

**RAMSES AND REBELLION:
SHOWDOWN OF FALSE AND TRUE HORUS
SBL 11/22/98
Peter Feinman**

Introduction

Who was Mehy and what became of him? This somewhat mysterious figure has been a continuous but peripheral presence in Egyptology in the twentieth century. In this paper, I will:

first, review the highlights of scholarship about him by James Henry Breasted [on page 1 of the handout], in Egyptian love poetry [on page 2 of the handout], and by Bill Murnane;

second, reconsider the suggestion of John Schmidt about the occurrence of rebellion during the reign of Ramses II;

and third conclude with my own understanding based in part of the concept of counter-religion recently expressed by Jan Assmann.

James Henry Breasted

Nearly a century ago, in 1899, Breasted identified a figure in the Karnak reliefs as the older brother of Ramses and the first-born son of Seti.¹ This figure appears to have been chiseled out of the Libyan battle scene by Ramses II who then inserted himself into the relief.² Breasted designated this nameless older brother of Ramses as "X."³ At that time he concluded that the battle relief consisted of 3 layers:

1. the original scene and text with no princes;
2. the insertion by Seti's oldest son of himself;
3. the erasure of the oldest son by Ramses II and his insertion of his own name.⁴

So it seemed clear to Breasted that Ramses II had engaged in some retrojected legitimation of his position.⁵

Writing in *A History of Egypt* in 1905, Breasted elaborated on the events behind this sequence of alterations. He claimed that as the 30th anniversary of Seti's nomination as crown prince approached, the eldest son, whose name still was unknown to Breasted, was appointed heir.⁶ Immediately following this

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designation, the new heir then rewrote the reliefs of his father to reflect his new status as previously stated.

As Breasted described it, again in 1906⁷ and then in 1924,⁸ Ramses already was plotting to supplant his older brother and the heir apparent when the time was right. Then, as soon as his father was buried, Ramses implemented his plan. Breasted asserted that Ramses brushed his brother aside without a moment's hesitation and then seized the throne.⁹ Thus the need for Ramses to portray all that Seti supposedly had done for him when he was but a child as part of the correction or spin control to legitimate his reign.

Love Poetry [handout -page 2]

Beginning in the 1930's, a then separate track of academic development occurred. In this path of research the focus was not on the battle reliefs of the pharaohs but the love poetry. In 1931, Alan Gardiner published love songs from Papyrus Chester Beatty,¹⁰ including one Ramesside love song about Mehy.¹¹ In a footnote, Gardiner wrote about this individual:

He is perhaps a royal prince, for he is riding in a chariot accompanied by a band of companions. She [meaning the speaker] is covered with confusion and knows not whether to advance or retreat. She fears to betray her feelings, for in that case Mehy will perhaps hold her cheap and boastingly hand her over to one of his followers.¹²

At this point, there was no attempt by him to identify this possibly royal figure in the love poetry with any historical figure.¹³

In 1948, Paul Smither advanced the process of identification one step further.¹⁴ He noted the apparent absence of all personal allusion as a characteristic of love songs in ancient Egypt. Smither then cited the very footnote of Gardiner's just noted above, but added some additional information.

Ostraca 1078 and 1079 from Deir el-Medineh contain the name Mehy inside cartouches, thus signifying his royal identity. Smither wrote:

It is thus possible to establish the identity of at least one person who was the inspiration of these songs, though it would be useless to speculate as to who he really was and the age in which he lived...¹⁵

Smither proceeded to characterize Mehy as something of a Don Juan, from the time when political leaders boasted of their sexual adventures instead of denying them.¹⁶

In 1985, Michael Fox wrote *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, seeking to relate the biblical text to the Egyptian genre.¹⁷

His take on the poem was somewhat different from Gardiner's 1931 but that

interpretation is outside the scope of this paper.¹⁸ Fox noted that Mehy appears only in this song and the two ostraca and does not appear to be related to a specific historical figure. He suggested that Mehy was a "Cupid-figure who embodies the power of love. He wanders about the earth and holds young people in the bonds of love. Whoever turns himself over to love becomes one of Mehy's followers, one of the kpwy ("trapped one?"), who are apparently none other than the group of males called the 'lovers.'"¹⁹ Fox also notes the existence of a chariot rider in the biblical Song of Songs 6:12.

One might add that the chariot rides with runners by Absalom and then Adonijah (II Sam.15:1-2 and I Kings 1:5) also marked them as heirs to David. Therefore it would be wise not to ignore the visual image that might be immediately conveyed to an Egyptian through the poetry: that the male in the chariot was the heir to the throne at the designation of the current king, the same conclusion Breasted had arrived at regarding figure "X" and French Egyptologist Pascal Vernus had concluded in 1992 once that mysterious figure had been identified as Mehy.²⁰

William Murnane

It was with Bill Murnane that eldest son of Seti "X" and the love poetry figure of Mehy began to come into clearer focus. Thanks to the renewed excavations by the Oriental Institute, Breasted's X now could be identified as Mehy.²¹ He was considered to be a commoner still of unknown origins.²² Even presuming a full name for Mehy of (DN)emheb, such as Pharaoh Horemheb, "Horus is in Jubilation," Murnane states: "no convincing candidate has yet been found among the known contemporaries of Seti I or his son"²³ for this person. It remains unclear to scholars whether Seti had designated Mehy as heir to throne or whether Mehy simply had sought the same position previous military leaders [such as Ay, Horemheb, and Ramses I] had held before they each had become king.²⁴

The full extent of Mehy's warrior exploits are not now known due to vanished registers and inaccessible walls.²⁵ Nonetheless, some information has been gleaned from the Egyptian records and reliefs. Murnane says of him: his exclusive attendance on the king (not to mention the extr-ordinary honor of his insertion into the finished war reliefs) suggest a loftier standing than his titles otherwise imply.²⁶

As the fan-bearer to the king, Mehy may be said to have actively participated in the planning and organization of the early military campaigns of Seti.²⁷ Indeed, his duties may be said to have included, "designating the routes the army would use, coordinating its activities while under way, and perhaps

organizing its tactics in battle."²⁸ Thus Mehy was skilled in the logistics of large-scale troop movements over long distances through friendly and hostile territory.

He certainly would have been familiar with the military camp structure of Ramses that may have served as the basis for the organization of the Israelite camp around the tent and tabernacle.²⁹

So Mehy was close to the king...and was despised by Ramses. As Murnane describes it, there is scarcely any ambiguity in the response this elusive figure elicited from Ramses II.³⁰ The titles which Ramses inserted into the reliefs were designed to stress his rights as the heir presumptive.³¹ "The meticulous fashion with which these points were made is surely relevant to the nature of the threat which Mehy was perceived to be by Ramses."³² Evidently, and the evidence is there, Mehy's obscurity in the Egyptian historical record does not match the impact he had in history.

As king, Ramses now changed how the he had been represented or omitted in the Egyptian historical record as a result of the threat of Mehy just as Breasted had surmised. Ramses began to portray himself in the war reliefs with his father at age 10, a striking innovation since young princes were not so depicted in 18th Dynasty war reliefs.³³ Murnane notes:

...The extraordinary honor Mehy received from Seti I is undeniable proof of his influence, even if we cannot know its precise nature and extent...The existence of so powerful a "right-handed man" as Mehy might well be alarming to a young crown prince who lacked... maturity...The true mystery in this affair--the reason why Seti I permitted Mehy to rise so far above his station--eludes us now [underlining mine], but the implicit menace of such a situation... is not mysterious at all.³⁴

One may reasonably speculate that Mehy's shadow loomed large as Ramses sought to prove himself the more worthy warrior and leader in his confrontations with the Hittites after becoming king given Mehy's own reputation and presence.³⁵

Murnane concluded his review of Mehy by calling the linking of the Mehy of the love poetry and of the Seti battle scenes an "attractive idea, while unprovable, [it] is also not easy to dismiss."³⁶ He described this image of Mehy as the embodiment of an Egyptian hero figure who despite all that Ramses had done to obliterate his physical record, continued to live on in Egyptian memory.³⁷

In sum, Mehy was a charismatic figure of military leadership and popular renown of undetermined ethnic origin, an heir to the throne feared by Ramses and whose name was remembered for at least a century in Egypt, a commoner prince who reached for the crown but who never grasped it.

Reappraising the Rebellion Theory

Did Mehy then simply disappear from history when Ramses became king? According to John Schmidt, Ramses while abroad in Canaan faced a challenge to his rule from within at home that questioned his legitimacy,³⁸ the very issue Murnane cited and a sequence of events reminiscent of Manetho's description of Ramses versus Harmais.³⁹ According to Schmidt, Ramses in year 18 convinced the Canaanite warriors to support him against the false Horus in part by promising land to those equipped for battle⁴⁰ - the people of Ham and Canaan were united as one and would be increasingly intertwined during the remaining years of the New Kingdom.⁴¹

Meanwhile, in Nubia, the longtime ally of the Hyksos based on the Jacob scarabs⁴² and the Second Kamose Stele,⁴³ there were two viceroys for the first time ever in the four centuries of New Kingdom rule, one appointed apparently by Seti and the second specifically by Ramses. This condition stunned its discoverer, George Reisner, into disbelief.⁴⁴ So exactly, where were the loyalties of the people of Kush during the early reign of Ramses and what does the assertion of turf control by the construction of Abu Simbel early in his reign signify?⁴⁵ And what were the Shasu of Yahweh doing at this time?⁴⁶ Furthermore, the wretched others Egypt feared and despised were in the process of expanding in number to include the Sea Peoples - the Egyptian empire would soon be in a losing fight for its life.

I mention all these peoples to indicate that the real world geopolitical situation when Ramses II became king was far more complex than a Cecil B. de Mille movie, DreamWorks cartoon or Pharaonic pylon of propaganda might suggest and that this international and domestic geopolitical context needs to be taken account of in any reconstruction of 13th century BCE Egyptian history.

The Egyptian-Hittite treaty of year 21 in the aftermath of this situation also has raised questions of its timing and purpose.⁴⁷ The pledge of mutual non-aggression is to be expected in such a treaty, but some of the other terms deserve more attention according to Egyptologist Ibram Harari:⁴⁸

1. mutual assistance clauses emphasizing the succession process.
2. extradition of fugitives, which is described in an elaborate manner.
3. promise of amnesty for extradited fugitives.

Harari concluded that it was these non-traditional and novel provisions which represent the essential elements of the treaty.⁴⁹ The situation implied is one where the full military force of the country could be called forth if necessary to satisfy the terms of the treaty.⁵⁰

These stipulations were not written in a vacuum. Egypt appears to have experienced its own succession challenge, just as the Hittites had.⁵¹ One also

should recall that Ramesside stories such as "The Quarrel Story of Apophis and Seqenenre,"⁵² "The Tale of Two Brothers,"⁵³ and "The Contendings of Horus and Seth,"⁵⁴ all have been regarded as having political overtones in the time of their telling: was the right person chosen? Imagine discussing current events through cosmic stories or stories set in the past! And during the second millennium BCE long before Daniel! What a novel idea!

Semitic warriors in Egypt did not cease to exist with the rise of the 18th Dynasty. They were alive and well and significant in the time of Ramses at Kadash⁵⁵ and with the Stele of 400 Years.⁵⁶ Their story has yet to be fully told. Regarding the latter stele, Hans Goedicke asks: "Why should Ramses II in the second half of his reign suddenly have an urge to foster the legitimacy of his rule and that of his family, after they had occupied the throne for more than fifty years?... It seems that the king was emphasizing his legality, which gives the impression of weakness of his position."⁵⁷

So what, if any, was the connection between the fugitive that undergirded the Hittite treaty, the shoring up of legitimacy in the 400 year stela, and the stories of alternative choices for king?

I suggest that there is a connection and that it was Mehy.

I suggest that Mehy is the most logical candidate from the Egyptian archaeological record who had motive, means, and opportunity to have challenged Ramses for the throne. I suggest also, that even though Ramses won, the name of the challenger was not forgotten. As Egyptian power subsequently declined in Ramesside times, perhaps people wondered "what if," especially if they could see a viable alternative, if Mehy had not gone gently into the night and had not disappeared into the oblivion.

Conclusion

Perhaps there is a way to tie all these loose ends together. Redford suggests, it is to the Hyksos to whom we must turn if we are to understand the origins of the exodus.⁵⁸ I agree, but not to their departure from Egypt against their will at the onset of the 18th Dynasty as Redford claims,⁵⁹ but to their departure against the will of Pharaoh in the time of Ramses as alluded to in Leiden Hymn 30, Ramses II's cosmic song of victory over Apophis and the Hyksos.⁶⁰ Let's not confuse the Jacob people of the Middle Bronze Age with the sons of Jacob of the Late Bronze Age.⁶¹ Furthermore,

I suggest that the leader of the second departure can be named.

I suggest that Mehy had the education, training, experience, ambition and exposure to be a pivotal figure in the international geopolitical context of his times.

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I suggest that it was the military Hyksos/Apophis background of Mehy that brought people like him and perhaps Aper-el⁶² to the very pinnacle of power in Egypt but not quite to the position of Pharaoh itself.

I suggest that Mehy became a fugitive like Sinuhe in the wilderness with a story to tell after actually leading a rebellion against Ramses, but that when he returned to Egypt after the Hittite treaty had been signed, it was not to be buried by the Egyptian king.

And finally, I suggest when Pharaoh-wannabee Mehy was exiled to the land of chaos and on the brink of disappearing from history, this charismatic figure in Egyptian politics and love poetry instead drew on his vast training, experience, and ambition and became the man Moses who created history and a counter-religion that rejected the Pharaoh-based culture of Egypt:⁶³

- a counter-religion of Yahweh thy god who took thee out of the land of Egypt as defined in the covenant instead of praising the gift of the Nile;
- a counter-religion of the wilderness deity who caused the waters of Egypt to flood in the Song of Miriam instead of celebrating the myth of Osiris;
- a counter-religion of the warrior Semite who was the smiter of Pharaoh instead of the one smited;
- a counter-religion where the warrior Semite deity replaced Pharaoh in the military tent;
- a counter-religion of the wretched other who did indeed turn Egypt topsy-turvy according to the wisdom of the Passover tradition.

So when Ramesside Egypt watched the sun set on its empire and rise with Israel as the Song of Deborah sings,⁶⁴ it was right to wonder and ask in its love poetry and stories, if it had chosen the right man to be king:

- the one whose ego would become a tourist site, or
- the one whose will would become a living people in history.

To understand Ramses, one must recognize that all his life, the sun king lived in the shadow of the man who would become Moses.⁶⁵ And to understand the Exodus and the origin of Israel, one must recognize what biblical scholars choose to overlook: the role of the individual human being in history.

Footnotes

1. Breasted, James Henry, "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I," ZAS 37 1899 130-139.
2. *ibid* 134-135.
3. *ibid* 135.
4. *ibid* 135-136. Breasted even thought that he had found signs of a third son of Seti in the reliefs who he calls "Y" (136-137) which would complicate the number of times the relief had been altered even more (137).
5. *ibid* 138-139. As to whether the elder brother ever had ruled, Breasted in 1899 offered as a possible trace of that ephemeral rule the tale of Aigyptos and Danaos (139).
6. Breasted, James Henry, *A History of Egypt*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, 418 [2nd edition].
7. Breasted, James Henry, *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol.III The Nineteenth Dynasty*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906, 59-68.
8. *CAH Vol.II*², 1924, 139.
9. "Whether his elder brother gained the throne long enough to have his figure inserted in his father's reliefs or whether his influence as crown prince had accomplished this, we cannot tell. In any case Ramses brushed him aside without a moment's hesitation and seized the throne. The only public evidence of his brother's claims, his figure inserted by that of Seti in the battle with the Libyans...was immediately erased with the inscriptions which shared his name and titles; while in their stead the artists of Ramses inserted the figure of their new lord with the title "crown prince," which he had never borne..." *History*, 418-419.
10. Gardiner, Alan, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty*, London: Oxford University Press, 1931, 27-38.
11. I found Mehy a - riding on the road
Together with his lusty youths.
I knew not how to remove myself from before him.
Shall I pass by him boldly? (Gardiner, 31).
12. Gardiner, 32 n.1
13. The following year, 1932, these love songs were translated into French, and the translator, E. Suys, suggested that this genre represented a rudimentary drama similar to the Song of Songs (Suys, E. "Les Chants d'Amour du Papyrus Chester Beatty I," *Biblica* 13 1932 209-227 [219]). In 1942, it was re-translated into French by Pierre Gilbert who noted that the composer had been overwhelmed by the emotional depth of the poem at the moment of encounter between the man the woman (Gilbert, Pierre, "Le Grand Poeme d'Amour du Papyrus Chester-Beatty I," *Chronique D'Egypte* 17 1942 185-198 [196]). He dated these poems before the artificially numbered Leiden Hymns (187), one of which was identified by me as the song of victory by Ramses at the Exodus (ASOR paper 1997).
14. Smither, Paul, "Prince Mehy of the Love Songs," *JEA* 34 (1948) 116.
15. *ibid*.
16. See also, Lesko, Barbara S., "True Art in Ancient Egypt," in *Egyptological Studies in Honor of*

Richard A. Parker: *Presented on the Occasion of His 78th Birthday, December 10, 1983*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko, Hanover, University Press of New England, 1986, 85-97, especially 96.

17. In 1980, Michael Fox suggested that these love songs were accompanied by mimetic dancing and that the speakers addressed an undefined audience (Fox, Michael V., "The Cairo Love Songs," JAOS 100 1980 101-109 [104]). In a response to this article, Virginia Lee Davis wrote that she had concluded that Egyptian love poetry had been cast "in the traditional mold of their ancient mythological compositions" (Davis, Virginia Lee, "Remarks on Michael Fox's 'The Cairo Love Songs,'" JAOS 1980 111-114 [112]). In an unpublished paper presented at the 1998 ARCE Conference, Los Angeles, CA, "The Mehy Papers: Text and Lifestyle in Transition," Robyn Gillam concluded that "[T]he Hathoric theme permeates these poems." This is consistent with her article, "Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance," JARCE 32 1995 211-237, on the musical activities of these priestess, somewhat reminiscent of Miriam or the daughters of Israel at Shiloh (Judges 21). This raises, of course, the question whether the Song of Songs was composed in the same manner, the very subject of the book by Fox: *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1985.

18. These differences may be summarized as:

- whereas Gardiner envisaged a woman who is confused by Mehy's appearance, Fox identifies the figure as a male, equally indecisive and confused about striding past the figure in the chariot;
- whereas Gardiner described the band of males accompanying Mehy as "lusty youths," Fox sees them in a more passive position, men who are ensnared in love like a bird trapped in a net (58).

Fox writes,

It seems, however, that the youth decided to go to the house of the girl he saw passing by, but on the way he met a mysterious figure called Mehi passing by on chariot followed by a group of "lovers." The youth became confused and was seized by doubts. He was afraid that if he were to stride boldly by Mehi he would turn himself over to him and be put into the group called the kpwy, the ensnared ones (61).

19. Fox, 66.

20. Vernus, Pascal, *Chants d'amour de l'Egypte antique*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale Editions, 174 n.10.

21. Murnane, William, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1977, 61.

22. Murnane, William, The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak, SAOC 42, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985, Appendix 5: The Mysterious Mehy, 163-175.

23. Murnane, William, "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution," in Ancient Egyptian Kingship, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995, 185-217, [200].

24. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 201 and The Road to Kadesh, 164.

25. Perhaps if the still hidden scenes at Karnak on the east side of the outer northern wall of the Great Hypostyle Court describing the northern wars of Seti contain additional information about his experiences...or the lost registers did (see, Spalinger, Anthony, "The Northern Wars of Seti I," JARCE 16 (1979) 29-47 for what does remain).

26. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 200-201.

27. *The Road to Kadesh*, 2nd edition 1990, 108.

28. *The Road to Kadesh*, 2nd edition, 1990, 108.
29. Homan, Michael, "An Egyptian Parallel to the Israelite Tabernacle: The Military Camp," paper presented at the the SBL Conference, November 22, 1998, Orlando, Florida.
30. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 201-202.
31. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 201-202.
32. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 201-202.
33. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 204.
34. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty," 206-207.
35. Ramses propaganda of legitimation may be said to have continued with his battle reports of his year 5 campaign against the Hittites. Scholars take with more than a grain of salt the details as provided by the Egyptian king as well as the conclusion, thanks in part to having an alternative documentary source from the Hittites. See Kadesh footnote below #55.
36. *The Road to Kadesh*, 1st edition 1985, 174.
37. *The Road to Kadesh*, 1st edition 1985, 174.
38. Schmidt, John, Ramesses II - A Chronological Structure for His Reign, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973, 178-179.
- One possible sign of this confrontation exists in a red granite statue 2.41 meters high of Ramses II in the British Museum (#61) where the name of Ramses II appears to have been erased:
- If it be asked why the name of Ramesses was erased, no certainly correct solution can be forthcoming, but it should be noted that there seems to be every sign that this figure was intentionally mutilated: the beard, left arm and inscription on the back pillar have all been hacked away, at the cost of considerable labour and with apparent intention (Smith, Sidney, "A Colossal Statue of the Nineteenth Dynasty," JEA 25 1939 145-147 [146]).
39. Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 15. The relation of Mehy = (DN)emheb to Horemheb in both the records of time and in Manetho's story of Harmais/ Horemheb as an appointed brother not born to the purple needs to be investigated (see Redford, Donald, *Pharonic King-Lists and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Egyptian Sense of History*, Mississauga, Ontario: Benben Publications, 1986, 258-259).
40. Schmidt, 179. One wonders how much the Stele of 400 Years had to do with Ramses shoring up his support with the Semitic warriors of Baal who chose to remain in Egypt and support him (see below).
41. See Higginbotham, Carolyn, The Egyptianization of Ramesside Palestine, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1994; Oren, Eliezer, "'Governors' Residences' in Canaan under the New Kingdom," JSSEA 14 (1984), 37-56; and Weinstein, James, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," BASOR 241 (1981), 1-29.
42. Save-Soderbergh, T., "A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period," JEA 35 (1949), 50-58, 56; Save-Soderbergh, T., "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," JEA 37 (1951), 62.
43. Gardiner, Alan, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 167-168; Habachi, Labib, *The Second Stela of Kamose - and His Struggle Against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital*, Gluckstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin, 1972, 39 and 59. See also, Griffiths, J. Gwyn, "The Interpretation of the Horus-Myth of Edfu," JEA 44 (1958) pp.83-84.

44. Reisner wrote, "...the apparent conclusion that two viceroys held office at the same time is so contrary to all the other evidence that I am afraid to accept it," (Reisner, George, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia,' JEA 6 (1920) 28/55 and 73/88, [40].
45. Spalinger, Anthony, "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia," JEA 66 (1980), 83-99.
46. See the section entitled "Egypt and the Shasu" in Redford, Donald, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, 269-275.
47. "It is equally difficult to isolate a point in time, from Kadesh [year 5] on, when conditions were such that a peace treaty and defensive alliance would have been attractive for Egypt as well as for Hatti," in Schulman, Alan, "Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: The Treaty of Year 21," JSSEA 8 (1978) 112-130, [117]; and Harari, Ibram, "Social Aspects of the treaty Signed by Ramses II and Hattusili," Serapis 6 (1980) 57-61.
48. As recounted by Harari, 57.
49. Harari, 57.
50. Harari, 58.
51. We know from the archaeological record the story of the succession struggle among the Hittites, Urhi-Teshup and Hattusili III, and its impact on the treaty (see Harari, 57-59; Kitchen, pp.73-83).
52. The contemporary 13th century Hittite "quarrel story" was about a royal succession struggle, see the discussion of The "Apology of Hattusilis III" in Gurney, O.R., *The Hittites*, New York: Penguin Books, 1952, 145-146. In a paper entitled "The Israelites as Canaanites: Apophis Imagery in the 19th Dynasty" delivered at the 1997 ASOR Conference in Napa, CA, I made the same claim for this Egyptian story.
53. It may have been composed in response to disturbances within the royal household and royal succession and was an expression of royal ideology and Ramesside Egypt written for a sophisticated audience, see, Hollis, Susan, The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers": The Oldest Fairy Tale in the World, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, p.168.
54. "[It] provides a fusion of contemporary history and ancient myth," in Griffiths, J. Gwynn, "Allegory in Greece and Egypt," JEA 53 (1967) 91.
55. Kitchen, K.A., Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips LTD., 1982, pp.53-62; Stevenson, William, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965, pp.168-179; Schulman, Alan, "The N'rn at the Battle of Kadesh," JARCE 1 (1962), pp.47-53; Schulman, Alan, "The N'RN at kadesh Once Again," JSSEA 17 (1981), pp.7-14; Goedicke, Hans, "Considerations of the Battle of Kadesh," JEA 52 (1966), pp.71-80; Goedicke, Hans, ed., Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh, Baltimore:Halgo Inc, 1985; Zuhdi, Omar, "Benteshina and the N'RN Division," JSSEA 8 (1978), pp.141-142.
56. Montet, Pierre, "La Stele de l'An 400 Retrouvee," Kemi 4 1931 191-215; Labib, Habachi, "The Four Hundred Year Stela Originally Standing in Khata' Na-Qantir or Avaris-Piramese?" in *Actes du XXIX^e Congres international des Orientalistes Section*, ed. Georges Posener, L'Asiatheque: Paris, 1975, 41-44; Goedicke, Hans, "Some Remarks on the 400-Year Stela," CdE 41 1966 23-39.
57. Goedicke, CdE 41 1966, 24 and 34.

58. Redford claims that it is in the Exodus account that we are confronted with a "Canaanite" version of the 16th century Hyksos departure from Egypt, featuring the great ancestral leader Jacob [the name of one of the Hyksos kings], the four-generation span, the memory of political primacy, and the occupation of the eastern fringe of the Delta.

"There is only one [underlining mine] chain of *historical* events that can accommodate this late tradition [of forced expulsion of the Semites], and that is the Hyksos descent and occupation of Egypt. The memory of this major event in the history of the Levant survived not only in Egyptian sources. It would be strange indeed if the West Semitic speaking population of Palestine, whence the invaders had come in MB IIB, had not also preserved in their folk memory this great moment of (for them) glory. And in fact it is in the Exodus account that we are confronted with the 'Canaanite' version of this event, featuring the great ancestral leader Jacob [the name of one of the Hyksos kings], the four-generation span, the memory of political primacy, the occupation of the eastern fringe of the Delta, and so on" (Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times, 412).

But Redford overlooks that the biblical narrative contains two stories of Jacob departures from Egypt. Besides THE Exodus of the sons of Jacob, there is a less noted episode where the individual Jacob leaves Egypt (Gen.50: 1-11). In this story, Jacob in Egypt has died and is treated in death like a king of Egypt. In fact, the biblical story portrays Jacob as superior to Pharaoh (Gen.47:7-10) [the Semitic leader is of 130 years in age versus the Egyptian ideal of 110 years and he blesses this junior Egyptian ruler].

The embalmed Jacob is led by procession of chariots and horsemen befitting both a Hyksos king and Pharaoh to burial. Interestingly, this Jacob makes the point of asking Pharaoh to be buried in his homeland of Canaan an exact reversal of The Story of Sinuhe where that Egyptian leaves the very area to which Jacob is taken so he can return to the land of his birth and be buried near Pharaoh. One should keep in the mind the familiarity of the Israelite writers with Egyptian stories and how that dialogue between the genres and motifs is part of the message of the biblical stories.

It is this Jacob story that is more likely to reflect what Redford calls "folk memory" of the Hyksos "great moment" in Egypt than the Exodus departure of the sons.

59. The departure of the Hyksos from Egypt at the onset of the 18th Dynasty apparently became part of Egyptian mythology as well. See, Griffiths, J. Gwyn, "The Interpretation of the Horus-Myth of Edfu" JEA 44 1958 75-85, on the expulsion of the Hyksos as the historical-political basis for the myth of the battle between Horus and Set commemorated in the in the Horus myth of Edfu. The Hyksos are the key people to understanding so much of what happened and what was remembered.

60. Feinman, Peter, "The Historicity of the Exodus from Egyptian Archaeological Record," paper presented November 19, 1997 at the ASOR Conference, Napa, CA.

61. For the relation between the archaeologically attested Jacobs in Middle Bronze Age Canaan and Hyksos Egypt with biblical Jacob, see Kempinski, Aaron, "Some Observations on the Hyksos (XVth) Dynasty and Its Canaanite Origins," in Israelit-Groll, Sarah, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity*, Jerusalem:The Magnes Press, 1985, 129-137, and idem, "Jacob in History," BAR 14 (1988) 42-47,67.

62. Zivie, Alain, *Decouverte a Saqqarah - Le Vizir Oublie*, Paris: Seuil, 1990.

63. Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, has proposed a new way to understand the historical figure of Moses through what he calls "counter-religion." Assmann writes:

The first conflict between two fundamentally different and mutually exclusive religions in the recorded history of humankind occurred in Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C.E. (24).

He goes on to characterize it as "the most radical and violent eruption of a counter-religion in the history of humankind" (31). The disruption of the Amarna Age religion is well known to all as are the efforts by subsequent pharaohs to cleanse the land of the record of its occurrence. Assmann recounts how the Amarna reminiscences began to be projected onto the Hyksos as in "The Quarrel Story of Apophis and Seqenenre," (28) the story I mentioned last year at ASOR as being part of the Egyptian memory of the exodus. Assmann concludes that the Hyksos conflict was turned into a religious conflict (28). This transformation into a religious conflict occurred in the 19th Dynasty, the time when Ramses claimed to have destroyed the followers of Apophis in Leiden Hymn 30 and when Merneptah claimed to have destroyed the seed of the never-before-mentioned Israel.

64. The Song of Deborah concludes:

So perish all your enemies,
O Yahweh!
But may your friends be like
the sun as it rises in its might (Judg.5:31).

Ben Franklin would use the same solar imagery to refer to the covenanting of God's New Israel in the American Constitution of 1787.

65. The self-portrayal of Ramses as a god contrasts most vividly with the legacy of the man Moses. See Habachi, Labib, *The Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, Gluckstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin, 1969, for the actions of Ramses on his own behalf.