



## From Marriage to Capture: Aspects of the Relations between Egypt and Arzawa during the New Kingdom

Emad Abdel Azeem

Associate professor of History and Civilization  
Egypt and Ancient Near East, History  
Dep. Faculty of Arts, Fayoum University, Egypt  
[aaa02@fayoum.edu.eg](mailto:aaa02@fayoum.edu.eg)

### ABSTRACT

Egypt had many international relations in Anatolia, one of which was with the Arzawa Kingdom, whose own relationship with the Hittite Kingdom was a significant factor in its relations with Egypt, where Western Anatolia posed a significant challenge to the Hittite Kingdom. Many of the regions in Western Anatolia rebelled against the Hittite Kingdom and sought independence from it; Arzawa was the most important of those regions. Arzawa appears in many Egyptian texts and reliefs, such as the Amarna letters (EA 31, EA 32), inscriptions of the Kadesh Battle (both the Poem or “Literary Record” and Report or “Bulletin”), and the inscriptions of the temple of Medinet Habu related to the sea-people’s battles of Ramesses III. This paper hopes to flesh out a more substantial picture of Arzawa and its relationship with Egypt than has previously been presented, and how these relations changed from wishing for marriage (Amarna Letters) to depicting Arzawans as captives on Egyptian reliefs (Kadesh and Habu inscriptions), and the factors that caused such changes.

### ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received 12 January 2023

Received in revised form 20 October 2023

Accepted 28 October 2023

Available Online 10 January 2024

### KEYWORDS

Arzawa;  
Hittite;  
New Kingdom;  
Amarna;  
Ramesside.

### INTRODUCTION

During the latter half of the second millennium BCE, the little-known kingdom of Arzawa lay in the western half of Asia Minor from the Aegean seacoast to the central Anatolian mountains (Meriç 2020, 155, Macqueen 1968, 169-72). It stretched westward from the even lesser-known Kaška on the southern Black Sea coastline, and also westward from the powerful Hittite kingdom in the central highlands. The term ‘Arzawa’ covers two distinctive geopolitical units: “Arzawa proper” or “Arzawa minor” and “Greater Arzawa” (Hawkins 2009, 74, Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 145). Greater Arzawa was a political federation covering several western kingdoms and, for this reason, some of these states were designated the “Arzawa Lands”. Arzawa Lands included: Mira, the Seha River-Land, Hapalla, Kuwaliya, Appawiya, and Wiluša (Meriç 2020, 151, Bryce 2003, 35-40, Beal 2003, 82, Mac Sweeney 2010, 8). After Muršili II’s campaigns in years three and four of his reign, Arzawa was disintegrated and Mira was integrated by the Hittites, becoming the center of western Anatolia. Thus, the name Arzawa was used as a geographical specification for the region of western Anatolia (Hawkins 2009, 74).

In the Hittite sources, the capital of Arzawa was Apaša, a city located either directly on the sea or at least near the coast (Haider 1999, 206), and which some scholars identify with Ephesus (Garstang and Gurney 1959, 88). Recently, some studies have proposed a relocation

of the Arzawan capital “Apaša”. Gander, according to the chemical analysis of the Amarna Letter EA 32, suggested that the capital of Arzawa is to be located in the Aiolis during the Amarna period (Gander 2017, 176). Hawkins disagrees with Gander in his theory and argues that “the Arzawa letter of Tarhundaradu (EA 32) is by no means allegedly sent from Ephesus (Apaša): we have no means of knowing where Tarhundaradu, under whom Arzawa appears to have been united into a powerful federation, would have been based. We only know that two generations later Uhhaziti was based there” (Hawkins 2019, 362). Whether Apaša was Ephesus or Aiolis, this was the core of “Arzawa Land” (Meriç 2020, 151).

On the other side, in order to consolidate the empire established by his forefathers, Thutmose III greatly increased Egypt's military power and used it to great use; he led at least 16 campaigns over the course of 20 years (Lichtheim 2019, 340). His military activities, particularly the battle of Megiddo and its immediate consequences, undoubtedly played an important role in the evolution of Egyptian politics, diplomacy, and administration toward both Levantine polities and other Near Eastern states (Mynářová 2015, 155, Morris 2005, 115). The Egyptian policy was not far from Anatolia, where one of these contacts was the Kurustama Treaty between Thutmose III (recent studies suggested Amenhotep II who is sign this treaty) and Tudhaliya I/II (Breyer 2010b, 67, Garny and Tavernier 2018, 95-100). Egypt's strength and prosperity reached new heights under Amenhotep III's reign. The Amarna Letters were an important witness to Egypt's relations with the other Great Powers of the Near East, as well as the neighboring Levantine client kingdoms (Mynářová 2015, 155). Through his marriage, Amenhotep III established his ties to ancient near-eastern countries. Among his wives were Kelu-kheba, the daughter of Shuttarna II of Mitanni (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 155), Tadu-kheba, the daughter of Tushratta of Mitanni (EA 17, 19, 20-9) (Fletcher 2000, 156), the sister of Kadashman-Enlil I, king of Babylon (EA 1-5), and the daughter of Tarhundaradu, ruler of Arzawa (EA 31, 32). This study aims to investigate the evolution of Egypt's relations with Arzawa, from their desire for marriage during the reign of Amenhotep III to how Arzawa turned against Egypt as allies of the Hittites in the Kadesh Battle and possibly as allies of the Sea-People as depicted in Medinet Habu's inscriptions.

### ARZAWA AND THE HITTITES

It is difficult to establish a good idea about Arzawa without its relations with the Hittite Kingdom, although these relationships are usually studied from a Hittite perspective; on the other hand, it reflects the importance of these neighboring cities and groups (Mac Sweeney 2010, 7). The first mention of the name Arzawa in the Hittite records is in the annals of the Hittite king Hattušili I, then king Muršili I (Bryce 2018, 2, Bryce 2009, 74). During the Pre-Muršili II Period, one can identify Arzawa with “Arzawa Minor”, then, according to the annals of Muršili II the term Arzawa lands refers to Mira-Kuwaliya that extends to the east (Hawkins 1998, 1), Seha River Land with Appawiya to the north, Hapalla and Wiluša on the coast (Alparslan 2015, 132). These regions formed an Arzawan confederacy (Singer 1983, 206). Then, in Muwatalli's treaty with Alakšandu, the king of Wiluša in the Western Anatolia, the three states reappear with the addition of a fourth region, while Wiluša appears as a separated state (Hawkins 1998, 10, Beckman 1999, 87). Furthermore, the Hittite texts designated Arzawa as *kuriwana*, a term which some scholars suggest means “protectorate” and others suggest means “independent” kingdoms (Stavi 2011, 133, Beckman 2006, 287-8).

The Hittite-Arzawan relations date back to the old Hittite period. Heinhold-Krahmer assumes that it originates at the time of Labarna I, (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 12-4), and the Hittite documents record shifts of fidelity and political irregularities in Arzawa; the region was not naturally a single identical unit but a mix of small entities and independent polities (Mac Sweeney 2010, 8). In the Hittite palace chronicle, which is thought to date back to either Ḫattušili I or his successor Muršili I, certain texts refer to Arzawa, such as the texts referring to Nunnu, an individual from the city of Hurma who had probably been appointed to an important administrative position in Arzawa (Bryce 2005, 410). Nunnu is said to have kept for himself an amount of gold and silver which was actually set to be given to the Hittite king (Bryce 2003, 47). This text maybe refers to the Hittite hegemony over a portion of Arzawa, while the annals of Ḫattušili I mention a campaign against Arzawa from which Ḫattušili I brought back cattle and sheep (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 20-1, 27), and, according to CTH 13, Arzawa was mentioned four times during the reign of Muršili I, and in the intermediate period between Old Hittite Kingdom and the Imperial Hittite Period; although Ammuna had to fight against Arzawa, Arzawa had enough time to consolidate its lands and appears as a confederacy (Alparslan 2015, 133).

Although the names of several rulers of Arzawa are preserved from the time of Tudhaliya I/II, the rulers of Arzawa were never mentioned as kings during the old Hittite kingdom, who were instead referred to by the title “Man of Arzawa”, in the same way that the king of Ahhiyawa was mentioned as the “Man of Ahhiyawa”. It is possible that the rulers of the Hittite kingdom’s western territories were considered vassals of the Hittite king, and the term “man of +geographic name” stands for “a king” or “a ruler” of a vassal territory (Alparslan 2015, 136). It is noteworthy that the instruction “man + geographic name” is known also in the Amarna letters, for example: “... the man who is in Byblos...” (EA 74, 5-12), “the man of the ‘apirû...” (EA 91, 2-9).

Notwithstanding that he starts his relations with Arzawa by fighting it on behalf of his father, Šuppiluliuma I seems to have handed over the city Puranda to Uhhaziti, king of Arzawa, who appears for the first time during this reign, with references implying the existence of a treaty between him and Šuppiluliuma I (Hawkins 1998, 14). Hence, Arzawa made a coalition with Ḫatti. During the reign of Muršili II the situation of Arzawa changed, as Uhhaziti refused to surrender to the Hittites. Subsequently, Muršili II fought the Arzawan king’s son, Piyama-ḪAL at Walma on the river Astarpa, and then advanced into Arzawa and arrived at Apaša whence Uhhaziti fled across the sea to the islands (Hawkins 1998, 14). The number of Arzawan captives is mentioned in the annals of Muršili II's third-year: the ones deported numbered 15.500, whereas the fifth-year annals state that the Arzawan captives numbered 66.000 (Glatz 2013, 483). Thereafter, and according to some records from Arzawa ceased to exist as an independent political unit. Some evidence from Karabel texts indicate that Arzawa was incorporated into the state of Mira-Kuwaliy (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 127-9). Thereafter, Muršili II assigned his son Muwatalli to a position to establish control over a more remote and inaccessible western regions, and gave him the permission to strike treaties with western territories (e.g. the treaty with king Alakšandu, king of Wiluša) (Hawkins 1998, 16).

### THE 18 DYNASTY RELATIONS WITH WESTERN ANATOLIA

Epigraphical and archaeological research has revealed Mycenaean long-distance contacts from at least the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC until the beginnings of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, when there existed a stable system of maritime and land-based interconnections (Liverani 2008, 161-7). In addition, most of the Bronze Age exchanges in the Mediterranean were primarily social in nature and had the character of ceremonial gift exchange, thus, the Mycenaean palaces

established diplomatic relations with other Mediterranean powers and monopolized access to foreign goods within the Aegean (Liverani 1972, 298). Furthermore, commercial interests prevailed and played a pivotal role in the flourishing trade economy between the Mediterranean powers (Sherratt 1998, 292-313). In this context, Alparslan states that there “must have been a connection between Mycenaean’s and Arzawa’s rising power in Anatolia, perhaps because of this connection observed in Muršili II Annals, Uhhaziti changed sides to Ahhiyawa and caused Millawanda to do the same” (Alparslan 2015, 140).

The relationship between the Egyptian court and the Aegean coast at the end of the Hyksos period was intense, especially with the rulers of the island of Crete (Bietak, Dorner, et al. 1994, 49-62). This is evidenced by the discovery of the purely Minoan settlements at Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile Delta, including elaborately decorated palace structures, which date to the reign of Thutmose III (Breyer 2010a, 27, Bietak, Marinatu, et al. 2007, 87), and the employment of the below-mentioned Arzawan “chief of craftsmen” at Perunefer, and Mycenaean stirrup jars, likely containers of imported olive oil, which have been found in excavations throughout the Nile valley as far south as Thebes during Dynasty 18. These were likely exchanged for Egyptian linen, grain, and wine—all staples of its foreign export—and, later in the dynasty, glass ingots (Lankton, Pulak and Gratuze 2022, 103354, Kozloff 2012, 232).

At Tell el Amarna, large quantities of Mycenaean pots and vessels have been found, and many of these remains were decorated with fairly simple abstract and floral patterns. Van Wijngaarden suggests that these were part of similar kinds of gift exchanges (Van Wijngaarden 2016, 349). During the New Kingdom, figures of foreign envoys were painted among scenes of daily life in the tombs of the nobles at Thebes, accompanied by their tributes, gifts, and items of trade (Wachsmann 1987, 1). Among these envoys were also Aegeans (Minoans or Mycenaean).

The earliest known mention of Arzawa in Egyptian inscriptions occurs during the reigns of Thutmose III and the co-regency with his son Amenhotep II, who learned several military and naval skills from Min, Thebes' governor (Gundacker 2017, 304). On the roster of the countries of Thutmose III, which “had not been trodden by other kings”, and which he, himself, had just conquered. Inscribed on a wall at Karnak temple, Arzawa is listed on his roster among the hundred-plus territories he captured. Thutmose boasts about the numbers of humans he slaughtered, children he kidnapped, and so on. In the column listing numbers of prisoners brought home from each site is the figure 175 for Arzawa, the fourth? highest after Aleppo, Carchemish and Iteren (Wilson 1969, 242).

From the same reign are entries in the diary of the royal shipyard Perunefer which inform us that individual(s) from Arzawa worked there as shipbuilders (Haider 1999, 205). Among these workers is the name of a man who was most likely not Egyptian, as he is referred to as “the Arzawan” (Breyer 2010a, 317). This man was not just a simple craftsman, but was, according to the papyrus British Museum EA 10056, chief of the craftsman (Gundacker 2017, 320), in addition to his specialist title *hmw.w wr* which means “head carpenter” (Breyer 2010a, 317, Glanville 1931, 108. 120). The position of this person is remarkable because it required skill in both the spoken and written Egyptian language, suggesting a certain degree of education and integration (Breyer 2010a, 318). We can only wonder if this Arzawan was one of the individuals captured by Thutmose III on his conquest of the eastern countries, or if he had been a child brought back to the capital and raised in the *kap* (primary school) with royal children. A comparison might be Inena, son of Hamesh (a Semite?), who was a child of the *kap* of Amenhotep III when he was still a small heir to the throne. As an adult, Inena became “chief craftsman of the shipwrights of the boats of all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt” (Kozloff 2012, 27). In this context, Helck believes that despite the lack of textual evidence to date, Arzawa may have served, among other nations, as a diplomatic intermediary between

Thutmose III and the Hittites during his long reign (Helck 1971, 167). It is notable that, regarding this point, this is not the last instance of Arzawans being integrated into Egyptian society. Some Arzawans lived near the Nile, an example of which is a votive stele from the 19th dynasty belonging to an Arzawan man named Horemwia; the brother of Horemwia bore the name “Arzawa-Man” and held the position of a temple scribe (Haider 1999, 215). It is therefore clear that at least one of these brothers' parents or grandparents came from Arzawa and had migrated to Egypt. It is likely that the person in question or at least their descendants had assimilated into Egyptian society and adopted its culture (Haider 1999, 215, Clère 1959, 89).

According to the peace agreement between Thutmose IV and the Mitannian king Artatama, the situation in Syria and Palestine changed fundamentally. As Arnuwanda I was a weak ruler in Ḫatti, the Mitanni Empire was able to consolidate its power, and Egypt limited itself to keeping order in the area that was left to it. We know that Thutmose IV personally spent some time in the Asiatic possessions (Helck 1971, 168). The extended Amarna period (Amenhotep III to Horemheb) is commonly described as the beginning of international diplomacy; as the Amarna Letters reflect the quality of contacts between Pharaonic Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Anatolia, while other sources from the same time indicate contact between Egypt and the Aegean coast.

Amenhotep III may have made some contact with Mycenae, the only concrete evidence being that small tablets and some faience fragments bearing the name and royal epithets of Amenhotep III have been found in Mycenae (Cline 1987, 1). Any faience object bearing the Pharaonic cartouche must have come from the royal workshops. Thus, one cannot help but wonder if they were official gifts sent by Amenhotep III with a diplomatic mission (Cline 1987, 23). There is also a list of Aegean place names found at the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan (Cline and Stannish 2011, 6-16, Cline 1987, 1-36). (Fig.1). Did Amenhotep III ask Mycenae for a royal bride? And how would he make such a proposal? Surely he could not send a letter in Babylonian or Akkadian. He had already been chided by Tarhundaradu for not having written to him in the more familiar Hittite. We can do nothing but speculate on this point. But the list of Aegean place names at Amenhotep III's mortuary/jubilee temple at Kom el-Hetan indicates that the Egyptians had a fundamental knowledge of Minoan and Mycenaean sites during this king's reign. Foreign tribute bearers in traditional Minoan garb had been a standard scene in Theban tombs in previous reigns. If the Mycenaeans and Minoans were familiar to Egypt, they must also have been familiar to Arzawa, even more so considering the geographic proximity of Mycenae to Arzawa. Therefore, Dynasty 18, especially in the later 15th century and 14th century, was a period of very active international commerce and formalized relationships between and among Near Eastern and Aegean kingdoms and territories despite the occasional flare-ups of military action between and among them (Panagiotopoulos 2001, 271).

At home, Amenhotep III's representation of Arzawa presented an even more lop-sided view of the relationship, as illustrated on colossal inscribed statue plinths unearthed during Sourouzian's excavations of 2004 and 2005. These blocks, now in fragments, were decorated with extremely beautiful and, for the first time, absolutely individual relief depictions of what Egypt considered its subject peoples. Each ethnic group is depicted by the hieroglyph of a kneeling man with his hands tied behind his back [Gardiner A13], which is traditionally construed as a rebel, enemy, prisoner, or subject people. Each of the figure glyphs bears what seems to be a hairstyle and beard and, in some cases, clothing associated with that race or group. Beneath each glyph is the name of the people or country surrounded by a crenelated wall (Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a, 81). (Fig.1). These countries appear as follows: *ḫ-t-t3* [A] (Ḫatti), *I-s-y-w* (Asia | Assuwa | Isuwa), *I* (Arzawa) (Gander 2015, 445, Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005b, Abb. 17, Stadelmann 2008, 801-8, Sourouzian, Stadelmann and Alvarez,

et al. 2007, 329). Many of the toponyms mentioned in the inscriptions have been identified with places in Asia and Ionia, as well as peoples such as Hittites, Syrians and Bedouins. While the name of Arzawa is not completely spelled out, most scholars who have studied partial spellings agree that Arzawa is, indeed, one of the nations listed as if subject to Egypt (Edel and Görg 2005, 16)

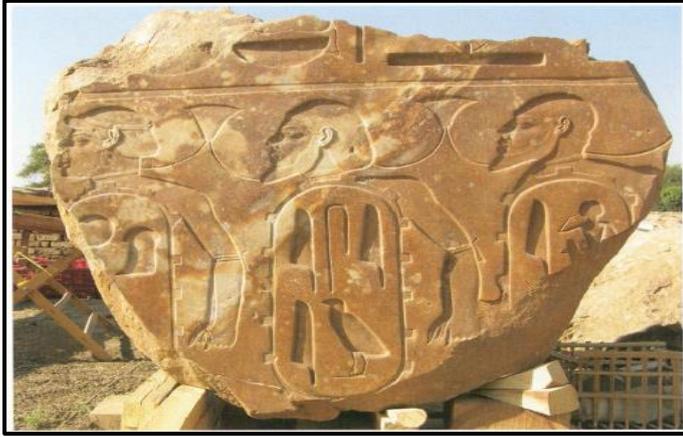


Fig.1. Block from the base of the northern colossus depicting some of the Hittite and the countries of Asia and Arzawa. (Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a, 81).

### ARZAWA IN THE AMARNA LETTERS

The next Egyptian reference to Arzawa concerns the well-known Amarna correspondence (EA 31-32) between Amenhotep III and King Tarhundaradu of Arzawa, wherein Pharaoh seeks to acquire an Arzawan princess as one of foreign brides. In so doing, Amenhotep III shows respect for the Arzawan king as something approaching an equal, good enough to commingle with the millennia-old Pharaonic bloodline. In EA 1, sent by Amenhotep III to Kadashman-Enlil I, the Babylonian king asked the pharaoh his doubts about the identity of a girl who was shown to one of his messengers in Egypt. This letter also refers to countries which were in diplomatic and marriage relations with the pharaoh, such as Hanigalbat and a country called KUR *Ga- $\langle$ aš $\rangle$  ga-ia* (EA1: 38) that Von Schuler and Rainey identified with Kaška (Von Schuler 1965, 80, Rainey 2015, 61). However, Singer suggested that the last country, *Ga- $\langle$ aš $\rangle$  ga-ia*, may be Arzawa, as this Anatolian land had sent a princess to Amenhotep III, and maybe the author or writer was confused (Singer 1999, 624. no. 70).

Arzawa actually appears in two documents from the Amarna archive. The first is EA 31 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 4741); the second is EA 32 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin Inv.-Nr. 342).

#### EA 31:

- (1) Thus says Nimuwaria, Great King, King of the land of Egypt,
- (2) to Tarhundaradu, King of the land of Arzawa, speak.
- (3) With me (it is) well, my houses, my wives, my sons,
- (4) the nobles, my army, my horse,
- (5) anything of mine within my lands
- (6) all (is) well.
- (7) With you may all be well,
- (8) your houses, your wives, your sons, the nobles,
- (9) your army, your horse, anything of yours
- (10)  $\langle$ within $\rangle$  your lands, may all be well.
- (11–12) See, I have sent you Iršappa, my envoy.
- (12–13) Let us see the daughter whom they will bring to My Majesty for marriage.
- (14) For her (he will?) pour oil on her head.
- (15–16) See I have sent you one nice gold (zu)halaliya.

- (17) The works for which you wrote to me (saying):  
 (18) “Send them to me,” I will send them to you afterwards.  
 (19–21) Dispatch back to me your envoy and my envoy at once and let them come,  
 (22) and they will come and bring you the bride-price for your daughter  
 (23–24) my envoy, but the envoy who came (as) yours, he has died (?).  
 (25–26) Bring me people of the Gasga-land. I have heard .... everything.  
 (27) Now the land of Hattusa has been frozen (?)  
 (28–29) Now see, I have sent you a consignment duly by the hand of Iršappa my envoy:  
 (30–38) (list of presents).

The above text finds a parallel in the marriage correspondence between Amenhotep III and Tahundaradu of Arzawa that survives in Hittite sources (CTH 152):

1. [k]a-a-ša-mu ki-i ku-it <sup>m</sup>kal-ba-ia-a[š]
  2. [u] t-tar me~mi-iš-ta ma-an-wa-an-na-aš
  3. iš-ha-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar i-ia-u-e-ni
- 
4. [nu?] <sup>m</sup>kal-ba-ia-an Ú-UL ha-a~mi
  5. INIM-ia-at me-mi-iš-ta A-NA tup-pi~ma-at-ša-an
  6. Ú-UL ki-it-ta-at
- 
7. nu ma-a-an ha-an-da-a-an am-me-el DUMU.MUNUS-IA
  8. ša- -an-h L. -Lš-ki -ši. nu-u t' - ta Ú- UL- i m-ma
  9. pi-ih-hi pi-ih-hi-it-ta
- 
12. .... ku-u-un-na-mu me-mi-an tup-pi-az
  13. EGIR-pa ha-at-ra-a-i
- 

Translation by Pringle:

“Behold: this matter which Kalbaya has spoken (about) to me, 'Let us make a blood relationship between us!' [Now], I do not believe Kalbaya. He spoke the word(s), but they have not been set on a tablet. Well, if you continue truly to seek my own daughter, shall I not indeed give (her) to you? I shall give (her) to you! ... reply to me (regarding) this matter on a tablet.” (Pringle 1993, 189).

**EA 32:**

- (1) See, this message which Kalbaya
- (2) spoke to me (saying): ‘Let us
- (3) make ourselves a marriage-alliance,’
- (4) [now] I do not trust Kalbaya.
- (5) He spoke it verbally, but on a tablet it
- (6) was not set down.
- (7) Now if truly my daughter
- (8) you are seeking, will I not indeed
- (9) give (her) to you? (Of course) I will give (her) to you!
- (10–12) Now dispatch Kalbaya back to me with my envoy in haste,
- (12–13) and write back this matter to me by tablet.
- (Note by scribe)
- (14–15) The scribe who reads this tablet
- (16–18) may Nabu king of wisdom and the Sun-God of the Gatehouse duly protect him,
- (19–20) and may they duly hold (their) hands around you!

(21–23) You, Scribe, duly write to me, also put your own name after.

(24–25) The tablets which they will bring, always write in Hittite (nešumnili) (Hawkins 2009, 77, Rainey 2015, 331).

By his marriage to the daughter of Tarhundaradu of Arzawa, Amenhotep III sought to assure Egyptian access to western Anatolia, and to preserve Egyptian prestige at home and abroad (Pringle 1993, 307). Obviously, at this time, the main enemy for the Hittite Kingdom was Mitanni, Arzawa and Kaška (Starke 2020, 271), and it is possible that Amenhotep III saw Tarhundaradu, king of Arzawa, as the next Great King of the Anatolian region (Bryce 2003, 56). In this context, EA 31: (27) “Now the land of Hattuša has been frozen (?)” refers to a catastrophic situation, specifically the unfortunate series of events of the reign of Tudhaliya III, known as the “concentric invasions” supports the suggestion made above (Klinger 2006, 194, Hawkins 2009, 79).

For the Arzawan king Tarhundaradu, it must have been of great interest to achieve his daughter's political marriage, both from an economic point of view and from the aspect of gaining personal prestige (Haider 1999, 209). In principle it is possible that the planned marriage could have been prevented by the intervention of the Hittite Empire, which was regaining strength under Šuppiluliuma I (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 54), but the alliance between Amenhotep III and Tarhundaradu seems to have been well in advance of the Hittite seizure of power. Schulman suggests that the Arzawan ruler's statement: “If you really desire my daughter, should I not then give her to you? Naturally I will give her to you!” (Schulman 1979, 185, note 36), and adds that “implies that Amenhotep III had already written proposing a marriage, while in EA 31 the marriage has apparently already been agreed upon, with only the ceremonial anointing of the bride's head with oil still to be done before she is to be brought to Egypt” (Schulman 1979, 185, note 36).

The Egyptian pharaoh also asks for the people of Kaška to be sent to him: (EA31: 25–6) “Bring me people of the Gašga-land. I have heard... Everything...” (Hawkins 2009, 77). According to the translation of Rainey: “Send me people of the land of Kaška. I have heard that everything is (finished)” (Rainey 2015, 327). The sentence “Now the land of Hattuša has been frozen” explains the meaning of “(finished)” in Rainey's translation. It means that Hatti is collapsed/ paralyzed. In this context, the issue of the sending of Kaškaen reminds us of the Kurustama treaty between Thutmose III/ Amenhotep II and the Hittite King Tudhaliya II, and preserved only in very fragmentary tablets found in Hattuša CTH 134. The treaty seems to deal with regulations or orders addressed to the people of Kurustama concerning their displacement from Hittite into Egyptian territory; the people of Kurustama are labor sent to Egypt, similarly to the Kaškan later sent under Hattušili III and Ramesses II (Breyer 2010a, 299, Breyer 2010b, 67-83, Sürenhagen 2006, 59-67, Singer 2004, 604). The Kaška are a population group that caused great military problems for the predecessors of Šuppiluliuma I, including Arnuwanda I in particular, and late Hittite texts even ascribes a successful attack on the capital Hattuša to them, which is perhaps the reason for the Pharaoh's wish to be sought (Klinger 2006, 194).

In the late 18 Dynasty and beginning of the 19 Dynasty, as can be deduced, Arzawa (written *Irtw*) is mentioned in geographical lists of Horemhab on the west and east of the northern side in tenth pylon at Karnak, and in Sety I's list (Breyer 2010a, 316), but in this case not even listed behind second-ranking states, but only behind smaller cities, in last place behind the nomads (Breyer 2010a, 316). The change in the position of Arzawa after it was a “great power” or an equal state during the Amenhotep III to a small city or *Bedouin* tribes refers to its changing status between the time of Amenhotep III, when the Hittite kingdom paralyzed, and its devastation at the hands of Muršili II (Haider 1999, 211).

### ARZAWA IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BATTLE OF KADESH

After suffering the plague, both Egypt and the Near Eastern countries were in disarray, with many texts mentioning the disease (Abdel Azeem 2021a, 66, Kozloff 2012, 120). Correspondence dwindled, as did military activity, until Sety I's campaigns in Syria which set the stage for his son, Ramesses II's, more glamorously represented foray to Kadesh.

The military events of the Kadesh Battle appear on the walls of five Egyptian temples: the Ramesseum, the temple of Karnak, Luxor, Abydos, and Abu Simbel (Bryce 2005, 234). The records of the battle appear in two versions on the temple walls: the first known as the "Poem" or "Literary Record", abbreviated by Gardiner with (P), and the second version, the so-called "Report" or "Bulletin", abbreviated with (B). In his study of the Kadesh inscriptions, Gardiner observes that Arzawa "ꜥꜣꜣw" is mentioned six times. The first four mentions are in the "Poem", where it appears as an ally of the Hittites in the following: (1) "Here beginneth The Victory of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimaarea-Setpenrea, the Son of Rea Raamesse-Miamun, Given life eternally, which he achieved in the land of Khatti, Nahrin, in the land of Arzawa, ..." (Gardiner 1960, 7); (2) "... The entire land of Khatti was come, that of Nahrin likewise, that of Arzawa, ..." (Helck 1971, 195, Gardiner 1960, 8); (3) "... consisting of all champions of fallen ones of Khatti with the many foreign countries which were with them from Arzawa,..." (Gardiner 1960, 9); (4) "Then he caused many chiefs to come, each one of them with his chariots, and they were equipped with their weapons of warfare, the Chief of Arzawa, ...." (Gardiner 1960, 10).

Notably, in the first three mentions in the Poem, Arzawa is known as the "Land of Arzawa"; while in the fourth mention it is the "Chief of Arzawa". Concerning the "Land of Arzawa", as stated before in our discussion regarding the Amarna letters and Boghazköy archives, Arzawa had been determined as a land or a number of lands, but not a town (A. Gardiner 1947, 129). Thereupon, the "Land of Arzawa" refers to a confederacy providing troops to the Hittite army. Regarding the title "Chief of Arzawa", the holder might have led several troops aiding the Hittite army in Kadesh, as had happened with other groups, such as Maša, Karkiša, Lukka, and Drdny' (Singer 1983, 206). Therefore, the Chief of Arzawa refers to the leader of the Arzawan legion, who carried a title equivalent to that of the overseer or chief used by the leaders of mercenary auxiliary troops of the Egyptian army, which comprised many mercenaries from different territories, with each group of mercenaries having an overseer or chief, as Nubian, such as *Mr ꜥꜣꜣw* (Abdel Azeem 2021b, 211-14, Chevereau 1987, 21) and *hry mdꜣꜣyw* (Abdel Azeem 2021b, 216, Liszka 2012, 112), Kushite, such *hry pꜣꜣt* (Abdel Azeem 2021b, 218, Schulman 1964, 246), and *hri-pꜣꜣt.t n kš* (Gnirs 2013, 256), Asiatic, such *Mr mšꜥ ꜣꜣmw* (Abdel Azeem 2021b, 223, Chevereau 1991, 56), and *nꜥꜣrn* (Al-Ayedi 2006, 301, Lesko 2002, 229, Schulman 1962, 47, Goedicke 1966, 79), and later Greeks and Carians, for example, *Imi-r ꜣꜣꜣw-nbwt* (Abdel Azeem 2021b, 228, Tod 1933, 6, Pernigotti 1996, 99).

In the same context, The Hittite king, Muwatalli II, brought to his aid a group of elite hired warriors designated as *nꜣꜣt* warriors (Kitchen 1979, 107, 6-16). Although the term *nꜣꜣt.w* refers to "strongholds", it also refers to a class of mercenaries consisting of foreign tribes (Galan 1995, 65-6). Notably, Ramesses II was also aided in the same battle by Sherden troops which joined the Egyptian army as *nꜣꜣt.w* (Abbas 2017, 8, Emanuel 2012, 1, Kitchen 1982, 40-1).

The last two mentions of Arzawa in the Kadesh Battle inscriptions are in the "Report" or "Bulletin". The first mention is in the following passage: "And they said to his Majesty: "See, the chief of Khatti is come together with the many foreign countries who are with him, whom he has brought with him as allies, the land of Dardany, the land of Nahrin, that of Keshkeesh, those of Maša, those of Pidasa, the land of Karkisha and Luka, the land of Carchemish, the land of Arzawa, ...." (Gardiner 1960, 29). For the second mention, located by the depiction of the king and three rows of prisoners, the following text appears above the second and third rows:

“..... [Car]chemish; Arwan (?); Ar...”. (Gardiner 1960, 44). Here, Arzawa appears incompletely written. Still, its name can be deduced from inscriptions documenting the Hittite coalition in the battle of Kadesh. The names of two cities which participated with the Hittite start with “Ar”, Arwan and Arzawa, in the last text Arwan is written clearly, thus, the incomplete term of “Ar...” doubtless refers to “Arzawa”.

In the last texts, the Arzawan soldiers appear as captives. They are characterized by their fine features, beardless, elegant bodies, shaved heads (except for one lock in the middle down back), and wearing long skirts wide at the bottom (Kuentz 1928, Pl.XXV). (Fig.2). According to the difference in style and execution from those of the Ramesside period, Simons suggests that the topographical list on two colossi erected in front (north) of the tenth pylon was attributed to Horemheb, whose name had been replaced by Ramesses II (Simons 1937, 165, list. XX 50-52, Legrain 1914, 40-4).

Breyer notes that since the descriptions of the Kadesh Battle only mention Arzawa, and not also from the other states of the so-called “Arzawa-lands”, i.e. from Mira, Haballa or Seha, one can accept that in this case the toponym either still refers to the old “great state” of Arzawa or to the Arzawa countries as a whole and not to the Arzawa sub-state (Breyer 2010a, 317).

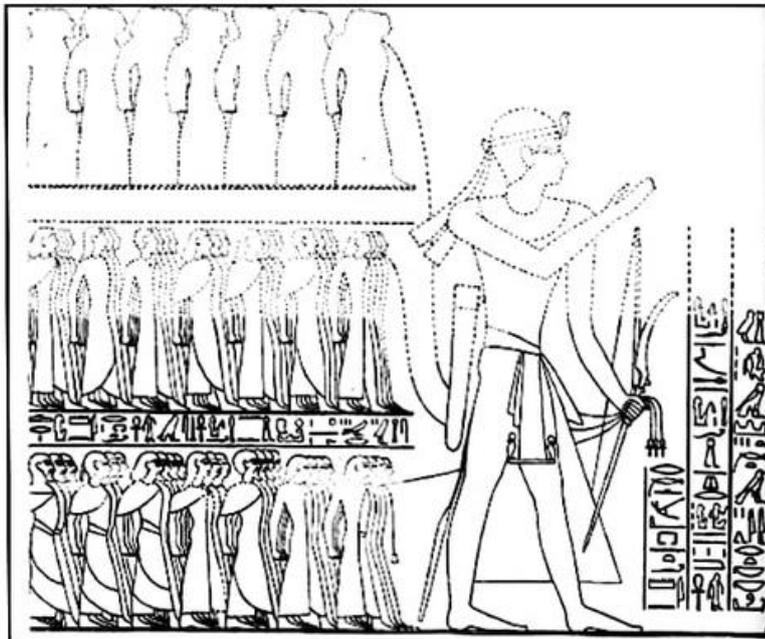


Fig. 2. Arzawan captives behind Ramesses II at Karnak base-reliefs  
(Kuentz 1928, pl. xxv)

After Kadesh, the correspondences between the Egyptian kings and western Anatolia continued during the 19 Dynasty, when Ramesses II kept indirect relations with several rulers of the Arzawa lands. After Hattusili III usurped Urhi-Tešhub's ascendance to the Hittite throne, Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Arzawa, wrote to Ramesses II asking him whether he supported Urhi Tešhub or Hattusili to succeed Muwatalli. Ramesses replied unequivocally that he would support Hattusili III (Bryce 2003, 72). Some of the rulers of the Arzawa lands supported the usurper; such was the attitude of Masturi, King of the Seha River Land, and husband of Muwatalli's sister. Others just declared their loyalty to Urhi-Tešub, such as Kupanta-<sup>D</sup>KAL, king of Mira, who showed loyalty to Urhi-Tešub by a letter on his behalf to Ramesses II (Bryce 1974, 110, Edel 1994, 74.77). As a result of his loyalty to Urhi-Tešub, Kupanta-<sup>D</sup>KAL had been replaced by Piyamaradu, grandson of Uhhaziti king of Arzawa, with Kupanta-<sup>D</sup>KAL

either having fallen into disfavor because of his loyalty to Urhi-Tešub or having died from old age (Hawkins 1998, 17).

### ARZAWA IN RAMESSES'S III INSCRIPTIONS AT MEDINET HABU

Arzawa appears in the reliefs of Medinet Habu. It is mentioned at least once during the reign of Ramesses III (Hawkins 2000, 39, 73, Gardiner 1947, 131), namely in the inscription of year 8, where Ramesses III alludes to the destruction of the Mediterranean adversaries of Hatti, Carchemish, Arzawa, that written *Yereth* (Gaballa 1979, 126. note 203), and Alasia (Cyprus) (Moreu 2003, 108, Wilson and Edgerton 1936, 53, The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II 1930, pl. 46). (Fig. 3, 4) As Kitchen reads it:

“(As for) the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in battle, were the lands at one time. No land could stand against (“before”) their arms, beginning from Hatti; Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alasia, cut off (all) at [once] in one [place]. A camp was ‘pitched’ in one place, within Amurru; they devastated its people and its land was like what had never existed” (Kitchen 2008, 34, Helck 1987, 129-45).

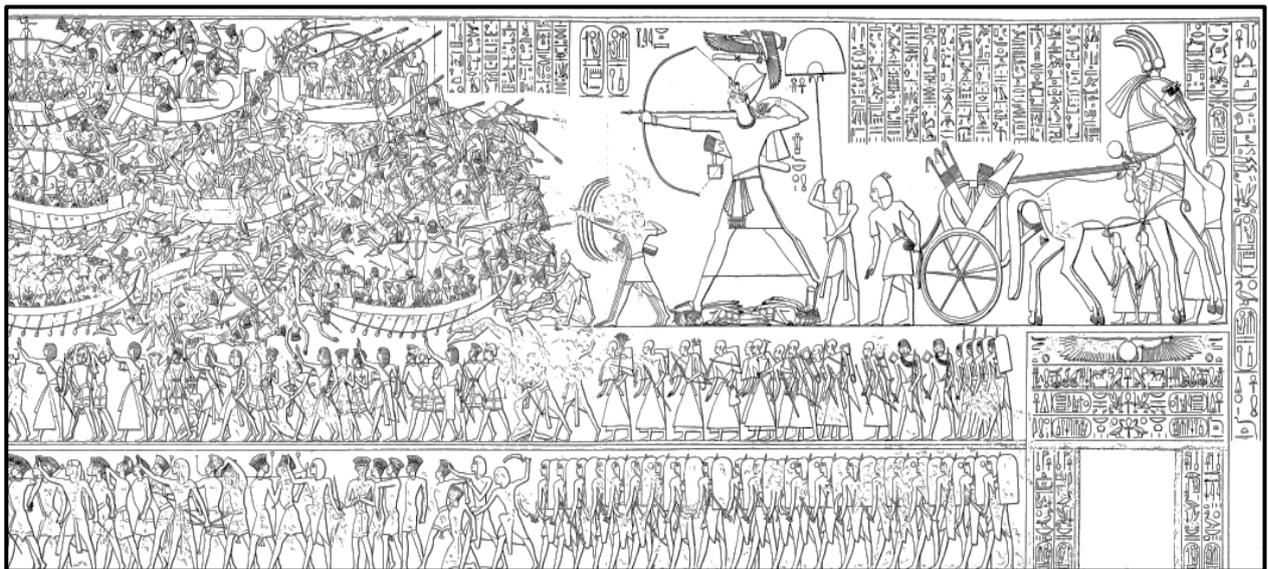


Fig. 3. The Sea People battle of Ramesses III Year 8 from Medinet Habu  
(The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II 1930, pl. 37)

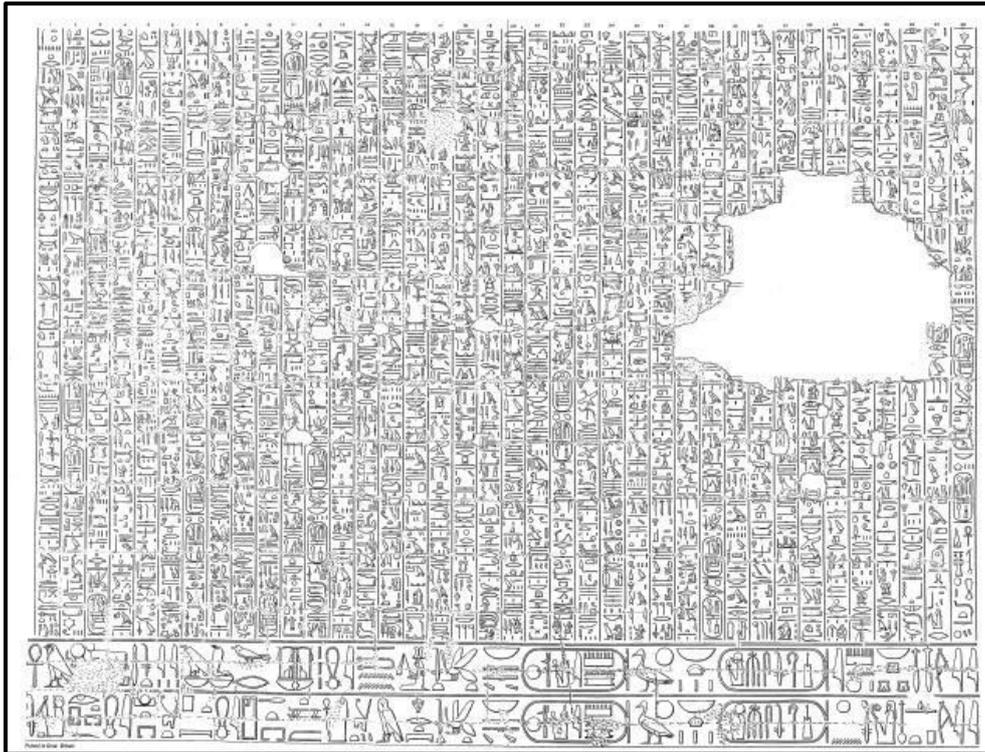


Fig. 4. Arzawa in inscriptions of year 8 of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu  
(The Epigraphic Survey. Medinet Habu II 1930. pl. 46. line 16)

In the so-called Syrian campaign scenes at Medinet Habu, Ramesses III appears attacking two Hittite towns. He is portrayed standing in his chariot, while the Egyptian infantry has already reached the upper fortress and entered it. The Egyptians are depicted slaying defenders of that fortress, after the defenders having surrendered it. According to Gaballa, the people of the lower town are called “Town of Arzawa” (Gaballa 1979, 126), (written *i-r-ṯ*) (Wilson and Edgerton 1936, 94-5), and they are depicted alongside their children to show submission (Gaballa 1979, 126). (Fig. 5).

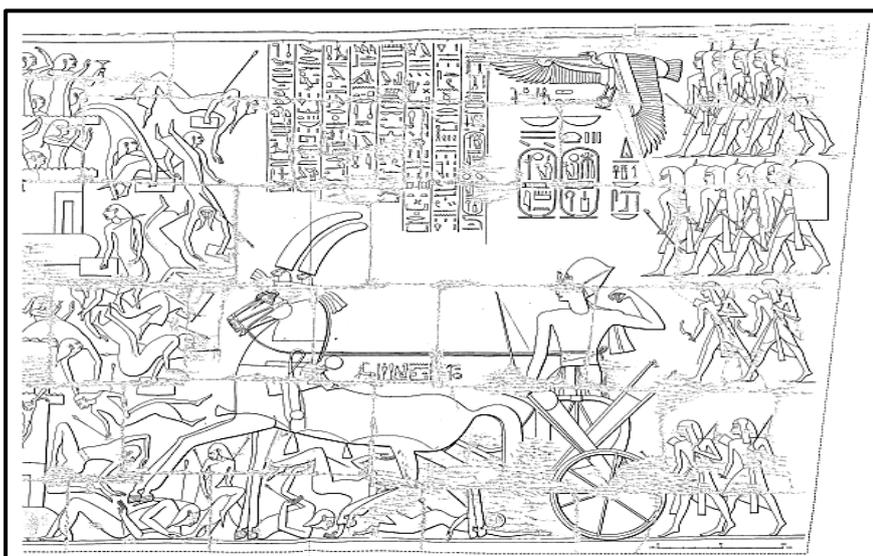


Fig. 5. Ramesses III attacking two Hittite towns  
(The Epigraphic Survey. Medinet Habu II 1930. pl. 87)

Furthermore, two Hittite towns are shown in the typical Ramesside manner, one above the other (Gaballa 1979, 126), which led several scholars to think that the scene is a copy from Ramesses II's list at Karnak (Haider 1999, 215). Kahn refutes this suggestion, declaring that this relief is an original, and thus a potential depiction of an historical event. Referring to the foreign captives, he states that the Libyans, Shasu, Asiatics, Hittites, and Philistines seen here do not appear in any of the surviving depictions commissioned by previous kings, and thus they correlate with the king's inscriptions (Kahn 2010, 17).

Because the Hittites had collapsed, Arzawa does not appear as a Hittite ally in Medinet Habu's inscription; however, their presence suggested that they were possibly Sea-people allies. The collapse of many powers at the end of the Bronze Age and the increased elasticity of political structures in the Early Iron Age does seem likely to have given more people the ability to become dynamic (Mac Sweeney 2016, 424). We can understand that Cyprus and the Aegean coast may have been the core of the Sea-People from where they were going to invade the Hittite Kingdom, the western Mediterranean Sea, the Mycenaean contingents, and to attack Egypt at the time of Merneptah (Moreu 2003, 109). According to Bryce, Arzawa probably extended over much of the territory previously called Luwiya, which was in southeastern Anatolia, including the region the Greeks called Lycia, which had been part of Arzawa at its height. In fact, the Arzawans spoke Luwian. It is likely, then, that Arzawans contributed to the make-up of the Sea Peoples and lost their identity in the process. Additionally, according to the inscription of the temple of Karnak, they had invaded Egypt in the reign of Merneptah (Bryce 2003, 87).

Arzawa disappeared after Egypt's 20 Dynasty, and was never heard of again. The only literature relevant to this time and to western Anatolia consists of the Greek poet Homer's sagas, the Iliad and the Odyssey. While written centuries later, these legends are thought by many scholars to have some elements of relevance to history. In particular, Troy is on the Aegean seacoast of Anatolia quite a bit north of the lands usually considered to be Arzawan, and Ephesus, Arzawa's capital Apasa, is much farther south on the Aegean coast (Gális 2017, 57-8). Therefore, Troy may never have been part of Arzawa, but at least one of its allies were. One of the most courageous fighters on the Trojan side was Sarpedon, Prince (or King?) of Lycia, which was clearly within Arzawa's traditional lands. When he died in battle, his father Zeus called upon Apollo to send his winged messengers Sleep and Death to gather up and cleanse Sarpedon's body then carry it back to Lycia for a proper burial (Saraçoğlu 2005, 57-79).

## CONCLUSION

The country of Arzawa as far as it is known in Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern texts was short-lived, only a matter of perhaps three or four hundred years from the mid-sixteenth century BCE to the early twelfth century. For a great deal of that time it was subject to Ḫatti, the land of the Hittites. As such it was of interest to Egypt only as a source of human labor to be captured and brought back to the Nile valley. Thutmose III was proud of his conquest of Arzawa among dozens of other Near East locales and treated them poorly in his inscriptions. At the same time, however, Arzawans who had been relocated to Egypt were able to advance in their careers and become educated.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, however, when a coalition of enemies crushed Ḫatti, Arzawa rose to prominence as a verifiable and independent kingdom, worthy of Amenhotep III's attention and desire as a marriage partner and as a trading partner. Even so, in his temple inscriptions, he still depicted Arzawa with the same traditional trope as had Thutmose: a kneeling man with his arms bound behind his back.

Amenhotep's reason for writing to Tarhundaradu stemmed from a war waged against the Hittites by its neighbors which resulted in Ḫatti being demolished. Arzawa apparently fared well, perhaps letting the other neighbors carry most of the military burden. Kaška, for example,

seems to have suffered greatly, judging from Amenhotep's view that Arzawa now held sway over Kaška. In the end, of all the nations, principalities, etc. along the Mediterranean coast and leading up to the Aegean, Arzawa seemed to hold its head the highest. Therefore, an alliance with Arzawa would have been a wise economic move for both Arzawa and Egypt, creating a partnership designed to rule international trade around the eastern Mediterranean. In the letter EA31 Amenhotep tells Tarhundaradu to send him people from Kaška; the phrasing is double-sided. On the one hand, Amenhotep shows that he believes Arzawa has control over its eastern neighbor, which deserves respect. On the other hand, he more or less orders Tarhundaradu to send some of his conquered people to Egypt as though Arzawa is beholden to Egypt.

The idea that Ramesses III had reached Arzawa with his army is unacceptable, although some scholars suggest that the topographical list of Ramesses III was copied from Ramesses II lists, but the representation of their cities on Medinet Habu temple is associated with him defeating the Sea-Peoples and their allied cities. Perhaps Arzawa was the first destination of the Sea-Peoples after leaving Cyprus and heading to Ḫatti, bringing about its demise, as they did with kingdoms on the Syrian coast. Arzawa was following the Sea Peoples the way Muwattalli II's army had done.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I am grateful to Dr. Arielle P. Kozloff, Curator of Ancient Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, retired, for her valuable and helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and I am deeply thankful to Max Gander (University of Zurich) for his comments, reading the manuscript and drawing attention to many interesting points.

## Bibliography

- Abbas, Mohamed Raafat. 2017. "A Survey of the Military Role of the Sherden Warriors in the Egyptian Army during the Ramesside Period." *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 10: 7-23.
- Abdel Azeem, Emad. 2021a. "The Plague During The Šuppiluliuma I's Reign, and the Preventive Procedures of Muršili II in the New Hittite Kingdom." *The Arab Journal for the Humanities*. A special issue, *Pandemics Throughout History*, The Academic Publication Council- University of Kuwait. 45-74 [in Arabic].
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2021b. "The Overseers of foreign soldiers in ancient Egyptian army and their titles." *Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists* 22, no. 1: 201-238 [in Arabic].
- Al-Ayedi, Abdul Rahman. 2006. *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. Ismalia.
- Alparslan, Meltem. 2015. "The History of the Arzawan State during the Hittite Period." In *Nostoi: Indigenous Culture, Migration + Integration in the Aegean islands + Western Anatolia During The Late Bronze + Early Iron Ages*, edited by Cığdem Maner, Konstantinos Kopanias Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, 131-44. Istanbul.
- Beal, Richard. 2003. "The Ten Year Annals of Great King Muršili II of Ḫatti". In *The context of Scripture, II: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo, 82-90.
- Beckman, Gary. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. 2. Atlanta.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Hittite Treaties and the Development of the Cuneiform Treaty Tradition." In *Die Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und Religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"—Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten (BZAW 365)*, edited by konrad Schmid Markus Witte. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Bietak, Manfred, Josef Dorner, Irmgard Hein, and Peter Jánosi. 1994. "Neue Grabungsergebnisse aus Teil el-Dab'a und 'Ezbet Helmi im östlichen Nildelta (1989- 1991)." *Ägypten und Levante* 4 : 9-80.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Nannó Marinatos, Clairy Palivou, Ann Brysbaert, . 2007. *Taureador Scenes in Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) and Knossos*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 43; Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 27. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Breyer, Francis. 2010a. *Ägypten und Anatolien: Politische, kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte zwischen dem Niltal und Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wissenschaften: Österreichischen Akademie d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010b. "Thutmosis III. und die Hethiter. Bemerkungen zum Kurustama-Vertrag sowie zu anatolischen Toponymen und einer hethitischen Lehnübersetzung in den Annalen Thutmosis' III." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 : 67-83.
- Bryce, Trevor. 2003. *History*. Vol. I/68, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, by The Luwians, edited by H. C. Melchert. Boston: Brill, Leyde.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1974. "Some Geographical and Political Aspects of Muršilis' Arzawan Campaign." *Anatolian Studies* 24 : 103-116.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2018. "The Annals and Lost Golden Statue of the Hittite King Hattusili I." *Gephyra* 16 : 1-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *The Kingdom of the Hittite*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. *The Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Chevereau, Pierre-Marie. 1987. "Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 : 13-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 42 : 43-88.

- Clère, Jacques. 1959. "Un Hymne à Abydos sur une stèle inédite d'Époque Ramesside." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 84: 86-104.
- Cline, Eric. 1987. "Amenhotep III and the Aegean: a reassessment of Egypto-Aegean relations in the 14th century BC." *Orientalia* 56, no. 1: 1-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Steven Stannish. 2011. "Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amenhotep III's "Aegean List" from Kom el-Hetan, Once More." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3, no. 2: 6-16.
- Dodson, Aidan. 2004. and Dyan Hilton. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Edel, Elmar. 1994. *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. Westdt. Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Manfred Görg. 2005. *Die Ortsnamenlisten im nördlichen Säulenhof des Totentempels Amenophis' III*. Harrassowitz.
- Emanuel, Jeffrey. 2012. "'Šrdn of the Sea' A Reassessment of the Sherden and their Role in Egyptian Society." *In Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting*: 1-13.
- Fletcher, Joann. 2000. *Chronicle of a Pharaoh – The Intimate Life of Amenhotep III*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Gaballa, Gaballa Ali. 1979. *Narrative in Egyptian Art*. Mainz.
- Galan, José Manuel. 1995. *Victory and Border: Terminology related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIth Dynasty*. Hildesheim.
- Gális, Martin. 2017. *Mycenae, Troy and Anatolia: Mycenaean names in Hittite documents, and Anatolian names in the Homeric Iliad*, Praha.
- Gander, Max. 2017. "An Alternative view on the location of Arzawa." *In Hittitology today: studies on Hittite and neo-Hittite Anatolia in honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th birthday*, edited by A. Mouton, 163-190. Istanbul.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Asia, Ionia, Maeonia und Luwiya? Bemerkungen zu den neuen Toponymen aus Kom el-Hettan (Theben-West) mit Exkursen zu Westkleinasien in der Spätbronzezeit." *Klio* 97, no. 2 : 443-502.
- Gardiner, Alan. 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I*. Oxford.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1960. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford.
- Garny, Johanne, and Jan Tavernier. 2018. "The Kurustama Treaty: An Example of Early Forced Migration." *Archaeology of Forced Migration*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain, 95-100.
- Garstang, John, and Oliver Gurney. 1959. "The Geography of the Hittite Empire." *Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara* 5.
- Glanville, Stephen Ranulph Kingdon. 1931. "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66 : 105-121.
- Glatz, Claudia. 2013. *Contact, Interaction, Control - The Archaeology of Inter-Regional Relations Late Bronze Age Anatolia*. London: University College London.
- Gnirs, Andrea. 2013. "Coping with the army: the military and the state in the New Kingdom." *In Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by J. M. Graci, 639-717. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Goedicke, Hans. 1966. "Considerations on the Battle of Qadesh." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52, no. 1: 71-80.
- Gundacker, Roman. 2017. "Papyrus British Museum 10056: Ergebnisse einer Neukollationierung und Anmerkungen zur inhaltlichen Auswertung im Rahmen der militärischen Ausbildung Amenophis' II". *Egypt and the Levant* 27, 281-334.

- Haider, Peter. 1999. "vom Nil zum Mäander: Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Pharaonenhof und dem königreich Arzawa in Westkleinasien." In *Steine und Wege: Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65 Geburtstag, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.*, edited by Hans Taeuber, Hilke Thür Peter Scherrer, 205-219. Wien.
- Hawkins, John David. 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Volume I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age.* New York, Berlin: (Walter de Gruyter).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel." *Anatolian Studies* 48 : 1-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2019. "TAWAGALAWA: The Topography [with Addenda]." (De Gruyter): 338-365.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "The Arzawa letters in recent perspective." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 14: 73-83.
- Heinhold-Krahmer, Susanne. 1977. *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen.* Heidelberg.
- Helck, Wolfgang. 1971. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* Wiesbaden.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1987. "Nochmals zu Ramses' III. Seevölkerbericht." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 : 129–145.
- Kahn, Dan'el. 2010. "Who is Meddling in Egypt's Affairs? The Identity of the Asiatics in the Elephantine Stele of Sethnakhte and the Historicity of the Medinet Habu Asiatic War Reliefs'." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2, no. 1 : 14-23.
- Kitchen, Kenneth. 1982. *Pharaoh Triumphant. The Life and Times of Ramses II King of Egypt.* Warminster.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. *Ramesside inscriptions.* Vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translations V: Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries.* Oxford: Blackwell.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Translations. Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries.* Oxford, Blackwell.
- Klinger, Jörg. 2006. "Die Korrespondenz mit Arzawa' Texte der Umwelt des Alten Testaments." *Neue Folge* 3: 191-195.
- Kozloff, Arielle. *Amenhotep III: Egypt's radiant pharaoh.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kuentz, Charles. 1928. *La Bataille de Qadech, le textes et les Bas-Reliefs.* MIFAO 55.
- Lankton, James, Pulak, Cemal, and Bernard Gratuze. 2022. "Glass ingots from the Uluburun shipwreck: Glass by the batch in the Late Bronze Age." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 42: 103354.
- Legrain, Georges. 1914. "Description des deux colosses érigés devant la face nord du X pylône de Karnak." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 14: 40-44.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. 2019. *Ancient Egyptian Literature.* Univ of California Press.
- Lesko, Leonard. 2002. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian.* 2. Vol. 1.
- Liszka, Kate. 2012. *"We have come to serve Pharaoh": A study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an ethnic group and as mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.
- Liverani, Mario. 1972. "Elementi 'irrazionali' nel commercio amarniano." *Oriens Antiquus* 1: 297-317.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "The Late Bronze Age: Materials and Mechanisms of Trade and Cultural Exchange." In *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, edited by J., Benzel, K., Evans, J.M. Aruz, 161-168. New Haven. London.

- Mac Sweeney, Naoíse. 2016. "Anatolian-Aegean Interactions in the Early Iron Age: Migration, Mobility, and the Movement of People." In *Of Odysseys and Oddities: Scales and Modes of Interaction between Prehistoric Aegean Societies and Their Neighbors*, edited by Molloy B., 411-433. Oxford. Philadelphia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "Hittites and Arzawans: a view from western Anatolia." *Anatolian Studies* 60 : 7-24.
- Macquene, James. 1968. "Geography and history in western Asia Minor in the second millennium BC." *Anatolian Studies* 18: 169-185.
- Meriç, Recep. 2020. "The Arzawa lands. The historical geography of İzmir and its environs during late bronze age in the light of new archaeological research." *TÜBA-AR Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi*, no. 27 : 151-177.
- Moreu, Carlos. 2003. "The Sea Peoples and the Historical Background of the Trojan War." *Mediterranean Archaeology* 16 : 107-124.
- Morris, Ellen. 2005. *The architecture of imperialism: military bases and the evolution of foreign policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Lieden. Boston: Brill.
- Mynářová, Jana. 2015. "Egypt Among the Great Powers and Its Relations to the Neighboring Vassal Kingdoms in the Southern Levant According to the Written Evidence: Thutmose III and Amarna." In *Policies of Exchange. Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.*, edited by B. Eder, R. Pruzsinszky, 157-165. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis. 2001. "Keftiu in context: Theban tomb-paintings as a historical source." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20: 263-283.
- Pernigotti, Sergio. 1996. *Les Rapports entre les Grecs et l'Égypte à l' époque Saïte: Les aspects juridiques et institutionnels*. Paris: Méditerranées, 6|7.
- Pringle, Jacqueline Marie. 1993. *Hittite Kinship and Marriage. A Study based on the cuneiform texts 2nd Millennium Boğazköy*. London University.
- Rainey, Anson. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence (2 vol. set): A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets*. Leiden: Brill,
- Saraçoğlu, Aslı. 2005. "Hero Concept in the Light of Homer's Iliad and The Death of Sarpedon, Lycian Warrior." *Anatolia* 29 : 57-79.
- Schulman, Alan. 1979. "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 : 177-193.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1964. *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. Berlin: MÄS 6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1962. "The N'rn at the Battle of Kadesh." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 : 47-52.
- Sherratt, Susan. 1998. "'Sea Peoples' and the Economic structure of the late second millennium in the eastern Mediterranean." In *Mediterranean peoples in transition. Thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE, in honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, edited by S., Mazar, A., Stern, E. Gitin, 292-313. Jerusalem.
- Simons, Jan Jozef. 1937. *Handbook for the study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Singer, Itamar. 1999. "A Political History of Ugarit." In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by W., Wyatt. N. Watson, 603-733. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "The Kurustama Treaty Revisited." In *Sarnikzel, Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, edited by D., Röbke, S. Groddek, 591– 607. Dresden: Technische Universität.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1983. "Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century BCE According to the Hittite Sources." *Anatolian Studies* 33: 205-17.

- Sourouzian, Hourig, and Rainer Stadelmann. 2005a . "Die ältesten Erwähnungen von Ioniern und Danaern: Neueste Grabungen im Totentempel Amenophis' III. in Theben enthüllen kolossale Statuen und Sockel mit Darstellungen fremder Völker." *Antike Welt* 36, no. 6: 79-83.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Rainer Stadelmann. 2005b . "Theben-West: Kom el-Hettān–Memnon-Kolosse und Totentempel Amenophis III." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 61: 9-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Rainer Stadelmann, Myriam Seco Alvarez, Josef Dorner, Nairy Hampikian, and Ibrahim Noureddine. 2007. "The temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes. Excavation and conservation at Kom el-Hettān. Fourth report on the sixth, seventh and eighth seasons in 2004, 2004-2005 and 2006." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 63 : 247-335.
- Stadelmann, Rainer. 2008. "Nouveaux toponymes au temple d'Amenhotep III à Kôm El-Hettan (note d'information)." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 152, no. 2: 801-808.
- Starke, Frank. 2020. "Zum vermeintlichen Ländernamen "Gross-Ionien" in einer Toponymenliste aus dem Totentempel Amenophis' III." *Orientalia* 89: 264-286.
- Stavi, Boaz. 2011. *A Historical Reappraisal of the Reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiliuma I*, Phd. Tel-Aviv: Universty of Tel-Aviv.
- Sürenhagen, Dietrich. 2006. "Forerunners of the Hattusili-Ramesses treaty." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 6: 59-67.
- "The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II. 1930. " Vol. 8. OIP.
- Tod, Marcus. 1933. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford.
- Van Wijngaarden, Gert Jan. 2016. "Foreign Affairs. Diplomacy, Trade, War and Migration in the Mycenaean Mediterranean (1400-1100 BC)." In *RA-PI-NE-U. Studies on the Mycenaean World offered to Robert Laffineur for his 70th Birthday*,, edited by J. Driessen, 349-363. Louvain-la-Neuve: universitaires de Louvain.
- Von Schuler, Einar. 1965. *Die Kaškäer. (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Wachsmann, Shelley. 1987. *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*. Louvain: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 20.
- Wilson, John. 1969. "Egyptian Historical texts" *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. Pritchard, 272-264. Princeton University Press. New Jersey
- \_\_\_\_\_, and William Edgerton. 1936. *Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago.

## من الزواج إلى الأسر: جوانب من العلاقات بين مصر وأرزاوا خلال الدولة الحديثة

### الملخص

كانت لمصر عدة اتصالات دولية مع مناطق الأناضول في عصر الدولة الحديثة، وكانت العلاقات مع مملكة أرزاوا واحدة من تلك العلاقات، وكان لتأرجح علاقة مملكة أرزاوا مع المملكة الحيثية عامل مؤثر ومهم في علاقاتها مع مصر، حيث كانت مناطق غرب الأناضول تمثل تحديًا كبيرًا للمملكة الحيثية، حيث ثارت الكثير من تلك المناطق بهدف الاستقلال عن سيطرة المملكة الحيثية، وكانت أرزاوا من أبرز تلك المناطق. ظهرت أرزاوا في العديد من النصوص والنقوش المصرية القديمة مثل رسائل العمارنة (الرسالة رقم ٣١ و ٣٢) ونقوش معركة قادش (القصيدة أو النص الأدبي، والتقارير)، ونقوش معبد مدينة هابو حيث معارك شعوب البحر للملك رعسيس الثالث. تهدف هذه الورقة إلى بلورة صورة أكثر جوهرية عن أرزاوا وعلاقتها بمصر أكثر مما تم دراسته سابقًا، وكيف تغيرت هذه العلاقات من الرغبة في الزواج (كما ورد في رسائل العمارنة) إلى تصويرهم كأسرى في النقوش المصرية (نقوش قادش ومدينة هابو)، والعوامل التي أدت إلى تغيير هذه العلاقات.

عماد عبدالعظيم

كلية الآداب

جامعة الفيوم

[eea02@fayoum.edu.eg](mailto:eea02@fayoum.edu.eg)

### بيانات المقال

تاريخ المقال

تم الاستلام في ١٢ يناير ٢٠٢٣

تم استلام النسخة المنقحة في ٢٠ أكتوبر

٢٠٢٣

تم قبول البحث في ٢٨ أكتوبر ٢٠٢٣

متاح على الإنترنت في ١٠ يناير ٢٠٢٤

### الكلمات الدالة

أرزاوا،

الحيثيون،

الدولة الحديثة،

العمارنة،

الرعامسة