

**SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ON CANAAN AND EGYPT  
AND THE SO-CALLED ISRAEL STELA**

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1. Canaan, Canaanite and Egypt

When in 1989 I drew attention to the references to Canaan in the ancient Egyptian texts<sup>1</sup> it was necessary to emphasize yet again that one of the main reasons for our lack of progress in understanding the related geographical problems was our lack of soundly-based definitions for the people and places named in them. Egyptologists themselves tend to forget that their textbooks and translations contain only proposals and assumptions for most of these names, often dating back to the middle of last century, as in the case of the geographical work of Heinrich Brugsch<sup>2</sup> from whom we inherited most of our current geographical picture relating to ancient Egypt. The translated names of the people and places occurring in the ancient Egyptian texts are in most cases not conclusions based on agreement after scholarly scrutiny. To this day most of them are no more than the proposals of some of the great scholars of last century, who enthusiastically tried to explain the newly-found texts to fill some biblical lacunae.<sup>3</sup> Today it is surprising to find that most of these proposals have never at any time been questioned or discussed. I have already in many papers drawn attention to some of these uncertainties<sup>4</sup> which are very basic to our understanding of the ancient Egyptian world.

It is unfortunate that discussion of these problems is nearly always deliberately avoided because it will inconveniently hold back our every step, if we allow it.<sup>5</sup> But as scholars do we really have this choice?

The necessity for defining *Canaan* and *Canaanite* more realistically has long been desirable though we are grateful to those many scholars who have pioneered the way.<sup>6</sup> It will not do simply to continue to equate *Canaan* with ancient Palestine as many serious scholars still do today.<sup>7</sup> Nor should we be continuing to use *Canaanite* as a generic term for people, language and pottery as though they were one problem only instead of three.<sup>8</sup>

It is heartening that many archaeologists today are seeking to bring more clarity to our understanding of the material culture of the Near East and the areas upon Egypt's borders, by defining it in terms of Early Bronze, Middle Bronze and Late Bronze.<sup>9</sup> Whenever this is not done, the question



must be asked: what is the minimum archaeological requirement to identify a site as *Canaanite*? We must demand a precise answer.<sup>10</sup>

In the historical picture of language in the Near East, the "Canaanite" group of languages has been considered to be a branch of the Semitic, parallel with the Aramaic branch, and dating to a period before which we have any reference to Canaan and Canaanite in the literature.<sup>11</sup> However, there has never been indisputable evidence that we are speaking here of a *Semitic* group.<sup>12</sup> There is the tradition which describes Canaan as one of the children of Ham<sup>13</sup> and on that basis, therefore, Hamitic in origin, whatever that may imply.<sup>14</sup>

Time may reveal that our assumptions have been wrong and that our understanding of these problems has consequently been delayed. Scholars must constantly review the basic structures upon which they base their arguments.

The Old Testament passage of Isaiah 19:18 tells us of five cities in the land of Egypt at one time speaking the language of Canaan. This would necessarily have involved some close contacts between Egypt and the people speaking that language. We are aware of the presence in Egypt of the Canaanite god Hauron<sup>15</sup> and also of the ram-god Baal/Seth (all important in *Mendes*, see sketch map fig. 1) who is transformed in the Egyptian cult.<sup>16</sup> In seeking a possible location for these cities we should not lose sight of the fact that Joshua 13.3 refers to *Sihor, the lake of Horus*, as a border of Canaanite territory. It is important to emphasize that the lake or the water of Horus can only consist of *Nile* water, so that we may not suppose these waters to have lain beyond the reach of the annual flood.<sup>17</sup>

The British War Office map of 1882 (no. 105, Part II) shows an area called *El Genân*, associated with a town called *Grûr*, in the central eastern delta of Egypt, which contains many names which may well have had their root in *Canaan*<sup>18</sup> (fig. 1 here), including a *Bir Chanan*. In discussing the relations between Canaan and Egypt, according to the textual and other material, it would not be sound scholarly practice to ignore this very strong evidence, which suggests that Canaan may very well have extended into this part of the delta if not even further westwards across it, considering the presence of a *Tell el Genân* between Lake Mareotis and Lake Idku, with Esbet Kanaïs close by (see fig. 1).

Furthermore, we find in the translations from the early Arabic writers of Silvestre de Sacy in 1810 that there was an area within the "banlieue" of Cairo called *the lands of Baal*, namely *Kom Alrisch*.<sup>19</sup>



In 1985 I discussed *El Arish* in connection with *Irs* and *Alashiya*,<sup>20</sup> pointing out that a possible origin for this word might be found in the Berber root for *camping-place*<sup>21</sup> which corresponds to the biblical *Alush*, with the same meaning (Numbers 33; 13-14; Exodus 17; 1; 19; 2). This name appears several times in the delta of Egypt with minor variations (see fig. 2 here). If any of these were *the lands of Baal*, according to the early Arab writers, then they may well have had ancient links with *Canaan*.

Until now the earliest reference to *Canaanite* has been the Mari letter of the eighteenth century B.C. published by Dossin<sup>22</sup> where *Canaanites* and *thieves* are mentioned together as social categories. Remarkably, in the Egyptian context, our first reference to *Canaanite(s)* occurs in the Mitrahina Stela of Amenophis II (1450-1425 B.C.) where they were also mentioned as a social category rather than an ethnic one, as Maisler noted.<sup>23</sup> They appear on a list which records numbers of foreign nobles, women belonging to them, sons of chiefs and concubines of chiefs all of the hill-countries. There follows a list of booty seized on that occasion. When, elsewhere on that same stela, ethnic groups are in fact listed, *Canaanite* is never one of them.<sup>24</sup> This is true in other Egyptian contexts as well.<sup>25</sup> We find *Canaan* mentioned comparatively rarely on lists of foreign countries<sup>26</sup> and never in an ethnic sense.

As to the earliest reference to *Canaan* itself in the Egyptian inscriptions, so far we have accepted that this occurred during the reign of Amenophis III, on the Soleb column VI as also on the statue base from Berlin 21687, possibly of a similar date.<sup>27</sup>

There is a fragment from the time of Tuthmosis I (1524-1512) which reads: *inknn (int knn3), the Valley of Canaan*<sup>28</sup> (see fig. 3 here). It appears within a crenellated name-ring from a traditional row of bound enemy prisoners. This name appears a number of times on the ancient lists, as Karola Zibelius noted.<sup>29</sup> However, she accepts the opinion of Zyhlarz<sup>30</sup> that this is a southern site, based on the fact that it occurs on a list of names beginning with *k3s* during the reign of Tuthmosis III. This would be quite reasonable and acceptable if we could be sure that these lists truly represent northern and southern countries tidily grouped together. However, these divisions are based on the work mainly of two great early scholars, Heinrich Brugsch<sup>31</sup> and Kurt Sethe<sup>32</sup> whose opinions concerning these names have prevailed until the present day. In the Tuthmosis III lists from Karnak there is very little in the list of "northern" countries<sup>33</sup> to reassure us that this is in fact so. We cannot be sure that these names are all northern ones because we can



recognize only a few of them. Neither can we "identify" with any certainty the names on the list of so-called southern countries.<sup>34</sup> For this reason the appearance of inknn, *the Valley of Canaan* in sixteenth place after k3s on the "southern" list does not make it certainly a southern site.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore the very symbols of the Two Lands, which we have assumed to indicate north and south, namely the papyrus and the swt plant, have never been properly examined and discussed by Egyptologists.<sup>36</sup> The science was presented with this ready-made idea in Champollion's *Grammaire Egyptienne* in 1836, p. 161 and this too was never questioned though a little discussion did occur early on.<sup>37</sup>

To return to Canaan, some of the extent of this area may legitimately be assumed by us as the result of the references in the Egyptian texts of *the Canaan of the PRST*<sup>38</sup> and the *Canaanite male slaves of Kharu*.<sup>39</sup> Also, the references in the Amarna Letters to Canaan suggest a close physical proximity between Canaan and Egypt as do the biblical texts. The fact that Canaan was the direct responsibility of the Pharaoh during the Amarna period confirms this view. Had Canaan been further away than on the immediate northern boundaries of Egypt, it is unlikely that the Pharaoh could have ruled the area with any success or made himself responsible for any wrong suffered by any foreign visitor there purely for practical reasons. I have said elsewhere that the toponyms in the Amarna letters need to be reconsidered radically because their identification is based on the acceptance of so many assumptions from the Egyptological discipline. Had the pharaonic empire been as extensive as the textbooks suggest, we should by now have found more physical evidence for the presence of Egyptians in the countries of the Near East as far as the Euphrates. The reason we have not is that such campaigns were quite impossible for the ancient Egyptians for reasons of logistics. Therefore we must adhere to the evidence we have in considering the extent of Canaan, and not to assumptions based on a false picture of ancient Egyptian hegemony, for which there is no evidence.

## 2. The Israel Stela So-called

We are accustomed to give this name to what is otherwise called the Hymn of Victory of Merenptah, recording this pharaoh's victory against the "Libyan"<sup>42</sup> enemy in year 5 of his reign (1236-1223 B.C.). All the detail on this record is confined to the hostilities of this particular occasion and the text



does not describe in any way Egypt's troubles with any other foreign people.<sup>43</sup> It is only in the last two of its 28 lines of text, at the very end of the stela inscription, that other enemies are mentioned in a general statement that Egypt has established peace with them all, among them people called 'jsrj3r(w).<sup>44</sup>

This stela was found by Petrie in Thebes<sup>45</sup> in 1896 and the text was translated and published immediately, within a few weeks, by William Spiegelberg.<sup>46</sup> It is unfortunately significant that during the century that has elapsed since then, not one scholar has ever questioned or discussed the names of the people and places favoured by Spiegelberg in his immediate translation of this important text. It is to him that we owe the translation of *Israel* from 'jsrj3r(w). Only one of Spiegelberg's contemporaries, James Breasted, questioned the "identification" of *Israel* in this text, on the grounds that it was too early a date for such a record to be possible.<sup>47</sup>

It is quite remarkable that to this day every study of this stela except one has avoided testing or discussing the reliability of Spiegelberg's immediate and enthusiastic proposals for these toponyms and peoples.<sup>48</sup> Two recent studies of this text<sup>49</sup> have totally ignored the geographical and historical problems, confining themselves to the language and metre of the inscription.

The name 'jsrj3r(w) as it appear on the stela is unique and has no parallel in the Egyptian context. It does not appear again anywhere in the Egyptian literature. For this reason Spiegelberg's identification must be considered as no more than a hopeful proposal to satisfy the early Egyptologists who were looking for biblical connections. Furthermore the name is not written as the name of a land but as of a people, with a plural determinative of men and women. Finally, and most importantly, year 5 of the reign of Merenptah, (1236-1223 B.C.) is far too early to suppose a unified identity for the children of Israel.<sup>50</sup>

#### Who, then, might the 'jsrj3r(w) have been?

A brief digression is necessary here with regard to the Libyans so-called in the ancient Egyptian context. We are speaking here of people who lived west of the Nile<sup>51</sup> who were most probably foreign settlers. We have been calling "Libyans" a number of different groups who went by various names: thnw, tmhw, r3bw, msws, m and ms, the first two being the cumulative names for all the groups, who are otherwise named individually



in the texts. All these groups, however, are shown in the iconography to have some very distinctive characteristics in common namely, a particular style of tunic<sup>52</sup> and a curled hairlock on either one or both sides of their head<sup>53</sup> (see fig. 4). Where the colour remains on the monuments, they are shown to have reddish-fair hair and blue eyes.<sup>54</sup>

These people have been called *Libyan* even though there is absolutely no evidence to associate them with the western desert or the area that is Libya today. The evidence points rather to their association with *water* at all times.<sup>55</sup> The earliest writing of the name of thnw in the early dynasties has the determinative of the *island*, which it retains, on and off, throughout the New Kingdom.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore whenever these people are shown to be tied up as prisoners, it is the papyrus rope that binds them, not the other, suggesting that they are to be linked to a swampland area, which is the only place where papyrus will grow.<sup>57</sup> Clearly the name of *Libyan* which we continue to give to the inhabitants of the western delta of ancient Egypt is misleading.

A further point should be made here with regard to the iconography of the so-called Libyans in ancient Egypt. They are clearly symbolized by the lapwing,<sup>58</sup> who is drawn with several of the "Libyan" basic characteristics: the crest for the feather in their hair, the markings down the side of the bird's head drawn like the sidelock, and often a zig-zag line down the body of the bird to reproduce the fringe of the special "Libyan" tunic (see fig. 4 here). The parallel does not stop there. The lapwing (or crested plover) is known to settle only on open mud flats where it lays its eggs in nests made in hollows among the reeds. It is possible to relate this fact to the two main ancient Egyptian names of these people: thnw and tmh(w) which I have proposed may signify t.t hnw and t.t mh(w), both hnw and mh being associated with water, I believe.<sup>59</sup> However, discussion on this, as on some other matters, is not yet forthcoming.

We may conclude our digression by saying that the "Libyans" by their several names in the ancient texts were the most important and most powerful of all of Egypt's enemy neighbours. This is clear not only because of the frequent references to them in the texts from the earliest times, but also because the lapwing very early became an important symbol of these foreigners and is shown personified on the Hierakonpolis macehead hanging by the neck from standards<sup>60</sup> in close association with the Nine bows, the traditional enemies of ancient Egypt. Both lapwings and "Libyans" were



there from the early dynastic period and both were still to be found in the iconography in ptolemaic times.<sup>61</sup>

If these westerners were not *Libyans*, then who were they? We should now return to the 'jsrj3r(w), who, as we must recall, are mentioned only once by this name in the ancient Egyptian literature.

We find references in the early Egyptian Pyramid Texts to people who wore a sidelock and whom the texts call hnsktjw, *the wearers of the sidelock*,<sup>62</sup> confirming that this hairstyle was known at a very early date. Side by side with this fact we should like to draw attention to Peter Kaplony's discussion of the Palermo Stone,<sup>63</sup> in which he suggests that the writing in the Middle Kingdom and later the names of Isis and Osiris (the westerner) may well have been the original way in which they were written and read, namely 3jsrjt and 3jsrj, meaning "der (die) mit der Haarlocke". It is interesting to speculate whether there may be a link here between that word and 'jsrj3r(w) suggesting that the chief identification of these people on the "Israel" stela was the wearing of the sidelock. But we can do no more than speculate for the moment.

Bearing in mind the possibility that some orthodox Jews may have worn the sidelock as early as the third century A.D. according to the Tractate Makkot 20b,<sup>64</sup> should we be asking whether our fair and blue-eyed "Libyans" may not have been some of the Canaanite settlers along the coast of North Africa, or even, some of them, the children of Israel whom we have so far not been able to find in the ancient Egyptian context?

There is a serious problem in suggesting that *Canaan*, 'jsrj3r(w) and *Kharu*, which are all mentioned in the last two lines of the "Israel" stela, can all be referring to Palestine.<sup>65</sup> We have already suggested an area for the *Canaan* in Egypt which seems indicated by the evidence (fig. 1 here). I have also discussed elsewhere<sup>66</sup> in considerable detail the evidence for an identification of *Kharu* which I believe is most likely to have been the area of the Wadi Tumilat, where the water flowed from Tell Basta (Zagazig) to Lake Timsah (the lake of the land of the crocodiles) fig. 1 here. If we accept *Canaan* in this context to be the land along the northern coast of Egypt, and *Kharu*, the channels leading from the central delta to the western lakes, then it is not surprising to find that the western delta is mentioned also in this same context, as thnw. At this present stage of our studies it seems likely that the 'jsrj3r(w) may be a reference to one of the western groups which come under the general term of thnw.



One hesitates to say this, but it should be said: the final two lines of text on the "Israel" stela have all the characteristics of a hasty, last-minute addition, perhaps simply the attempt to fill the remaining space. These final two lines, which may be seen in the legible photographs we have referred to,<sup>67</sup> are what the translators have called "the final twelve strophes". They are in fact a string of unrelated "victory" statements, which have no bearing on the main content of the stela. We could almost say that they are there by accident.

A great deal of work remains to be done, nevertheless, to understand who the Egyptians were referring to by some of the names on this final list. It is certain that in the future not all of them will retain the identities we have given them in the past.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A. Nibbi, *Canaan and Canaanite in Ancient Egypt* (1989) hereafter CCAE. See also Nibbi, "The Canaan in Egypt", *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Vol. 1 (1991), 169-178.

2. H. Brugsch, *Die Geographie der Nachbarländer Agyptens* (1858); also by H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique* (1879); we also owe much to H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* (1925), P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne* (1957-61) as well as to Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947) whose authority as a great scholar unfortunately also helped to re-inforce some geographical errors.

3. At the first meeting of the Egyptian Exploration Fund in 1882 there was a large proportion of clergy among the audience.

4. For example, I have queried the translation of *Byblos* for every occurrence of gbl/kpn in the ancient texts, as though this were not the most common name in the whole of the Near East: A. Nibbi, *Ancient Byblos Reconsidered* (1985) passim; also in chapter one of that study, it was emphasized that there is no evidence whatsoever for accepting either rmnn or rbrn as the *Lebanon*. This is a myth created by the belief that ʿs meant *cedar* instead of *pine* as we now accept. See Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Lexikon Entry: *Zeder*", *Discussions in Egyptology* 7 (1987), 13-27; also Nibbi, "A Note on the Cedarwood from Maadi", *Discussions in Egyptology* 17 (1990), 25-27.

5. The practice is rife of ignoring rather than refuting relevant but unpopular ideas in articles and books. Editors must bear part of the blame for this.

6. It is impossible to list all the contributions to our understanding of this problem so far, though I have quoted many that were relevant to the



Egyptian context, as I saw it in CCAE (see note 1 above). Outstanding among these in pointing out the difficulties are R. de Vaux, "Le Pays de Canaan", *JAOS* 88 (1968), 23-40 and Sabatino Moscati, *I predecessori d'Israele* (1956), 42-74.

7. This is particularly noticeable in the work of Trüde Dothan who uses the terms *Philistine* and *Canaan* without ever having offered a definition for them. This occurs also in A. Ahituv's *Canaanite Toponymys in ancient Egyptian Monuments* (1984) and also in R. Giv'eon's *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (1978), where *Canaan* is simply assumed to be equivalent to *Palestine*. Similarly, I. Singer's reconstruction of Merenptah's "Campaign to Canaan" (*BASOR* 269, 1988, 1-10) based on textbook geography and no real and tangible archaeological evidence, in spite of his stated intention to do this, is very depressing.

8. Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (1982); *The Land of the Bible* (1979).

9. We see this approach in some more objective general studies in *BASOR* and *Levant* in recent years.

10. Nibbi 1989 cit. 10f. We shall never clarify this picture unless we ask these difficult questions.

11. Moscati, cit. see note 6 above.

12. In Nibbi cit. 1991 (note 1 above) the conclusion is offered: "..... the main reason for all our confusion on *Canaan* is the assumption that *Canaanite* implies *Semitic in language*, *Semitic in culture*, and *Semitic in ethnic identity*. It is perhaps possible that it may represent *Semitic* in one or even two of these areas. However, it is also possible that it does not mean *Semitic* in any of them. We need some clearer definitions so that we may all speak the same language in this discussion. Only then may we hope for some progress."

13. Genesis 9:13 and 10:6.

14. G. Böhm, *Suffixconjugation. Zur Aussagebildung in den "Hamitensprachen"*: *Dissertationen der Universität Wien*, 183 (1987), V.W.G.Ö.

15. J. van Dijk, "The Canaanite God Hauron and his Cult in Egypt", *Göttinger Miszellen* (hereafter GM) 107, 59-68. See also R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten* (1967).

16. I have suggested that it is Seth who is hidden in Amun. See Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the God Amun", *Göttinger Miszellen* 63 (1983), 53-63.

17. Nibbi, "The Problems of Sile and t3rw", *Discussions in Egyptology* 14 (1989), 69-78. Also on the effect of the extent of the Nile flood each year see Nibbi, "A Note on t3 sm w" *Discussions in Egyptology* 23 (1992), 39-44.



18. Some of the names on our sketch map are derived from Champollion's *Description de l'Égypte, Atlas*, 1818.
19. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif* (1810), p. 597.
20. A. Nibbi, *Wenamun and Alashiya Reconsidered* (1985) (hereafter *Wenamun*), 126-273.
21. *Ibid.* 125f.
22. G. Dossin, "Une mention de Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari", *Syria* 50 (1973), 277-282. The earliest reference that we have to a place called *Canaan* has been until now on the statue of Idrimi from Alalakh, which Oller dated around 1475-1460 B.C.
23. *BASOR* 102 (1946), 7-12.
24. A. M. Badawi in *Ann. Serv.* 42 (1943), 1-23; W. Helck, *Urkunden des 18 Dynasties* (1955), 1299-1316. Also Elmar Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis II aus Karnak und Memphis", *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 97-176, with Tafel 1-7.
25. Nibbi, cit. 1989 (note 1), 29-61.
26. *Ibid.* 61-65.
27. *Ibid.* 32f., 34.
28. Helen Jacquet-Gordon, "Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I", Supplement vol. to *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale*, T.81 (1981), 41-46.
29. *Afrikanische Orts-und Völkernamen* (1972), 83.
30. *Kush* 6 (1958), 14.
31. Besides the work referred to in note 2 above, an important contribution to the identifications by Heinrich Brugsch may be found in "Die altägyptische Völkertafel", *Abhandlungen des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Berlin 1881, published 1882.
32. His valuable work, *Urkunden IV*, reproducing many of the texts which would have otherwise been unavailable to us, has influenced our thinking concerning the contents, because of the titles over each section of the text which is reproduced. These titles are similar to those of James Breasted in his translated texts: *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906) reflecting collaboration rather than discussion among the scholars.
33. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 787f.



34. Ibid. 795f.
35. The term for k3s itself, accepted as Kush in the Sudan, needs re-examination and re-assessment. I believe this may not be a southern site at all and hope to come to this topic with proper argument before too long.
36. This passage is quoted in Nibbi, "The So-Called Plant of Upper Egypt", *Discussions in Egyptology* 19 (1991), 53-68; see also "A Post-Script to 'The So-Called Plant of Upper Egypt' ", *ibid.* 20 (1991), 35-38.
37. K. Sethe, "Die Namen von Ober-und Unterägypten und die Beziehungen für Nord und Süd", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 44 (1907), 1-29. While this was an important study covering new ground, nevertheless the idea that Egypt was divided between north and south had already been sufficiently established as early as 1907 to cloud the free judgement of this great scholar.
38. Nibbi, *Wenamun* etc. cit. (note 20 above), 52f. See also Claude Vandersleyen, "Le dossier égyptien des Philistins", *The Land of Israel: Crossroads of Civilizations* ed. E. Lipinski (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, n. 19) 1985, 39-54.
39. Nibbi, *Wenamun* cit. 55f.
40. Travel had to be either on foot or by donkey caravan, both very slow and susceptible to ambush. Horses were delicate animals, requiring ample water and careful stabling and regular food and were used only by the nobility in ancient Egypt. See Nibbi, "Some Remarks on Ass and Horse in Ancient Egypt and the Absence of the Mule", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 106 (1979), 148-168.
41. Nibbi, cit. *CCAE*, 63f.
42. Although there is no evidence whatsoever to link the people we call *Libyan* in the ancient Egyptian monuments with the western desert of the area that is *Libya* today, this appellation has continued to mislead us from the earliest times. See Nibbi, "A Geographical Note on the Libyans So-Called" in *Discussions in Egyptology* 25 (1993), 43-62.
43. In 26 of its total of 28 lines of text, this stela deals with the detail of the hostilities with the western enemy only.
44. Nibbi, *CCAE* 38-50, 73-103. A legible photograph of the full text is published there.
45. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (1897).



46. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 34 (1896), 9f.; also SPAW XXV (1896), 593-597.
47. J. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906) Vol. III paragraphs 602-617. See particularly paragraph 613.
48. See E. H. Stein, "The Israel Stela", *Papers for Discussion, Department of Egyptology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (1981-2), pp. 156-165. This scholar rightly emphasized the fact that whereas Israel (sic) is mentioned only once in the records of ancient Egypt, Egypt itself is named 600 times in biblical literature. No explanation of this has ever been sought by scholars.
49. G. Fecht, "Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage", *Fontes atque Pontes, Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner* (AAT, Band 5), 1983, 106-138. In this same volume, E. Hornung, "Die Israelstele des Merenptah", 224-233.
50. W. F. Albright in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1946), 99-102 emphasized that the "Israelites" of the period immediately preceding the Conquest were not a homogenous body, illustrating a fixed social type of known character. He insisted that they were a body of very mixed origin, as explicitly admitted by the Israeli tradition. Furthermore, Albright remarked that the Israelite tradition represents them as settling down almost at once following the destruction of the Canaanite towns, indicating that the Israelites were not typical nomads.
51. The classical writers called all those people who lived west of the Nile, *Libyan* and we have continued to do this with the result that it has affected our true understanding of the circumstances surrounding these westerners.
52. This detail is described in Nibbi, *Lapwings and Libyans in Ancient Egypt* (1986), passim (hereafter *LLAE*). Also Nibbi, "Evidence for the r<sub>h</sub>i-t-people as Permanent Foreigners in Ancient Egypt", *Discussions in Egyptology* 9 (1987), 79-86.
53. Nibbi *CCAE* cit. pp. 66-68.
54. A good colour reproduction of one of the western settler groups may be found in S. Quirke and J. Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*, British Museum Press, 1992, p. 181. He is to be recognized by the crossed bands over his chest, the penis sheath, the tattoos and the curled sidelock. In this case he is not wearing the typical "Libyan" tunic. We can recognize him as one of the Meshwesh by the fact that his sidelock is swept down below his shoulder, as is the case also with Mesher, son of Keper, chief of the Meshwesh, at Medinet Habu. See Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, *Medinet Habu*, Plate 75. His beard is clearly light-brown or reddish-blond.
55. Nibbi, cit. 1993 (see note 42 above).
56. No-one seems to have paid any attention to this fact so far.



57. Scholars have believed that papyrus was abundant all along the banks of the Nile in ancient times. This cannot ever have been true because papyrus will grow only in swampland and not in running water or where the level of the water changes. See Nibbi, *Byblos* cit. (note 4 above) Part I and also studies of plant symbols in note 36 above.

58. The lapwing is an important symbol in the ancient Egyptian iconography and the parallels between the portrayal of this bird and the western settler or *Libyan* cannot be doubted or overlooked as it has been to date. See Nibbi, *LLAE* cit. (note 52 above) Part II.

59. Nibbi, cit. 1993 (note 42 above) p. 45-54.

60. Nibbi, *LLAE* cit. (note 52 above), 21f.

61. *ibid.* 23f.

62. K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 2 vols. (1908-22), S. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, 4 vols. (1952)

63. P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (1966) pp. 69-71.

64. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 13, columns 269-270; Nibbi, *CCAE* cit. 101f.

65. Most of the names listed in these two lines need to be re-examined radically.

66. Nibbi, *Wenamun* cit. 44-101. Also see Nibbi, "Some remarks on the Lexikon Entry: *Syrien*", *Discussions in Egyptology* 8 (1987), 33-47.

67. Nibbi, *CCAE* cit. 40-43.







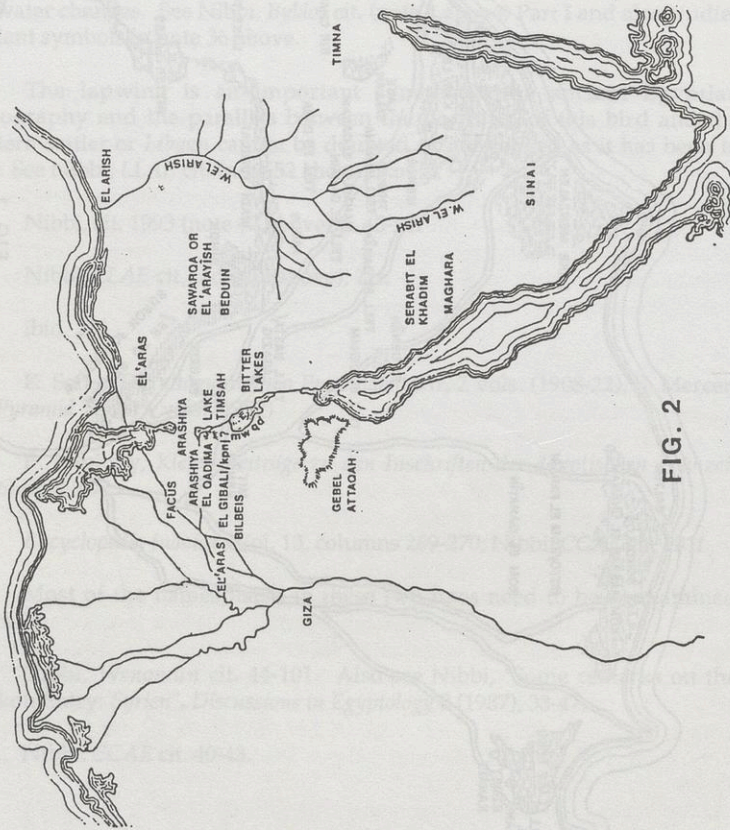


FIG. 2

Fig. 2 This shows the occurrence of names based on <sup>c</sup>Aras/Arish in the delta of Egypt and in the Sinai.



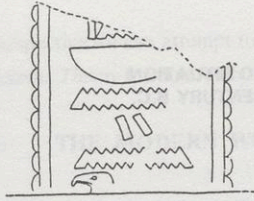


Fig. 3 After Helen Jacquet-Gordon, "Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I", Supplement vol. to *Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale*, T.81 (1981), 41-46.

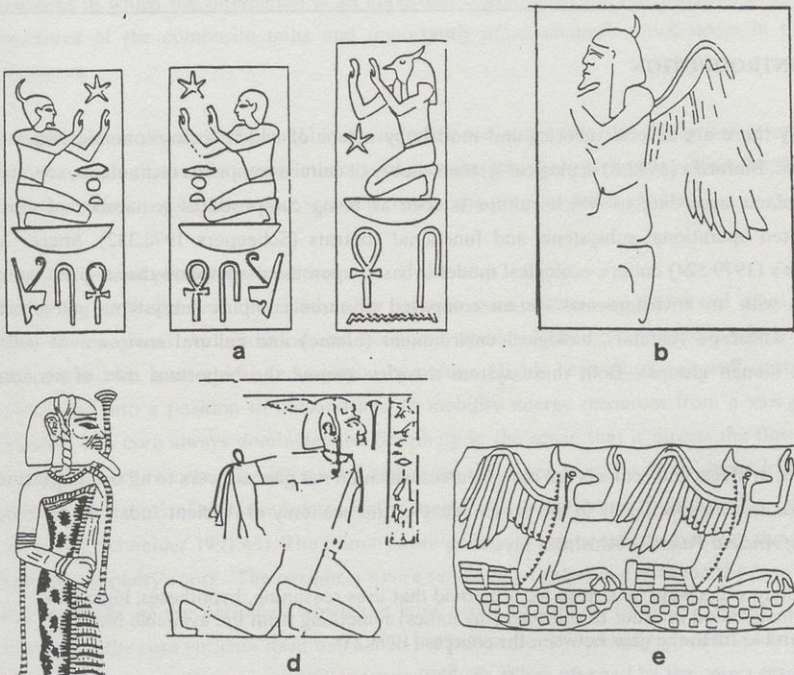


Fig. 4 a) Some labelled lapwing figures from Abd El Hamid Zayed, *Annales du Service* 57 (1972), 115f; b) Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, *Medinet Habu VIII*, Plates 602 and 603; c) from Daressy, *Annales du Service* 11 (1911), 49-63, where the examples are taken from a frieze of glazed tiles from Medinet Habu; from *Medinet Habu* cit. in b above, plate 600; e) from glazed tiles, ref. as in c above.