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Revisiting Egyptian Occurrences of Canaan, Pa-Canaan and Canaanite in Egyptian Sources of the New Kingdom

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Abstract

The article provides a comprehensive analysis of how the term “Canaan” and its variations are used in Egyptian sources from the New Kingdom period. It explores the appearances of “Canaan” and “Canaanite” in various contexts, such as military campaigns, topographical lists, monumental inscriptions, and administrative records. Through a detailed examination of these sources, the study aims to clarify whether these terms refer to the entire region known as Canaan or to specific localities within it, such as Gaza. When the ethnonym “Canaanite” is used, it is possible to determine that the individuals came from the land of Canaan, and that the term does not mean “Gazan.” The findings highlight that “Pa-Canaan” should be translated as “that which belongs to Canaan,” and that the article “*pʿ*” should not be understood as the definite article, but as the possessive article/prefix “*pʿ-(n)*.” The toponym “Canaan” in topographical lists appears in specific geographical contexts, namely together with Sharuhēn and Raphiah on the coastal plain of the southern Levant, and once next to Ashtarot and Rehob in the Beth Shean Valley, and seems to refer to a specific place rather than a region or land, namely Gaza and its environs.

Keywords

Pa-Canaan – New Kingdom – Canaan – Gaza – toponyms – topographical lists

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1 Introduction

The Land of Canaan is mentioned several times in Ancient Near Eastern sources in Akkadian as early as the eighteenth century BCE, including those from Mari, Mitanni, Hatti, Ugarit, Alalakh, Babylonia, and Egypt. Canaan is also mentioned in the Late-Monarchic, Exilic, and Post-Exilic priestly sources of the Bible (Num 34:1–12; Ezek 47:15–20 and 48:1–2) and on a coin from Beirut in the Hellenistic Period. When borders are delineated or geographical locations mentioned, Canaan encompasses a vast territory from Byblos in the north (until the Amarna age, Amurru, Qadesh on the Orontes, and Qatna were also included in the territory of Canaan) to Leboh Hamath (Labwe in the Beq'a Valley). Ugarit and Nuhašše were not part of Canaan. The territory of Canaan covered the entire Cis-Jordan region up to the Brook of Egypt,¹ whether identified as the Besor River² or Wadi el-Arish.³ These territories were regarded as under Egyptian hegemony.

In Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, the place name “Canaan” or the ethnonym “Canaanite” (in the nisbe form, *i.e.*, a noun converted into an adjective, mainly to create appellatives pertaining to family, tribal, national, or other social entities⁴) is found a total of sixteen times; of these, twelve are preserved from the New Kingdom, the earliest dating to the reign of Amenhotep II (1425–1401 BCE).⁵ Three of these occurrences are found on topographical lists and are consistently written without a determinative. The term “Canaan” appears five times in the narrative context of monumental inscriptions and reliefs (Amenhotep II, Sety I, Merenptah) and four more times on papyri dating to the reigns of Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III. Each of the occurrences will be listed briefly in chronological order. The purpose of the article is to clarify the use of the term, whether it denotes the Land of Canaan or the city of Gaza (or another city in Canaan), as several scholars maintain.⁶

1 Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land*, “Where Should we Look for Canaan?,” and “Greater Canaan,” who opts for a “Greater Canaan” – a vague geographical term that includes Ugarit and Cilicia and is not used by the inhabitants of that territory. This idea is criticized by Na’aman, “The Canaanites and their Land,” and “Four Notes”; Rainey, “Who is a Canaanite?”; Tammuz, “Canaan – A Land without Limits,” who advocate for shifting borders for Canaan.

2 Na’aman, “The Brook of Egypt,” 68–90.

3 Rainey, “Toponymic Problems.”

4 Rainey, “Who is a Canaanite?,” 3.

5 Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 83–85; Hasel, “Pa-Canaan.”

6 Katzenstein, “Gaza in the Egyptian Texts”; Redford, “The Ashkelon Relief,” 197; Uehlinger, “Der Amun-Tempel Ramses’ III”; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 27–29; Bruce, “The Merneptah Stele,” 471, n. 21; Spalinger, *The Books Behind the Masks*, 226–28.

In his article, “Pa-Canaan in the Egyptian New Kingdom,” Hasel thoroughly examines the Egyptian evidence. After reviewing all the key documents, he concludes that the term “Pa-Canaan” in New Kingdom sources consistently refers to the broader geographical area controlled by the Egyptians in Asia.

This current article closely mirrors Hasel’s analysis, but arrives at a completely different conclusion – specifically, that “Pa-Canaan” refers to Gaza and its environs rather than the Land of Canaan.

2 Occurrences of the Ethnicon *kynʾnw* (Canaanite) in the Early Reign of Amenhotep II (1425–1401 BCE)

The ethnicon *kynʾnw* 𐎕𐎎𐎗 is attested for the first known time in the early reign of Amenhotep II. The term appears twice, on Amenhotep II’s Memphis and Karnak royal stelae.⁷ In both cases, it refers to 640 captives brought back following Amenhotep II’s campaign to *Rtnw* in his *seventh* regnal year as an ethnicon, designating prisoners taken during his campaign. Notably, in these instances, the term appears without determinatives, a common feature in these stelae when referencing a people group.⁸ The campaign in year 7 was directed against Shamash Edom (to be located west of the Orontes River),⁹ followed by the crossing the Orontes, and fighting against warriors from nearby Qatna, eventually moving southward against Niy (a country on the Orontes, probably near Apamea, Syria), and possibly campaigning against *I-kʾ-ti* (not Ugarit),¹⁰

7 Urk IV 1305, 7; 1314, 11.

8 Hasel, “Pa-Canaan,” 9.

9 Na’aman, “Topographical and Historical Considerations,” 257–58; Singer, “Ēmeq Šārōn or ‘Ēmeq Širyōn?”

10 Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 63 with earlier literature there; Zangani, “Amenhotep II and Ugarit”; Cooper and Mourad, “Further Observations on Ugarit.” Zangani, Cooper and Mourad claim that phonologically and orthographically, *I-kʾ-ti* corresponds to the Old and Middle Kingdom transcription of Ugarit, where *ʾ* is used for consonantal *r*. For the later orthography of the name Ugarit, see: Cooper and Mourad, “Further Observations,” 68. Cooper and Mourad, “Further Observations,” 64–65 claim that the scribes of the Annals of Amenhotep II could use two different systems in writing a foreign placename. In the Old and Middle Kingdom transcription system of foreign words, each Egyptian consonantal grapheme corresponds to a single consonant in a foreign word, ... (hypothetical *I-k-ʾ-t* for */ʔ-k-r-t/*). This system usually employed unilaterals. A second system used a newer ‘group-writing’ method, using purported consonant-vowel groups, many bilaterals or established groups of the type *Cʾ*, *Cw*, *Ci*, or *Cy* along with various digraphs to transcribe sounds in foreign languages. The existence of both the old and new transcription systems across the toponym corpus of Amenhotep II’s Annals *prove* (italics mine) that *ʾ* could represent *both* its phonetic value of */r/* (old system) and indeterminate vowel or zero-value (new “group-writing” system). However, the use of the

and against Ḥašabu in the Beq'a Valley.¹¹ These toponyms advance from the northern borders of Canaan southwards.¹² Therefore, the Canaanites mentioned in these royal texts clearly denote prisoners taken during Amenhotep II's activity in the *northern parts of the Land of Canaan*.

Rainey¹³ claims that the *Ki-na-ʿnu* (Canaanites) are paralleled by the *Ha-ru* (Hurrians) in another booty list. According to him, the Canaanites in the first list correspond to the Hurrians in the second. However, when comparing the numbers of captives (640 Canaanites mentioned in both texts versus 36,300 Hurrians),¹⁴ these two terms cannot be equated.¹⁵

3 *Kynʿnw* on the Berlin Pedestal ÄM 21687

Canaan  written without determinatives is mentioned on a short list inscribed on a fragment of an unprovenanced statue pedestal (Berlin ÄM

single consonants does not prove that that ʿ could represent *both* its phonetic value of /r/, but that there is a variance in the use of syllables. On the contrary, Ritner, "The Supposed Earliest Hieroglyphic Mention," 41* has shown that in other instances in Amenhotep II's stela place names were written with *r* and not with ʿ. It would be surprising that only Ugarit retained its archaic orthography. The Karnak Stela states that some of the Asiatics who are in the city of *I-kʿ-ti* are conspiring to expel the troops of His Incarnation out of the city and to overthrow the king of *I-kʿ-ti* who is loyal (*hr mw; Wb* 11, 52–53 literally "to be on the water of"; "sich unterwerfen; im ergeben sein") to His Incarnation. Thus, the town of *I-kʿ-ti* was subjugate to Egypt, and an Egyptian garrison was stationed in it. When was Ugarit subjugated by an Egyptian king in the early Eighteenth Dynasty? There is no evidence of the Egyptian activity by Thutmose III at Ugarit, not in his annals, and not in his topographical lists. Along the coast the northernmost strongholds fortified by Tuthmosis III were Ullasa and Sumur on both sides of the Eleutheros River, whereas inland, he attempted to consolidate a defensive line centered on Tunip and Qadesh on the Orontes. There is no evidence whatsoever for Egyptian involvement further north on the Syrian coast. Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit," 622; Morris, "Egypt, Ugarit, the god Ba'al," 337–39 claims that Ugarit submitted voluntarily to Egypt; Cooper and Mourad, "Further Observations," 70–74 mention all the available evidence for interconnections between Egypt and Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age IIC or Late Bronze Age I period, but there is no evidence of Egyptian presence at Ugarit, nor even can the Egyptian items securely be dated to the early New Kingdom. See: Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca in der nördlichen Levante*, 249–59.

11 Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman. *Inscribed in Clay*, 132–33.

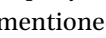
12 Kilani, "Sociolinguistic Identities."

13 Rainey, "Who is a Canaanite?," 6.

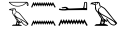
14 *Urk.* IV 1309, line 2.

15 See recently Kilani, "Naming Practices and Identity" and "Sociolinguistic Identities," 53. The people with Hurrite identity were settled at different areas from the West-Semitic speaking population.

21687), alongside Ashkelon and , a place name that some scholars interpret as *Israel.¹⁶ The date of this fragmentary list is subject to debate, but may be dated in the mid of the Eighteenth Dynasty because of its orthography of the name Canaan with the *nw*  sign and its iconographic elements.¹⁷

The Onomasticon of Amenemope (end of the reign of Rameses XI, ca. 1081)¹⁸ may illuminate this list, as Ashkelon is mentioned alongside Gaza (instead of Canaan on the pedestal) and the toponym  *I-s-r*,¹⁹ which may be an alternative spelling of  mentioned on the Berlin Pedestal. Note that the toponyms **I-s-r*, Ashkelon, and Ashdod are all spelled in the Onomasticon of Amenemope with the combination  *is*. These toponyms may be identified as those mentioned on the Berlin Pedestal, and point to the geographical area of Southern Canaan-Philistia. Thus, Canaan mentioned on the Berlin Pedestal does not appear to designate the expansive territory of the land of Canaan, but rather a toponym in the vicinity of Ashkelon.

4 *K3n{n}nʾ* in Egyptian Topographical Lists during the Reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BCE)

The place name *K3n{n}nʾ*  is first found written in Egyptian topographical lists during the reign of Amenhotep III. Canaan appears on the topographical list from the temple of Amenhotep III in Soleb, Nubia.

The toponym is situated on the same column base as Raphiah and Sharuhēn,²⁰ which are geographically in southern Philistia, and adjacent to Gaza. This suggests that “Canaan” in this instance may refer to a specific locality rather than the entire territory of the Land of Canaan. Additionally, the toponym “*Bbr/lʾ*” is mentioned on the column and may be identified with the city of Babel in Mesopotamia; the kingdom appears as “*Sngr*” (Biblical Shin‘ar – Babylonia) on column v,²¹ therefore, the order of toponyms on the statue bases is not entirely clear.

16 Van der Veen, Theis, and Görg. “Israel in Canaan” and Van der Veen and Zwickel, “Die neue Israel-Inschrift”; contra: Adrom, “Israel in Berlin?”; Ritner, “The Supposed Earliest Hieroglyphic Mention.”

17 Laura Peirce, private communication.

18 Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 190*–191*

19 Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 265, 191*; Görg, “Ascher außerbiblich?,” 12, 17 who considered reading Assyria or the tribe of Asher.

20 Giveon, “Toponymes ouest-asiatiques,” 247; Hasel, “Pa-Canaan,” 9; Fleming, *Yahweh Before Israel*, 36.

21 Giveon, “Toponymes ouest-asiatiques,” 245.

5 Distinguishing between Canaan and Pa-Canaan in Ramesside Texts?

In all Akkadian and Biblical sources that mention Canaan,²² the place-name is never written with the definite article.²³ On the other hand, Egyptian place names that are written with the article *p3*, preserve the article in the transcription into Hebrew and Akkadian. For example, the transcription of *P3-t3-rsy* (the southern land, *i.e.*, Upper Egypt) appears as Pathros in the Bible (Isa 11:11. Jer 44:1. 15. 44:15; Ezek 29:14, 30:14) and as ^{KUR}*pa-tu-ri-si* in Akkadian.²⁴

Thus, if the word “Canaan” in the Canaanite language had been written with a definite article, it would have appeared as הכנען (HaCanaan) in the Bible, using the Hebrew definite article הַ (Ha). In the 86 occurrences of the name “Canaan” in the Bible, it is never written with the Hebrew definite article; it is almost always preceded by the word אֶרֶץ (“land of”). In Akkadian sources, the Sumerogram determinatives ^{KUR} and ^{KI}, which denote “land,” are used to describe the land of Canaan.²⁵ A transcription of the term “the Land of Canaan” into Egyptian would require adding the word *t3* (“land”) before “Canaan.”²⁶

In the texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty, Canaan is not written with the Late Egyptian definite (?) article (*p3* for the land/town), nor with the plural definite article *n3* when used as the ethnonym for Canaanites, since the use of the article *p3* was extremely rare before the change to Late Egyptian. In topographical lists it remains extremely rare in the Ramesside period as well.²⁷

In the texts from the reign of Sety I, Merenptah, and Ramesses III, the toponym Canaan is preceded by *p3*. The article may be interpreted as the masculine singular definite article.²⁸ The use of the Egyptian definite article before a foreign toponym, whether town or land is extremely rare beyond the borders

²² See above, note 1.

²³ Canaan occurs 86 times in the Bible. In most instances it is preceded by the word אֶרֶץ “land of”.

²⁴ <http://oracc.org/rinap/Q003289> accessed on June 24, 2024.

²⁵ See transcriptions of the name “Canaan” in Rainey, “Who is a Canaanite?”; Tammuz, “Canaan – A Land without Limits.”

²⁶ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 2, 42; cf. examples with *t3* preceding names of lands. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 6, 1–40. If the definite article is employed, it precedes the word *t3* “Land”.

²⁷ For toponyms in Asia, see index in J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 202–03; for African toponyms, see Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts-und Völkernamen*, 113–17; Cooper, *Toponymy on the Periphery*, 703.

²⁸ Černý and Israelit-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 45–47; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 53–54; for the anaphoric or cataphoric use of the article *p3*, see: David, *Syntactic and Lexico-Semantic Aspects*, 35–36.

of Egypt (in the south and in the Levant).²⁹ However, in a few rare cases a toponym may be written with the definite article, as in the southern toponyms (*pʕ*) *snk*. (possibly edge, beach, shoulder)³⁰ and (*pʕ*)-*ʔbħħʕ* (possibly Wadi).³¹

In most cases where the article is used in geographical names, a geographical feature is mentioned: *pʒ bħn* “the country mansion,” *pʒ ym* “the Sea,” *pʒ tʃ* “the land of” ..., *pʒ tʃš* “the frontier,” *pʒ dʁw* “the mountain,” *pʒ dmi* “the city,” *etc.*³²

Another option is to analyze *p3* as the possessive article/prefix *p3-(n)*, “the one of.”³³ Several toponyms which are written with *p3* are also attested with *p3-n*.³⁴ In that case, the mentioned toponym is part of Canaan *p3 dmi n p3-(n) K3-n-ʿ-n-3* “The town which is part of Canaan.”³⁵ Such clarification is needed in case of a border town or district, which could be regarded as territory of another entity (*cf.* the description of Gaza as *dmi n mḥ.n p3 ḥk3, G-3-d3-t-w*, “the town which the ruler seized, Gaza”).³⁶

6 *P3 k3n'n3* in the War Scenes of Sety I at Karnak (1294–1279 BCE)

The war scenes of Sety I at Karnak describe and depict his campaigns into the southern Levant and mention *pʾ k3nꜣ* twice. The first phrase is: “The destruction which the sturdy arm of Pharaoh, LPH, made (among) the fallen ones of Shasu,  beginning with the fortress of Sile to the Canaan”.³⁷

This description identifies the extent of the campaign against the Shasu nomads from its beginning point to its conclusion. The narrative accompanying the reliefs of Sety I at Karnak locate the Shasu on the ridges/dunes of Khurru .³⁸ These ridges/dunes were identified by Vassiliev³⁹ as the sandy dunes of Northern Sinai along the Ways of Horus. The territory, although in the Sinai,

29 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 2, 36–44.

30 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 2, 40; Cooper, *Toponymy on the Periphery*, 360, 453, 459.

³¹ See Cooper, *Toponymy on the Periphery*, 126–29.

³² Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 2, 36–44; Cooper, *Toponymy on the Periphery*, 703.

33 Černý and Israelit-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 45–47; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 53–54.

34 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* 2, 38, 43 P(?)-n Thn.

35 KRI I 8:15.

36 *Urk.* IV 648: 10–11.

37 KRI I, 8,9.

38 KRI 1, 7,1; the ridges of the rebels; 9,4.

39 Vassiliev, "The Localization of the Shasu-Land."

is regarded by the Egyptians as part of Khurru. The Shasu are depicted on the outer Northern wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak, lower register, second scene as defeated on these dunes.⁴⁰

On the other hand, the merism *m p3 ḥtm n T3rw r p3 k3n'n3* “from the fortress of Sile to the (one belonging to) Canaan” does not include Sile (which is part of Egypt) nor the territory of ‘Pa-Canaan’. Pa-Canaan and Khurru are not totally identical, since Khurru includes the ridges, which are not included in the territory of Pa-Canaan, whether the Land of Canaan or the environs of the city of Gaza, which belongs to the Land of Canaan.

The second reference to Pa-Canaan in the reliefs of Sety I appears on the lower register, east wall of the northern outer Hypostyle Hall, in the description over the fort as *dmi(.t) n p3 k3n'n3*, “town of the (territory belonging to) Canaan” ,⁴¹ written without the throw stick , and without the foreign lands *ḥ3s.t*  determinatives. The locality is not regarded as a territory or kingdom but is specifically designated as a town belonging to Canaan. The references to Pa-Canaan in the reliefs of Sety I seem to point to a debacle in Sinai and Gaza at the end of the Ways of Horus and its immediate surroundings.⁴²

7 *K-3-n-ʿ-n-ʿ* in Topographical List from the Temple of Ramesses II (1279–1212 BCE)

Canaan possibly occurs twice in a topographical list from the temple of Ramesses II at Amarah West.⁴³ Toponym 65 is fragmentary, and only the initial signs *k3*-[xx] survive, it can be emended to “Ca[naa]n.” It is situated on the same column base as Raphiah (toponym 66) and Sharuh[en] (toponym 67),⁴⁴ which are geographically close to Gaza.⁴⁵

Toponym 103 clearly reads  *K-3-n-ʿ-n-ʿ* “Canaan”. Hasel states that “it is significant that the name Canaan appears separately after each of place names in the Shasu-land are listed, indicating that this is a separate

40 Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 242, 1.1; <https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=58329>.

41 KRI I, 8,15; <https://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=56995>.

42 Contra Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9–10.

43 KRI II, list XXVIa, p. 216, toponym 65; 217, toponym 103.

44 KRI II, 217, 103; RITANC II, 107.

45 Giveon, “Toponymes ouest-asiatiques,” 247; Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten,” 67; Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9; Fleming, *Yahweh Before Israel*, 36.

region”.⁴⁶ However, contra Hasel,⁴⁷ the Shasu lands (Amarah North Wall toponyms 92–97) appear at Soleb in column IV a1–*6 (a*4–*6 are emended from the Amarah list),⁴⁸ followed by *Knt-k3mr* in toponym 98 (possibly to be identified with Gath-Carmel in the Sharon plain or the Carmel range),⁴⁹ whereas Canaan and Raphiah are mentioned at Soleb in column VI.⁵⁰

At the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Amarah West, Canaan (toponym 103) is listed between *ʿstrt* (toponym 102; Ashtarot in Bashan east of the Jordan River), and Rehob (toponym 104; Tell es-Sarem, approximately 5 kilometers south of Beth Shean in the Beth Shean Valley).⁵¹ Here, Canaan may be another name for the Egyptian garrison, which served as administrative and possibly trade center at Beth Shean, which is not mentioned in this toponym list and its copies (for identifying Pa-Canaan with Beth Shean on the wall reliefs of Sety I at Karnak).⁵² However, Beth Shean is mentioned in the topographic lists XIII–XVI of Sety I,⁵³ on his Large Beth Shean Stele,⁵⁴ in list XXIV of Ramesses II,⁵⁵ P. Anastasi I 22:8 and Shoshenq I’s list XXXIV:16 from Karnak.⁵⁶

8 *T3 p3 k3nʿn3* in Papyrus Anastasi I (Reign of Ramesses II)

In Papyrus Anastasi I 27,⁵⁷ the scribe mentions the *ph.wy n t3 p3 k3nʿn3*  “The northern ends⁵⁸ of the Land Canaan.” He writes: [*sdd.*]i n.k [h3s.w]t *ph.wy n t3 p3 k3nʿn3. bw wsb.k n.i nfr bin. bw ʿn.k smi.* Gardiner⁵⁹ understood [*sdd.*]i as a *sdm.f* with a future meaning followed by the negative aorist *bw sdm.f*.⁶⁰ He translated accordingly: “[I will describe to]

46 Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9.

47 Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9 and Tammuz, “Canaan – A Land without Limits,” 510.

48 Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten,” 68.

49 Goren, Finkelstein, and Naʿaman. *Inscribed in Clay*, 256.

50 Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten,” 68.

51 Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten,” 68.

52 See De Magistris, “The Forgotten One,” 249.

53 Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 137–47.

54 KRI I, 12:9, 12.

55 Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 160–61.

56 Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 180–81; Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 78–79.

57 Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 76; Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I, Textzusammenstellung*, 150.

58 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 92.

59 Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 28*.

60 Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 100.

thee the [lands] of the extremity of the land of Canaan. Thou answerest me neither good nor evil; thou returnest me no report” and attached it to the following paragraph (§ xx), describing the Ways of Horus from Sile to Gaza. He noted that Pa-Canaan is here, and only here, written with *t3 n* “Land of” before the toponym “Pa-Canaan.” (Note, however, that the text reads *n t3 p3 k3n n3*, and that the *n* precedes the N16 *t3* sign). Katzenstein understood Pa-Canaan as the city of Gaza.⁶¹

Hasel,⁶² following Fischer-Elfert,⁶³ connected the sentence to the previous chapters in the Papyrus, describing Canaan from North to South, understood [*sdd.*] *i* as a *sḏm.f* with a past meaning and translated the sentence in the past: “I have told you of the northernmost foreign lands of the land of the Canaan.” He noted that the scribe clearly defined *t3 n* [sic!] *p3 k3n n3*, as “The Land of the Canaan.” According to Hasel, the phrase is a summary statement at the end of a long discourse on place names and geographical localities mentioned previously. Indeed, the scribe Hori mentioned many places in Canaan in previous chapters.

However, the immediate chapter describes the repair of a broken chariot. Thus, it is difficult to understand the sentence as a summary of the previous survey of toponyms.

The order of words *t3 p3 k3n n3* in Pap. Anastasi I instead of the conventional *p3 t3 k3n n3* “The Land of Canaan” is unique. However, the phrase *phw n(w) t3* belongs together,⁶⁴ “the ends of the land” of Pa-Canaan. While I tend to concur with Fischer-Elfert and Hasel, that in *this* instance, it is explicitly stated that the text refers to the end of the *land* “(*p3*) Canaan.” Pa-Canaan does *not* denote the *dmi* ‘city’ of Gaza, but a territory. However, the extent of this stretch of land is not clear.

It should be stressed, as well, that unfortunately the verb [*sdd*] is emended. The verb is analogous to the verb *sdd* in An. I 27,2, that precedes the list of the toponyms on the Ways of Horus,⁶⁵ which is understood as a prospective *sḏm.f*, and there is no reason to analyze *sdd* in An. I 27,1 differently. Furthermore, usually, verbs such as *sdd* or *dd* are used to introduce a topic, as opposed to closing a section. Lastly, the phrase is emended, including the term [*h3s.w*]*t*. One could think of a different emendation such as *tsw.t* ^{𐀓𐀓𐀓} _{𐀓𐀓𐀓} “ridges” in the lacuna.⁶⁶ These

61 Katzenstein, “Gaza in the Egyptian Texts.”

62 Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 10; Tammuz, “Canaan – A Land without Limits,” 511.

63 Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. Übersetzung*, 231–232.

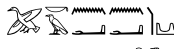
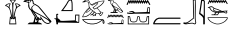
64 *Wb.* II, 538.

65 For a recent discussion of this list, see De Magistris, “The Forgotten One.”

66 Vassiliev, “The Localization of the Shasu-Land.”

ridges were on the way between Sile and Gaza, similar to the ridges mentioned in the reliefs of Sety I,⁶⁷ and therefore, the territory described, might have been the ridges of Sinai towards Gaza and the entrance of the Land of Canaan, which the scribe immediately describes. Advocating an argument based on an emendation, seems precarious. There are too many unknowns in this text.

9 *Pꜣ kꜣnꜣnꜥ* during the Reign of Merenptah (1212–1202 BCE)

During the reign of Merenptah, Pa-Canaan  occurs in the concluding hymn of the Israel Stele.⁶⁸ The text reads:  *hꜣk(w) pꜣ kꜣnꜣnꜥ m bin nb*, “Pa-Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe.”

Perhaps the most decisive reason for understanding *pꜣ kꜣnꜣnꜥ* as a region rather than the city of Gaza comes from the suggested concentric ring structure of the final hymnic-poetic unit of the Merenptah Stele which were first explicitly proposed by Ahlström and Edelman.⁶⁹ The literary construction of a concentric structure moving from the outer ring of lands/nations, Tehenu and Hatti, inwards to the two parallel geographical regions of Canaan and Israel (others suggested Khurru), and finally the small city states and people in the center.⁷⁰

Ahlström and Edelman argued that Merenptah's Israel stood in parallel with Canaan, which thus represent two subregions that together comprised the narrower area of Cisjordan.⁷¹ The area of Canaan represented, according to them, the coastal plain and lowland area, whereas Israel represented the Hill Country. After receiving vigorous criticism,⁷² Ahlström slightly modified his ring-structure argument,⁷³ and stated that “Canaan meant to the Egyptian scribe the well-populated areas in the lowlands areas.”

67 See above; *KRI* I, 7.1.

68 *KRITA* IV, 19, l. 26.

69 Ahlström and Edelman. “Merneptah's Israel.”

70 Ahlström and Edelman “Merneptah's Israel”; Yurco, “Can You Name the Panel with the Israelites?”; Hasel, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela.” 50–51.

71 Ahlström and Edelman, “Merneptah's Israel.”

72 See summary in Hasel, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela,” 47–49 and “Merenptah's Reference to Israel,” 50.

73 Ahlström, “The origin of Israel in Palestine,” 32.

Most subsequent scholars accepted the suggestion that the final lines of the Israel Stela were composed with a concentric ring structure.⁷⁴ However, they do not agree on the corresponding chiasmic elements in the text. Stager paired Israel, “the husband,” understood as masculine, with Khurru “the widow”.⁷⁵

Bimson divides the colas differently.⁷⁶ The three territories Tehenu, Hatti and Canaan are grouped under tricola B, whereas Khurru and Israel are grouped under the corresponding tricola B' in the ring structure, where only two entities are mentioned. He suggests that “Israel is clearly grouped with the major geographical and political entities of the day, and not with the city-states. It is in parallel with Hurru ... and the two together balance the group consisting of Tehenu (Libya), Hatti (Asia Minor and northern Syria) and Canaan (southern Syria and the Palestinian coastal plain).” From Bimson’s analysis it is not clear what the exact geographical or political relationship is between Canaan, Khurru and Israel.

Yurco⁷⁷ followed by Kitchen⁷⁸ pairs Canaan with Khurru and understands them as synonyms. Rainey⁷⁹ affirms that both Canaan and Khurru on the Israel stela synonymously form an *inclusio* designating the territory occupied by Egypt. However, later on in his article he treats Pa-Canaan as the city state Gaza, and not as a “geographical entity”.⁸⁰ Hasel concurs with this division and adds new parallelisms of terms which most accurately maintain the integrity of the text.⁸¹

The different divisions by various scholars suggest that *the chiasmic structure is not as obvious* as the scholars propose. Furthermore, whereas Pa-Canaan, which is plundered, is described as masculine, Khurru is described as widowed, *i.e.* feminine. If these geographical names were synonyms, a similar fate

74 Stager, “Merenptah, Israel and the Sea Peoples,” 56*, *61; Yurco, “Merenptah’s Canaanite Campaign,” 190; “Can You Name the Panel with the Israelites?”; Ahlström, “The origin of Israel in Palestine”; Bimson, “Merenptah’s Israel,” 21–22; Hasel, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela,” “The Structure of the Final Hymnic-Poetic Unit,” “Merenptah’s Reference to Israel,” 52, and “Pa-Canaan,” 11–12.

75 Stager, “Merenptah, Israel and the Sea Peoples,” *61; Williams, “The ‘Israel Stele’ of Merenptah,” 140–41.

76 Bimson, “Merenptah’s Israel,” 21–22.

77 Yurco, “Merenptah’s Canaanite Campaign,” 190 and “Can You Name the Panel with the Israelites?”; Stager eventually accepted Yurco’s ring structure, see: Yurco, “Merenptah’s Canaanite Campaign,” 189, n. 1.

78 Kitchen, “The Physical Text,” 74.

79 Rainey, “Israel in Merenptah’s Inscription,” 63.

80 Rainey, “Israel in Merenptah’s Inscription,” 72–73.

81 Hasel, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela,” and “The Structure of the Final Hymnic-Poetic Unit.”

and treatment would be expected for both. The alleged concentric construction misled the scholars.

Other scholars do not treat the concluding hymnic strophes of the Israel Stela as chiastic.⁸² Redford and Hoffmeier identify Pa-Canaan with Gaza. Hoffmeier,⁸³ divides the list into three geopolitical units: 1. the extremities of Merenptah's realm, Libya and Hatti; 2. Pa-Canaan/Gaza, Ashkelon and Gezer later to be known as Philistia and; 3. Yanu'am, Israel and Khurru in the central Hill Country and Upper Galilee.⁸⁴

Scholars claim that grammatically there are two main forms in the hymn, passive *sdm.w=f* and stative.⁸⁵ This division does not support a poetic chiasmic structure for the unit. The literary poetic inclusion seems to be a fiction of scholars and not a creation of the ancient scribes.

From a geographical perspective, the mention of rebelling toponyms subdued by Merenptah, beginning with the southernmost locality and progressing northward, would make sense. If Canaan were identified with Gaza, the south-to-north order would remain. It would be unusual for a large-scale rebellion in the Levant to begin in Ashkelon and exclude Gaza, rather than encompassing the entire region

Lastly, iconographically, the three city-states, Ashkelon, Gezer and Yanu'am, are given the throw-stick determinative 𓂏 for 'foreign' entity, and the three-hills sign 𓂃 for a mountainous region, while 'Israel' is determined as a people-group, and not a settled state with an urban center.⁸⁶ *P3 k3n'n*, as well as *Thnw* and *Ht3* and *H3rw*, which are regarded as vast geographical regions and great kingdoms have the same determinatives as the city states of Ashkelon, Gezer and Yanu'am, therefore, they cannot be differentiated, and more clearly defined by their determinatives.

10 *P3 kn'n* in Merenptah's Reliefs?

In the following, I will shortly discuss a sequence of war scenes located on the temple of Karnak in Thebes, Egypt. These reliefs are situated along the

82 Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief," 197; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 27–29; Bruce, "The Merneptah Stele," 471, n. 21; Spalinger, *The Books Behind the Masks*, 226–28.

83 Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 28–29.

84 Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief," 197.

85 Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 28 and 45 n. 27. In fact, the grammatical form of *h3f' n Thnw* is debated; Hasel, "The Structure of the Final Hymnic-Poetic Unit," 77; Spalinger, *The Books Behind the Masks*, 226–27.

86 Kitchen, "The Victories of Merenptah," 271–72.

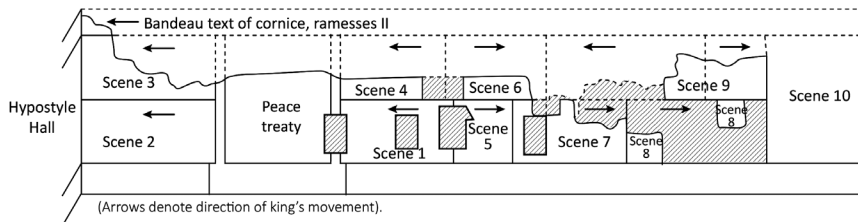


FIGURE 1 Layout and disposition of scenes of Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign Reliefs at Karnak, Cour de la Cachette. The dotted line shows the destruction of the wall.
LINE DRAWING BY NOGA YOSELEVICH

transverse axis of the temple, specifically on the outer western face of the Cour de la Cachette (Fig. 1).

The wall originally featured ten scenes arranged in two registers, one above the other. Each scene is accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions (when the scene is intact).

On the left side of the wall, four battle scenes are depicted, separated by the text of the peace treaty dated to Ramesses II's regnal year 21 between Ramesses II and Hattusili III, the ruler of Hatti. These four battle scenes, progressing from right to left, enclose the treaty, with two scenes on each side.⁸⁷

The scene located to the lower right of the peace treaty was designated by Yurco as scene 1. This scene depicted the conquest of the city of Ashkelon.⁸⁸ The remaining identifications were established based on the sequence of places listed on the Israel Stela, which according to Yurco, corresponded to a clockwise arrangement of scenes on the wall: Yurco labeled the lower register to the left of the peace treaty as scene 2, scene 3 was situated in the upper register above scene 2. Scenes 2 and 3 depict fortresses under attack, though unfortunately, the names of these fortresses did not survive on the reliefs. Yurco identified scene 2 with Gezer, while scene 3 was associated by Yurco with Yanu'am.

Scene 4, in the upper register, to the right of the peace treaty, is of interest in our discussion. The scene illustrates a battle against Canaanites (with full hair and a beard, wearing a headband and an ankle-long dress) employing chariots, which are being trampled by the royal chariot placed prominently in the middle of the scene. Unfortunately, it is challenged by its fragmentary nature, with only the lower row of blocks surviving.

87 Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign."

88 KRITA II, 39.

Yurco, followed by several scholars, noted that in scene 4 the location of the span of the king's horses, with the front hooves of Pharaoh's horses nearly touching the left margin of the scene, would probably not have allowed for the depiction of a town in the scene.⁸⁹ Consequently, Yurco identifies this scene as a battle taking place in open country, interpreted as a confrontation with the people of Israel, mentioned in Merenptah's Israel Stela.⁹⁰

Rainey accepted Yurco's correlation of the relief scenes with Merenptah's hymn in the Israel Stela. However, he did not agree with the clockwise sequence of the scenes starting with the siege of Ashkelon (scene 1).⁹¹ Furthermore, Rainey presents two compelling reasons why the figures in Yurco's scene 4 should not be identified with the Israelites (it should be stressed that the Israelites were never depicted or mentioned on Egyptian reliefs). The figures in scene 4 are dressed as typical Canaanite soldiers and are depicted using battle chariots. Israelites are distinct from Canaanites and would not have been dressed in the same manner. Additionally, chariots were typically associated with individuals of high social status, known as noble warriors, often referred to as Maryanu. It is highly unlikely that the Israelites would have possessed chariots during this period.⁹²

Rainey⁹³ contended Yurco's claim that scene 4 lacked a depiction of a city.⁹⁴ He noted that two thirds of the scene are missing, so there is sufficient space in the upper left portion of scene 4 (only the lower row of blocks survived) to speculate the presence of a city,⁹⁵ although a smaller one than the other towns depicted in the neighboring scenes. Note that the cities are not uniform in size (with Ashkelon being the smallest, the city in scene 2 being larger, and the city in scene 3 being the largest, covering almost the entire height of the scene). For comparison, the city of Yanu'am in Sety I's battle reliefs, which clearly inspired Merenptah's artists, is also depicted in relatively small dimensions.⁹⁶

89 Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," 90; reconstruction by King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 179; Hasel, "Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs," 30, Fig. 4, who reconstructed this possibility in a drawing, although he thinks it unlikely; also Hasel, "Merenptah's Reference to Israel," 57; Brand, "The Date of the War Scenes," 58, n. 45.

90 Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," 212 and "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins," 34; *RITANC* 11, 76; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 52 n. 151, 108, Abb. 142; Hasel, "Merenptah's Inscription," 33–34.

91 Rainey, "Can You Name the Panel," 58, and in "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription," 69 mistakenly counter-clockwise.

92 Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription" 59, 69–70.

93 Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription," 72–73.

94 Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," 90.

95 See also *KRI* I, 167, 5; retracted in *RITANC* 11, 75.

96 Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 245, 1. 6.

This assumed city, within scene 4, would align with Pa-Canaan in the victory poem, symbolizing Gaza the administrative center of Canaan, as evidenced in the reliefs of Sety I on the northern outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall.⁹⁷

If four cities are being conquered, then the entire panorama can be seen to have artistic balance: two conquered cities on each side of the Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty. Rainey stated that this artistic composition would spoil the correlation between the wall reliefs and the poem in the victory inscription, stating that there is no compelling reason why such a correlation should exist.⁹⁸

However, both Yurco and his followers, and Rainey, were focused on identifying the alleged depiction of Israel, correlated with the mention in the Israel Stela, neglecting the artistic composition of the narrative sequence on the wall. The southern section of the wall has been destroyed, and the scenes adorning it have been reconstructed using scattered blocks, documented on paper by Le Saout.⁹⁹ In the upper register, scene 9 depicts the god Amun presenting a scimitar to Merenptah. Amun is instructing him to engage in war. The scene is presently being reconstructed at the southern end of the wall by Gabriella Dembitz.¹⁰⁰ The following scene depicts Merenptah on his chariot. The king embarks for battle in his chariot. These scenes, relatively scarce in Egyptian war narrative representations, inaugurate the entire narrative sequence.¹⁰¹

Viewed from an art-historical perspective, it is crucial to recognize that the narrative commences with scene 9 at the far-right edge of the upper register. Transitioning diagonally to scene 1 in the middle of the lower register to advance the narrative would be a major break in the sequence of reliefs, using Hasel's own terminology,¹⁰² and is therefore highly improbable.

It seems more plausible that a narrative which begins in the upper register would logically continue within that same register, therefore scene 4 should not be viewed as the last episode in the sequence of battle scenes, but as the beginning of the battle scenes following scene 9 depicting Amun commanding the king to go to war¹⁰³ and the King's departure to war.¹⁰⁴

97 Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 243, 1.3.

98 Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription," 72–73.

99 Le Saout, "Reconstitution des murs," 228–31, scenes 4a–4b and pl. 4; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 50–53, 220–21, and 294–97 (illustrations).

100 Personal communication 16 March, 2024, on behalf of the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (CFEETK KIU 6002).

101 For further discussion on this theme, see Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 61.

102 Hasel, "Merenptah's Reference to Israel," 57.

103 Le Saout, "Reconstitution des murs," 228–31, scenes 4a–4b and pl. 4; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 50–53, 220–21, and 294–97 (illustrations).

104 Scene 9, left side: Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 61, 297, 1. 11.

Indeed, Rainey proposed identifying scene 4 as the beginning of the battle scenes, depicting the conflict against the presumed city of Pa-Canaan/Gaza, thus creating artistic symmetry between the four siege battles, two on each side of the Hittite peace treaty (as discussed earlier).¹⁰⁵ Therefore, scene 4 of Merenptah's battle scenes can be identified with the conquest of a city, tentatively identified with Gaza.

11 Canaanite Prisoners mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi IIIA and IV

During the reign of Merenptah, the term  appears as an ethnicon in Papyrus Anastasi IIIA, 5–6 and in Papyrus Anastasi IV 16,4  (written with  Instead of , which mention “Canaanite slaves of Kharu” (*ḥmw knnʿnšw n Ḥšrw*).¹⁰⁶ The fact that the slaves are termed Canaanites of Khurru, and not just Khurrians, or Canaanites as in the inscriptions of Amenhotep II (above), shows that Canaan and Khurru are distinct entities. It is not possible to locate the Canaanites slaves from Khurru,¹⁰⁷ only to conjecture that they derive from the areas that Merenptah conquered and subdued during his campaign. It seems that he did not reach areas much north of the Sea of Galilee.

12 Canaanite Prisoners Mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi IIIA and IV and Canaanite Slaves in Merenptah's Reliefs?

As noted above (Fig. 1), the wall originally featured ten scenes arranged in two registers, one above the other. Each scene is accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions (when the scene is intact).

At the right end of scene 2 in the lower register (possibly to be identified with the conquest of Gezer), Egyptian soldiers are seen deporting Canaanites from their city at the end of the battle (Fig. 2). The convoy of deportees is discontinued by the presence of the peace treaty.

In scene 6, the return of the king with Canaanite prisoners, being led away from the battle field is depicted in the upper register,¹⁰⁸ immediately following scene 4, possibly also depicting Canaanites carried away from scene 3. Only the

105 Rainey “Can You Name the Panel,” 59 and “Israel in Merenptah's Inscription,” 72–73.

106 Gardiner *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 33, 52; Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9.

107 Tammuz, “Canaan – A Land without Limits,” 511.

108 Yurco, “Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign,” 194, fig. 7; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 296, 1.8; <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/5998>).

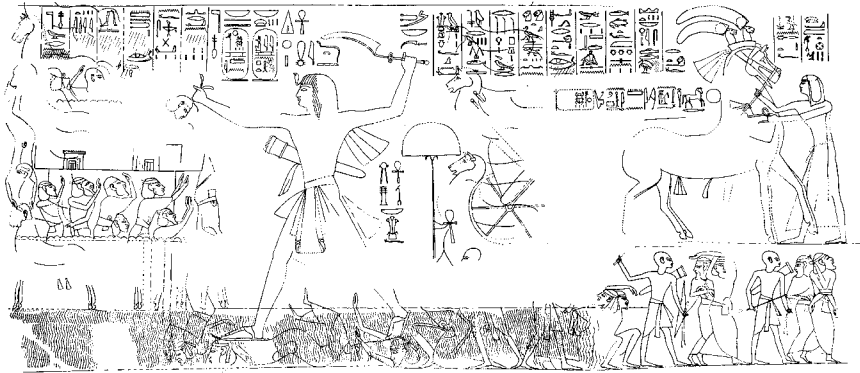


FIGURE 2 Cour de la Cachette, Karnak, scene 2

WRESZINSKI, *ATLAS ZUR ALTÄGYPTISCHEN KULTURGESCHICHTE* II, PL. 57A

lower row of blocks from this scene remain. The chariot of the king is depicted waiting on the right. Behind the chariot, traces of both striding legs of Pharaoh can be seen, before he ascends his chariot. Following him is a row of Canaanite prisoners identified by their ankle long dress. The scene is similar to the scene of Sety I's triumphal return from his campaign against Yanu'am.¹⁰⁹ This may strengthen the possibility that scene 3 depicted Yanu'am. Merenptah, may, as Sety I did, carry off prisoners in both his arms. The feet of the enemy carried in his arms appear above knee.

Scene 8 is mostly destroyed.¹¹⁰ Adjacent to scene 7 two small sized rows of prisoners remain. In the upper row the remains of long dresses of prisoners can be clearly seen. The upper row were Canaanites identified by their ankle long dress.¹¹¹ The Canaanite prisoners are either the Canaanites which are shown led away from scene 2, the extreme left scene in the lower register (possibly Yanu'am; there is no remaining evidence of prisoners being led away from Ashkelon), or a continuation or summary of the Canaanite prisoners from the upper register, and lower register scenes 2, 3 and 4.

At the end of the lower row, five Shasu prisoners, wearing short kilts, distinctive turban-style headdresses and have pointed beards, are portrayed. In front of them there are traces of feet of at least three Canaanites.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," 209, n. 34; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 246, I.9.

¹¹⁰ Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," 195, fig. 9; Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 295, I.5.

¹¹¹ *RITANC* II, 77.

¹¹² Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Taf. *58b.

The accompanying text over the lower file of Shasu can be read: “[The spoils brought by His Majesty] from the Shasu whom His Majesty had plundered (*ḥf*)”.¹¹³ Canaanites may have been mentioned as well. According to the space on the wall, and the standard order of scenes, scene 8 seems to be a scene of presentation of captives to the god Amun, very similar to the presentation scene at the end of the Shasu battle in the reliefs of Sety I.¹¹⁴ When superimposing the scene of Sety I on the reliefs of Merenptah, and locating the fragment in front of the postulated figure of the god Amun, the two scenes are almost similar. Furthermore, it seems that in front of the Shasu prisoners in the lower register, there were at least the same number of Canaanites. Thus, in scene 8 two rows of prisoners were depicted, at the end of which five Shasu captives were shown. It seems that the Canaanite prisoners mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi IIIA and IV correspond with the Canaanite prisoners depicted on Merenptah's reliefs at Karnak and were taken during Merenptah's campaign against Pa-Canaan, Ashkelon, Gezer and Yanu'am.

13 *P3-k-3-n-3* in Papyrus Harris I (Referring to the Reign of
Ramesses III)

Papyrus Harris I (P. BM EA 9999), consists of a list of temple endowments and a brief summary of the entire reign (1186–1155 BC) of king Ramesses III. It contains a reference to a temple built in Canaan:

*kḏ.i n.k ḥw.t štšt m t3 n D3hy mity ʒḫ.t nt pt nty ḥr.t t3 ḥw.t R^c-mss-ḥk3-ʾIwnw
nḥ wḏ3 snb m p3 k3nʿn3*  *m imy pr n rn.k*

(pHarris I, 9,1) I built for you (*i.e.* Amun) an inaccessible house (*hwt* [fem.] in the land of Djahy, similar to the horizon of the sky, which is in heaven, (namely) “The Temple (fem.) of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, LPH,” in Pa-Canaan (9,2) in your name’s sake.

Hasel treats the continuation as a versified structure, paralleling the first verse, that indicates the ultimate results of the building project:¹¹⁵

*msi.i sšmw.k wr htp.(w) m hnw.f Imn R^c-mss-hk3- 'Iwnw 'nh wd3 snb iw n.f
h3s.tyw nw Rtnw hr inw.sn n hr.f mi ntry.f*

113 *RITANC* II, 41.

114 Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 244, I. 5.

115 Hasel "Pa-Canaan," 12.

(pHarris I, 9:1–3) I created your great statue resting within it – “Amun (of) Ramesses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, LPH.” The foreigners of Retenu have come to it, binging their tribute before it (the statue) according to its divinity.

Grandet, translates *m imy pr n rn.k* as “(établi) par donation à ton nom,” and regarding *imy.(t)-pr* as “donation”.¹¹⁶ Hasel misreads the verb *ḳd.i* “I built,” with *msi.i*, “I fashioned/created,” and omits *imy pr* from his translation altogether: “... that is at the heaven House (*ḥwt* [fem.]) of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, LPH, in Pa-Canaan for your name’s sake”.¹¹⁷ He then notes that the suffix pronoun *f* (masc.) referring to the place where the statue was placed does not correspond with the fem. temple *ḥwt*. Hasel, therefore suggests that the statue was placed in the land of Djahy/Canaan. According to Wimmer, the suffix *f* can only refer to the temple *t3 ḥwt* although the temple is a feminine noun; the suffix is used as the Late Egyptian neutral pronoun.¹¹⁸ Another possibility is that the masculine suffix refers to the god Amun.

The statue was placed within an inaccessible shrine *ḥwt št3.t*. Since there is a grammatical discrepancy between the temple *ḥwt* and the place in which the statue was resting, I cautiously suggest that *m imy pr m’y* means “in the *pr* compound/estate/house” of Amun.¹¹⁹ Another possibility is that the suffix pronoun refers to the god Amun.

Grandet,¹²⁰ regards *t3 n D3hy*, the Land of Djahy, *Ḥ3rw* and Pa-Canaan as synonyms, and does not understand Pa-Canaan as a designation of the city of Gaza, but suggests the location may be Beth-Shean. He is followed by Hasel:

D3hy and *p3 k3n’n3* employ the *ḥ3st* hill-country determinative, used most frequently with territorial place names. ... *p3 k3n’n3* must be understood ... as the land of Canaan and not the city of Gaza. The shortened form of *t3 n p3 k3n’n3* is preferred here, just as it was on Sety I’s reliefs, and the same meaning of “the land of the Canaan” seems even more likely given the structure of the passage.¹²¹

116 Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. I, 232; Wimmer, “Egyptian temples in Canaan,” 1086–87 and “(No) More Egyptian Temples,” 99–100; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation*, 57.

117 Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 9, 12–13; contra Uehlinger, “Der Amun-Tempel Ramses’ III,” 6.

118 Wimmer, “Egyptian temples in Canaan,” 1026, n. 27 and “(No) More Egyptian Temples,” 99.

119 For *ḥwt m pr’Imn* see Haring, *Divine Households*, 28, 481.

120 Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, 50, n. 194.

121 Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 13; italics mine.

Hasel, as well, equates Retenu with Khurru and with Pa-Canaan: “Here it is the inhabitants of the territory Djahy/Pa-Canaan/Retenu who come to give offerings to the deity Amun”.¹²²

However, the statue of Amun was situated in an inaccessible shrine *ḥwt šṯ.t*, which was located in the house of Amun *pr Imn* in a specific town, at Pa-Canaan, (not the *Land* of Canaan, as Hasel asserts) probably referring to Gaza, as understood in this study, or possibly to Beth-Shean.¹²³ The author uses the geographical terminology Djahy, and calls the inhabitants people of Retenu.

14 The Use of the Terms Khurru, Retenu, Djahy and Canaan in Royal Inscriptions and Topographical Lists

When the Egyptian scribes want to designate the area of Syria-Palestine in the royal inscriptions, they use the term Khurru.¹²⁴ Other terms used to designate the area of Syria-Palestine in royal inscriptions or in topographical lists are Retjenu¹²⁵ and Djahy.¹²⁶

It is argued here that the term Canaan, on the other hand, is never used in the Ramesside royal inscriptions to designate the territory of Syria-Palestine/The Land of Canaan.

In topographical lists the traditional terms *Rṯnw ḥr.t* and *Rṯnw ḥr.t* are used, and they appear at the beginning of the northern topographical lists, following the traditional enemies of Egypt – the Nine Bows, alongside the great kingdoms such as Hatti and Naharina (Mitanni), or Babylonia (*Sngr*).¹²⁷ The vast

¹²² Hasel “Pa-Canaan,” 13.

¹²³ For an Egyptianized temple at Beth Shean with a faience plaque with the prenomen of Merenptah, see: Mazar, “The Egyptian Garrison Town,” 163.

¹²⁴ KRITA I, 6, 7, 65; KRITA II, 40 (scene 5 in Merenptah’s reliefs!), 60 × 2, 67, 76, 78, 283, 510; KRITA IV, 1; KRITA VI, 183, 309, 552; see also the contrast between Khurru and Kush in the royal inscriptions from the middle Eighteenth Dynasty; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 180*.

¹²⁵ KRITA I, 8, 9 × 2, 10, 11, 12 × 2, 15, 16, 19, 23, 25, 27, 42, 82, 85, 184; KRITA II, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33 × 2, 37, 41, 52, 53–55, 62, 67 × 2, 68, 71, 75, 142, 245X2, 298, 384; KRITA IV, 2; KRITA VI, 10, 515.

¹²⁶ KRITA I, 13 in the area of the Jordan River; KRITA V, 26, 34, 35, 51, 93.

¹²⁷ See the index in Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 210 and the specific lists of Thutmose III, Sety I and Ramesses II. Add the topographical list of Merenptah at the Cour de la Cachette. See Le Saout, “Reconstitution des murs,” 229.

Egyptian messenger to Canaan, but a messenger from somewhere in Canaan to Egypt, his base of activity cannot be the entire province of Canaan, but a specific location. Thus, it seems that Pa-Canaan in this instance should be understood as Gaza.

16 In Conclusion

Our understanding of the term “Canaan” and its variations in Egyptian sources from the New Kingdom period can be summarized as follows:

The Land of Canaan is mentioned in Ancient Near Eastern sources as early as the eighteenth century BCE, in Akkadian texts from regions such as Babylonia, Mari, Mitanni, Hatti, Ugarit, Alalakh, and Egypt (including the El Amarna Letters). The northern border of Canaan extended from Byblos in the northwest to Leboh Hamath in the Beq‘a Valley and further east, though Ugarit and Nuhašše were not part of Canaan.

Canaanite prisoners are recorded during the reigns of Amenhotep II and Merenptah. Amenhotep II captured prisoners during his campaign to the northern borders of the Egyptian Empire in his seventh year, and Merenptah likely captured prisoners during the campaign mentioned in the Israel Stela and depicted in his reliefs at Karnak.

The name “Canaan” appears in topographical lists from the reign of Amenhotep III, including those found in Soleb, Sudan, an undated pedestal in Berlin, and a copy of Amenhotep III’s list in the temple of Ramesses II at Amarah West, Sudan.

When compared to its alleged parallel topographical substitutes – *Rtnw*, *H3rw*, and *D3hy* – the latter do not appear in any of these lists, whereas *Rtnw* appears next to the Nine Bows and great empires. Canaan, on the other hand, does not serve the same function. It appears in proximity to Raphiah, Sharuhēn, and Ashkelon, which are local city-states in the southern Levant, and most likely refers to Gaza. On the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Amarah West, Canaan (toponym 103) is listed between Ashtarot in Bashan and Rehob in the Jordan Valley, possibly substituting for the name of Beth-Shean. Gaza and Beth-Shean, major settlements within Egyptian influence, may have been identified as “Canaan,” implying that these centers belonged to Canaan. However, based on biblical parallels between the terms “Canaanite” and “trader” (Isa 23:8; Ezek 16:29; 17:4), these cities may have served as contact and trading posts between the local population and Egyptian rule.

The term “*p3knʿn*” (“Pa-Canaan”) appears in inscriptions of Sety I at Karnak, on the Merenptah Stela, and in Papyrus Anastasi I and Papyrus Harris I. The

article “*p3*” should be understood not as a definite article but as a possessive article/prefix “*p3-(n)*,” meaning “the one of.” Thus, the area or town mentioned is explicitly defined as belonging to Canaan, likely referring to Gaza and its environs rather than the broader biblical Land of Canaan. Most occurrences of “Canaan” and “Pa-Canaan” in Egyptian sources refer specifically to the city of Gaza rather than the larger region known in the Bible.

Abbreviations

KRI I–II	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical I–II</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1975, 1979.
KRITA I	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations I: Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
KRITA II	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
KRITA IV	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations IV: Merenptah & the Late Nineteenth Dynasty</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
KRITA V	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations V: Setnakht, Ramesses III, & Contemporaries</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.
KRITA VI	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations VI: Ramesses IV to XI, & Contemporaries</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 2012.
RITANC	Kitchen, K.A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated Translations II: Notes & Comments: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions</i> . Oxford, Blackwell, 1999.
Urk. IV, 9–12	Sethe, K. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung IV</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907.
Urk. IV, 17	Helck, W. <i>Biographische Inschriften von Zeitgenossen Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II</i> . Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955.
Wb. II	Erman, A. and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> , vol. II. 4th ed. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992.

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