are not yet published and it is hoped that further elaboration of these levels will be provided at that time.

b. Subsequent Activity. The site was no longer occupied after the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Assessment. There is no reason to believe from the Kadesh inscriptions and reliefs that the city of Kadesh itself was ever reached and attacked by the Egyptian forces of Ramses II. Final reports from the current excavations at Tell Nebi Mend will hopefully provide further information on this question. Some sixteen years later a treaty was signed with the Hittites that seemed to extend throughout the remaining years of Ramses II and into the reign of his son Merenptah. The destruction and abandonment of the site is to be associated with other causes at the end of the Late Bronze Age that eventually even brought about the general downfall of the Hittite empire around 1200 B.C. (Güterbock 1992; Hoffner 1992).

Transjordan

In his analysis of the scenes along the outer face of the east wall of the Court of Ramses II in the Temple at Luxor, Kitchen (1964) proposed that the toponyms *M(w)-i-b* (Moab); *Ti-bw-inu* (Dibon); *B(w)rt* (?); and "*Yn(?)d...* in the mountain of *Mrm*" were all located north of the Arnon River and probably in the heartland of Moab (1964: 65). Another toponym that occurs on various lists is *Pahil* (Pella; Ahituv 1984: 153-154), but whether this represents part of the campaign in Transjordan or is simply a copy of earlier lists is uncertain.

Moab

Occurrences and Context. The entity *M(w)-i-b* occurs possibly three times in the records of Ramses II. The first is on the base of the western-most statue of Ramses II before the pylon of the Luxor temple (*KRI* II:185,11; Porter; Moss; and Burney 1972: 304; Simons 1937). The following order of toponyms occurs: (10) Hatti; (11) Nahari[n]; (12) [-- --]; (13) Assur; and (14) *M(w)-i-b*. This indicates that *M(w)-i-b* is a major territorial designation included with other territories. The second occurrence, on the outer face of the east wall of the Court of Ramses II at Luxor, is read as "Town (*dm*) that Pharaoh's arm captured in the land of Moab: *Bt(w)rt*" (*KRI* II:180,2; Kitchen 1964: 65-67). Here the designation *t3 M(w)-i-bw* once again indicates a land or region that has towns or settlements within its boundaries. Finally, the last occurs on the topographical list at Amara West (*KRI* II:216,1; *PM* VII: 157-164; Timm 1989: 9-14).

Identification. In two of the occurrences Moab is written with the determinative for "hill-country" and in one case with the determinative for "land." It is associated with certain settlements within its boundaries. This indicates that it was viewed by the scribes as a land or region, which corresponds well to other later references to Moab in the Hebrew Bible and in the Mesha inscription. Due to these considerations and its immediate context, the toponym is widely identified as the region of Moab in Transjordan (Kyle 1908; Simons 1937; Kitchen 1964; 1992b; Görg 1978; 1989a; Timm 1989: 9-14; Miller 1989: 15; 1992a; 1992b; Mattingly 1992; 1994).

History of Investigation and Archaeological Data. The history of research in the region prior to the 1930s was largely concerned with exploration and mapping (Miller 1989: 5-7). In 1930 a stela was found at Khirbet Balu'a known as the Balu'a Stela (Drioton 1933; cf. Worschech 1997a). The inscription is poorly preserved and aspects of the stela seem non-Egyptian, which has led to the conclusion that the sculptor may have been a local inhabitant. Yet it is based on Egyptian prototypes (Ward and Martin 1964: 68). Earlier, in 1851, the so-called Shihan stela had been found at the site of Rujm el-'Abd and seemed to date to the Iron Age (Warmanbol 1983).

In 1933 Glueck began his survey in Transjordan which was soon published (Glueck 1934; 1935; 1939). That same year Albright and Crowfoot began excavations at Adir and Balu'a (Albright 1934b; Crowfoot 1934). Glueck concluded from his surveys that there had been a gap in sedentary occupation from the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Late Bronze Age (1900-1300 B.C.). This was followed by a surge in occupation during the beginning of the Iron Age (Miller 1989: 7). To date few sites have been thoroughly excavated and published in northern and central Transjordan besides Tell Hesban (Miller 1989: 8-10). Work at Dibon (1950-56, 1965), Khirbet el-'Al (1962), 'Ara'ir (1964), Tell Hesban (1968-76), Khirbet el-Medeinah on Wadi el-Lejjûn (1976; 1982), and Khirbet Balu'a (1933, 1986) have yielded the basic source material for the reconstruction of Moabite history (for full documentation, see Miller 1989: 7-10). Extensive survey work was conducted by the Tell Hesban project (Ibach 1987); the Moab survey, which recorded over 400 sites with some activity (Miller 1979; 1991); and the Northwest Ard el-Kerek survey, which concentrated in the northwest quadrant of Moab (Worschech 1985a; 1985b; cf. 1990b).

Theories of Origin. Glueck's conclusions that Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite culture began rather abruptly at the beginning of the Iron Age was widely accepted by scholarship in his day. Thus early theories of origin were influenced by the popular "wave" hypothesis that saw cultural changes as the result of migration and invasions (Alt 1953a: 215; Noth 1960: 164; Landes 1956: 31-35). With the "peasant's revolt" theory of Mendenhall (1973: 167; 1983: 94-100) this view was challenged. Mendenhall believed that the oppressed lower classes rebelled against the city-state system, which led to widespread socio-economic collapse. These "peasants" fled to the central hill country and across to Transjordan to establish new settlements there. In this way the kingdoms of Israel, Ammon, Moab, and Edom were established. Gottwald (1979) took a similar position with certain variations.

Recently new proposals have been presented. J. M. Miller (1989: 64-65), who has completed a major survey of the region of Moab, departs from previous views by suggesting that there is no cultural break between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. "There is no reason to suppose, accordingly, that the Moabite kingdom emerged from newcomers to the region" (Miller 1992a: 889). Instead, Miller maintains that these peoples were descendants from earlier indigenous inhabitants.

Following Haider (1987), Worschech (1990b: 124-128; 1993; 1997b) proposes that the individuals of Transjordan depicted on Egyptian reliefs are not shown as typical inhabitants of *Š3sw* and therefore must be linked with another group. Based on Görg (1989a) he makes a distinction between the *Š3sw* and *Šwtw*. The *Š3sw* were nomadic groups living in the fringes but the *Šwtw* were another nomadic group that infiltrated from the east into Transjordan. Moreover, he claims that the towns represented in the reliefs of Ramses II are inhabited by the Emities.³⁴ Upon their destruction by the Egyptians, the *Š3sw* and *Šwtw* of the desert fringes took over the territory of Central Moab. Thus, Worschech identifies three separate ethnic groups during this late period, claiming that only the *Š3sw/Šwtw*, following the campaigns of Ramses II, form what later becomes Moab. But this hypothesis is not without difficulties.³⁵

³⁴ Alt (1953a: 212-213) suggested that the Balu'a Stela was written in Linear B and indicated that this group came from the west and could be linked with the Emim of the Hebrew Bible (Deut 2:10; Gen 15:5; cf. Bartlett 1973: 230).

³⁵ Worschech is to be commended for his attempt to integrate Egyptian and archaeological sources. Nevertheless, there are several difficulties with his hypothesis.

LaBianca and Younker (1995 cf. Younker 1997) submit a new theory of origins for Moab suggesting that Ammon, Moab, and Edom were not nation-states but "tribal kingdoms" and that these kingdoms "came into existence in a cascading fashion—first Ammon, then Moab and, last of all, Edom" (1995: 399). LaBianca and Younker contend that their emergence was due to several synergistically related factors: (1) the expansion of plow agriculture by indigenous tribes in the Transjordanian highlands; (2) the collapse of the Late Bronze Age city-state system; and (3) the retaliation against mounting threats from the increasingly sedentary Israelites and incoming Philistines (1995: 399, 410). Accordingly, this process seems to have begun *after* these events occurred at around 1200-1180 B.C. (LaBianca and Younker 1995: 410). While tribal predecessors were present earlier, they were not unified as "tribal kingdoms." They do not identify the location or nature of these pastoral predecessors.

Assessment. Although all of these positions recognize the Egyptian evidence from early in the reign of Ramses II (Year 9 or later), none of those who attempt reconstructions assimilate their hypotheses with the textual record (but see Worschech 1990b; 1993; 1997b). Several questions are raised by these inscriptions. Who inhabited the territory of Moab in ca. 1270 B.C. when toponyms within this entity are mentioned by Ramses II? What settlements or cities did Ramses II defeat and who were their inhabitants? Miller (1992b: 86) states correctly "that one cannot make a case for a unified territorial monarchy on the basis of the Egyptian evidence." Nevertheless, the territory and land of Moab was known by this time and it is listed with other great territories including Hatti, Naharin, and Assur (Timm 1989: 6-7). With Timm (1989: 8) it is possible to state that this was a

Logically Worschech's argument is structured as follows: (1) Ramses II defeated the territory of Moab inhabited by non-Moabite Emites; (2) *Ššw/Šwtw* nomads took over the territory; (3) They later established the kingdom of Moab. However, as early as the time of Ramses II, Moab is already referred to as a territory or region (Timm 1989: 8) with certain fortified cities. The suggestion that this Moab is comprised of a different ethnic group than the one that follows is difficult to accept. The *Ššw* in the Amara West list of Ramses II is also written with the same determinative as Moab. Moreover, the inhabitants of *Ššw* are known to occupy other regions in southern Transjordan (Edom or Midian; see Chapter Three, 227-235). These regions are well outside the territory of Moab. Others have also maintained that it was from this group that the early Israelites (Redford 1986a; 1990; 1992b; Rainey 1992) and Edomites emerged. Moreover, the term *Ššw* in Egyptian accounts encompasses a broader geographical understanding (Ward 1972) not accounted for in this reconstruction.

territorial or political term but not an ethnic one,³⁶ although a socio-ethnic group may have preceded it, as is often the case. This territory had cities or settlements known to the Egyptians (Dibon and *Bt(w)rt*; each of these toponyms is addressed individually see 163-166).

Earlier archaeological data were interpreted as representing a sharp break between the LB II and Iron I periods (Glueck 1934; Worschech 1990: 94). Today others see a more gradual trend "toward sedentary lifestyle and urbanization which began in the LB and reached a climax in Iron II" (Miller 1992b: 80; cf. 1989: 11-12; 1992a; LaBianca and Younker 1995). This implies that there were pastoral peoples present in the Late Bronze Age beginning to settle during the transition. Although this is a step toward explaining the textual reference to toponyms in the region, it still does not answer the fundamental question of where these toponyms were located and what role they played during the LB III period.

Dibon

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Ti-bw-iniw* or *Tibunu* was identified by Kitchen from a palimpsest on the east wall of the Court of Ramses II in the Luxor Temple (*KRI* II:180; Kitchen 1964: 53; 1992b: 28). Here *Tibunu* is shown as an abandoned fort in stereotypical fashion (Type 2b; Badawy 1968: 452) with the palimpsest reading, "Town (*dmi*) that Pharaoh's arm [plund]ered: *Tibunu*" (*KRI* II:180).

Identification. Because of its clear context it was initially interpreted by Kitchen as referring to Moabite Dibon in Transjordan (Kitchen 1964: 53). The ensuing exchange is evident in the literature. First, Ahituv (1972) located *Tibunu* in Galilee following Aharoni's placement of Thutmocide *Tpn* at 'Ain Ibl (Aharoni 1979: 151). Ahituv's arguments are refuted convincingly by Kitchen (1976; 1992b: 232), followed by Redford's (1982a; 1982b: 118-119) challenge against Aharoni. Others follow Ahituv more favorably (Miller 1977: 250-251; Weippert 1979: 27 note 44; Weinstein 1981: 21). The preference for the Galilee location centers on the lack of Late Bronze occupation found at Tell Dhiban. However, in the most recently

³⁶ Weippert's statement that "it cannot be established whether Ramesses II conquered a fortress, fortified city, a village, or only a nomad's camp in Moab" (Weippert 1979: 27) is unfounded. The Egyptian term *dmi* is used to describe *Bt(w)rt* in the land of Moab. This term is never used to refer to a nomadic encampment, as the fortress representations indicate (cf. Timm 1989: 20 note 40).

published survey, Gal (1992) demonstrated convincingly that the sites associated with the Transjordanian toponyms in the Galilee region are simply nonexistent. The Bronze Age sites referred to in Aharoni's original study are primarily occupied during the Early and Middle Bronze periods. From surface surveys, none of them appear to have Late Bronze remains (Gal 1992: 54-62), making them no better candidates than sites located in Transjordan.

History of Investigation. The site of Dibon was excavated by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem beginning in 1950 (cf. Tushingham 1993: 350). There were several campaigns: 1950-51 under the direction of F. W. Winnett; 1952 under W. L. Reed (Winnett and Reed 1964); 1952-1953 under A. D. Tushingham (Tushingham 1972; 1992; 1993; Tushingham and Pedrette 1995); and 1955, 1956, and 1965 under W. H. Morton (Morton 1955, 1957, 1989).

Archaeological Data. Excavations at Dhiban in Transjordan have revealed occupation from the Early Bronze Age (Morton 1989: 240), the Iron II period, the Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods (Tushingham 1992: 195-196). According to excavators there is "absolutely no evidence for the MB and LB Ages at Dhiban" (Tushingham 1992: 195; cf. Morton 1989: 240). Occupation began again at about 1200 B.C. although no architecture has been associated with the Iron I period (Tushingham 1992: 195). This gap in occupation presents a challenge to the records of Ramses II.

Assessment. The Egyptian evidence is clear. Both the textual usage of *dmi*, "town" and iconographic evidence of a fort indicate that the Egyptians meant a settlement. Weippert's (1979: 27 note 44) suggestion that this was a tent city is not supported by the Egyptian evidence. Indeed, whenever a site written and pictured in this way has been identified it was a proper settlement. How can one reconcile this evidence?

Kitchen has pointed out that the archaeological work at Dhiban "remains very inadequate. Our knowledge of the main mound at Dhiban is incomplete—and there is no guarantee that the Late Bronze settlement was on that spot rather than nearby, whether under the modern village or elsewhere" (Kitchen 1992b: 28). Indeed, several possibilities exist for the apparent lack of LB archaeological evidence at Dhiban. (1) The archaeological excavations were carried out in the 1950s when the corpus of known LB pottery was scarce on the plateau. Excavators may have been looking only for imported

wares as indicators of the period, not recognizing plain wares. (2) The excavations at the site were not complete and excavators may have unintentionally missed a smaller Late Bronze settlement. (3) The LB site may have been located in the close vicinity or elsewhere. A thorough reassessment following further excavation is necessary to solve the identity of Late Bronze Age Dhiban.

B(w)trt

Occurrences and Context. The entity *B(w)trt* is mentioned only once together with Moab and Dibon on the same text in the Temple at Luxor (*KRI* II:180; Kitchen 1964: 49, Fig. 7). Like Tibunu, *B(w)trt* is shown as an abandoned fort in stereotypical fashion (Type 2b; Badawy 1968: 452) with the palimpsest reading, "Town (*dmi*) that Pharaoh's arm plundered in the land of Moab: *B(w)trt*" (*KRI* II:180). Here the specific information is provided that this toponym is located in Moab.

Identification. Kitchen suggested that this toponym be identified with Raba Batora which is to be located at er-Rabbah some 14 miles south of the Arnon River or 57 miles south of Amman (Kitchen 1964: 64-65; 1992b: 27-28; followed by Helck 1971: 212). This identification is partially based on its appearance on the Tabula Peutingeriana (Kitchen 1964: 64; cf. Aharoni 1963). Görg (1976a; 1978: 7) challenged this identification, suggesting that the Egyptian toponym be read as *Bi-rt* (Beth-Lo; "Wohnsitz des Lot"). However, this reading is unlikely since the Canaanite *t* is generally rendered *d* in Egyptian (Burchardt 1909: 48 § 148; Albright 1934a: 66; cf. Timm 1989: 19). Knauf (1985) observes that the reading Raba Batora is an ancient clerical error combining the two names of Rabbath Moab (Josephus) and Betthoro (known from the Notitia Dignitatum and other late Roman/Byzantine sources). He further proposes that it be identified with the site of Batîr (Site 300; Miller 1991: 102). That same year, Kafifi (1985) posited that *B(w)trt* is to be identified with Tell el-Lejjûn. Worschech recently (1990b: 44, 98, 126) identifies *B(w)trt* with Khirbet el-Batîra^c, about 9 miles southeast of Kerak.

History of Investigation. Tell el-Lejjûn was surveyed by Glueck (1933: 15; 1934: 44-45, 47, 67, 95), Albright (1934b: 15), and most recently Miller (1991: 102-104). Er Rabbah and Batîr were surveyed by Miller (1991: 118-119) while Khirbet el-Batîra^c was surveyed by Glueck (1934: 65).

Archaeological Data. According to the surface survey results, Tell el-Lejjûn shows no evidence for Late Bronze or Iron I Age

occupation. Lejjûn is occupied primarily in the Early Bronze Age ending in EB IV (Miller 1991: 102). A Roman fort was built there in later times (Miller 1991: 104). Batîr produced only one possible LB sherd followed by a gap until Iron II. The largest ceramic corpus is from the Nabataean and later Islamic periods (Miller 1991: 54). Khirbet el-Baṭra^c was first thought to contain only Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine remains (Glueck 1934: 65) until Worschech (1990: 103, Abb. 28) published several forms dating to the Iron Age. However, no LB pottery was found there during the survey of the Kerak plateau by Miller (1991: 133).

Assessment. The Egyptian evidence, referring to this toponym as a *dmî*, "town" and depicting it as a stereotypical fortress located explicitly in Moab, makes it clear that the Egyptians perceived this entity to be a proper settlement in LB III. Moreover, the Egyptians indicate that the town was "plundered" (*ḥf*) during the reign of Ramses II.

The archaeological data presently available are insufficient to suggest a possible location on the basis of dating alone. The conclusion that Tell el-Lejjûn, er-Rabbah, and Batîr lack LB evidence is based on surface surveys. While these methods provide important evidence for settlement patterns, they cannot replace systematic, stratigraphic excavation (cf. Bienkowski 1995). None of the sites suggested to be identified with the Egyptian toponym *B(w)trt* has been excavated, making any suggestion tentative.

Pahil/Pella

Occurrences and Context. The entity *phr/l* occurs three times in the topographical lists of Ramses II: at Karnak (2; List XXIV: 26; *KRI* II:162,14; List XXVIa: 11; *KRI* II:211,5; List XXVIb: 11; *KRI* II:215,14; Ahituv 1984: 153-154). The two occurrences on the Amara West list are copies from earlier lists of Amenhotep III (Edel 1966).

Identification. See (125).

History of Investigation. See (125-126).

Archaeological Data. Excavation in the 1980s produced evidence for a major destruction during the terminal phase of LB III (Phase IA). It extended over most of Area III (Potts *et al.* 1988: 136-137; Smith and Potts 1992: 100). The buildings affected in the massive conflagration include mostly domestic structures and possible a shrine that stood close by. This destruction of conflagration was complete in exposed LB strata.

a. Chronology of Destruction. The pottery published in the preliminary reports indicates a date within the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (Locus 101; Potts *et al.* 1988: 138, Fig. 11), either in the late thirteenth or early twelfth century B.C.

b. Subsequent Activity. Architectural features were rebuilt along similar lines following the Phase IA destruction. At least three post-Phase IA phases were excavated but were so poorly preserved that reconstruction was not possible (Potts *et al.* 1988: 137).

Assessment. The conclusion was reached that due to the nature and chronology of the destruction it was not likely caused by Seti I. The natural question is whether Ramses II might have destroyed the city. Egyptian textual sources make no such claim. The city appears on topographical lists without any further historical contexts and it is possible that this name may have been copied by Ramses II from earlier lists of Amenhotep III and Seti I. Although the chronology of the destruction of Pella fits within the reign of Ramses II or later, the correlates of destruction indicate causes other than Egyptian military activity. It was noted that the entire exposed LB III area (ca. 300 m²; Area III) suffered an intense conflagration, a practice that according to textual and iconographic evidence was not normally part of the military activity of the Egyptians. Since Pella and nearby Tell es-Sa'idiyeh were of important economic interest to the Egyptians and probably included in the taxing system that may have been administered from Beth Shan the consideration that Egypt caused its destruction is not well founded.

Then what is the evidence for a campaign to Transjordan during the reign of Ramses II? The textual and iconographic evidence makes it clear that Ramses II campaigned in the territory of Moab sometime after year 9 (ca. 1270-69 B.C.). Moab is mentioned several times. Toponyms within Moab are clearly named *dmi*, "town" and shown as fortresses in relief, indicating proper settlements within Moab.

Further evidence for Egyptian influence in this region is indicated by the Balu'a and Rujm al-'Abd ("Shihan Warrior") stelae found within the region of Moab. The scenes on these stelae are shown to have clear Egyptian features and traditions represented (Ward and Martin 1964; Weinstein 1981: 21; Kitchen 1992b: 29). Both pieces are attributed to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition (Zayadine 1991: 37).

Other excavated sites in Transjordan with LB remains include the Amman Airport Temple (Hennessey 1966; G.E. Wright 1966;

Hankey 1974; Herr 1983a; 1983b); Tell Deir 'Allâ (Franken 1961: 361-369; Franken and Kalsbeek 1969: 1-2; 19-20; 33-35); Tell Jalul (Yunker *et al.* 1996); Madaba (Harrison 1997); Rabbath-Amman (Ward 1966b: 9-15; Bennett 1979: 159; Dornemann 1983: 105-121); Pella (Potts *et al.* 1988; Smith and Potts 1992); Tell Saḥâb (Ibrahim 1974: 60-61; 1975: 78-80; 1983: 45-48; 1987: 77); Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1993; 1996); Tell Şâfût (Ma'ayeh 1960: 115; D. Wimmer 1987a; 1987b); Tell el-'Umeiri (Herr *et al.* 1994; Herr 1995); and Umm ad-Dananir (McGovern 1986). Several of these LB settlements were actually walled (Rabbath-Amman; Tell Şâfût; Tell Saḥâb; Tell el-'Umeiri; and Umm ad-Dananir). The implications of this evidence is that the sedentary settlement of this region is much more extensive than Glueck's initial synthesis (cf. Sauer 1986; Miller 1989; 1992a; LaBianca and Yunker 1995). In addition to these walled sites, several LB cemeteries have also been excavated in Transjordan, including Madaba (Harding and Isserlin 1953: 27-28, 34-36); Beq'ah Valley (McGovern 1981a; 1981b; 1986); Quweilbeh (Ma'ayeh 1960; Mare 1981: 345; 1982: 493); and Qaṭâret es-Samrâ (Leonard 1979; 1981). While most of these sites occur in the traditional area identified as Ammon and in the upper Jordan Valley, Tell Jalul, the largest site in northern Moab, may be a walled settlement during LB III (LaBianca and Yunker 1995: 407).

The surveys indicate that the investigation of several sites (Dhiban, Tell el-Lejjûn, er-Rabbah, and Baṭîr) are not yet complete enough to establish archaeological correlates for these campaigns. However, the fact of the numerous other sites including LB remains in the Kerak survey (Miller 1991), the monumental art, and settled areas in other parts of Transjordan "implies the existence of some kind of simple political state, with at least a few tangible centres permanently occupied under organized rule, exercised over farming and pastoral populations of unknown and modest extent" (Kitchen 1992b: 29). These economies would have been of particular interest to Egypt as it expanded its boundaries during the reign of Ramses II.

Cisjordan

Whether Ramses II ever exercised military action against the cities of Cisjordan is debated. An analysis of the topographical lists (which contain most of the references) and a detailed investigation of the archaeological record is necessary to understand the nature of Egyptian military action along the northern coastal plain and in Galilee.

Akko

Occurrences and Context. The entity ḫ occurs twice during the reign of Ramses II: on a topographical list of Ramses II at Karnak (List XXIV: 31; *KRI* II:163,14; Ahituv 1984: 48); and also on the Karnak reliefs (*KRI* II:155,16; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a). On the Karnak reliefs the city is pictured empty with its gates askew, suggesting that possibly some damage was done to the gate in order to enter the city (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a). The accompanying text states, "Town (*dm*) which His Majesty plundered: ḫ " (*KRI* II:155,16). This last occurrence was not copied from earlier inscriptions. It is almost certain that Ramses II took military action against the city.

Identification. See (130).

History of Investigation. See (130).

Archaeological Data. Although one might infer the destruction of a gate as indicated by the Karnak reliefs where Ramses II stands with mace in hand before an empty city with its gate askew (M. Dothan 1977: 242; Weinstein 1980: 45; Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 21; Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 55a), excavations have not uncovered an LB gate and there is no evidence for fortifications. Based on the dating of the glacis and rampart, it could be argued that this defensive mechanism continued to be used throughout parts of the Late Bronze Age. Another possibility would be that the houses formed an outer perimeter which served as a type of "city wall." While there appears to be no destruction separating these periods, it is possible that the discontinuity in pottery forms, the replacement of defenses with craft installations, and other patterns indicate cultural change characteristic of other sites taken over by the "Sea Peoples."

Due to these other historical and archaeological evidences, several questions remain: (1) Did the Egyptians under Ramses II "plunder" Akko and tear down its ephemeral defensive system (Weinstein 1980: 45)?³⁷ (2) Did the "Sea Peoples" (Sherden) then come to occupy an already undefended and ruined city a century later, or were they directly responsible for the discontinuity at the end of Stratum 9? (3) Was Akko subsequently used as a naval base for Egyptian military activities in the southern Levant (Weinstein 1980; cf. Artzy 1987;

³⁷ Weinstein's (1980: 45) suggestion that Akko became an Egyptian naval facility does not have any direct support from either the textual or the archaeological evidence to date, as he admits. This interpretation, therefore, must be treated as an hypothesis which cannot be confirmed at this time.

Raban 1998)? These questions cannot be presently answered due to the discrepancies in the preliminary reports and limited exposure of LB remains at Akko.

'Aphek

Occurrences and Context. The entity *'Ipk* occurs in the Karnak (*KRI* II:157,16) and Luxor reliefs (*KRI* II:182,12) of Ramses II (Ahituv 1984: 62). It appears as one of two forts being attacked by the king. The text in both accounts reads: "The town (*dm*), which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered (*hf*), of *'I[p]k*" (Kitchen 1964: 60).

Identification. This town, which is spelled identically in both texts, has been identified as 'Aphek by Kitchen (without identifying which one, 1964: 61). The location of this 'Aphek is disputed. Much hinges on contextual relationships with other forts mentioned. The fort *Krmyn* also appears on both lists just preceding 'Aphek. Ahituv (1984: 124) identifies this site as one located in the vicinity of Mount Carmel, based on the phonetic similarity. Thus, Akko, *Krmyn*, and 'Aphek might have been along the same line of battle (assuming that 'Aphek of Asher was being referred to; Ahituv 1984: 62). Others maintain that *Krmyn* is located along the coast in northern Phoenicia (Gaballa 1976: 109; about 4 miles south of Tripoli; cf. Helck 1971: 202-203). Some have also located 'Aphek, mentioned by Ramses III, with 'Afqa located 19 miles north of Tarbul in Lebanon (Albright 1953b: 26-27 note 7; Noth 1971: 112). Kuschke (1958: 109) proposes that 'Aphek was the site of Nahle, 4 miles northeast of Ba'albek. That there is a relationship between the two toponyms, those of Ramses II and Ramses III, is debatable, as Ahituv (1984: 62) points out. From the context of *'I[p]k* a location in the north seems most probable (not Mount Carmel).

Archaeological Data. All sites that have been identified with 'Aphek require future excavations to answer the specific research questions outlined in this study.

Beth 'Anath

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Bt 'nt* is mentioned six times during the reign of Ramses II: twice in the topographical lists at Luxor (List XX: 16a [partially preserved]; *KRI* II:178,9; List XXI: 35; *KRI* II:177,9); in a topographical list at Karnak (List XXIV:

39; *KRI* II:163,15); and in the list of cities conquered in Year 8, the text reading "Town (*dmi*) which His Majesty plundered (*hff*): *Byt 'nti*" (*KRI* II:148,10).

Identification. See (132).

History of Investigation. See (132).

Archaeological Data. Due to the difficulty in the identification of this site (possibly Tell Ro'sh?; Gal 1992: 61; see discussion, 132) and the lack of stratigraphic excavation, little analysis may be conducted at this time. From the list of cities that are listed as conquered in year 8 at the Ramesseum, it is evident that this city is depicted as a stereotypical fortress known from other reliefs of Ramses II. The implication is that Ramses II plundered a proper settlement and not a larger geographical region. Other references to "the mountain of Beth-'Anath" by Ramses II indicate its centrality in the region (Gal 1992: 61).

Beth Shan

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Bt-st* occurs on the topographical list at Karnak (List XXIV: 28; *KRI* II:163,14) and is mentioned also in Papyrus Anastasi I (22:8; Wilson 1969b: 477). The first occurrence was most likely a direct copy from the earlier lists of Seti I (Simons 1937: 74; Ahituv 1984: 19). The second appears in a satirical letter which gives much geographical information but must be treated critically (cf. Fischer-Elfert 1983; 1986). Finally, the discovery of a stela dated to Year 18 (*KRI* II:150-151; Černý 1958) has been cited as evidence for a campaign (Gaballa 1976: 107). But the text is not well preserved, containing only few ambiguous lines (Wilson 1969a: 255).

Identification. See (133).

History of Investigation. See (133-134).

Archaeological Data. The archaeological evidence shows a smooth transition between Levels VIII and VII. "Architecturally, Level VII is best understood as a refurbishing of existing Level VIII structures in some areas (e.g. the temple and residences in the south-eastern sector) or a completion of the garrison with the addition of new buildings" (James and McGovern 1993: 2.235). It is suggested that the Year 18 stela of Ramses II may have been set up originally in Level VII (James and McGovern 1993: 236). The rebuilding of the late Level VII remains most likely dates to the time of Merenptah and Ramses III before it went out of use as an Egyptian garrison

(James and McGovern 1993: 236). Mazar's excavations in Area N reached Level VII as well. He exposed a massive building with some of the walls exceeding 2.5 m in width. A large hall "possessed a square silo and brick bench, on which sat upper and lower grinding stones. A small room adjoining the hall contained a large amount of charred grain. The evidence for the storing and grinding of grain contrasts with the absence of baking ovens in the building" (A. Mazar 1997:69). Mazar suggests that this room functioned as a storage facility for grain and other foodstuffs, perhaps as "an element of the Egyptian administration at Beth Shean" (A. Mazar 1997:69). The building was "destroyed in a fierce fire" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Vessels found in this building included Egyptian storage jars and a complete collared-rim storage jar. The large number of Egyptian and Egyptian-style artifacts including stelae, anthropoid coffins, pottery, scarabs, pendants/jewelry (McGovern 1990), and glass and faience vessels (James and McGovern 1993; McGovern; Flemming; and Swann 1993) attest to the influence of Egypt at Beth Shan.

Destruction Correlates. There is little disturbance until the fiery destruction of Level VII as attested in the massive building of Area N. The specific correlates of destruction are not discussed in the preliminary reports of the Israeli excavations (A. Mazar 1997: 69). Excavators do suggest that "the destruction of this building is evidence of some traumatic event in the history of Beth-Shean which apparently took place some time during the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty" (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

Chronology for Destruction. Among the pottery found in this destruction "were Egyptian storage jars, sherds of Cypriote imports, and a complete 'collared rim' pithos, one of the earliest examples of its type yet found in Israel" (A. Mazar 1997: 69). The excavators suggest that the destruction did not take place until "the reign of Merenptah or shortly thereafter" (A. Mazar 1997: 69).

Subsequent Activity. Egyptian activity at Beth Shan seems to continue until the end of Stratum Lower VI, which is believed to correspond to the reign of Ramses III-Ramses VI or VIII (Garfinkel 1987; A. Mazar 1993c: 218; cf. 1993a: 228). This occupational level of the city was violently destroyed in conflagration, creating a layer of fallen mudbrick over 1 m thick. Excavators suggest that this destruction represents the end of Egyptian domination at the site and may have been caused by several factors: (1) A revolt of the local Canaanite population suppressed by the Egyptians. (2) A group led by one of the

"Sea Peoples" who settled in the region at the time of ethnic movements and decline of Egyptian power. (3) The raid of Transjordanian Midianites on the valleys of Harod and Jezreel and the Israelite response documented in the Gideon narrative (Judg 7). (4) Finally, the clashing of local Israelite tribes (A. Mazar 1993a: 217).

The second possibility is unlikely, due to the lack of pottery distinctive of the "Sea Peoples," specifically the Philistines, in subsequent strata (A. Mazar 1993a: 229; cf. Negbi 1991). But it may be that they simply destroyed the city and did not reoccupy the site after its destruction. At any rate, several historical associations are possible but require further controlled analysis from both textual and archaeological sources.

Assessment. There is no evidence that Ramses II militarily attacked the city of Beth Shan. Level VII had a continuous, unbroken history and its final destruction is dated after his reign. Ramses II may have visited this site on a route north in Year 18 and constructed a stela as an act of reestablishing his authority and domination over the region. This would fit with the increased building activity occurring in Level VII. However, the presence of Ramses II at Beth Shan was a reaffirming action of his hold over this territory and not one of military aggression.

Cana

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *K3n3* appears once in the list of conquered towns at the Ramesseum dated Year 8. The text reads, "Town (*dmi*) which His Majesty plundered (*hf*) in year 8: *K3n3*" (*KRI* II:148,11).

Identification. This toponym was identified with Cana in the Lebanese Galilee (Aharoni 1957: 65; 1967: 169; Ahituv 1984: 123).

History of Investigation. Aharoni (1957: 65) conducted surveys in this region but the site has not yet been thoroughly excavated.

Dor

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Twi3r* is mentioned for the first time in Ramses II's topographical list at Amara West (76; *KRI* II:216,11).

Identification. There has been some discussion about the reading of this toponym. Givon (1979: 138) has equated it with *Rwi3r* occurring on the topographical list of Ramses III (Simons 1937: 111,

List XXVII). This reading assumes that the *t* is a corruption of an original *r*, since the two are similar in hieratic script. Others have rejected this (Aharoni 1979: 182), but admit that there may be some problems, since much of the Amara West list was copied from the Soleb list of Amenhotep III or derives from a similar source (Ahituv 1984: 19-20, 88 note 151). Due to the difficulties in the reading, the identification of *Twizr* with the coastal port of Dor remains uncertain. Since the excavators of Tell Dor, located on the Mediterranean coast south of modern Haifa, have referred to this designation in the topographical list as the first occurrence of this city's name, the archaeological remains of this city are worth investigating.

History of Investigation. Tell Dor has been extensively excavated during thirteen seasons spanning from 1980 to 1997 under the direction of E. Stern of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Stern and Sharon 1987; 1993; Stern, Gilboa, and Sharon 1989; 1992; Stern, Berg, and Sharon 1991; Stern 1993; 1994).

Archaeological Data. Preliminary reports suggest that the site was occupied during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pottery from the Middle Bronze Age was discovered during the 1989 season in Area B1 under Iron Age rampart fortifications. No Late Bronze sherds were found (Stern, Berg, and Sharon 1991: 60-61). Soundings next to the shore have shown that Middle Bronze IIA remains reached the water's edge. Although some pottery from the Late Bronze Age was recovered (out of context), no architecture has been identified for either period (Stern 1993: 358). During the Early Iron Age, following a massive destruction (Stern and Sharon 1993: 149-150), the city was resettled and flourished during subsequent periods. Further excavations are necessary to elucidate the Late Bronze period, although the settlement of the Shekelesh at this site may account for a destruction at the end of the period. This would require a careful analysis of distinction between correlates that may differ from one invading force or another.

Assessment. Given the problems of (1) the reading of the toponym; (2) the question of historicity for the list on which it appears; and (3) the lack of archaeological evidence, due caution should accompany the association of *Twizr* with Dor.

Sharhan/Sharuhen

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Šrh* occurs once on the topographical lists at Amara West (67 [partially preserved]; *KRI*

II:216, 10; Ahituv 1984: 171) but is probably copied from the earlier list of Amenhotep III at Soleb or derives from a similar source (cf. Rainey 1993: 181). Thus, it is unlikely that Ramses II campaigned at the site.

Identification. Suggestions for the identification of the site continue to be offered (cf. Liwak 1992). Identifications include: (1) Tell esh-Shari'a (Hebrew Tell Sera', meaning "watering hole") (Knobel 1861; Grove 1863: 1229; Conder and Kitchener 1882: 3.392); (2) Tell el-Fâr'ah (South; Albright 1929b: 7; 1933: 53-54, 228-229, 238; Alt 1959b: 423-425; Noth 1953: 93); (3) Tell el-'Ajjul (Kempinski 1974; 1993); and (4) Tell Haror (Abu Hureirah; Rainey 1988; 1993). Each of these sites contains rich LB remains. However, an attempt to identify this toponym with a site contemporary to Ramses II is a moot point since the toponym was copied from earlier lists.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context. The entity *Yn'm* appears five times on topographical lists of Ramses II: (1) twice at Luxor (List XX: 11 [partially preserved]; *KRI* II:178,9; List XXI: 30 [partially preserved]; *KRI* II:177,9); (2) Statue A at Luxor (List XXIIa: 18; *KRI* II:184,9); (3) Statue B by the west colossus at Luxor (List XXIIb: 2; *KRI* II:184,15); and (4) a topographical list at Kamak (List XXIV: 29; *KRI* II:163,14). These toponyms are probably copied from earlier lists, making Ramses II's campaign to this site unlikely (Ahituv 1984: 17-19).

Summary

The survey of research has shown that there is an increased complexity in assessing the military campaigns of Ramses II. This may be due to two factors: (1) The reign of Ramses II was the longest in the history of Egypt. This can cause difficulties in attempts to provide an accurate reconstruction of his campaigns. (2) Many of the toponyms occur only on topographical lists that are suspected of having been copied from earlier sources (i.e. Amenhotep III or Seti I). This would mean that Ramses II did not campaign at these sites but is claiming for himself the victory of earlier military campaigns; (3) The archaeological evidence for the Late Bronze Age in Transjordan is difficult to interpret in terms of sedentary occupation and the continuity of city inhabitation; (4) The campaigns of Ramses II in the majority of cases cannot be adequately tested due to the lack of excavation. Despite

these challenges, a number of important conclusions may be drawn from the evidence investigated in this section.

The evidence points to a minimum of six campaigns during the reign of Ramses II. The first campaign to the southern Levant is assumed on the basis of the Nahr el-Kalb Middle Stela dated to Year 4 (ca. 1274-73 B.C.). No specific sites are mentioned in connection with this campaign thus precluding archaeological analysis. The following year (Year 5, ca. 1273-72 B.C.) one of the most frequently recorded campaigns took place. The famous "Battle of Kadesh," which took the Egyptians north into Syria, is communicated ten times throughout Egypt in two textual accounts and in relief. The textual and iconographic evidence points toward an open-terrain battle. Such a battle would leave little preserved in archaeological contexts. Moreover, the city of Kadesh itself was apparently never reached by the Egyptian forces.

The third campaign took place in Year 8 and possibly 9 (ca. 1271-1270 B.C.), and is based on the sites specifically shown in relief (dated to Year 8) and described on the first pylon at the Ramesseum with parallels at Karnak and Luxor in Thebes. The sites indicate that the military of Ramses II campaigned in northern Galilee (Beth 'Anath, Cana, and Merom), along the northern coastal plain (Akko), and primarily in Syria (Dapur, Mutir, Satuna, Tunip, etc.). Many Syrian sites have not been positively identified and none of the proposed identifications have been thoroughly excavated. Only one positively identified site mentioned in this campaign has been excavated. The city of Akko, unfortunately, leaves little stratigraphic evidence from the LB III period (Artzy personal communication) and the discrepancies in the preliminary reports make an analysis at this time impossible. It is likely that these campaigns of Ramses II were not widely destructive but punitive in nature. Most of the sites are described as being "plundered" (*hf*) or "carried off" (*ini*). These actions may include partial destructions of the city (especially to the gate area, as indicated in some of the reliefs). However, the primary goal of Ramses II seems to have been to secure these northern regions after the apparent mixed victory at Kadesh in Year 5. Once the northern regions were secure, the king was able to focus his attentions further east.

The repeated mention of Moab and those settlements/cities located within its region (Dibon, *B[w]trt*) indicate that forces under the direction of Ramses II attempted to bring these regions under

Egypt's control once again sometime after Year 9 (ca. 1270 B.C.). That these toponyms were proper settlements is made clear by their representation as fortresses in the reliefs and the Egyptian designation *dmi*, "town" that is associated with each toponym. Moab is clearly identified as a land/nation/geographical territory by the repeated determinative for "hill-country" and the further designation *ʕ*, "land." The textual evidence indicates explicitly that these sites were "plundered" (*ḥf*) by the Egyptians. This does not indicate wholesale destruction but an economic interest in plunder and booty.

There are several archaeological issues that confront the identification of the specific toponyms in Moab (Dibon, *B[w]rt*) with known sites: (1) All of the toponyms identified show little sign of LB occupation; and (2) There is no agreement on the identification. The main reason for these difficulties is the lack of stratigraphic excavation at these sites and others. Although major advances continue to be made in surveying the region to establish general settlement patterns, this type of research cannot replace thorough, stratigraphic excavation. Indeed, other parts of Transjordan and the Jordan Valley contain numerous walled LB cities and cemeteries that have produced a variety of wealth in material culture and architecture. This indicates that the areas east of the Jordan were also rich in resources through different modes of exchange. It was an area settled by both pastoralists and settled peoples during the Late Bronze Age. Sites like Tell Jalul provide encouragement to field archaeologists who will be able to produce significant results when sites are excavated with some of the detailed research questions outlined in this study. In summary, according to the present data available, there is no reason to doubt the clear meaning of the Egyptian texts and iconography concerning a campaign to Moab under Ramses II.

It is probable that two more campaigns took place in the tenth and eighteenth years of Ramses II, based on the Nahr el-Kalb South Stela (Year 10) and the Beth Shan Stela (Year 18). Both texts are vague as to the details of these campaigns. However, their placement at these strategic sites indicates that the area witnessed the stabilizing force of the Egyptian military once again. In November-December, Year 21 (ca. 1258 B.C.), a treaty was signed by both Hattušiliš III and Ramses II (Egyptian version - Wilson 1969d; Harari 1980; Kitchen 1996: 79-85; Hittite version - Goetze 1969). It was strengthened by the marriage of the Hittite princess, daughter of Hattušiliš, and Ramses in Year 34 (ca. 1245 B.C.; Edel 1953a; Kitchen 1982: 83-88;

1996: 86-99). A period of apparent peace lingered between the two empires for their remaining years. Unfortunately, the same could not be said for other parts of the southern Levant. Only a few years would pass before the successor of Ramses II would once again be required to forge his way to the north.

MERENPTAH

General Chronology

Merenptah, the thirteenth son of Ramses II, became king of Egypt as an elderly man (Kitchen 1982: 215). The accession date of Merenptah has recently been limited to 11 days within 2nd Akhet from a West Theban graffito (Peden 1994: 6), narrowing the previous suggestion by Kitchen (1984: 550 note 3). Helck proposed, on the basis of his successor Amenmesse, that the length of Merenptah's reign could have been as short as 9 years, 10 months (Helck 1955: 43). Later, relying on Manetho, Helck went to the other extreme, suggesting a reign of 19 years (Helck 1963: 733-734), following Rowton, who had made a similar suggestion earlier (Rowton [1948: 71-73] proposed 20 years). But Helck based his argument on hieratic docketts from the Ramesseum that could just as well have belonged to Ramses II or Ramses III (Wente and van Siclen 1976: 236). The latest date during Merenptah's reign is Year 10 (Wente and van Siclen 1976: 235; Papyrus Sallier I, 3, 4). Moreover, in his research on genealogies, Bierbrier strongly protests against a long reign for Merenptah (Bierbrier 1975). Based on this argument, most scholars conclude that Merenptah reigned for 10 years (Hornung 1964; Hayes 1959; 1970; Rowton 1959; 1960; 1966; Redford 1966; 1973; Bierbrier 1975; 1978; Wente and van Siclen 1976; Helck 1987; Krauss 1989a; Caspersen 1988; Kitchen 1987; 1989a; 1992a; Ward 1992a). The low chronology (1213-1203 B.C.) is followed in this study.

Toward a Chronology of the Asiatic Campaign

Merenptah's military accomplishments, despite his old age, were widespread, according to the inscriptional evidence. Only one campaign into the southern Levant is recorded, between years 2 and 5. A

brief description is provided in the concluding hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela, found by Petrie in 1896 (Petrie 1898) and first translated by Spiegelberg (1896) that same year. During his fifth year, Merenptah learned of a Libyan insurrection and led his troops against them in battle (Libyan War Inscription, Karnak; *KRI* IV:2-12; Libyan War Stela, Kom el-Ahmar; *KRI* IV:19-23; Edel 1961; Zuhdi 1995-96). This Libyan war is also described in the Amada Stela (*KRI* IV:1-2; Černý 1959; Youssef 1962) and the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:12-19; Yurco 1986; 1990). The campaign was followed by another to Nubia in year 6 of his reign.³⁸

The historicity of Merenptah's campaign into the southern Levant is widely debated.³⁹ Several factors have been used to discredit the historicity of Merenptah's campaign. (1) It has been argued that the old age of Merenptah made it impossible for him to have led an extensive campaign in Asia (Redford 1986a; 1992a; 1992b; Higginbotham 1993). (2) The literary genre is said to be different from characteristic campaign accounts (Wilson 1969b; Williams 1958; M.

³⁸ There is no reason to believe that the campaign to Canaan/*Hjru* extended as far north as Hatti. The phrase "Hatti is pacified (*hṯp*)" simply meant that Hatti during this period was on peaceful terms with the Egyptians, probably due to the earlier treaty with Hattusiliš III established by Ramses II in Year 21.

³⁹ One of the earliest attempts to investigate the historical veracity of the campaign was made by Naville (1915). Naville denied its historicity based on his interpretation of the text, which he translated, "Ashkelon is a prisoner which Gezer brings holding him with his hand" (Naville 1915: 200). This indicated to Naville that a war ensued between Gezer and Ashkelon with Gezer as the conqueror. Israel simply became involved in this dispute. Although others have followed the claim that Merenptah never campaigned in Palestine (Budge 1902; Beckerath 1951; Wilson 1951a; 1969b; Williams 1958; Montet 1968b; Helck 1968a; 1971; Weippert 1971; de Vaux 1978; Fritz 1973; 1981; and most recently Redford 1986a; 1992a; 1992b followed by Higginbotham 1993), or insisted that his account was an exaggeration (Miller 1977: 248), Naville's original rendition of the text was never accepted by other Egyptologists. Indeed, as early as 1906 Breasted wrote referring to the Amada inscription, "the mention of a specific town, or even nation, in such an epithet, in a titular, must refer to some definite occurrence. . . . It is certain, therefore, that Merenptah campaigned in Palestine" (*ARE*: 3.259). H. R. Hall (1913: 376) went further in his claims that "In his third year Merenptah was compelled to subdue afresh the now restricted Asiatic dominion of Egypt. The main movers of the revolt seem to have been the Israelites. . . ." While some of these statements seemed to go beyond the actual textual evidence, many scholars remained convinced that a campaign to the southern Levant did occur under the reign of Merenptah (Petrie 1905; Breasted *ARE*: 1912; Meyer 1906; 1928; Gardiner 1961; Youssef 1962; Malamat 1971; Dever; Lance; Wright 1974; Rendsburg 1981; Dever 1986; 1995b; Faulkner 1975; Weinstein 1981; Krauss 1982; Singer 1988; Yurco 1986; 1990; 1991; Coote 1990; Halpern 1992; Murnane 1992; Neu 1992; Ward 1992b; Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993; Kitchen 1966b; 1982; 1993b).

Lichtheim 1976).⁴⁰ (3) The geographical names mentioned in the Merenptah Stela have been interpreted to represent entities in Egypt rather than in Canaan (Nibbi 1989). Each of these points of debate requires further investigation.

The historicity of the campaign has been supported by a number of scholars using both philological and archaeological arguments. The Amada inscription contains as part of the titulary of Merenptah the designation "conqueror of Gezer," which corroborates the claim of a campaign to this city-state on the Merenptah Stela. The recent reassignment of depictions on the Karnak reliefs has also been presented as supporting evidence for Merenptah's campaign (Yurco 1986; 1990; 1991; cf. Stager 1985b). Previously assigned to Ramses II (Wreszinski 1955: Pls. 57-58b; Gardiner 1961: 263-64; Kitchen 1964: 68 note 9), these reliefs have been reassigned to Merenptah (Yurco 1986, 1990) because of the representation of three city-states and a people. Yurco concludes that the three city-states represent Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am, while the pictorial of fallen people denotes Israel (1990; 1991; but see Rainey 1991; 1992; 1995).

It is evident from the literature that questions regarding the historicity of Merenptah's alleged campaign to Canaan have been intensely debated. These are questions that must be addressed from both a textual and an archaeological perspective. Textual analysis of other military records could elucidate the difficulties faced in establishing genre and toponymic identifications. Archaeological evidence from sites mentioned in the texts would provide information regarding the type of destruction that the Egyptians caused as well as their assignment to a specific campaign (Figure 14).

⁴⁰ The genre of the Merenptah Stela has been described as hymnic (Wilson 1969b) or poetic (M. Lichtheim 1976). Thus, according to some, scholars the genre of the stela precludes its historicity (Beckerath 1951: 67; Helck 1971: 224). However, the disagreement among scholars concerning the genre classification of the stela warrants caution when applying genre studies to Egyptian texts. Further study is needed to determine what effect genre has on historicity. Historical events can be and were celebrated in several genres at once. The structure of the entire stela has recently been analyzed (Hornung 1983; Fecht 1983). Fecht (1993) concludes that Egyptian prose writing is often accompanied by meter (see Chapter One, 25-26).

Many have placed significance on the meter employed in describing the Canaanite campaign for discerning the location of the entities mentioned (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1990; Ahlström 1991; Bimson 1991; Hasel 1994). Various structures have been proposed which place the entities mentioned in numerous contexts. Such study is dependant on a knowledge of Egyptian language during the New Kingdom and on the geopolitical reality reflected in archaeological work.

Archaeological Correlates for Military Activity

In this section each toponym identified as a city in the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela will be analyzed according to the occurrences and context, identification, history of investigation, and archaeological data to elucidate the destruction correlates present and to establish the corresponding political and geographical contexts.

Ashkelon

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *iskꜣr/bn* appears on the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5) and on the Karnak reliefs (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 58, 58a). The toponym is widely translated as Ashkelon (Spiegelberg 1896; Breasted 1906; Wilson 1969b; Givon 1975c; M. Lichtheim 1976; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahituv 1984; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990). In the Merenptah Stela, the text reads "Ashkelon has been carried off (*ini*)." Here the verb *ini* appears in the old perfective and according to the semantic context of this word in other accounts may only imply the carrying off of booty and tribute from this city. However, if the reliefs at Karnak are to be assigned to Merenptah (Yurco 1986) there may be further evidence of military action taken against this city. Egyptian soldiers are shown with siege ladders, scaling the walls of the city. Another soldier appears to be hacking down the city gate (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 58). The inhabitants of the city are bowing before the king in supplication and even appear to be lowering their children from the walls in the hope that their sacrifice would appease the Egyptians. The inscription next to this relief states, "Vile (*hst*) town that His Majesty carried off (*ini*) while wicked (*bn*): Ashkelon." This text uses the identical verb *ini* to describe the action taken against the toponym, confirming that this city, its inhabitants, and material wealth was "carried off" as plunder.

Identification. Ashkelon is located on the Mediterranean coast about 39 miles south of Tel Aviv and 10 miles north of Gaza. Its occupation dates from the Chalcolithic to Mamluk periods. During the Middle Bronze Age II, Iron I and II, and Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods, the city was enormous for the southern Levant—nearly 150 acres in area (Stager 1993: 103). The site is identified in other important textual sources including the Excretion texts (Ahituv 1984: 70; cf. Posener 1940; Sethe 1926), the

Amarna letters (EA 320-326; Moran 1992), the Onomasticon of Amenope (early eleventh century B.C.), the Hebrew Bible, Assyrian and Babylonian records, Hellenistic accounts (Letter of Aristeas, ca. 150 B.C.), as well as later Roman and Byzantine records.

History of Investigation. In 1815 a "treasure hunting" expedition was led by Lady H. Stanhope. Among her discoveries was a large peristyle basilica (?) as well as a statue of a cuirassed soldier (most likely a Roman emperor) which she later ordered smashed. The first scientific excavation was conducted in 1921-1922 by J. Garstang and his assistant W. J. Phythian-Adams. In several trenches (Grid 38, and between Grids 50 and 58 of the Harvard University excavations) he uncovered Bronze and Iron Age remains and correctly identified aspects of Philistine culture (Garstang 1921; 1922; 1924; Phythian-Adams 1921; 1923a). Since 1985 the Leon Levy Expedition has conducted the first large-scale, modern excavations, sponsored by the Harvard Semitic Museum and directed by L. E. Stager.

Archaeological Data. The Late Bronze Age remains at Ashkelon have witnessed very limited exposure. In Grid 50 a cuneiform lexical text was found on an LB II surface. Further horizontal exposure is required to clarify the archaeological context. The nature of the cuneiform tablet suggests that a scribal school existed in Ashkelon (Stager personal communication b). A series of courtyard surfaces, silos, bread ovens, and burials were found in Grid 38 (lower) during the Harvard excavations. In the excavations by Garstang and Phythian-Adams, several XIXth Dynasty alabaster vessels and a basalt statue with a hieroglyphic inscription were found. Although no Late Bronze fortification system has been uncovered, the Karnak reliefs depict a fortified city (located on a tell) named Ashkelon (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; see Figure 6, 50).

a. Destruction Correlates. In the seaside section (Grids 50 and 57), Phythian-Adams found a major destruction separating Stage V (Late Bronze) from Stage VI (Philistine). No evidence of this destruction has been found as yet in Grid 50, although horizontal exposure there has been very limited. At this time it is unclear whether the Phythian-Adams "destruction" is major or quite local. It does not appear in his section in Grid 38 (Stager personal communication b). If it is a major destruction, it is not yet clear whether it should be associated with the campaign of Merenptah (which would mean that the Philistines took over a deserted city) or with the "Sea Peoples" (i.e. Philistines). No

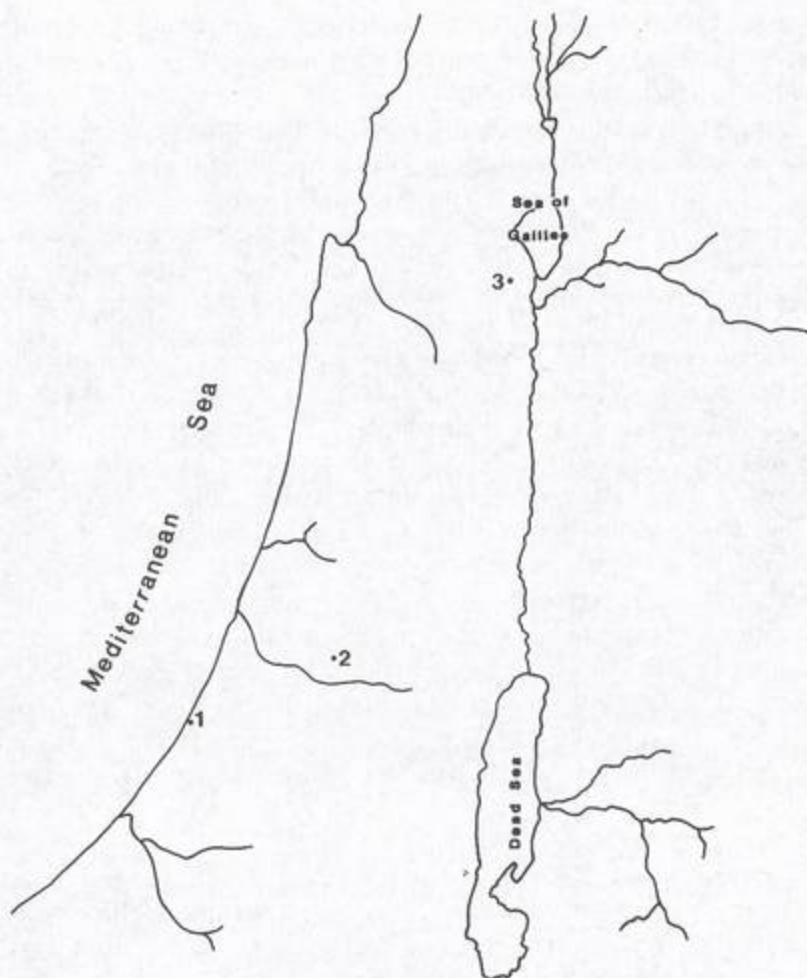


Figure 14, Map of cities mentioned in the military accounts of Merenptah
 1. Ashkelon; 2. Gezer; 3. Tell Yin'am (Yeno'am?)

definite indication of this major destruction has been found during the Harvard excavations (Stager 1993: 107; personal communication a). Further excavation may provide additional evidence to clarify this question.

b. Subsequent Activity. Beginning in 1180 to 1175 B.C. Ashkelon was occupied by the Philistines (Stager 1991: 13; 1993: 107; 1995a) as attested by the Mycenaean III C:1b pottery at the site, architectural

features, and the records of Ramses III (Stager 1985b; 1991: 13; 1995a; cf. A. Mazar 1985b; Singer 1985; but see T. Dothan 1982a; Dothan and Dothan 1992).

Assessment. Further excavation of the Late Bronze Age horizon at Ashkelon is required before an assessment of the archaeological data can be made pertaining to the campaign during the reign of Merenptah.

Gezer

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Kdr* occurs on the Amada Stela (*KRI* IV:1,9) and the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5) and is translated as Gezer (Spiegelberg 1896; Breasted *ARE*; Wilson 1969b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Grieshammer 1977; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahituv 1984; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Yurco 1986; 1990). On the Amada Stela, Merenptah is called "Plunderer (*hꜥsic*) of Gezer." This title implies that Merenptah took some action against Gezer, although it does not imply what type of action, i.e. whether it was widely destructive or merely punitive and oriented toward booty and plunder. In the Merenptah Stela the statement "Gezer has been seized (*mꜥh*)" appears. Here the implication is that Gezer has been captured and subjugated by Egypt. Once again destructive activity is not outrightly mentioned. Each of these statements appearing in two different sources strongly suggest that an action against Gezer was taken during the reign of Merenptah.

Identification. Early excavations at Tell Jezer (Tell el-Jazari), a 33-acre site located 5 miles south of Ramleh, established this city as the site of Gezer mentioned in Egyptian, Assyrian, and biblical texts (Dever 1992a: 998). It is situated 225 m above sea level on the last foothills of the Judaeian range in the northern Shephelah, guarding a most important crossroad (Dorsey 1991: 65-66; cf. Dever; Lance; Wright 1970: 1). Site identification is confirmed by seven stones found along the ridges south and east of the tell, many containing the inscription *thm gꜥzr*, meaning "boundary of Gezer" (Macalister 1912a: 37-41; cf. Dever; Lance; Wright 1970: 2; Rosenfeld 1988; Reich 1990; Schwartz 1990).

History of Investigation. Early excavations at the site were undertaken by R. A. S. Macalister (1912a; 1912b; 1912c) from 1902-1909. Modern excavations were conducted by the Hebrew Union College and the Harvard Semitic Museum from 1968-74 under the direction of G. E. Wright, W. G. Dever, and J. Seger. Two excava-

tions aimed at addressing specific questions were conducted in 1984 under the direction of W. G. Dever (Dever 1986) and in 1990 under the codirection of W. G. Dever and R. W. Younker (Dever and Younker 1991; Younker 1991; Dever 1993a).

Archaeological Data. The site of Gezer was occupied during the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Ages. During the Middle Bronze Age IIIB-C period, Gezer reached its zenith of power (Dever 1993d: 500). The city suffered a major destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze II period that has been correlated by the excavators to the military campaigns of Thutmose IV (Dever; Lance; Wright 1970: 4, 53-55); Thutmose III (Dever 1974: 36; Dever 1985; 1987; 1990: 78-79; Weinstein 1991); and Amenophis I or Thutmose I (Weinstein 1981: 10), or to other causes (Redford 1979; 1982b; Shea 1979; Hoffmeier 1989; 1990; 1991). Following this destruction, the LB I strata are scanty with one cave (I.10A) known from Stratum XVII and other burials. In the LB II period the city once again flourished in the Amarna Age. It is during this period (Stratum XVI) that excavators have placed the construction of the Outer Wall (Younker 1991; Dever 1986; 1993a; Seger 1993),⁴¹ others a gate sys-

⁴¹ The controversy over the date of the Outer Wall at Gezer continues to be heated, with a recent flurry of articles (Younker 1991; Dever 1993a; Finkelstein 1994b). The excavators, following Macalister, have argued that the Outer Wall dates in its first phase to the Late Bronze period with a subsequent gap before an addition is built during the reign of Solomon (tenth century B.C.). Its uppermost courses were built in the ninth/eighth century B.C. (Younker 1991: 29-32, 31 note 22; Dever 1993a: 38). The Late Bronze date of the wall is buttressed by the 1990 excavations, which revealed that the lower strata on the exterior of the Outer Wall (Loci 22015-22020) contained 35 buckets of pure Late Bronze pottery forms. Furthermore, the construction technique of the wall showed several phases of construction. The lower section was "built of large boulders of fairly uniform size laid out in uniform courses" while the upper sections were not as well constructed. Moreover, "the middle section of the wall is clearly inset from the bottom section by about 64 cm. This would indicate two phases of construction" (Younker 1991: 31 note 22).

Others, primarily from Tel Aviv University, continue to argue that the Outer Wall was built as one or two phases during the Iron II period (Bunimowitz 1983; Finkelstein 1981; 1990; 1994b). They maintain that the new evidence outside the city wall was actually a fill taken from an earlier Late Bronze deposit. This seems buttressed by an iron arrowhead found outside in the lowest locus (22020). However, this single arrowhead might also come from LB III (Dever 1993a: 53 note 33). Having excavated these squares in 1990, I would support the interpretation that the Outer Wall dates to the Late Bronze Age.

A further possible argument in support of the Late Bronze date for the Outer Wall is to date the lower gate house to LB (Yanai 1994). This bold reinterpretation would add to Dever's statement that it [the city wall] "is unique in being one of the few defense systems originally constructed in the Late Bronze Age and not reused from

tem (Yanai 1994), water system (Dever 1969),⁴² and possible "Governor's" Residency (Singer 1986; 1988; Bunimowitz 1988-89; Younker 1991: 23-25; Dever 1993a: 40). These sources of evidence indicate that Gezer seems to have been a major city during LB III (Stratum XV). Subsequent occupation continues through the Iron Ages, Persian, Hellenistic, and modern periods (Dever 1992a).

a. Destruction Correlates. The end of General Stratum XV is said to "present a problem" (Dever 1992a: 1001; 1993d: 504). There is no uniform destruction that encompasses the entire site, but rather an uneven distribution of correlates. Each of the correlates must be analyzed by fields.

In Field II Stratum 13 was "violently destroyed in a conflagration that left considerable *in situ* evidence" (Dever 1986: 50). Large quantities of smashed pottery and other objects were left lying below mudbrick and roof collapse on a heavily burned courtyard. The destruction layer also contained two finely worked faience cylinder seals in Late Mitannian style (Dever *et al.* 1971: 109). The excavator suggests that this was a localized destruction due to the lack of conflagration in other fields (Dever 1993d: 504).

Field I contains no evidence of destruction but a distinct gap was discerned between Phases 5 and 4. Phase 4 already contains bichrome pottery, indicating that the gap was brief. This gap in occupation is more evident in Field VI where there is an interlude after General Stratum XV designated by the excavators as Stratum XIV. This stratum was marked by the digging of pits for stone robbing and the disposal of refuse (Dever 1993d: 504). The following phase witnesses the introduction of Philistine pottery.

an earlier period" (Dever 1993d: 503). Indeed, it might also add further credibility to the location of the four-entryway gate in this location by Solomon nearly three centuries later, since the tradition for a gate in this area would have been long established. At this time, however, there is no ceramic evidence for the LB date of this structure. Moreover, one would need to account for the construction of the gate over the original line of the drain, indicating a later date for the gate structure. Conclusions for this reinterpretation gate would need to take into account this stratigraphic difficulty and other lines of evidence, such as ceramics, for a secure assignment.

⁴² The entrance and entire water system at Gezer were excavated by Macalister to bedrock (1912b: 256-265; 1912c: Pl. LII). This precludes any further stratigraphic analysis with modern excavation techniques. Dever (1969: 76-77) proposed that the water system should be dated to the Late Bronze Age based on the little stratigraphic evidence to be gleaned from Macalister's reports. Others, however, have made a connection with the water systems dug during the ninth/eighth century B.C. at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gibeon (Yadin 1969: 70).

b. Subsequent Activity. After the hiatus assigned as Stratum XIV the Philistine period is well attested from Strata XIII to XI. There appears to be continuity in the painted pottery and architecture throughout this period despite three major destructions that are evident in the archaeological context. Two courtyard houses in the upper terrace were destroyed at the end of the twelfth century B.C. Two to three Philistine phases were also documented in Fields I and II with less disruptive transitions (Dever 1993d: 504).

Assessment. Excavators have attributed the end of General Stratum XV to the military campaign of Merenptah (Dever, *et al.* 1971: 128; Dever 1974: 50; 1986: 50). The destruction correlates can be attributed to Egyptian military activity instead of Philistine or Israelite forces for several reasons. First, the gap between Strata XV and XIII suggests a sort of hiatus between the destruction of the city at the end of Stratum XV and the appearance and influence of the Philistine material culture. Although the site could have been militarily attacked by the Philistines and left abandoned for some years, this practice does not seem indicative of Philistine military and settlement patterns. At Ashdod, Tell Mique, and Tell Qasile there is immediate occupation after the site is destroyed. Secondly, the destructions associated with the Philistines at these sites are generally comprehensive in nature. The sites are in every case completely destroyed by fire. This suggests that the Philistines were not necessarily responsible for the destructions at Gezer. It is also unlikely that the Israelites were. The literary narrative is explicit that Gezer was not taken during the conquest (Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29; Dever 1992a: 1001).

The correlation of the end of Stratum XV with the campaigns of Merenptah seems sound on the basis of the archaeological, textual, and iconographic evidence. The texts do not mention that Gezer was completely destroyed. The archaeological evidence at Gezer corresponds to this picture. There is little evidence of conflagration. The burned destruction in Field II may simply be a localized occurrence that took place by accident during the raiding of Merenptah's forces. Other parts of the city appear not to be destroyed at all. There is no evidence of when the Late Bronze Age Outer Wall went out of use or that it suffered destruction (but see Bunimowitz 1988-89). Instead there is a period of decreased activity and Gezer for some time is reduced to a minor city-state.

This reducing effect left the city defenseless and gave the Egyptians the possibility of erecting a "Governor's" Residency to control the region of the Shephelah (Singer 1986; 1988: 3-4; cf. Younker 1991: 23-25; Dever 1993a: 40).⁴³ The population that remained might have served both local and Egyptian interests. Thus, the Philistines could benefit from a conquered city, establishing a presence in this strategic location as Egyptian influence weakened in the southern Levant subsequent to the reign of Merenptah.

Yeno'am

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *Yn'm* appears once in the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5). It is identified as the same toponym mentioned in the military accounts of Seti I and Ramses II.

Identification. See (147-148).

History of Investigation. See (148).

Archaeological Data. See (148-149).

Assessment. The problem of identifying the location of Yeno'am has hindered attempts to reconstruct the campaign route of Merenptah (Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1968: 42; Na'aman 1977; Yurco 1990). Further excavation and research are required before the identification of Yeno'am can be solved.

Summary

The chronology of an Egyptian campaign to the southern Levant during the reign of Merenptah is well established between the first and fourth years of his reign. As Kitchen has correctly stated, it is most likely that "a punitive campaign under (not by) Merenptah, led perhaps by the crown prince, the future Sethos II, fits the case perfectly" (Kitchen 1993b: 305). In the case that a campaign took place in Year 1 (Kitchen 1993b: 305) or between Years 2-3 (Yurco 1990: 36), Seti II would still have had much to gain by leading out in such a campaign. The mention and depiction of cities like Ashkelon,

⁴³ Egyptian influence at Gezer is corroborated by the earlier discovery of a sundial inscribed with the name of Merenptah (Pilcher 1923). Objects inscribed with the name of Merenptah are extremely rare in the southern Levant, having appeared at sites like Beth Shan, Tell el-Far'ah (S), Timna, Ugarit, and Tell Mique-Ekron (Singer 1986: 27; Gitin personal communication). This sundial need not be associated with military activity but nevertheless be an indication of Egyptian presence or influence at Gezer.

Gezer, and Yeno'am provide the context for this campaign to Canaan/*H3rw* (see Appendix).

The archaeological contexts analyzed above provide significant evidence for the destruction correlates of Egyptian military activity in the case of Gezer, while other sites require further excavation and publication before assessments can be made. At Gezer a mixed portrait emerges for the end of General Stratum XV. Some fields (I and VI) show no evidence of destruction but only a subsequent gap in the occupational history. On the other hand, the partial destruction of Field II, where localized conflagration is evident, demonstrates clearly that some destructive activity took place. These correlates seem to be indicative of Egyptian military tactics, as is evident in the texts. This does not include comprehensive conflagration. The aim is not to annihilate the city. The city is captured and booty is taken back to Egypt. Whether Gezer was developed into an Egyptian stronghold remains uncertain, although the type of destruction would not preclude this possibility. What is certain is that Gezer's strength was diminished significantly enough for the Philistines, only a few years after Egyptian control in the region subsided, to occupy Gezer without inflicting further damage to the city.

On the basis of this evidence it is probable that the success of this punitive campaign under Merenptah to quell the rebellious elements in the southern Levant was short-lived. After his death Seti II and Tewosret were preoccupied with matters closer to home and were not able to contain the mounting instability in Egypt's Asiatic frontier. Ramses III, nearly a decade later, once again reestablished Egyptian military dominance over the region.

CONCLUSIONS

The textual and iconographic records indicate that Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah all campaigned in the southern Levant. Sites, geographical territories, and socioethnic groups are frequently mentioned in the literature. Over twenty toponyms were investigated in this chapter. Many of the sites identified as these toponyms produced significant results. Other sites require further stratified excavations and/or publication before conclusions may be reached. Nevertheless, several general conclusions may be drawn concerning the destruction correlates at these sites.

(1) At most sites that exhibit destruction correlates, the extent of the destruction is complete, encompassing the entire area of excavation (Pella; Beth Shan, Levels IXb and VII; Hazor, Stratum 1A [Lower City], Stratum XIV [Upper City]); Tell Yin'am). Temples are burned (Hazor, Area H Temple [Stratum 1A]); palaces are destroyed completely (Hazor, Area A Palace [Stratum XIV]); gates and defensive structures are demolished with fire (Hazor, Area K Gate [Stratum 1B]); and domestic buildings are included in the destruction (Beth Shan; Pella; Tell Yin'am).

There are only two sites that exhibit signs of partial, sporadic destruction and/or rebuilding (Gezer, Stratum XV; Hazor, Stratum 1B). At Gezer, Field II (Local Stratum 13) was covered with evidence of intense conflagration while other fields displayed signs of only sporadic discontinuity. Field II was a small field which led excavators to believe that this was a localized destruction. At Hazor there is no evidence of burning (in the lower city; Stratum 1B), only extensive rebuilding.

(2) The means of destruction is also evident at most sites. Most frequently the destruction is accompanied by large amounts of ash, indicative of severe conflagration (Pella; Beth Shan, Levels IXb and VII; Hazor, Stratum 1A [Lower City], Stratum XIV [Upper City]; Tell Yin'am). There are no cases where evidence of siege equipment, i.e. battering ram, can be detected in archaeological contexts.⁴⁴

(3) Other sites exhibit no evidence of destruction even though they are mentioned in Egyptian accounts (Akko and Dibon).

(4) Many sites could not be archaeologically evaluated because excavations have not yet penetrated LB strata (Ashkelon; Beth 'Anath; Cana; Hammath; Gaza; and Dor) and the identification of some toponyms with known sites is inconclusive (Aphek; Dapur; Tunip; and Yeno'am).

Although it is not possible from these partial data to achieve conclusive results, several general observations are in order. Archaeological interpretation on the basis of the evidence available is not yet able to determine with certainty the identification of a destruction level with any specific entity. This is due to the limitations of archaeological data. It is only on the basis of textual and iconographic associations that many of the causative agents of a destruction can be

⁴⁴ This is largely due to the lack of preservation of walls at these sites connecting with the gate. It may also be that evidence of this is not available or not investigated by excavators.

inferred. From the texts and iconography it is evident that although destruction language is used for some towns and villages, this contextual usage is exceedingly rare. In fact there is no evidence, textual or iconographic, that describes the wholesale conflagration of cities. Hittite⁴⁵ and Assyrian⁴⁶ texts do make these claims on a regular basis as annals and reliefs from the reigns of Tiglath Pileser (1114-1076 B.C.);⁴⁷ Asher-Dan II (934-912 B.C.);⁴⁸ Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.);⁴⁹ Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.);⁵⁰ Sargon II (721-705 B.C.);⁵¹ Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.);⁵² and Assurbanipal (669-631

⁴⁵ Hittite records indicate that conflagration was a major military tactic (Korošec 1963: 159-166; Houwink ten Cate 1983: 91-109; 1984: 47-83; Younger 1990: 125-163). In the "Ten Year Annals" of Muršiliš II the burning of cities is often mentioned (*KBo* III.4, I.35; I.45; I.52; Goetze 1933: 14-137) as is the case in the "Detailed Annals" (*KBo* IV.4 Rs III.43; Goetze 1933: 129-131; see Houwink ten Cate 1966: 162-191). On Hittite military organization, see Oettinger (1976) and Beal (1992; 1995).

⁴⁶ The Assyrians consistently claimed to destroy enemy cities by conflagration in their inscriptions and iconography. On the iconography of Assyrian military activity, see Bleibtreu (1990: 37-44). On the political and organizational aspects of the Assyrian military, see Saggs (1963); Soden (1963); Mayer (1995).

⁴⁷ According to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the Assyrian forces first took the gods of the city, then their booty, possessions and property, before burning, razing, and destroying their cities. The repeated formula reads, "I razed, destroyed (and) burned the cities" (I.94-ii.1; ii.34-35; ii.82; iii.11-12; iii.64-65; iii.83-84; iv.3-4; iv.25-26; v.2-4; v.59-61; v.72-73; v.96-98; vi.9-13; Text: Budge and King 1902: 27-108; Borger 1974-77: 161-165; Translations: Grayson 1976: 3-20; see Younger 1990: 79-89).

⁴⁸ The first episode of military activity under Asher-Dan II also shows the pattern of plundering, carrying off booty followed by the burning of the cities (Line 14; Text: Weidner 1926: 151-161; 1968-69: 75-77; Translation: Grayson 1976: 74-78; see Younger 1990: 90).

⁴⁹ Ashurnasirpal II makes similar claims of burning conquered cities (I.53-54; I.66; I.72; I.110; ii.1; ii.2; ii.21; ii.38; ii.42; ii.45; ii.49; ii.56; ii.57; ii.59; ii.70; ii.74; ii.84; ii.93; ii.95; ii.111-112; iii.23; iii.31; iii.32; iii.38; iii.44; iii.54; iii.83; iii.99; iii.102; Text: Budge and King 1902: 254-387; Translations: Grayson 1976: 117-147).

⁵⁰ On Shalmaneser III's Marble Slab, he states, "Cities without number I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire" (Michel 1954: 38-39; Wiseman 1958: 46-50; see Younger 1990: 105-106). This is repeated on the Aššur Annal Fragment (Text: Michel 1949: 265-268; Younger 1990: 106-107; compare with Borger 1984: 365-366); and Kurba'il Statue (Line 16; Kinnier Wilson 1962: 90-115).

⁵¹ In the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad reliefs depict an attack on the city of Kishesim in the Zagros mountains. Flames can be seen sprouting from the inner towers of the city and two Assyrian soldiers are running to the city gate with torches to set it ablaze (Bleibtreu 1990: 42).

⁵² Sennacherib maintains in his second campaign "And their small cities without number I destroyed, I devastated, I turned into ruins. The houses of the steppe, the tents, in which they dwell I burned with fire; and turned them into ashes" (I.77-80; Borger 1979: 68-; Luckenbill 1924: 27; Younger 1990: 111-112). Similar statements are made in his fifth and seventh campaigns (iv.9-11; iv.78-81). These claims are

B.C.)⁵³ indicate. Hittite claims of destructive military activity are confirmed by several texts from the Amarna letters.⁵⁴ It seems inconsistent that in the rhetoric of Egyptian accounts there would be no indication given if this was indeed part of Egyptian military practice. The lack of this evidence seems significant in itself. The implication is that the Egyptians did not burn these cities. While there is a strong probability that partial destructions did occur under the practice of "plundering" and "capturing" different entities, a wholesale destruction and conflagration were not part of Egyptian military activity.

In many cases there is evidence to indicate that the cities themselves need not have been directly attacked. The records of the "Battle of Kadesh" indicate that most of the conflict occurred in the surrounding region and that Ramses II never reached the city. There is no direct evidence that Seti I ever laid siege to Pella. The First Beth Shan Stela confirms only that Pella was part of the rebellion against Beth Shan.

Some of the cities mentioned were already dominated by Egyptians (Beth Shan; Megiddo) and would hardly have been destroyed by the Egyptians themselves. Egyptian interests in exploiting the southern Levant for economic, political, and ideological reasons would have precluded the wholesale destruction of these and other important centers.

Indeed, campaigns were conducted into the southern Levant under all three kings of the XIXth Dynasty. There is no reason to doubt that cities were plundered and captured, prisoners were taken, booty confiscated, grain destroyed and consumed, orchards cut down, so that the food could be used for the troops and timber for the building of siege equipment, but little of these activities would have left a mark in stratigraphic, archaeological contexts. At the present stage of research only Gezer shows the characteristics of what an Egyptian

supported by the iconography accompanying his texts in Nineveh. Conquered cities show flames sprouting from the gates and the tops of walls (Russell 1991: 65, Fig. 36; 67, Fig. 37; 70, Fig. 39).

⁵³ A vivid relief in Ashurbanipal's north palace at Nineveh depicts the actions taken by the Assyrians against the city of Hamanu in Elam. Assyrian soldiers march out of the city in the foreground carrying vessels of plunder. Behind them, soldiers on the battlements are systematically knocking down the walls of the city with axes and staffs. Fire is already consuming the inner towers behind them.

⁵⁴ On the use of conflagration destruction by the Hittite military at sites in Syria-Palestine, see these descriptions in the Amarna letters: EA 174; 175; 176 (Moran 1992: 260-261).

"destruction" might have looked like. That no major or permanent damage was done is evident in the language used to describe the actions against Gezer and the possibility that an Egyptian residence was constructed here after the campaign.

This chapter indicates that the physical impact of Egyptian military activity on sites is less pronounced than often indicated in the secondary literature today. According to the textual and iconographic sources, the Egyptians do not seem to be responsible for the wide-scale destructions occurring in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. This is confirmed by the archaeological evidence at sites like Gezer. Like sites, socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural toponyms are also mentioned frequently in Egyptian campaign records and will be investigated separately to determine whether the Egyptians employed diverse military practices consistent with these types of entities.

CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT— SOCIOETHNIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL ELEMENTS

Egyptian military accounts of the XIXth Dynasty also contain toponyms of a different nature from the geographical territories or city-states discussed in the preceding chapter. The Egyptians distinguished these toponyms in their written and iconographic form as socioethnic (Israel) or geographic/sociocultural (*ššw*, "Shasu") entities. Since these are not city-states but other elements in Levantine society, the military actions employed by the Egyptians may have differed considerably. This chapter contains a detailed analysis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence pertaining to these entities in order to determine the military actions the Egyptians used against these types of elements.

ISRAEL

Egyptian Sources

Occurrences and Context

The term *Ysrysr/l* appears for the first time on the Merenptah Stela. It is the oldest mention of the name Israel in an extrabiblical text and the only mention of this entity in Egyptian literature. The entity Israel is found in the context of two related clauses, "Israel is laid waste, its seed is not" (*KRI* IV:19,7). It may also be depicted in a scene dated to Merenptah at Karnak. The term *Ysrysr/l* has been translated as Israel (Spiegelberg 1896; 1908; Breasted *ARE*; Kitchen 1966a; 1966b; Wilson 1969b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Goedicke 1985a; Yurco 1986; 1990; Murnane 1992; Hasel 1994; Hoffmeier 1997: 30); Išrael/Išarel (Margalith 1990), Jezreel (Eissfeldt 1965; Margalith 1990), or as something unrelated to the name Israel (Nibbi 1989).

Identification

Geographical interpretations have posited that the Israel of Merenptah was a socioethnic entity in Canaan that has been interpreted as "proto-Israel" located in the central hill country (Dever 1992d; 1992f; T. L. Thompson 1992; Finkelstein 1995a), that Israel was a socioethnic entity located in Egypt (Nibbi 1989; Rendsburg 1992), that Israel consisted of a territory within Canaan (in the central hill country; Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Lemche 1992), or that Israel refers to both a people and a territory within Canaan (Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993; Edelman 1992). Socioeconomic interpretations have maintained that Israel was a nomadic tribal entity (Lemche 1988; Coote 1990; 1991; Bimson 1991; Yurco 1991; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; cf. Rösel 1992) or that Israel was a sedentary entity (Stager 1985a; Dever 1992d; 1992f; Hasel 1994).

A new direction of study on the literary structure has contributed significantly to the debate of both the location of Israel and its identification as a geographical or socioethnic entity (Fecht 1983; Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Stager 1985b; Ahlström 1991; 1993; Yurco 1986; 1990; Bimson 1991; Rainey 1992). Understanding the structure of the hymnic-poetic unit is a significant source of reference for the identity (Hasel 1994; Hoffmeier 1997; cf. Fecht 1993; see Appendix).

Another issue relates to the term *prt*, "seed," which is associated with the entity Israel. This term has been understood to refer to the "descendants/offspring" of Israel (Erman 1923: 346; Engel 1979; Stein 1982; 158; Fecht 1983: 120; Hornung 1983; 232; Halpern 1992; P.R. Davies 1992; Rainey 1992; 1995; Hoffmeier 1997) or to Israel's "grain" (Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Ahlström 1991; Hasel 1994). This phrase has been studied in the context of lexicography and semantic domain including contextual relationships of this phrase in other Egyptian military accounts (Hasel 1994: 52-54).

The Name "Israel." The name Israel is known outside the Merenptah Stela in the form of a personal name mentioned twice in material from Ebla (ca. 2500 B.C.; Albertz 1987: 369), as a personal name on a tablet from Ugarit (RS 18.49,3; Vogt 1957: 375; Albertz 1987: 369; Margalith 1990: 225), in two Assyrian sources, the inscription by Shalmaneser III (ca. 853 B.C.; 3R7f, Z.92; Galling 1968: 50; H. Tadmor 1958) and the Mesha Stele (ca. 840 B.C.; Donner and Röllig 1962: 181; Dearman and Mattingly 1992: 708-709; Lemaire

1992: 563; cf. Margalith 1990: 225), and in the recent stela fragment found at Tel Dan (ca. 850 B.C.; Biran and Naveh 1993). The oldest mention of Israel as a collective entity appears on the Merenptah Stela, though the particular interpretation of the name is debated.

The view that the term *Ysrꜥꜥl* is unrelated to the people Israel of the Hebrew Bible is a position taken most recently by O. Margalith (1990). Margalith's conclusions are based on the suggestion by Driver (1948: 135) that the Egyptian *s* could also represent the Hebrew *z*. Accordingly, the name Israel could be translated as *Iezreel* "which might be an inexperienced scribe's way of rendering Yezrael, the valley to the north of the country" (Margalith 1990: 229). Margalith states, "This would conform to the rest of the inscription which has local names (Ascalon, Gezer, Yanoam) and suit the pun at the end 'has no seed'" (1990: 229). He notes that the determinative for people and not town may have been a scribal error which is common in Egyptian epigraphy. Margalith concludes that Israel as a people is not known before the inscription on the Mesha stela (ca. 840 B.C.; Margalith 1990: 236).

A close analysis indicates that there are significant difficulties with this interpretation. Margalith begins with the hypothesis that the proper vocalization is *Isarel*, or "the people of the God who acts straight" (1990: 234). This is based on the Ugaritic vocalization of the name *Isra'el* with a *š* (1990: 228) followed by a complex argument which suggests a relationship with the Hebrew root *yšr*, "to be straight." This term is found in several contexts in the Hebrew Bible, both as an attribute of YHWH (1990: 232) and in reference to the worshipers of YHWH. The appellative of *yšr* would be *šisarel*, which could be abbreviated *Isarel*. Its development would have been from personal name to a tribal or ethnic name and finally to a national name. Margalith then proposes that the term may find its origin with the Sumerian title of the king of Ur "KI-EN-GI," which he renders "king of (the) Land (of) the God (of) right/truth/faith" (1990: 233-234). Nevertheless, the Sumerian term "KI-EN-GI" with little or no context is certainly not a more suitable translation than Israel on the Merenptah Stela which is found in clear context and located in Canaan.

It is also curious that Margalith fails to mention any archaeological evidence pertaining to the Merenptah Stela (cf. Dever 1974; 1986). The numerous scholars that have played a significant part in the debate on the Merenptah Stela in recent years subsequent to Helck

(1971; including Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Stager 1985b; Redford 1986a; Yurco 1982; 1986), are also not cited. This omission, coupled with the exclusion of certain textual evidence and several highly theoretical correlations, renders Margalith's interpretation at best inadequate, if not unacceptable.

A. Nibbi (1989) argues that the term Israel could actually be interpreted as "the wearers of a sidelock" (1989: 101) and that it could have been applied to the Libyans who she maintains are accompanied by this designation.

Nibbi's hypothesis concerning the name Israel has been virtually ignored, and as she admits (1989: 73), it is based on an argument from silence. She suggests that all the entities mentioned in the hymn are to be located in the delta of Egypt. "The names of *Jasqrn* and *Qdr* which also appear in these last two lines cannot be accepted as *Askelon* and *Gezer*. . . ." (1989: 93-94). This drastic reinterpretation has met with little acceptance since Nibbi's philological arguments are based largely on the assumption of scribal errors in a number of terms.

The interpretation that the term *Ysrysr/l* of Merenptah actually refers to Jezreel has been maintained by only a few scholars (Eissfeldt 1965; Margalith 1990). First, this reading has been considered philologically difficult, if not impossible (Kitchen 1966b: 59, 12; cf. Bimson 1991: 13). First, the Egyptian signs for "bolt" (Gardiner 1957: 496, Sign O34) and "folded cloth" (Gardiner 1957: 507, Sign S29) in Old Egyptian represented the sounds *z* and *s* respectively. By the Middle Kingdom both signs were used interchangeably for *s* (Hoffmeier 1997: 30; cf. Gardiner 1957: 7). Thus, during the New Kingdom, Hebrew *zayin* was rendered *d* or *t* in Egyptian and not as *s* (Helck 1971: 589, 554, 18; cf. Kitchen 1966a: 91; 1966b: 59). Second, the Egyptian *Ysrysr/l* (Israel) does not include the Egyptian equivalent of *ayin* needed for the reading *yzr 'l* (Koehler; Baumgartner; Stamm 1990: 387). Third, the reading "Jezreel" must necessarily assume that the determinative for people was a scribal error, since it does not fit the designation of Israel as a town or region. Thus the reading "Jezreel" is hardly supportable, both philologically and within the wider context of the stela.

Most scholars agree that the *Ysrysr/l* of Merenptah is in some way related to the Israel of the Hebrew Bible (Kitchen 1966a; 1966b; Lemaire 1973; Stager 1985b; Albertz 1987; Lemche 1988; Singer 1988; Coote 1990; A. Mazar 1990b; Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993; Yurco 1982; 1986; 1990; 1991; Bimson 1991; Murnane 1992; Neu

1992; Rendsburg 1992; Dever 1992a; 1993d; 1995a; 1995b; Hoffmeier 1997), though the archaeological continuity between these two sources has yet to be established. This reading is based on the context of the term within the text itself (Kitchen 1966a; 1996b; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990) as well as on the archaeological evidence of Merenptah's campaign at Gezer (see Chapter Two, 185-188), and it is further corroborated by the Amada inscription, which refers to Merenptah as the "subduer of Gezer" (Youssef 1962). It seems advisable to follow these arguments and the standard translations of the Merenptah Stela that render *Ysrysr/l* as Israel (Spiegelberg 1896; Steindorff 1896; Jack 1889; Breasted *ARE*; Walle 1928; Williams 1958; Wilson 1969b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Ebach 1978; Engel 1979; Stein 1982; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Hoffmeier 1997).

Nature of Israel: The Determinative. Much discussion has centered on the determinative associated with Israel. This determinative for *Ysrysr/l* consists of a "throw stick" (sign for something foreign), with a "seated man and woman" (sign for a group of people both male and female) above "three strokes" (indicating a plural).¹ Some have argued that the determinative used here is a scribal error due to the carelessness of Egyptian scribes (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Margalith 1990; Ahlström 1991; P.R. Davies 1992). However, the careful study of determinative usage in the context of XIXth Dynasty military documents demonstrates that the Egyptian scribes were highly systematic and consistent in their usage of determinatives. Moreover, in the immediate context of this final unit in the Merenptah Stela every other toponym is accompanied by the determinative for city-state/land/region, consisting of a "throw stick +

¹ Rendsburg (1992) has recently argued that this term Israel should be understood as slaves within Egypt during the time of Merenptah. He suggests that the determinative is unique to Israel and depicts an entity like the "Sea Peoples" without a land (1992: 518). Merenptah's Israel, therefore, was not a foreign land according to Rendsburg. The argument follows that Israel was also not foreign. The seated man and seated woman of the determinative portrays that "the entire nation, women (and by extension children) included, is homeless" (1992: 518). According to Rendsburg this best fits the slavery period. However, Rendsburg does not account for or mention the "throw stick" sign that is clearly indicated in the determinative. This is the very element that marks Israel as foreign to Egypt. The seated man and woman merely indicates the totality of a socioethnic entity. The same determinative is used for the "Sea Peoples," several Libyan groups and other entities within and outside of Egypt (Zibelius 1972). There is no evidence that this in any way could represent a group of slaves in Egypt. Instead, the structure of the hymnic-poetic unit places the entity Israel within the territory of Canaan/*H3ru*.

hill-country" (Gardiner 1957: 488). This matches the geographical and political reality of these entities as known from other texts and archaeological sources. Israel has its own determinative known from elsewhere in Egyptian literature. This difference indicates that Israel is set apart by the scribe as unique and distinct.² It would be precarious methodologically to dismiss this contrast. Very often such contrasts are uniquely important, making their own significant points. To suppose that this determinative may be an error avoids the overall consistency of the use of determinatives in the entire unit (Rainey 1992). The overall consistency in the usage of determinatives with this one exception argues for the original intention of meaning for the respective determinatives.

Nature of Israel: The Karnak Reliefs. After the recent reappraisal of a series of reliefs on wall of the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak, Yurco (1986; 1990) believes he has found the first pictorial

² Some scholars have suggested that the determinative for Israel is further evidence that the Israel of the Merenptah Stela was a tribal confederation or amphictyony (Stager 1985a; Lemche 1988; Coote 1990; A. Mazar 1990b; Yurco 1990; Bimson 1991), or a nomadic, pastoral group (Finkelstein 1988; Bimson 1991; T. L. Thompson 1992). This view finds its origins with Alt (1953d) and especially Noth (1960; 1966) who suggested that Merenptah's Israel could be related to the twelve tribes in some way (cf. Hecke 1985: 189-190). Others have taken the opposite view (Ahlström 1991: 32), maintaining that "the Egyptian text does not give any clue about the social structure of the people of Israel." While the Merenptah stela does not give any indication of the actual social structure of the people of Israel, it does indicate that Israel was a significant socioethnic entity that needed to be reckoned with. Certainly Israel was no less significant than Ashkelon and Gezer, two of the more important city-states in Palestine at the time. However, the idea that the entity Israel mentioned in the inscription refers to any sort of amphictyony is an inference from hypotheses developed from elsewhere, particularly Greek amphictyonic patterns as applied to ancient Israel (cf. Orlinsky 1962; Fohrer 1966; Rogerson 1986). This borrowed Greek model has come under severe criticism (Geus 1979; Gottwald 1979; Lemche 1985) although others continue to support it to some extent (Weisman 1992). While Israel may have been a tribal entity, no indication is provided for it in the Merenptah Stela (cf. Ahlström 1991: 33; Gunneweg 1993: 87). The Merenptah Stela remains silent on this point.

Some have maintained that the name Israel refers to a nomadic group (Lemche 1985; Finkelstein 1988; Bimson 1991; T. L. Thompson 1992; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; but see Dever 1997a). However, simply because Israel is not identified as a city-state does not indicate that it is seminomadic or pastoral. Israel may just as well have been a people living in numerous villages (see Stager 1985a; Dever 1992b). The second phrase, "its grain is not," as associated with Israel may be an indication that it was not a nomadic group but a sedentary, agricultural entity. It has been proposed that Merenptah's Israel refers to people already living in the hill country and occupying sites at that time (Dever 1992b: 154-157). Further investigation of the ceramic assemblages from various "Israelite" sites must be conducted to see whether they can truly be traced back to the Late Bronze Age.

representation of Israel. In a poorly preserved battle scene people are shown being trampled on the ground and fleeing before the chariot of Merenptah (Scene 4; Yurco 1990: 32). There is also a depiction of a chariot belonging to the enemy below the feet of the king's horses. The individuals in this relief are depicted in Canaanite clothing in contrast to the other scenes where *ššw* are depicted in traditional dress (Scenes 5 and 7; Yurco 1990: 35). The identification of Scene 4 with Israel has been accepted by a number of scholars (Stager 1985b; Kitchen 1982: 215-216; 1993b: 304) and rejected by others (Sourouzian 1989: 150; Redford 1986a; Rainey 1991; 1992).

Rainey (1991; 1992) proposes that Israel is depicted as *ššw* and identifies it with Scene 5. This is based on his correlation of Scene 4 with Canaan mentioned in the stela. He furthermore raises objections to Yurco's explanation of the chariot by maintaining that chariots were not used by ethnic groups with the people determinative (Rainey 1991: 59). But the identification of Scene 4 with the Canaan of the Merenptah Stela is problematic and must be addressed in more detail.

(1) Since the identification of these scenes is linked so closely to the Merenptah Stela, it is assumed that the order of toponyms mentioned is the same in both the reliefs and the stela (Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; 1991; Rainey 1991; 1992; 1995; Kitchen 1993b; Hoffmeier 1997). Since descriptions have not been preserved on the "Cour de la cachette" (with the exception of Ashkelon), identifications must proceed from the Merenptah Stela.

(2) The new proposed structure of the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela (supported by Rainey 1992: 74; and Yurco 1990) makes a reference to the Nine Bows, several larger lands/nations, and then moves to the *inclusio*, Canaan/*Ḥšrw* (C-C'; see Appendix). It is important to observe again that the Merenptah Stela is primarily concerned with the campaign against Libya. The final hymnic-poetic unit provides a conclusion to this victory hymn. In passing, Tehenu (Libya) is mentioned once again and Ḥatti is said to be at peace (B). Then comes the geographical region Canaan/*Ḥšrw* with its city-state and socioethnic entities. This is the longest section and indeed the focus of this smaller unit. The action taken against the four toponyms (D) is the primary account of the military action. It describes the details of the battle in Canaan/*Ḥšrw*. From the information on the stela one would therefore not expect any battle depiction provided for Canaan other than those described for the three

city-states of Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am and the socioethnic entity Israel.

(3) If the couplet *Canaan/H3rw* refers to actions taken against the city-states and socioethnic entities, and more specifically to the plunder (*h3kt*) that Canaan suffered at the hands of the Egyptians, it is possible to conclude that this plunder consisted of spoils and booty as well as prisoners. But Scene 4 is not a scene depicting prisoners. Instead, a battle is taking place out in the open. The battle action on the Merenptah Stela concerns the city-states and Israel. Since there are three other cities under attack already depicted (Scenes 1-3), Scene 4 must be identified as Israel, reflective of the words, "Israel is laid waste." Here a socioethnic group is being confronted and not a city-state.

(4) Scenes 5-8 that follow are no longer concerned with the actual battle but with the plunder captured, i.e. prisoners and captives. Here both Canaanites (Scenes 6 and 8) and *S3sw* (Scenes 5-8) are depicted as being carried away to Egypt. In these scenes there is no battle taking place. Scene 10, now lost, presumably portrays the presentation of these prisoners to Amun or the Theban triad, a pattern known from the depictions of Seti I on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (cf. Staubli 1991: 59).

If these observations are correct then Scene 4 must represent the Israel of the Merenptah Stela. This is significant, for it would provide the only pictorial representation of Israel known. The information contained in this damaged relief is important for several reasons. First, it depicts the Israelites out in the open terrain not having the protection of a city-state system. Second, notwithstanding the criticism raised by Rainey, it portrays Israel in Canaanite clothing.³ Both of these elements help to determine the nature of Israel during the late thirteenth century B.C.

Nature of Israel: The Term *prt*. The phrase "its seed is not" deserves attention since it may throw further light on the meaning of Israel. The term *prt*, "seed," was investigated in Chapter Two within the wider context of XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents.

³ The claim by Yurco that this is evidence of Israel's emergence out of Canaanite society is reading something into the iconography that is not necessarily implied. In fact the Merenptah Stela makes a clear distinction between Israel and the Canaanite city-states by its determinative. It is possible that Israel may have adapted itself to imitate local dress over a period of time as it seems to have done with the material culture (on the continuity of the material culture during the transition, see Wood 1985; Kempinski 1985; Negbi 1990; Dever 1993b; 1995b).

In that chapter it was established that *prt* in this case can be interpreted as "grain." This translation may be supported by the concluding lines previous to the hymnic-poetic unit under discussion where the phrase appears, "He who plows his harvest will eat it" (Wilson 1969a: 378). This phrase is in the contextual setting of a long description of the land at peace. This implies that in war times the conqueror would not allow him who plows to eat the harvest, to eat his "grain," because the conquerors would have destroyed it or confiscated it for their own use.

It was shown that the determinative for the entities Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am are identical. This is the determinative for city-state or land. However, the determinative for Israel is that for a "people," indicating that it is not a city-state. This implies that Israel is a socioethnic entity with a sociopolitical structure distinguished from that of city-states and other entities mentioned in this unit. In the case of the socioethnic entity Israel there is no major city-state to be destroyed. It does not exist because Israel is a non city-state entity. The phrase "its grain is not" appears to communicate the destruction and/or removal of this entity's life-support system, its security mechanism for an entity based without a city-state support system.

The phrase "its grain is not" may further aid us in determining the nature of the entity Israel. The term *prt*, "grain,"⁴ may imply in this context, as compared to the three city-states mentioned before, that Israel is some type of agricultural society. An agriculturally based subsistence system suggests that Israel may be depicted in this stela as a sedentary type of people without possessing city-states at the time of Merenptah's campaign in the late thirteenth century B.C. The city-states known from the Late Bronze period, though in decline, had complex support systems. The people designated as Israel, to the contrary, may have lived in rural villages and settlements. Its subsistence was primarily agricultural and possibly contained some forms of animal husbandry, as was customary during that time (Hopkins 1993). This would mean that the Israel of the Merenptah Stela is not a pastoral nomadic population or group. The latter would not have an essentially agriculturally based form of "grain" subsistence. Thus, we may perceive Israel within the context and information of the Merenptah Stela to be a rural, sedentary group of agriculturalists without its own urban city-state support system. If Israel is a rural

⁴ For other uses of the term *prt* as "grain," see Brunsch 1990.

and sedentary socioethnic entity at the time of Merenptah, one might expect to locate evidence for its existence in archaeological contexts within a specific location.

The Location of Israel. The location of Israel as represented in the Merenptah Stela is deduced in a number of ways. Most scholars place Merenptah's Israel somewhere in the hill country (Beckerath 1951: 67; Yeivin 1971; de Vaux 1978; Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993; Lemche 1985; 1988; 1992; Yurco 1986; 1990; Dever 1992f; 1995b). This conclusion is reached from the apparent order of the toponyms mentioned which are said to occur from south to north (Bimson 1991: 20). Others (Bimson 1991) have interpreted the Israel of Merenptah as nomadic before its settlement in the hill country, while some see Israel in Egypt (Rendsburg 1992: 518; Nibbi 1989). The location of Israel is a crucial matter to determine before an investigation of the archaeological data.

It has already been established that Israel was located within Canaan according to the structure of the final hymnic-poetic unit (Hasel 1994: 48, Fig. 1; 50-51; see Appendix). R. de Vaux suggested that the four toponyms in Canaan could be coupled into two pairs; Ashkelon-Gezer representing the southern cities and Yeno'am-Israel representing the north. He points out that Israel was at the north or at the center. One can concur with de Vaux that geography plays an important role here, but it would be better to see these entities as separate locations, especially since the location of Yeno'am remains uncertain. This is especially true when one notices the literary pattern from geographical entities most distant from Egypt (Tehenu, Ḥatti) to its most immediate northern neighbor (Canaan/*Hspw*), the other entities being toponyms within the latter geographical region occupied by Egypt.

Ahlström and Edelman (1985; cf. Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993) place the territory of Israel in the central hill country based on its supposed chiasmic correspondence with Canaan which they position along the coastal plain.⁵ But this chiasmic scheme is not without problems (Emerton 1988; Hasel 1994: 47-50; see Appendix). Yurco (1986; 1990) also locates Israel in the hill country, which he believes is depicted in the reliefs. He maintains that the forces of Merenptah

⁵ They seem to follow J. von Beckerath (1951) in this suggestion. Von Beckerath, although denying the historicity of the campaign, believed that Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am represented the coastal plain (Canaan) and that Israel was located in the hill country which he associated with the *Hsp/bnw* (cf. Hecke 1983: 199).

pushed north and after defeating Yeno'am turned back and made their way through the hill country, where they encountered Israel. While any one of these hypotheses is possible they are based on information not directly associated with the Merenptah Stela. The structure of the stela provides at the most a location within Canaan/*H3nv*. Without the certain identification of Yeno'am the location of Israel cannot be pinpointed with any accuracy. Despite this ambiguity archaeologists continue to propose more specific locations for Israel within this region, citing the Merenptah stela as a major source for their conclusions.

Archaeological Data

Recent archaeological surveys and excavations point to a sudden population increase in the central hill country at the beginning of the Iron Age. The demographic expansion is evident in the number of smaller settlements that begin to appear. In this section the survey and excavations results, chronology, and the evidence for ethnic identification in the degree of continuity and discontinuity present in the architecture and material culture will be discussed in relationship to Merenptah's Israel.

Survey and Excavation Results

The extensive surveys conducted by Israeli archaeologists over the past two decades have dramatically changed the picture of the Early Iron Age horizon in the central hill country. In 1988 Finkelstein published the most complete survey in his tome *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. This volume provided a new synthesis of survey and excavation results. Finkelstein (1988: 332-333) documented a significant increase of 315 settled sites during the entire Iron Age. This figure can be supplemented by the new reports published since then for the Lower Galilee (Gal 1992; 1994); the Judaeen hill country (Ofer 1993; 1994); Land of Ephraim Survey (Finkelstein 1988-89); and further syntheses (Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; Finkelstein 1995a). The results of these surveys demonstrate an influx of occupation in the central hill country with settlers advancing the technological means necessary for such occupation, including terracing, the building of cisterns, and other important aspects needed to develop small agricultural communities (cf. Stager 1985a; Hopkins 1985;

1993; Borowski 1987; Dever 1992d). Excavated sites such as Shiloh (Stratum V; dated to 1150 B.C.; Finkelstein *et al.* 1993: 9); Giloh (A. Mazar 1981); Mt. Ebal (Zertal 1986-87); Khirbet ed-Dawara (Finkelstein 1990); Izbet Şarṭah (Finkelstein 1986); Tell Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983); and other sites (cf. Finkelstein 1988; Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994; Finkelstein 1995a) add to the corpus of stratigraphically excavated Early Iron Age sites in the southern Levant.

Chronology

The precise chronology of the settlement is a difficult problem (Finkelstein 1988: 315-323). Until the 1970s many scholars, both archaeologists and historians, assigned this settlement to the mid-to-late thirteenth century B.C. due to its association with the settlement of the Israelites (Kelso 1968: XIV; Callaway 1976: 19; Cooley 1975: 7; Kempinski *et al.* 1981; Yadin 1979). The factors that contributed to this interpretation were twofold. First, Mycenaean IIIB pottery together with local Late Bronze pottery found in the destruction of these sites required a date of the late thirteenth century B.C. Second, the mention of Israel on the Merenptah Stela suggests a settlement prior to 1220 B.C. (here 1209). But Finkelstein (1988: 316) points out that once these historical considerations are laid aside there is nothing in the archaeological contexts themselves to warrant either a date of 1250 or 1175 B.C. The entire range is possible. Finkelstein, based on his excavations at Izbet Şarṭah, adopts a fine-tuned chronology which he believes allows him to date the beginning of Phase III to the end of the thirteenth century B.C. But other cities are generally dated later (Shiloh; Giloh; Khirbet ed-Dawara).

Two recent discoveries allow more flexibility to the dating of Mycenaean IIIB pottery. The excavations of the destruction at Deir Alla produced Mycenaean IIIB pottery found together with a scarab of Pharaoh Tewosret. Together this *in situ* evidence allows one to date the destruction to the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.⁶ Arguments for earlier dates have also been proposed for sites like Aphek (Beck and Kochavi 1985) and Izbet Şarṭah (Finkelstein 1986: 205-208; 1988). These are based on a cuneiform tablet from Ugarit

⁶ Some of these Mycenaean IIIB wares may have been heirlooms due to their discovery in the Fosse Temples at Lachish (Hankey and Hankey 1985; Ussishkin 1985: 220). The other context at Deir Alla remains less certain (T. Dothan 1982a: 218).

found in the destruction of Stratum X12 (Owen 1981; Owen *et al.* 1987) and dated by the personal names found on the inscription (Singer 1983). This tablet is accompanied by Mycenaean III B pottery and a scarab of Ramses II. However, as Finkelstein (1988: 316) points out correctly, this only provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction, since the tablet and scarab may have been present at Aphek for a longer period of time.

At present it is not possible to date the period of the settlement of the hill country precisely on the basis of archaeological contexts alone. A range of 1250-1150 is possible for the founding of these sites, with most established late in that range (on the low chronology of Philistine settlement and its effect on the monarchy, see Finkelstein 1995b). Many scholars have assumed that the cuneiform tablets at Aphek, the mention of Israel on the Merenptah Stela, and other sources point to an earlier date of the settlement in the mid-to-late thirteenth century B.C. This evidence is firmly dated and describes the activity in this region. However, whether one is able to equate the socioethnic entity Israel of the Merenptah Stela with the material culture and technological "innovations" associated with settlements in the central hill country remains an open question that must be addressed.

Ethnicity and Archaeology

One of the key issues in connecting the increase in settlement with the Israel of the Merenptah Stela is the issue of ethnicity. This issue has been largely taken for granted due to the correlation between the biblical texts and archaeological data. Even more recent studies have largely neglected the issues of Israelite ethnicity in the archaeological record (cf. Stager 1985a; Finkelstein 1988; London 1989). Nevertheless, numerous scholars have drawn attention to this problem (Esse 1991; Skjeggstad 1992; Dever 1995b; Edelman 1996; Finkelstein 1997). This renewed interest has resulted in a major debate between those who would infer ethnic indicators on the archaeological record (Chaney 1983; Esse 1991; 1992; Dever 1995b; Finkelstein 1988) and those who view with pessimism any such correlation (Skjeggstad 1992; Sharon 1994; Edelman 1996).

Several questions remain crucial to the discussion. First, is it possible to identify certain traits and developments archaeologically that are associated with these settlements and attribute them to a change

in ethnicity or to a new ethnic group? What developments are present that may determine ethnicity? Second, what evidence is there for continuity or discontinuity in the material culture, specifically in the ceramic sequence? These questions will be addressed in the following sections.

Continuity vs. Discontinuity. The ceramic and architectural evidence has been the subject in recent studies as an argument for both continuity and discontinuity in comparison with earlier Late Bronze traditions. Dever (1991; 1992d; 1993b; 1995b) suggests that the ceramic and architectural evidence is largely indicative of cultural continuity. This continuity is found in store jars, cooking pots, kraters, bowls and even juglets, chalices, and lamps as well as the four-roomed house (Dever 1992f: 552). Finkelstein (1988; 1992b; 1996a), on the other hand, insists that there is a much sharper break in the ceramic sequences and in the architecture. He views the hill country pottery as "poor and limited compared to the rich, decorated and varied assemblages of the Late Bronze Age" (1992b: 65). He proposes that this marks the sedentarization of the nomadic elements that later become Israel (cf. Finkelstein 1995c; 1996a).

The collared-rim store jar has become one of the ceramic indicators that was viewed as a "type fossil" of Israelite ethnicity. The amount of research that this form elicited (Ibrahim 1978; A. Mazar 1981; Finkelstein 1988; 1996a; London 1989; Esse 1991; 1992; Ji 1997) illustrates the age-old question of equating "pots and people" (Kramer 1977) while additional suggestions have been proposed concerning the function of the jars as storage containers for water (Zertal 1985: 5-6); olive oil and wine (Finkelstein 1988: 285); or grain (A. Mazar 1981: 30).

Excavations during the 1950-60s at Bethel (Albright and Kelso 1968: 63), Shiloh (Buhl and Holm-Nielsen 1969: 30-34), Gibeah (Sinclair 1960: 16-18; N. Lapp 1981: 79), Beth Zur (Funk 1968: 44-46), Khirbet et-Tell (Callaway 1970: 8-9), Samaria (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: Fig. 1:16), Megiddo (Esse 1991; 1992); and new projects at Shechem (Toombs 1979: 70), Gibeon (Pritchard 1964: 35) and Raddana (Callaway and Cooley 1971: 11) all produced an abundance of collared-rim store jars (Esse 1992: 85-86). This suggested that these store jars were related directly to the period of the Israelite settlement. The absence of collared-rim store jars in lowland sites seemed to confirm the pattern of settlement in the hill country, although some were found at Ta'anach (Rast 1978: 9-10) and at Qasile (A. Mazar 1985a: 57).

During the 1970s-80s the picture began to change as an increased amount of excavations and surveys were conducted, thus illuminating the distribution and stratigraphic contexts of the collared-rim store jar. New excavations at Shiloh (Finkelstein 1988; 1993), Giloh (A. Mazar 1981: 27-31; 1990c: 77-101), Izbet Šarṭah (Finkelstein 1986: 77-84; 1988), and Mt. Ebal (Zertal 1986-87: 134-136) added to the available database (Esse 1992: 86). However, during this same period archaeological excavations in areas traditionally not associated with Israelites also began to produce collared-rim store jars. A challenge to the concept of the ethnic "type fossil" was raised by M. Ibrahim (1978), who published large quantities of collared-rim store jars from Sahab in Transjordan. Since his publication, excavations at Hesban (Sauer 1986: Fig. 11), Medeinah (Olavarri 1983: 174-177), Amman (Dornemann 1982: 138), Dhiban (Tushingham 1972: 21), Tell Jalul, Tell Jawa (Yunker personal communication) and Tell el-'Umeiri (Herr 1989: 310; 1997: 237) have each brought forth varying quantities of collared-rim store jars. The *pithoi* have also subsequently been discovered in the lowland sites during the late thirteenth century B.C. (Aphek, Megiddo, Tell Keisan, Ta'anach, Tell Mevorakh, and Tell Qasile; cf. Edelman 1996). They were found in burial contexts at Tell Nami (Artzy 1990: 76) and Tell Zeror (Ohata 1970: Pl. 56) in the coastal plain.

From this evidence, Esse points out "that the geographical distribution of the collared pithos is much greater than Albright ever imagined" (1992: 87). He continues by outlining the results of statistical analysis, demonstrating that their occurrence is much more frequent in the central hill country than at the lowland sites (1992: 93-94). Esse suggests that since pottery production is often associated in modern cultures with women collared-rim store jars were widely distributed through intermarriage. He cites the references in biblical texts which link Canaanite and Israelite intermarriage with apostasy as well as Judg 3:5-6, where further reference is made to intermarriages between Israelites and other ethnic groups (1992: 99-100). Another solution offered by G. London (1989) distinguishes between urban and rural dichotomies rather than ethnic ones. London suggests that the rural settlements were in need of food-storage facilities that could be transported, while the "economic network of cities and housing facilities could not accommodate large containers" (1989: 44). However, several problems should be addressed before wholeheartedly accepting this view. (1) London refers to Izbet Šarṭah as an

example where a rural settlement might be in need of collared-rim store jars for storage facilities. Yet one of the characteristic features of Izbet Šarḥ and other early settlement sites is the abundance of silos and grain-storage facilities. (2) Esse (1992: 95) points out that London did not consider the abundance or "wealth" that might be inherent in both highland and lowland sites, stating that a wealth of material culture can be found at both urban sites (Megiddo, Yoqne'am and Keisan) and smaller rural sites (Izbet Šarḥ, Qasile, Qiri, and Qashish). London may be correct that there would be some discontinuity between rural and urban sites. This may explain some stylistic and functional differences in the pottery. But it is important not to assume that the urban-rural dichotomy will explain all differences. How can the presence of collared-rim store jars in Transjordan be explained? If this type is associated with Israel does this mean Israel is present there as well?⁷ Or is Esse's explanation of intermarriage and diffusion sufficient and all-encompassing? Can the collared-rim store jar still be used as a "type fossil" for Israelite ethnicity? Ahlström (1993: 338-339) did not see this form as an Israelite invention but as coming from the Canaanite tradition. He refers to the Middle Bronze II-III pithoi as being possible antecedents (citing Finkelstein 1988: 283; cf. Dever 1995b: 205). Rösel (1992: 78-79) takes a more positive view, pointing out that the collared-rim store jar is typical of the Iron I period and not previous periods.

Most recently, Artzy (1994) has made a case for the use of the collared-rim store jar as a container for the incense trade. According to this suggestion, camels and ships were used as transport vehicles to carry the incense and other goods to and from differing parts of Asia and into the eastern Mediterranean. Her argument for camel trading is based on the evidence published by Wapnish (1981: 103; 1984) of domesticated camel bones at Tell Jemmeh, and the research of others who have argued for the domestication of the camel in the second millennium B.C.⁸ Artzy points out the wide distribution of the col-

⁷ The discussion on collared-rim store jars in Transjordan often overlooks the biblical tradition relating to the presence of the half-tribe of Manasseh and Reuben which are said to occupy these areas (Josh 13:29-31; Saarisalo and Harrison 1986: 233-234).

⁸ Albright (1960: 206-207) maintained that the camel was only sporadically domesticated before the twelfth century B.C. and that the majority of the caravan trade was carried out by donkey. Later studies challenge this position based on the extensive archaeological evidence that is growing to the contrary (Zeuner 1963; Midant-Reynes and Braustein-Silvestre 1977; Ripinsky 1975: 295-298; 1983:21-27; Barnett 1985: 17-18; Nielsen 1986: 22-23; Zarins 1992). Evidence of camel domestication

lared-rim store jar. At Tell Nami there were those jars that were comparable to the hill country and other, Cypriote types (Artzy 1994: 137). She cites similar forms from Maa-Paleokastro in western Cyprus (Karageoghis and Demas 1988: Pls. LXXXII:563 and possibly CCVII:140); and from the Ulu Barun shipwreck (Artzy 1994: 137-138). Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) was employed on a corpus from Tell Dan and it was determined that these forms were not made of local clays (Biran 1989). At this point NAA should also be conducted on other assemblages to determine the provenience of the form and its possible association with trade (cf. Biran 1989; Artzy 1994: 137).

While the geographical distribution of the collared-rim store jar is of significance, the chronological context should not be overlooked. This form appeared in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age transition and continued throughout the Iron Age. The earliest forms appear at Tell Nami (Artzy 1994: 138; personal communication a), Beth Shan (A. Mazar 1997), and Tell el-'Umeiri (Herr 1995; 1997a; 1997b; thirteenth century B.C.). This attests to a wide temporal distribution predating the Iron Age. It is apparent that both discontinuity and continuity can be found in the material culture that followed the Late Bronze Age (Dever 1992h; 1993b; 1995b) as highlighted by the technological developments that accompanied the settlement of the hill country at this time.

Technological Innovations and the Settlement. Through the course of research on the emergence of ancient Israel, emphasis has been placed on certain technological innovations that facilitated the settlement of the central hill country (Hopkins 1985: 23). Albright (1971: 113) came to view plaster-lined cisterns as such an innovation while Gottwald (1979: 655) maintained that the introduction of iron provided the material basis for Israelite expansion into the highlands. Still others had thought that terrace construction may have provided the impetus and means for settlement (T. L. Thompson 1979: 66; Stager 1985a: 5-9; cf. Dever 1993d: 38-39). In this association it is

in the second millennium is supported by a camel statuette carrying two water jars that was dated by Petrie to the Ramesside period (Petrie 1907: 23; cf. Ripinsky 1983: 27; Free 1944: 180). Other depictions of camels being led by rope and evidently harnessed have been published by Ripinsky (1983). A Syrian cylinder seal dated to the eighteenth century B.C. shows two figures riding on the humps of two Bactrian camels (Porada 1977: 4-7). Other pictorial representations have been extensively surveyed by Retsö (1991).

important to investigate geographical, functional, and temporal factors.

The use of plaster-lined cisterns was first hailed by Albright (1971: 113) as making possible the Israelite settlement in the hill country based on the excavations of such cisterns at Khirbet et-Tell and Raddana. At both sites the cisterns were not plaster-lined (Callaway 1993: 45; 1970: 18). Cisterns were also discovered at Shiloh (Finkelstein 1988; 1993), Izbet Şarṭah (Demsky and Kochavi 1978: 21; cf. Hopkins 1985: 152), and Tell en-Nasbeh (Zorn 1993: 1099) while none have been found at other early Iron Age sites including Giloh (A. Mazar 1981: 33) and Tell Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983). It is important to note that plaster-lined cisterns were known during the Middle Bronze Age in the northern hill country at sites like Ta'anach (P. W. Lapp 1967b: 14-15, 33-34; 1969: 33) and Hazor (Stratum VII; Yadin *et al.* 1958: 127-140; cf. Gophna and Porath 1972: 197) and at sites like Gezer in the Shephelah (Dever 1986: 240). Other plaster-lined cisterns found at Byblos and Abu Matar in Lebanon as well as Bab edh-Dhra and Jawa in Jordan may date to the Early Bronze Age (P. W. Lapp 1969: 33 note 53).

The occurrence of this technology during several periods in the history of the southern Levant and in proveniences outside the "traditional" location of early Israel suggests an important functional purpose for this technology. Indeed, plaster-lined cisterns appear to have a wider temporal and geographical distribution and are not restricted to the Iron Age and to the hill country of Cisjordan. Albright's attempt to link the construction of cisterns with the settlement of the central highland and ethnically with the Israelites is rather simplistic. First, it has been shown above that this technology was not "recent" but that it dates back to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and perhaps as far back as the Early Bronze Age (cf. Finkelstein 1992b: 64). Second, the geographical distribution of cisterns far exceeds the limitations of the central hill county of Cisjordan. Then what would explain the use of cisterns at early "Israelite" sites? What ways are there to bridge these apparent discrepancies?

From a functional perspective cisterns were a technological development needed for the settlement of any area lacking sufficient natural resources for water (Finkelstein 1992b: 64). Carving out large reservoirs in the soft limestone chalk and sealing them with plaster provided the necessary means to manage water supplies for agricul-

tural and living purposes. There is no reason from a functional perspective to limit this need or the technology it produced to early Israel. Indeed, the wide geographical and temporal range for the use of cisterns demonstrates that both previous and contemporary ethnic and cultural groups utilized the same technology for their own expansion and settlement (LaBianca 1990: 148-149). Cisterns were part of the agricultural technology needed for the environment and continue to be used today. To associate this technology solely with a specific ethnic group is not appropriate in light of the current data available. Nevertheless, it is evident that the settlers of the central hill country did indeed utilize this technology, which may have facilitated their rapid expansion during the early Iron Age.

As with the technology of plaster-lined cisterns, terracing has also been traditionally viewed as the unique contribution of Israelite settlers in the central hill country (T. L. Thompson 1979: 66; Gottwald 1979: 658-659; Stager 1985a: 5; Borowski 1987: 17). Ahlström (1982) even claimed that the new settlers brought this skill with them, concluding that the settlers came from an agricultural background rather than a nomadic one. Since the earliest date for terracing remains debated,⁹ the relationship to Israelite settlement may need to be reconsidered. The chronological problems result from the lack of direct association with occupational remains. Furthermore, there is no specific technique of masonry art present for a given period, making a typological sequence difficult (Geus 1975: 68-69). Here a careful overview of present data during the settlement period may give further indications for consideration.

Recent survey work conducted throughout the hill country and the Negev provides a new perspective for patterns of settlement over extended periods of time (Zertal 1988; Finkelstein 1988; 1988-89; Gal 1992; Finkelstein and Gophna 1993). Finkelstein proposes that the results of archaeological survey work contradict the position that the construction of terraces facilitated the settlement of the hill country (Finkelstein 1988: 202, 309; 1992a: 64-65). He maintains that (1)

⁹ Edelstein and Kislev (1981) argue for an early Iron I date for the beginning of terracing in Mevasseret Yerushalayim. Other archaeological investigations have determined that limited agricultural terracing took place in the Late Bronze Age around Jerusalem (Hakar 1956: 193; Ron 1966: 115-116; Geus 1975: 68-69; cf. Borowski 1987: 15). Hopkins, on the other hand, suggests a later date based on the hypothesis that the construction of terraces was not the "technological innovation" which permitted that settlement . . . [rather] a response to exigencies encountered as the duration of their settlement progressed" (1985: 181).

since extensive settlement took place during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (Finkelstein and Gophna 1993) terracing would have been required during that time since the western slopes could not have been occupied otherwise (Finkelstein 1988: 202); and (2) the settlement began in those fringe areas of the hill country where "cultivation was possible without building terraces" (Izbet Şartaḥ is an example of such a site; 1988: 202). There is some indication that terracing was taking place earlier in the Jerusalem area. Stager (1982: 111) has published on terracing in the Kidron Valley, dating it to the fourteenth century B.C. There are further reports of terracing during the Early Bronze Age in the Judaeen Hills (Gibson *et al.* 1991). But the dating of terrace walls is fraught with difficulties. Conclusive dating depends on stratigraphic excavation (Geus 1975: 68-69). Although the terrace wall in Site G at Khirbet et-Tell has been dated stratigraphically to the Iron I period, other excavations at Giloh, Shiloh, Tell en-Nasbeh have not produced similar results. Settlement archaeology cannot solve the chronological dilemma due to the lack of stratigraphic excavation. Probable dates can only be given on the basis of surface collection, which often represents a multiperiod spectrum. While settlement archaeology can push the possibilities back in time by inferring general occupational patterns, Finkelstein's claim that terraces "must have been built during the Middle Bronze period, if not earlier" (1988: 202) rests on probability rather than excavated results. A second problem is geographical. If there is evidence of terracing in other areas does this also then represent an ethnic tie to Israelite occupation, or does this indicate the diffusion of technology to other areas? Here reference must revert to chronology and the future establishment of a chronological sequence. Once again the functional nature of terracing must be considered. Is terracing the result of a specific technology brought to the hill country by an ethnic group, or is it born out of necessity due to the circumstances of elevation present in the hill country that required this technology for effective agriculture? Certainly both possibilities are viable, but at the present time it is with difficulty that we can identify terracing with a specific ethnic group.

A third technology often associated with the settlement of the hill country is the appearance of grain-storage facilities. These can be separated into three categories: (1) Grain-pits that are subterranean facilities usually in close proximity to dwelling areas where the preparation of food took place. These are usually small, stone-lined or

plastered pits used for the storing of grain in bulk (Borowski 1987: 72-73); (2) Silos are larger underground installations and are also often stone-lined or plastered where grains were stored. Most often these larger silos are located near public buildings or areas. Borowski (1987: 74) suggests that they were not owned by individuals but by a large social organization, such as a state. He cites examples at Megiddo and Hazor where this form of usage may have been implemented; (3) The cellar, a subterranean room that was used for the storage of foodstuffs in containers, is not well attested in archaeological excavations (Borowski 1987: 75). Here the relationship between cellar and building, coupled with lack of proper excavation, causes problems in establishing an absolute date.

Silos have been found extensively at hill country sites like Aphek (Stratum 8; Kochavi 1981: 84); Beersheba (Stratum IX; Herzog 1984b: 10-11, 70-71); Dan (Stratum IV; Biran 1980: 173); Tell el-Ful (N. Lapp 1981: 56-62); Shiloh (Finkelstein 1988: 226); and Tell Zeror (Ohata 1966: 24). But they are not limited to sites in the hill country. Some sites traditionally associated with the Philistines have produced significant numbers of silos including Tell Miqne-Ekron, where numerous stone-lined, plastered, and mudbrick-lined silos were found in Fields I, III, and IV dating to the Philistine occupation in the eleventh/tenth centuries B.C. (Strata V and IV), and Ashdod (Stratum X; Dothan and Porath 1993: 92). Again a functional explanation for these installations is most probable. Cereals needed to be stored in well-protected ways to keep rodents and other types of animals from encroaching on subsistence sources. Silos provided this protection due to stone, mudbrick, or plaster lining. While these storage facilities did play a major role in the settlement of the hill country, sites in earlier periods and sites traditionally associated with other ethnic groups (Philistines) also show that they are a major feature.

From this brief overview of geographical distribution, temporal, and functional factors it is evident that each of these "new" technologies was present during various periods and in a much wider geographical area than previously known. As Sharon (1994: 127) observes, "the technologies attributed to the Israelite culture were not novel." Indeed, these technologies served a particular subsistence function in an agricultural setting that was regarded essential by many ethnic groups living in the southern Levant.

It has recently been suggested that the convergence of all of these technologies at one time and generally in one area may in itself be

significant (Dever 1992d: 38-42). One must concur with Dever that "the individual innovations in themselves cannot define 'Israelite ethnicity'" (Dever 1992f: 552). In fact, only a handful of early Iron Age, hill country sites have been stratigraphically excavated and the question must be raised whether these technologies could represent any given agricultural ethnic group entering the hill country, since each one is necessary for a successful settlement. Nevertheless, certainly one specific ethnic group *could* be using these technologies. But what in the technologies themselves would actually make the ethnic identification possible? In short, very little. As Kamp and Yoffee indicate,

Because ethnic identity rests on the conscious awareness of group members, it is possible that even when major socioeconomic distinctions are lacking ethnic distinctions may occur . . . people may live in the same environment and face the same problems of subsistence, yet their values and material culture may reflect quite different ethnic traditions (Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 88).

This establishes ethnicity as signified by self-recognition and not necessarily by material culture (cf. Jones 1997). In the end, it is only in association with the textual sources (Merenptah Stela and specifically the Hebrew Bible) that the group settling at this time in the central hill country may be identified ethnically with Israel.¹⁰ While the Merenptah Stela certainly leaves open the possibility that Israel is located in the hill country, the final hymnic-poetic unit does not independently provide a specific location other than that socioethnic Israel is located within Canaan/*H3rw*. The identification of Merenptah's Israel with these new settlements and related technology rests on conceptions from the Hebrew Bible and must be studied within the framework of evidence provided there (cf. Stager 1985a; Miller 1991).

Summary

The mention of an entity Israel in the Merenptah Stela (ca. 1207) is central in the reconstruction of the early history of Israel, for it provides the earliest extrabiblical mention of a people called Israel. The past two decades have witnessed major changes in the reconstruction

¹⁰ Other ethnic groups such as the Hivites, Jebusites, Kenites, and Gibeonites are also attested in biblical sources as living in the hill country (cf. Finkelstein 1988: 28; Miller 1991: 97; Skjeggstad 1992: 165). As has often been stated (Dever 1992d: 154; 1992h: 553; 1995b: 208-209), if it were not for the mention of Israel in the Merenptah Stela historians and archaeologists would have a difficult time providing an *ethnic* label to the dramatic increase in hill country settlements during the transition.

of early Israel and its ethnogenesis. The enormous repertoire of literature on the subject of Israel's origins is so vast that only a brief overview concerning the treatment of the Merenptah Stela is possible.¹¹ (1) Some continue to view this Israel as the first evidence of early Israel as a socioethnic entity (Singer 1988; Coote 1990; Halpern 1992; Neu 1992; Rösel 1992; Singer 1994; Dever 1992d; 1992f; 1995b: 209; Hoffmeier 1997). (2) Others make a more-or-less cursory mention of the entity Israel without considering it as vital evidence for the reconstruction of Israelite origins, since it is difficult to link this with monarchical Israel (Lemche 1985; 1988; Na'aman 1994a; Finkelstein 1988; 1991; 1995; 1996a: 200). (3) A few have provided new interpretations of Merenptah's Israel as a primarily geographical/territorial designation either with (Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993) or without a people named Israel (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Goe-dicke 1985; Edelman 1992). Others nearly or completely dismiss the evidence of the Merenptah Stela for any reconstruction of ancient Israel (Coote and Whitelam 1987; T. L. Thompson 1992: 275-276, 306, 311; Whitelam 1996; cf. Margalith 1990).

In summary, the textual evidence from the Merenptah Stela indicates that the entity Israel was a people living outside the city-state system. The reference to its grain (*prt*) suggest that Merenptah's Israel may have been an agricultural socioethnic entity. Unfortunately, the information contained in the final hymnic-poetic unit does not provide a specific location for Israel within Canaan/*H3rw*. It is only on the basis of biblical evidence and future fieldwork that such a location may be determined.

Archaeological evidence for the settlement of the hill country during the Early Iron Age indicates the presence of demographic growth

¹¹ For an overview and critique of recent models developed for the origin of Israel, see Bimson (1989); Gnuse (1991a; 1991b); Weippert and Weippert (1991); Hess (1993; 1994); Dever (1991; 1995a). These theories include (1) military invasion (Albright 1935: 10-18; 1939; 1971; G. E. Wright 1946; 1962; 1982; Bright 1972; Aharoni 1979; Malamat 1979; 1982; Yadin 1979; 1982); (2) displaced population (Callaway 1976); (3) peaceful infiltration (Alt 1966; Noth 1960; M. Weippert 1971; 1979; Miller 1977; Aharoni 1976; Fritz 1994; Rainey 1995); (4) peasant revolt (Mendenhall 1962; 1973; 1976; 1978; 1983; Gottwald 1974; 1975; 1976a; 1976b; 1978; 1979; 1985a; 1985b; 1993; for criticism see Lemche 1985; 66-76); (5) nomadic origin (Finkelstein 1988; 1991; 1994a; 1995a; for criticism see Dever 1997a); (6) "evolutionary" development (Lemche 1985; 1988; 1992); (7) symbiosis (Fritz 1987; Dever 1997a; 1997b); (8) peaceful withdrawal (Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993: 369); (9) Egyptian vassal status followed by autonomy (Coote 1990); and (10) displacement due to climatic catastrophe (Stiebing 1989; 1994).

and previously known technologies that are now intensified in a specific location. These agricultural technologies, however, are located in wide geographical and temporal distributions so that one is not able to say that they individually can be characterized as ethnic indicators. With these points in mind, it may not be coincidence that an agriculturally-based socioethnic entity called Israel is mentioned in Egyptian and biblical sources concurrent with an influx of both settlement and other material culture correlates indicating an agricultural resurgence in the hill country. Until new strategies are employed at hill country sites comparatively testing historically known "Israelite" sites with those of other socioethnic groups we must be satisfied with the limited but significant information available from known historical, iconographic, and archaeological sources.

SHASU (*ššw*)

References to the *ššw* appear throughout textual and iconographic sources throughout the New Kingdom until the XXth Dynasty. Many of these sources provide partial information that may aid in establishing a general geographical location and social structure of its inhabitants. The evidence from the reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, and Merenptah is analyzed from textual and iconographic sources before a possible archaeological context will be evaluated.

Egyptian Sources

Occurrences and Context

The term *ššw* appears as both a people and the territory which they inhabited, probably beginning by the New Kingdom during the reign of Thutmose II (Giveon 1971: 9-10; cf. Ward 1992c: 1165) or perhaps earlier (Ward 1972: 36-37; Görg 1976b). The majority of references are contained in military documents.

Seti I. The entity *ššw* appears four times on Register I on the left of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak dated Year 1 (*KRI* I:7,2; I:8,9; I:9,4; I:11,4; Giveon 1969-70; 1971; M. Weippert 1974).¹² These texts are

¹² The origin of the term *ššw* is widely debated. Some postulate that the term *ššw* dates back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, where the name may appear as *šsw* in the Vth Dynasty funerary complex of Unis at Saqqara (Helck 1968: 477; 1971: 17-18) and as a place-name *šsw* in the Execration Texts (Posener 1940: 91).

accompanied by reliefs depicting various actions taken by the Egyptians against *Ššw*. It appears three times on toponym lists: on the east wall at Karnak (List XIV: 38; *KRI* I:28,7; Giveon 1971: 61); on the west wall at Karnak (List XIII: 42; *KRI* I:31,14; Giveon 1971: 64-65), and at Kanais (List XVII: 2; *KRI* I:36,10). The relevant texts are translated:

(As for) the hil[ls of the] rebels, - none could [get pas]t them, because of the fallen ones of Shasu who had attacked [him?]. His Majesty cap[tured th]em totally, so that none escaped (Kitchen 1993a: 6; *KRI* I:7,1-2).

The destruction which the sturdy arm of Pharaoh, LPH, made <among> the fallen foes of Shasu, beginning from the fortress of Sile as far as Pa-Canaan. His Majesty seized them like a terrifying lion, turning them to corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if (they) had never existed. Any who slip through his fingers tell of his power to (far-) distant foreign countries—'it is the might of Father Amun who has decreed for you valour and victory over every foreign country' (Kitchen 1993a: 7; *KRI* I:8,5-12).

The fallen (foemen) of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the ridges of Khurru. They have lapsed into confusion and quarreling; each slays his fellow. They disregard the edicts of the palace. The heart of His Majesty, LPH, was pleased at it. Now, as for the Good god, he rejoices at beginning a fight, he is glad about his attacker, his heart is satisfied at seeing blood -- he cuts off the heads of the dissidents. More than a day of jubilation loves he a moment of trampling (such) down. His Majesty slays them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them. Who(ever) escapes his hand is (but) a prisoner brought to Nile-land (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *KRI* I:9,1-8).

The spoils which His Majesty brought back from the (*sic*) Shasu, whom His Majesty himself vanquished in Year 1, 'Renaissance' (Kitchen 1993a: 9; *KRI* I:11,4)

Ramses II. The entity *Ššw* alone appears ten times during the reign of Ramses II. It appears in various copies of the *Bulletin* (2; *KRI* II:103,12-16); and on toponym lists at Karnak (1; List XXIV:34; *KRI*

This has led some to suggest an earlier origin for the term *Ššw* (Ward 1972: 59). Because of the phonetic difficulty in comparing these terms, Giveon (1971: 219) is cautious concerning these earlier references and believes that the term first appeared during the reign of Thutmose II, although he concludes that it is likely the Hyksos period was the time for the development of this new group. On the appearance of the term *Ššw* during the New Kingdom, see the extensive discussion in Giveon (1971).

II:163,14; Giveon 1971: 84-87); and Luxor (2; List XXII:10; *KRI* II:186,15; Giveon 1971: 88-90, Doc. 20a; Kitchen 1965: 6, Pl. III; *KRI* II:184,9; Giveon 1971: 90-92, Doc. 20b). It occurs on a stela fragment at Tanis (1; Stela VII/VIII?; *KRI* II:298,3; Giveon 1971: 108-109, Doc. 30); and Ismailia (1; *KRI* II:404,6; Giveon 1971: 109-112, Doc. 31); as well as twice in literary texts including Papyrus Turin B (Giveon 1971: 121-124, Doc. 35); and Papyrus Anastasi I (6; Giveon 1971: 125-131, Doc. 36).

The designation *ššsw* (Shasu-land) appears sixteen times; on the topographical list at Amara West followed by a listing of six toponyms *Sʿrr*, *Rbn*, *Pysps*, *Yhw*, *Šmʿt*, and *Wtbr* all located in "the Shasu-land" (6; *KRI* II:217,10; Kitchen 1964: 66).¹⁵ The connection of *ššsw* with Se'ir/Edom is found in other sources (see 224-225). *ššsw* occurs on a topographical list at Memphis (1; *KRI* II:194,15; Giveon 1971: 96-98, Doc. 23); in texts from Bubastis (1; *KRI* II:465,7; Giveon 1971: 98-99; Doc. 24); Tanis (6; Giveon 1971: 100-108, Docs. 25-29; *KRI* II:289,15; II:294,14; II:300,2; II:409,1; II:413,8; II:418,3); Tell er-Raʿāba (1; *KRI* II:304,14; Giveon 1971: 112-115, Doc. 32; cf. Petrie 1906b: Pl. XXVIII, XXXII); Gebel Shaluf (1; Stela II; *KRI* II:304,3; Giveon 1971: 116-118, Doc. 33); and Clysma (1; *KRI* II:406,6; Giveon 1971: 118-120, Doc. 34).

Merenptah. The term *ššsw* only occurs once in the military documents of Merenptah. This inscription accompanies a relief among the scenes on the "Cour de la cachette" in Karnak (Scene 8; Yurco 1986: 195, Fig. 9; Giveon 1971: 93). Here a fragmented text occurs above a group of *ššsw* prisoners, stating "consisting of the Shasu plundered (*hf*) by his majesty." This text, formerly attributed to Ramses II, is most likely dated to the time of Merenptah. The term also appears in a schoolboy's exercise, Papyrus Anastasi VI:

We have finished allowing the Shasu clansfolk of Edom to pass the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth ['Tjeku'], to the pools [*brki*] of Pi-Atum of Merenptah that (is/are) in Succoth, to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock, by the will of Pharaoh, LPH, the good Sun of Egypt, along with the names from the other days on which the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth was passed [by such people...] (Gardiner 1937: 76-77; Kitchen 1992b: 27).

Iconographic Sources. In addition to these numerous textual occurrences the inhabitants of *ššsw* are also depicted frequently in

¹⁵ This list is most likely a copy of the list of Amenhotep III at Soleb (see Edel 1966; S. Herrmann 1967; Giveon 1964; Kitchen 1992b: 25).

reliefs of the XIXth Dynasty. Although these representations contain further information on the nature of the $\check{S}sw$, few can be identified directly by accompanying texts (Giveon 1971: Pls. I-XIX).

Identification

Recent studies differ concerning the identification of the enigmatic designation $\check{S}sw$. Several issues are involved in the recent discussion: (1) The etymology of the term has been placed within an Egyptian (Albright 1943: 32 note 27; Lambdin 1953: 155; Ward 1972: 56-59; 1992c), Semitic (W. M. Müller 1893: 131; Giveon 1971: 261-264; M. Weippert 1974: 433), or Indo-Aryan context (Lorton 1971-72: 150 note 2); (2) The term $\check{S}sw$ was understood by the Egyptians as either a socioethnic (Giveon 1967; 1971); geographical (Lorton 1971-72); or sociocultural designation (Ward 1972: 50-56; 1992c); (3) The iconographic evidence is viewed as making major contributions to the identification of $\check{S}sw$ in Egyptian reliefs (Giveon 1967; 1969-70; 1971; Staubli 1991) or less precise identifications (Ward 1972: 46-47; 1992c: 1166). Each of these issues is crucial for understanding the military threat posed to the Egyptians by the entity $\check{S}sw$ during the XIXth Dynasty.

Nature of $\check{S}sw$: Etymology. The etymology of the term is uncertain. It has been suggested that it may either be related to the Egyptian verb $\check{S}S$, "to travel, to wander about" (Albright 1943: 32 note 27; Lambdin 1953: 155; Ward 1972: 56-59; 1992c) or to the Semitic *šasaḥ*, *šasa*, "to plunder, to pillage" (W. M. Müller 1893: 131; Giveon 1971: 261-264; M. Weippert 1974: 433). The etymology to some extent influences the meaning of the term as it is used by the Egyptians. This has led some to describe the $\check{S}sw$ as a nomadic element (Giveon 1971) or as an element of unrest and instability for the Egyptians (Ward 1992c). Others suggest that neither of these etymologies can be correct, pointing toward Hurrian or Indo-Aryan languages as a place of origin (Lorton 1971-72: 150 note 2). A careful investigation of the semantic contexts of the term $\check{S}sw$ is necessary in evaluating these proposals.¹⁴

Nature of $\check{S}sw$: The Determinatives and Semantic Context. In the earliest documents mentioning the term $\check{S}sw$ it is accompanied by the "hill-country" determinative. In Giveon's Document 1,

¹⁴ The main source for this investigation is the data compiled in Giveon's *Les bédouins Shosou des documents Égyptiens* (1971).

Ahmoese Pen-Nekhet states, "what I brought from Shasu was very many captives." Document 2 from Thutmose III states, "His Majesty was in the foreign country of *Rḥw* on his fourteenth campaign of victory, after going [to destroy] the rebels of *Ššw*" (Lorton 1971-72: 148). In both texts *Ššw* is written with the "hill-country" determinative (Gardiner 1957: 442 sign A1) which would denote a geographical territory (land/nation/region/city-state; cf. Lorton 1971-72). This seems to fit the semantic context of the term. The prepositions *hr*, "from" and *n*, "of" preceding the subject *Ššw* indicate that in this instance the writer was referring to a place of origin for the captives or rebels encountered by the Egyptians. In this way both the determinative and the grammar and syntax of the clause are in agreement.

Furthermore, in each of the four cases where the textual reference appears in the reliefs of Seti I, the *Ššw* are also accompanied with the determinative for "hill-country." In the first three occurrences the text states, *hr n Ššw*, "the fallen foes of Shasu" (*KRI* I:7,2; I:8,9; I:9,4). This means that the fallen foes belong to or come from the region or land of *Ššw*. This is, therefore, a geographical designation and not an ethnonym. In the final example the text states, "The spoils which His Majesty brought back from *Ššw*."¹⁵ The "hill-country" determinative seems to indicate that the spoils came from the region or land of *Ššw*. This naturally included the inhabitants/captives that are depicted in the reliefs. It is significant that the scribes consistently used the "hill-country" determinative in these reliefs. So far the Egyptian scribes are consistent in referring to *Ššw* as a geographical region inhabited by the people depicted in the iconography.

During the reign of Ramses II there is less uniformity. However, the contexts in these cases indicate why the determinative was different and allow one to confirm the general consistency of scribal convention in the usage of determinatives. The *Bulletin of the Battle of Kadesh* is an excellent example. It relates the deception of Ramses II and his forces by two *Ššw* spies who were allies to the Hittite ruler: "There came two *Ššw* of some of the *Ššw* tribes" (Wilson 1927: 279; *KRI* II:103,12-16; cf. Givón 1971: Doc. 14). Here the term *mhwt*, "tribe" is used with the "throw stick + male and female captive + pl."

¹⁵ Kitchen (1993a: 9) translates "The spoils which His Majesty brought back from the *Ššw*." The lack of a definite article or demonstrative *ps* (not usually required in Egyptian; see Gardiner 1957: 87) does not necessarily demand this translation. If understood as a geographical designation this might simply refer to the "region *Ššw*." The lack of the "people" determinative seems to favor this latter translation.

determinative and the two \mathcal{S}_{3sw} themselves are determined by a "throw stick + male captive + two strokes." In each of the different versions of the *Bulletin* the scribes are consistent in providing the determinative to describe the tribe consisting of both male and female captive signs and the spies with single male captive signs. The context of this text is clear. It appears that the spies were male coming from a larger group ("tribe") consisting of both male and female. The reason for the captive sign and not the normal sign for people is that these were the "captives" of Egypt, i.e. Egypt's enemies who fought for the Hittites and betrayed them. The scribe is already making a statement by his choice of the determinative which is consistent in the framework of the report.¹⁶

On a fragment from Tanis the context is less clear, due to the broken nature of the stela. Here \mathcal{S}_{3sw} (spelled \mathcal{S}_{3s} without the *w*) occurs with the determinative for people; "throw stick + male and female + pl." The incomplete text states " \mathcal{S}_{3s} carried off as cap[tives]" (Giveon 1971: 109, Doc. 29). It appears that the term is an ethnicon in this case, indicating that those from a group of people called \mathcal{S}_{3s} were taken captive. The text should not be reconstructed as "the fallen foes of \mathcal{S}_{3sw} " since this would be a geographical term requiring a "hill-country" determinative. Once again the Egyptian scribes are consistent within the semantic context of the document.¹⁷

In the Wadi Tumilat an additional inscription was found that illuminates the flexibility available in the scribal convention further. On a stela found at Tell el-Maskhuta, known as the "Stela of Pithom," an inscription contains the names of several defeated enti-

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that only the tribes of the \mathcal{S}_{3sw} are referred to and not their territory. The "hill-country" determinative is never used. Could it be that these tribes-people came to aid the Hittites in their battle against Egypt in the northern region just as they were engaged in their own territories in the southeast? Perhaps too much has been made of the mention of \mathcal{S}_{3sw} in this context. They may simply have been mercenaries or allies playing a major role in the negative outcome for the Egyptians at Kadesh.

¹⁷ Lorton (1971-72: 149) suggests that the Tanite scribal school differed in their writing of the term due to the "stereotyped nature of these texts [that] suggests a reflection of past accomplishments rather than historical notation immediately after the event." If this is true then the scribe in these texts (including Docs. 24, 25, 26, 28, 32 according to Lorton) did not know what the term \mathcal{S}_{3sw} meant and simply followed convention. However, the variation in the determinatives does not indicate this. In Documents 24, 25, 26, 28, and 32 the "hill-country" determinative is consistently employed. The scribes vary in their determinative usage only in Documents 29, 30, and 31. Other reasons than scribal ignorance may be suggested for these apparent inconsistencies.

ties, "You have captured the Hurru, Kush, Tehenu, the Ššw and the (inhabitants of) the islands that are in the middle of the sea thanks to the victories of your arms, the remnant of Egypt" (Giveon 1971: 111, Doc. 30). The determinatives that are used in this document consist of a "throw stick + man and woman + hill-country." This is the same determinative appearing with Tehenu. Here the scribe seems to be referring to a geographical confiscation of land first and, as well, implying the domination of the people that inhabit it. Indeed, as Giveon points out, the geographical regions mentioned cover all points of the compass; North (the islands of the sea), North-East (*Hšw* = Palestine), South (Kush), West (Tehenu) and East (*Ššw*). The term *Ššw* can in a dual way also refer to "les habitants de la Palestine de Sud-Est, d'Edom et de Séir" (Giveon 1971: 112). This interpretation would comfortably allow flexibility in the usage of determinatives to cover a broad range of meaning, in this instance, one of totality covering all the lands surrounding Egypt as well as their inhabitants.

The geographical nature of *Ššw* is confirmed by the numerous references to *t3 Ššw*, "Shasu-land." Obelisk I at Tanis mentions the "Terrible and raging lion who despoils Shasu-land, who plunders the mountain of Se'ir with his valiant arm" (Kitchen 1964: 66). Here the geographical region *t3 Ššw* is linked with the mountain of *Se'ir*. The topographical lists at Amara West make a further comparison, as the words *t3 Ššw* (Shasu-land) "precede and are qualified by each one in turn of the six names *Sπ*, *Rbn*, *Pysps*, *Yhw*, *Šm't*, and *Wrbr*" (Kitchen 1964: 66; *KRI* II:111-117). This list was most likely copied from that of Amenhotep III at Soleb (Kitchen 1992b: 26; cf. Giveon 1964; S. Herrmann 1967; Edel 1980). It is important to note that these six occurrences have no determinative. This absence may be explained by the apparently obvious designation of the term *Ššw* with the prefix *t3*, "land." This designation was so clear that the scribe might not have been required to provide an additional determinative. Furthermore, this is the only instance in which an additional toponym is named in direct connection with *t3 Ššw*. It is this more specific toponym that the scribe is referring to in the "Shasu-land. In the other ten documents mentioning *t3 Ššw* alone, the term is in every case accompanied with the determinative for "hill-country" except for one fragmented text (Giveon 1971: 107, Doc. 29).

During the reign of Merenptah the one reference in military documents to *Ššw* occurs on the reliefs of the "Cour de la cachette" at

Karnak (Yurco 1986; 1990; Rainey 1990; 1991; cf. Stager 1985b). Above a relief (Scene 8) presumably showing the Š_{3sw} being led away, the text states, *n3 n Š_{3sw} hf hm.f* "consisting of the Shasu plundered by his majesty" (Yurco 1986: 195, Fig. 9; 207; Giveon 1971: 93). In this case the "hill-country" determinative is again used as during the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II. Some have used this example to show the inconsistencies of the Egyptian scribes, presuming that a people are referred to in this context. This is not necessarily the case. The *n3 n* in this clause may either be (1) a demonstrative; (2) carry the force of the definite article (Gardiner 1957: 86-87) or, as Lorton (1971-72: 149) has pointed out, (3) "*n3 n* can be regarded as the possessive article." The reading could be, "among those (people) of Š_{3sw} plundered by his majesty" (cf. Erman 1968: 181). This reading seems preferable and takes into consideration the grammatical and syntactical context as well. The Egyptian scribes may have been speaking of the region of Š_{3sw} that had been plundered from which the captives came. The reliefs are depicting the result of the plunder; the leading off of captives from that region. In this case the plunder that has befallen Š_{3sw} results in the taking of captives, a recurring theme in Egyptian military accounts (see Chapter One, 66-69).

Two other texts add more specific information regarding the nature of the inhabitants of this geographical territory. The first, from the reign of Merenptah, is found in Papyrus Anastasi VI (lines 51-61), a schoolboy's exercise that states: "We have finished with allowing the Shasu clansfolk [*sic*] of Edom to pass the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth ['Tjeku], to the pools (*brkt*) of Pi-Atum of Merenptah that (is/are) in Succoth, to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock" (Gardiner 1937: 76-77; Kitchen 1992b: 27). The reference here to livestock and the apparent migration from Edom to the Egyptian-controlled areas for subsistence points toward a possible pastoral element among the inhabitants of Š_{3sw}. In this case these inhabitants themselves are called *mhwt* Š_{3sw}, both terms *mhwt* and Š_{3sw} appearing with the determinative "man + pl." (Giveon 1971: 132), indicating the translation "Shasu tribesmen." The pastoral elements of these inhabitants are confirmed by Papyrus Harris I (76:9-11) from the reign of Ramses III, "I destroyed the Seirites, the clans of the Shasu, I pillaged their tents [using the West Semitic term *'ohel*], with their people, their livestock likewise, without limit. . . ." (Kitchen 1992b: 27; Giveon 1971: 135, Doc. 38). Again the terms *mhwt* and Š_{3sw} occur with the determinative "man + pl." in identical sequence

and $S^c_{y\bar{y}}$, "Se'ir" has the same determinatives. There is therefore a distinct parallelism between the Se'irites and the Shasu tribesmen. This indicates that "Seir/Edom was not just a deserted wilderness in the Late Bronze/Iron Age transitional period—there were enough people there to concern Egyptian official interests, and the lifestyle was (at least in part) pastoral and (with tents) at least semi-nomadic" (Kitchen 1992b: 27).

In this survey it appears that in most cases the military documents of the XIXth Dynasty refer to the term as a geographical designation. Of thirty-two occurrences, twenty-one either appear with hill-country determinative or receive the more specific designation t_3 , "land." In six cases further reference is made to toponyms within "Shasu-land." The determinative of "captive + two strokes" appears, as would be expected, in the description of the two spies that deceive Ramses II at the Battle of Kadesh. One other example uses both the "hill-country and people" determinatives together, indicating a dual meaning of totality in describing Egyptian perceptions of their neighbors. Four additional listings of \check{S}_{3sw} lacking a determinative appear in topographical lists without a historical context, i.e. toponym lists. This indicates the overall consistency of Egyptian scribes in the military documents depicting \check{S}_{3sw} as a geographical territory. Fewer contexts of the texts provide information regarding the social structure of the inhabitants of \check{S}_{3sw} , i.e. their apparent pastoral background.

Nature of \check{S}_{3sw} : The Iconographic Context. The identification of inhabitants from the geographical territory of \check{S}_{3sw} in Egyptian iconography is not a simple task. Few reliefs are known that portray individuals identified as \check{S}_{3sw} inhabitants by an accompanying text (Ward 1972: 45). One of the few examples is the reliefs of Seti I on the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2). The lower register to the left of the doorway and extending behind the northeast corner contains the textual and iconographic report of the "Shasu Campaign" in Year 1. In the first scene the inhabitants of \check{S}_{3sw} are depicted in a fallen mass before the chariot of Seti I. This scene locates them outside the city of Gaza. The third scene depicts these warriors dressed in the same way outside the fortresses along the "Ways of Horus." Both armed warriors with spears and axes and women and children are depicted as either fleeing, bowing in surrender, or being defeated by Egypt. They are being trampled under the hoofs of the king's chariot. They

lie in a great heap before the king, mirroring the accompanying text, "His Majesty seized them like a terrifying lion, turning them to corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if (they) had never existed." In the last scenes they are carried off as bound captives before the king. The texts identify them consistently as the "fallen foes of Ššw." Note that this text primarily identifies these rebels as the *hr*, "foes" of Egypt and then identifies them with the geographical territory of Ššw. No direct connection is made that these people are indigenous to this region. It would appear that they were threatening the fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" and may just as well have been an invading group from a distant or nearby area. However, it is important that these individuals are identified as the inhabitants of a land called Ššw and are depicted in a unique way. They have pointed beards typical of Asiatics, a headband holding back shoulder-length hair, and the tasseled kilt (Ward 1972: 46).

The relief already mentioned on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak redated to Merenptah shows two lines of bound captives depicted in a similar way being led off before the king in his chariot (Giveon 1971: 93-94, Doc. 21; Pl. VIII). The accompanying inscription states, *nš n Ššw hf hm.f* "consisting of those (people) of Shasu plundered (*hf*) by his majesty" (Yurco 1986: 195, Fig. 9; 207; Giveon 1971: 93). Here the depicted captives are specifically designated as those coming from the region of Ššw¹⁸. This group is identified textually and becomes another indication of the way people from this region are depicted. Other reliefs from the reign of Ramses II are not labeled (Giveon 1971: Docs. 17, 18, 19, 19a, 21a, 22) and therefore not easily identified. Ward (1972: 47-50) points out that many for-

¹⁸ This relief is said to be a copy of the "Shasu Campaign" of Seti I (Giveon 1971: 93-94; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2). If this is so then it might be possible that the scribe was not aware of the geographical origin of the captives and referred to them directly as Ššw. Although Giveon's conclusion was reached before these reliefs were redated to Merenptah, several parallels between the two inscriptions exist. In both scenes there appear to be three lines of Ššw captives being led before the king's chariot (the upper register in Scenes 7 and 8 at the "Cour de la cachette" is missing); (2) In the final scene depicting the presentation of spoils to Amun, only two lines of captives are shown. However, the reliefs do not correspond in other important details. (1) In Seti I's reliefs there are no captives under the horses (Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 2), but in the "Cour de la cachette" reliefs there are several captives depicted under the horse of Merenptah; (2) The headdresses and positions of the captives vary a great deal in both reliefs and do not follow the same sequence; (3) In the "Cour de la cachette" reliefs the important element of the welcoming Egyptians is omitted entirely. These variations make it possible that the scribe and artists of Merenptah were illustrating the results of a separate and distinct campaign.

eigners were depicted with different features such as the tasseled kilt and head-band. These features may not have been exclusive to the inhabitants of *Ššw*. It would seem prudent to use caution in the identification of individuals as originating from *Ššw* unless textual evidence indicates that this is the case.

The iconographic evidence indicates several important aspects. The battle scenes with the "foes of *Ššw*" reveal that the individuals from this region were on foot with various weapons, including axes and spears. They do not appear to have been in possession of chariots or other modes of transportation. They are not depicted as inhabitants of cities, although in some cases they appear to be defending the cities of others (Battle of Kadesh; Ramses II; Giveon 1971: Pl. VI). The "Shasu Campaign" of Seti I portrays these people as marauders who may be posing a threat to the Egyptian forts along the "Ways of Horus."¹⁹ This remains consistent with the textual evidence that assumes these people to come from a neighboring region. The location of this region is important to delineate before any archaeological investigations can be initiated.

Location

The location of the geographical region *Ššw* and its inhabitants is a complex and debated issue. Recent proposals include that *ts-Ššw*, "Shasu-land" was located in Syria (Astour 1979; Görg 1979: 201-202; Ahlström 1986: 59-60; 1993: 277 note 5); in southern Transjordan (Giveon 1971; Ward 1972; 1992c; Redford 1992b: 272); in the Negev and Sinai regions (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; B. Mazar 1981b); and as a designation for all of Palestine (Lorton 1971-72).

¹⁹ The campaigns of Seti I "from Sile to Pa-Canaan" are one of the primary sources to analyze how the Egyptians perceived the term *Ššw*. Spalinger (1979: 30) maintains that the "fallen foes of *Ššw*" were a weak enemy without chariots or horses and who, according to the reliefs, did not occupy the cities or fortresses shown on the "map" of Seti I. Spalinger also suggests that they were seminomadic in nature based on the texts which read "The fallen (foemen) of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the ridges of Khurru" (*ARI* I:9,3-4). Furthermore, "each slays his fellow" and "they disregard the edicts of the palace," which Spalinger believes further stresses this aspect. However, more is written in these reliefs about the inhabitants of *Ššw* than any other particular toponym, indicating their significance. The fact that they were perhaps blocking the "Ways of Horus" by stationing themselves on the ridges of *Hšw* indicate the seriousness of their threat to Egyptian dominance in the Sinai and Negev (Broadhurst 1989: 232; cf. Giveon 1971: 59). Their threat seems to have been real, as reflected in the repeated references and depictions in these reliefs.

These proposals rest on different sets of data. The texts mentioning \mathcal{S}_{sw} together with iconographic evidence represent one set of data, and the names mentioned in association with $t\mathcal{S}-\mathcal{S}_{sw}$ in the toponym lists of Amenhotep III and Ramses II are another important source for this question.

Location of \mathcal{S}_{sw} : The Semantic and Iconographic Contexts. In the texts and reliefs of Seti I at Karnak the "fallen foes of \mathcal{S}_{sw} " appear between the east border of the Egyptian Delta and the city of Gaza (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; M. Weippert 1974: 270; Spalinger 1979b: 30). The campaign itself most likely occurred along the "Ways of Horus," the military highway, along the coast through the Sinai (Gardiner 1920; Murnane 1990: 40-41; Oren 1987) before extending north as Registers II and (possibly) III indicate. The "fallen foes of \mathcal{S}_{sw} " are shown in the reliefs as being interspersed throughout the various fortresses along the "Ways of Horus" (Giveon 1971: Pl. Va, Vb, Vc, Vg), where they appear "fallen" and "turned into corpses" before the chariot of Seti I as the texts claim. Here once again there is a close parallel between the descriptive texts and the reliefs that accompany them (Staubli 1991: 57). Once they are defeated they present tribute to the king. In Scene 4 prisoners from the region of \mathcal{S}_{sw} are depicted as being led captive in three rows back to Egypt before they are presented to Amun (Scene 5; Giveon 1971: Pl. Ve).

The text accompanying these reliefs states, "The fallen (foemen) of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the ridges of Khurru" (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *KRI* I:9,1-8). Because of this context some assume that this entity was located in southern Palestine and in the Sinai (Gardiner 1920: 100, 104; Lorton 1971-72; Spalinger 1979b: 30). Lorton posits that " \mathcal{S}_{sw} and H_{sw} are used synonymously in this text" and that "the designation Palestinians seems more accurate than \mathcal{S}_{sw} " (Lorton 1971-72: 149). However, the text does not state directly that "the fallen (foeman) of Shasu" inhabit H_{sw} . Instead, they are *dmdt bw w^c*, "united in one place," and *h^c hr n3 n tst H_{sw}*, "stationed on the ridges of Kharru." In this case *hr* is used as a preposition of place (Gardiner 1957: 127), providing the location of the enemy as they prepare for their attack from a defensible position. It does not indicate that the "ridges of H_{sw} " are their place of origin or residence. They may have come there for the specific purpose of raiding the grain-storage facilities along the "Ways of Horus." This text only supplies informa-

tion on the type of installations threatened by the Ššw on the Egyptian route to the eastern, Asiatic territories.

This interpretation is supported by Papyrus Anastasi VI, where it is stated, "We have finished allowing the Shasu clansfolk of Edom to pass the fort of Merenptah that is in Succoth ['Tjeku'], to the pools [brki] of Pi-Atum of Merenptah that (is/are) in Succoth, to keep them alive and to keep alive their livestock." This seems to indicate a distant place of origin (Edom)²⁰ and migration with livestock to Egyptian locations where subsistence supplies such as water and food were available during periods of difficulty (drought).

Another text frequently cited for a northern (Palestinian) location of Ššw is the report of the Battle of Kadesh at Karnak that describes the arrival of two spies from the tribe of Ššw (Wilson 1927: 279; *KRI* II:103,12-16), also depicted in the reliefs (Giveon 1971: Doc. 14) as soldiers who apparently served under the Hittite forces. But the context of these references does not make clear their place of origin or location prior to the Battle of Kadesh. Were they mercenaries serving under the Hittites? Or did the Hittites force them as captives into battle (Giveon 1971)? The reliefs and texts demonstrate only that the Ššw fought for the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh and that their involvement was significant enough for the Egyptians to refer to them in written and iconographic form.

The semantic contexts of written sources from the XIXth Dynasty, as well as the iconography, suggests that the inhabitants of Ššw were more frequently encountered in the south during the reigns of Seti I and Merenptah. Their appearance at the Battle of Kadesh indicates that their influence extended to the north, where they fought together with other groups against the Egyptians. Toponym lists provide additional evidence for a location.

Location of Ššw: Toponym Lists and Sequence Contexts. Scholarship has long maintained that the sequence of toponym lists might provide clues concerning the location and order of toponyms encountered by the Egyptians (Helck 1971; Redford 1982a;

²⁰ Edom has the determinative "throw stick + hill-country" and is spelled out carefully with full syllabic orthography "which indicates that 'Edom' is known to the Egyptians as a foreign, non-Egyptian name" (Bartlett 1989: 77; 1992: 287). The geographical boundaries of this location are not provided in the text (Edelman 1995: 2), however, the correlation with the biblical region Edom has long been assumed (Grdseloff 1947; Giveon 1971; Bartlett 1989; 1992; Kitchen 1992b; Redford 1992b: 272-273; Ward 1992c; Hogland 1994).

Spalinger 1979b; Ward 1992c: 1165). According to this view several toponym lists may be analyzed in relationship to \check{S}_{3sw} .

Earlier lists of the XVIIIth Dynasty seem to suggest a northern location for \check{S}_{3sw} (Görg 1976b; 1979; Ward 1992c: 1165). In a short list from the reign of Thutmose IV six names are listed: Naharin, Babylonia, Tunip, Shasu, Kadesh, and Takhsi (Giveon 1971: 15-17, Doc. 4). All of these toponyms are found in the north and east. The first two encompass northern and southern Mesopotamia. Tunip and Kadesh are cities in Syria, while Takhsi is in the Lebanese Beqa'a Valley (Edel 1966: 11; cf. Ward 1992c: 1165). A list of Amenhotep III places another toponym, 'Ain Shasu, among place names in northern Canaan that include Dothan and Šamḥuna (Giveon 1971: 22-23, Doc. 5a). Both Helck (1971: 261) and M. Weippert (1974: 273) locate this toponym in the Beq'ah Valley. Another contemporary list places \check{S}_{3sw} with Pella and Qatna (Giveon 1971: 24-26, Doc. 6).

From this time forward in the reign of Amenhotep III and during the XIXth Dynasty, most lists place \check{S}_{3sw} in Transjordan. This is the case with the designation $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw}$, "Shasu-land" that occurs in the lists of Amenhotep III at Soleb and Ramses II at Amara West (Ward 1972: 51; Giveon 1971: 26-28; 74-77, Docs. 6a and 16a).²¹ In the Amara West list six toponyms are mentioned that deserve further attention: $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} s'r$, $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} rbn$, $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} psps$, $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} sm't$, $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} yhw$, $\text{t}3 \check{S}_{3sw} wrbr$. These toponyms may either be interpreted as geographical designations or as deriving from a tribal or personal name (Knauf 1988b: 67). Because of the reference to $s'r$ many scholars conclude that this refers to the biblical mountain of $\check{s}e'ir$ (Grdseloff 1947; M. Weippert 1971: 105-106; Weinfeld 1987; Kitchen 1964: 70; 1966b: 60 note 12; 1992b: 27; Ward 1992c: 1165-1166) and hence to Edom. This connection depends on philological relationships between the two words. In Egyptian the r -sign is repeated twice whereas in Hebrew r occurs only once. While this may have been a scribal error²² the issue of identification has not been resolved. The

²¹ Only the last four toponyms are extant at Soleb (Giveon 1971: 26-27; Astour 1979: 19).

²² Grdseloff (1947: 79) posited that the first r -sign was mistakenly carved instead of a "column," $\text{'}3$ (Gardiner 1957: 496, Sign O 29), while Weippert (1974: 271 note 1) thought that the intended sign was a "papyrus roll" (Gardiner 1957: 533, Sign Y 1). Astour (1979: 22-23) recently suggested a new identification based on the original reading of the term and locates it together with another toponym in Thutmose III's list (# 337) in western Middle Syria. Although this interpretation is followed by some (Ahlström 1986: 59-60; 1993: 277 note 5; Moor 1990: 111-113), it has not gained

occurrence of the geographical region *yhw* in this sequence has drawn attention from biblical scholars who see possible correlation with the divine name *YHWH* (Brekelmans 1954; Noth 1948: 150-160; Fensham 1964; S. Herrmann 1967; Görg 1976b; Weisman 1978; Weinfeld 1987; Moor 1990; H. O. Thompson 1992). This association is based on the Midianite-Kenite hypothesis that attributes the origin of *YHWH* worship to this region (cf. de Vaux 1969; 1978: 330-338; B. Mazar 1981b). One must keep in mind, however, that this is a toponym and not a personal name. Was this a mountain, a city, or a land? Each of these meanings is conceivably possible (Axelsson 1987: 60). The main point is that this list is represented by six toponyms located in *ʿššw*, signifying a wider geographical region that has specific locations within its boundaries.

The location of *ʿššw* in Transjordan is supported by two other stelae of Ramses II at Tanis (Giveon 1971: 102-104, Doc. 27; 107-108, Doc. 29). In these military documents *ʿššw* is listed separately from other Asiatic toponyms, which may indicate that "it was not located west of the Jordan Valley, the area with which the Egyptians normally associated 'Asiatics'" (Ward 1972: 51). Moreover, Ramses II twice describes himself as the one who "has plundered the Shasuland, captured the mountain of Seir" (Tanis, Obelisk 1, E. Face; *KRI* II:409,1; Gebel Shaluf Stela II; *KRI* II:303,6; Kitchen 1992b: 27).

From this supportive evidence it is clear that "the mountain of Seir is already a fixed expression" (Kitchen 1992b: 27) in the writings of Egyptian military documents, lending credibility to the reading *Se'ir* for the toponym *ʿššw s'rr*. The importance of the list of Ramses II at Amara West is that it identifies specific toponyms in the "Shasuland"; the toponym *ʿššw rbn* has been identified with Laban in the mountainous area of Edom (Bartlett 1989). This is confirmed by the stela of Ramses II at Tell er-Retabeh in the eastern Delta which reads "he plunders their [=the Shasu's] (mountain) ridges, slaying their people and building with towns (*dm*) bearing his name" (Kitchen 1992b: 27).²³ Although the location of *ʿššw* in this text is

wide acceptance, so that most scholars continue to view this as a reference to the biblical *ʿsr* located in the vicinity of Edom in Transjordan (Helck 1984b: 828; Axelsson 1987: 61; Coote and Whitelam 1987: 106-107; Weinfeld 1987; Kitchen 1992b; Redford 1992b: 272-273; Ward 1992c).

²³ Kitchen here has corrected his earlier translation which read "he plunders their tells" (Kitchen 1964: 66). The term *šwt* is correctly translated as "ridges," not "tells" (Lesko *DLE* IV: 117). This changes significantly the implications of the reading "plunders their tells," which would indicate a sedentary population.

uncertain, the area where this military activity took place seems to have been mountainous.

In summary, the sequence of toponym lists, the repeated occurrence of Se'ir in parallel with *ṭ* *Ṣṣw*, and other contexts in XIXth Dynasty military documents indicate that *ṭ* *Ṣṣw* is located in the southern regions of the Levant, east of the Jordan River in a mountainous area. While it is not possible to reconstruct the exact geographical boundaries of this region, a number of toponyms such as Se'ir are recurrent in several sources indicating that the location of *ṭ* *Ṣṣw* was in southern Transjordan in the vicinity of Edom.

Archaeological Data

The textual and iconographic references indicate a southern location for the geographical region *Ṣṣw* and its pastoral inhabitants in the vicinity of Edom and the mountain of Se'ir. This section discusses the possibility of identifying the inhabitants of this and surrounding regions during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition.

Recent large-scale surveys (Beit-Arieh 1984; 1995; Finkelstein *et al.* 1980; Rudolf Cohen 1986; Rosen 1987) and excavations (Rothenberg 1972b; 1988; Cohen and Dever 1978; 1979; 1981; Fritz and Kempinski 1983) have been conducted in the Negev and in the Sinai. Further survey work was carried out in the Wadi el-Ḥasa region (MacDonald 1988) and the Southern Ghors and Northeast 'Arabah Archaeological Survey (MacDonald 1992a) in the territory of Edom.²⁴ The collected material from these surveys provides the basis for the discussion.

Pastoral Nomadic Occupational Evidence

The archaeology of nomadism in the Near East continues to develop (cf. Cribb 1990; Finkelstein and Perevolotsky 1990; Rosen 1988; 1992; cf. Bar-Yosef and Khazanov 1992), intensifying the debate in

²⁴ The northern boundary of geographical Edom is placed near the Wadi el-Ḥasa, the biblical Brook Zered (Buhl 1893: 21, 27; Lury 1896: 16; Glueck 1936: 123; Edelman 1995: 2). The southern boundary is less clear (Edelman 1995: 2) and has been viewed by some scholars as the Wadi al-Ghuweir (Burckhardt 1822: 410; Robinson and Smith 1841: 2. 552) or more recently as extending down to Ras en-Naqb and including the mountainous region of Petra (Stade 1887: 122; Lury 1896: 20; Glueck 1936: 144). The western and eastern borders would have been the Arabah south of the Dead Sea and the desert edge (cf. Edelman 1995: 3).

recent years concerning the identification of pastoral nomadic elements in the archaeological record. Archaeologists like Finkelstein and Perevolotsky argue that "groups that practice subsistence economy based on hunting-gathering or animal husbandry—migrate in search of food, water, and good pasture—do not leave traceable elements" (1990: 68). Others maintain that there are now methods and models to retrieve information about nonsedentary entities. These methods include (1) careful and systematic sampling strategies; (2) meticulous recording techniques; (3) excavation methods that include sieving, flotation, pollen and phytolith analysis, and faunal analysis; and (4) ethnoarchaeology (Rosen 1988; 1992: 76-77; cf. Chang and Koster 1986). Such techniques have led to the discovery of hundreds of sites dated to the prehistoric periods and attributed to hunter-gatherer and nomadic societies (Bar-Yosef and Phillips 1977; Marks 1976-83; Goring-Morris 1987; Gerrard and Gebel 1988; Henry 1989). However, according to Frendo (1996: 22) the final question of whether past nomadic societies are archaeologically visible "cannot be answered with a simple 'yes' or 'no'." Frendo outlines why the issues are so complex. While certain remains are visible, there are essentially three qualifying factors that affect their interpretation. First, there are many remains which are not always visible to the archaeologist. Second, when these artifacts are unearthed it is not always possible to attribute them to nomadic societies. Finally, even when they are linked to nomadic societies there remain variable meanings that they could have in that society. Frendo cautions, "there are times when the evidence of past nomadic societies simply cannot be retrieved, and in such instances it would be incorrect to conclude that no pastoral nomads had been around in a particular area at a particular time . . . simply because their remains have not been uncovered by the archaeologist" (1996: 23).

This assessment fits the nature of the textual and archaeological evidence concerning the inhabitants of *Ššw* during the Late Bronze III period. Although survey and excavation methods continue to be refined and are used extensively in the southern Levant, surveys revealed a near absence of Late Bronze Age sites or sherds in the Wadi el-Ḥasa, Southern Ghors, and Northeast Arabah regions (MacDonald 1992a: 158-159; 1992b). A similar result is reported for the region surrounding Petra (Hart 1985; 1986a; Lindner 1992). Indeed, these surveys covered much of the area designated as Edom in historical records. However, scant activity is recorded during both the

Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages with the exception of the copper-mining areas of the Feinan region (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 173, 185, 188-190).

Sedentary Occupational Evidence

There were no clear Late Bronze walled settlements in Edom, with only six possible settlements in northwest Edom (MacDonald 1992b: 113).²⁵ A dramatic increase of settlement in Edomite territory occurs at the beginning of the Iron Age, but few sites are walled (MacDonald 1992a; 1992b: 115; Hart 1986a: 51; cf. Hogland 1994; Knauf-Belleri 1995).

Giveon (1969a; 1974) implied that the occupation of the inhabitants of *ššw* during the XXth Dynasty included mining and metallurgical activities, citing the reference to *ḫḫḫ* in Papyrus Harris dated to the reign of Ramses III. Helck (1967: 141 note g) connects this toponym with the verb meaning "to hammer" (gold, copper, or silver). Giveon suggested a possible connection between *ššw*, Timna, and the mining of copper in the southern regions of Transjordan and Cisjordan. These were areas exploited by the Egyptians, with mining centers at Timna and Serâbit el-Khâdim. Such a connection is possible but unlikely. These groups were somewhat removed from the region typically defined as *ʾb ššw*, but due to their mobility would have posed a real threat to Egyptian economic interests. Although there is no direct evidence linking the inhabitants of *ššw* with these mining centers, the evidence for Egyptian involvement in the mining activities was quite pronounced.²⁶ The protection of the mining interests in the Wadi Arabah and Sinai would have been the very reason for Egyptian military action against these groups (Knauf 1988a: 113; 1988b: 67; 1992b: 115). Instead of viewing these pastoralists as occupants of these centers (*pace* Giveon), they may better be viewed as

²⁵ Bienkowski (1995) challenges these conclusions. He asserts that there is no evidence that the Late Bronze-Iron Age pottery is connected with the structures at these sites (with the possible exception of Ash-Shorabat and Khirbet Dubab) since no stratigraphic excavations have taken place (Bienkowski 1995: 29). Results of 1995 excavations indicate no stratified evidence for Late Bronze Age occupation (Bienkowski 1996; Bienkowski, *et al.* 1997).

²⁶ That a rock drawing discovered by B. Rothenberg several kilometers from the Hathor temple depicts "a group of armed men, who wear the tasseled kilt, a Shosu garment" (Giveon 1969-70: 52) seems to stretch the amount of information that can be gleaned from these graffiti marks (cf. Ward 1972).

outside threats to the lucrative mining activities controlled by the Egyptians. These centers gave the inhabitants of *ṭš Ššw* important economic and subsistence resources during times of hardship.

Summary

Despite the advances in the archaeology of nomadism and increasingly detailed archaeological surveys, current attempts to archaeologically identify the inhabitants of *ṭš Ššw* have not been substantiated. There are a number of reasons for this: (1) The textual and iconographic evidence does not provide a complete picture of the degree of mobility (nomadism), type of subsistence economy (pastoral and/or agricultural), or specific geographical boundaries for this entity. The mention of toponyms within *ṭš Ššw* indicates that there might have been some sedentary elements or they may simply have been names of significant locations and not settlements at all; (2) Few remains from the Late Bronze have been found in these regions with the exception of the mining centers at Timna (Manor 1992; Rothenberg 1972; 1988; 1993) and Serâbîl el-Khâdim (Beit-Arieh 1985b). Surveys have produced only few indications of Late Bronze Age ceramic evidence. This certainly does not allow one to identify a specific pottery type, architectural style, or other aspects that might make up a "culture"; (3) Even if archaeological remains were found, they would have little or no stratigraphic context. This would allow a degree of ambiguity in both the interpretation of the remains and the chronological context; (4) In the end, it would be difficult to assess in an unstratified, surface deposit the formation processes that may have led to the present state of the evidence over the past three millennia. A partial reconstruction of pastoral life would primarily rest on ethnographic data (Barth 1961; Bates 1973; Behnke 1980; Gamble 1981; Garnsey 1988; Hodkinson 1988; LaBianca 1990; cf. Hopkins 1993: 206-208). Due to the current state of knowledge, an assessment of the effects of Egyptian military activity on these regions cannot be pursued. This will be the task of further investigation as the archaeology of nomadism in this region continues to develop and as archaeologists refine the details of their investigations, recording techniques, and research questions posed to the archaeological record.

In summary, several conclusions are based on the textual and iconographic evidence alone. (1) The terms *Ššw/ṭš Ššw*, "Shasuland" are primarily to be understood as geographical designations

occurring in parallel with the toponyms of Se'ir and Edom; (2) The inhabitants of $\check{S}sw$ posed a threat to the crucial "Ways of Horus" access to the southern Levant; (3) These inhabitants threatened the security of Egyptian mining interests in the Arabah and Sinai (Knauf 1988a; 1988b; 1992b); and (4) The inhabitants of this region were understood by the Egyptian scribes to be (in part with livestock) pastoral and (with tents) nomadic (Kitchen 1992b: 27; Giveon 1971: 135, Doc. 38). The "consequent scarcity of tangible physical remains in the archaeological record, is therefore, not surprising" (Kitchen 1992b: 27). The archaeological record confirms the elusive and ephemeral nature of the "foes of Shasu."

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of this chapter presents several unique issues in the correlation and synthesis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological data. Although important aspects can be found through the work of Egyptian scribes and artists, the archaeological counterpart of this analysis provided less conclusive evidence. This stems from issues of location and identification, chronology, and the natural limitations of archaeological data available.

The first major issue is one of location and identification. The Merenptah Stela does not provide sufficient internal evidence for the location of Israel. It allows one only to define Israel's location within the general boundaries of Canaan/ $H3rw$. Although Merenptah's Israel may be identified with the settlement of the hill country taking place at this time, there is little independent archaeological evidence for identifying this settlement with a specific socioethnic group. The geographical territory $\check{S}sw$, on the other hand, may be located within the general boundaries of Se'ir/Edom in southern Transjordan. More precise geographical boundaries for these entities/toponyms are not found in the Egyptian texts and must be inferred from biblical sources. Although this poses a degree of uncertainty in the investigation of these regions, most scholars continue to accept the association of Israel with the hill-country (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Coote 1991; Ahlström 1986; 1993; Dever 1992d; 1995b; Rainey 1995) and $\check{S}sw$ with the geographical boundaries of Edom (the boundaries of these geographical areas derived from information contained in the Hebrew Bible; Giveon 1971: 235-236; Hopkins 1993).

The chronological factor is an equally serious issue. Even if the geographical boundaries of Israel and *Ššw* are maintained, the absolute chronology is derived from textual sources. The archaeological sources provide only a relative chronology. For Israel many of the excavated settlement sites in the hill country are dated late in relationship to the Merenptah Stela. This may be due to the limited number of sites that have been thoroughly excavated and the limited nature of information that can be inferred from archaeological survey. In the case of the inhabitants of *Ššw* the limitation is greater due to the total lack of stratigraphic excavation as well as variations in survey methodologies and precision. In very few cases have any Late Bronze ceramic materials been found in these regions.

A third issue is the limitation of data recovery. The present state of nomadic archaeology provides important but limited information on pastoral societies (Frendo 1996: 72-73). This allows some degree of flexibility in the interpretation of the data or lack thereof. The fact that little archaeological data are found in connection with the inhabitants of Se'ir/Edom indicates the accuracy of the Egyptian scribes in depicting them as nonsedentary pastoralists. These types of groups generally leave less architecture and material culture than do sedentary inhabitants. In this case, the silence of the archaeological record confirms the portrait presented by the Egyptian scribes and artists.

Despite these limitations, the investigation of socioethnic and geographical/ sociocultural entities in Egyptian military documents of the XIXth Dynasty reveals several important aspects of Egyptian military tactic and strategy. From the clauses and terminology of the Merenptah Stela concerning Israel it is apparent that the destruction/confiscation of the life-support system of this socioethnic group—its grain—was the main focus of military strategy. This would lead to the conclusion that Israel lacked the support system and protection that a city-state-based system might have offered. According to Egyptian perception, this tactic of destroying or confiscating their fields of grain effectively halted the threat of this entity in Canaan. The partially damaged iconographic evidence on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak indicates that these activities also would have included the destruction of life and possibly the taking of captives.²⁷ The destruc-

²⁷ This possibility is based on the correlation of the captives of Israel depicted in Canaanite dress in Scene 4 and the bound captives dressed as Canaanites being led off in Scene 6 and 8 (cf. Staubli 1991: 59). The taking of captives is consistent with most military records of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties (see Chapter One, 66, 73-74).

tion and/or confiscation of subsistence sources is in harmony with other known data analyzed in Chapter Two.

The tactics applied directly to the inhabitants of $\check{S}3sw$ are similar in one respect. They also are depicted out in the open areas not defended by a city-state system. In both written and iconographic sources the king is depicted as "turning them into corpses" (Kitchen 1993a: 7; *KRI* I:8,5-12); "slaying them all at once" and leaving "no heirs among them" (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8; *KRI* I:9,1-8). Their bodies are shown piled up before the fortress of Pa-Canaan (Gaza; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 3). The themes of these inhabitants being captured (*h3k*), plundered (*hf*), and carried off (*ini*) are recurrent in the textual and iconographic sources as well (*KRI* I:7,1-2). This is consistent with Egyptian military terminology employed throughout the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In addition to the inhabitants of $\check{S}3sw$, the Egyptians mention several key elements as the focus of their military activity. In Papyrus Harris I, 76:9-11, Ramses III claims to have "pillaged their tents, with their people, their property, and their livestock likewise" (Erichsen 1933: 93; Kitchen 1992b: 27). This text provides crucial information for the sociopolitical structure of the inhabitants of $\check{S}3sw$, but also indicates the focus of Egyptian military activities. This included the pillaging of their sources of shelter (tents), their economic base (property), and their subsistence system (livestock/animal husbandry; see also Papyrus Anastasi VI, 51-61). These were the very core elements of their subsistence economy. Without these elements life in the desert regions would be impossible. The depiction of the "foes of $\check{S}3sw$ " out in the open, outside the walled fortresses in the reliefs of Seti I and Merenptah at Karnak supports this interpretation.

The contrast between Merenptah's Israel and the inhabitants of $\check{S}3sw$ is, therefore, established by several parameters. First, the Egyptians employed distinct names for each entity. The socioethnic entity Israel is a separate entity and is not used by the Egyptians in parallel with $\check{S}3sw$. Second, they occupy different areas. Israel is located within the geographical boundaries of Canaan/*H3nu* while the geographical region $\check{S}3sw$ has close connections with Se'ir/Edom in Transjordan. Third, the subsistence economy of each entity differs during the latter half of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth Dynasties. Israel appears to be a settled, agriculturally-based, socioethnic entity living outside a city-state system. The inhabitants of $\check{S}3sw$, on the other hand, are nonsedentary pastoralists living in tents with their livestock. The term

mhwt, "clan, tribe," used in connection with the *ššw* in Papyrus Harris I, gives further indication of the social structure of these inhabitants. In both cases, the Egyptians describe military tactics that are consistent within the framework of their overall goals in the southern Levant.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARD A PARADIGM FOR EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY DURING THE XIXTH DYNASTY

In conducting this study of Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant, the analysis of terminology and iconography of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties in Chapter One produced significant conclusions regarding the Egyptian perception of military activity in surrounding regions. In Chapter Two archaeological contexts were investigated at all sites occurring in Egyptian records in order to determine the possible effects of this activity on the archaeological record. Chapter Three included a study of other socioethnic and geographic/sociocultural entities in order to determine the military policy toward entities of differing sociopolitical structure. The aim of this integrated investigation was to propose a paradigm for Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant during the XIXth Dynasty that would provide Syro-Palestinian archaeologists with an interpretive model for assessing destructions during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition. Finally, this study contributes to an overall understanding of the purpose and interest of Egyptian military activity in the context of an imperialist model of domination.

SUGGESTED PARADIGM OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY

The research design guiding this investigation addressed questions dealing with the focus, means, and extent of Egyptian military activity. Due to the limitations inherent in both historical and archaeological contexts, this research design was comprehensive, with questions addressed to all sources for the reconstruction of Egyptian military activity during the XIXth Dynasty. The results are presented according to the categories outlined above.

Focus of Destruction

A major point in the investigation of military activity is to determine the focus of destructions. What type of entities did the Egyptians

attack and what were the reasons for their attack? Was their destructive activity directed against peoples and inhabitants of the regions and city-states attacked, cities and villages themselves, or both? These types of questions were better answered from the textual and iconographic data. The conclusion of this study was that both were affected to some degree but that statistically the focus of the destructive activity was aimed primarily at the inhabitants of the land.

The statistics of military terminology, in terms of both variety and frequency of occurrences, indicate that the military action taken by the Egyptians is directed most frequently against the inhabitants of the lands or city-states conquered. Of twenty-six terms employed one hundred and seventy-five times during the reign of Seti I, ninety-two occurrences (53%) are contextually identified with the inhabitants, seventy-four occurrences (42%) with foreign lands, six (3%) with general entities such as Retenu and Amurru, and three (2%) with cities or settlements and walls. During the reign of Ramses II, twenty-eight terms are used three hundred and fifty-nine times. The number of contexts with cities increases to forty-two occurrences (12%). This usage is restricted to only three terms, *ini* (3), *hf* (40) and *sd* (1). The higher frequency during the reign of Ramses II is attributed solely to the new formula "Town which his majesty plundered (*hf*)/carried away (*ini*): GN" which occurs in several toponym lists together with representations of these cities in relief. This clause is not found in the documents of Seti I or Merenptah. The documents of Merenptah attest to the usage of fourteen terms employed fifty-six times. Forty-one occurrences (73%) concern military actions directed against people. Six references (10%) are directed at the tribute, which includes weapons, possessions, and horses. There are five general references (10%) to the destruction of larger geographical areas/lands. Only four times (7%) do the documents of Merenptah refer to specific city-states or villages in general. Of all military terminology employed during the XIXth Dynasty, the least frequently mentioned action is against cities (8%). Thus, the major focus of Egyptian military activity was not directed against cities. Instead, the Egyptians seemed primarily concerned with dissidents and rebellious populations that crossed their boundaries, infringing on the *m3't*, "truth, justice, order," of Egypt (*ts*; cf. Galán 1995).

Enemies and Inhabitants

The Egyptian records depict the slaying (*smš*), trampling (*ptpt*, *titi*), and destruction (*sksk*) of the surrounding enemies. These enemies are largely viewed as rebellious (*bšš*) and evil. If not slain, the Egyptian policy was to carry off into captivity the chiefs (*wr*; *KRI* I:14,15; II:146,13; II:154,12; IV:6,14), their children and brothers (*KRI* IV:8,6; IV:9,5-6), women (*KRI* IV:9,2), and carrying on their backs or leading before them all their goods. These goods included weapons (*KRI* IV:9,4), horses (*KRI* IV:9,5-6), and general tribute (*inw*; *KRI* I:10,12; I:11,4; I:15,3; II:145,5; II:154,10; II:154,12; II:162,12).

The evidence for this type of activity in the archaeological record is difficult to ascertain. One might attribute the reduction of site-size as reflecting demographic trends (Zorn 1994), but the reasons for this would not be easily apparent archaeologically. A gap in occupation after a given destruction may also represent mass deportation. However, it may also be that the numbers slain or taken back to Egypt during the XIXth Dynasty were exaggerated and did not constitute a major portion of the population. Nevertheless, the importance of the focus of destruction would have major implications for assessing the archaeological data.

Cities and Villages

The actions taken against cities and villages in the documents of the XIXth Dynasty are described by seven clauses. The majority are said to be "plundered" (*hf*; 39 times; 80%). A parallel term used is "carried away" (*ini*; 4 times; 8%). The general statement that walls are "breached" (*sd*) is made twice (4%). Only once is a settlement said to be "trampled" (*ptpt*; 2%); "seized" (*mh*; 2%) or made "to be non-existent" (*tm*; 2%). The last occurrence may be viewed as stereotypical rhetoric found in other contexts. However, the other terms, due to their frequency and specific nature, seem to have a more direct application to the actual actions taken against the cities and villages of the southern Levant. The first two terms (*hf* and *ini*) do not necessarily indicate destruction. They seem to imply the taking of plunder and spoils from the city itself. What took place during or after this process is left open. The third term *sd* indicates that there was some destruction that took place against walls. The iconography of these cities provides some further evidence.

The depiction of cities in the southern Levant surrounded by fortifications indicates the possible result of Egyptian military activity. If the depictions are to be taken as representing a literal fortified city and not something symbolic,¹ then the results of "plundering" and/or "carrying away" can be seen in a number of the reliefs. After the military actions have taken place the city is depicted empty. This may indicate the reality of the Egyptian claim to have "left no survivor" or that all was taken back to Egypt. At any rate, the city is shown with its gates askew, the Egyptians apparently having forced their entry into the city by destroying the gate. This action can be seen in the military scene of Merenptah against Ashkelon, where a soldier is seen wielding an axe against the gate of the city (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 58). Likewise, foot soldiers of Ramses III are shown actively hacking at the gate of the city of Tunip (*MH* II: Pl. 88). Thus, the partial destruction of at least the city gate is presented. This action was necessary in providing the Egyptians with an entry into the city. Unfortunately, few gates and walls survive in archaeological contexts to assess the question from an archaeological standpoint.

The evidence presented in this study indicates that populations, socioethnic entities, and their cities were the focus of Egyptian mili-

¹ Two interpretational possibilities exist for the depiction of cities on the walls of temples in ancient Egypt. Most Israeli archaeologists view these as stereotypical representations that are more symbolic than literal (Oren 1987: 96-97; Oren and Shereshevsky 1989; A. Mazar 1995: 1529), based on the work of Naumann (1971: 311), who referred to these cities as "Abbraviaturen des Begriffs Festung." One of the main factors cited in favor of this interpretation is the alleged lack of fortifications during the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant (Gonen 1984; A. Mazar 1995).

However, several sites apparently were heavily fortified during this period, including Tell Abu Hawam (Gershuni 1981: 36-44); Beth Shan (Stratum IX; Rowe 1930; Kempinski 1992: 137); Gezer (Dever 1982; 1986; 1993; Dever and Younker 1991; Younker 1991; Yanai 1994; but see Bunimovitz 1983; Finkelstein 1994b); Hazor (Area K; Ben-Tor, *et al.* 1989); Tell Jemmeh (Van Beek 1993: 668-669); Tell Nami (Artzy 1994); and Tell el-'Urmeiri (Younker *et al.* 1996). As Baumgarten recently states,

The controversy on the fortifications is rather semantic: was there or was there not a city wall? It is senseless to have a gate [cf. Hazor, Megiddo] if it is not connected to some kind of fortification. The city should *look* fortified, and that need not be necessarily a solid wall; the outer wall of the line of buildings on the edge of the tell will do (Baumgarten 1992: 145 note 1)

Indeed, often the MB fortification systems were simply reused during the Late Bronze. Gates were reconstructed and some repairs made these systems as effective as they had been previously (Baumgartner 1992: 145). Furthermore, Egyptian depictions of forts on the "Ways of Horus" in Seti I's campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan show a striking resemblance to sites like Deir el-Balah, Haruba, and Bir el-'Abd with their respective reservoirs (T. Dothan 1985b; see Chapter Two, 96-99).

tary activity. The wholesale destruction of the city was not the primary goal, although a partial destruction may have been necessary if resistance continued to the point of the enemy barricading themselves within the walls/rampart of the city. According to the historical records the inhabitants and their possessions which could be taken as booty were the primary focus of destruction. Indeed, according to Egyptian perception, they were the ones who had caused the disruptions and disturbed the *ḥꜣt*, "truth, justice, order," of the land.

Means of Destruction

The means of Egyptian military activity is of crucial interest in understanding the effects that this might have on the archaeological record. Were cities, life-support systems and other belongings of the enemy burned in massive conflagration? Was sword warfare, infantry, or chariotry used? Was the battering ram and other siege equipment employed against defensive structures? Or were battles largely directed away from cities and fought out in the open terrain? The means of destruction would determine the probability of whether it might be detected in the archaeological record. Open-terrain warfare would leave little material remains in significant spatial concentrations, while siege warfare might leave significant evidence that might be preserved in an archaeological context. The military tactics used are largely attested in iconographic depictions and can thus be categorized as (1) open-terrain warfare and (2) siege warfare.

Open-Terrain Warfare

Several depictions of open-terrain warfare occur in Egyptian reliefs. One of the earliest examples is Seti I's battle against the "foes of Shasu." Here the inhabitants of *Ššw* are shown outside the city-state defensive system. They are on foot with spears, axes, and other weapons and are pursued by the king. Details of the Egyptian military are not as apparent in this depiction, but the celebrated reliefs of the "Battle of Kadesh" provide significant material for further analysis.² The use of infantry and chariotry are evident from these reliefs that

² The reliefs of the "Battle of Kadesh" have been the subject of a number of detailed studies (Breasted 1903; Tefnin 1981; Spalinger 1985a). The problems and issues involved in their reconstruction go beyond the purview of this study. Only some aspects of open-terrain warfare have been dealt with here.

occur at Abu Simbel, Luxor, and the Ramesseum (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 16-19).

Infantry. The effectiveness of an army depends on its organization and discipline. This discipline is shown by representations of infantry at the Battle of Kadesh. The Egyptian infantry is shown as tightly packed phalanxes (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 17). Each man is holding a large shield on his left arm and a sickle sword or axe in his right. They are marching in close formation surrounded on all sides by chariotry. In another scene they are preceded by archers on foot (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 24). The Hittite military are also depicted in similar close formation (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 22-23). However, they hold no shield and are armed with a short, straight sword, possibly the Naue II type, and spears. They are guarding the baggage that is being transported on carts drawn by horses and oxen (on Hittite infantry, see Beal 1992; 1995).

Due to the nature of the weaponry, most of the battles were fought out in the open. The two sides would approach one another in a flat open area, and the results depended on the shock administered in the initial contact as well as other factors such as good prebattle intelligence, overwhelming manpower, the element of surprise, tactical innovation, technological superiority, better leadership, higher morale, and superior discipline and training (Schulman 1995: 294). The infantry was supported by chariot-mounted archers, a unique development of the Late Bronze Age.

Chariotry. By about 1650 B.C. the Hyksos, who took over Egypt, the Hittites, and other major groups in Cyprus, had access to chariots and were using them to their advantage in warfare (Drews 1988: 102-105). Recent studies regarding the role of chariotry in warfare have been divided. For Hittite chariotry, many scholars have argued that they were used as a thrusting vehicle for a lance held by its riders (Schachermeyr 1951: 716; Yadin 1963: 108-109; Stubbings 1967: 521). This view is based on reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh where Hittites are shown carrying the lance but never armed with the bow (cf. Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 22). Even for Egyptian chariotry, some see it as nothing more than a vehicle for transport (Schulman 1979-80: 125-128). Recently, however, Drews (1993: 113-134) has convincingly argued that the chariot was used as a mobile platform for archers using composite bows. His interpretation was accepted by Schulman (1995: 295).

Chariotry was an important factor in military strategy. There are several interpretations of how it was used in battle. Some conclude that chariotry provided a highly mobile platform that allowed archers to shoot from a protected area at the advancing infantry. It screened and protected its own infantry by traveling ahead of it (Powell 1963: 165-166; Schulman 1995: 295). Trevor Watkins (1990: 31), on the other hand, suggested that the chariotry was held in reserve until a decisive moment came for the infantry. At that time the chariotry would be ordered into the battle (cf. Drews 1993: 127). Drews (1993: 128) maintains that the chariotry charged at one another as arrows from the archers hailed down on opposing sides. As they neared one another, the horses would find a way through the lines of the enemy. As they reached beyond the enemy, who was now behind, they could turn and shoot at the retreating enemy. After turning around a new charge would take place. This would repeat itself until one of the forces suffered enough loss not to return to the battle. A number of possibilities exist for the tactical maneuvering of chariotry during battle.

Archaeological evidence for open-terrain warfare is limited to the depictions on monuments preserved through the centuries. Weapons that are found in burials and other contexts can be compared to these reliefs, as can chariot fittings from several Late Bronze sites (see Chapter Two, 104-105). When open-terrain warfare was not successful and soldiers retreated behind the protection of their walled city-states, the Egyptian military were forced to take other actions necessary for their subjugation and defeat. These actions were found in the protracted siege of the city.

Siege Warfare

Although there are no real written records concerning siege warfare during the XIXth Dynasty, elements of siege warfare are often depicted on Egyptian reliefs that provide a glimpse of siege tactics as they were conducted during battles. Again the prowess of the king is emphasized through his exaggerated size, and other smaller details are apparent upon closer inspection. Basically, there were three possible ways into a city once it was besieged: (1) through the walls (breaching); (2) over the walls (scaling); or (3) under the walls (tunneling or sapping; cf. Schulman 1964b: 14).

Battering Ram. The battering ram was developed already in the

Middle Bronze Age (Yadin 1963). A Middle Kingdom relief depicts a mantelet housing two soldiers from which a mattock, a simple long staff used also as an agricultural tool, is being used against the walls of a city (Schulman 1964b: 14). The Egyptian use of this equipment seems very rare during the XIXth Dynasty. There is only one relief that may indicate the use of a mattock. In the battle against the city of Dapur during the reign of Ramses II (Ramesseum; Youssef; Leblanc; and Maher 1977: Pl. XXII; see Figure 4, 47) four mantelets are shown at the base of the tell. It is possible that beneath the mantelets battering rams are being used against the fortification system (Schulman 1964b: 17). From textual sources, there are two occurrences of the term *sd*, "to breach" which appear in the records of Seti I and Ramses II. Both clauses are identical, stating, "Victorious king who protects Egypt, who breaches (*sd*) the wall(s) in rebellious lands" (*KRI* I:7,11; Kitchen 1993a: 9; *KRI* II:166,7). This may indicate that the scribes of Ramses II copied this from Seti's reliefs at Karnak.

Scaling. The tactic of scaling appears much more frequently in Egyptian iconography. In the siege of Dapur, a scaling ladder is being climbed by two soldiers who are defending themselves with their shields during the ascent (Figure 4, 47). At Ashkelon two siege ladders on both sides of the walls are depicted. A soldier climbs the one to the right holding a sword before him (Figure 6, 50). Four soldiers are shown climbing two ladders to gain the advantage against the city of Tunip under Ramses III (Figure 7, 51). Some soldiers are already within the first walls of the city and are attacking their enemies.

Sapping. Sapping equipment is known from Old Kingdom tomb paintings at the tomb of Inty at Deshasheh (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 4). Two pointed crowbars are being used by soldiers to weaken the wall. This scene may illustrate a form of sapping and is one of the few examples of this tactic (Schulman 1964b: 14). During the siege of Iqata on the temple of Ramses II, Amara West (*KRI* II:213; Kitchen 1996: 73), another scene demonstrates the use of rams in sapping the walls of the city.

The act of besieging a city included all of these tactics, some of which may be evident in the archaeological record. However, the lack of excavation and, in some cases, the failure of archaeologists to ask these and other important questions pertaining to military activity, have limited archaeology as a resource to answer these questions. Many are merely looking for evidence of conflagration that might

indicate discontinuity and warfare while other possible interpretations of the data are not forthcoming. Even this simple correlation is not a given when addressing Egyptian military activity.

Conflagration. The use of conflagration is perhaps one of the most common military policies that can be detected in the archaeological record. Indeed, most "destructions" are identified as such by archaeologists on the basis of widespread ash and burnt material alone. Since most of the sites destroyed in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition seem to have also been completely burned to the ground, the tactic of intense conflagration is one that has been widely associated with Egyptian military policy. Further questions are in order before this assumption is made. Do Egyptian textual and iconographic sources provide any information on the use of conflagration as a military policy? If so, to what was it applied? Were cities and other possessions burned to the ground?

The textual evidence presented in Chapter One indicates that conflagration terminology was often used as a metaphor for the king and his army. Most often his breath or rays were directed against the enemy, the inhabitants of the land whom he "burned" (*wbd*). This "blaze" (*rkh*) of "fire" (*ht*) or "fiery blaze" (*hh*) was a rhetorical device employed to denote the supreme power of the pharaoh. The metaphor that describes the enemy coming directly into the fire means that they come into contact with the armies of Egypt. Behind these metaphoric clauses may stand the reality of the flames of fiery destruction. This is evident in several direct references not necessarily couched in metaphoric language.

In only one text of Seti I at Kamak can there be a possible connection between the destruction of towns and fire (Campaign against the Hittites). The text states, "How mighty is his [the king's] power against them, (just) like fire (*ht*) when he destroys (*sksk*) their towns" (*KRI* I:18,14: Kitchen 1993a: 15). This term for fire, *ht*, may be interpreted either as a metaphor for the power of the king mentioned in the previous clause, or it may refer to a direct action against the towns which are said to be destroyed. Based on the wider contextual usage of this term in the XIXth Dynasty as a metaphor for the king, the first interpretation is more likely. Even if this be taken as literal use of fire, this is the only instance where such a correlation can be made during the XIXth Dynasty.

There are two additional statements where burning is used in

direct reference to the structures of the enemy. In Merenptah's Great Libyan War Inscription at Karnak, the text states, "They were taken away ----- fire (*h*t) was set to the camp and their tents of leather" (*KRI* IV:9,10). In the context of the account all the booty, including 9,111 copper swords, was taken away from the Meshwesh before their camp was set on fire. In the Merenptah Stela, a parallel, poetic account of the Great Libyan War Inscription, a similar claim is made: "Their camp was burned and made a roast, all his possessions were food for the troops" (*KRI* IV:14,14). Thus, the camps of the Libyans are subject to conflagration only when their goods have been confiscated.

The textual evidence indicates that there are only three direct references to conflagration in all the accounts of the XIXth Dynasty; two of these are associated with one action against the Libyans and the destruction of their camps/tents; and only one statement deals with unspecified towns and villages. There is absolutely no evidence of any use of conflagration in the iconography of known reliefs. This indicates that, overall, these references are rare in the Egyptian literature and cannot be interpreted as a general military tactic of the Egyptians.

The implications for the interpretation of archaeological contexts are worth noting. Since it was not in the Egyptian interest to burn cities to the ground after they were plundered or the inhabitants and booty carried away, the destruction of cities that exhibit evidence of massive and total conflagration must not be connected automatically with Egyptian military activity. The extent of destruction was apparently much more limited than anyone had previously thought.

Extent of Destruction

Another important factor in the evaluation of destructions in archaeological contexts is the extent of the destruction. Was the purpose of Egyptian military activity total destruction of populations, cities, and villages? What parts of cities were affected by the destruction, or was the entire city destroyed? What was the policy against the support-systems such as the fields, orchards, and crops? The textual, iconographic, and archaeological contexts provide the basis for answers to this category of questions that contributes to an overall understanding of Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant.

Gates and Defensive Systems

There are several textual and iconographic cases where gates and defensive systems (walls) are mentioned or depicted. The two cases where the "breaching" (*sd*) of walls is mentioned are general and include all foreign lands. The iconography is more specific. Several reliefs of the XIXth Dynasty indicate that the effects of "plundering" a given city resulted in the destruction the gate (see Chapter One, 48-52). The forts that have been overcome are standing empty with their gates askew (Figure 5, 49). The actions against the gate are shown in several reliefs depicting soldiers who are hacking at the gate with their axes (Figure 6, 50; Figure 7, 51). However, the gate area seems to be the extent of the destruction in these reliefs. In all cases, the walls are still intact and suffered little structural damage. Thus, the extent of the destruction of defensive systems was limited to the gate, an observation that is consistent with the view that the Egyptians did not burn the whole city to the ground after their plundering activities.

The archaeological data do not contradict this picture. At Gezer the section of the LB outer-wall foundation, excavated in 1990 (Dever and Younger 1991; Dever 1991; 1993a), was found standing complete and did not seem to be totally destroyed. There is some evidence that the Stratum 1B gate in Area K at Hazor also suffered destruction (although it is not certain whether this represents Stratum 1B or 1A). Other sites were completely destroyed and, therefore, do not fit within the normal paradigm of Egyptian military activity (Beth Shan; Hazor, Stratum 1A; Pella; Tell Yin'am).

Administrative, Cultic, and Domestic Buildings

The Egyptian textual and iconographic sources do not indicate what type of action was taken against administrative, cultic, and domestic buildings. The texts lack specificity in their description of actions against cities and those actions that are mentioned are not frequent. The reliefs show only the exterior of cities. The damage that might be caused inside the city eludes the viewer. For these reasons, the archaeological contexts of destruction are deemed important for the reconstruction of Egyptian military activity against elements inside the cities themselves.

The limited nature of excavations has not made this a simple task.

No administrative buildings other than the palace in Area A of the upper city at Hazor and buildings from Level IX at Beth Shan have been excavated extensively enough to yield further conclusions. Both were destroyed in a heavy conflagration dating to the end of the fourteenth century B.C., well before the date of the XIXth Dynasty.

The "destruction" of Stratum 1B in the Lower City of Hazor lacks conflagration. Included are the temple and some domestic structures in Area C. Since the subsequent buildings are constructed along the same lines, it is apparent that there was little cultural change. Moreover, the amount of damage was rather minimal and could have been due to minor architectural changes. However, if this destruction is to be equated with the destruction of the palace in Stratum XIV of the upper city, then the type of "destruction" would not be indicative of Egyptian military activity as it is described in Egyptian texts and iconography. At Gezer domestic structures in Field II were destroyed in what might have been a localized disturbance. The rest of the picture for Stratum XV is more sporadic. Field I contains no evidence of destruction, but a distinct gap exists between Phases 5 and 4. A major gap is found in Field IV. This gap in occupation may indicate a stronger connection with the action of Egyptians taking captives and booty. This would explain the apparent gap in Stratum XIV—before Bichrome pottery appears on the site in Iron I as Egyptian military dominance over the region weakened.

Fields, Orchards, and Crops

One of the most effective military tactics was directed against the subsistence systems for both city-states and socioethnic entities. The evidence for the confiscation and/or destruction of fields, orchards, and crops is evident from both textual and iconographic sources. Earlier Egyptian military records of Thutmose III described the action in the following way, "Now his majesty destroyed the town of Ardata with its grain (*it*). All its fruit trees were cut down" (Wilson 1969a: 239; *Urk* IV:687,5-7; cf. *Urk* IV:689,7-10; IV:729,15-730,1). These texts explicitly state that both "grain" (*it*) and "trees" (*mnw*) are "cut down" (*whj*), "felled" (*š'd*), or "destroyed" (*sk*). It is apparent that in the late New Kingdom more stereotypical language was employed to describe the same action.

The XIXth and XXth Dynasty military documents describe the effects on trees, crops, and produce by the verb *fk* (*KRI* IV:19,7) and

clauses, *n prt.f* "its/their/our seed is not" (*KRI* IV:19,7; V:20,2; V:21,14; V:24,14; V:40,15; V:60,7; V:65,8); and *fdq t3y.sn mnt*, "their root is cut off" (*KRI* V:15,2; V:24,5-6; V:63,1; V:93,11). The contextual subjects of destruction or confiscation are grain, trees, and harvest.

The action of the destruction of crops and orchards is depicted in several reliefs. As Seti I is depicted approaching the chiefs of Lebanon on the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, they bow before him and cut down the cedars of Lebanon in an effort to appease him (see Figure 9, 83). At Luxor an unnamed city is shown standing empty with its gates askew (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 65). The surrounding hills depicted to the left are covered with what is left of its fruit trees. They have been cut down and are shown in piles amid the brush. In another depiction Ramses III is shown advancing against the city of Tunip (see Figure 7, 51). To the right, outside the walls, three Egyptian soldiers are cutting down trees with axes. Behind one can be seen a pile of fruit trees that have been cut down.

These actions against city-states in the event of siege can have several meanings. On the one hand, the Egyptian soldiers are in need of food supplies as they await the surrender of the enemy. The fruit trees and grain from the surrounding fields are close at hand. The other advantage is that they wish to deprive the citizens of their source of subsistence. In addition, the wood from these trees could also serve as building materials for scaling ladders, mantelets, and other siege equipment.

The destruction of grain as an action against socioethnic entities such as Israel and the Libyans may indicate further reasons. These groups are without a city-state defensive system. Their very survival depends on the land, its produce, and other subsistence strategies. To deprive them of their means of survival is to make them ineffective as a threat to Egypt or to the peace of the surrounding regions.

Summary

The suggested paradigm for Egyptian military activity provides archaeologists with important questions that encompass the focus, means, and extent of destruction at a particular site. These questions have been addressed to textual, iconographic, and archaeological contexts in order to provide an integrated approach. Several important questions were answered.

(1) According to textual records, Egyptian military activity focused primarily on the populations of the southern Levant which were viewed as dissidents, rebelling against Egypt. This is reflected in the iconography. The iconography also depicts numerous cities that were plundered, suffering minor structural damage as a result.

(2) The means of destruction was generally open-terrain warfare using infantry and chariotry against socioethnic entities and citizens of city-states. Siege warfare was conducted only when the enemy did not engage in open-terrain warfare and retreated into their enclosed cities. The tactics of this means of destruction included the battering ram, scaling ladders, and tools for sapping.

(3) The textual and iconographic evidence indicates that the Egyptians did not employ wide-scale and total conflagration of cities. The Egyptian interest was only in subduing them, bringing them back under the control of Egypt, and taking the plunder, booty, and captives back to Egypt. Based on this evidence, signs of wide-scale and total conflagration at Late Bronze sites in the southern Levant would normally be indicative of other forces and not Egyptian military activity.

(4) Archaeological correlates at sites like Gezer and Hazor indicate that Egyptian destructions were minimal and did not encompass the entire site. Although speaking for a different period, Dever's statement is correct for the Late New Kingdom in that "it is usually only the gate area and a few prominent buildings that are violently destroyed, at least in the Egyptian and pre-Assyrian campaigns in Palestine" (Dever 1990: 76).

By posing questions of this nature to existing sources currently available, one becomes aware of the limitations that are inherent in the sources. The textual and iconographic sources are incomplete and the descriptions are general and highly rhetorical. Further archaeological research in Egypt and in the southern Levant may yield other monumental inscriptions and reliefs, stelae, and hieratic inscriptions that may contribute to these questions. In the archaeological contexts of the southern Levant, archaeologists may be encouraged to seek for answers to some of the detailed questions pertaining to the destructions at sites within the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age horizon. In time, these endeavors will complete this paradigm and thereby increase its effectiveness as a tool for the discipline.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study are crucial for the discipline, for they imply that Egyptian military activity is not the major factor for the destruction of sites in the transition. If indeed Egypt did not have a part in the wholesale destruction of cities in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze III period, then the question must be posed again. Who or what did? Is the causative factor to be sought in natural phenomena such as earthquakes, drought, or disease? Can it be attributed to population movements such as the incoming "Sea Peoples" or Israelites? Was the result of weakening Egyptian control internecine warfare among the Canaanite city-states? Or were there changes in weaponry and military awareness that gave the common population the edge to overthrow the city-states? These are some of the questions that remain unresolved and call for further investigation.

In terms of military warfare similar research designs may be developed for other population groups such as the local "Canaanites," Hittites, Philistines, and Israelites in order to determine what their military strategies might have been and what results may still be preserved in archaeological contexts.

Other explanatory models must be tested within the framework of all known textual and archaeological data for an integrated conceptualization of events that led to the collapse of this period of history.

The end of the Bronze Age was not a swift event, but one that extended over a period of about a century; an international phenomenon encompassing the entire eastern Mediterranean. The wide geographical and temporal nature of these "crisis years" indicates that the collapse cannot be attributed to one causative agent. As recent studies on collapse indicate, there are numerous causative factors in the collapse of societies (Tainter 1988: 39-90; Yoffee and Cowgill 1988). The Egyptians, who had an imperialist interest in the southern Levant, cannot be seen as the cause of this collapse. As Tainter points out, "It is difficult to understand why barbarians would destroy a civilization if it was worth invading in the first place" (Tainter 1988: 89). The Egyptians were not "barbarians." Indeed, they sought the stability of the region for economic and political interests. Their military activity in the southern Levant can be seen as an attempt to stem the tide of destruction and instability that was sweeping through the region, weakening their hold on this important crossroads to the east. How did they accomplish this goal?

The decline of the southern Levant could already be seen at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as is evident from the Amarna letters. With the accession of Seti I there was a new interest to restore order. The Egyptian accounts testify to this. The First Beth Shan stela records the attack of Canaanite forces on the city of Beth Shan, one of the centers of Egyptian administration. The archaeological record shows evidence of a massive destruction at the end of Level IX. Seti I sets out to recapture the city and speaks of the defeat of its rebellious neighbors, Yeno'am and Hammath. During the same campaign, the "fallen foes of Shasu" are causing trouble for the supply fortresses along the "Ways of Horus," and Seti I claims to have defeated those who "are plotting rebellion" and disregarding the edicts of the palace (Kitchen 1993a: 7-8). Thus, according to the Egyptian perception of events, they were acting in defense of their interests in the face of a mounting crisis.

At the end of Stratum VII at Beth Shan there is another major destruction, and this time it is possible that Ramses II came in defense of the city. As to the rest of his campaigns in Transjordan (Moab) and further north into Syria, it appears that these may have been attempts to gain new territory or reestablish older dominions which his father Seti I was unable to procure. The inhabitants of *ššw* continued to plague the interests of Egypt by apparently threatening the economic stability of Egyptian mining interests in the Wadi Arabah and Sinai.

By the time of Merenptah there were other forces that threatened the stability of the southern Levant. The "Sea Peoples" encroached upon the coastal areas. A socioethnic group called Israel was threatening other parts of the region. Merenptah, perhaps authorizing the leadership of prince Seti II, again set out to stabilize the conditions of Egypt's northern realm. The Hittites, after the treaty of Ramses II, were still at peace with Egypt and apparently were causing no difficulties, while the Libyans had been defeated in an earlier campaign. Merenptah dealt with the situation, claiming to overcome Ashkelon, seize Gezer, make Yeno'am as though it were nonexistent, and destroy the fields and grain of Israel, pacifying all lands and binding all those who were restless and rebellious. But his success would be short-lived. Egyptian dominance over the region was weakened beyond the stage of recovery. Efforts under Ramses III, nearly a decade later, are made to reinstate stability in the region. But other forces such as the Philistines would establish themselves in the major

centers along the southern coastal plain. The very "Ways of Horus" defended and used by Egypt for nearly two centuries is blocked. By the time of Ramses VI Egyptian material culture in the southern Levant ceases and Egypt's interests return to areas closer to home as the third intermediate period begins.

APPENDIX

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MERENPTAH STELA

The poetic structure of the Merenptah Stela has received increased attention over the past decade of scholarship. Various structures have been proposed on the basis of which significant conclusions were drawn regarding the entities mentioned on the stela. These hymnic-poetic structures will be evaluated, before a new structure is proposed, on the basis of the parallelism of political and geographical sequences and terms which most accurately maintain the integrity of the text. An understanding of the basic terms is important before entering the discussion of structure.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF TERMS

Pa-Canaan

Occurrences and Context. The toponym *P3-kn'n'* appears once on the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,5) and an additional fifteen times in Egyptian texts beginning with the XVIIIth Dynasty.¹

Identification. The entity *P3-kn'n'* on the Merenptah Stela is most widely translated as Canaan (Spiegelberg 1896; Breasted *ARE*; Wilson 1969b; M. Lichtheim 1976; Helck 1980c; Görg 1982; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahituv 1984; Kaplony-Heckel 1985; Stager 1985b; Yurco 1986; 1990; Na'aman 1994c; but see Wood 1985; Nibbi 1989; Redford 1986a: 197; Hoffmeier 1997: 29). The entity Canaan appears in the phrase "Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe."

Geographical Extent of Canaan. The geographical extent of Canaan as viewed by the Egyptians is crucial to understanding the Merenptah Stela. Did Canaan refer to Egypt's southern province in the northeast or did it refer to a larger area? Investigations of the

¹ The term *kn'n'j* appears sixteen times in Egyptian texts beginning with the XVIIIth Dynasty (Görg 1982; Ahituv 1984: 83-84). The earliest reference is in the inscriptions of Amenhotep II where the Canaanites are listed as prisoners together with the Mariannu and their wives (Edel 1953b: 123-124, 132, 167-170; Wilson 1969a: 246).

organization of the southern Levant during the period of Egyptian domination is have led to several views. Helck (1960: 6-8; 1971: 246-255) suggested that the region was divided into three provinces during the Amarna period; Canaan, Amurru, and Upi. According to this view Canaan was administered by the city of Gaza (Katzenstein 1982; Uehlinger 1988). This view was accepted by a number of scholars (Aharoni 1979: 150-151; de Vaux 1968: 27-28; Kitchen 1969: 81; Drower 1970: 472; Zobel 1984: 231; Stolz 1988: 541 cf. Moran 1992: xxvi note 70), although others have argued for different configurations. Na'aman (1981: 183) maintained the division of Egyptian territory in Asia into two provinces, the first encompassing the Phoenician coast and most of Palestine, the other southern Syria and northernmost Palestine. Earlier, a similar organization had been noted by Edel (1953: 55). While Na'aman decreased the number of provinces, Redford (1984a: 26) suggested four provinces with administrative centers at Gaza, Megiddo/Beth Shan, Kumidi, and Ullaza/Sumer. This point of contention must be understood properly in order to further define what is meant by Canaan and other regions (like *Hjrw*; see 259-260) in Egyptian texts. Most recently, Na'aman states, "there is no evidence that the name 'Canaan' in Late Bronze texts ever referred to a sub-district within the Egyptian province in Asia . . . Canaan was the name for the territory in its entirety" (Na'aman 1994c: 404; cf. 1975: 7, 171). This interpretation, that Canaan refers to the entire region of Palestine, fits best with the textual evidence from Mari, Alalakh, Amarna, Ugarit (Rainey 1963; 1964), Aššur, and Hattusha (cf. Na'aman 1994c).

The distinguishing factor of whether Canaan in the Merenptah Stela is to be understood as a territory or a specific city is the prefix *ps*, which indicates the use of the definite article, "The Canaan." Although this prefix occurs here within the context of the hymnic-poetic unit, Canaan has often been associated with an entire region of Palestine (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Yurco 1986: 190; 1990; Ahlström 1991; 1993; Bimson 1991; Na'aman 1994c). Yurco (1986: 90) points out the fact that the Egyptians in the XIXth Dynasty wrote *Gdt* for Gaza which indicates that *ps kn'n*^c refers to the region of Canaan and not the city-state Gaza (but see Katzenstein 1982; Redford 1986a: 197; Hoffmeier 1997: 29).

H3rw

Occurrences and Context. *H3rw* is the final toponym mentioned in the Merenptah Stela (*KRI* IV:19,7). This toponym appears frequently in Egyptian texts² and is translated here as (1) simply *H3rw* (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Bimson 1991; Ahlström 1991; 1993; Hasel 1994); (2) *H3rw* representing Syria (Gardiner 1961: 273 note 2; Stein 1982: 163 note 4; Fecht 1983: 120; Hornung 1983: 232); and (3) *H3rw* as representing Syria-Palestine (Yurco 1986: 190; Bimson 1991: 20). In the structural context of the Merenptah Stela, *H3rw* has been interpreted as being parallel with (1) Israel (Fecht 1983: 120; Stager 1985b; Bimson 1991; Halpern 1992; Hoffmeier 1997: 45 note 32); (2) Tehenu and Hatti (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Ahlström 1986; 1991; 1993); or with Canaan (Yurco 1986; 1990; Rainey 1992; Hasel 1994; Na'aman 1994c). An essential matter on this issue is the understanding of both *H3rw* and Canaan. What is their relationship? How does the context and description for each contribute to a better understanding of these two terms? Is *H3rw* simply a synonym for Canaan or is it a separate region? If it is separate, where are the corresponding boundaries of both regions? These are questions that require further attention and analysis.

Geographical Extent of *H3rw*. Helck (1980a: 87) observed that the population of Palestine during the New Kingdom was named *H3rw*, but at the time of Thutmose IV this became a term used for the territory of Syria-Palestine. The geographical borders of this region are provided by Papyrus Anastasi III (1:9), where a mention is made of an Egyptian governor bearing the title "King's envoy [to the rulers of] the foreign lands of Hurru from Sile to Upi" (Edel 1953a: 231 note 40). It appears from this designation that the territory of *H3rw* may have encompassed all the Egyptian territory of western Asia in contrast to its possible division in earlier periods into several

² The term *H3rw* first appears in Egyptian texts as an ethnic term (Gardiner 1947: 180-184; Helck 1971: 269). Thutmose III refers to *H3rw* together with *kdw* (*Urk* IV:649,10). In this case it appears with the determinative for "man with arms tied behind his back" (captive; Gardiner 1957: 443; A-13). Another occurrence of the name on an ostrakon from the vizier Rekhmire indicated that he had forty men from *H3rw* employed in his service. Here they are determined by the "throw stick + man + plural" (*Urk* IV:1175,4). Amenhotep II mentions them in his toponym list together with the *S3sw* (*Urk* IV:1309,2). The last appearance as an ethnic toponym is on a text from the reign of Thutmose IV where it describes a settlement of Hurrians near Gaza (*Urk* IV:1556). From this time onward it appears primarily as a territorial designation with the determinative for hill-country (Helck 1971: 269; 1980a: 87).

districts (Singer 1994: 289). Stolz (1988: 541) notes that since the campaign of Amenhotep II, Canaan and *H3rw* appear as parallel terms. This might suggest that the two designations would be synonymous during the late New Kingdom (cf. Miller and Hayes 1986: 68; Na'aman 1994a: 405; Morrison 1992: 337). The territory where Hurrians lived came to be called by the Egyptians *H3rw*-land (cf. Na'aman 1994b; Morrison 1992: 337).

This interpretation is bolstered by a short inscription found in Thutmose IV's temple at Thebes (Petrie 1896: Pl. 1:7). It states, "Settlement of the 'Fortress Menkheperure,' with Syrians (*H³-rw*), which his majesty captured in the city of *K^x-d*—(Gezer)" (*Urk* IV:1556,11; Breasted *ARE*: 2:326; Givon 1969b: 55). Although the text is broken at the end, most translators have translated the toponym as Gezer (Breasted *ARE*: 2:326; Wilson 1969a: 248; Malamat 1961: 231; Givon 1969b: 55; cf. Dever 1993d: 496).³ This text seems to state that Hurrians were taken from Gezer and brought as slaves to Egypt (Morrison 1992: 337). The Hebrew Bible makes it clear that Canaanites occupied this city prior to (Josh 16:10) and following the settlement period (Judg 1:29). Based on these contexts, it appears that *H3rw* is a region encompassing all Egyptian territory in the southern Levant during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, including Gezer.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE HYMNIC-POETIC UNIT

With the analysis and definition for each toponym as understood by the Egyptians in their political and geographical settings established, it is now possible to proceed further in examining the structure of the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stela. The past decade has witnessed a tremendous growth in the structural analysis of this unit. In 1983 Fecht published a metrical analysis of the entire stela. More recent analysis has focused on the final unit itself. In 1985 Ahlström and Edelman proposed a new interpretation of the designation Israel, based on the introduction of a literary device called a "ring structure." Their "ring structure" appears as follows (1985: 60):

³ Helck (1971: 269) translated this toponym as Gaza. However, as Wilson (1969a: 248 note 3) pointed out, Gaza was most frequently written as *G3d3ti* with *g* not *k* (Ahituv 1984: 97, 101; cf. Malamat 1961: 231 note 39).

The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!"	A
Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.	
Desolation is for Tehenu; Hatti is pacified;	B
plundered is Canaan with every evil;	C
carried off is Ashkelon;	D
seized upon is Gezer;	D ¹
Yeno'am is made as that which does not exist.	D ²
Israel is laid waste, his seed is not;	C ¹
Kharu has become a widow because of Egypt!	B ¹
All lands together are pacified;	A ¹
Everyone who was restless has been bound	
by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt;	
Ba-en-Re Meri-Amon; the Son of Re;	
Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat, given life	
like Re every day.	

According to this structure, since Hatti is used in a general sense to designate Asia Minor and Syria, and H3rw represents the Egyptian dominions in Syria-Palestine, the scribe intended each of these "to represent subregions that together comprised the larger region Syria-Palestine" (Ahlström and Edelman 1985: 60). In the same way Canaan and Israel are said to represent two subregions which together comprised the narrower area of Cisjordan. The area of Israel specifically denoted the hill country while Canaan represented the adjacent coastal plain and lowland area (1985: 60). Ahlström and Edelman further state that "the use of the determinative for people instead of land may be insignificant, resulting from the author's loose application of determinatives in connection with names of foreign regions and peoples with which he was not personally familiar" (1985: 60). This view is expounded in Ahlström's book, *Who Were the Israelites?* (1986), and in his magnum opus (1993; cf. Edelman 1992).

Ahlström and Edelman's initial structure, however, has not been received without vigorous opposition. Emerton (1988) has shown numerous problems in this proposed "ring structure." For example, A and A¹ consist of two lines each while the other elements consist of only one line. If these lines were separated, however, the parallel references to peace would no longer correspond. In addition, D is said to correspond to both elements D¹ and D². The balance of the hymn is lost, and yet D² does not seem to correspond with D and D¹ since the meter is lost in a longer sequence. According to Emerton it is not "easy to see why B ('Desolation is for Tehenu; Hatti is paci-

fied') should correspond in meaning to B¹ ('Kharu has become a widow because of Egypt') rather than to C¹ ('Israel is laid waste, his seed is not'). Furthermore, C could parallel B¹ just as well as C¹ (Emerton 1988: 373).

Indeed, in a 1991 publication Ahlström modified his "ring structure" while essentially maintaining his former position that the entity Israel of the Merenptah Stela signifies a territory, though he further emphasized now that the designation Israel represented both a territory and a people (1991: 23). Israel as a people, according to Ahlström, referred to those who live within the territory of Israel (1991: 27-28). His modification of the structure appears as follows (1991: 32 note 52):

the Nine Bows and all princes are at peace	A
desolation is for Tehenu (Libya) and Hatti is at peace	B
Canaan is plundered	C
Ashkelon and Gezer are taken	D
Yeno'am is made to nothing	D ¹
Israel is laid waste and has no grain	C ¹
Kharu has become with widows	B ¹
All lands are pacified and everyone is bound	A ¹

While a number of problems seem to have been rectified by Ahlström's recent modification, various other key difficulties emerge. The problem mentioned above regarding the dual-line structure of segment A and A¹ has been solved by combining both lines into one. Similarly, the broken meter caused by both D¹ and D² was solved by combining both Ashkelon and Gezer in one line. Thus D becomes "Ashkelon and Gezer are taken" which corresponds with D¹ "Yeno'am is made to nothing."

Does combining these segments and lines remain faithful to the Egyptian grammar and syntax? What is accomplished by combining these two lines in one? The first lines of the hymn read:

The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!"
Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.

Each of these lines is a separate sentence complete with subject, verb, and object. To combine these two lines into one, as Ahlström does, does not do justice to the original syntax and structure as well as meaning and content of the hymn. The same holds true for segment A¹ which originally reads:

All lands together are pacified;
Everyone who was restless has been bound.

Both of these clauses appear to be separate lines in parallel. Ashkelon and Gezer also appear as separate lines in the context of two verbal clauses, "Carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer." To combine both of these clauses into one and then to correlate that line with "Yeno'am is made to nothing" is again inconsistent. Why are two city-states (Ashkelon and Gezer) placed in parallel with one city-state (Yeno'am)? Finally, the proposed correlation between Canaan and Israel presents a problem. Ahlström equates the following lines:

Canaan is plundered
[and later]
Israel is laid waste and has no grain

This correlation is the foundation for the major argument of his theory that Merenptah's Israel stands for a territory. But the latter phrase concerning Israel continues with a second phrase, "its grain is not." This longer double statement specifies something unique about Israel that is not mentioned in connection with Canaan or other entities. The phrases do not correlate in either content or length.

To further support his theory that Israel represents a territory, Ahlström maintains that the phrase "all lands are pacified" refers to all regions including Israel (1991: 27). However, here again he collapses a parallel couplet which originally was translated as, "All lands together are pacified; Everyone who was restless has been bound," into one phrase, thereby disregarding proper Egyptian grammar, syntax, and structure.

Thus, Ahlström's attempt to compensate for previous problems presents too many new questions in regard to his "ring structure" and subsequently affects his proposed parallelism between Canaan and Israel.

In 1985 L. E. Stager published yet another structure for the hymn of Merenptah. Stager's translation and structure read (1985b: 56*):

The princes are prostrate, saying "peace!"
Not one is raising his head among the Nine Bows.
Now that Tehenu (Libya) has come to ruin,
 Hatti is pacified;
 The Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe
 Ashkelon
 has been overcome
 Gezer has been captured
 Yano'am is made non-existent
Israel is laid waste and his seed is not
Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt.

Stager maintained that the name Israel refers to an ethnic people (1985b: 61*). He saw a correspondence between Israel and *H3rw* as parallel clauses. However, Stager shortly thereafter abandoned his structure, accepting the new structure of Yurco (1986: 189).⁴

Yurco (1986: 189; 1990: 27) argues that the reference to Israel should be placed along with the city-states as another element within Canaan/*H3rw*, but argues strongly that the name Israel refers to a socioethnic entity (1990: 28). Thus *H3rw* is a synonym of Canaan and the two are in parallel. Yurco's structure, although not going into detail concerning structural elements, reads (1990: 27):⁵

The princes, prostrated, say "Shalom";
 None raises his head among the Nine Bows.
 Now that Tehenu has come to ruin, Hatti is pacified.
 Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe.
 Ashkelon has been overcome.
 Gezer has been captured.
 Yeno'am was made non-existent.
 Israel is laid waste (and) his seed is not.
 Hurru has become a widow because of Egypt.
 All lands have united themselves in peace.
 Anyone who was restless, he has been subdued by
 the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ba-en-Re-mery-
 Amun, son of Re, Mer-en-Ptah Hotep-her-Ma'at,
 granted life like Re, daily.

The structure of Yurco has met some criticism as well. Bimson argues that Yurco based his structure on "prior assumptions concerning the relative standing of the entities named in the coda, and on his belief that Israel is depicted together with the city-states in reliefs of Merenptah's campaign at Kamak" (1991: 20 note 1). Bimson maintains that it is methodologically preferable to discern the structure of the hymn and then to make deductions about the relationships between the named entities (1991: 20 note 1). Bimson's argument is valid, though it may not affect Yurco's structure significantly.

Bimson (1991) most recently suggested a new structure based on the same concept of a "ring structure" although with entirely different conclusions from those proposed by Ahlström and Edelman (1985); Stager (1985b); and Yurco (1991). Bimson, along with Stager and Yurco, strongly defends the position that Merenptah's Israel

⁴ This correlation between *H3rw* and Israel is also followed by Halpern (1992).

⁵ Ahlström and Edelman (1985: 60), Stager (1985b: 62* note 3) and Yurco (1986: 189 note 1) all credit E. F. Wente with their proposed structure of the hymn.

refers to a socioethnic entity and not a territory. Bimson's structure reads (1991: 21):⁶

- A The princes are prostrate, saying 'Peace!
 Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.
- B Lying broken is Tehenu;
 Hatti is pacified;
 plundered is Canaan of every evil.
 Carried off is Ashkelon;
- C seized upon is Gezer
 Yano'am is made as that which does not exist.
 Israel is laid waste,
- B' his seed is not;
 Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt!
- A' All lands together are pacified;
 Everyone who was restless has been bound
 by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Ba-en-Re-mery-Amun, son of Re,
 Merenptah-hotep-hir-Maat, granted life
 like Re, daily.

Without including the pharaonic titles which round off the entire hymn, Bimson suggests that the structure consists of "three tricola framed by two bicola" (1991: 21). He submits that the bicola (A, A') refer to subjugated peoples in very general terms, while the three tricola (B, C, B') refer to specific entities which have been subdued. The tricola have their own internal structure. B and B' consist of a "short chiasmic bicolon followed by a longer third phrase, and they deal with specific major entities" (1991: 21). The central tricolon (C) refers to the three city-states which according to Bimson are geographically and politically lesser entities. However, instead of the usual chiasmus (ab-ba) the bicolon within C consists of straight parallelism (ab-ab). Thus, according to Bimson, Ahlström and Edelman were wrong to claim that the "ring structure" groups Israel with Canaan. But Bimson does suggest that Israel is clearly grouped among the major geographical and political entities and not with the city-states (*contra* Stager and Yurco).

Although Bimson attempts to show that Israel is a socioethnic entity and not a territory, certain inconsistencies in his structure can

⁶ Bimson's translation is essentially that of Wilson (1969b) with some minor emendations based on those of Williams (1958), Stein (1982), and Wentz (*apud* Stager 1985b).

be discerned. The first of these concerns his placement of Israel with the other major contemporary nations in B and B'. First, with its placement within the structure, Israel could be interpreted as a land/nation/territory, contrary to the conclusions of Bimson. The only thing preventing such a designation would be the determinative. Furthermore, the chiasitic structure of B differs significantly from B'. In B three specific land/nations are specifically mentioned:

B Lying broken is Tehenu;
 Hatti is pacified;
 plundered is Canaan with every evil.

However, in B' only two entities are mentioned:

B' Israel is laid waste,
 his seed is not;
 Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt!

Bimson explains that this mention of Israel in B' indicates the importance of Israel over the other powers in B (1991: 22) since it is mentioned alone in comparison with both Tehenu and Hatti. However, the structure itself does not correspond well. Tehenu and Hatti have little to do with Palestine and it would seem strange that Israel should be compared with them or that Israel should be considered more important than both the Libyan and Hittite nations combined. Furthermore, the attempt to place the phrase "his seed is not" as the second line in the tricolon is not consistent with the rest of the structure. Bimson's versification, therefore, does not provide an adequate structure for these final verses.

Having analyzed the various proposals regarding the literary structure of the Victory Hymn of Merenptah, I ventured to propose a new structure, based on the parallelism of political and geographical sequences and terms, which most accurately maintains the integrity of the text (Hasel 1994: 48, Fig. 1; Figure 15).⁷

(1) The phrases in A and A' parallel each other, providing a general description which encloses all the entities mentioned by name in the hymn.⁸ Furthermore, it is an *inclusio* which expresses the major

⁷ This structure was developed independently. But as it turned out recently, it is much like that of Yurco (1990) and Rainey (1992).

⁸ The "Nine Bows" is an Egyptian expression that during the New Kingdom encompassed all subjugated enemies of Egypt. Earlier there were literally nine entities listed that included those surrounding Egypt on all quarters (Williams 1958: 140; Uphill 1967; Keel 1977; Wildung 1982).

goal of Merenptah's campaign, namely, the "binding" of all enemies (Nine Bows).

Binding of enemies	A	The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!" Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.
Lands/nations	B	Desolate is Tehenu; Ḫatti is pacified
Region	C	Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe Ashkelon has been overcome Gezer has been seized
City-states/ People	D	Yeno ^{am} is made non-existent Israel is laid waste, its grain (<i>prt</i>) is not
Region	C'	Huru has become a widow
Lands/nations	B'	All lands together, they are pacified
Binding of enemies	A'	Everyone who was restless has been bound

FIGURE 15. New proposed structure.
(Hasel 1994: 48, Fig. 1)

(2) The internal chiasmic structure of B-C-D-C'-B' depicts the details of how the "binding" of the enemies has taken place and was accomplished. It was accomplished by subduing the various enemy entities which are depicted in the chiasm from the larger to the smaller entities in the form of B-B', the lands/nations of Tehenu and Ḫatti, C-C' the region of Canaan/Ḫ₃rw, and D the city-state and people entities.

(3) The sequence indicates a progression from those on the edges of Egyptian control with a movement toward those in closer proximity. The nations/lands, Tehenu (Libya) and Ḫatti (Hittite empire) are located at western and (north-)eastern extremes of Egyptian domination at that time, while the region Canaan/Ḫ₃rw, together with its city-state and people entities, appears to be its closest enemy to the (north-)east.

(4) The structure of the hymn communicates that the movement of "binding the enemies" is from the more powerful sociopolitical entities to the less powerful ones which are in the center, such as the city-state and people entities.

(5) The reason that D, with the less powerful sociopolitical and socioethnic entities, is in the center of the chiasm seems to rest in the

fact that it details military activities within the region of C, that is Canaan/*H3rw*. In other words, the entities of D are located within the region depicted in C-C'. Therefore, D is in the center.

The central section of the structure (D) within the region Canaan/*H3rw* is presented in the sequence of major city-states (Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yeno'am) and an socioethnic people (Israel). The importance of the mention of Israel in this context is heightened both by the determinative and by the additional phrase "its grain is not." The latter phrase sets Israel apart from the other entities mentioned in D and provides additional grounds to establish it as an identifiable sociopolitical ethnic entity during the late thirteenth century B. C. Thus the hymnic-poetic unit is structured in the sequence of the general description/or binding of enemies (A), the "pacifying" of lands/nations (B), the plundering of a major region (C), and the subduing of city-state and people entities (D).

Canaan and *H3rw* (C') correspond to each other in the poetic-hymnic structure as a major geographical region which is said to encompass much of Palestine. The clause "Hurru has become a widow because of Egypt" neatly provides a closure for the segment concerning this geographical region. It has become a widow because the listed entities within its area no longer have their previously known existence (D). Israel, therefore, cannot be understood as a parallel statement with *H3rw*, "Hurru" (*contra* Stager 1985b; Bimson 1991; Hoffmeier 1997). To the contrary, it appears to be an entity within the region of Canaan/*H3rw*. The latter designations can be viewed in this context as synonymous (Miller and Hayes 1986: 68; cf. Helck 1980a: 87; de Vaux 1978; Stolz 1988: 541). Ahlström states, "The plundering of Canaan, the carrying off of Ashkelon, the seizure of Gezer, the making of Yeno'am as nonexistent, and the devastation of Israel so no grain can grow there, are all actions that are summed up in 'Kharu has come to be with widows because of Egypt'" (1991: 31). Ahlström is correct with regard to Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am and Israel, but Canaan and *H3rw* correspond and refer to a single region.

(6) This is followed by the phrase, "All lands together are pacified" (B'). The reference to "all lands together" indicates a correlation with the two lands Tehenu and Hatti (B). It is significant that both B and B' end with the word *htp*, "pacified," which gives further support to this structural correlation and provides yet an additional aspect of correspondence. It is now possible to point out a terminological (*htp* =

"pacified") as well as a geographical correspondence (Canaan/*H3rw*) in this hymnic-poetic unit.

(7) This hymnic-poetic unit at the end of the of Merenptah Stela functions as a historical summary of the accomplishments of this victorious pharaoh.

In 1997 Hoffmeier criticized my earlier proposal and suggests yet another possible structure of the final hymnic poetic unit based primarily on grammatical patterns. This insight adds yet another depth to the patterns used by Egyptian scribes and Hoffmeier is to be credited with this significant observation. He suggests the following structure (1997: 28):

Passive <i>sḏm.f</i>	Old Perfective
1. (a) <i>captured is</i> Libya	(b) Hatti <i>is pacified</i>
2. <i>plundered is</i> Canaan with every evil <i>carried off is</i> Ashkelon <i>captured is</i> Gezer	3. Yenoam <i>is made</i> into nonexistence <i>Israel is wasted</i> , its seed is not Haruru <i>is become</i> a widow

The weight of the structure rests on three distinguishable grammatical units. The first is based on the pattern of (a) passive *sḏm.f* + subject (a) followed by (b) a subject + old perfective. Hoffmeier proposes that this pericope sets the stage for the following two sections which follow the respective grammatical patterns. Hoffmeier must be commended for his judicious analysis of the Egyptian grammar, but several aspects of his structure remain unresolved.

The important grammatical parallelism suggested stands or falls with its level of grammatical consistency. Hoffmeier admits that the first clause '*captured is* Libya' poses some ambiguity. The line reads *ḥf n ḥnw*. The difficulty lies with the *n* which Hoffmeier states may either be a preposition or the *n* of a *sḏm.n.f* form. As he points out, Williams (1958: 139) translated this phrase "Desolation for Tehenu," in which case the *n* is a dative (Gardiner 1957: 88-89). Based on a note from H. W. Fairman, and on the passive nature of all the verbs in the final hymnic-poetic unit, Hoffmeier concludes that a *sḏm.n.f* (which is active) "makes no sense in this context" (Hoffmeier 1997: 45 note 27). Hoffmeier amends the text, by removing the *n*, so that it will fit the grammatical pattern of verbs in the final unit. However, I believe there is a plausible reason why Tehenu is distinguished grammatically from the other toponyms mentioned in this last section of the stela, appearing here with the dative form of the preposition *n*.

The scribe may be setting apart Libya from the following entities mentioned in the southern Levant. The Merenptah Stela is, after all, primarily documenting a campaign against Libya. The scribe, in the hymnic-poetic unit at the end of the stela, summarizes this in the single line concerning Tehenu (Libya) before emphasizing Merenptah's further victory over the Nine Bows or other enemies of Egypt located in the opposite geographical area of Egyptian domination. This would best retain the integrity of the text while acknowledging the larger context of the stela.

There are additional geographical complications to Hoffmeier's proposal. He suggests that Canaan refers to the city of Gaza (see 137-138) and that "the cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Gezer represent a nice geographical unit within a limited area of what would later become known as Philistia" (Hoffmeier 1997: 29). The question remains whether in this context Canaan refers to a city-state or to a region. It is important to note in this context that the reliefs on the "Cour de la cachette" at Karnak depict only three cities, one of which is identified as Ashkelon. The other two unnamed cities are presumably Gezer and Yeno'am (Yurco 1986; 1990; Staubli 1991; Rainey 1992). Neither Canaan or *H3rw* are depicted as cities. This matches perfectly with the reconstruction of these two entities as regions. Hoffmeier asks "if Canaan and Harru correspond to each other as Hasel believes, why are toponyms in Canaan introduced while none are detailed for Harru?" (Hoffmeier 1997: 28).⁹ The answer has been detailed above: Canaan and *H3rw* are to be understood as synonymous terms denoting the geographical region of Palestine (Helck 1980a: 87; Miller and Hayes 1986: 68; Stolz 1988: 541; Morrison 1992: 337; Na'aman 1994a: 405) including Gezer (Breasted *ARE*: 2:326; Wilson 1969a: 248; Malamat 1961: 231; Givon 1969b: 55; Morrison 1992: 337; cf. Dever 1993d: 496). Therefore, Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am, and Israel are all entities within the geographical region of Canaan/*H3rw*.

The final weakness to Hoffmeier's structure is that several lines are

⁹ I have since modified my understanding of these entities as "two corresponding geographical entities" that are to be understood as husband and wife (Hasel 1994: 51). The husband/wife correlation was added upon the recommendation of a reader of an earlier version of my article (Hasel 1994). Hoffmeier is correct in pointing out that there is no direct textual support for this. I do believe that my same proposed structure stands firm if these are understood as two terms for the same geographical region as I allowed for earlier (Hasel 1994: 56 note 10; cf. Stolz 1988: 541; see 259-260).

not included. The first two clauses in the final hymnic-poetic unit, 'The princes are prostrate, saying "Peace!" Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows' are not mentioned. Neither are the last two included in his structure: 'All lands together, they are pacified' and 'Everyone who was restless has been bound.' I have argued that the lands (plural) parallel Tehenu and Ḫatti, the latter being also "pacified" (*ḫtp*). Thus a terminological parallel exists between the two lines which Hoffmeier does not explain. The last line parallels the Nine Bows that have been subjugated before the king.

The structure of the hymn suggests that Merenptah's Israel is not a territory that corresponds to Canaan. Israel, it follows, is also not a geographical region that would stand next to *Ḫ3rw*.¹⁰ Instead, Israel is a socioethnic entity within the region of Canaan/*Ḫ3rw* in the same way in which the three city-states are sociopolitical entities in the same geographical region. It follows that Israel, identified by the determinative for people, is a socioethnic entity powerful enough to be mentioned along with major city-states that were also neutralized in the southern Levant.

¹⁰ The argument is made by Hoffmeier that the "connection between Israel and Haru . . . further mitigates against the meaning "grain" for *ḫrt*," (1997: 28; cf. Stager 1985b: 61*). However, as he rightly observes, there is a neat play on *Ḫ3rw* by the choice of the term *ḫrt*, "widow" which may be the only reason for the use of *ḫrt* by the scribe. In other words, the reason *Ḫ3rw* has become a widow is not clearly stated. It could either refer to the cities within Canaan/*Ḫ3rw* that are destroyed, as I have suggested, or it may simply be a play of words on the geographical term *Ḫ3rw*.

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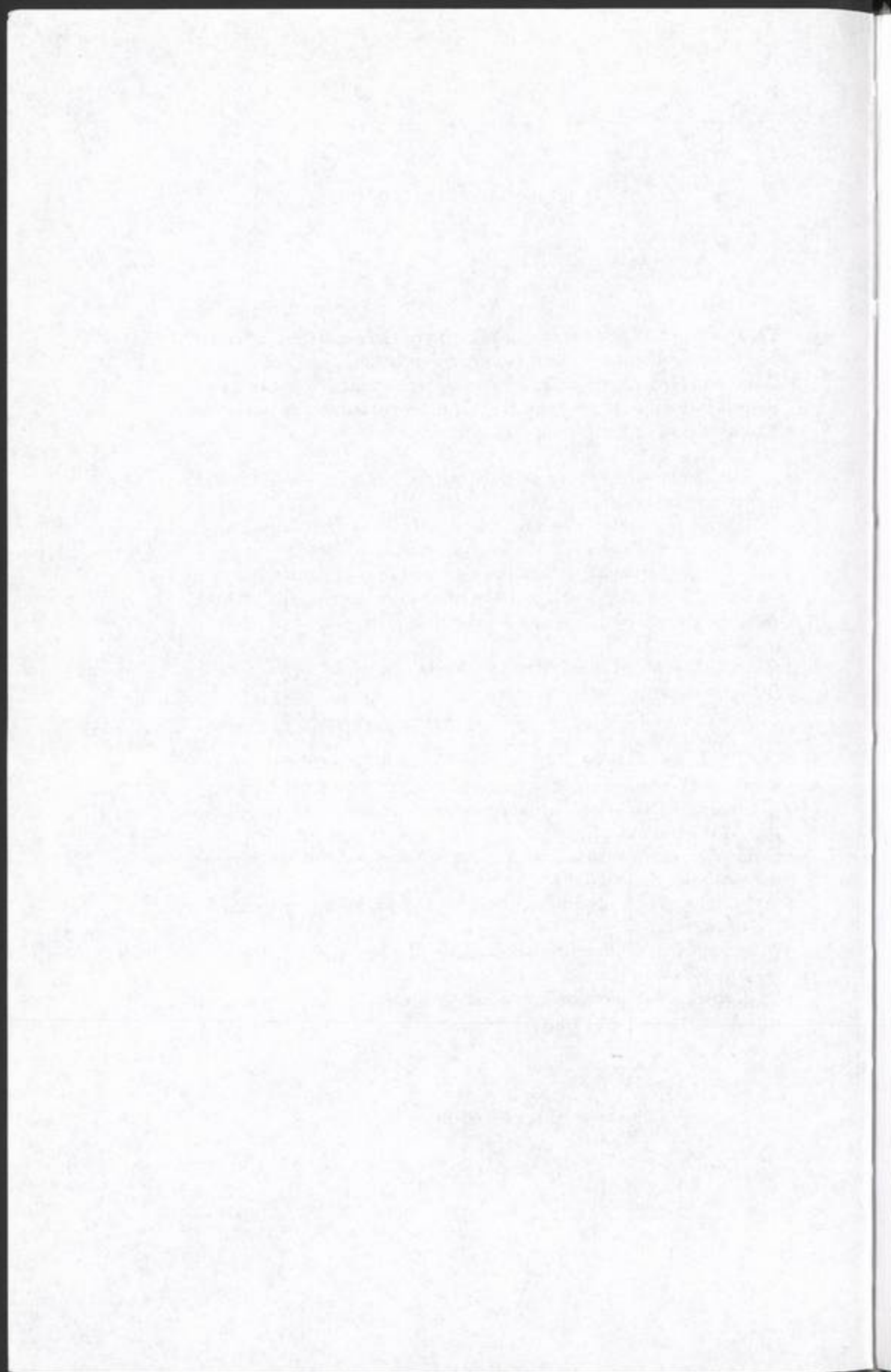
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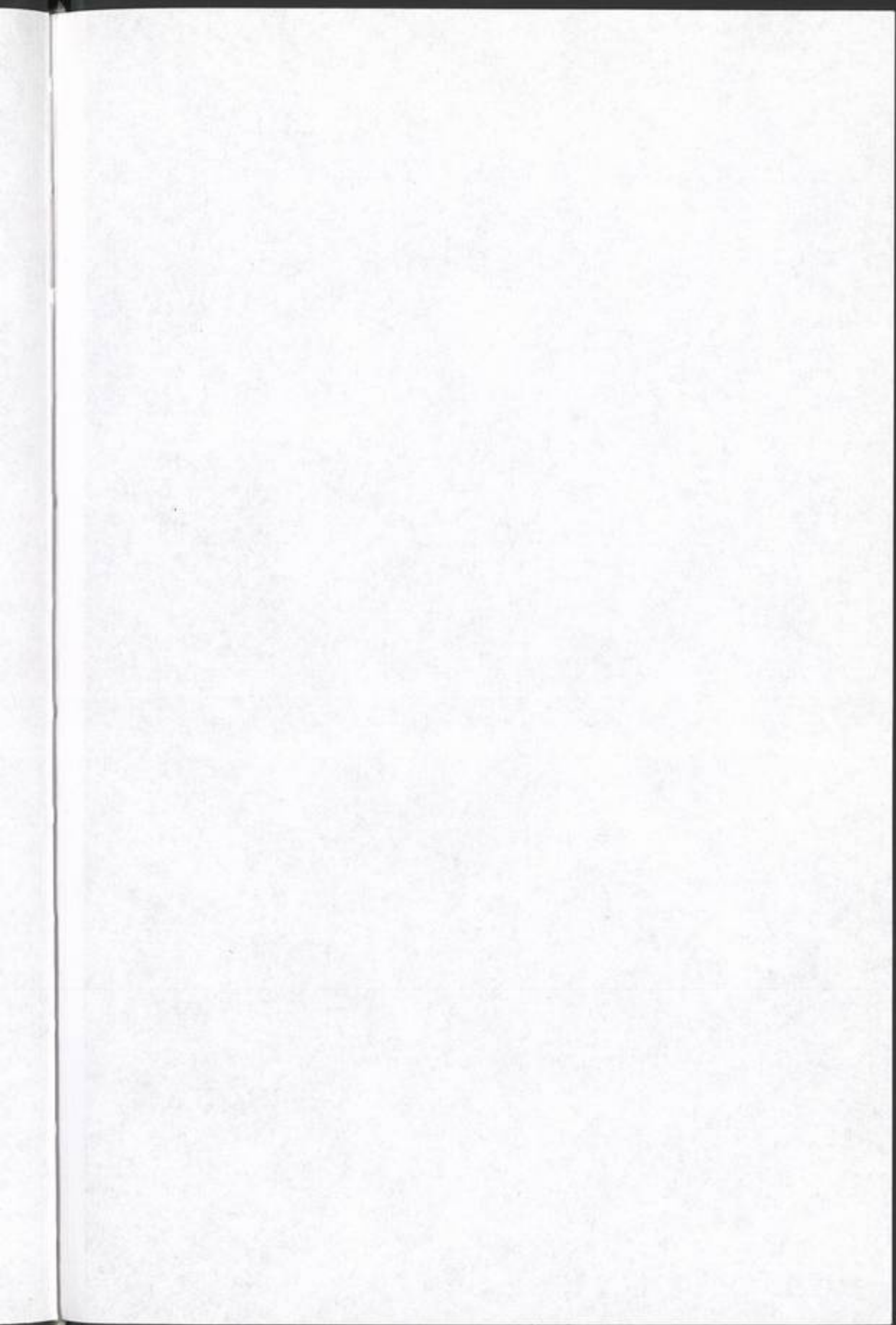
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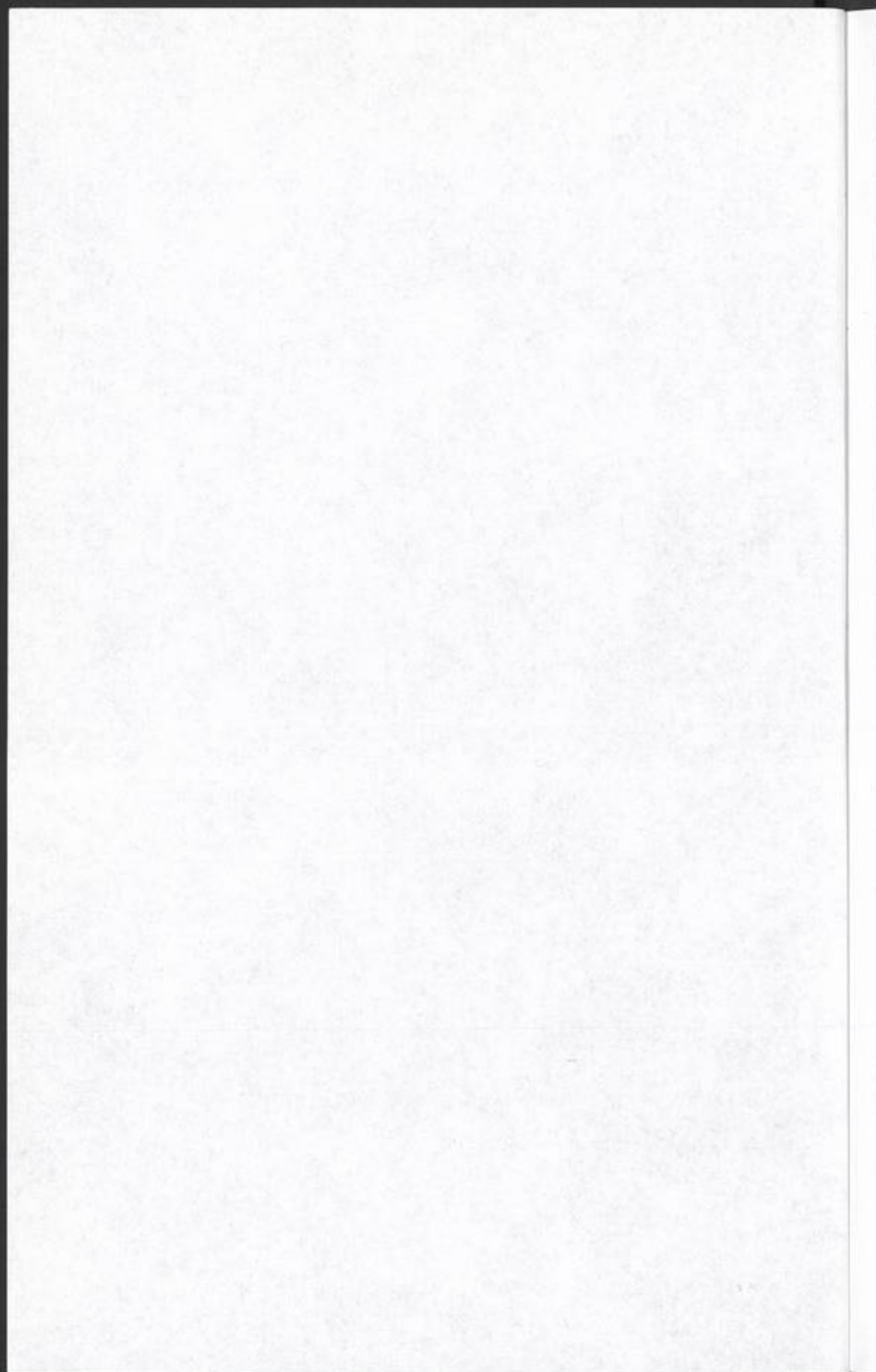
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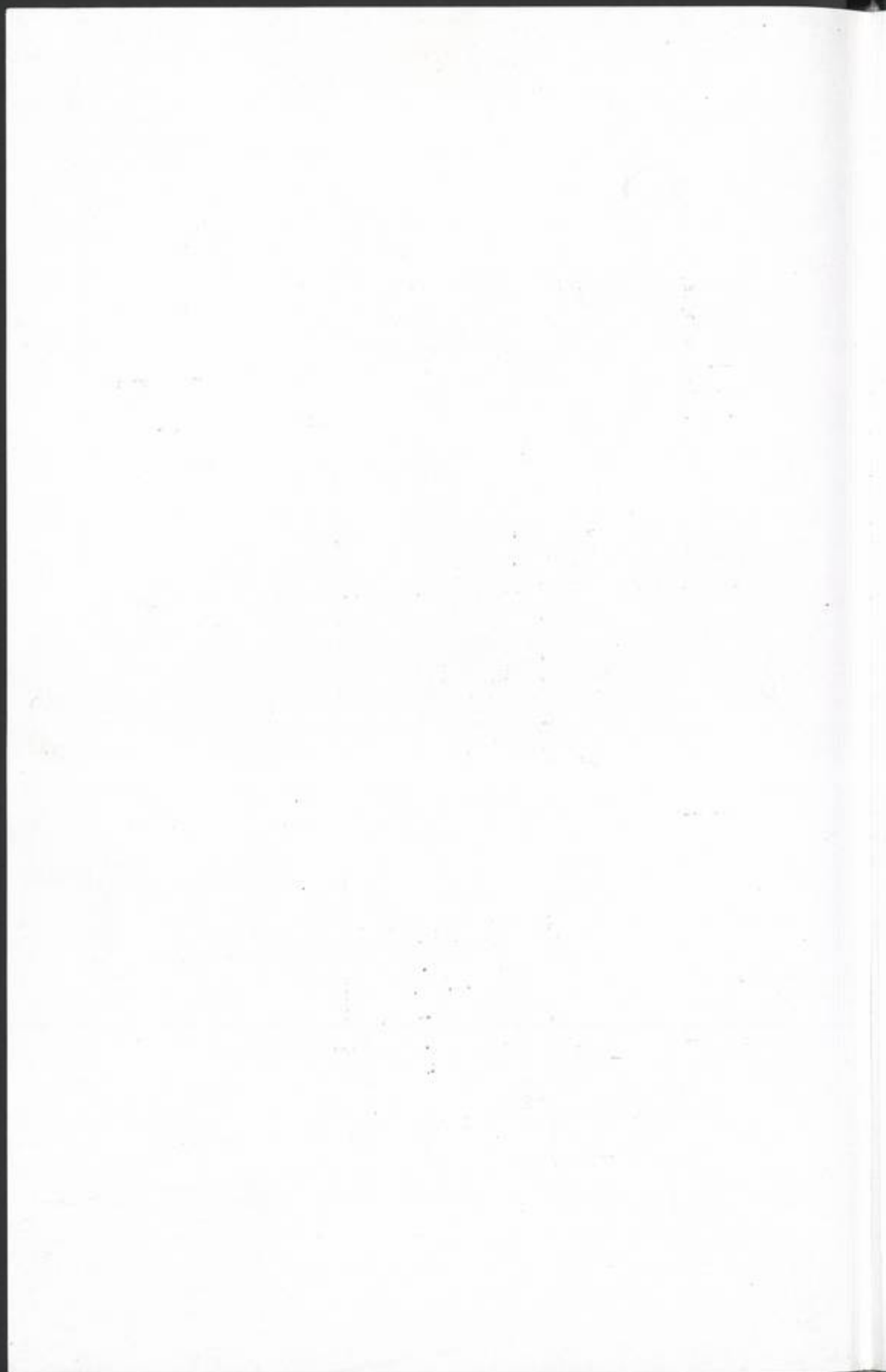
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