



# The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III

Donald B. Redford

CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

THE WARS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE  
OF THUTMOSE III

# CULTURE AND HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

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# THE WARS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE OF THUTMOSE III

BY

DONALD B. REDFORD



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To Alexander and Aksel

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## FORWORD

This work is an attempt to subject the Asiatic Campaigning of Thutmose III to a new investigation. To that end, in parts I and II the sources bearing on his exploits in the north have been assembled, collated, and translated with commentary on text and content. Part III provides an analysis on 14 outstanding issues which arise in the study of the king's dealings with Asia.

The original from which the present work has expanded was that part of the author's doctoral dissertation in which all dated inscriptions of Thutmose III were assembled and studied for their bearing on the chronology of the 18th Dynasty. Spurred on by the rigorous supervision of my then adviser, the late Ricardo Caminos, I began to conceive of the collection of dated texts as the core of a history of the reign. Although diverted in my endeavour by teaching and research duties, I continued over the years to amass material. Already, however, two decades ago it became apparent that the military exploits of this remarkable Pharaoh would themselves occupy a substantial volume, to the exclusion of the "civil" internal history of the reign; and so I purposed to pursue the military aspects alone. The late chairman of the Service des Antiquités, Gamal Mokhtar, and the late chief inspector Sayed Abdul-Hamid kindly permitted me to make hand-copies and take photographs in the ambulatory and "Hall of Annals" at Karnak. Subsequently all the texts in Part II, 1 were also collated by the author.

Of the many persons whose helpful interaction with the author underpins this book, I should like first to thank my wife Susan. From helpful debate to assistance with the graphics her involvement has been crucial. I am also highly indebted to my colleague Baruch Halpern for information on current excavations at Megiddo, and for advice relating to the scholarly substance of this work. The late Ricardo Caminos and the late Charles Nims both contributed considerable information and advice. With several other scholars I have enjoyed fruitful communication on a variety of topics: Christine Lilquist, Garry Knoppers, the late Labib Habachi, Claude Golvin. I am also privileged to have functioned as supervisor or reader of several young scholars whose work directly or indirectly touches upon



the subject matter of this book: Edward Bleiberg, James Hoch, Gregory Mumford, Ellen Morris, Abdur-rahman el-Aeid.

The author has worked with the aid of new photographs taken by Gerald Allaby, sometime photographer of the Akhenaten Temple Project, as well as his own hand-copies. The facsimile copies of the Day-book Excerpts (“Annals”), inked by my student Heather Evans, have been left to show the lacunae pretty much as they are today. Plans and maps were drawn by my wife Susan.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	Annales archaeologiques Arabes Syrienne
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientale
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ASAE	Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'institut Français d'archéologie orientale
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BN	Biblische Notizen
BSEG	Bulletin de la société égyptologique de Genève
BSFE	Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CCG	Cairo, Catalogue générale
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
CRIPPEL	Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
CT	Coffin Texts
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
EA	The El-Amarna Tablets
GM	Goettinger Miszellen
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

KRI	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi
LD	R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien</i>
LdA	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen des deutschen Orientgesellschaft
MIOF	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
Pkah	Kahun Papyri
PJB	Palaestina-Jahrbuch
P-M	B. Porter, R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i>
PT	Pyramid Texts
RA	Revue assyriologique
RB	Revue Biblique
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
RHA	Revue Hittite et asianique
SAK	Studien zur altaegyptischen Kultur
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
TA	Tel Aviv
TT	Theban Tomb
UF	Ugaritische Forschungen
Urk.	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i>
VT	Vetus Testamentum
Wb.	A. Erman, H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i>
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZAS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins

## INTRODUCTION

The sources for Thutmose III's Asiatic wars are more extensive than those for any other comparable period in Egypt's history.<sup>1</sup> For this we have to thank, not only the king's penchant for setting his mighty deeds on record (for whatever reason), but also the aura (*Egyptian ššfyt*) he created during his own lifetime which caused men to hang on his words and to measure themselves by participation with and service to this "god by whose direction men live, the father-mother [of mankind]."<sup>2</sup> We are also fortunate that the period of time covered by the king's campaigning (whether one adopts low, middle or high chronology) falls within a time span partly illumined by archives from Western Asia; and, while Thutmose is as yet unmentioned by cuneiform sources which are contemporary, these sources offer a number of tantalizing possibilities for interleaving Egyptian and Levantine history. The present contribution will provide a translation and commentary on the sources (the so-called "Annals," *obiter dicta* [seance transcripts], encomia and private biographical statements), a series of excursus on specific topics, and a synthesis of the evidence in narrative format.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. The famous remark of J.B. Bury (*History of the Later Roman Empire* I [New York, 1958], vii) that we know more about the Syrian campaigns of Thutmose III in the 15th Cent. B.C. than those of Stilicho, or Aetius in the 4th–5th Cent. A.D.!

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1077:5–6 (The words are in Rekhmire's mouth).



PART ONE

THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS

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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS: FIRST PART<sup>1</sup>

No earlier than year 40<sup>2</sup> a decision was taken to publish an excerpted and embellished account of the first campaign. The wall chosen to receive the text was the south wall of the north block of Hatshepsut's rooms, now the side wall of the northern ambulatory around the barque shrine.<sup>3</sup> Having partly hacked away the scenes on this wall, Thutmose III resurfaced it at this point and carved the scene of his dedications to Amun and the beginning of the account of the first campaign.<sup>4</sup> Beyond (west of) the door leading to the north block of

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<sup>1</sup> See P-M II, 97–98 (280–282) and 89–90 (240–242, 244–45); *Urk.* IV 647–756; personal photographs and facsimiles (courtesy of the late Ramadan Saad and Sayed Abdul Hamid of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, both of whom permitted the author to copy and photograph the inscription). Major discussions are to be found in the following: A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gottha, 1882), 340–58; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (Chicago, 1905), 163–227; *idem*, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1909), 284–321; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1 (Stuttgart, 1928), 120–40; M. Noth, “Die Annalen Thutmosis III’ als Geschichtsquelle,” *ÄDPV* 66 (1943), 156ff; H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin, 1949. L.A. Christophe, “Notes géographiques à propos des campagnes de Thoutmôsis III,” *RdE* 6 (1950), 89ff; E. Drioton, J. Vandier, *L’Égypte* (4th ed; Paris, 1962), 398–406, 443–45; S. Yeivin, *Bibliotheka Orientalis* 23 (1966), 18–27; P. Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-rê à Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 151–53; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3.–2. Jahrtausend v. Chr* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 120–56; M.S. Drower, “Syria c. 1550–1400 III. The Egyptian Challenge,” in *CAH* II, 1 (2nd ed; Cambridge, 1973), 444–59; A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (Yale, 1982), 134–42; W. Helck, *Politische Gegensätze im alten Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1986), 49–52; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East. Ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* (Padua, 1990), 172–79, 255–66; N. Grimal, *A History of Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 213–17; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 155–61; H. Klengel, *Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History* (Berlin, 1992), 91–95; A. Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile* (London, 1995), 84–88; B.M. Bryan in I. Shaw (ed), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 245–48; J.K. Hoffmeier, in W.H. Hallo (ed), *The Context of Scripture* II. *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 2000), 7–13; G. Cavillier, *Il faraone guerriero* (Torino, 2001), 127–32; H. Cazelles, “Biblical and Prebiblical Historiography,” in V.P. Long (ed), *Israel’s Past in Present Research* (Winona Lake, 1999), 99 and n. 7–8, 105–6; H. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 60–62.

<sup>3</sup> P-M II (2nd ed), plan XII, room VIII.

<sup>4</sup> P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in Historical Methodology* (London, 1989), 63.



Hatshepsut's rooms a scene (now gone) occupied the upper three-quarters of the wall space for a distance of approximately 1.75 meters. This scene was later carved down and replaced by six rows of women holding sistra. Its presence prevented the carvers of the text from utilizing the full height of the wall for the inscription until col. 84.

As is well known today,<sup>5</sup> the so-called "annals" of Thutmose III at Karnak derive in the main from entries in a day-book. The latter almost certainly is to be identified as the day-book of the king's house, rather than a fictitious army day-book, and therefore will have focused primarily on the king's movements.<sup>6</sup> While the account of the first campaign is clearly embellished in a rather skillful way, the remainder of the entries comprise laconic lists of commodities accompanied by brief notices of the king's (and the army's) actions. (I see no necessity, however, to classify all extended narrative passages as *ipso facto* midrashic additions to the original). There is no overriding need to postulate a source for the lists different from the day-book—Boulaq XVIII shows that the day-book was vitally interested in lists<sup>7</sup>—and for the 7th campaign it is in fact cited with respect to food stuffs.<sup>8</sup> Two additional sources, separate from the day-book, are also mentioned. One is an unspecified ledger tallying foodstuffs and kept in the *pr-hd*;<sup>9</sup> the other is the leather role, placed in the temple, which listed in detail and calendrically military operations on the first campaign.<sup>10</sup> This list is specified by the repetition of *m* in the equivalence of Hebrew *beth essentiae*.<sup>11</sup> The scribe broke the information down in the following order: (a) date, (b) the number of the expedition, (c) the name of the commander. At this point the text is interrupted by a very long lacuna which Sethe ingeniously and improbably fills. Undoubtedly the text continues in some such man-

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<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the work of Grapow, Noth, Helck and Spalinger (see preceding note), who have delineated the laconic style and use of infinitives, characteristic of the form.

<sup>6</sup> D.B. Redford, "Tagebuch," in *LdÄ* VI (1986), 151–53 (with references).

<sup>7</sup> A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 51ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 693:11.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV, 694:7–8. It is curious that records of the harvest are kept in the treasury, rather than the granary (Helck, *Die Verwaltung der ägyptischen Staat* [Leiden, 1958], 182ff, 190 (for treasury record-keepers). Perhaps the treasury was responsible for foodstuffs in foreign parts.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV, 661–62; see also Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 98–99; see below, pp. 33–34 for discussion.

<sup>11</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, sec. 162:5.

ner as *m ḥ3k in.n.sn m škrw-ḥḏ m ḥḏ nbw k3w cwt*, and perhaps another item, which would accomodate the space almost exactly.

Clearly at this point the excerpting scribe departs from his practice of quoting the day-book, and merely refers the reader to where additional information can be got. But is this leather role which is kept in the treasury identical to the “day-book of the king’s-house”? It cannot be. Not only is the repository of the document different—the king’s day-book was kept in his house!—but nowhere in the excerpted journal entries are *commanders* ever mentioned by name. Moreover the day-book uses the term *wḏyt*, not *nct*, to designate campaigns. We must be dealing here with a separate document, and the fact that it was deposited in the treasury means that it was of peculiar concern to *that* institution rather than the palace. It is tempting to identify the leather role as a listing of all captives, implements, treasures, commodities, produce and livestock *not* brought *n b3w ḥm.f*, and therefore not in the day-book; but rather Egypt’s income from expeditions, forays and “walk-about” wherein the king’s presence was marginal to the proceedings.<sup>12</sup> A remarkable parallel to the type of document the leather role must represent exists in a papyrus the fragments of which were retrieved in the IFAO by George Posener some years ago.<sup>13</sup> This is a record of income in gold and galena received by the treasury of Amun some time during the 20th Dynasty. The document is organized by (a) date, (b) number of the expedition, (c) the official responsible for the goods, (d) the produce itself. The document clearly originated in the chancery of the temple, and was deposited in the archives.<sup>14</sup> The implication of these source-citations is clear: the Karnak text represents *excerpts only* of the day-book, not the complete record.

<sup>12</sup> The treasury role may well have covered forays undertaken while the siege was in progress, but there is no justification in invoking the toponym list: Helck, *Beziehungen*, 127. A similarly unjustified use of the list would turn it into the towns of origin of the anti-Egyptian coalition at Megiddo: H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 91. See further below, pp. 00.

<sup>13</sup> Y. Koenig, “Livraisons d’or et de galène au trésor du temple d’Amon sous le XXe Dynastie” in *Hommages Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 185–220.

<sup>14</sup> S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des ‘Hauses des Amun’ in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000), 134–37. The format enables us to identify such expeditions, unaccompanied by the king, under such expressions as “king’s messenger at the head of the army” (M. Valloggia, *Recherches sur les “Messagers” (Wḥwtw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* [Geneva, 1976], 89–90 [31], 110 [52]; P.M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiennes du nouvel empire* [Paris, 1994], 196), or “king’s-agent, leading the king’s brave army”: *Urk.* IV, 1442:19–20.

Those parts which reflect literary embellishment,<sup>15</sup> especially in the section devoted to the first campaign, present us with the problem of authorship. The author reveals himself as a person distinct from the king, an external narrator in fact,<sup>16</sup> and therefore difficult to identify. The statement in Tjanuny's autobiography referring to his service to Thutmose III in writing up the king's "victories" might indicate authorship of the present texts;<sup>17</sup> although it is doubtful that he was old enough to have been present on Thutmose's early campaigns.<sup>18</sup> The qualifying phrase *irw m sš mi iryt*, "done into writing as it was done," points to composition, not merely copying. This, one might argue, involves something more than the role of a simple archivist, recording in a diary. If anything, Tjanuny would be claiming that he composed, as well as, perhaps, supervising inscription.<sup>19</sup>

When we turn to the question of the "readership" (or the auditors)<sup>20</sup> for whom the text was intended, we encounter an anomaly. An upper grade of priest alone could have had access to the texts in the ambulatory around the barque-shrine and to those in rooms VI–VII. And since the sources of all save the texts on the east face of the south wing of pylon 6<sup>21</sup> were *written* compositions, none would

<sup>15</sup> There can be no question here of an *oral* base. The passages are not derivative of the king's words transcribed at a seance. The very fact of being a sort of *midrash* on a written text, i.e. the day-book, militates in favor of literary creation in the first place.

<sup>16</sup> M. Bal, *Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto, 1985), 122.

<sup>17</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1004:9–10. The phrase *smn m sš*, "to fix in writing," though it can refer to the writing of oral statements in any medium (cf. *Urk.* IV, 336, 338, 339; A.M. Blackman, *JEA* 27 [1941], pl. X, 15; S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken in alten Ägypten* [Wiesbaden, 1990], 509) is specifically employed by Thutmose III to carving a text on stone: *Urk.* IV, 684:9–10 (and below, p. 60), 607 (chamber of ancestors), 734:15 (the day-book excerpts themselves); cf. Grapow, *Studien*, 7 n. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Since he survived into Thutmose IV's reign (B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* [Baltimore, 1991], 279–80), his birth ought to be dated later rather than earlier in Thutmose III's reign. A birth date in the second decade of the latter's reign would have him approaching 70 under Thutmose IV! It seems somewhat unlikely, therefore, that he was a witness to the campaigns of years 29 and 30 (A. & A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74* [Mainz, 1977], 90).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. The same locution used of the celebrated Middle Kingdom literati: P. Chester Beatty IV.3.5ff; J. Assmann, "Kulturelle und literarische Texte," in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 75.

<sup>20</sup> See the present writer, "Scribe and Speaker," in E. Ben Zvi and M.H. Floyd (eds), *Writings and Speech in Isrealite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (Atlanta, 2000), 193, 204–5.

<sup>21</sup> See below, part 2, no. IV.

have been read and/or recited orally in the hearing of the populace at large. It was the king's *obiter dicta* at a seance that was intended to fill that gap. Although an intent of self-promotion through the promulgation of the performance of worthy, mighty deeds would seem to link Thutmose's inscription to private biographies, this intent only partly accounts for its presence. The texts in the ambulatory and in rooms VI–VII are for the perusal of the god and his senior priests: they are archival in nature and were so consulted 1500 years later.<sup>22</sup>

If there is a logical sequence in the king's thinking which he wishes to convey, it must run something like this. 1. I rescued Egypt in the breach, as foreign peoples advanced to attack us. 2. It was my father Amun that led me on a good path. 3. He granted me title deed to foreign lands and what was in them. 4. In gratitude I gave him the goods and chattels I garnered in foreign lands, and here is the tally. 5. Here also is the list of monuments for my father this wealth allowed me to build.<sup>23</sup>

### *Translation*<sup>24</sup>

(1) “Horus, Mighty Bull: appearing in Wese, [the Two Ladies: with enduring kingship, like Re in heaven; Golden Horus: mighty of strength and of holy of diadems], (2) the King of Upper & Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre, son of Re [Thutmose . . . given life eternally!].

(3) His Majesty commanded to have published [the victories which his father Amun had granted him in] (4) an inscription<sup>25</sup> in the temple which His Majesty made [for his father Amun, with the intent to have published] (5) each individual campaign together with the

<sup>22</sup> Tacitus *Annali* ii.67–68.

<sup>23</sup> Apart from *wḏ pn*, “this inscription,” it is not certain to which genre the Egyptians would have assigned the present text. While “tribute” (Barguet, *Temple*, 151) or “victories” (Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 34) are not exactly genre terms, they do indeed have a certain application in the present case.

<sup>24</sup> Located on the north wall of the ambulatory surrounding the barque shrine, beneath the scene depicting Thutmose III giving bequests to Amun. (See below, fig. 1 and pl. 1)

<sup>25</sup> *Wḏ*: usually a free-standing stela (Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*, 62–63); but occasionally with reference to any text carved on a stone surface: R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig, 1928), no. 21. In *Urk.* IV, 684:10 (see below, p. 60), *s3t*, “wall,” replaces *wḏ*.

booty [which His Majesty] brou[ght back in victory<sup>26</sup> from] every (6) [foreign land] which his father Re had granted him.

Regnal year 22, 4th month of *proyet*, [day 25.<sup>27</sup> His Majesty was in(?)]<sup>28</sup> Sile\* on his first victorious campaign [which his father Amun had granted him, in order to extend]<sup>29</sup> (8) the frontiers of Egypt, in valor, [in victory, in might and in justification].”

*Sile* Almost certainly to be identified with Tel Hebwa, c. 10 km. NNE of Qantara east, the excavation of which under the direction of Dr. Muhammed Abdul-Maksoud, has given ample evidence of Hyksos occupation and massive New Kingdom fortifications.<sup>30</sup> While a fortification at Sile existed already in the Middle Kingdom,<sup>31</sup> most of our information concerning Sile comes from the post-Amarna period when the coastal road from the Pelusiac mouth to Gaza was operational and fortified with block-houses;<sup>32</sup> and it is questionable

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<sup>26</sup> Sethe's restoration is unnecessary. The restoration favored here adequately fills the available space.

<sup>27</sup> After Champollion.

<sup>28</sup> The restoration is doubtful. Sethe (*ZAS* 47 [1910], 75) restored [*sš hm.f htm n*] on the basis of the use of the phrase by Ramesses II: *KRI* II, 1, 12. *Wd3*, “to proceed” might also be possible: Alt, *ZDPV*, 70, 37f.

<sup>29</sup> Contrary to Sethe, this restoration would fit the available space perfectly.

<sup>30</sup> M. Abd el-Maksoud, “Un monument du roi *ꜥAa-sh-rc Nḥsy* à Tell Heboua (Sinai Nord),” *ASAE* 69 (1983), 3–5; *idem*, “Une nouvelle forteresse sur la route d'Horus: Tell Heboua 1986 (Nord Sinai),” *CRIPEL* 9 (1987), 13–16; *idem*, “Excavations on the Ways of Horus,” *CRIPEL* 10 (1988), 97–103; D. Valbelle, M. Abd el-Maksoud, “La marche du nord-est,” in J. Yoyotte (ed), *L'Égypte du Delta. Les capitales du nord* (Dijon, 1996), 60–65; M. Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua (1981–1991)*, Paris, 1998; G. Cavillier, “Some Notes about Thel,” *GM* 166 (1998), 9–18; *idem*, “Reconsidering the Site of Tjarw (Once Again),” *GM* 180 (2001), 39–42; Old identifications with Tell el-Ahmar or Qantara (S. Ahituv, “Sources for the Study of the Egyptian-Canaanite Border Administration,” *IEJ* 46 [1996], 220 n. 6) are now obsolete.

<sup>31</sup> For sources see F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Aegyptens während des Mittleren Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1987), II, 222–24. It remains a moot point of discussion whether “the Wall of the Ruler” should be located here: *ibid.*, 130 and n. 36. For the 18th Dynasty see J.-L. Chappaz, “Un nouveau prophète d'Abidos,” *BSEG* 14 (1990), 23–31. For jar-sealings of Thutmose III from Hebwa, see M.A. Maksoud, *Heboua, Enquête archéologique sur la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire et le Nouvel Empire à l'extrémité orientale du Delta* (Paris, 1989), 271.

<sup>32</sup> E. Oren, “The ‘Ways of Horus’ in North Sinai,” in A.F. Rainey (ed), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (Tel Aviv, 1987), 69–119; D.B. Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, Beer Sheva, 1990; G. Mumford, *International Relations between Egypt, Sinai and Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age to Early Persian Periods* (University of Toronto; PhD dissertation, 1998), ch. 3; see now A.R. el-Ayedi, *The Ways of Horus in Ancient Egyptian Records and Archaeology* (University of Toronto, PhD Dissertation; 2002).

the extent to which we can retroject conditions derived from 19th Dynasty descriptions and depictions two hundred years earlier. In particular, in the present passage should we restore *h<sub>tm</sub>*, “fortress”? This is the common designation in later times<sup>33</sup> paralleled by *h<sub>nty</sub>* in the Late Period;<sup>34</sup> but whether this is sufficient reason to adopt the restoration remains doubtful.

“(9) For it had been a period of [many]<sup>35</sup> years [that Retenu had lapsed into]<sup>36</sup> (10) brigandage\*, while everyone was committing [theft]<sup>37</sup> against his fellow,<sup>38</sup> and [. . .]. (11) Then it transpired, in later times<sup>39</sup> that the garrison\* which was there<sup>40</sup> (12) was (now) in the town of Sharuhen\*, while (the territory) from Yarusu\* (13) as far as the distant marshlands had broken out in rebellion against His Majesty”

*Hcd3* Far from the specific content Sethe would have, the present pericope follows a pattern known elsewhere,<sup>41</sup> and especially in the retrospective of the Great Harris Papyrus,<sup>42</sup> the order is (a) a general statement concerning the land being in disorder, (b) a statement regarding “each man,” (c) a description of the subsequent state of

<sup>33</sup> Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, (Oxford, 1947), 202\*; *idem*, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Bruxelles, 1933), 108:9; *KRI* II, 1, 12.

<sup>34</sup> H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* II, 121; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Publication de la Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg. Les Stèles égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1948), 54.

<sup>35</sup> There seems to be inadequate space for Sethe’s restoration; for *cs3* cf. *Urk.* IV, 344:4. But see also *Urk.* IV, 1543:5.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. The present writer, “The Historical Retrospective to the Beginning of Thutmose III’s Annals,” in M. Görg (ed), *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 338–42; the late W.J. Murnane (oral communication, and later in “Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III’s First Campaign in Western Asia,” *JARCE* 26 [1989], 183–89) favored restoring *rgt*. On a further investigation in 1999 I still feel that the original read *Rt/nw*: abbrasian seems to have caused a false curve in an original *t*.

<sup>37</sup> The traces suggest *it*: they do not suit Sethe’s *b3k*: *ṢAS* 47, 81.

<sup>38</sup> The restoration *sn.nw.f* is almost certain. The whole finds a close parallel in *Lebensmüde* 111–113: *iw hcd3.tw s nb hr itt sn-nw.f*, people “engage in pillage, and everyone robs his fellow.”

<sup>39</sup> *H3w kywy*, almost “later reigns”: for this meaning of the term, see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 139 n. 55. Goedicke’s understanding of the phrase as a reference to a period in Thutmose III’s life is highly ingenious: *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore, 1999), 16.

<sup>40</sup> Presumably the antecedent was the place name partly lost in the lacuna in col. 9, which we have restored “Retenu.”

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Redford, *King-lists*, 259–75.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I II* (Cairo, 1994), 215ff.

things. This pattern fits the present passage precisely, and would appear to cast some of its historicity in doubt.

That having been said, the contents of cols. 11–13 rest on historical substance. The texts recording the first campaign imply the complete hegemony exercised by Kadesh over territory as far south as Megiddo the headman of which, himself, is virtually absent from the account! The extent of the personal property of the king of Kadesh in the north Jordan Valley<sup>43</sup> indicates that, in the events leading up to the campaign Kadesh had aggrandized its territory and increased its power to the point of being, however briefly, the major player in Levantine politics. But this sudden prominence was of recent date: references to the city in the sources, both cuneiform and Egyptian, begin only in the 15th cent.<sup>44</sup> This absence of earlier evidence firmly places the new regime at Kadesh within an L.B. I context. The interface between the period of the three great kingdoms of the Syrian Middle Bronze Age, viz. Yamkhad, Qatanum and Hazor,<sup>45</sup> and the world of Thutmose III's conquests consists precisely in the arrival and rapid expansion in Coele and southern Syria<sup>46</sup> of an Indo-European element, the Mittanian elite and their "Hurri-warriors." This must be placed in the 2nd half of the 16th Cent. B.C., and understood as pursuant to the establishment of the state of Mittani.<sup>47</sup> It resulted in the replacement of older regimes with new ones, featuring personal names of Aryan derivation. Whether at any point this *Drang nach Suden* transformed itself into a conscious attempt to invade Egypt must remain open, but the possibility is very tempting.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Urk.* IV, 664:17–665:4; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1965–70) II, part B, 157.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 142–43.

<sup>45</sup> Klengel, *Syria 3000–300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 44–83.

<sup>46</sup> In northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia a Hurrian presence is detected considerably earlier: sources in T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 57–59.

<sup>47</sup> For the consensus which has emerged, see among others M.C. Astour, "Les hourrites en Syrie du nord: rapport sommaire," *RHA* 36 (1978), 9–12; *idem*, "Ugarit and the Great powers," in G.D. Young (ed), *Ugarit in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1981), 7–10; Klengel, *Syria 3000–300 B.C.*, 84ff; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 134–38.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. W. Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zur Vorderasien*, 120. A fragmentary biographical text in the tomb of Yamu-nedjeh (*Urk.* IV. 649:8) may refer to the rebellion: "[. . .] of (?) Foreign[ers] of Retenu in rebellion, the land (sic) from its south to its north, as far [as . . .]"



*Iwcyt* Although sometimes referring to foreign troupes,<sup>49</sup> the word normally applies to Egyptian *standing forces*, as opposed to part-time militia.<sup>50</sup> While the latter could be called up for expeditionary service when set-piece battles were in the offing,<sup>51</sup> the standing army was apportioned for garrison duty to Kush,<sup>52</sup> Asia,<sup>53</sup> and Egypt.<sup>54</sup>

*Sharuhen*<sup>55</sup> Apart from the obvious fact that Sharuhen was in the deep south, no unanimity has been reached on its location and identity. Suggestions include: Tell el-Ajjul, on the coast south of Gaza;<sup>56</sup> Tell el-Farah (south), 25 km. South of Gaza;<sup>57</sup> or Tell Haror, 15 km. South-east of Gaza.<sup>58</sup> Whatever a priori argument may be advanced in the context of the present passage, the proposed identification will have to satisfy the known association of Sharuhen with the Hyksos. Tell el-Ajjul, although showing abundant MB IIC-LB Ia occupation, poses difficulties for the proposed identification.<sup>59</sup> If this were the

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 686:3.

<sup>50</sup> R.O. Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 44; H. Goedicke, *CdE* 86 (1968), 221; M. Guilmet, *ZA* 99 (1973), 101.

<sup>51</sup> Usually by decimation: Great Harris Papyrus 57, 8–9.

<sup>52</sup> Sir A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), 31; T.E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Egyptian Twentieth Dynasty* (Oxford, 1931), pl. 20:2, 18; 30:25.

<sup>53</sup> P. Chester Beatty V, recto 5, 12; *Urk.* IV, 1237:15–16 (below, p. 112); 1312:9; H. Nelson, J. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1936), 54 and n. 19c; P. Sallier I, 7, 4; P. Anast. Iii, vs. 5, 3; 6, 2 (where the garrison is specifically linked to a coastal fort).

<sup>54</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1002:1; P. Bologna 1096:14; A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles, 1931), 82:3; *KRI* I, 322; III, 262; divided into two “contingents” (s3) in south and north: J.-M. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb* (Bruxelles, 1981), 14, 46.

<sup>55</sup> On the vocalization and derivation of the toponym, see M. Görg, “Gruppenschreibung und Morphologie. Zur Bedeutung ausserbiblischer Ortsnamen am Beispiel von ‘Scharuhen,’” *BN* 71 (1994), 65–77. The use of *dmi*, in spite of the determinative has nothing to do with “territory” (Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 18–19), but is rather the standard term used for Asiatic settlements: D.B. Redford, “The Ancient Egyptian ‘City’: Figment or Reality?” in W. Aufrecht (ed), *Aspects of Urbanism in Antiquity, from Mesopotamia to Crete* (Sheffield, 1997), 217 n. 17.

<sup>56</sup> A. Kempinski, *IEJ* 24 (1974), 145ff; J.R. Stewart, *Tell el-Ajjul* (Göteborg, 1974), 62–3; further references in E. Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, ch. 1, 18–19; N. Na'aman, *TA* 6 (1979), 75 n. 12.

<sup>57</sup> Sources in S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Leiden, 1984), 171–73.

<sup>58</sup> A.F. Rainey, in S. Ahituv and others (eds), *Avraham Malamat Volume (Eretz Israel 24; Jerusalem, 1993)*, 178\*–85\*.

<sup>59</sup> On the difficulties of correctly characterizing the ceramics of LB Ia–b, see R. Gonen, “The Late Bronze Age,” in A. Ben-Tor (ed), *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (New Haven, 1992), 211–57; A. Leonard Jr., “The Late Bronze Age,” *BA* 52 (1989), 4–39.



Egyptian strong-point before Thutmose III's year 23, and the frontier stood at Yursa, how could Gaza to the north have been a secure Egyptian possession? Why was the garrison not located there? Again: why, if Tell el-Ajjul were the only secure Egyptian strong-point, did not Thutmose III stop *there* on the march? Yet his 10-day march would have passed close to the site without even mentioning it!<sup>60</sup> Too much can be made of the Amenophis III (> Ramesses II) list from Amara West.<sup>61</sup> Nos. 65 to 71, although located generally in the south, are not in order: *K3*[. . .] (65 = possibly Thutmose III 63) is followed by Rapha (66) and Sharu[hen] (67), but then comes *R3-n-[m]*3 (68, cf. Thutmose III 59), *Muḥazzi* (69 = Thutmose III 61), Socoh (70 = Thutmose III 67) and Joppa (71 = Thutmose III 62)! Tell Farah lies in a terrain unsuitable to the description, and its archaeological record does not coincide with what might be expected.

Rainey's choice of Tel Haror is to be given preference. It is an immense site and clearly controlled the Negeb over to the coast. It remains moot whether we should identify it as the center of a *Herzogtum* extending through the Shephelah to the Yarkon, but the suggestion is tempting.<sup>62</sup>

*Yarusa* Alt argued<sup>63</sup> that, as none of the Philistine cities except Gaza was mentioned in the toponym lists, Yursa must have lain north of these, as the southern limit of the rebellious area. He proceeds to locate it near Muhazzi and Jabneh, equating it with Tel el-Ful, 18 km. SSW of Lud.<sup>64</sup> None of this makes much sense if the lists are correctly viewed as itineraries (see below): Ashdod and Ashkelon did not figure simply because they were not on the routes chosen for

<sup>60</sup> The presence of scarabs of Thutmose III in the south coastal plain is, of course, no proof of the king's passage: T. Dothan, *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah* (Jerusalem, 1979), 99.

<sup>61</sup> KRI II, 216; Görg, "Zur Diskussion um die Lage von Scharuhen," *BN* 58 (1991), 17–19.

<sup>62</sup> R. Gophna, J. Portugali, "Settlement and Demographic Processes in Israel's Coastal Plain from the Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age," *BASOR* 269 (1988), 17–21; S. Bunimovitz, "The Changing Shape of Power in Bronze Age Canaan," in *Biblical Archaeology Today. 1990 Supplement* (Jerusalem, 1993), 146. The reduction of this major enclave by Ahmose thus would increase in historical importance; but such an estimate as that it "significantly weakened the system of Canaanite cities" (N. Na'aman, "The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," *Levant* 26 [1994], 181) seems overdrawn.

<sup>63</sup> *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Völkes Israel* I (Munich, 1959), 105.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 226 and n. 1.

inclusion. More to the point is the use of Yursa as a point of limitation in relationship to Sharuhēn. As Rainey has shown,<sup>65</sup> it can only lie north of Sharuhēn, and if the latter be Tel Haror, his identification of Tel el-Hesy (54 km. South of Joppa) is very appealing.<sup>66</sup> In the toponym lists Yursa occurs two stations from Joppa (no. 62), which would mean a longish 27 km.

“Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 4; the day of the festival of the king’s accession\* (14) (celebrated at) the ‘Town-of-the-Ruler’s Seizure,’\* [called] Gaza [of Kharu] (15) First month of shomu, day 5:<sup>67</sup> departure from this place in valor, [in victory,] (16) in might and justification, to overthrow that [vile] doomed one, [and to extend] (17) the frontiers of Egypt, inasmuch as his father [Amun] had ordained [val]or and might (18) that he might take possession.”

*Hcy-nsw* This is the day following the death of a king’s predecessor,<sup>68</sup> in the present case<sup>69</sup> the first he had celebrated alone on the throne. Are we to infer that his failure to delay his departure until he had enjoyed the anniversary at home, points to the urgency of the crisis?

*Mh.n p3 Hk3* There is scholarly unanimity that this phrase indicates that Gaza already was an Egyptian possession at the time of Thutmose’s first campaign.<sup>70</sup> But who effected its capture may still be debated. The writer once argued that it had been Thutmose III himself who had taken the city at some point while Hatshepsut yet reigned;<sup>71</sup> but if that were the case would not *hm.f* have been used

<sup>65</sup> *Avraham Malamat Volume*, 185\*.

<sup>66</sup> Tel Jemme seems less suitable: G. Cavillier, “The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine Reconsidered: a Re-assessment,” *GM* 185 (2001), 30.

<sup>67</sup> The filling of the lacuna is problematical. I have opted for omission of regnal year which would admittedly be anomalous. Even something like *m.s* or *dd.tw r.s* is by no means certain.

<sup>68</sup> See the present writer in *History and Chronology of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), 26.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. W. Helck, “Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten in Neuen Reich,” *Analecta Biblica et Orientalia* 12 (1959), 116

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, 1, 121; H.J. Katzenstein, *JAOS* 102 (1982), 111–12; B. Bryan, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 245; G. Mumford, *International Relations between Egypt, Sinai and Syria-Palestine*, ch. 2, p. 84.

<sup>71</sup> *History and Chronology*, 60 n. 27; cf. J.K. Hoffmeier, “Reconsidering Egypt’s Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Levant* 21 (1989), 186.

instead of *p3 hk3*? Perhaps the expression is formulaic and means something like “ruler’s (personal) expropriation” or the like.

“Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 16: at<sup>72</sup> the town of Yehem\*. [His Majesty] gave orders for (19) a consultation with his victorious army, speaking as follows:<sup>73</sup> ‘[that vile] doomed one (20) of Kadesh\* is come, and has entered into Megiddo—he is [there] (21) even at this moment!—having gathered unto himself the [chiefs of all] the for[eign lands who used to be]<sup>74</sup> (22) loyal to Egypt, together with (places) as far away as Naharin\* [—dogs at his heels!]<sup>75</sup> (23) (namely) Khurians, and Qodians\*, their horses and their troops [being very many indeed]; (24)<sup>76</sup> and further:<sup>77</sup> it is rumoured that he is saying: “I shall make a stand to [fight with His Majesty]<sup>78</sup> (25) in Megiddo.” Tell me [what you think about it.’ Then]<sup>79</sup> (26) they spoke before His Majesty: ‘What would it be like to proceed [upon] this<sup>80</sup> (27) [ro]ad which grows progressively narrower? It is [reported]<sup>81</sup> (28) that the enemy are there, standing upon [the high ground<sup>82</sup> and are incr] (29) easing in numbers. Would not the horses have to go in single file and the [army] (30) personnel likewise?<sup>83</sup> Shall our own vanguard be (already) (31) fighting, while the [rearguard stands here]

<sup>72</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 121, cf. 168 n. 55. The preposition *r* implies both motion towards and resting in a place. There is not the slightest reason to assign the war council to the next day. Obviously “day 16” labels the information which follows.

<sup>73</sup> This first *r-ntt* deals with the presence and composition of the enemy: cf. Christophe, *RdE* 5 (1950), 98ff. There is absolutely no reason nor necessity to separate the date from the council, as Noth does: *ZDPV* 66 (1943), 161–64.

<sup>74</sup> *Wnw* would barely fit the lacuna; *ntt* is possible.

<sup>75</sup> The restoration is based on Piankhy stela, 3. But we could have another locative indicator further qualifying Naharin. A restoration “M[aryannu]” does not fit the context: Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 31.

<sup>76</sup> Much of columns 22–24 are now missing; cf. Copies of Lepsius and Sethe.

<sup>77</sup> The second *r-ntt* introduces the enemy’s intentions.

<sup>78</sup> Following Sethe in restoring *ch3*; but *thn* would fit equally well. There is no need to restore *c3*, “here.”

<sup>79</sup> There is too much space for Sethe’s restoration.

<sup>80</sup> The use of the deictic does not prove that something earlier has been omitted, but must be understood as a common prolepsis employed commonly in narrative to help organize a receiver’s “message space”: W. Noth, *Handbook of Semiotics* (Bloomington, 1995), 138–39.

<sup>81</sup> The soldiers continue to speak: Faulkner, *JEA* 28, 3. A supposed *iw.tw r dd n hm.f* would be rare: Grapow, *Studien*, 61.

<sup>82</sup> Read *hr h3swt* and understand a fully written stative. The officers’ fear was attack from the advantage of high ground, the optimum tactic to employ on an enemy locked in a narrow defile. (From col. 29 see fig. 2 and pl. 2).

<sup>83</sup> *Ist* used in a rhetorical question, as in Late Egyptian: cf. F. Junge, *Neuaegyptische. Einleitung in die Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 2.2.4 (1); Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 402.

(32) in Aruna, unable to fight?<sup>84</sup> And further: [there are two roads here], (33) one of the roads is really [good for us<sup>85</sup> as it debouches at] (34) Taanach, while the other [really] leads to [the] (35) northern road of Djefty\*, and then we would come out nor[th of Me]giddo. (36) So may our mighty lord proceed upon [whichever] of [them] he [desires].<sup>86</sup>

(37) (But) let us not go on that [difficult] road!' Then [they brought] (38) messengers(?) [to speak to His Majesty(?) concerning that weighty] council (39) they had spoken before."<sup>87</sup>

*Yehem* Modern Jemmeh, 4 km. North of Socoh.<sup>88</sup> The word comes from a root meaning "to watch, protect";<sup>89</sup> and together with other places in the vicinity named in the toponym list, indicates the strategic concern shown by local authorities over the approach to the pass. In the list *Yehem* (no. 68) is followed by *H3-b3-d-n* no. 69 (possibly from the root *H-B-S*, "to guard, take care of")<sup>90</sup> and *M-k-t-r*, no. 71, "watch-tower".<sup>91</sup>

### *Kadesh*

Long identified with the site of Tel Nebi Mend,<sup>92</sup> the mound has been the scene, since 1921, of excavations by the French<sup>93</sup> and the

<sup>84</sup> The fact that, according to the text, they are still at Yehem when these words were uttered, has occasioned some difficulty: cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 28 (1942), 5 n. e; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 123–24. The text cannot be right, the argument goes, as they came to Aruna on the 19th, after the council. The latter, then, as we have it, must be unhistorical. The problem lies, however, not in the unhistorical nature of the "Kriegsrat," but in a too specific rendering of *c3*, "here" which refers to the general vicinity. Cf. A.J. Spalinger, "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo and Reflections on Egyptian Military Writing," *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 222–23.

<sup>85</sup> Read *nfr n.n.* There is no justification to restore *nb.n*, and the suffixes on the verb refer to the *road*, not the king: Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 37.

<sup>86</sup> The *mn*-sign is by no means certain. Read *nty* or *w3t/mtn* etc.

<sup>87</sup> The restoration is difficult. Sethe's *hrw pf hsy* is by no means certain. It seems more likely that confirmation is here adduced by the officers regarding the road choices they had just offered the king. There is no new information on the basis of which the king decides to act.

<sup>88</sup> See Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 197–98; P. der Manuellian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 70 n. 121.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 54–55 (no. 57).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* I A (Leiden, 1989), 191.

<sup>91</sup> Identified with a site about 10 km. WNW of Jemmeh: Helck, *Beziehungen*, 122–23.

<sup>92</sup> Goedicke's identification with Kadesh Naphtali (*The Battle of Megiddo*, 28) is quite gratuitous, and flies in the face of the implicit identity of the Kadesh here mentioned and the site on the Orontes, as principal enemy of the Egyptians throughout.

<sup>93</sup> M. Pezard, *Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend 1921–1922*, Paris, 1931.

British.<sup>94</sup> Kadesh enjoys a strategic location as a control point for the east-west transit corridor emerging from the Mediterranean coast via the Eleutheros valley.<sup>95</sup> If, as suggested above, the rise to prominence of Kadesh as a protege of Mittani had been of recent date, the arrival of the new regime in the town probably dates to the outgoing 16th Cent. B.C., or phases E–F of the excavation report.<sup>96</sup>

### *Naharin*

To be identified with northern Syria and the gezira beyond the Euphrates.<sup>97</sup> Recent discussion has focused on a return to understanding the word as a dual with *nunation*.<sup>98</sup> One might suggest, in light of its synonymous use with Mitanni, that the Euphrates and the Balikh are intended.

### *Qodians*

Qode is usually identified as a district of north Syria adjacent to Naharin, Amurru and Cilicia, apparently distinct from Kizzuwadna with which it is sometimes compared.<sup>99</sup> The name occurs in our present passage for the first time in Egyptian texts and, failing an acceptable West Semitic or Anatolian *Vorlage*, is probably an Egyptian term. Denials to the contrary, it is tempting to link the word with the root *qd*, “to go round, to describe a curve,”<sup>100</sup> in which case it would share both semantic and geographic aptness with *mw qd*, the “curving water,” i.e. the Euphrates.<sup>101</sup> Whether the implications of the term—did the Kadesh coalition *really* extend as far away as Cilicia?—are to be understood as sober or hyperbolic, is difficult to determine. It may be that, from a vantage point two decades after the

<sup>94</sup> P. Parr, “The Tell Nebi Mend Project,” *AAAS* 33/2 (1983), 99–117; *idem*, “The Tell Nebi Mend Project,” *JACF* 4 (1991), 78–85.

<sup>95</sup> S.J. Bourke, “The Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Syria: the Evidence from Tell Nebi Mend,” *Levant* 25 (1993), 155.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 160–62.

<sup>97</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 277–78; H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 90–1.

<sup>98</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 187–91 (no. 253).

<sup>99</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 134\*–36\*; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), 23–24; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des neuen Reiches* (Fribourg, 1992), 203–4; P. Grandet, *Ramses III. Histoire d'un règne* (Paris, 1993), 185; *idem*, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (Cairo, 1994), 241.

<sup>100</sup> *Wb.* V, 78:1–8.

<sup>101</sup> E. Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten in den Tempeln von Aksha, Amarah und Soleb im Sudan,” *BN* 11 (1980), 72.

event when Egyptian arms had been carried as far north as Aleppo and the Euphrates, Qode as a northern limit might have suggested itself. On the other hand, it was probably during this period that formal Mitannian influence under Parattarna, had extended to north Syria and Kizzuwadna;<sup>102</sup> and, if Mitanni were ultimately the promoter of Kadesh, Qode might well have felt constrained to contribute to the force at Megiddo.

### *Djefthy*

The site is usually identified as Tel Abu Shusha, 5 km. North-west of Megiddo towards Jokneam.<sup>103</sup> It is difficult to conceive of this route being a real option, as it would have left the Egyptian rear at risk of attack at several places.

“Communicate in the Majesty of the Palace, L.P.H.\* ‘I [swear]!’<sup>104</sup> (40) As surely as Re loves me, and my father [Amun] favors me, and my [nose] (41) is rejuvenated in life and dominion! It is on this Aruna road<sup>105</sup> that My Majesty shall proceed!<sup>106</sup> (42) Let whoever of you so desires go by the (43) roads you have mentioned, and let whoever of you (44) so desires come in the following of My Majesty. (But) let them not think, these (45) doomed ones, the abomination of Re “Has His Majesty proceeded upon (46) another road? He has begun to fear us!” for that’s what they will say!”

(47) Then they said to His Majesty: ‘Let thy father [Amun-re lord of Karnak] do [what Thy Majesty wishes(?)].’<sup>107</sup> (48) Behold! We are in Your Majesty’s train wherever [Your Majesty] may proceed! (49) (for) it is behind [his] master that a servant’s place should be.”

<sup>102</sup> R. Beal, “The History of Kizzuwatna and the Date of the Sunassura Treaty,” *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 424–45.

<sup>103</sup> Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Völk Israel* I, 103 n. 3; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 125. See also R. Givon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (Freiburg, 1978), 30.

<sup>104</sup> J. Wilson, “The Oath in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 7 (1948), 140 (no. 66), cf. 132 (nos. 7–8) 133 (no. 15), cf. *Idem* in J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 235.

<sup>105</sup> The toponym merely names the road, in contradistinction to the other two: cf. A.J. Spalinger, *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 222.

<sup>106</sup> The writing *i{w}.wd3* can only be an early writing of the non-periphrastic Second Tense *i.ir.f sdm*: Junge, *Neuaegyptische*, 136–42. Several examples are known (cf. Doomed Prince 6,10; Horus & Seth 5,7; Mes N,21; Anastasi i.3, 10,3; 24,4), their contemporaneity with the more fully developed periphrasis being simply an example of shared semantic space not morphological distinction.

<sup>107</sup> The restoration is difficult. Perhaps only “may thy father . . . act”?

*Dddt m hm n stp-s3*

This phrase has nothing to do with “the royal tent” (*pace* Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 3), but is the formal phrase indicating an executive decision and, as such, indicates the seriousness of the present occasion; cf. *Urk.* I, 62:1, 63:2–3 (work orders), IV, 325:17 (commission to trade), 409:15 (temple construction), 1021 (authorization to expropriate cattle); *KRI* I, 50:12–13 (charter); *ASAE* 5 (1905), 282 (temple personnel).

## EXCURSUS I: THE COUNCIL OF WAR

The sentence in col. 19 introduces the rhetorical insertion placed within the quoted day-book entry, and extending to col. 49. There probably was some notice of a council of war within the day-book entry for that day; but the exact verbatim statements would not have been recorded.<sup>108</sup> While the character of the form has often been discussed, the validity of its use by the historian has seldom been considered. It might be argued in the present case that slight irregularities and discrepancies render this section of the annals somewhat suspect: confusion as to where the council actually took place, the hyperbole in the description of the enemy forces, the erroneous(?) statement regarding the deployment of the enemy at the mouth of the pass, premature description of the march before the reference to Aruna<sup>109</sup> etc. But this is the kind of unevenness that one might put down to the fading of collective memory. If the date of inscription was nearly two decades after the event, (see below, 53–54), and the composer a young scribe who had not been present on the campaign<sup>110</sup> (see above, pp. 3–4), one cannot wonder at a degree of rhetorical reworking that sacrifices some factual accuracy.

<sup>108</sup> On the war council, see Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Bible Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery* (London, 1963), 101–2; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 123–24; A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), 101–3; 136; E.H. Kline, *The Battles of Armageddon* (2000), 12–14; A. Loprieno, “The King’s Novel,” in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 280–81.

<sup>109</sup> Helck notes (*Beziehungen*, 124) that the use of the phrase “Aruna road” must mean that the three roads diverged *south* of that town.

<sup>110</sup> By “composer” I do not mean to imply that the king had no hand in the composition, and we must rather imagine a species of broadly rendered dictation.

A more serious drawback, it is sometimes alleged (or at least assumed) for an historian to use the texts with a *Königsnovelle Tendenz*, lies in the behavioral template which informs the pieces in question. The genre expectations inherent in the reception regime give rise to a limited set of motifs centering upon the figure of the king.<sup>111</sup> These range from the disposition and motivation of forces in a set-piece battle to the actions and mind-set of the king: enraged at foreign treachery, exhibiting perspicacity in contrast to his human advisers, daring and accepting of risk, marching at the head of his troops, charging headlong into the massed ranks, saving Egypt in the breach, protecting his army single-handed, executing the criminal enemy, lavishing rewards on those loyal to him, engaging in the hunt (insouciant of danger *à la* Sir Francis Drake), loving horses and hounds, and so forth. This type of role forces its own adoption at an existential level: effective action, not shared essence, confers legitimacy. The king may well have been, to paraphrase the Pyramid Texts, the person of a god, a Heliopolitan, older than the eldest, dwelling in the horizon for ever and ever, begotten of Yellow-face etc. But now he is also *chosen* in the here and now on the basis of what he *does* or *will do*.<sup>112</sup> The role these activities and attitudes delineate, though rooted in the image of the *ndsw* of the First Intermediate Period,<sup>113</sup> was established in detail pursuant to the 18th Dynasty victory; and remained the informing element in the royal persona for well over a millennium.

But is the role, because it is stereotypical, to be rejected by historians for its failure to convey specifics in an individual instance? Does it correspond to reality, or is it a heavenly mask rather than

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<sup>111</sup> Cf. M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* (Padova, 1990), 172–79; *idem*, “Ancient Propaganda and Historical Criticism,” in J.S. Cooper, G.M. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the 21st Century* (Winona Lake, 1996), 283–89.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. E. Blumenthal, “Königsideologie,” *LdÄ* III (1980), 528–29; R. Moftah, *Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im neuen Reich* (Mainz, 1985), 106–14; R. Gundlach, “Weltherrscher und Weltordnung,” in R. Gundlach, H. Weber (eds), *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers* (Stuttgart, 1992), 40–43; D.B. Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the 18th Dynasty,” in D. O’Connor, D.P. Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 157–84.

<sup>113</sup> D. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-royal Epithets of the Middle Kingdom* (Leiden, 1998), 196; cf. E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des mittleren Reiches*, Berlin, 1970.



a terrestrial record?<sup>114</sup> It is perhaps not as clear-cut as these questions imply: the conjuring of the ideal may well be occasioned by the event. Only an independent source, or a concerted thrust in circumstantial evidence, can decide the issue. All sources, of course, for us moderns at least, fall under the heading *propaganda*, i.e. that which is to be propagated in support of the dissemination, or continued validation, of an ideology; and all, no matter which society or culture is involved, will originate with the privileged elite and display their bias.<sup>115</sup> In a sense this defines, rather than complicates the historian's task: a form/critical approach is a *sine qua non*.

But at the practical level of history-writing, can the *Königsnovelle* be used as a believable source? For the reigns of Kamose, Ahmose, Thutmose I and Hatshepsut we have no independent sources which might provide balance in our assessment; and the same lack bedevils our present enterprise. But from the outgoing 18th Dynasty sources from Asia Minor, North Syria and Mesopotamia describe events for which we have also an Egyptian version; and for the first millennium Assyrian, Babylonian and Greek accounts of events in Egyptian history provide invaluable comparanda.

Interestingly, with this new textual material at our disposal, the ideological role adumbrated above appears, not as a meaningless mask with no relation to reality, but a real informing element in the king's every day activity.<sup>116</sup> Far from an ideal pattern existing at an ethereal plane, unachievable and unreal, the role of Pharaoh in the atmosphere of the *Königsnovelle* exerts a hegemonic influence on the king in forcing him to conform to what is expected. The role demands performance, not reading. It is not wishful thinking to suggest that perhaps Ramesses II did operate at Kadesh much as the texts and reliefs say he did; that Pi(ankh)y's concern for horses was real and derives from a working ideal, not crass commercialism; that Taharqa's courage and daring actually did conform to the stereotype.

<sup>114</sup> On "historical" vs. "Ideal" see M. Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III* (Hildesheim, 1992), 111. Clearly in such an ideologically "committed" text it would be folly to penetrate no deeper than knowledge of what the document says: cf. M. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 179–81.

<sup>115</sup> N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris, 1986. When an independent voice propounds a point of view, the fury of the elite is unbridled: cf. W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 12–13.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Diodorus on Egyptian kingship: i.70–72.

The 6th through 4th Centuries throw up unmistakable examples, described by Greek pens (where no native source is available) of Egyptian kings and royal pretenders acting in conformity to the royal ideal. Consider Tachos, ignoring sage advice in his efforts to dash far afield and confront the vile Asiatic on his home turf;<sup>117</sup> or Nektanebo II determined to charge headlong into the foe,<sup>118</sup> and bestowing largess on him that was on his water.<sup>119</sup> Murders portrayed as high-handed acts are nothing more than the execution of rebels against His Majesty.<sup>120</sup> It is amusing to hear the Greek assessment of deeds hallowed by the Pharaonic stereotype as displaying κενεοΦροσυνη, “empty-mindedness.”

In the present case, though Thutmose III's war council conforms to the demands of the ideal, the historicity of the event cannot be dismissed out of hand. The entire sequence of the action which follows assumes a decision of some comparable sort had been taken by the king. If not we are obliged to damn the account as made of whole cloth, which seems highly unlikely.

[(49) *Command of His Majesty to lay*] (50) *a charge on the entire army*: ‘At[tend ye!]<sup>121</sup> We shall proceed upon (51) that<sup>122</sup> road which grows progressively narrower.’ Then His Majesty took] (52) an oath saying: ‘I shall not allow [my victorious army] to go [forth] (53) ahead [of My Majesty from this place!’ For lo! It was His Majesty's desire that] (54) he should go forth at the [head of his army] himself.

[*Every man*] *was made to know*<sup>123</sup> (55) *how he was to march*, the horses being in single file and [the victorious king]<sup>124</sup> (56) at [the head of his] army.

<sup>117</sup> Diodorus xv.92.3.

<sup>118</sup> Plutarch *Agesilaus* xxxviii.4; xxxix.3–4.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi.6; cf. Plutarch *Pers.* xxxvii.4.

<sup>120</sup> B. Porten, Y. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* I. *Letters* (Jerusalem, 1986), 46–47; Diodorus xiv.19; 35.3–5; S. Ruzicka, *Historia* 48 (1999), 24.

<sup>121</sup> See Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 652 n. a. His restoration seems unlikely; cf. Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 5 n.l. It is conceivable that the *n* is a second dative introducing something like *htri* or *mt*, “to the chariotry and/or people to proceed upon etc.”

<sup>122</sup> The conflated writing with *n* is occasioned by the erroneous 19th Dyn. Restoration of *Imn*.

<sup>123</sup> The determinative of “man-with-hand-to-mouth” seems certain: *pace* Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 46.

<sup>124</sup> This seems to fit available space better than *hm.f*.

Clearly, the Yehem stop, which probably extended for two days was the venue for not only the council of war, but also for the instruction and final disposition of the line of march. It is unlikely that marching in single file was necessary from the outset: only after Aruna would such a deployment have been necessary. The textual embellishment seeks to lay stress on the king's courage and solicitude for his army.

*"Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 19. [Lively] reveille (57) in the tent of life, prosperity and health at the town of Aruna.*<sup>125</sup> *Pro[ceeding] (58) northwards 'by My Majesty under (the aegis of) my father [Amun-re, lord of Karnak, while Wepwawet] (59) was before me, Reharakhty spr[ead]ing brightness over My Majesty,] (60) my father Montu strengthening [My Majesty's] arm, and [Khonsu(?) . . . ] (61) over My Majesty.*<sup>126</sup>

*Proceeding [by His Majesty at the head of] his [army]—now th[ey were (already) drawn up] (62) in numerous squadrons<sup>127</sup> [(but) the enemy were] isolated:<sup>128</sup> [the] (63) southern flank<sup>129</sup> was in Ta[anach, in the hills(?), the] (64) northern flank was at the southern bend<sup>130</sup> [of the valley of Qina.*<sup>131</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Helck ("Das Datum der Schlacht von Megiddo," *MDÄIK* 28 [1972], 101–2) assumes the "awakening" was in Yehem, followed by "(Marsch) nach Aruna." This enables him to place the march through the pass on the 20th. G. Lello ("Thutmose III's First Lunar Date" *JNES* 37 [1978], 329) thinks the king woke before dawn, and therefore the scribe correctly noted "day 19"; when dawn broke it was day 20. For full discussion, see below.

<sup>126</sup> On the restoration and meaning see below.

<sup>127</sup> Sethe's restoration is wholly gratuitous. *Ist s[n]* is to be restored, taking "army" as antecedent.

<sup>128</sup> Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 653:10) restores [*n gm.n.f hr*] *wc*, ["he never found a] single [doomed one]."] The preferred restoration would characterize the deployment of the enemy as *m wcw*, "isolated, alone," and by implication afar off. The next sentence, then, specifies this condition. A restoration "one" spy or deserter came to give the king information (Christophe, *RdE* 5, 100 n. 9) would require considerably more space than is available. There is no need to restore *wnn* at the bottom of column 62 (Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*. 51): the two clauses provide the circumstances of the deployment.

<sup>129</sup> Goedicke's "attack force" (*The Battle of Megiddo*, 52, 69) is unjustifiable: the extent of the disposition of the enemy is all that is being set on record; cf. P. Chester Beatty II, 9, 3 (A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* [Bruxelles, 1932], 35).

<sup>130</sup> See Faulkner, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 7ff.

<sup>131</sup> Assuredly not near Djefity, as Yeivin, *JNES* 9 (1950), 103; Yadin, *Warfare*, 102. The northern flank barely touched the hills south of the exit to the pass: Christophe, *RdE* 5, 100ff; Wilson, *ANET*, 236 n. 27.

Thereupon] (65) His Majesty issued a challenge<sup>132</sup> on [this] ro[ad: 'Draw up the bat] (66)-tle lines!' And they were discomfitted, for that [vile] doomed one [took to flight(?); while the army] (67) broke into a chorus of cheering<sup>133</sup> [to the ruler(?)]"

[“Proceeding by His Majesty”]<sup>134</sup> (67a)<sup>135</sup> [to(?)]<sup>136</sup> the outer road [. . . c. 1/2 col. (32 cm.) . . .] (68) of [His Majesty . . . behind him ]<sup>137</sup> while Amun [. . . c. 1/2 col. . . .] (69) of [. . . c. 1/2 col. . . . The . . .]s [to(?)] you(?), for<sup>138</sup> (70) [. . . 1/2 col. . . .] the army [gave praise] to His Majesty for the greatness of his sword more than (71) [any other king.<sup>139</sup> Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 20.;(?).]<sup>140</sup> the camp of [His] Majesty’s army [was set]<sup>141</sup> in (72) Aruna, (but) while the rear of the victorious army of [His Majesty was in the environs(?)]<sup>142</sup> of (73) Aruna, the van was gone forth into the valley of [Q]i-na (74) and they filled the opening of the valley.<sup>143</sup>

Then they said to His Majesty, l.p.h. (75)—now His Majesty had (just) come out with his victorious army and they (now) filled the

<sup>132</sup> Nis: Wb. II, 204, “to summon or announce” often, but by no means always, in a cultic context. Elsewhere the challenge to, or announcement of battle is conveyed by *smi*, “to report” (Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* [Wiesbaden, 1977], 56), or *sr*, “to forecast” (N.-C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale du roi Pi(ankh)y*, 24–26 line 10).

<sup>133</sup> The traces suit the restoration, and the clear presence of *swb3* decides the issue. For *hnw* used in such contexts, see Wb. III, 164:21 (*hn n hs*, “rhythmic song”), C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens* (Paris, 1979), 102 (*hn n dd r.dd.f*, “the rhythmic chant which he speaks”); Edfu V, 34:10 (*hnw nhm*, “the exultant shout”); Grimal, *Stèle triomphale*, 72 n. 178; see S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Aegypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 320.

<sup>134</sup> The king is clearly the actor in cols. 65–67, and again in col. 68; so that a restoration [*wḏ3 hm.f*] or [*chc.n hm.f hr ck*] is quite in order.

<sup>135</sup> Not seen by Sethe. The column is placed immediately west of the granite gate leading to the Hatshepsut block. See fig. 3.

<sup>136</sup> Perhaps *hr-r3*.

<sup>137</sup> *Hr-s3.f* is just possible.

<sup>138</sup> Sethe’s reading is incorrect: see facsimile, fig. 3. A masculine plural noun is in evidence which might with difficulty be restored as *hsbw* or *hprw*, followed by *di* and traces of *hr(?)*.

<sup>139</sup> The traces agree with Faulkner: *op. cit.*, p. 9, n. x; and the context strongly supports his contention that “the troops are rejoicing over their safe passage”: *ibid.*, p. 9, n. w. Clearly, however, they are not yet through the pass.

<sup>140</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>141</sup> Sethe’s restoration (*Urk.* IV, 654:6) is unlikely. The traces suit *w3hy ihw*.

<sup>142</sup> Sethe’s *dmi* seems to require too much space for what is available. Perhaps read *m h3w*.

<sup>143</sup> *Pg3* must refer to the narrow opening at the north-east end of the pass; for the king is now prevailed upon to guard the exit.

valley—‘Just this time let our mighty lord listen to us! (77) Let our lord guard for us the rear of [his] army [and his people],<sup>144</sup> so that the rear of the army may emerge for us clear (of the pass); and then we shall fight (79) these foreigners, and we shall not be worried [about] the rear of (80) our army!’

*Halting by His Majesty outside<sup>145</sup> and taking a seated position (81) there, protecting the rear of his victorious army. Now by the time the [rear of]<sup>146</sup> (82) the expeditionary force reached the (point of) exit,<sup>147</sup> on this road, the shadow (83) had turn[ed]; and when His Majesty arrived south of Megiddo on the bank<sup>148</sup> of the brook Qina, seven hours had elapsed in the day.<sup>149</sup>*

*Then the camp was pitched there for His Majesty. A command was issued to the entire army [as follows]: ‘[G]et ready! Sharpen your weapons! For battle will be joined with that vile doomed one in the morning, and on that account One [now(?) will(?)] (85) rest<sup>150</sup> in the fortified camp<sup>151</sup> of life, prosperity and health.’ Preparation of the officers’ mess and rations for the attendants. Posting sentries for the army with the words: ‘Steady! Steady! Wide awake! Wide awake!’*

*Lively reveille in the tent of life, prosperity and health. They came to tell His Majesty: ‘the wilderness is in good shape, and so are the troops (on) south and north.’<sup>152</sup>*

<sup>144</sup> Are these the king’s household troops or camp-followers, presumably the *smsw* of col. 84? See Faulkner, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5 n. d; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 59.

<sup>145</sup> The omission of *int* indicates in the daybook original this passage followed the first half of (74) in which *int tn* served as antecedent. See Helck, *Beziehungen*, 125.

<sup>146</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>147</sup> See Wilson, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 236. See fig. 4.

<sup>148</sup> Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 61–62.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. A.J. Spalinger, *GM* 33 (1979), 51 and discussion below.

<sup>150</sup> The lacuna at the bottom of col. 84 is only 20 cm. deep, scarcely enough room for an extended predicate. Therefore it may be that *hṯp* at the top of (85) fills that function (in spite of the expected daybook infinitive style): cf. *Urk.* IV, 1303:13, 1312:18; Edel, *ZDPV*, 69, 143.

<sup>151</sup> *Cny* signifies an enclosure, with a circumvallation for protection: J.K. Hofmeier, “Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East,” *JSSSEA* VII (1977), 16. The root can denote walling in with hostile intent (cf. W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Inschriften der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 89); cf. also the bird *cant* which might be translated a “cooped fowl”: J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an* (Cairo, 1972), 116 n. 287. The word here must refer to the central, royal sector of the camp as a whole, the word for the latter being *ihw* (cf. Col. 71, 84), a very broad designation for both an army encampment (Anast. I.17.6–8; *KRI* IV, 4:3; W. Spiegelberg, “Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibeh,” *ZÄS* 53 [1922], 25), a work camp (*KRI* IV, 327:9) or even a stable (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 45:4).

<sup>152</sup> H. Goedicke (“The Coast is Clear,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* I [Goettingen, 1984], 485–89) wishes to read *h3bw h3st*, “destroyer of cities”; but there are plenty of examples of *mrw*, “wasteland, wilderness”: *Wb.* II, 109:5–6.

*Regnal Year 23, first month of shomu, day 21—the exact day of the psdntyw-feast.”*

## EXCURSUS II: THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The debate over the chronological implications of *psdntyw* has now run its course, and all possibilities seem to have been considered.<sup>153</sup> Here we shall be concerned only with the datum in question, and its implication for the internal sequence of events. Faulkner's emendation of the date from “21” to “20”<sup>154</sup> has been criticized as gratuitous, even though he based himself on the constraints of the event as recorded. That the scribe might have made a mistake<sup>155</sup> is not in and of itself unusual: in several passages in Thutmose's accounts numbers are suspect.<sup>156</sup>

The pericope encompassing col. 56 to 80, i.e. the events beginning on the 19th of the month, ranks as the most enigmatic in the entire account. They comprise the following sections:

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<sup>153</sup> By far the best analysis of the discussion to 1987 is that of P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 1–19; for additional discussion beyond that date see Helck, “Was kann die Ägyptologie wirklich zum Problem der absoluten Chronologie in der Bronzezeit beitragen?” *Chronologische Annäherungswerte in der 18. Dynastie*, in P. Astrom (ed), *High, Middle or Low?* (Gothenburg, 1987), 22–23; E. Hornung, “Lang oder Kurz? Das Mittlere und Neue Reich Ägyptens,” *ibid.*, 30–31; K.A. Kitchen, “The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in relation to the Bronze Age,” *ibid.*, 40–41; J.K. Hoffmeier, “Reconsidering Egypt's Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Levant* 21 (1989), 190 n. 2; for the contretemps between Leitz and Krauss, see C. Leitz, “Bemerkungen zur astronomischen Chronologie,” *Ägypten und Levante* III (1992), 97–102 (esp. 100–1); R. Krauss, “Was wäre, wenn der altaegyptische Kalendartag mit Sonnenaufgang begonnen hatte?” *BSEG* 17 (1993), 63–71; Leitz, “Der Monkalender und der Beginn des ägyptischen Kalendertages,” *BSEG* 18 (1994), 49–59; J. von Beckerath, “Das Kalendarium des Papyrus Ebers und die Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches. Gegenwärtiger Stand der Frage,” *Ägypten und Levante* III (1992), 23–27; *idem*, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1997), 50–1 and n. 192. For a recent general discussion of *psdntiw*, see L. Depuydt, “The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence,” in L. Lesko, (ed), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Honor of William A. Ward* (Providence, 1998), 71–89; *idem*, *Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt* (Louvain, 1997), 140–41; A. Dodson, “Towards a Minimum Chronology of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period,” *BES* 14 (2000), 7–18.

<sup>154</sup> *JEA* 28 (1942), 11.

<sup>155</sup> R.A. Parker, “The Beginning of the Lunar Month in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 29 (1970), 218.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. The possible confusion over “24” and “40” in the section following the Battle of Megiddo: *Urk.* IV, 668:4, 671:6 (Breasted, *ARE* II, 191–92); the erroneous “32” where “42” is required: *Urk.* IV, 734:14; see also below, p. 134 (“24” for “7”).

1. The reveille and *profectio* (56–61). Here the day-book entry is glossed by an elaboration and rationalization of the archaic scene of the *šmsw-Hr* preceeding the royal figure: falcon-falcon-canine and “cushion”.<sup>157</sup> These are poetically transmogrified into Re-Harakhty, Montu,<sup>158</sup> Wepwawet and possibly Khonsu. It may be significant that this is the verbatim, first person<sup>159</sup> marginalia of Thutmose III himself, a concession to a species of archaic legitimation.
2. The disposition of the enemy forces (61–64). This can be construed as derived entirely from a daybook entry, and not necessarily an intelligence report coming from a different source.<sup>160</sup>
3. The challenge and skirmish (64–71). Though the lacunae begin to increase at this point, the king clearly issues a challenge and a skirmish ensues, presumably at the mouth of the pass.<sup>161</sup> The king is lauded by his troops and debouches “to the outer road.” The whole is a slightly embellished excerpt from the daybook. What is clear is that *before* the entire army debouched from the pass a skirmish had already taken place.
4. Arrangements for the army’s advance (71–79). This section begins with the situation at an unspecified(?) moment: the camp at Aruna, the van in the pass, the rear still in the district of Aruna. While the daybook is quoted in (71) to (74), a midrash is inserted (74–79) to amplify the daybook excerpt in (80), and explain why the king stationed himself at the valley mouth: it was not through cowardice, but simply because his officers had requested it.

The question is: if reveille occurred at, or even before, dawn on the 19th, could all these events have transpired by mid-day? The distance covered is c. 9 km. And the terrain could not have been easy. Moreover a skirmish had to be fought at some point. There is ample space in lacunae for a change of day, which might alleviate the difficulty, and also help us to accomodate the *psdntyw* entry (see further below). But if night passed and the 20th day came, we should

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<sup>157</sup> W. Kaiser, “Einige Bemerkungen zur aegyptischen Frühzeit, 1. Zu den *šmsw-Hr*,” *ZAŚ* 84 (1959), 119–32; 85 (1960), 118–37.

<sup>158</sup> Later falsely restored “Amun.”

<sup>159</sup> The “Ich”-style: Grapow, *Studien*, 51.

<sup>160</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 125.

<sup>161</sup> So rightly Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 9 n. v.



have to conclude that the king and part of his troops either returned to camp or spent the night *in the pass*, after having revealed their position to the enemy! This seems unlikely on the face of it. The urgency inherent in the statements made during the council of war point to the general consensus of the absolute necessity of clearing the pass expeditiously, not dawdling in it. Moreover the specificity of the daybook regarding elapsed time in terms of *hours*, argues the narrow focus of time spans within a *single* day.

But one consideration makes the observations of the preceding paragraph less than convincing. If the king, who had cleared the pass *first*, stationed himself at its mouth until the rearguard had made its exit, he must have remained there while the entire army passed out. Some part of these passing troops, either the van or the rear, is qualified as having emerged from the pass at noon. Sethe restores [m3]cw, "leaders,"<sup>162</sup> but this introduces a difficulty. The definite article p3 militates in favor of a masc. sing. noun, not a plural. If the van of the army is here described,<sup>163</sup> the word can only be some writing of h3ty, and what follows must be a bound construction. But then there would be insufficient space left for the writing of m3cw. The arrangement of signs at the top of column 82 strongly suggests either a miswriting of cq or di iw.w:<sup>164</sup> "(those) who had entered (i.e. into the valley)," or "(those) who had been despatched (i.e. the expeditionary force)." If the van is intended Thutmose III must have remained at the exit to the pass for several hours *after* the noon hour; if the rear is meant, he could have quit his post at once, and reached the brook easily by 1 PM.

Which scenario is to be preferred will depend on our understanding of the temporal clause in col. 83. Here we are told that the king reached the brook Qina iw wnwet 7 m phr m hrw. Parker<sup>165</sup> has cast welcome light on this passage by pointing out that the reading of a shadow-clock underlies the choice of expression. If "7 hours" are

<sup>162</sup> Urk. IV, 655:9; *idem*, *Kommentar zu den altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* IV, 201; Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 9–10 (n. Aa).

<sup>163</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 125.

<sup>164</sup> I.e. a passive participle with 3 m.pl. subjunctive: cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* sec. 452 at 16. The inclusion of the infix <t> in the subjunctive of this anomalous verb is not always written in Late Egyptian: cf. Taking of Joppa 3, 10.

<sup>165</sup> R.A. Parker, "Some Reflections on the Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II," in W.K. Simpson, W.M. Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 147.



understood to have elapsed after the “turning” (*phr*), i.e. noon,<sup>166</sup> then 7 PM would have found the sun already set, a shadow-clock useless, and the phrase *m hrw*, “in the day,” inappropriate. Moreover such a translation would mean that camp was pitched, sentries set and the army fed after dark! There seems every reason, therefore, to translate the clause “when 7 hours had turned in the day,” that is to say, it was approximately 1 PM. This, in turn, obliges us to restore the bottom of col. 81 as *ist ph.n p3* [*phwy* . . .] etc., thus yielding a statement on the successful exit of the entire army at noon, and removing any difficulty inherent in the king’s reaching the brook an hour later.

The implications of this understanding of the text are far-reaching. In order to completely exit the pass by noon, the entire army must have begun to debouche at first light; but *already* the king was stationed there to ensure safe passage! The reveille, profectio, challenge and skirmish dated to day 19 cannot possibly have taken place on the same day the army exited the pass. A calendric notation of day 20 must be missing in a lacuna, most probably in col. 71. In other words, the king and an advanced guard must, against all logic, have returned to camp or remained in the pass overnight.

There remains one additional possibility of accomodating the *psd-ntyw* date on day 21. While the daybook of the king’s house provides the major source for the present inscription, there is no guarantee that quotations are completely excerpted.<sup>167</sup> The norm in daybook entries requires the calendric notation to come before the “annalistic” infinitives conveying the action of the day; and this was the case in the passage in cols. 56–57. The surviving daybook excerpts from the reigns of Amenophis II and Thutmose IV show this practice to be consistently followed.<sup>168</sup> Yet in the passage in col. 85 no date preceeds the *rsy m cnh* formula. Clearly the king wakes in the morning and receives the situation report. Then the day changes to 21.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>166</sup> So Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 10, n. *bb*; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 125.

<sup>167</sup> On the selectivity of the excerpting scribe, see W.J. Murnane, “Once again the Dates for Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II, *JANES* 3 (1970–71), 4 and n. 13.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1310:18, 1312:18; 1314:8; 1315:10–11; 1736:1.

<sup>169</sup> Spalinger (*MDÄIK* 30, 226) believes the reason for the omission of the date is that the king arose and received the report while it was still dark and therefore technically part of the preceeding day. The report, however, implies that the terrain can be *seen* to be clear. In any case, the technical *rsy m cnh* denotes waking in the *morning*, not the night: Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 6–7 Grapow, *Studien*, 52; A. Alt, “Hoefisches

One might suspect that a foreshortening of some sort has occurred. It is tempting to invoke homoioteleuton: *rsi* to the sentries, and *rsi m cnh* of the king; *r-mitt* of the troops, *r-mti* of the date. One could therefore postulate the omission of the date in the first case, and a fuller description of the day's activities in the second.

The objection has been made that the addition of a full day would introduce an implausible 24-hour stalemate.<sup>170</sup> But this could be dismissed as eisegesis. The skirmish which would have apprised the coalition of the route the Egyptians had opted for would have taken place in the late morning (19th), and the enemy high command at Taanach would have learned of it presumably in the afternoon. They would then have had to withdraw all their forces northward for redeployment, a maneuver that could not be undertaken in the total darkness of a moonless night (especially in view of the notorious dread of the night evinced by the ancients). They must have waited until the following morning (20th), and the withdrawal could have occupied most of the day. That is why, it could be argued, the report issued to the king on the morning of that day indicated the field was clear: the enemy had not yet redeployed.

*“Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 21—the exact day of the psdntyw-feast. Appearance of the king at early morning. The entire army was commanded to fall [in, in battle line.<sup>171</sup> (85). . . .]*

His Majesty mounted his chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war like Horus the dextrous, action-meister like Montu the Theban, while his father [Amun] strengthened his arms.

*The southern flank<sup>172</sup> of His Majesty's army was upon the southern slope [of the valley of Qi]na;<sup>173</sup> the north-flank was on the north-west of Megiddo,<sup>174</sup> with His Majesty in their midst, his father [Amun] the protection of his limbs, and the energy of the mighty one<sup>175</sup> [pervading] (86) his members.*

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Zeremoniell im Feldlager des Pharaonen,” *Welt des Orient* I, 1 (1947), 2–4. It is a formula to denote the beginning of the day's activities: *pace* Spalinger, “Some Additional Remarks on the Battle of Megiddo,” *GM* 33 (1979), 51.

<sup>170</sup> Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. *hh*.

<sup>171</sup> Probably *sš* [*m skw* . . .]. There is too little space for anything like *r ch3 hfyw* . . .

<sup>172</sup> This resumption of the daybook entry connects directly with the putative *sš* [*m skw*].

<sup>173</sup> *Dw rsy* is quite clear; there is insufficient space for *hr sp3t*.

<sup>174</sup> In order to cover the gate area: D. Ussishkin, *Megiddo III. The 1992 to 1996 Seasons* (Jerusalem, 2000), 104–22.

<sup>175</sup> Seth, in all probability (following Sethe).

Then His Majesty bore down on them at the head of his army. They saw His Majesty bearing down on them and they fled headlong straight [to] Megiddo through fear, having abandoned their horses and their chariots of gold and silver. They were hoisted up by their clothes into this town, for the townspeople had shut the place up;<sup>176</sup> [so they cast] (87) clothes over to hoist them up into this town.<sup>177</sup>

Now if only His Majesty's army had not given their attention to plundering the possessions of the doomed ones, they would have taken Megiddo immediately.<sup>178</sup>

For the vile doomed one of Kadesh and the vile doomed one of this town were hawled scrambling, to get them into their city, for the fear of His Majesty had entered (88) [their vitals], and their arms were we[ak. . .] His uraeus had overpowered them."

The daybook entry denoting the battle and victory is here completely suppressed in favor of a "literary" treatment. The writer is at pains to explain the failure to take the town and puts it down, rightly or wrongly, to the army's attention being diverted by the sight of rich booty. Nevertheless some sort of engagement had taken place, to judge from the 83 dead and several hundred captives (see below). That a rout ensued may be put down to the likelihood that the Canaanites had not completely redeployed before Thutmose charged.

"(88) Thereupon their horses and chariots of gold and silver were seized as easy [prey], their [weapons] lying strewn like fish in the fold of a net,<sup>179</sup> while the victorious army of His Majesty appropriated their possessions. For the tent of [that] vile [doomed one] was captured [. . .] (89) [. . . c. 9 groups . . .] Then the entire army

<sup>176</sup> There is, however, just enough room for *hr*.[*sn*].

<sup>177</sup> On the historicity of this account, see Helck, *Beziehungen*, 126; Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Bible Lands*, 97.

<sup>178</sup> The construction is another anticipation of Late Egyptian: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, sec. 455 at n. 28; for negative consuetudinis (*bw ir.f sdm*) used in classic Late Egyptian, cf. P. Chester Beatty I, 15.2–3. Restore [*hr ck r*]: a trace of *r* is visible.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 14, n. *pp*. The restoration *skw*, "squadrons" is doubly inappropriate. The enemy had fled: they were not trapped (as the simile would suggest); moreover the subject here is equipment—chariots and weaponry—rather than personnel.

shouted and praised Amun [for the victory] he had given to his son on [this day.

*Giving adulation] to His Majesty and extolling his might.*

Then they presented the booty they had got: hands, prisoners-of-war, horses chariots of gold and silver and [undecorated ones (90) and all their weapons of war. . .

Then His Majesty laid a charge]<sup>180</sup> on his army, saying: ‘Quit yourselves w[ell]<sup>181</sup> . . . ] mighty [. . .]! Behold! [this town] is given [to me through the command]<sup>182</sup> of Re on this day! For every chief of every re[belli]ous [northe]rn land is inside it, so that to take Megiddo is to take 1000 towns! Quit yourselves well! Look! The land [is . . .]’”

This entire section is an embellishment of a simple record of the army cheering its commander. The speech of the king, though plausible, was not in the daybook and shows the benefit of hindsight.

“(91) [. . . c. 2 meters . . . commands were issued to the]<sup>183</sup> troop commanders<sup>184</sup> to draw up [their squads and let] every [man know] his position.

They surveyed<sup>185</sup> [this] to [wn], (which was) surrounded by a ditch and enclosed by leafy woods of all sorts of their fruit trees, while His Majesty himself was at the fort east<sup>186</sup> of this town, stationed (there) and [on watch] (92) [over it day and night . . . nearly 2 meters . . .

*Construction of a block-house provided] with a sturdy circumvallation [. . . 54 cm. . . . X cubits] in its thickness; dubbing it ‘Menkheperra-is-the-trapper-of-the-Asiatics.’*

*Posting people for sentry duty at His Majesty’s fortified camp, with the word: ‘Steady! Steady! W[ide awake! Wide Awake!]*’”

<sup>180</sup> Restore *wḏ*.

<sup>181</sup> Read *ikr*. There is no room for any statement of intent to lay seige.

<sup>182</sup> Sethe’s restoration is too long (*Urk.* IV, 660:6), although the passage must have contained a reference to the town to provide an antecedent for *m-hmw.f*.

<sup>183</sup> Restore *rdit m hr n*.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. P.-M. Chevereau, *RdÉ* 42 (1991), 56–57; *idem*, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1994), 42–43 (a comparatively rare title). *Mnfy* is often rendered “infantry”: A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank and Title* (Munich, 1964), 13–14; *idem*, *JARCE* 15 (1978), 46; cf. D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* III (Paris, 1982), 120. Presumably they were the common foot soldiers.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. N.-C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(an)khj au musée de Caire* (Cairo, 1981), 17 n. 40.

<sup>186</sup> Or “eastern fort of . . .”

This pericope occasions difficulties in interpretation through (a) indeterminate verbal forms, (b) lacunae, (c) apparent repetition. The instructions to the men and the use of *h3i* “to measure,” suggest that what follows will be the record of the construction of siege works. The “ditch” and *ht w3d*, which might be rendered “pallisade,” seem to satisfy this expectation. But then a fort (*h3m*)<sup>187</sup> is mentioned and, after the lacuna, the construction of a strong circumvallation. The following solutions may be considered. First, the verbal forms *ihw* and *inhw* are to be taken as statives, and describe how the reconnaissance party found Megiddo: surrounded by a fosse and orchards. The king then takes up a position at an already-existing tower to the east,<sup>188</sup> and a thick ring-wall is subsequently built. Second: the verbal forms in question are “daybook” infinitives which are then resumed by the more extended midrashic embellishment. The fort at which the king stationed himself will be a proleptic reference to a part of the circumvallation completed only later. Third: the text represents stages in the siege preparations—an initial fosse and pallisade, then a block-house on the east, and finally a formal siege wall.

It is difficult to choose among these options. Other source texts dwell almost exclusively on the siege wall. The Gebel Barkal Stela<sup>189</sup> uses *ddh*, “to besiege, shut up”; the 7th Pylon reveals<sup>190</sup> refers to a *sbty mnh*, “a good circumvallation”; Karnak Room III<sup>191</sup> mentions a “circumvallation made (very) thick”; the Ptah Temple Inscription describes a “thick wall”.<sup>192</sup> In fact, the first solution above does least harm to a face-value reading; and the word picture is graphically illustrated by numerous New Kingdom reliefs of Canaanite cities.<sup>193</sup> While reference to “fruit trees” often conjures up parallels only in *misuse*, i.e. the chopping down of orchards, in the present instance the addition of *w3d*, “green, leafy” must indicate living trees.

<sup>187</sup> Or “fortified gate”?

<sup>188</sup> This can scarcely be a part of Megiddo’s own fortification system. A slight tumulus in the terrain north-east of the present tell might be significant (B. Halpern, oral communication).

<sup>189</sup> Below I, p. 109.

<sup>190</sup> Below II, p. 121.

<sup>191</sup> Below VI, p. 149.

<sup>192</sup> *Urk.* IV, 767:10–12. Goedicke has suggested (*The Battle of Megiddo*, 86) that the construction of a counter-pallisade concentrated on the gate area, and may not have extended completely around the town.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. J.B. Pritchard (ed), *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1969), no. 324 (Kadesh), no. 329 (Gaza), no. 330 (Yeno’am), no. 344 (Tunip).

“[*Command by*]<sup>194</sup> *His Majesty (93)* [. . . nearly 2 meters. . . *not allowing by His Majesty’s army that on[e of them [go] outside this (siege)-wall except to scrounge(?)*<sup>195</sup> *at the door of their fort.*<sup>196</sup>

(Now everything His Majesty did to this town together with that vile doomed one and his vile army, are set down by specific day and specific foray(?)<sup>197</sup> And the name[s] of the com[(94) manders . . . *c. 2 meters* . . . they] are published on a leather role in the temple of [Amun] this day.)

The list is specified by the repetition of *ms* in the equivalence of West Semitic *beth essentiae*.<sup>198</sup> The scribe broke the information down in the following order: (a) date, (b) the number of the expedition, (c) the name of the commander. At this point the material is interrupted by a very long lacuna which Sethe ingeniously and improbably fills. Undoubtedly the text continues in some such manner as *m ḥ3k in.n.sn m skrw-cnḥ m ḥḏ nbw k3w cwt* and perhaps another item, which would accomodate the space available almost exactly.

As pointed out above, the scribe at this point interrupts his quotation of the day-book of the king’s-house, and merely *alludes* to another source wherein the commodities are listed. The fact that they were not included in the day-book must mean that they were not intended for the king’s privy purse (if this is the correct understanding of the word *inw*), but rather for the treasury itself. The scribe by implication not only underscores the royal background to the publication of the day-book excerpts, but also contributes to our understanding of how the commodities and personnel, captured in the foreign campaigns, were to be distributed. 1. Gifts (undoubtedly expected and prescribed) were brought directly to the king for receipt into the privy purse. 2. A consignment of foodstuffs, similarly collected on the spot, was transferred to the harbor depots. 3. The grain from

<sup>194</sup> *Wḏ* fits the context better than *ist*.

<sup>195</sup> *Cbb*, which *Wb.* (I, 178:8) separates from *cbb* “to glean,” and *cbb* “speer, pitchfork,” and assigns a gratuitous meaning “to knock” (R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962], 41). That *ḥtm.sn* refers to the *Egyptian* siege works has given rise to the notion of “surrendering” (Wilson, *ANET*, 237 n. 38). In fact all the text says is that the Egyptians permitted the besieged to scrounge herbs and fruit at the gate of the town itself.

<sup>196</sup> Presumably on the north-west side of the town: I. Finkelstein, D. Ussishkin, *Megiddo III. The 1992–1996 Excavations* (Jerusalem, 2000), 592.

<sup>197</sup> *Ncy* usually means to go by water (*Wb.* II, 206:7–21; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I [1980], 183); but a more general nuance of “travelling” is also possible; see above, p. 3.

<sup>198</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, sec. 162:5.

the farms of the Esdraclon was taken in charge by controllers and given over to the palace. 4. Certain items (luxury products and manufactures<sup>2</sup>), as in the present case, were assigned to the treasury. 5. On selected campaigns the army itself was allowed to keep the booty. The day-book of the king's house recorded no. 1 and perhaps no. 2, the granary no. 3, and presumably the treasury no. 4. Whether any tally was kept of no. 5 is at present unknown.<sup>199</sup>

"Then the chiefs of this foreign land came and were on their bellies, doing proskynesis to the power of His Majesty, to beg breath for their nostrils, so great was his sword and so mi[gh]ty the power of Amun. . . .] (95) [. . . c. 1.85 m. . . .] the foreign land, while [every] chief came through the power of His Majesty bearing their benevolences of silver, gold, lapis and turquoise, and carrying grain, wine, beef and wild game to His Majesty's army—one contingent (of Asiatics) went south with the benevolences<sup>200</sup>—while His Majesty [re]appointed<sup>201</sup> chiefs (96) [to every town. . . c. 1.80 m. . . .]"

This is an editorial expansion not derived from the day-book. The extant text appears to omit the formal oath which later sources refer to (see below, p. 110); but in the long lacuna following the statement of the re-instatement of the chiefs there is ample space for the oath.<sup>202</sup> In the Festival Hall and 6th Pylon inscriptions (below, p. 110) the oath is promissory and assumes the form of an undertaking to deliver taxes; in the Barkal Stela (below, p. 110) the chiefs abjure future rebellion and nothing is said of taxes. It is likely that the day-book, beyond a brief notice of oath-taking, did not include the specific text.

"[*Tally of the captures taken by His Majesty's army from the town of*] *Megiddo*:

*P.O.W.s*, 340

*Mares*, 2,041

*Stallions*,<sup>203</sup> 6

*Hands*, 83

*Foals*, 191

*Colts*, [. . . .]

<sup>199</sup> For archival practice, see R. Parkinson, S. Quirke, *Papyrus* (Austin, 1995), ch. 3.

<sup>200</sup> Christophe, *op. cit.*, 97; and further below, p. 245. The passage indicates little more than how the plunder (or some of it) got to Egypt on this occasion.

<sup>201</sup> I.e. he allowed them to reoccupy their former patrimonies. I would not interpret this as indicating prior loyalty to Egypt: cf. Hoffmeier, "Reconsidering Egypt's Part. . . ." *Levant* 21, 185.

<sup>202</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 137.

<sup>203</sup> *I-b3-r*: Hoch (*Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 18–19, n. 12) points out that, in contrast to Ramesside practise, the war-horses were mares.

<i>Chariot wrought in gold with poles(?)<sup>204</sup> of gold, belonging to that fallen one,</i>	1;
<i>Fine chariot wrought in gold, belonging to the chief of (97) [Megiddo(?),</i>	1;
<i>Undecorated chariots of the chiefs of this country who were with him,</i>	307 <sup>205</sup>
<i>Chariots of his vile army,</i>	892 <sup>206</sup>
<i>Total</i>	924
<i>Bronze: good suits of mail,<sup>207</sup> belonging to that doomed one,</i>	1
<i>Bronze: good suits of mail, belonging to the chief of Meg [iddo,</i>	1
<i>Bronze:] Suits of mail, belonging to his vile army,</i>	200 <sup>208</sup>
<i>Bows:</i>	502
<i>Mry-wood: poles wrought in silver, of the tent of that vile doomed one,</i>	7
<i>(Now the army of [His Majesty (98) captured. . . . c. 1.80 m. . . .]</i>	387
<i>Cattle</i>	1,929
<i>Goats</i>	2,000
<i>Sheep</i>	20,500)"

The burden of the first part of this section is the tally of the booty<sup>209</sup> taken from the *camp* of "[that vile doomed one and of the chief of] Megiddo"; and Sethe's restoration might well be emended to *ṛht kfcw inn m ihw n* etc. The fact that 340 prisoners were taken and 83

<sup>204</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 440.

<sup>205</sup> I.e. *wrrywt nct nt wrw n ḥ3st tn ntyw ḥncf* which would nicely fit the available space.

<sup>206</sup> On chariots in general and the type of warfare envisaged, see I. Shaw, "Egyptians, Hyksos and Military Technology: Causes, Effects or Catalysts?" in A.J. Shortland (ed), *The Social Context of Sociological Change. Egypt and the Near East 1650 to 1550 B.C.* (Oxford, 2001), 60–66.

<sup>207</sup> *Wb.* II, 149:7; W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altaegyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 96–98; on its northern origin see W. Decker, "Panzer . . .," *LdÄ* IV (1982), 665–66. Lacking a native word, Egyptian simply uses the standard *mss*, "shirt, smock," R. Hall, "The Pharaonic *mss* (tunic) . . . as a Smock?" *GM* 43 (1981), 29–37; P.R.S. Moorey, "The Mobility of Artisans and Opportunities for Technology Transfer," in Shortland, *op. cit.*, (n. 195), 8–9.

<sup>208</sup> The fact that only 200 were taken shows that such armour was a rarity available only to maryannu and the like: Helck, *Beziehungen*, 443.

<sup>209</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 138.



enemy dead left on the battlefield shows that the affair was not entirely a rout, and that the two armies did in fact engage, for however short a time. The number of horses is roughly twice the number of chariots, with about 200 left over as a reserve.<sup>210</sup>

The second part gives totals of the army's confiscation of live-stock. We have opted here for the view that this did not come from a day-book entry, but was perhaps a composite of a treasury item with an estimate for sheep and goats. Evidence suggests (admittedly sparse) that army personnel were sometimes assigned the responsibility of driving captured livestock back to Egypt.<sup>211</sup>

An interesting observation may be derived from the chariot totals. The king of Kadesh and his army<sup>212</sup> from the Orontes valley account for 893 chariots. To these must be added the chariot of the chief of Megiddo and, to make up the grand total of 924, 30 additional chariots now lost in the long lacuna. Since the chariot groups are identified by personal ownership, the lacuna by necessity must be restored as above. Thus, excluding the Syrian component, Thutmose claims to have faced the chief of Megiddo and 30 other chiefs, in sum 31 "kinglets." The total of Joshua's conquests (Josh. 12:24) at once springs to mind. The tradition of the 31 conquered kings is variously assigned dates and circumstances of origin, all the way from pre-monarchic<sup>213</sup> or Solomonic,<sup>214</sup> to Post-exilic.<sup>215</sup> It is tempting to entertain the suggestion that the Hebrew preserves a folkloric remembrance of the Megiddo coalition.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1020:7–1021:10: "What the king's butler Nefer-peret brought off, while he was in His Majesty's suite in the land of Retenu: cattle of Djahy—4 cows; Egyptian cows—2; bull(s)—1; total 7; bronze milk-jug—1—in order to deliver them to the (Thutmose III mortuary temple)."

<sup>212</sup> *Mšc.f hsi* of col. 97 (= *Urk.* IV, 664:1) must refer to the king of Kadesh.

<sup>213</sup> Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (London, 1979), 230–32 (toying with the possible equation with the Canaanite coalition temp. Deborah); B. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (Chico, 1983), 83; cf. R.S. Hess, "Early Israel in Canaan," in V.P. Long, *Israel's Past in Present Research* (Winona Lake, 1999), 494.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. V. Fritz, "Die sogenannte Liste der besiehten Koenige in Josua 12," *ZDPV* 85 (1969), 136–61.

<sup>215</sup> J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Haven, 1983), 329; cf. *Idem*, "Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography," in Long (ed), *Israel's Past in Present Research*, 176 (comparing Assyrian campaign reports); N. Na'aman, "The Conquest of Canaan," in I. Finkelstein, N. Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (Washington, 1994), 273–74 (late and unreliable).

"Tally of what was later taken {by the king}<sup>216</sup> from the estate property of that doomed one which [was in Ya]no'am\*, in Nugasa\* and in Harenkaru,\* together with the property of these cities which had sided with him, which was brought to (99) [... chiefs of these towns, 3; maryannu, ... Women of that doomed one together with the chiefs who were with him. ...; maryann]u belonging to them, 38; children of that doomed one and the chiefs who were with him, 87; maryannu<sup>217</sup> belonging to them, 5; male and female servants servicing (*hft*) their children, 1,796; those who surrendered<sup>218</sup> and deserted from that doomed one through hunger, 103 men; total—2,503. Not to mention—Gems and gold: plates, various vessels (100) [... c. 1.80 m. ...]; a large mixing-cauldron<sup>219</sup> of Hurrian workmanship, cups, plates, handled-cups,<sup>220</sup> various drinking vessels, great cauldrons,<sup>221</sup> knives, 27 [+ x]; making 1,784 deben raw gold.<sup>222</sup> found still being worked by the craftsmen and much raw silver: 966 deben, 1 kedet; Silver: statue of beaten (101) [work..... which was in this town(?)....., 1;

<sup>216</sup> In *nsw* is at a lower plane on the surface of the wall and appears to be a restoration of an erasure. Could the original have been *hr-s3 nm*, with *nm* being mistaken by illiterate hatchet-men for "Amun"? On the other hand it might be a later restoration by Thutmose himself to make plain royal agency and right of appropriation.

<sup>217</sup> On the derivation of *maryannu* from *marya*, "young man," with reference to a class of chariot-owning, "feudal" aristocrats, see C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), no. 1551; M. Mayerhofer, *Die Indo-Aryer im Alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 16, 29; A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg, 1968), 220–22; H. Reviv, "Some Comments on the Maryannu," *IEJ* 22 (1972), 218–28; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 483–85, 513; *idem*, "Marjannu," *LdÄ* III (1980), 1190–91; M.S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550 to 1400 B.C.," *CAH* II, 1 (1973), 494–95; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), 19; N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land* (Sheffield, 1991), 43–44; P. Raulwing, *Horses, Chariots and Indo-europeans* (Budapest, 2000), 117–18. While the maryannu were free of taxes and could even engage in trade (Cf. M. Silver, *Economic Structures of the Ancient Near East* [London, 1985], 137), they were subservient to the palace: M. Heltzer, "Problems of the Social History of Syria in the Late Bronze Age," in M. Liverani (ed), *La Siria nel tardo bronzo* (Rome, 1969), 42. This helps to explain their presence in this passage, functioning as assigned escort to ladies and children: cf. Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 135–37.

<sup>218</sup> *Htpyvw*: *Wb.* III, 194:12, in the sense of "one who has ceased from war, who has come to terms": cf. PT 1768c; H. Goedicke, *JEA* 46 (1960), 63; *idem*, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967); S. Farag, *RdE* 32 (1980), 75ff (15 + x).

<sup>219</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 42f (no. 36).

<sup>220</sup> Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens designant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), 104–5.

<sup>221</sup> *Rhdt.* W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwoerterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1977), 172. Probably the word for multi-purpose mixing-bowl.

<sup>222</sup> *Nbw m ssw*: *Wb.* IV, 280:1; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 400; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 247; gold in an unworked state, not necessarily defined by shape. On gold working see J. Ogden, "Metals," in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 164–65.

<i>Statue of that doomed one which was in it] its head being of gold</i>	<1>
<i>Staves with human heads</i> <sup>223</sup>	3
<i>Ivory-ebony-ssndm wood</i> , <sup>224</sup> <i>worked with gold:</i>	
<i>Chairs of that doomed one,</i>	6
<i>Footstools belonging to them,</i>	6
<i>Ivory-ssndm wood:</i>	
<i>Great altar(s)</i>	6
<i>Ssndm wood-worked in gold with several gems:</i>	
<i>A bed in the form of a krkr</i> <sup>225</sup> <i>of that doomed one, worked in gold all over;</i>	
<i>Ebony, worked in (102) gold:</i>	
<i>A statue of that doomed one which was in it, its head of la[pi]s . . . c. 85</i>	
<i>cm. . . .] this [. . .]</i>	
<i>Vessels of bronze</i>	
<i>Much clothing belonging to that doomed one."</i>	

### *Yanocam*<sup>226</sup>

Of those references the context of which serves to help locate this site, EA 197:8 places it within the bailiwick of Biryawaza of Damascus; and the Kom el-Hisn text groups it with toponyms of the Damascus and Bashan regions. Several sites have been proposed, including Tell el-Abeidiya,<sup>227</sup> and Tell es-Shihab;<sup>228</sup> but the old and tempting identification with Tell en-Na'am,<sup>229</sup> south-west of the Sea of Galilee, has of late been revived.<sup>230</sup> The name seems to derive from a per-

<sup>223</sup> *Hrw pct.* The reference is to finials in the form of (aristocratic) human heads.

<sup>224</sup> *Wb.* IV, 279:7–9. A commodity highly prized by the Egyptians in foreign exactions (D.B. Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* [Beersheva, 1990], 53–55), and widely used in costly furniture (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 397–98), even though it sometimes came in the form of large beams (J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* [Leiden, 1975], 373). Perhaps to be identified with boxwood: R. Gale and others, "Wood," in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 337–338.

<sup>225</sup> "Couch, divan": Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 333–35.

<sup>226</sup> Sources in S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Beersheva, 1984), 198–200; the best discussion to date with complete references is in M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 146–51.

<sup>227</sup> Y. Aharoni, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in the Upper Galilee* (Jerusalem, 1958), 125ff.

<sup>228</sup> N. Na'aman, "Yenocam," *TA* 4 (1977), 168–78.

<sup>229</sup> Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 146\*; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 60 (1953), 217; J.A. Wilson, *apud* J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1959), 237 n. 42; A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich, 1959), I, 253 n. 4; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 134, 137.

<sup>230</sup> Hasel, *op. cit.*, 147–50.

sonal name, presumably the same as is transcribed *Ya-an-ha-mu*; and since west Semitic *ayin* is almost always rendered by *c* in Egyptian,<sup>231</sup> the root is clearly Ncm.<sup>232</sup>

### *Nugas*

The problem of this toponym centers upon whether or not it is to be equated with *Nukhashshe* in North Syria.<sup>233</sup> There are, however, difficulties with this view.<sup>234</sup> First, *Nugas* in the present passage is said to be a *town*, while *Nukhashshe* in north Syria is a *district*.<sup>235</sup> Second, it is inconceivable that the region *Nukhashshe*, of infinitely greater importance than a town in the Jordan valley, should have been relegated to second place in the list. And finally, it is clear that the Egyptians were able physically to pillage these three towns in the first campaign, an impossible task if one of them lay 250 miles to the north, in territory not to be reached by Thutmose for 11 years. It would seem more appropriate to look for *Nugas* in the vicinity of *Yanucam*, i.e. in the upper Jordan valley or in Transjordan.<sup>236</sup> Unfortunately, the toponymy of this area as presently known,<sup>237</sup> does not offer clear candidates;<sup>238</sup> but one might note in passing the relative frequency of *NHS* in the onomasticon of Transjordan and the desert limes.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 413.

<sup>232</sup> Not *NHM*: T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personenamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Freiburg, 1992), 56.

<sup>233</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 146\*, 168\*–71\*; M.C. Astour, "Place Names from the Kingdom of Alalakh in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography," *JNES* 22 (1963), 238; E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn, 1966), 4, 65; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 344; E. Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism* (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 120–21.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Na'aman, *TA* 4, 171–2.

<sup>235</sup> H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 1, 18ff; *idem*, *Syria, 3000–300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 151–56; Astour, "The Partition of the Confederacy of Muhis-Nuhasse-Nii by Suppiluliuma: a Study in the Political Geography of the Amarna Age," *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 386 n. 1.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Na'aman, *TA* 4, 171f; A.J. Spalinger, "The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenophis II," *JSSA* 13 (1983), 99. Conceivably, Der Nahhas, north of Lud might also be a candidate: F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II (Paris, 1938), 251; J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959), sec. 322, 24.

<sup>237</sup> See S. Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nordlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

<sup>238</sup> In part the problem lies in the uncertainty of the root: *NHŠ*, "bronze/serpent" (A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting I. a Comparative Lexicon* [Leiden, 1989], 280), or *NGS*, "press, drive, meet" (*ibid.*, 272–73).

<sup>239</sup> L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten*

*Harenkaru*

As the present writer has pointed out elsewhere, it is difficult to maintain the alleged identity of this place name with *Hrkr* (no. 101 in Thutmose III's list).<sup>240</sup> One might be tempted, if the word under discussion is composite, to see the initial element preserved in *Hauwar*, *Haluwe* or *Hawara* in northern Transjordan.<sup>241</sup> What *-kr* would stand for is anybody's guess.<sup>242</sup>

All commentators have presumed that columns 99 to 102<sup>243</sup> comprise the list of personnel and goods confiscated from the three towns; and, with the excision of the passage describing those who voluntarily surrendered,<sup>244</sup> this undoubtedly is the case. It remains unclear, however, whether the towns themselves formed a sort of southern *Herzogtum* of the king of Kadesh.<sup>245</sup> The solution turns on the expression *ht pr n hrw pf nty m* + town name (col. 98): if the relative adjective resumes *pr*, "estate," then one can make the case for a kind of barony. But if, on the other hand, the antecedent is *ht*, the text could not be made to say that the tripolis itself constituted his fief, but that only some of his moveable property was to be found there.<sup>246</sup> The parallel of *ht n n3 n dmw* (*Urk.* IV, 665:3) supports the latter understanding, as it clearly distinguishes between the property of "these towns" themselves and that of Kadesh.

The personnel and goods in question break down under the following heads. 1. Personnel. The long lacuna of col. 99 permits, nay demands, the following restoration: *wrw nw n3 n dmw, 3; mrynw. . .*,

*Testaments* (Leiden, 1983), 652–53; J.T. Milik, J. Starcky in F.V. Winnett, W.L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (Toronto, 1970), 158 no. 112.

<sup>240</sup> "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," *JSSA* 12 (1982), 63.

<sup>241</sup> Mittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 32 (69), 66 (155), 127f (334).

<sup>242</sup> *Gal* perhaps, meaning "heap, pile"? Or *gur*, "dwelling, store" or the like?

<sup>243</sup> *Urk.* IV, 665:5–667:7.

<sup>244</sup> *Urk.* IV, 665:11. Clearly the reference is to 103 men who fled the siege.

<sup>245</sup> As Helck, *Beziehungen*, 137. Less likely, it seems to me, would be property belonging to Megiddo, the chief of which is conspicuous by his absence throughout most of the record: A.J. Spalinger, "From Local to Global: the Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire," *SAK* 23 (1996), 353.

<sup>246</sup> No real resolving of this problem is to be sought in the apparent masculine form of *nty*: from Old Egyptian *ht* has shown such an ambivalence (cf. E. Edel, *Altaegyptische Grammatik* I [Rome, 1955], sec. 351; Gardiner, *Grammar*, sec. 92:2) and (in Late Egyptian *nty* such a tendency towards fulfilling the role of *converter* (F. Junge, *Neuaegyptische* [Wiesbaden, 1996], 213–14) that the *nty* of *Urk.* IV, 665:1 could as easily refer to *ht* as to *pr*.

“chiefs of these towns, 3; maryannu . . .” Sethe then continues, quite plausibly, with [*hmwt hrw pf hnc wrw ntyw hnc.f . . . mryn*]*w* etc. The whole thus resolves itself into three subsections: the town chiefs and their maryannu, the wives and their maryannu and the children and their maryannu. Then comes the support staff and, anomalously, those *from Megiddo* who capitulated before the siege ended. 2. Bejewelled metalware. There is significantly(?) no break-down by number of items, only by weight (172.3 kg.). 3. Unworked gold and silver, again reckoned by weight (87.9 kg.). 4. Two silver statues. 5. Three staves. 6. Six ivory chairs with their footstools. 7. Six ivory offering tables. 8. One inlaid bed. 9. One ebony statue. [. . .] 10. Bronze vessels. 11. Clothing. Items 2, 10 and 11 are unnumbered. This could mean that the composing scribe lacked specifics in the day-book he was using as a source, or that the items were inserted as “padding.”

Although the list ostensibly refers to the three towns, the items are not specified as coming from one or other of them. One is left to ponder whether the following numerical deductions inspire confidence. After subtracting the 103 who capitulated, the total stands at 2,400 neatly divisible by 3 to yield 800 from each town. Again: the 87 children can be divided nicely by 3 into groups of 29, and the putative (though necessary) 474 lost in the lacuna reduces to 158 per town. Two chairs, two footstools, one cane and an altar may be apportioned to each of the three; and one statue per town is an equally obvious allotment. Are we confronted by a case of scribal “fudging”?<sup>247</sup> Twenty years beyond the event were the real figures available? The curious *rht inyt hr s3 {nm}* which introduces the tally might indicate a *later* addition to the day-book source.

While it may be too daring to conceive of a *Herzogtum* on the basis of the present pericope, the tally sheet makes eminent sense in the context of the coalition. The king of Kadesh and his cronies had selected this Tripolis in the upper Jordan Valley and western Bashan as a haven for the camp-followers—wives, children, servants, retainers, goldsmiths—while the confederated armies prepared to march on Egypt.<sup>248</sup> As part of a diplomatic and cultic gesture, he

<sup>247</sup> Needless to say, in light of the above, it is inadmissible to use these figures as the basis for population estimates, as Goedicke does: *The Battle of Megiddo*, 104–5.

<sup>248</sup> It is interesting to note that the total of *maryannu*, viz. 43, exceeds the total of the *maryannu* class at Alalakh about this time (34): D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), 11. Does this represent the *maryannu* class in the tripolis, or

had placed ex voto offerings in the local shrine(s), much as his contemporaries and perhaps he himself were doing at Qatna.<sup>249</sup> For their temerity in allowing themselves to be used by his arch enemy, Thutmose confiscated the cities of the tripolis for the estate of Amun.<sup>250</sup>

“Now the arable land was made into fields<sup>251</sup> and entrusted to controllers of the king’s house<sup>252</sup> L.P.H., to reap their harvest. Tally of the harvest which H.M. took from the fields of Megiddo: wheat *h3r* 207,300(+ x),<sup>253</sup> (103) not to mention what was cut in foraging by His Majesty’s army.”

The arable land around and to the east of the town was thus organized into farms and administered by bailiffs, as would have been

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had the chief of Kadesh stripped the *maryannu* from his own city and obliged them to accompany him on his march to Egypt?

<sup>249</sup> J. Bottero, “Les inventaires de Qatna,” *RA* 43 (1949), 1–40, 137–215; *idem*, “Autres textes de Qatna,” *RA* 44 (1950), 105–22; on votive statues of kings and their role in “Amorite” society, see W.W. Hallo, “Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King,” in *Congress Volume. Jerusalem 1986* (VT Suppl. 40; Leiden, 1988), 62–64.

<sup>250</sup> One wonders whether a place called *Hekalayim* (in the same region?) was confiscated also at this time for Amun. On the problems of location and association, see R. Givon, “Remarks on Some Egyptian Toponym Lists concerning Canaan,” in M. Görg (ed), *FSElmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 138–40.

<sup>251</sup> *Chit*, “field (for cultivation), farm”: A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II* (Oxford, 1948), 66–70; worked by *chwtyw*, “farmers”: S.L.D. Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period* (London, 1989), 11 and *passim*; *idem*, “Land Tenure in the New Kingdom: the Role of Women Smallholders and the Military,” in A.K. Bowman, E. Rogan, (eds), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford, 1999), 61–82.

<sup>252</sup> *Rwdw*, a broad designation for “controller, agent” (*Wb.* II, 413:12–26), one who acts on behalf of another, almost “bailiff” in the context of land: A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 32\*; A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen’s Community of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1990), 59–65; D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt* (Fribourg, 1997), 19; B. Menu, *Recherche sur l’histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l’ancien Égypte II* (Cairo, 1998), 253–54; frequently assigned to run farms both at home and abroad: Gardiner, *Wilbour II*, 21; *KRI I*, 52:14; II, 333:3–4; *LD III*, 140c; they were also responsible for the produce and storage: *KRI II*, 381–82; VII, 190:13, and ideally suited to the depots on military transit corridors: Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), obv. 8, x+1–6; (to create two types of controller is misleading hair-splitting: J.-M. Kruchten, “L’Evolution de la gestion dominiale sous le nouvel empire égyptien,” in E. Lipinski (ed), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* [Leuven, 1979], 517–22). On *expeditions chevauchés* in which the king absented himself, the purpose of which was the acquisition of goods by force, a *rwdw* might lead the army: *Urk.* IV, 1442:20. For their costume, see R.W. Smith, D.B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project I. Initial Discoveries* (Warminster, 1977), pl. 50–52, pp. 108–9.

<sup>253</sup> The figure is almost wholly missing at the present time (see fig. 4).



the case in Egypt.<sup>254</sup> Quite clearly it became *royal* land, a status which remained in place throughout the period of the Egyptian empire.<sup>255</sup> The amount of land which can be calculated to have produced this rich harvest has been estimated at 50,000 dunams, or about 1/8 of the plain.<sup>256</sup> It may be noted, however, that if the total yield represents the known Egyptian rate of 10 *ḥ3r* per arura (i.e. the contribution of tenant share-croppers), then we would be dealing with c. 21,000 acres.<sup>257</sup> One final note: the cereal harvest falls in June in the southern Levant,<sup>258</sup> It would have been then that the army supervised the harvesting, very shortly after the siege began. The deprivation of the beleaguered coalition must have been devastating and demoralising.

### EXCURSUS III: TOPONYM LISTS AND CITY DESTRUCTION

The discussion of the sources for Thutmose III's First Campaign cannot be considered complete without addressing the roster of places he claims to have subverted. There has been a consensus for many years that the toponym lists which the king had inscribed on the 6th and 7th pylons at Karnak<sup>259</sup> constitute a vital source for West Asian demographics and the history of the Egyptian conquests during the 15th Cent. B.C.<sup>260</sup> But the question is: how did the Egyptians

<sup>254</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 391; S. Ahituv, "Economic Factors in the Egyptian Conquest of Canaan," *IEJ* 28 (1978), 94. The field-administration here seems remarkably similar to that of *khato*-land in Egypt: Katary, *Land Tenure*, 169–74.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. The discussion in N. Na'aman, "Pharaonic Lands in the Jezreel Valley in the Late Bronze Age," in M. Heltzer, E. Lipinski, *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Leuven, 1988), 177–86

<sup>256</sup> Ahituv, *op. cit.*, 98.

<sup>257</sup> C.J. Eyre, "Village Economy in Pharaonic Egypt," in A.K. Bowman, E. Rogan, *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to modern times* (Oxford, 1999), 47.

<sup>258</sup> R.D. Barnett, "From Arad to Carthage: Harvest Rites and Corn Dollies," in *Tigal Yadin Volume* (Jerusalem, 1989), 3\*.

<sup>259</sup> P-M II, 88(235), 167(497), 170(499).

<sup>260</sup> See among others, W. Mueller, *Die palaestinaliste Thutmosis' III*, Leipzig, 1907; A. Jirku, *Die ägyptischen Listen palaestinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen*, Leipzig, 1937; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden, 1937; E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III*, Bonn, 1966; M. Görg, *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palaestinischer Ortsnamen*, Bonn, 1974; R. Givon, "Ortsnamenlisten," *LdA* IV (1982), 621–22; D.B. Redford, "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," *JSSSEA* 12 (1982), 55–74 (with literature in 55 n. 2); S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms . . .*; M. Görg, *Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte der Anfänge Israels*, Wiesbaden, 1989.



come into possession of these names? The proto-syllabic orthography used to render the names into Egyptian<sup>261</sup> is well-developed and displays a scribal confidence and fluency in dealing with the Canaanite language. The *prima facie* probability, therefore, is that the Egyptian scribes knew of the names long before the campaign. They were not simply heard by the recording scribe on the lips of the besieged head-men as they emerged from the gate of Megiddo,<sup>262</sup> or in the mouth of the dying as another fortified town crashed to ruin. That the names represent districts, the late Middle Bronze Age politics of the Levant,<sup>263</sup> has little to say for it. The lists show no signs of being organized along the lines required by political subdivisions, i.e. a hierarchical arrangement of towns; and the presence of natural features (such as springs, valleys, mountains, wadys etc.) shows that the landscape was of more importance to the writer than political organization. By far the most implausible interpretation is that of a list of towns assaulted, captured and destroyed by the Egyptian troops on the march.<sup>264</sup> This has led, in the extreme, to actually pinpointing the time of destruction to the few days between the departure from Gaza and the arrival at Yehem!<sup>265</sup> If this were the case, not only would Thutmose have displayed a skill in the rapid reduction of fortified enclosures that deserted him completely at Megiddo, but he would also have taken momentary leave of his senses by assaulting “mountain,” “valley,” “spring,” “stream” and “wady”! In fact, nowhere in the lists is there a statement or implication that the text

<sup>261</sup> Cf. J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 487–512.

<sup>262</sup> As Thutmose III's superscription might be taken to imply: *Urk.* IV, 780.

<sup>263</sup> S. Yeivin, *JEA* 36 (1950), 51ff; cf. The writer, *JSSSEA* 12, 59; Y. Aharoni, M. Avi-Yonah, *The MacMillan Bible Atlas* (New York, 1968), 146, 152.

<sup>264</sup> This contention has led to the toponym lists being used as a sort of collection of “proof texts” to be held in reserve, as it were, to be appealed to in order to “prove” that the Egyptians were responsible for the destruction of this or that town: cf. among others, W.G. Dever, “The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era,” *BA* 50 (1987), 175; *idem*, “Hurrian Incursions and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine: a Rejoinder to Nadav Na'aman,” in L.H. Lesko (ed), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Honor of William A. Ward* (Providence, 1998), 91–96 and *passim*. It is curious that the lists of pylons 6 and 7 (south), i.e. The “Palestinian” list, are taken seriously by Dever, while the “Syrian” extension (pylon 7, north) is dismissed: “The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C.E.: A Review of the Issues,” *BASOR* 288 (1992), 14; cf. J.K. Hoffmeier, *Levant* 22 (1990), 85.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Dever, *BA* 50, 175–76; *idem*, *Levant* 22 (1990), 79–80, n. 18.

is intended to list places *destroyed*: the caption states otherwise in no uncertain terms.<sup>266</sup>

The fact that in numerous cases sequences of names in the list can be identified as lying upon transit corridors points the way to the most plausible interpretation of Thutmose's toponym lists, viz. a set of known itineraries in Western Asia.<sup>267</sup> It was once thought that they derived from a distillation of the army "day-book,"<sup>268</sup> but not only is it difficult to make any part of the list conform to a known route of march, but the very term "day-book of the army" does not exist.<sup>269</sup> In fact what we have in the inscriptions of pylons 6 and 7 is a Levantine "road-map," a list of itineraries well known to merchant and emissary, transmogrified by Thutmose III into a pleromatic compendium of conquest. In typical Egyptian fashion the totality of *human settlements*, best remembered in sequence, stands in as symbol of the total population at war with Egypt, and represented in microcosm by the besieged in Megiddo.<sup>270</sup>

N. Na'aman has rejected the author's contention that Thutmose III's Palestinian list derives, at least in part, from itineraries.<sup>271</sup> He claims *inter alia* that in our survey of the Via Traiana<sup>272</sup> we were assuming what we set out to prove; "that no other Egyptian topographical list

<sup>266</sup> As J.K. Hoffmeier has pointed out: "Some Thoughts on William G. Dever's 'Hyksos,' Egyptian Destructions and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age," *Levant* 22 (1990), 84. Earlier (*Levant* 21 [1989], 185) he had drawn attention to the implications of the verb *h3k*, "to plunder."

<sup>267</sup> See Helck, *Beziehungen*, 217ff; sources listed in n. 217 above.

<sup>268</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Daybooks* (Mississauga, 1986), 122 n. 69 for sources of the discussion.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 122–23.

<sup>270</sup> M. Görg (in "Kinza (Qadesch) in hieroglyphischen Namenslisten?" *BN* 44 [1988], 23–26) introduces *K-n-ta(5)-t* (no. 93) as a difficulty in my construing nos. 89–101 as a Transjordanian route, pointing out that *t* normally renders West Semitic *s*. He fails to note that this is normal usage only when *i* or *u* vowels follow, and seems to have chosen to ignore the well-attested use of *t* with following *a* vowel to render *ta* (Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 511–12). Thus \**Gintat* for no. 93 is obligatory. It might also be pointed out, (in anticipation of an article on the Tjekker to be published shortly) that we do well to separate out in Egyptian scribal usage, those words derived from West Semitic; for when they were obliged to render non-Semitic, Indo-european words, different equivalences apply. Thus, *t* is used for West Semitic *s(i/u)*, rendering what was heard as a lateral or approximant sibilant.; but the same *t* was used to render IE *double* sounds, in this case *t/d* + *s/z*.

<sup>271</sup> "The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," *Levant* 26 (1994), 184 n. 7.

<sup>272</sup> "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," *JSSA* 12 (1982), 55–74.

is drawn from an itinerary"; that certain of the sites identified have no LB I pottery; and that Pihil is not part of this section. In fact none of the above constitutes a valid criticism. The point of departure was the appearance of Edrei in position no. 91 of the Palestinian list and Yaruta in no. 100, both to be identified with places in Transjordan, and the ensuing survey, based on the working hypothesis that the places between were in sequence. Such an hypothesis is by no means new: places from no. 57 to 71 do, in fact, make up two sequences. Na'aman simply begs the question when he states that no other toponym list is based on an itinerary.<sup>273</sup> Anastasi I proves that those scribes who *needed* to commit foreign place names to memory did so in the sequence of an itinerary; and the inclusion in Thutmose III's list of terms for land formations and water only makes sense if the whole is cobbled together from a set of itineraries; for such generic designations function solely as *directional* or *locational* indicators for the traveller. The objection relating to a disconnect between ceramic survey and toponymic evidence carries no weight. The list encompasses *places*, not necessarily settlements. There are, moreover, too many examples of surface surveys deceiving later excavators with assertions of the absence of certain periods at a site. As for Na'aman's own explanation of the origins of the lists, it seems to be offered in the reference to "the principle (sic) of 'main force plus flying column'" or simply "haphazard order"; (are not the two mutually exclusive?). While the latter is little more than a counsel of despair, the former is based on the untenable assumption that the list derives from an army day-book. Since the latter is a figment of the imagination, the document in question being the "day-book of the king's-house,"<sup>274</sup> we ought to address the rationale behind *its* composition. And it is easy to demonstrate that the recording scribe stayed with the king and recorded his movements, not those of some putative "flying column."

In subsequent reigns, with significant exceptions (e.g. Amenophis III, Sheshonq I), it was the list as conquest-symbol that dominated its usage. It is thus often included with the *head-smiting* scene (already under Thutmose III himself) in which one is to understand the

<sup>273</sup> Does he otherwise explain the periplus of Aegean cities in the Kom el-Hosn texts: E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis' III* (Bonn, 1966?).

<sup>274</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books*, 123–36.

personified representations brought forward for ceremonial *execution*.<sup>275</sup> This is important, as Egyptian iconography could easily have produced a list of symbolized place-names, committed to physical *destruction*.<sup>276</sup> But that template the Egyptians did not choose to use, and for a very good reason: better to have a subverted community, deprived of autonomous authority which can still produce for the overlord, than an annihilated, ruined waste.

While Thutmose's toponym lists do not, therefore, have any bearing on destruction levels in Palestinian sites, it is undeniable that numerous towns in the region were committed to destruction sometime during LB I. The agent remains elusive and the debate promises the expected acrimony.<sup>277</sup> Without trying to identify the former at this juncture, I should like to offer some observations regarding the *circumstances* under which ancient cities were destroyed.

The phenomenon of a 20th Cent. mechanized army effecting the destruction of urban areas in street and house-to-house fighting has exercised a certain influence on the minds of some ancient historians faced with the need to explain destruction levels. While there are certainly cases in antiquity in which determined resistance by defenders necessitated house-to-house fighting, in the main the settlements in question were large and qualified for the appellation "city" in every sense. Destruction levels are viewed, more often than not, as the immediate result of an assault on the city by shock-troops and sappers who, in the heat of the fray, undermine foundations, demolish walls and round up captives before marching on to the next fortification. The suspicions created by the stratigraphic record—there are seldom texts to verify the hunches<sup>278</sup>—suggest an army of classical proportions with equipment for assault and siege.

Only in part are these suspicions confirmed. For the Archaic Period and Old Kingdom plenty of graphic evidence exists showing the hacking down of the mud-brick walls of cities under assault.<sup>279</sup> The

<sup>275</sup> E.S. Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies* (Munich, 1986), 17ff, figs. 28, 29, 45, 46 and *passim*; A.R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards* (Freiburg, 1988), 39–52.

<sup>276</sup> The "City Palette" and the Ramesside representations on Karnak south wall (hypostyle) and the Ramesseum pylon are precisely lists of symbolized destruction.

<sup>277</sup> See below, n. 295.

<sup>278</sup> And even when there are, the bearing of the textual evidence on the archaeological is often equivocal: cf. The apt remarks of A. Joffe, review of S. Forsberg, *Near Eastern Destruction Datings*, in *JNES* 60 (2001), 218–19.

<sup>279</sup> See Y. Yadin, "The Earliest Representation of a Siege Scene," *IEJ* 22 (1972),

verbs for such action, *b3* and *hb3*, are often used in passages providing word pictures of the actions denoted, and clearly indicate the demolition of mud-brick structures with hoes.<sup>280</sup> New siege techniques, however, developed in Mesopotamia in the late 3rd and early 2nd Millennia B.C., spurred on the development of more massive and intricate circumvallations to provide against siege towers (*dimtu*) and battering-rams (*iāšibu*).<sup>281</sup> In the Egyptian sphere of influence these reached a peak of perfection during MB III in Palestine where they are associated with the new cultural influences and, by inference, later with the Hyksos. It is these that, in many cases, suffered destruction in the interface between MB III and LB IA.<sup>282</sup> Evidence exists from Ramesside times and later, both graphic and textual, demonstrating the capability of the Egyptian armed forces at *that* time to mount successful assaults on cities through bombardment, sapping and scaling.<sup>283</sup> But for the early 18th Dynasty all the evidence points to a woeful lack of expertise in “poliorketic” warfare.<sup>284</sup>

89; A.R. Schulman, “Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt,” *Natural History* 73 no. 3 (March, 1974), 13–23; D.B. Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,” *JARCE* 23 (1986), 125–44.

<sup>280</sup> *Wb.* I, 415:13–17; III, 253:2–11; W. Helck, *Die “Admonitions”. Pap. Leiden I 344 recto* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 10–11 (of cities and townships); PT 1837a–b (of fortresses); Weny 21ff (region); Palermo Stone obv. Iii.10; v.8; vi.2 (city); S. Farag, *RdE* 32 (1980), 75ff (8+x[region], 16+x[cities]); Kamose I, 14 (fort); II, 12 (domicile).

<sup>281</sup> *CAD* III (Chicago, 1959), 145. Tel Hebwa and other east Delta centers might once have revealed examples of the new architecture; but it is ironic that today the best preserved fortifications of this type are in Middle Kingdom Nubia (where such sophisticated defensive works certainly were not needed: A.W. Lawrence, “Ancient Egyptian Fortifications,” *JEA* 51 (1965), 69–94; A. Vila, “L’armement de la forteresse de Mirgissa-Iken,” *RdE* 22 (1970), 171–99; W.B. Emery and others, *Buhen. The Archaeological Report*, London, 1979; R.G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt’s Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000), 56–58; A.L. Foster, “Forts and Garrisons,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), I, 554–56.

<sup>282</sup> Useful lists in J. Weinstein, “The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: a Re-assessment,” *BASOR* 241 (1981), 1–28; W.G. Dever, “Relations between Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the Hyksos Period,” in J.N. Tubb (ed), *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (London, 1985), 71–72 (and the extensive bibliography); cf. also A.F. Rainey, “Egyptian Military Inscriptions and some Historical Implications,” *JAOS* 107 (1987), 89–92; Dever, “The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.: A Review of Current Issues,” *BASOR* 288 (1992), 15; N. Na’aman, “The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Levant* 26 (1994), 175–87.

<sup>283</sup> See the useful review of the lexikon in M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant 1300–1185 B.C.* (Leiden, 1998), 28–90; also O. Keel, “Kanaanäische Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs,” *VT* 25 (1975), 413ff; J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1969), figs. 324, 329, 330, 334, 344–46; P. Montet, *Psousennes I* (Paris, 1951), p. 74, fig. 27 (no. 714); N.-C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y* (Cairo, 1981), pp. 47, 53 (cols. 28, 32).

<sup>284</sup> P.B. Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare* (Bloomington, 1999), 20. The interminable

Now, apart from the military skill required, successful assault on a fortification requires optimal conditions. First, the place under attack must be relatively small, moderately fortified, sited in accessible terrain and manned by a minimum number of troops. Any large city, the defences of which show strategic planning on a large scale, will be very difficult to carry. Even in classical times the addition of rams and artillery to the weaponry of both attackers and defenders did not appreciably speed up the siege.<sup>285</sup> Strongly fortified cities manned by resolute defenders might well require months to reduce.<sup>286</sup> Second, the attacking force must enjoy a substantial superiority in numbers, and outclass the defenders in quality of equipment.<sup>287</sup> And third, no "relief force" should be in the vicinity. The prospect, or even suspicion, of the presence of a large enemy army within easy reach of the town under assault, is sufficient reason to call off the attack.

On several occasions in Egyptian history the conditions adumbrated above may be inferred, but *not* in the aftermath to the Battle of Megiddo. The enemy coalition, though deprived of much of its armament, remained intact within the walls of the city. Moreover, the Egyptians could not be sure that a relief force might not be lurking somewhere in Lebanon or southern Syria, or that one might not easily be recruited. Thutmose therefore had limited tactical options. His forces, in both equipment and training, were capable of only laying formal siege to a town in the hope of starving out the defenders. It would be folly to contemplate fragmenting his forces by sending numerous detachments hither and yon to assault and destroy this town and that. Even if a town opened its gates and surrendered, the actual destruction would take much time to prepare and would exhaust materiel.<sup>288</sup>

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lengths of the investments of Avaris and Sharuhén shed light on why from Amenophis I to Hatshepsut there are few if any references to assaults on cities in the context of foreign warfare. The Egyptians knew their limitations, and simply shied away from such ventures

<sup>285</sup> F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto, 1971), 156–57; 217–18; 313 and *passim*.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. Alexander at Tyre: Arrian ii.19–24; Diodorus xvii.46 (7 months); at Gaza: Arrian ii.17 (2 months).

<sup>287</sup> This condition applied in the lightening attacks of Alexander in the East: Arrian iv.3–4; v.24 etc.

<sup>288</sup> D.H. Gordon, "Fire and Sword: the Technique of Destruction," *Antiquity* 27 (1953), 149–52; W.G. East, *The Destruction of Cities in Mediterranean Lands*, Oxford, 1971.

Nowhere in the voluminous records of the first campaign is there the slightest allusion to destroying cities. The day-book excerpts in subsequent campaigns in fact demonstrate that such destruction did *not* happen in the vast majority of cases. The “destruction” (*ski*)<sup>289</sup> meted out to cities is specified as the destruction of crops and the demolition of orchards,<sup>290</sup> and very rarely the razing of hamlets.<sup>291</sup> While such action had a deleterious effect on the economic prospects and business life of a community,<sup>292</sup> the city itself remains intact and not subverted by the invaders. Often the texts use *h3k*, “plunder”: the picture this verb sketches is that of the Egyptian army marching *into* a town intimidated into opening its gates and taking what they want.<sup>293</sup> But the texts do not say or imply that the towns were destroyed. In those rare cases in which fortified towns were assaulted, the event is singular enough to be noted: Amenemheb comments on (only!) two in his long, quarter-century career! In most cases—Aleppo and Carchemish on the 8th campaign,<sup>294</sup> Kadesh and Tunip on others—the well-defended strongholds simply sat out the siege and defied the attackers. To ascribe, then, the MB III/LBIA destruction levels to *assaults* of Egyptian forces while on the march is most unlikely *a priori*, and is supported by not a single item of evidence.

There is, however, another agent (with a clear motive) involved in city destruction, and that is the population itself, either acting with an eye to self interest, or at the command of a conqueror.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>289</sup> M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 75–6; 251–2.

<sup>290</sup> *Urk.* IV, 687:5, 689:14 (Ardata), 689:8 (Kadesh), 689:13 (Sumur), 716:14 (towns in Nukhashshe), 729:13 (territory of a city), 729:15 (Tunip), 1231:14–16.

<sup>291</sup> *Urk.* IV, 697:8, 1231:7 (*hb3*), 1302:2 (*b3*).

<sup>292</sup> S.W. Cole, “The Destruction of Orchards in Assyrian Warfare,” in S. Parpola (ed), *Assyria 1995* (Helsinki, 1995), 29–40; B. Oded, “Cutting Down Orchards in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,—the Historiographical Aspect,” *JAC* 12 (1997), 93–8; M.G. Hasel, “A Textual and Iconographic Note on *prt* and *mnt* in Egyptian Military Accounts,” *GM* 167 (1998), 61–9; R. Westbrook, “Social Justice and Creative Jurisprudence in Late Bronze Age Syria,” *JESHO* 44 (2001), 31.

<sup>293</sup> *Urk.* IV, 697:7, 704:5–7, 730:12, 1236:6, 1303:15, 1305:18, 1308:5, 1442:17, and *passim*.

<sup>294</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I, 38, 182f.

<sup>295</sup> For the reduction of sites in Late Bronze Age Palestine and their concentration in valleys and on the coast, see T.L. Thompson, *The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 59; I. Finkelstein, “The Sociopolitical Organization of the Central Hill Country in the Second Millennium B.C.E.,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 122; S. Bunimovitz, “The Changing Shape of Power in Bronze Age Canaan,” *ibid.*, 46; A. Shavit, “Settlement Patterns in the Ayalon Valley in the Bronze and Iron Ages,” *TA* 27 (2000), 211–15.



Namlot, before he goes off to participate in the siege of Hermopolis, destroys the walls of his own city to prevent it being occupied while he is absent, and used against him on his return.<sup>296</sup> More common was the methodical demolition of fortifications, either by the victor or the defeated at his command, after the battle was won and the city captured.<sup>297</sup> In fact, in the superscription to the toponym list of pylon 6, the removal of the conquered to Egypt is pursuant to the demolition of their cities.<sup>298</sup>

### *The Lists of Years 40 and 24*

“[. . . c. 1.10 m. . . .] the chiefs of Retenu in regnal year 40.

#### *Benevolence of the chief of Assyria:*

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| – true lapis lazuli, <sup>299</sup> 1 large block,                | Making 20 deben, 9 kidet         |
| – true lapis, 2 blocks,   | Total 3                          |
| – pul[verized(?)] <sup>300</sup>                                  | Making] 30 [de]ben               |
| – Total,  | 50 deben, 9 kidet <sup>301</sup> |
| – Fine lapis of Babylon,  | 3 lumps                          |
| – Assyrian vessels of variegated color <sup>302</sup> [. . . . .] |                                  |
| – [. . .] (104) very many [. . .]                                 |                                  |

<sup>296</sup> Piankhy I. 7; Grimal, *Stèle triomphale*, 18.

<sup>297</sup> Well known from the 3rd Millennium on: D.R. Frayne, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods II. Sargonic and Gutian Periods* (Toronto, 1993), *passim*; H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994), *passim*; cf. also II Kings 14:13; 25:8–10; Neh. 6:6 (rebellion equated with walling a city).

<sup>298</sup> *Urk.* IV, 780:7. Cf. E. Feucht, “Kinder fremder Völker in Aegypten,” *SAK* 17 (1990), 191 and n. 45.

<sup>299</sup> On lapis, see J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies on Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 124–29; A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1989), 198–200; S. Aufrère, *L’Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne II* (Cairo, 1991), 463–65; B. Aston and others, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 39–40. See also A. Shortland, “Social Influences on the Development and Spread of Glass Technology,” in A. Shortland (ed), *The Social Context of Technological Change. Egypt and the Near East 1650–1550 B.C.* (Oxford, 2001), 212–14.

<sup>300</sup> But cf. *ibid.*, 111.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. 25 kg.

<sup>302</sup> It is tempting to identify this with the polychrome “Nuzi-ware” (so-called), popular at this time from east of the Tigris to North Syria: D.L. Stein, “Khaburware and Nuzi Ware: their origin, Relationship and Significance,” *Assur* 4.1 (1984), 1–65; *idem*, “A Nuzi,” in E.M. Meyers (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East IV* (New York, 1997), 174. See also G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), figs. 27–8.



*Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu:*

— a Chief's daughter (with) . . .	
— [her] jewellery of gold and her native lapis,	
— [attend]ants, [per]sonal servants,	
[male and female slaves be]longing to her,	30
— male and female slaves of his benevolence	65
— [horses]	124
— chariots worked in gold, with a pole	
(overlaid with) gold,	5
— chariots worked in gold, with a pole	
(overlaid with) antimony paste(?) <sup>303</sup>	5
— Total,	10
— Oxen(?) And short-horns	45
Bulls	749
[Sheep]	5,603

Gold, (in the form of) dishes. . . . .]

(105) weight not recorded<sup>304</sup>

Silver, (in the form of) dishes and sheet-(silver) Deben 104, 5 kedet

Gold, an axe inlaid with lapis,

Bronze, harness inlaid with gold, horse's bridle<sup>305</sup> [. . . . .]<sup>306</sup>

(106) Incense<sup>307</sup> 823 jars

Honeyed wine 1718 jars

Antimony: wood (overlaid with?) antimony; much pigment; ivory, boxwood, *mrw-wood*<sup>308</sup> *psg-wood*,<sup>309</sup> bundles of sticks, and many fire-drills—all the fine products of this foreign land [. . . c. 3.20 m. . . .]

(107) to every place His Majesty journeyed, where camp was pitched."

<sup>303</sup> *Cgt*: see *Wb.* I, 235:6 (costly wood from Assyria—yet neither occurrence names Asshur directly); see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 63 (suggesting a loan word). One thinks of Akkadian *ġu*, "antimony paste": CAD IV, 47.

<sup>304</sup> A scribal entry in the daybook stating that the figure was never entered, presumably for the weight of the gold dishes.

<sup>305</sup> Read *šmw* [n](?)*htr*; (the horse's head is discernible). Probably derive from *štn* "to control, pull back, restrain" (*Wb.* IV, 218–19).

<sup>306</sup> The rest of the column, c. 3.20 m., is wholly lost. Sethe, possibly correctly, restores charioteer's accoutrements: armor, quiver, arrows.

<sup>307</sup> See V. Loret, *La Resin de térébinte (sonter) chez les anciens Égyptiens* (Cairo, 1949), 20–23.

<sup>308</sup> See below, pt. II, p. 27 n. 63.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 398, 453 n. 56; cf. Also *psg*, some kind of Garment in Ugaritic: Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, no. 2010; one wonders whether the *s* is an error: cf. Hoch, *Canaanite Words*, 123–24 (no. 157).

The lacunae in these columns are particularly distressing, in that they conceal the crux of several problems. The lacuna in col. 103, excluding the partly preserved standing-chief figure, measures approximately 1.10 m., or enough to accomodate 14 groups. The gap is unfortunate, as within it the long account of the first campaign ends, and a new section begins. Sethe's restoration, viz. "[Tally of the benevolences brought to the Might of His Majesty by the ch]iefs in regnal year 40" yields an anomalous word order. Elsewhere in the Annals the regnal year always comes first, and is followed by the "tally of the benevolences etc." *A fortiori* one might argue for a different restoration, one in which the notions of *introduction* and *explanation* take precedence in the scribe's purpose; but it is difficult to reconstruct specific phrases.<sup>310</sup>

The date<sup>311</sup> itself should have occasioned more concern among historians. Most ignore the problem.<sup>312</sup> Some reconstructions are demonstrably wrong.<sup>313</sup> Long ago Breasted tried to come to grips with the problem by emending "40" to "24" thus creating two benevolence lists for the same year.<sup>314</sup> The writing of the numeral "40," however, is not at all similar in the present passage to the arrangement of digits in "24", and by reason of the same kind of dissimilarity it is unconvincing to argue that a hieratic numeral may have been misread.

The text itself, at the point where the campaign of year 40 would be expected, is sadly broken. It is true that Breasted restored a 15th campaign at this point, but on very tenuous evidence. Breasted makes the long lacuna which apparently ends with the words *sp snw*<sup>315</sup> (East face, north wing of pylon 6), the beginning of the 16th campaign; while the 15th campaign he relegates to the first four columns of the same pylon. This reconstruction is unlikely, since the 14th campaign

<sup>310</sup> One might reasonably argue for the presence of such phrases as *r rdt rh*, "to inform," *ky bi3 rdi.n n hm.f it.f Imn m-c wrw etc.* "another wonder his father Amun bestowed upon H.M. through] the chiefs of Retenu in regnal year 40."

<sup>311</sup> The group is written no differently than any other calendric of this sort in the texts here addressed, and can be translated in no other way than "regnal year."

<sup>312</sup> As for example, M.S. Drower (*CAH* II, 1, 458) who denies records exist for the 40th year; cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1 (Stuttgart, 1928), 130.

<sup>313</sup> Cf. N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 1992), 214 (3 campaigns up to year 24).

<sup>314</sup> Cf. *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (Chicago, 1905), 191 n. a; cf. Sethe's riposte in *Urk.* IV, 672-73.

<sup>315</sup> Wrongly understood by him as "two rings": *op. cit.*, sec. 524.

would conclude on the north wall of the fore-hall with the account of the supplying of the harbours, a pericope which in other campaign accounts is followed by the Nubian tribute lists. But columns 1 to 4 on the pylon constitute precisely such a list! Obviously then, as Sethe has clearly seen,<sup>316</sup> columns 1 to 4 are the conclusion to the 14th campaign in year 39. Thus the text of the day-book excerpts on the pylon skips year 40, the reason undoubtedly being that mention of it had already been made.

Why the “campaign” of year 40 was included immediately following the account of the first campaign, is difficult to explain. It is clear from its content that the first part of the published day-book excerpt, on the south wall of the Hatshepsut block north of the barque shrine, was intended to be a lengthy, narrative account devoted to the Megiddo campaign. Unintended column space at the end of the embellished account made it feasible to continue, and logically, with the *effect* of the victory: now, pursuant to the noising abroad of Pharaoh’s mighty deeds, awe of him (*šfyt.f*) reaches the ends of the world. To illustrate this, material is taken from events of the most recent year, 40, which would then become, *ex hypothesi*, the date of the inscription of the first part of the excerpts. The hypothesis of an illustrative selection to explain the contents of col. 103 to 106 finds support in the initial phrases of col. 107: *r st nb nt phr.n hm.f irw m i3m*. Sethe’s ingenious, but highly probable, restoration (*ist wrw nw Rtnw*<sup>317</sup> *hr f3t ht nbt nfrt*)<sup>318</sup> simply bolsters the case for a generic description which has all the earmarks of a *concluding* statement. All the manufactured items and foodstuffs, of which examples have just been given, were borne—“yearly” (*r tnw mpt*) might well have been present!—by the foreign chiefs to wherever His Majesty chose to set up his camp.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>316</sup> *Urk.* IV, 724; and see below.

<sup>317</sup> This is the only modification I would make: Sethe appears to be trying to link the sentence specifically with the year 40 entry.

<sup>318</sup> *Urk.* IV, 671:3.

<sup>319</sup> See further below, s.v. “Antef.”

“Regnal Year 24: Tally of the benevolences brought to the might of His Majesty in the country of Retenu:

– Benevolence of the chief of Assyria: [. . . . c. 3.45 m. . . . .]<sup>320</sup>

(108) bands of quality calf(?) leather<sup>321</sup> for a chariot on wooden finials;

– Willow,<sup>322</sup> 192 mkrywt—parts<sup>323</sup> [. . . c. 3.55 m. . . .]

(109) [. . . 12 cm. . . .] yokes, 343; boxwood, 50; mrw-wood, 190; nyb-wood,<sup>324</sup> kanaktu-oil(?)<sup>325</sup> 206; moringa<sup>326</sup> [. . .], vessels [. . . c. 3.55 m. . . .]

(110) [. . . 13 cm. . . .] 1,552 (+ x), kdt-<sup>327</sup> sticks(?), 20; nri-wood [. . . c. 30 cm. . . .] various [woods], 363 (+ x); willow (?) various [bundles of sticks], 5,000 (+ x) [. . . c. 3.60 m. . . .]”

These columns conclude the text on the north wall of the inner ambulatory around the barque-shrine. Once again it is the specific dating of these columns that constitutes the crux interpretum. Whatever the reason for its being “pre-empted” by the excerpt from year 40, the date “regnal year 24” cannot be gainsaid (see above): we are, in fact, confronted in this section by a record of income from Syria received *after* the close of the first campaign.

In anticipation of the historical analysis, it is important to note the following. First, as will be demonstrated below, the phrase *hr ḥ3st Rtnw* indicates the presence of the king in the Levant; it is not a case of benevolences brought *from* Retenu. Second, the presence of gifts from Assyria raises the interesting possibility that years 40 and 24 were juxtaposed because of the identity of the source.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>320</sup> What Sethe saw (*Urk.* 671: 9 and n. “b-c”) is now no longer present.

<sup>321</sup> *Mhw*: *Wb.* II, 131:11; possibly to be derived from West Sem. MH(H), “fatling”: Koehler-Baumgartner, *Hebraisch und Aramäisches Lexikon* . . . , II, 537; Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* I, Ba, 216. One wonders whether the word has anything to do with *mh3y*, “band,” Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 289.

<sup>322</sup> R. Germer, *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Aegypten* (Hamburg, 1979), 209–210; *Salix subserata*: N. Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l’Egypte ancienne* (Leuven, 1988), 196–97.

<sup>323</sup> For a ship? Cf. CT V, 74t; D. van der Plas, J.F. Borghouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index* Utrecht, 1998), 133.

<sup>324</sup> Germer, *op. cit.*, 177–78.

<sup>325</sup> CAD VIII, 135–36.

<sup>326</sup> Baum, *op. cit.*, 129.

<sup>327</sup> Germer, *op. cit.*, 337; Baum, *op. cit.*, 304.

<sup>328</sup> What does this tell us about the way in which the accounting was done? Did *country of origin* count as well as date and campaign? Should we postulate another documentary source in which date and calendrics ceded place as a criterion to geographical source?

Third, and of the greatest importance: there is no reason to think that one or two *additional* year dates were not once present in the text at this point. In fact just before the lacuna in col. 109 the presence of “vessels” suggests the *summation* entries that usually bring a year-section to an end.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS: SECOND PART

The second part of the Day-book excerpts is to be found in Room V-VA at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> The columns run, as they did in the first part, from east to west along the south face of the north wall, and north-south along the east face of the northern massif of the 6th pylon. The same face of the south massif was reserved for a related text, viz. a speech by the king listing benefactions to the gods, especially Amun.<sup>2</sup> What inscription occupied the south wall of the room is unknown, although the king's speech clearly began somewhere along that wall.

There are some unanswered questions relating to the format and positioning of this second part of the excerpts. In particular were the dimensions of room V<sup>3</sup> decided upon *first*, and the inscriptions composed and formatted at a later date? This might provide an explanation for a degree of compression and foreshortening of the day-book text, the absence of campaigns three and four and the unexpectedly short account of the 6th campaign (year 30).<sup>4</sup> The space available, it might be argued, could not be increased. But when was the 6th pylon built, and with it the peripheral shrines and the antechamber (V)? If we assign an early date, say year 24, which has been generally accepted since Borchardt,<sup>5</sup> we would have also to accept the corollary that for 18 years the surface remained undecorated!<sup>6</sup> The assumption that the first building phase of Thutmose III, and with it pylon 6, was undertaken in anticipation of the first

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<sup>1</sup> M. Azim and others, *Karnak et sa topographie*. I. *Les relèves modernes du temple d'Amon-re 1967-1984* (Paris, 1998), 137.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 137ff.

<sup>3</sup> The present barque-shrine of Philip Arrhidaeus is larger than that of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut's "Red Chapel" which preceded it, and has destroyed the symmetry of room V: P.F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London, 1988), 59.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Zur Baugeschichte des Amunstempels von Karnak* (Hildesheim, 1905), 22.

<sup>6</sup> The final column of the day-book excerpts unequivocally assigns a date of year 42 to the inscription: *Urk.* IV, 734:14 (with the necessary emendation).

jubilee, rests on rather shaky ground. The usual schema as well as the degree to which the jubilees were celebrated, conflicts with the size and intensity of the foreign campaigns which drew out of Egypt the manpower needed for building operations.<sup>7</sup> The construction of the Akh-menu between years 24 and 30 cannot be denied, but was anything else built during this period?

The general plan and aspect of the central part of Karnak today owes its form to Thutmose III;<sup>8</sup> but the chronology of his building operations, and even their scope,<sup>9</sup> defy easy arrangement. In assigning a date around year 24 for the construction of the 6th pylon and adjacent shrines, Borchardt seems to have been influenced by the date given on the black granite stela found in Karnak room VI.<sup>10</sup> But this text is not itself dated, and year 24 clearly refers to construction “east of this temple,” i.e. the Akh-menu.<sup>11</sup> Until new evidence comes to light, we shall have to live with ambiguity.<sup>12</sup>

There is considerable evidence to suggest that the second part of the Day-book excerpts is edited and foreshortened, in contrast to the first part, devoted to the Battle of Megiddo. First, all calendrics are dispensed with, and a simple statement added as to the king’s whereabouts *that year*. This does not resemble known day-books which have survived, in which daily entries provide the informing principal. Second, the individual campaigns (*wdyt*) are numbered, a practice which, as we have argued below, is a later attempt at structuring. Third, military operations are reduced in description to one-line, laconic statements, which may reflect core formulae in the original day-book, but with further detail omitted. The inclusion of lists of

<sup>7</sup> I have argued elsewhere (*Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books*, 184–85) that the jubilees of Thutmose III must have been celebrated, if at all, on an attenuated scale.

<sup>8</sup> B. Letellier, “La cour à péristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak,” *Hommages Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 68; L. Gabolde, “Canope et les orientations nord-sud de Karnak, établies par Thoutmosis III,” *RdE* 50 (1999), 278–82.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. Wallet-Lebrun, (“Notes sur le temple d’Amonre à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 82 [1982], 356–62; 84 [1984], 316–33) who opens an interesting debate on the builder of pylon 4 and the adjacent columned hall.

<sup>10</sup> Cairo 34012: P-M II, 94; *Urk.* IV, 833–38; Borchardt, *Baugeschichte*, 22; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-re à Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 116 n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Urk.* IV, 834:13.

<sup>12</sup> See the author’s forthcoming “The *Texte de la jeunesse* and Building Operations of Thutmose III at Karnak,” in *Festschrift J.S. Holladay*.

benevolences received, however, conforms precisely to what is expected of the journal of the king's house.<sup>13</sup>

An explanation of the conundrum implicit in the preceding paragraph might be found in the postulate of an intermediary stage of recording, between the original (and voluminous!) day-book and the published inscription. Perhaps in anticipation of an inscription on a wall, some master-scribe will have done a digest of the day-book, under the king's direction.<sup>14</sup> (That the king was directly involved seems to follow from the gist of column 2). A clue may be obtained to the technique employed by a perusal of the introduction to the record of the <7th campaign>. Here the scribe has, by introducing the pericope by the *last day* of the regnal year,<sup>15</sup> given himself away: what he presents is a *digest*, a distillation of the year's events and records, ending with that date. His sources too he conscientiously lists: the day-book<sup>16</sup> and treasury records.<sup>17</sup> The record of the 8th campaign provides a good example of the sort of precis the composing scribe created.<sup>18</sup> Section A will be his introduction, stripped of the calendric and the serial number. Sections B, C, E and L will be derived largely verbatim from the Day-book of the King's-house, again without calendrics. To judge from the entry for the 7th campaign,<sup>19</sup> the tally of benevolences destined for the harbor depots (F) will depend ultimately on the day-book, as will G. Section D seems to come from personal remembrance, while the token gifts of the great powers (H to K) represent, perhaps, treasury records.

The king's introduction uses some of the same vocabulary as in the introduction to the first part: the intent to publish, the victory credited to Amun, each campaign recorded specifically, the brave's reputation residing in accomplishment. But since this avowed intent is

<sup>13</sup> D.B. Redford, "Tagebuch," *LdÄ* VI (1986), 151–53.

<sup>14</sup> Tjanuni himself comes to mind: see above, p. 4 and notes 13–14. There may also be—the protagonists at least claim it—an element of eye-witnessing involved: *Urk.* IV, 1004:4; 1441:16–18; cf. 940. If this is in fact the case, it might explain some of the "rough edges," gaps and generalizations which seem to deny the *Vorlage* of a day-book.

<sup>15</sup> *Urk.* IV, 690:14.

<sup>16</sup> *Urk.* IV, 694:7.

<sup>17</sup> *Urk.* IV, 393:11.

<sup>18</sup> See below. The translation has been provided with section designations, corresponding to nothing similar in the original.

<sup>19</sup> *Urk.* IV, 693:8–14.



so similar to that which justifies the first part, it is difficult to see why two sections were in fact necessary. The only explanation must be a sudden change of intent: the decision to publish the First Campaign and a sampling of later successes was taken in year 40. Two years later, on the completion of pylon 6 and Room VI, the king suddenly decided to continue this type of publication by presenting a digest of the rest of the military expeditions up to the time of inscripturation.

(2) “His Majesty commanded to have the victories his father [Amun] had given him published upon a wall of stone in the temple which His Majesty had made anew [for his father Amun, in accordance with the council] of [His Majesty him]self<sup>20</sup> [in order that] ‘every’ campaign [be published] specifically, together with the booty<sup>21</sup> that His Majesty brought from it. It was done in accordance with [that which was in writing . . .]”<sup>22</sup>

It is noteworthy that in none of the demonstrably early references to campaigning is the march singled out as a *wḏyt*,<sup>23</sup> and numbered sequentially. Even as late as what would be expected to be called the “7th campaign” that designation is nowhere used.<sup>24</sup> This absence should come as no surprise, as it conforms to a norm that is followed consistently in the New Kingdom. None of the early 18th Dynasty kings on present evidence numbered their campaigns, and Amenophis II did so without precision.<sup>25</sup> Thutmose IV and Amenophis III refer to numbered campaigns only sporadically.<sup>26</sup> Finally: no veteran of foreign wars ever numbers a campaign he reminisces about.

<sup>20</sup> Read [*mi nḏ*]t n[*t ḥm.f*] ḏ[*s.f*]. The sense requires an expression of the *royal* initiative, not the god’s.

<sup>21</sup> On *ḥ3k* in this context, see J.K. Hoffmeier, *Levant* 21 (1989), 185; M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 73. Curiously, this generic, covering statement is not exactly consonant with usage later in the text which mentions not only *ḥ3k* (*Urk.* IV, 686:2, 690:15, 704:9, 730:12) and *ḥfc* (711:4, 10; 716:17), but much more frequently *inv*: 688:3, 689:17, 691:13, 699:4, 700:16, 701:11, 705:17, 707:16, 717:8, 719:13, 17; 721:14, 724:15, 726:13, 727:13. Doubtless the initial use of *ḥ3k* covers whatever was taken or received in the context of a military presence or activity. This should caution us against pressing locutions and lexical items too closely.

<sup>22</sup> A very common locution, undoubtedly to be restored here: cf. The present writer, “Speaker and Scribe,” in E. Ben Zvi, M.H. Floyd (eds), *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (Atlanta, 2000), 166–68.

<sup>23</sup> A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), 227–28.

<sup>24</sup> *Urk.* IV, 690:14–5.

<sup>25</sup> P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 45–6.

<sup>26</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1554:16–17; 1662:9.

A good case might be made that the formal numbering with which all scholars are familiar was imposed long after the events themselves, and may in fact be confined to this specific inscription at Karnak. The original day-book entries probably began with nothing more than "regnal year X, month X, day X: His Majesty was in Djahy etc." When, after 25 years, the scribes decided to bring order to the list of campaigns by adopting a formal and official sequence, some of the early years may well have occasioned difficulty. Had the king really marched out in that year? And do we deny a number to marches in which only a deputy had led the host? Complicating matters further *wdyt* could be used to designate *any* royal or private journey, even those of a peaceful nature.<sup>27</sup>

The sequence of campaigns, originally recorded without number in the day-book, served only internal chancery needs. They seem to have been devised for the inscription in the temple itself, perhaps for some "ease of reference" to the reader. To the best of our present knowledge the system was not extended to those few expeditions that followed year 42.

Some appreciation of the relative importance ascribed to each campaign may be had by comparing the column space devoted to each (measurements are approximate). To contain the information given in the ambulatory for the activity in years 24 and 40 (cols. 103-110), about four columns were devoted to each. Since each of these columns measures c. 5.60 metres in height, each year receives approximately 22.40 m. of column space. For years 29 through 42 the following table gives the relevant information.<sup>28</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Column space</i>	<i>Column number</i>
29	8 columns, 85 cm.	1-8+
30	C. 2 columns	9-10
31	8 columns, c. 40 cm.	11-18+
33	12 columns	19-30
34	Nearly 8 columns	31-38
35	10 columns	39-48

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe* (Oxford, 1977), iv.10; J.-M. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb* (Bruxelles, 1981), pl. X, line 29; Y. Koenig, "Les livraisons d'or et de galène au trésor du temple d'Amon," *Hommages Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 198 n. c.

<sup>28</sup> Each column in Room V is approximately 4.70 m. tall.

[36	?	49-?]
[37	?	?-] 86
38	6 columns and 1.80 m.	87-92+
39	6 columns + ?	93-97+ 3
(40)		
41	6 meters	4-9
42	11 columns +	10-20

If we take 8 columns of 4.70 m. each as an average for a campaign, then the campaigns in years 36 and 37 would have disposed of 11 long columns of the above length, and 27 short columns (above the north door) of indeterminate length. The latter, since they would have to account for the equivalent of 5 full columns (i.e. c. 23.50 m.), would each have measured a fraction more than 85 cm. in length. This compares favorably with the length of the "short" columns in the northern ambulatory, recording the first campaign, which are 87 cm. deep. As one might have expected, the campaigns of years 33, 35 and 42 occupy most space; for less obvious reasons year 30 is given the least.

While the table makes clear that there is insufficient space for the inclusion of year 40, Sethe's highly ingenious restoration<sup>29</sup> does not recommend itself. *Sp sn.nw* is a guess: not even *sp* is certain. Most likely *mpt tn* (rather than a regnal year) stood at the beginning of column 5, as at the end of col. 7 and elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> That being the case, the lacuna in col. 4 would have been filled by a regnal year date followed in turn by a campaign number and, as would be expected, the account of military action, and the tally of the benevolences. There is thus only one campaign alluded to in this pericope.

*Year 29 (see Fig. 6)*

(3) "Regnal year 29. Now [His] Majesty [was in Dj]ahy, destroying the foreign lands which had rebelled against him on his 5th victorious campaign.

Then His Majesty plundered the town of War[e]t\* [... c. 11 groups . . .]

<sup>29</sup> *Urk.* IV, 726.

<sup>30</sup> *Urk.* IV, 691:14, 701:11, 702:4, 707:16, 717:8, 719:17.

*Offering praise to His Majesty by his army, giving adulation to (4) [Amun] for the victory [he had] given his son, and they gratified His Majesty's heart more than anything.*

*After that His Majesty proceeded to the storehouse of offering:*

*Offering a hecatomb to [Amun-re]-Horakhty consisting of long-horns, short-horns, fowl [incense, wine, fruit, and all good things on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] Men-kheper-re, given life for ever and ever!*

*Tally of the plunder brought from this town, namely the (5) garrison<sup>31</sup> of that doomed one of Tunip\*:*

– Chief of this town	1
– Th(w)r-troops*	329
– silver	100 deben
– gold	100 deben
– lapis, turquoise, vessels of copper and bronze.	

Then seized upon were the cargo boats<sup>32</sup> [and the *sktyw*-ships, and despatched loa]ded<sup>33</sup> with various things, with male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery(?),<sup>34</sup> (6) and all fine things, after His Majesty journeyed south to Egypt, to his father [Amun-re] with a joyous heart.<sup>35</sup>

Then His Majesty sacked the town of Ardata<sup>36</sup> with its grain, and all its fruit trees were cut down. Now [His Majesty] found [the harvest(?) of] Djahy at its fullest, and their trees<sup>37</sup> laden with their fruit; their wine (7) was found lying in their vats like flowing water and

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> *Imw*, a generic word: J.M.A. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden, 1956), 22; D. Jones, *Boats* (London, 1995), 53–57.

<sup>33</sup> Restore *sktyw swd3w 3tp*: cf. W. Helck, *Historisch-biographischen Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 24(18). It is unlikely that the ships were captured because of their cargo: the text makes plain that they were seized to provide transport for the plunder of the campaign to Egypt after Thutmose III and his army had returned by land, a parenthetic insertion at this point: S. Wachsmann, *Sea-going Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (London, 1998), 10, 39.

<sup>34</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 163–65.

<sup>35</sup> That is to say, apparently, the sending of the plunder by ship followed the departure of the king and the end of the campaign.

<sup>36</sup> Mod. Ardat, 7 km. South-east of Tripoli: Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 131\*; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 140, 192 n. 15; Klengel, *MIOF* 10 (1964), 67 n. 58; *idem*, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 162 n. 429.

<sup>37</sup> By implication the plural possessives refer to the local inhabitants.

their grain on the threshing floors (ready for) threshing. More plentiful was it than the sand of the sea-shore! And the army wallowed in their substance!

*Tally of the benevolences brought to His Majesty on this campaign:*

– male and female slaves	51
– horses	32
– silver, dishes	10
– (8) incense, oil, honey	470 jars
– wine	6,428 jars
– bronze, lead, lapis, malachite <sup>38</sup>	
– oxen	618
– flocks	3,636
– fine bread: a very great variety of loaves	
– cereals: wheat, meal [all sorts of fine fruit] of this land.	

And so His Majesty's army were in their cups and anointed with oil (9) every day, just as though at festival time in Egypt!"

### *War[e]t & Ullaza*

The location of Ullaza has long since achieved a consensus among scholars. Most modern research would place it north of Tripoli at the mouth of the Nahr el-Barid, near or identical with the classical Orthosia.<sup>39</sup> The text more precisely locates the site on a body of water *Ns-r3-n3* (formerly misread *Mm*). As Helck has seen,<sup>40</sup> this word must indicate a stream, rather than the coast, and we are justified in linking it with the Eleutheros itself. But its reading and identification remain doubtful. One thinks of an original *nsrn*, but this yields no sense. It is tempting to suggest confusion in a hieratic original between *ns* and *d*, for a putative *D-r3-n3* would point to SR + nunated plural as *Vorlage*. "Pebble"-stream would be an acceptable rendering.

The orthography of the Egyptian transliteration of the town name occasions a difficulty. In the entry for the 6th campaign<sup>41</sup> "Ullaza"

<sup>38</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 102–4.

<sup>39</sup> Strabo xvi.2.12; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 306; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 77 n. 2; *idem*, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 35; W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 392; W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 64; S. Smith's identification with Seleukia (*The Statue of Idrimi* [London, 1949], 77–78) is far from convincing.

<sup>40</sup> *Beziehungen*, 306.

<sup>41</sup> *Urk.* IV, 690:17.

is written *Iwn-r3-t*, a form attested elsewhere in the New Kingdom and accepted with the place in question.<sup>42</sup> In the present passage, however, the scribe has given quite a different writing, beginning with *w3* and terminating with *t*.<sup>43</sup> Only in the Gebel Barkal stela is a similar writing attested for a place which all have assumed to be Ullaza.<sup>44</sup> It would be curious if, in this same inscription, only two campaigns apart, the same toponym should be written in two quite different ways. One wonders in the present case whether the consonantal structure of another place-name has not influenced the writing. Very close to Ullaza, within the later bailiwick of Amurru, lay the port of *Wakhliya*, possibly to be identified with Tripoli.<sup>45</sup> In the light of the weakness of Phoenician *ayin* and its tendency to interchange with *alif*<sup>46</sup> it is tempting in spite of the cuneiform, to reconstruct a derivation from \*W3L, "near, proximate, auxiliary."<sup>47</sup> The Egyptian scribes would thus have correctly rendered the root, and their *alif* would have to be consonantal, not a *mater lectionis*.<sup>48</sup>

### *Tunip*

Known from the 17th Cent. B.C. on,<sup>49</sup> Tunip springs to prominence politically during the 18th Dynasty as an independent state subordinate to Mitanni. The precise location continues to defy certainty, though it cannot have lain as far north as Alalakh.<sup>50</sup> The textual

<sup>42</sup> H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* . . . I (Cairo, 1925), 55; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), list XIII, no. 56.

<sup>43</sup> A *tethering-rope* (V 13) is by no means certain; the *island* (N 18) is equally possible.

<sup>44</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1237:15; below (pt. 2), p. 13.

<sup>45</sup> EA 114:12 (Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 189); Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 268; *idem*, *Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 162.

<sup>46</sup> Z. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936), 27; for cuneiform *h* for *alif* see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Sprache* (Rome, 1952), 24–26.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 649.

<sup>48</sup> As in Old Aramaic: J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Rome, 1995), 185–86.

<sup>49</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 79–80; how much earlier (cf. M.C. Astour, "The History of Ebla," *Eblaitica* 3 [1992], 9 n. 32) remains conjectural.

<sup>50</sup> As S. Smith, *Idrimi*, 56; rejected by most subsequent studies: Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), 223; W. Helck, "Die Lage der Stadt Tunip," *UF* 5 (1973), 286–87; Astour, "Tunip/Hamath and its Region: a Contribution to the Historical Geography of Central Syria," *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 51–64.

evidence<sup>51</sup> presents the consistent picture of a city within reach of the coast, between Amurru and Nukhashshe, north-west of Qatna and Kadesh.<sup>52</sup> The ease with which it is reached from the coast suggests it was west of the Orontes;<sup>53</sup> but the manifest contiguity of its boundary with that of Alalakh must mean that it controlled much of the middle Orontes valley.<sup>54</sup> The most recent choice is Tell Asharne.<sup>55</sup>

### *Th(w)r-Troops*

It has become customary to render this term “foreign troops” or “foreign auxiliaries,”<sup>56</sup> an odd translation in the present context, as Thutmose encountered “foreign” armies everywhere he went in Asia; yet only *here* did he see fit to acknowledge “foreignness”? *Thr* is used of some Hittite troops but not in a context that would suggest their ethnicity was what distinguished them.<sup>57</sup> Clearly the word means something else. Contingents are usually designated for what they *do*, or how they *appear*. On the assumption the word was West Semitic,<sup>58</sup> Albright long ago tendered DHR, “to dash (of a horse),” as the root sought for,<sup>59</sup> while more recently Helck suggested a derivation from the root ṬHR, “be pure.”<sup>60</sup> Phonologically both are barely admissible, /d/ and /ṭ/ only occasionally being rendered by Egyptian *t*.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Well reviewed by Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 75–76.

<sup>52</sup> G. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 440; cf. the order of march in *Urk.* IV, 729–30: outward: Arkata—[. . .]-kana—Tunip; homeward: Tunip—Kadesh.

<sup>53</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 139–40; A. Altmann, *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* (Ramat Gan, 1978), 5 n. 12; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* (map “Syria, 2nd mill.”); see also above, n. 304.

<sup>54</sup> M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, “Der Vertrag zwischen Ir-Addu von Tunip und Niqmepa von Mikis,” in G.D. Young and others (eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (Bethesda, 1997), 225.

<sup>55</sup> H. Klengel, “Tunip und andere Probleme der historischen Geographie Mittelsyriens,” in K. van Lerberghe, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Leuven, 1995), 128 and n. 16.

<sup>56</sup> A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization* (Berlin, 1964), 21–24; *idem*, “A Problem of Pedubasts,” *JARCE* 5 (1966), 35 n. g; P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1994), 90–91.

<sup>57</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehung Ägyptens und Vorderasien zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrh. V. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 135.

<sup>58</sup> This is not certain of course; cf. Wilson in *ANET*, 239 n. 3.

<sup>59</sup> *The Vocalisation of Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934), 52.

<sup>60</sup> *Beziehungen*, 575.

<sup>61</sup> Hoch, *Foreign Words*, 406–7.

Helck's more recent derivation from *tohera(h)* is phonetically impossible.<sup>62</sup> Semantically Albright's DHR would yield acceptable sense if the troops in question were noted for their speed and agility. It has been accepted that the Egyptian consonantal structure is exactly co-extensive with the root; but one might consider a preformative *t*-form from a root HL(L). *Tehilla(h)* would yield "praised, exalted,"<sup>63</sup> denoting "excellent" or "crack" troops.

The text of year 29 poses some questions of interpretation and credibility. Where, to begin with, is the little episode in column 4 (= *Urk.* IV, 685:13–16) taking place? The use of an Egyptian expression, albeit one difficult to find as here constituted,<sup>64</sup> would suggest an Egyptian locale, or an "Egyptian-like" installation, in the town itself.<sup>65</sup> But there is no need to resort to extremes. The king is striving for locutions in Egyptian that will suit the kind of Canaanite sacred space he has encountered: *šnc*, a secure, walled-in block for storage and production, in which offering, *wdn*, is habitually carried on. The building, I would suggest, is the local temple, numerous examples of which are attested archaeologically.<sup>66</sup> The sacrificial act of the king is a gesture of triumph, performed to the supreme Egyptian god, employing the livestock and foodstuffs of the enemy as victims.<sup>67</sup> Though the *c3bt* is Egyptian in nature, the dedication on behalf of the life of the king would have resonated among the onlooking Canaanites.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Beziehung . . . Aegäis*, 136.

<sup>63</sup> Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* I, Bb (Leiden, 1989), 157.

<sup>64</sup> *Wdny*, "offering place," occurs in late New Kingdom contexts (*Wb.* I, 392:12) and *wsbt wdn* in Ptolemaic (*Wb.* I, 391:15); cf. P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: a Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 71–80; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon* (Leuven, 1997), 262.

<sup>65</sup> Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 124–25.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. J.-M. Tarragon, "Temples et pratiques rituelles," in M. Yon and others (eds), *Le Pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.C.* (Paris, 1995), 203–10; W.G. Dever, "Palaces and Temples in Canaan and Ancient Israel," in J.M. Sasson (ed), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), I, 610.

<sup>67</sup> On the nature of Bronze Age sacrifice, see B. Bergquist, "Bronze Age Sacrificial *Koine* in the Eastern Mediterranean? A Study of Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East," in J. Quaegebeur (ed), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Leuven, 1993), 11–43. For the king at Ugarit as chief priest and sacrificer, see D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Studies at the end of the 20th Century," *BASOR* 320 (2000), 77–78.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. H. Klengel, "Die Palastwirtschaft in Alalakh," in E. Lipinski (ed), *Palace and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II* (Leuven, 1979), 448–49; G. del Olmo Lete, "Royal Aspects of the Ugaritic Cult," in Quaegebeur, *Ritual and Sacrifice*, 51–66.



The plunder brought off from *Waret* prompts a certain skepticism. The garrison, including the chief of the town, number 330, i.e. three *hundreds* and three *tens*, a typical general number, scaling down as is customary in Egyptian. Gold and silver are numbered at 100 each. The failure to give any totals for lapis, turquoise, metalware or the contents of the freighters reinforces the suspicion that, for some reason or other, the compositor is generalizing in want of any specific figures at all for this part of the campaign.

To find the harvest gathered in, Thutmose and his troops must have left Egypt around the same time as on the first campaign. Since in the Levant the wheat and barley harvest is not finished until the first week in June, the Egyptians could not have found the grain on the threshing floor until about the middle of the month. If we are to take the record seriously as to the fruit being ripe on the trees, the time cannot be earlier than August, since figs and olives do not ripen until early in that month. Finally, the presence of wine in the vats suggests a date no earlier than mid-September, by which time the vintage has begun. Since the first *sed*-festival ought to have been only 12 months in the future and should have been announced around the 29th anniversary of the accession<sup>69</sup> the king may have been slightly delayed in his departure. In connection with the *sed*-festival, the sizable quantities of food and drink should be noted.<sup>70</sup>

### *Year 30*<sup>71</sup>

“Regnal year 30. Now His Majesty was in the country of Retenu on the 6th victorious campaign of His Majesty.

*Arrival at the town of Kadesh; sacking it, cutting down its fruit-trees and pulling up its grain.*

*Proceeding via the ‘Arid-region’(?)\*, arrival at the town of Sumur\* and arrival at the town of Ardata. Doing the same to them.*

*Tally of the (10) benevolences brought to the might of His Majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year:—now the children of the chiefs and their*

<sup>69</sup> K. Martin, “Sedfest,” *LdÄ* V (1984), 783–84.

<sup>70</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* (Beer Sheva, 1990), 61. Note also that the full year, “30,” i.e. the date of the jubilee, receives the least column space in the entire inscription: see above, p. 62.

<sup>71</sup> For the record of this campaign on the Armant stela, see below, p. 159.

brothers were brought to be detainees<sup>72</sup> in Egypt; and whenever any of these chiefs died, His Majesty would have his [son] go to assume his position.

<i>Tally of the children of the chiefs brought in this year:</i>	<i>36 persons</i>
<i>Male and female slaves</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Horses</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Chariots (11) worked in gold and silver (as well as those painted</i>	<i>40"</i>

### *Arid-region*

The writing of the word (fig. 5) usually understood as *sšyt* is only in part decipherable. The *š*-sign is certain, as is *r*. Plural strokes appear in triangular distribution between the reed-leaves. The initial *s* is somewhat doubtful: *n* certainly seems to be an acceptable alternative (see facsimile, fig. 5). From the presence of the hill country determinative the scribe indicates the word applies to a region, rather than a town. Wilson wished to construe initial *sš* as the verb "to pass by,"<sup>73</sup> which Helck (rightly) rejected.<sup>74</sup> From its position in the narrative it would appear that this tract lay between Kadesh and the coast, i.e. through the Eleutheros, precisely where, a century later, Amurru was to be located.<sup>75</sup> From the uncertainty of the writing, the linguistic affiliation of the word remains in doubt. One might be tempted, as was the present writer, to construe it as an Egyptian word, derived from *s(w)šr*, "to dry out."<sup>76</sup> But if the orthography suggests a local word, one might cite the city \**Shurashu*,<sup>77</sup> or perhaps compare the later (Iron Age) *Sisu* in the Lebanon.<sup>78</sup> If an initial *n* is read instead of *s*, the root NSR springs to mind, with its suggestion of aeries and mountain heights.

<sup>72</sup> Galan, *Victory and Border*, 66 (for discussion and references).

<sup>73</sup> *ANET*, 239; cf. E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 153 n. 58; Galan, *Victory and Border*, 82.

<sup>74</sup> *Beziehungen*, 169 n. 76.

<sup>75</sup> R. de Vaux, "Le pays de Canaan," in W.H. Hallo (ed), *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (New Haven, 1968), 27.

<sup>76</sup> *Wb.* IV, 295:9-11.

<sup>77</sup> Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, no. 2493.

<sup>78</sup> A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Winona Lake, 1975), 263.

*Sumur*

The exact location of this most important town has yet to be determined, but the thrust of the evidence clearly points in a single direction. A location in the Akkar plain near the coast, opposite the entry to the Eleutheros valley, has won almost unanimous acceptance.<sup>79</sup> The most recent suggestion has fastened upon Tel Kazel, a choice which would satisfy all the demands of the textual evidence.<sup>80</sup>

The tally is disjointed in its composition. It begins with the expected formula, then is interrupted by a clearly explanatory gloss. When it continues it lapses into an inconsistency: the second "tally" is not only of chiefs' children, as the wording has it, but of a body of personnel with their means of locomotion. The fact that the scribe felt it necessary to explain the practice of control exercised by Pharaoh over Canaanite patrimonies stresses the novelty of the technique at this point in the narrative. In no previous campaign had offspring of Canaanite headmen been seized for *this* purpose. On the first campaign noble families had fallen into Egyptian hands, but they had been part of the confiscated property<sup>81</sup> to be taken back to fill Amun's workhouse. It is here, on the Phoenician coast, seven years after the victory at Megiddo, that Thutmose III conceived of this ingenious mechanism of control.<sup>82</sup>

The numbers in this segment are more revealing than the artificial figures for year 29. Thirty-six children presumably represent a comprehensive assessment of the number of municipal territoria through which Thutmose had marched, and which he had subdued, viz. The Akkar plain, the Eleutheros and the Phoenician coast. Amenophis II, in a similar comprehensive listing of Syrian chiefs, gives the figure 127,<sup>83</sup> roughly four times as many political subdivisions. The 36 are accompanied by 181 servants, or approximately five servants per child,<sup>84</sup> and each has a chariot and horses (with some in reserve).

<sup>79</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 314; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens*, II, 32 n. 11 (with references); *idem*, "Sumur/Simyra und die Eleutheros-Ebene in der Geschichte Syriens," *KLIO* 66 (1984), 5–18.

<sup>80</sup> J. Sapin, "Peuplement et milieu de vie dans la vallée du Nahr el-Abrach . . .," *Université St. Joseph. Annales de géographie* 3 (1989), 39–58; J.P. Thalmann, M. Al-Maqdissi, "Prospection de la Trouée de Homs. Les sites de la plaine du Akkar syrien," *Contribution française à l'archéologie syrien* (Damascus, 1989), 98–101.

<sup>81</sup> Above, pp. 47–49.

<sup>82</sup> S. Allam, "Msw: Kinder/Völkgruppe/Produkte/Abgaben," *SAK* 19 (1992), 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1308:19.

<sup>84</sup> Curiously comparable to the number of "attendants" at the reburial(!?) of royal

The inclusion in the gloss of the *snw*, “brothers,” presumably linked with *wrw* rather than *msw*, invites comparison again with Amenophis II’s list.<sup>85</sup> The great importance in Canaanite society of the paternal uncle/brother-in-law (*cam*) is well known;<sup>86</sup> but in removing a chief’s siblings as well as his offspring, Thutmose was not simply acknowledging a societal fact. The chief’s male siblings and his sons represented the total pool out of which future chiefs would come. By maintaining complete control over that pool, Thutmose eliminated any chance of hostile governance, save by outright insurrection or invasion, both of which forms of extreme action would have forfeited claims to legitimacy.

*Year 31\**

“Regnal year 31, first month of *shomu*, day 3.”<sup>87</sup>

Compendium (*shwy*)<sup>88</sup> of His Majesty’s plunder in this year.

– *Plunder brought from the town of Ullaẓa*<sup>89</sup> *which is on the bank of Ns-r3-n3*\*:

<i>Prisoners-of-war</i>	492
<i>Commander</i> <sup>90</sup> [ <i>of the vile army(?)</i> ] <sup>91</sup> <i>of the son of the doomed</i>	
<i>one of Tunip</i>	<1>

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offspring: A. Dodson, J.J. Janssen, “A Theban Tomb and its Tenants,” *JEA* 75 (1989), 125–138.

<sup>85</sup> See above, p. 60.

<sup>86</sup> Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexikon* III, 792; Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* I, 320; R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l’Ancien Testament* I (Paris, 1961), 63–64; H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), 196–97; J. van Seters, *The Hyksos. A New Investigation* (New Haven, 1966), 188; *idem*, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, 1975), 72–74; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, Freiburg, 1992), p. 70; H. Avalos, “Legal and Social Institutions in Canaan and Ancient Israel,” in J.M. Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* I (New York, 1995), 624–26; M.R. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar* (Leuven, 2001), 13–15, 191, 213. In the Emar texts the “brothers” seem to exercise political control.

<sup>87</sup> For discussion see above, p. 59.

<sup>88</sup> Below, p. 153.

<sup>89</sup> Above, pp. 64f.

<sup>90</sup> There is not the slightest reason to translate this word “equerry” (R.O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962], 173) or the like. It is from the root “to command” (L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II [Providence, 1984], 117–18) and applies to military personnel. Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1311:9 (enemy officers); KRI II, 915:2 (group commander); P. Harris 77,9 (parallel to *wdw*).

<sup>91</sup> A lacuna of 13 cm. Separates *hnty* from *n p3 šry*, quite enough for *mšc hsy*. There is no numeral (*pace* Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 691 n. b).

<i>Hetman of the . . . [ . . . ] . . .</i> <sup>92</sup> <i>who were there</i>	1
Total	494 men
<i>Horses</i>	26
<i>Chariots</i>	13

(12) . . . and all their military equipment.

Then *His Majesty plundered this town in short order, all its property being (declared) a 'Come-and-Get-it!'*<sup>93</sup>

— *Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu who came to do proskynesis to the power of His Majesty in this year:*

— <i>m[ale] and fe[male] slaves [ . . . c. 77 cm . . . ]</i> <sup>94</sup> <i>of this foreign land,</i>	72
— <i>silver</i>	761 <i>deben</i> 2 <i>kdt</i>
— <i>chariots worked in silver</i>	19
— (13) . . . <i>equipped with weapons of war;</i>	
— <i>long-horns and oxen</i>	104
— <i>short-horns and bulls</i>	172
<i>Total</i>	276
— <i>flocks</i>	4,622
— <i>raw copper</i>	40 <i>ingots</i>
— <i>lead [ . . . c. 1.10 m . . . ]</i>	
— <i>gold: boxes</i> <sup>95</sup> <i>decorated(?) With metal inlay(?)</i>	41
— . . . <i>and all their presents (14) and all the fine plants of this foreign land.</i>	

Now every harbor His Majesty came to was supplied with fine bread, various breads, oil, incense, wine, honey, [various fine] fir[uits of this foreign land, and . . . c. 80 cm . . . Now all this . . .] was more numerous than anything, beyond the comprehension of His Majesty's army—and that's no exaggeration!—(15) and they remain (on record) in the day-book of the king's house L.P.H. The tally of them is not given in this inscription so as not to increase the text and so as to

<sup>92</sup> See facsimile, fig. 7. *Iwcyt* is not an option: the writing with two(?) Initial *qyins* would be anomalous. The traces could suit *cprw*. On such a "Hetman," perhaps, see the evidence in A. Pohl, "Eine Gedanken zur Habiru-Frage," *WZKM* 54 (1957), 157–60.

<sup>93</sup> *Is-h3k*: i.e. for the army, and therefore not listed in the day-book.

<sup>94</sup> Sethe's restoration (*Urk.* IV, 691:16–17) is gratuitous.

<sup>95</sup> J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 200–2.

accomodate them properly in the place [where] th[ey are done into writing].<sup>96</sup> . . . c. 1.10 m. . . .

Now]<sup>97</sup> report was made of the harvest of the land of Retenu, consisting of much grain, (16) wheat, barley, incense, fresh oil, wine, fruit and all the sweet products of the foreign land. They may be consulted at the treasury, just like the census of the labor of the [. . . c. 1.15 m. . . .

Var]ious [vessels]

34

*With malachite, and every gem-stone of this foreign land, and many blocks (17) of glass*<sup>98</sup>

[. . . and all] the fine [products] of this land.

Then His Majesty arrived in Egypt . . . (Kushite section not translated)."

The format of the record of this campaign, the <7th>, is anomalous. Several considerations suggest the reason. The summation of booty, as the heading is phrased, dated to the last day of the year, points to military activity too extensive to be broken down into component incidents. The *h3q* the harvest and the *inw* clearly exceeded the available space on the wall, and so the composing scribe declines to list them all. The stocking of the harbors involved a considerable expenditure of labor and perhaps even construction in several cities—one thinks of Wakhlia, Sumur, Ullaza and Ardata.—and more detailed records of these enterprises were probably kept in other archives. Moreover, apart from the prisoners and military equipment, the property of Ullaza was given over to the army, and would not have been recorded by army scribes.

### *Year 33*

A.<sup>99</sup> "(19) Regnal year 33. Now His Majesty was in the land of Retenu

<sup>96</sup> Lit. "To do what is appropriate to them". Read *iry s[n m šs im]*

<sup>97</sup> There is no reason with Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 694:3) to restore the negative particle. A denial would not have involved the long list of items.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. V. Tatton-Brown, C. Andrews, "Before the Invention of Glass-blowing," in H. Tait (ed), *Five Thousand Years of Glass* (London, 1991), 26. Presumably from northern Syria, or Mittani; G.M. Schwartz, rev. of D. Oates and others, *Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 1* . . . in *BASOR* 317 (2000), 81.

<sup>99</sup> The sections are lettered to facilitate reference.

- B. *Arrival* [at . . . *Destroying* . . . c. 1.40 m. . . .<sup>100</sup> to] *the east of this water, after he had set up another also beside the stela of his father, (20) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkare*
- C. *Then His Majesty sailed north,*<sup>101</sup> *plundering the towns and razing the villages of that doomed one of vile Naharin.*
- D. [. . . c. 1.70 m. . . .] Then he [went] sailing an *itr*<sup>102</sup> in pursuit of them. Not one of them ever looked (21) back, but fled pell-mell, like herds of wild game, while the panicking horses were<sup>103</sup> [. . . c. 2.25 m. . . .] from the entire army.<sup>104</sup>
- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| Chiefs                                      | 3   |
| (22) Their wives                            | 30  |
| Men who were captured                       | 80  |
| Male and female servants and their children | 606 |
- Those who surrendered and [their] wives [. . . c. 1.95 m. . . .
- Dbis. *Arrival at* . . .<sup>105</sup> *sacking it, destroying the orchards], pulling up their grain*
- E. *Arrival of His Majesty at the town (23) of Niya on the homeward journey, when His Majesty had come having set up his stela in Naharin, extending the frontiers of Egypt* [. . . c. 2.20 m. . . .]
- F. [Tally] *of the benevolences brought to His Majesty by the chiefs of this foreign land.*<sup>106</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Sethe's restoration here is not certain. See commentary.

<sup>101</sup> Discussion of *hdy/hnty* in their application to travel on campaign outside Egypt and the Nile Valley seems to have reached an impasse: cf. Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 161\*-2\*; S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* (London, 1949), 45-6; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 150; M.S. Drower, in CAH II, 1 (Cambridge, 1973), 456; P. der Manuelian, *Amenophis II*, 186 n. 71; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 93. In the vast majority of cases (*Wb.* III, 354:9-355:8; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique I* [Paris, 1980], 289; W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1939], 717-18; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwoerterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1977], 393, 395) it is the (compass) direction *north* that predominates. The translation "downstream" has perhaps been influenced by the wholly unwarranted assumption that Thutmose III "conquered" Emar, and that therefore he must have proceeded south down the Euphrates. Emar's appearance in the toponym list (*Urk.* IV, 790, no. 192) is uncertain, and must in any case be restored: M.C. Astour, "An Outline of the History of Ebla," in G. Rendsberg (ed), *Eblaitica III* (Winona Lake, 1992), 11.

<sup>102</sup> 10.5 km., Sethe's *hdi* is by no means certain: for discussion see Gardiner, *Onomastica*. 161-2\*; Smith, *Idrimi*, 45-6; R.O. Faulkner, "The Euphrates Campaign of Tuthmosis III," *JEA* 32 (1946), 40 n. 9; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 150.

<sup>103</sup> Construe *htrw srsw* as *N1; N2* is lost in the lacuna.

<sup>104</sup> The Mitannian army?

<sup>105</sup> Town name.

<sup>106</sup> Presumably the mid-Orontes valley is intended, from Niya to Qatna.

- (24) *Male and female servants* 513  
*Horses* 260  
*Gold* 45 dbn 9/10 kdt  
*Silver: vessels of Djahy workmanship*  
 [. . . c. 1.80 m. . . .]  
*Chariots worked in gold . . . equipped] with all*  
*their weapons of war* (Sic)  
*Long-horns* (25) *short-horns, oxen* 28  
*Herds* 564  
*Flocks* 5,323  
*Incense* 828 containers  
*Sweet oil with* [. . . c. 1.95 m. . . .]  
*All the aromatic plants of this country and multitudinous varieties of fruit*
- G. And so (26) the harbors were stocked with everything in accordance with their tax quota and in accordance with their yearly custom, and the labor of Lebanon in accordance with their yearly custom, and the chiefs of Lebanon [. . . c. 1.85 m. . . .]
- H. Benevolence of the chief of . . . in this year(?) 2 [. . .]-birds of unknown (variety)  
 4 birds of (27) this country who remarkably! give birth daily<sup>107</sup>
- I. Benevolence of the chief of Sangar\*  
 – True lapis [. . .]+ 4 dbn  
 – Ersatz(?) lapis 24 dbn  
 – Lapis of Babylon<sup>108</sup> [. . . c. 1.60 m. . . .]
- J. [Benevolence of the chief of Asshur<sup>109</sup> in] th[is] y[ear]:  
 – True lapis: a ram's head  
 – True lapis (28) 15 kdt  
 With [various] vessels.
- K. Benevolence of Great Khatte\* in this year:  
 – Silver 8 sheets, making 401 dbn

<sup>107</sup> Clearly chickens are intended. Their eastern origin (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 286–7) was known to the ancients: the Canaanites called them “Akkadian birds”: A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1977), 317. There is no reason to restore Arrapkha (as Helck); the gift points to the north-east.

<sup>108</sup> For the problems inherent in these terms, see J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 125–29.

<sup>109</sup> Identification assured by the nature of the gift.



- ‘White Stone’ 2 large blocks
- *Ṭ3gw*-wood [. . . c. 1.80 m. . . .]

L. *His Majesty arrived safe]ly in Egypt when he came from (29) Naharin, extending the frontiers of Egypt* (Pwentite and Sudanese labor taxes follow).

### *Sangar*

The contexts in which this word occurs clearly indicate that it designates Babylon,<sup>110</sup> as does the cognate *Shinar* in Hebrew.<sup>111</sup> The debate over its derivation is an old one, centering at one time on the (false) identification with *Sumer*.<sup>112</sup> The correct *Vorlage* is Sum. SINGI.URI, i.e. Sumer and Akkad.<sup>113</sup> Whatever the route and circumstances of its reaching the west, it was popular in the Levant at the time, whence the Egyptian chancery picked it up.

### *Great Khatte*

Only in Thutmose III's record of years 33 and 41 is the name *Ḥt3* followed by the adjective *c3*.<sup>114</sup> In the Iron Age a similar term is used by Assyrian scribes, but with different application.<sup>115</sup> The adjective “great” in Egyptian lexical usage could refer equally to physical size, or prestige,<sup>116</sup> although in the context of political subdivisions both nuances were probably present. There is here an appreciation of the *composite* nature of an imperial state (*mâtāti* in Akkadian)<sup>117</sup> of international renown, in contrast to the metropolitan states of the Levant, each with its circumscribed *territorium*.<sup>118</sup> Khatte could only

<sup>110</sup> Cf. EA 35:49, where it stands parallel to Khatte.

<sup>111</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 278.

<sup>112</sup> J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1910), 210; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Anchor Bible; New York, 1964), 106.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), 297; M.C. Astour, “Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Gen. 14 and its Babylonian Sources,” in A. Altmann (ed), *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1966), 76.

<sup>114</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* IV, 188.

<sup>115</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 279; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 246.

<sup>116</sup> *Wb.I*, 161:5–8, 19–21; 162 *passim*. “Brave and chivalrous qualities” is decidedly too romantic: H. Brugsch-Bey, *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs* (London, 1881), II, 2.

<sup>117</sup> One is reminded of Ἑλλάς ἡ μεγάλη; Liddel-Scott, 535b.

<sup>118</sup> Even Ugarit, one of the largest, occupied a sea-frontage of only 60 km.: G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (Rome, 1967), 39. On the vagueness and inappropriateness of the term “city-state,” see S. Bunimovitz, “The Changing Shape of Power in Bronze Age Canaan,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990. Supplement* (Jerusalem, 1993), 144.

be conceived as having won such distinction after the far-flung razias of Khattusilis and Mursilis in the second half of the 16th Cent.<sup>119</sup>

### Commentary

Sethe's restoration of col. 19 is anomalous. All that can be restored with certainty, in fact, is date, statement of presence, arrival at [X], destroying [X], razing of crops and orchards. There is no justification in restoring a reference to Qatna<sup>120</sup> as Sethe does, even though some scholars have accepted it as a certain reading! As in year 31, the number of the campaign is omitted. Since it becomes almost a formula by which the campaign is referred to, *d3t phr-wr* must once have stood in the lacuna.<sup>121</sup> In all probability, however, it will have been followed immediately by *r i3bty mw pn*, "to the east of this water." The stock wording on the Constantinople obelisk is insufficient justification for Sethe's restoration. There is no reason to restore a *wḏ*, "stela," in the gap before "[ea]st of this water." The use of *ky* here is proleptic and emphatic.<sup>122</sup> If the Philadelphia fragment<sup>123</sup> dates to Thutmose III's reign, we may add specifics to this entry: the new stela was set up on the north of Thutmose I's.

Col. 20 must once have contained reference to a victory, since the opening phrases following the lacuna describe the rout. We should restore something like *irt ḥ3yt c3t wrt in ḥm.f im.sn iw.sn ḥr bh3* or the like<sup>124</sup> This in turn presupposes a prior statement regarding the presence and deployment of the enemy, perhaps something like *ḥc.n tkn.n ḥm.f r n3 n ḥ3styw*. This would occupy c. 1.55 m. and leave c. 15–20 cm. for Sethe's *ḥc.n* + verb.

<sup>119</sup> For an attempt to pinpoint the identity of the Hittite king in question (Zidanta II or Huzziya II) see T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 129 and n. 97 (following the high chronology); cf. O. Carruba, *Oriens Antiquus* 15 (1976), 303 (Tudkhaliyas II).

<sup>120</sup> Pace such historians as Drioton and Vandier *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1962), 403; N. Grimal, *A History of Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 215; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 92. Any visit to that town would be on the return.

<sup>121</sup> Why the incident should be qualified as "the king's *apparent* (my italics) crossing of the Euphrates" (B. Bryan, in I. Shaw [ed], *The Oxford History of Egypt* [Oxford, 2000], 246) is difficult to fathom.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. *Wb.* V, 111:5, and the use of *KE* in Coptic: W. Till, *Koptisches Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1955), sec. 227–28; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1977), 55.

<sup>123</sup> Below, pt. 2.1.VII.

<sup>124</sup> *Urk.* IV, 587:15.

The list of captures arouses suspicion.<sup>125</sup> The chiefs captured number three; each must have 10 wives, and each must have 202 servants-cum-children.<sup>126</sup> If the captured men be “apportioned” the number is close on 27 per chief. Can these figures be trusted? Or is the scribe basing himself, not on a written record (which perhaps he did not have), but on someone’s reminiscence? It would have to be, after all, the most remote district ever attained by Thutmose III. What problems of logistics would distance and river transport have posed, both for an accompanying commiseriat and for prisoners?

The lacuna in col. 22 will presumably have contained a reference to the beginning of the return to Egypt. The plundering of an unnamed town (or towns?) will have followed. If the “uprooting of the grain” corresponds to reality, and not formulaic demands, the season must still have been summer.

To judge by the placement of the section dealing with the receipt of benevolences, it must have taken place after the visit to Niya (and Qatna?)<sup>127</sup> or in the mid-Orontes valley. Col. 25 lists large quantities of food-stuffs which must have been ear-marked for deposit in the harbors, notice of which is given in the following section. But we are not obliged to understand the gifts from the 4(?)<sup>128</sup> “Great powers” as having been given at the same time. In fact, the qualification *m mpt tn* shows that the gifts were received simply within the same calendar year.<sup>129</sup>

### *Year 34*

“(31) . . . Regnal year 34.

Now His Majesty was in Djahy [. . . 1.75 cm. . . .] his [. . .] capitulating to His Majesty completely and abjectly.

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<sup>125</sup> It is questionable whether these are prisoners-of-war from the river battle just described, chiefs, wives, servants, children and capitulators sound more like the inhabitants of conquered towns.

<sup>126</sup> Drower (CAH II, 1, 457) fails to appreciate the problem, and uses the figures as proof that the 8th campaign “was little more than a raid”!

<sup>127</sup> See below, pt. 2, pp. 28–29.

<sup>128</sup> It is conceivable that in the lengthy lacuna in col. 27 another land was listed between Babylonia and Assyria. But what could it be? Azy? Alashiya?

<sup>129</sup> The gifts themselves are small enough to be considered “token” amounts: 6 birds (albeit of species rare for Egyptian eyes), a paltry amount of lapis, some vessels of (presumably) common type. Even the 4 kg. of silver from Khatte pales in comparison with what was to be exchanged later in the New Kingdom.

Tally (32) of the towns plundered in this year: 2 towns;

Towns which capitulated in the region of

Nukhashshe\*: 1

Total 3

Individuals as plunder which His Majesty

brought off [. . . c. 1.65 m. . . . people

brou]ght by capture, 90

Those who capitulated, their wives and

(33; see fig. 8) their children [. . .]

Horses 40

Chariots worked in silver and gold 15

Gold: vessels (Sic)

Gold in sheets 50 dbn, 8 kdt

[Silver: vesse]ls of this country together with sheets 153 dbn

[. . . 40 cm. . . ]

Cattle 326

Flocks of sheep 40

Flocks of goats 50(?)

Donkeys 70

Much *T3gw*-wood,<sup>130</sup> (34) “black-wood,” *ssndm*-wood,<sup>131</sup> *qni*- [. . .],<sup>132</sup> much [. . .]<sup>133</sup>-wood, together with tent-poles worked in bronze inlaid with gems: 6; and the various fine woods of this foreign land.

Benevolen[ces of] the chiefs of Retenu in this year:

Horses 41(?)

[Chariots wor]ked in gold and silver and

(those only) painted 90(?)

Male and female servants 702

Gold 55 dbn, 6 kdt

Silver: various vessels (35) of local

craftsmanship [. . .] dbn [. . .]

Gold, silver, [lapis], bitumen(?)<sup>134</sup> various gems: vessels [. . .]

<sup>130</sup> Unknown wood: Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 373–74.

<sup>131</sup> Above p. 38.

<sup>132</sup> Perhaps related to the medicinal herb: R. Germer, *Untersuchungen über die Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Aegypten* (Hamburg, 1979), 369.

<sup>133</sup> Probably read *stp*w, “much cut wood” (not Sethe’s *htpw*).

<sup>134</sup> On the problem of *mnw*, see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 171–72; for bitumen, certainly obtainable in north Syria, see M. Serpico, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 454–46.

Native <sup>135</sup> copper	80 ingots
Lead	11 ingots
Paint	100 dbn
Fresh myrrh, malachite, [. . . ]	
[Long-horns] and short-horns	13
Herds	530
Donkeys	84

Bronze: many weapons, many vessels of  
copper

Incense	693 jars
(36) Sweet oil with fresh oil <sup>136</sup>	2,080 [jars]
Wine	608 jars
<i>T3gw</i> -[wood]	[(a) cha]riot

*Ssndm*-wood, oil-bushes<sup>137</sup> and all the woods of this foreign land.

Now all the harbors of His Majesty were stocked with every good thing which [His] Majesty received [in Dja]hy, and Keftiu-ships, Byblos-boats and Sektu-vessels<sup>138</sup> loaded with logs and boards and (37) large lumber which the [garris]on<sup>139</sup> of His Majesty had cut.

Benevolence of the chief of Asy\* in this year:

[Bronze]	108 1/2 ingots
Sheet bronze	2,040 dbn
Lead	5 ingots
Lead (in) <i>nws</i> -form	1,200 (units)
Lapis	110 dbn
Ivory	1 tusk
[. . .]-wood	2 staves . . ."

(The taxes from the Sudan follow)

<sup>135</sup> *Hr h3st.f*: See Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 56.

<sup>136</sup> *B3q*: oil from the balanos or moringa, or perhaps, olive: see L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (London, 1989), 122–23; M. Serpico in Nicholson, Shaw (*op. cit.*, 393–99; D. Meeks, “Oeliculture et viticulture dans l’Egypte pharaonique,” in M.-C. Amouretti (ed), *Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area* (Athens, 1993), 3–38.

<sup>137</sup> Akk. *kanāktu*: CAD VIII (1971), 135–36.

<sup>138</sup> On these ship designations, see T. Save-soderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), 46–50; E. Martin-Pardey, “Schiff,” in *LdA* V (1984), 605; D. Jones, *Boats* (Austin, 1995), 73; S. Wachsmann, *Sea-going Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (London, 1998), 51–2; C. Ward, “Ships and Ship-building,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* III (New York, 2001), 283; the terms, like “East Indiamen,” indicate the boat’s normal run (and therefore its type), not the source of its timber!

<sup>139</sup> Restore *iūcyt* in the lacuna. The traces suit.

*Nukhashshe*

This tract of land, identical with Iron Age *Lu'ash*,<sup>140</sup> has long since been (correctly) identified as lying east of the Orontes between Qatna and Ebla.<sup>141</sup> The name is Hurrian in origin,<sup>142</sup> and, since the earliest occurrence is in fact the present text, the appearance of the toponym probably reflects the rapid Hurrian expansion at the end of the 16th Cent. B.C. Perhaps significantly at Ugarit Niya is implied to be part of the Nukhashshe lands. The terrain is steppe and pasture land, afflicted with the semi-aridity, heat and low rainfall of the Syrian gezira to the north-east.<sup>143</sup> The sparseness of the population and the pastoral nature of the subsistence base combined to resist political unification, and explains the Egyptian designation *w*, "district." Interestingly, of the 4 entries in the daybook excerpts listing those who capitulated (*hṭpyw*), two are in the context of Nukhashshe (years 34 and 38).

But the inhabitants of Nukhashshe are not designated *ššw*, "wanderers, transhumants," and are kept distinct from the Apiru as well.<sup>144</sup> This must mean that a more sedentary lifestyle characterized the population of this tract east of the Orontes, and we should probably qualify Nukhashshean society as sedentary-rural and agro-pastoralist.<sup>145</sup> But the territory was not a political unit: there were "kings" (= tribal sheikhs?) of Nukhashshe.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 168\*-70\*.

<sup>141</sup> Sources and discussion in Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 18; *idem*, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 94 and n. 55; E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn, 1968), 4(10); 65; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 152; G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes VI. Die Orts- und Gewässeramen des hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 291-92.

<sup>142</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 20 and n. 13.

<sup>143</sup> E. Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde* (Darmstadt, 1971), 104-5; J. Kerbe, *Climat, hydrologie et aménagements hydro-agricoles de Syrie* (Bordeaux, 1987), 366-67.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1309:1,3. Strikingly, however, the figures are very close: 15,200 Shasu to 15,080 Nukhashsheans!

<sup>145</sup> I. Finkelstein, "Pastoralism in the Highlands of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennia B.C.E.," in O. Bar-Yosef and A. Khazanov (eds), *Pastoralism in the Levant. Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, 1992), 134; on the grain of Nukhashshe, see A.J. Spalinger, "Egyptian-Hittite Relations at the Close of the Amarna Period and some Notes on Hittite Military Strategy in North Syria," *BES* 1 (1979), 63.

<sup>146</sup> EA 160:24, 169:17; Spalinger, *op. cit.*, 57 n. 8. At Emar, on the northern fringe of Nukhashshe, the limits on kingship and the power of the elders are noteworthy features: D. Fleming, "A Limited Kingship: Late Bronze Age Emar in Ancient Syria," *UF* 24 (1992), 59-71; G. Beckman, "Real Property Sales at Emar," in G.D.

Asy

The problems of identifying and locating this place continue to defy resolution. Long identified with Cyprus<sup>147</sup> the identification must now be given up, as *Alashiya*, the undoubted toponym designating the island, is found in texts along with Azy<sup>148</sup> and was current even in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>149</sup> In fact under Thutmose III a decline appears to have set in in contact with Cyprus.<sup>150</sup> Since the “Poetical Stela” seems to place it in the west, an Aegean location for Asy may be obligatory. One is very tempted to see in the ethnic term A-si-wi-ya/A-si-wi-yo of Linear B<sup>151</sup> and the Hittite Assuwa on the west coast of Asia Minor the *Vorlage* of the Egyptian transliteration.<sup>152</sup>

On the other hand, it is curious that the *digamma* is not reflected in the Egyptian transcription.<sup>153</sup> Another candidate, more acceptable philologically, might be *Asu* (= Tel Hadidi) between Carchemish and Emar on the right bank of the Euphrates.<sup>154</sup> Although a large city,

Young and others(eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (Bethesda, Md; 1997), 106–7; M.R. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar* (Louvain, 2001), 187–93.

<sup>147</sup> See for example V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans* (London, 1982), 66–67; The identification may have been abetted by the enormous amount of copper given in this year: Helck, *Beziehungen*, 290.

<sup>148</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 35.

<sup>149</sup> S. Farag, *RdÉ* 32 (1980), 75ff (8+x, 16+x).

<sup>150</sup> R.S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt* (Lund, 1968), 195–96.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. M. Lejeune, “Sur le vocabulaire économique mycénien,” in E.L. Bennett jr. (ed), *Mycenaean Studies* (Madison, 1964), 89, 104 n. 68.

<sup>152</sup> See del Monte-Tischler, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes* VI, 52–3; J. Strange, *Caphtor/Kefiû. A New Investigation* (Leiden, 1980), 19, n. 19; P.W. Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika* (Darmstadt, 1988), 17 and n. 60–61; F. Woudhuizen, *The Language of the Sea Peoples* (Amsterdam, 1992), 28–33. The later spelling 3y3 (if correct) lends support to the identification: E. Edel, “Afrikanische und asiatische Ortsnamen in ptolemaischen Listen,” in J. Osing and others (eds), *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt* (Copenhagen, 1992), 37–8. In light of the fact that the day-book excerpts for Asy feature substantial quantities of metal and ore, it may be worth noting that Tudhaliyas I (outgoing 15th Cent. B.C.) after his defeat of the Assuwan confederacy, dedicated a fine bronze long-sword from the spoil: A. Unal and others, “The Hittite Sword from Boghaz-koy-Hattusas found in 1991 and its Akkadian Inscription,” *Museum* 4 (1991), 46–52. Note also that the Aegean is the likely source for copper found in Egypt in the Late Bronze Age: Z. Stos-Gale and others, “The Origins of Egyptian Copper: Lead-Isotope Analysis of Metals from El-Amarna,” in W.V. Davies (ed), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant* (London, 1995), 127–35.

<sup>153</sup> One might counter with the hypothesis that the form had been fixed long before the 18th Dynasty rules of transliteration were in place. But how early did the Egyptians know of Ashuwa?

<sup>154</sup> R.H. Dornemann, “Tell Hadidi: a Bronze Age City on the Euphrates,” *Archaeology* 31 (1978), 22–3; *idem*, “Salvage Excavations at Tell Hadidi in the Euphrates River Valley,” *BA* 48 (1985), 57ff.

and occupied during the period in question, Asu would seem to be too close to Aleppo and Mittani to have enjoyed the independence required of the place mentioned in the Egyptian texts.<sup>155</sup>

When compared with year 33 the plunder of year 34 is extremely modest, and the tally of three settlements confirms the impression of a *razzia* into the steppe on a small scale. The presence of tent-poles suggests that the enemy chief's camp was successfully raided. The venue for the receipt of benevolences may be located on the lower mid-Orontes, not far removed from the scene of hostilities in Nukhashshe: the presence of large quantities of oil and oil bushes points to the vicinity of Tunip.<sup>156</sup>

### Year 35

"Regnal year 35. Now [His] Majesty [was in] Djahy on his tenth victorious campaign.

Now His Majesty arrived at the town of Ar'anu\* and that vile doomed one [of Nahar]in had collected horses with their people [and . . . c. 80 cm. . . and their armies(?)] (40) of the ends of the earth—they were [more] numerous [than the sands of the seashore!—] intent on fighting with His Majesty.

Then His Majesty clo[sed] with them;<sup>157</sup> and then the army of His Majesty performed the charging manoeuvre with the cry 'It's-up-for-grabs!'<sup>158</sup> Then His Majesty overpowered [these] foreigners through the power of [his] fa[ther] Amu[n. . . and made a great slaughter among those doomed ones] (41) of Naharin. They proceeded to flee, stumbling one upon the other, in front of His Majesty.

<sup>155</sup> Needless to say *Asu* is not to be equated with *I-t-n* of the North Syrian list (*Urk.* IV, 791[215], 792[263]), as W. Mayer, "Der antike Name von Tall Munbaqa, die Schreiber und die chronologische der Tafelfunde . . .," *MDOG* 122 (1990), 49.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. M.C. Astour, "Ancient North Syrian Toponyms derived from plant Names," in G. Rendsberg and others (eds), *The Biblical World* (New York, 1980), 7 no. 56 (*Tunip ša kanākti*). On oil-trees in general, see F.R. Kraus, "Sesam in alten Mesopotamie," in W.H. Hallo (ed), *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (New Haven, 1968), 112–19; H.G. Guterbock, "Oil Plants in Hittite Anatolia," *ibid.*, 66–71.

<sup>157</sup> *Thn hnc.*, *Wb.* V, 389:12–390:8; Cf. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), 87. The idea is that of movement toward a person or thing with the object of eventually touching: cf. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles, 1931), 40:3 (of the sky crashing to the earth); *Urk.* IV, 840:2–3 (of one stone not fitting [lit. touching] another); for the present idiom cf. W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit . . .* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 84.

<sup>158</sup> See discussion below.



Tally of the captures which His Majesty br[ought off] himself from these foreigners of Naharin [. . . c. 1.50 m. . . . bronze: suits of](42) mail<sup>159</sup> 2

Bronze: hel[mets]<sup>160</sup>

Tally of the captures which the army of His Majesty brought off from [these for]eigners:

Prisoners of war 10

Horses 180

Chariots 60

[. . . 2.50 m. . . . (43) . . . 4 groups . . .

Bronze]: inlaid harnesses 15

Bronze: suits of mail [. . .]

Bronze: helmets 5

Hurrian bows 5<sup>161</sup>

The plunder done in another [. . . c. 2.50 m. . . .]

(44) [. . . Benevolence of the chiefs of Retenu(?) in this year(?)]

Horses] 226

Chariot worked in gold 1

Chariot(s) worked in silver and gold 10 [+ X]

[. . .] gold in [. . .] (45) [. . . unknown length. . . .]

[incense] 84 jars

[wine] 3,099 [jars]"

(46) [. . . Now every depot was supplied with various fine things, in accordance with their] year[ly practice], the labor taxes of [Lebanon likewise] and the harvest of Djahy, consisting of [grain, incense, fresh oil, wine . . . .]

[Benevolence of . . . (47) . . . .]

Vessel[s] of . . .]

<sup>159</sup> See above, p. 35 n. 207.

<sup>160</sup> *Dñn n tp: Wb.* V, 438:1; W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altaegyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 97; T. Kendall, "Gurpiša ša awēli: the Helmets of the Warriors at Nuzi," in M.A. Morrisson, D.J. Owen (eds), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (Winona Lake, 1981), 201–31; by Amenophis II's time helmets were being received as part of the New Year's benevolences: N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1927–1928," *BMMA* 23 (1928), no. 12(2), 49 fig. 6.; D.B. Redford, in *The Akhenaten Temple Project II. Rwd-mnw and the Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1988), 18–20, 25 n. 103; A.R. Schulman, *ibid.*, 62–65.

<sup>161</sup> The 5(?) Suits, 5 helmets and 5 bows sound like the equipment of charioteers. We are in a Mesopotamian locale here, where such helmets and body armor originated.

Gold [...]

*I3gw* wood and [all] the [fine] herbs [of this land. . . .]<sup>162</sup>

*\*Ar'anu*

The location of this place is uncertain. Helck, citing Dussaud, would locate it 20 km. North-west of Aleppo.<sup>163</sup> Astour equated it with classical Ariandum, but declined to locate it.<sup>164</sup> Most others have simply followed Helck.<sup>165</sup> Unfortunately no toponym in the extant portions of the "Syrian" list on pylon 7 exactly fits the transliteration of the present passage.<sup>166</sup> Helck's placement would make some sense, as it would indicate a route for the army's march virtually identical with that of year 33. On this occasion, however, the Mitannian tactic was to intercept the Egyptian forces before they reached Carchemish and the river Euphrates.

The account of the engagement is of more than passing interest, as, apart from the first campaign, this is the only other passage in which battlefield tactics are described, if only briefly. The phrase *hn n itt int* in particular provides, one would be lead to predict, a precious insight into the use of sound in the fray. For *hn* is certainly the word used for a type of recitation or speech<sup>167</sup> often rhetorical in nature,<sup>168</sup> or shouted aloud by a throng.<sup>169</sup> *Iti inw* has been treated by Gardiner,<sup>170</sup> and has achieved conventional acceptance as an "expression for disorderly or erratic movement or conduct."<sup>171</sup> The present passage is thus rendered by Faulkner "a ragged chorus of

<sup>162</sup> The benevolence of another specific foreign land may have been listed here.

<sup>163</sup> *Beziehungen*, 153; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 405.

<sup>164</sup> "Place-names from the Kingdom of Alalakh in the North-Syrian List of Thutmose III: a Study in Historical Topography," *JNES* 22 (1963), 235.

<sup>165</sup> Drower, *CAH* II, 1, 458; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 94 n. 56; none of the Hittite toponyms approximating *Ar'anu* seems to suit: del Monte and Tischler, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes* VI, 32–34.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Nos. 169 (*I-r3-ny-r3*), 233 (*I-r3-[. . .]*), 288–89 (*I-y-r3 nr*).

<sup>167</sup> *Wb.* III, 289; S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Aegypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 320 (no. 1454).

<sup>168</sup> Aphorisms: cf. Peasant B, 1, 19, 37; K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1928), 80:19, 84:11–12; Neferehy 49–50 (Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 42.

<sup>169</sup> Extravagant greetings by courtiers: *Urk.* IV, 1095:7, 2042:1, 11; cheers of spectators: *KRI* V, 186:6–7; work-song of laborers: J.J. Tylor, F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London, 1894), pl. 3, reg. 2; an entertainment song: *Wb.* III, 164:21; C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens* (Paris, 1979), 102.

<sup>170</sup> "The Idiom *it in*," *JEA* 24 (1938), 124–25.

<sup>171</sup> R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 34.

shouts.”<sup>172</sup> But no enemy is intimidated by disorderliness or erratic behaviour: it is the firm chant in unison by the All Blacks that strikes terror in the opposition! Moreover other examples of the expression do not seem to fit.<sup>173</sup> *Ity* means to wrest complete control over something and *ini* to appropriate it for oneself. “This N has assigned the south-wind as his keeper and the north-wind for his nurse: he has gone within his *bai*, and it is his *akh* that controls him and takes him over.”<sup>174</sup> Again: “I was one that restored what was ruined, and made acceptable what was delapidated, with a positive outlook (*wnf-ib*), free from (the desire for) seizing and keeping.”<sup>175</sup> As for a temple, “a curtailment had occurred in its divine endowment and its temple-staff likewise; seizure and appropriation faced its property and their boundaries were not fixed.”<sup>176</sup> Foreigners (metaphorically designated) are free to wander into Egypt and settle down for there are no Egyptians to drive them off: “this land is (in fact) *ity int*” which in the context can only mean “free for the taking.”<sup>177</sup> Hatshepsut’s obelisk inscription throws up some difficulty:<sup>178</sup> “My heart is directing me to make him two obelisks. . . . indeed my heart is *itt int* while thinking of what the plebs might say, those who see my monuments in future years and who may speak of what I have done. Beware lest ye say . . .!” The whole passage exudes forceful speech and determination: it is not the place to exhibit and admit erratic behaviour! What the queen appears to be saying is: I’m (freely) taking the initiative, I’m seizing the moment, I’m taking this opportunity. If seizing and appropriating are keys to the understanding of this expression, then the war-whoop of Thutmose’s men involves the injunction: seize and take (the enemy and their possessions) as spoil; colloquially: “let’s get ‘em!” or “its up for grabs!”

The final columns in this section (46–48) are too fragmentary for connected translation. The formulaic pericope of the provisioning the harbors followed and for the first time in the day-book excerpts

<sup>172</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>173</sup> H. Quecke, “Ich habe nichts hinzugefügt und nichts weggenommen. Zur Wahrheitsbedeuerung koptischer Martyrien,” in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 414–15 and n. 57.

<sup>174</sup> *Iti sw inn sw*; CT VI, 310h.

<sup>175</sup> KRI II, 388:2.

<sup>176</sup> KRI II, 326:5.

<sup>177</sup> Helck, *Nfr.tj*, 31 (VIIIa).

<sup>178</sup> *Urk.* IV, 365:1–10.

included the “harvest of Djahy” as part of the food stocks. The remainder, despite Sethe’s fanciful and unjustified restoration<sup>179</sup> remains beyond recall.

### *Years 36 and 37*

The record of the campaign of year 36 is now lost. It must have begun in the long columns immediately east of the north door of the antechamber (room V), and continued in the short columns above that door. To date no fragments from this part of the wall are known.

The campaign of year 37 is mostly lost. It must have begun above the door and occupied the 3 long columns immediately west of the door. To judge by the presence of *nbw* within 30 cm. of the top of col. 84, most of this space was once occupied by a long list of plunder and benevolences followed by the list of southern commodities (see fig. 9).

“(85) *Škr*-mineral,<sup>180</sup> haemetite(?),<sup>181</sup> green porphyry(?),<sup>182</sup> eye-paint . . .  
[. . . c. 95 cm. . . .]

Wild ga[me], fire sticks”

(There follows the list of exactions from Kush and Wawat)

Although the items presented by locals as benevolences need not originate in the area itself, the mineral content of part of the list and the presence of wild game might point to a locale on the steppe.

### *Year 38*

[(86) . . . Regnal year 38. Now His Majesty was in. . . .] (87) on the 13th victorious campaign. Then His Majesty dest[royed the towns of. . . which were in the dist]rict of Nukhashshe.

<sup>179</sup> *Urk.* IV, 714.

<sup>180</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 183; a rare word presumably of West Semitic or Akkadian origin, although none of the known roots seems to fit: cf. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, I (Bb), 423; J. Hohenberger, *Semitische und Hamitische Wortstämme in Nilo-hamitischen* (Berlin, 1988), 179, 187.

<sup>181</sup> *Didi*: Harris, *op. cit.*, 155ff; A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1989), 395; I. Shaw, “Minerals,” in Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), II, 417.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibhty*: Harris, *op. cit.*, 96–7; S. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo, 1991), II, 763.

Tally of the captures which His Majesty's army brought off in the district of Nukhashshe:

Prisoners-of-war 50

Horses [. . .]

Chariots [worked in gold and silver . . . equipped] with [their] weap[ons] (88) of war

Those of the district of Nukhashshe who capitulated [ together with their wives and their children [. . .]

[Tally] of the benevolences brought to the Power of His Majesty in this year

Horses 328

Male and female servants 522

Chariots worked in silver and gold 9

(Chariots) painted 61

Total 70

Genuine lapis: one collar [. . .]

[Silver(?): a mixing cauldron<sup>183</sup> and plates (89) <adorned with><sup>184</sup> faces of (wild) game and the face of a lion,<sup>185</sup> and vessels of all sorts of Djah[y] workmanship [. . .]

[. . .] 2,821 [dbn], 3 1/2 kdt<sup>186</sup>

Native copper 276 ingots

Lead 26 ingots

Incense 656 *hbnt*-measures<sup>187</sup>

Sweet oil and fresh oil and cedar-oil(?)<sup>188</sup> 1,752 containers

Wine 155 (jars)

<sup>183</sup> See above, p. 43 n. 187.

<sup>184</sup> Perhaps restore *hmt*: cf. *Urk.* IV, 722:3.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another* (London, 1933), pl. III.

<sup>186</sup> It is unclear to what this figure refers, unless it is to the combined weight of all the silver vessels.

<sup>187</sup> For incense only here: *Wb.* II, 487:17. Often used for beer, wine and honey: *Wb.* II, 487:14–16; pictured in the tomb of Rekhmire (in N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes* [New York, 1943], pl. 33–34) as a two handled amphora of “Canaanite” type: J. Bourriau, “Relations between Egypt and Kerma in the Middle and New Kingdoms,” in W.V. Davies (ed), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (London, 1991), p. 138(14); also used as a unit of measure: T.G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (London, 1962), 118.

<sup>188</sup> R. Germer, *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Aegypten* (Hamburg, 1979), 14–20.

Long-horned cattle	12
[Short horns . . .	
Wild game]	1,200
Donkeys <sup>189</sup>	46
Deer <sup>190</sup> 1	
(90) Ivory	5 tusks
Altars of ivory and of <i>ssndm</i> -wood	
Rock crystal(?) <sup>191</sup>	68 dbn
[Bronze: suits of mail]	11 [+ X]
[Br]onze: speers, shields, bows and various weapons of war.	

Aromatic wood of this foreign land, and a variety of gifts of this foreign land

Now all the harbors were stocked with every good thing in accordance with their yearly custom (for) both [northward] and southward journeys, (with) the labor of Lebanon (91) likewise, and the harvest of Djahy, consisting of grain, fresh oil, incense [wine and honey].

Benevolence of the chief of Asy:

Native copper	[. . .]
Horses	[?]

Benevolence of the chief of Alalakh in this year:

Male and Female servants	5
Native copper	2 ingots
<i>Ssndm</i> -wood	65 <logs>(?)

Along with all sorts of aromatic plants of his land."

(Produce from Pwenet, Kush and Wawat follow)

<sup>189</sup> On the difficulty of identifying the *equus asinus* in Asia and distinguishing it from other species, see D.J. Brewer, *Domestic Plants and Animals. The Egyptian Origins* (Warminster, n.d.), 99. One wonders whether the donkeys listed here and in year 34 were to be used as pack-animals for the transport of oil and incense jars, of which large amounts were requisitioned in both years: see E. Ovadia, "The Domestication of the Ass and Pack Transport by Animals: a Case of Technological Change," in O. Bar-Yosef and A. Khaanov, *Pastoralism in the Levant. Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, 1992), 19–28. Interestingly it has been suggested that the town-name "Emar," for the city lying on the northern fringe of Nukhashshe, meant "donkey-town": J.G. Westenholz, "Emar—the City and its God," in K. van Lerberghe (ed), *Languages and Cultures in Contact* (Leuven, 1999), 145–52.

<sup>190</sup> J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1969), V, 8(h).

<sup>191</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 110–11.

*Commentary*

There is no reason to believe that specific towns within the territory of Nukhashshe were mentioned herein. As in year 34 when Nukhashshe had been the scene of operations, the Egyptians were campaigning in the steppe where no significant settlements were located qualifying as *metropolitan states*. The locals, following a transhumant lifestyle, preferred to give themselves up, as they had done in year 34.

As in year 34 the collection point for the benevolences seems to have been the lower middle Orontes. The quantity of oil and the presence of ivory would seem to confirm it.

*Year 39*

“(93). . . . Regnal year 39

Now His Majesty was in the land of Retenu on the 14th victorious campaign, after coming [from overthrowing the]<sup>192</sup> doomed Shasu\*.

Tally of the be[nevolences of the chiefs of Retenu. . . .]

M[ale] and female servants	197
(94) Horses	229
Gold: dishes	2
Together with sheet (gold)	12 dbn [. . .] kdt
Genuine [lapis]	30 dbn
Silver: dishes and a mixing cauldron adorned with a bull's head	
And various vessels	325
Together with sheet silver, making	1,495 dbn, 1 kdt
Chariot(s) [worked in silver and gold . . . 1.55 m. . . .]	
manufactured(?) . . .	

(95) white gems, rock crystal<sup>193</sup> natron, *mnw*-stone and all sorts of gems of [this] fo[reign land]

Incense, sweet oil, fresh oil, cedar-oil(?),<sup>194</sup>

honey	364 [containers]
Wine	1,405 jars
Cattle	84

<sup>192</sup> The lacuna is slightly longer than Sethe admits (*Urk.* IV, 721 n. *c-d*). Read [*hr šrt n3 n*].

<sup>193</sup> See above, n. 191.

<sup>194</sup> See above, n. 188.

Goats

1,183

Bronze [. . . c. 1.80 m . . . .

All] (96) the sweet-smelling [herbs] of this foreign land together with a variety of fine gifts of this foreign land.

Now all the harbors were stocked with every good thing, in accordance with their yearly custom (for) both northward and [southward] journeys and (with) [the labor of Lebano]n likewise, and the harvest (97) of Djahy, consisting of grain, incense, fresh oil, sweet [oil] and wi[ne].

[(1; see fig. 10)<sup>195</sup>. . . .<sup>196</sup>

Benevolence of the chief] of Asy:

Ivory	2 tusks
Copper	40 ingots
Lead	1 ingot

(The lost benevolence of some other Asiatic[?] land follows, and then the produce of Kush and Wawat)

### *Shasu*

The word, probably a participial formation, derives from a root meaning “to move around, to wander,”<sup>197</sup> and thus in origin was used to describe transhumants in a Near Eastern setting. The discovery of what appears to be the tetragrammaton in a toponym list from Soleb mentioning Shasu,<sup>198</sup> has sparked a lively debate over, not only Hebrew origins,<sup>199</sup> but also Shasu distribution in the Levant.

<sup>195</sup> At this point the text is resumed on the east face of the north wing of the 6th pylon. Sethe assumes that the columns enjoy the same height, c. 4.70 m., as on the north wall, but this is by no means certain. The figure might have to be increased (or decreased) by over 50 cm. In the following translation I have refrained from estimating the amount of loss (see fig. 10).

<sup>196</sup> Sethe quite correctly postulates the sometime presence here of a benevolence from some specified foreign land: *Urk.* IV, 724:7.

<sup>197</sup> *Wb.* IV, 412:3–7; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1977), 326.

<sup>198</sup> R. Giveon, “Toponymes ouest-asiatiques à Soleb,” *VT* 14 (1964), 244; *idem*, *Les Bédouins Shôsou des documents égyptiens* (Leiden, 1971), 26–28 (doc. 6a); J. Leclant, “Les fouilles de Soleb (Nubie soudanaise): quelques remarques sur les écussons des peuples envoûtés de la salle hypostyle du secteur IV,” *NAWG* 1965, 214ff.

<sup>199</sup> The point of departure has usually been the (alleged) Transjordanian localization of the Soleb toponyms: cf. S. Herrmann, *Israel in Egypt* (SBT II, 27, 1973); *idem*, “Der Name JWH3 in der Inschriften von Soleb,” *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies I* (Jerusalem, 1967), 213–16; *idem*, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times* (Philadelphia, 1975), 61; M. Weippert, “Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends.



While a “land of the Shasu” is known,<sup>200</sup> the specifics of the Soleb list have invited identification with Transjordan, specifically Edom.<sup>201</sup> An alternate location for the Soleb group, promoted with cogent arguments, has been suggested in the Lebanons and southern Syria.<sup>202</sup> As though it were a choice of “homelands,” there have been some who have attempted to “straddle the fence.”<sup>203</sup>

We seem to have lost sight of the fact that the Shasu acquired this name *apud* the Egyptians precisely because they were always perceived to be “on the move.”<sup>204</sup> Undoubtedly a number of “Shasu” were to be found in Se’ir,<sup>205</sup> but the inhabitants of the central highlands of Cis-Jordan could also fall under this head.<sup>206</sup> The fact that nomads could not enjoy an autarchic existence, but had to interact with sedentary communities, explains the extensive dispersal of groups qualifying for this term.<sup>207</sup> Adding to the breadth of the “semantic space” occupied by the Shasu is the Egyptian proclivity to extend its application to Asiatics in general.<sup>208</sup>

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Über die *Shasu* des ägyptischen Quellen,” *Biblica* 55 (1974), 265–80, 427–33; T.L. Thompson, “The Joseph and Moses Narratives. Historical Reconstructions of the Narratives,” in J. Hayes, M. Miller, *Israelite and Judaean History* (Philadelphia, 1977), 157–58; I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem, 1988), 345; N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land. The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield, 1991), 44 and n. 75; H.N. Rosel, *Israel in Kanaan. Zum Problem der Entstehung Israel* (Frankfurt, 1992), 61–65.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 36:13; E. Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten in den Tempeln von Aksha, Amarah und Soleb in Sudan,” *BN* 11 (1980), 73.

<sup>201</sup> W.A. Ward, “The Shasu ‘Bedouin,’” *JESHO* 15 (1972), 50–51; M. Weinfeld, “The Tribal League in Sinai,” in P.D. Miller (ed), *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia, 1987), 303–14; N.P. Lemche, *Prelude to Israel’s Past* (Peabody, Mass., 1998), 60.

<sup>202</sup> M.C. Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists,” in *FS Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 17–33; M. Görg, “Thutmosis III und die Ššw-region,” *JNES* 38 (1979), 199–202; G.W. Ahlstrom, *Who were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake, 1986), 59–60.

<sup>203</sup> M. Görg, “Toponymie und Soziographie. Zur nicht-urbanen Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordpalästina im 14. Jahrh. V. Chr.,” *BN* 45 (1988), 51–61; *idem*, “Zur Identität der ‘Seir-Länder,’” *BN* 46 (1989), 11; K. Kitchen, “The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan,” in P. Bienkowski (ed), *Early Edom and Moab. The Beginning of the Iron Age in South Jordan* (Oxford, 1992), 26.

<sup>204</sup> N. Na’aman, “The ‘Conquest of Canaan,’” in I. Finkelstein and N. Na’aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy. Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (Jerusalem, 1994), 234.

<sup>205</sup> Giveon, *Shōsou*, 131–34 (37). The extra *r* in *Serr* of the Soleb list (Astour, *loc. cit.*) should occasion no misgivings: the orthography presages the Late Egyptian insistence on doubling the sign to indicate a trilled /r/.

<sup>206</sup> See the present author in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 278–79.

<sup>207</sup> A.M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, Cambridge, 1984; R. Giveon, “The Shosu of the Late XXth Dynasty,” *JARCE* 8 (1969–70), 51ff.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. N. Na’aman, “The Town of Ibirta and the Relations of the ‘Apiru and

All this, of course, helps us little in localizing the encounter in year 39; but a Lebanese venue cannot be ruled out. The normal voyage to Byblos and the passage through the Eleutheros would have taken the Egyptians very close to the *c(y)n š3sw*, “the spring of the Shasu,” of Anastasi i.19.2.<sup>209</sup> A punitive encounter *en route* to the benevolence collection point on the Orontes seems much more likely than an escapade in the extreme south.

*Year 41(?)*

[(4). . . . Regnal year 41(?). Now His Majesty was in the land of . . . on his 15th victorious campaign. Then His Majesty sacked the town of . . . *extent of lacuna unknown*. . . ] . . .<sup>210</sup>

Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu, brought through the power of His Majesty in (5)[this year . . . *extent of lacuna unknown*. . . ]

[lead] 40 ingots

Bronze: sui[ts of mail], hacking-swords,<sup>211</sup>

Bronze: javelins (6) [. . . *extent of lacuna not known*. . . of] this  
[for]eign land,

Ivory 18 tusks

*Ssndm*-wood 241 logs(?)

Cattle 184

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the Shosu,” *GM* 57 (1982), 27–33; Giveon, *Shôsou*, 152–62; cf. *KRI* VII, 125:5–6 where someone is described as “having borne himself away into the land of the Shasu [and has taken to wife(?)] the daughter of their marya<nnu>.” The latter certainly did not belong in a nomadic society!

<sup>209</sup> Identification and location cogently argued by Rainey (*Tel Aviv* 2 [1975], 13–14); cf. The discussion and literature in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 164–65 (p).

<sup>210</sup> If *šp sn*, “a second time,” is to be read, it could easily qualify some incident in the record of this year, rather than part of a “disclaimer.” See above, p. 53.

<sup>211</sup> *Hpšw n iqhw*: on the khopesh or “sickle-sword,” see H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926, 85–94; W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 66–68; S. Schosske, “Krummschwert,” *LdÄ* III (Wiesbaden, 1980), 819–21; J.K. Hoffmeier, “Military: Materiel,” in Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* II (New York, 2001), 408. While the scribe was faced with the problem of rendering into Egyptian a word for “sword,” clearly *hṗš* alone did not meet the requirement, but had to be further qualified. Significantly the phrase used refers to the action of a battle-axe, i.e. hacking. It remains to be decided whether this item was in fact a *long-sword*, of the type known later in the Late Bronze Age (N.K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples* [London, 1978], 91–93), and presumably a product of the iron technology known in Anatolia; J.D. Muhly, “Mining and Metalwork in Ancient Western Asia,” in J.M. Sasson, (ed), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), III, 1514–16.

Sheep (7)[. . . *extent of lacuna not known. . .*]<sup>212</sup> incense likewise.  
Benevolence of the chief of Great Khatte in this year:

Silver (8) [. . . *extent of lacuna not known. . .*]"

(There follows the record of the imposts of Kush and Wawat)

### *Commentary*

I have restored "this year" at the beginning of col. 5 (rather than Sethe's "regnal year 41"), thus resuming a regnal year date which once stood at the head of col. 4.<sup>213</sup> The latter could not possibly have been "40." Not only was this year referred to already in the first part of the day-book excerpts, but the list of benevolences which follows is markedly different from those of year 40. That a narrative of some military venture once stood in col. 4, after a date, militates strongly in favor of understanding this escapade as a *wdyt*; and the same argument may be applied to the following columns containing the record of [year 42]. Thus, since col. 93<sup>214</sup> informs us that the 14th campaign took place in year 39, up to year 42 Thutmose III was perceived to have gone on at least 16 campaigns. Whether that of year 40 was classed as a *wdyt* remains moot; but the passage in col. 107<sup>215</sup> might indicate that the king was in Asia. In that case the total number of campaigns might be understood as "17."

### *Year 42*

(10) [. . . Regnal year 42. Now His Majesty was in the land of . . . on his . . . th<sup>216</sup> victorious campaign . . . . *approx. 8 groups. . .* the lan]ds of the Fenkhu<sup>217</sup>

<sup>212</sup> There is no clear evidence that the lacuna once contained the formulaic description of harbor-stocking: the preserved words "[in]cense likewise" is found in no other examples of the formula. On the other hand, the component phrase *n tw mpt* suggests that by definition it was a yearly event.

<sup>213</sup> See above, p. 93.

<sup>214</sup> *Urk.* IV, 721:9–10.

<sup>215</sup> *Urk.* IV, 671:3; see also above, p. 55.

<sup>216</sup> See above.

<sup>217</sup> See pt. II, p. 41, n. 112; Sethe's restoration (*Urk.* IV, 729:5) is gratuitous. With more probability one might restore "Now His Majesty ferried over to the lands of the Fenkhu."

Now His Majesty was upon the coastal road with the intent of destroying the town of Irkata\* together with the towns which were in (11) [its district(?). . . *extent of lacuna not known* . . .

Arrival at . . .]kana. Destroying this town together with its district

Arrival at Tunip; destroying the town, uprooting its grain and chopping down its orchards.

(12) [. . . Arrival at . . .; destroying the town(?)<sup>218</sup> . . . *extent of lacuna not known* . . . Now as for the plunder, His Majesty bestowed it upon] the citizens of the army<sup>219</sup> who had brought it off.

Coming in safety; arrival at the district of Kadesh; plundering three towns therein.

Tally of the plunder brought from them:

(13) [. . . *extent of lacuna not known*. . .

Troops(?)]<sup>220</sup> of vile Naharin who (functioned) as garrison troops<sup>221</sup> in them, with their horses

Heads, male & female	691
Hands	29
Horses	48

(14) [. . . *extent of lacuna not known*. . .

Tally of the benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu] in this year:

Male and female servants	295
Horses	68
Gold:	3 dishes

Silver: dishes and a cast mixing cauldron, together with silver (15) [. . . *extent of lacuna not known*. . .]

<sup>218</sup> There is certainly sufficient room to restore an additional place name and the record of an assault.

<sup>219</sup> As *cnḫw* (*n mšc*) as a general designation of the “conscript” rank and file, as opposed to the officer class and the professional soldiers (*wcw*), see A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Munich, 1964), 33–4; A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), 95–6; G. Husson, D. Valbelle, *L’État et les Institutions en Égypte des premiers pharaons aux empereurs romains* (Paris, 1992), 141–2.

<sup>220</sup> Sethe’s restoration is a guess: *Urk.* IV, 730:16. When the text resumes after the lacuna it clearly is continuing with the “plunder” from the 3 towns.

<sup>221</sup> *Mwḫf* (*Wb.* II, 55:7–9): auxiliaries manning fortifications: cf. H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt* (Baltimore, 1977), 155 n. 190. It approximates the semantic range of Akkadian *maṣṣartu*, “garrison troops (for protection)”: M. Liverani, “Political Lexicon and Political Ideologies in the Amarna Letters,” *Berytus* 31 (1983), 50.

Lead 47 ingots  
 Lead in dbn-form(?) 1,100  
 Paint, emery(?),<sup>222</sup> and every fine gem of this foreign land;

Bronze: suit(s) of mail and 'various' weapons of war (16) [... *Extent of lacuna not known*. . . and all sorts of] aromatic [plants] of this foreign land.

Now all the harbors<sup>223</sup> were stocked with every good thing in accordance with their yearly custom along with the harvest of this land.

(17) [Benevolence of the chief of. . . (?)]<sup>224</sup>

Benevolence of the chief of Great Khatte(?) In this year(?) . . .

Silver. . . ] together with dishes with the faces of bulls, amounting to 341 dbn and 2 kdt

True lapis: 1 block Amounting to 33 kdt

*Ṭ3gw*-wood: 1 fine stave

Native copper (18) [... *Extent of lacuna not known* . . .

Benevolence of the chief] of Tanaya\*:

Silver: a jug of Keftiu workmanship<sup>225</sup> along with vessels of iron<sup>226</sup>

. . . with silver handle(s) 4, making 56 dbn, 3 kdt

(*The imposts of Kush and Wawat follow*)

### \**Irkata*

The site is to be identified with Tel Arqa, c. 20 km. south-east of Sumur, across the Nahr el-Kabir.<sup>227</sup> Hostility to Egypt is implied in its inclusion in the Execration Texts of the 18th Cent. B.C. when,

<sup>222</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 163.

<sup>223</sup> Partly erased, and later restored as *imn*.

<sup>224</sup> There is sufficient space to restore the benevolence of a third country.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. 4–5; J. Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entres Égyptiens et Pré-hellènes* (Paris, 1954), 113–15; *idem*, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen* (Cairo, 1956), no. 31, 330; Helck, *Beziehungen . . . Aegais*, 67–69. On the chronological implications, see P. Warren, V. Hankey, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (Bristol, 1989), 144–46; P. Warren, "Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt," in W.V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant* (London, 1995), 1–18.

<sup>226</sup> For the rarity of such a manufacture, see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 58–60; for discussion see A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed; London, 1988), 240; S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne II* (Cairo, 1991), 431ff; J. Ogden, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 166–68.

<sup>227</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 153; H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 162 n. 430 (references).

perhaps significantly, it is qualified as “tribal” rather than urban (with headmen).<sup>228</sup> In the Amarna Age it remained under the administration of “elders”, and continued to attract suspicion of a rebellious disposition.<sup>229</sup> Though inland, the town would have to be approached by the Egyptian forces by way of the coast.

\* [. . .]-kana

The identity of the place has not achieved any unanimity among scholars. Since the list of towns follows a geographical sequence—Irkata, [. . .]-kana, Tunip, [. . .], Kadesh—it follows that [. . .]-kana must be located between the Akra plain and Tunip. If the K+N be construed as the second and third radical of the root, it is tempting to restore *[Mš]kn*, “settlement,” in the sense, perhaps, of “encampment, tabernacles.”<sup>230</sup> Almost certainly it is to be located within the plain or the Eleutheros Valley.

\**Tanaya*

The references to “Keftiu-workmanship” militates in favor of a location in the Aegean. Edels’s initial suggestion of Rhodes<sup>231</sup> was quite gratuitous, and his later equation with Adana in Cilicia<sup>232</sup> founders on geographical and historical considerations.<sup>233</sup> Although not common in loan-words and personal names,<sup>234</sup> the use of Egyptian *ta* to render the voiced alveolar is well attested in toponyms;<sup>235</sup> and thus an equation with (later) Greek *Δανάοι* or the land designation from

<sup>228</sup> G. Posener, *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie* (Bruxelles, 1940), 93 (E 61). How this relates to the similar place-name *c3-3-q-tm* (K. Sethe, *Die Aechtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Thongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1926), e22, f12) is unclear.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. EA 100.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), no. 2414; R.S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, 1978), 316; A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting I*, A (Leiden, 1989), 423.

<sup>231</sup> *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn, 1966), 37, 53–55.

<sup>232</sup> “Neue Identifikationen topographischen Namen in den Konventionellen Namenszusammenstellungen des Neuen Reiches,” *SAK* 3 (1975), 63–4 (9).

<sup>233</sup> P.W. Haider, *Griechenland-Nordafrika. Ihre Beziehungen zwischen 1500 und 600 v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1988), 6.

<sup>234</sup> J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 511; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Fribourg, 1992), 294–95.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. *M-k-ta* = Megiddo (*passim*), *I-r-ta-tu* = Ardata (*Urk.* IV, 697:5), *T-ya* with var. *D-iw* (Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, 70), *Tu-ta-na* = Dothan (*Urk.* IV, 781 no. 9), *I-tu-ry-n* = Adoraim (*Urk.* IV, 1307:4), *Ka-tu-nay* = Kudonia (Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, 95 [59]).

which it derives, becomes very attractive indeed.<sup>236</sup> If this be the case, and in light of the early application of this ethnic term,<sup>237</sup> it is most tempting to identify Tanaya with the plain of Argos, and more specifically the kingdom of Mycenae.<sup>238</sup>

### *Comments*

With respect to the Mittanian garrison, one should note the artificiality(?) of the numbers. The total 720 (691 + 29) is divisible by the number of towns, in this case 3, thus yielding 240 men per town accompanied by 16 horses, or 8 chariots per garrison. Whether this affects our judgement of the historicity of the record must remain moot.

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<sup>236</sup> W. Helck, review of Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, in *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen* 221 (1969), 73; J. Osing, *Aspects de la culture pharaonique. Quatres leçons au Collège de France* Paris, 1992), 33.

<sup>237</sup> Liddel-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed; Oxford, 1990), 369.

<sup>238</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 52; F. Schachermayer, *Mykene und das Hethiterreich* (Wien, 1986), 73; others attempt to extend the range of the term: Haider, *op. cit.*, 8–9 and n. 32, 42 (most of the Peloponnese), M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 257 and n. 15 (the Aegean); cf. Osing, *loc. cit.* For LH IIA pottery found in Egypt temp. Thutmose III, see sources in P.A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Pottery, an Introduction* (Oxford, 1993), 3.

PART TWO

OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS



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## CHAPTER ONE

### SITTINGS OF THE KING<sup>1</sup>

The *hmst-nsw*, “sitting of the king,” reflects a formal convening of the court for the purpose of announcement. In its fullest form this type of record includes (a) date, (b) appearance of the king enthroned, (c) the introduction of the courtiers, (d) the king’s statement, (e) the adulation of the courtiers. Most of these “seance”-texts show signs of editing and the editor sometimes speaks himself. His asides (when not bridging or introducing) and the court’s response are adulation born of gratification of the goodness of god and the king which has just been made known to them. Thutmose III’s speeches often describe or allude to foreign campaigns, but only to stress the role of Amun in granting the victory. This, then, provides the explanatory grounds for the king’s construction and endowments which often follow in a formal list: they are undertaken by the king in gratitude to Amun. While the form need not presuppose the reality, there is a good *a priori* case to be made, on the basis of graphic evidence showing the transcribing of verbatim statements,<sup>2</sup> that an historical “seance” may in fact underly such texts.<sup>3</sup>

The royal speech as a form shows careful attention to rhetorical embellishment and is often metrically arranged; but the application of literary theory has limited value.<sup>4</sup> There is nothing of the “Novella” in the seance-texts. By its very nature Novella exists in another

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the texts which follow can be found treated in S. Grallert, *Bauen-Stiften-Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinchriften, von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (Berlin, 2001), 262–89.

<sup>2</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna* (London, 1903–8), I, pl. 8; VI, pls. 18, 20, 29.

<sup>3</sup> This is not to deny that, as we now have them, such texts may have undergone midrashic expansion and redaction.

<sup>4</sup> By using the very term “literature” we force our appreciation into modern parameters;—the word, after all, in its modern sense is scarcely 200 years old: R. Williams, *Keywords* (London, 1986), *loc. cit.*—and run the risk of eisegesis. On the difficulty attending a genuine historical enquiry into ancient “literary” texts, see R. Hodge, *Literature as Discourse* (Baltimore, 1990), 27; and cf. P. de Man, *The Resistance to Theory* (Minneapolis, 1997), 29–30; T. Eagleton, *Literary Theory* (Oxford, 1996), 13–14.

dimension wherein only a pretense is made at asserting anything, and thereby suspends the illocutionary commitment to assert *truth*.<sup>5</sup> Such a pretense is precisely what the royal interlocutor at a seance denies engaging in: the stock-in-trade of a Novella (*iw-ms* and *cbc* in Egyptian) is at all times vigorously denied.<sup>6</sup> The king's speech at a seance is rather *Verkündigung*, in an atmosphere of "... and-now-it-can-be-told ...", to the surprise and gratification of the listeners.

The form of the *hmst-nsu* text evolves out of statements which can be traced back to the First Intermediate Period, which borrowed from forms established in the late Old Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Its roots lie, not in genres intrinsically royal, but in the self-presentation of an individual to the world and posterity and thus must be seen as sharing the same semantic space as the biographical statement.<sup>8</sup> Although people listen and respond, the form is not a dialogue. The motivation comes from human society in the world of the *nds*:<sup>9</sup> The "Perfect God" of the Old Kingdom needs no self-promotion, being already timeless and primordial. It is only when the "Time of the Residence" ends, and the Perfect god ceases in actuality to exist that those who claim the Horus-throne must prove they deserve the ideological mantle. Nowhere do the successor rulers of Herakleopolis and Thebes more clearly betray their origins than in their recourse to this form of self promotion; and Thutmose III is very much their heir.

<sup>5</sup> J.R. Searle, "The Logical Status of Fictional Discourse," in *Expression and Meaning. Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (1986).

<sup>6</sup> It lacks that open-ended signification, that "simultaneously signifying and unfulfilled nature" (R. Barthes, "Literature and Signification" in R. Barthes, *Critical Essays* [Evanston, 1972], 268–69) that some would see as the prime quality of a literary Novella.

<sup>7</sup> See A.J. Spalinger, "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII," *SAK* 24 (1997), 269–300 (esp. 271–72). The earliest royal examples thus far recovered (lacking, apparently, the specific court-frame) are the statements of Wahankh Antef II: Cairo 20512: J.J. Clère, J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire* (Cairo, 1949), no. 16; D. Arnold, *Graeber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif* (Cairo, 1976), Taf. 42, 52. But certain passages in Merikare strongly suggest that self promotion through "published" statement was the order of the day during the 9th and 10th Dynasties also: W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1977), XXIII, XXXI, XXXV.

<sup>8</sup> N. Kloth, "Beobachtungen zu den biographischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches," *SAK* 25 (1998), 189–205.

<sup>9</sup> D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 148–49.

I. THE GEBEL BARKAL STELA<sup>10</sup>

## 1. Date and Titulary.

“Regnal year 47, 3rd month of *akhet* day 10, under the Majesty of Horus,

Mighty Bull: Risen in Thebes; the Two Ladies’ (Man): with enduring Kingship like Re in Heaven; Horus of Gold: with Uplifted Crown and Mighty Power; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, bodily son of Re whom he loves, Lord of every foreign land, Thutmose nefer-khepru.

## 2. Occasion.

This is what he did as his memorial for his father Amunre, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Fortress ‘Smiting-the-Foreigners’:<sup>11</sup> the construction for him of an eternal shrine.<sup>12</sup>

... for he has magnified the victories of My Majesty more than (those of) any king who ever was. I have seized the southerners at the behest of his *ku*, and the northerners in accordance with his directive!’ (May he make ‘Son-of Re, Thutmose hiq-wese, given life like Re for ever!’)

<sup>10</sup> G.A. Reisner, *ZAS* 69 (1933), pl. 3; A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, 56ff; *Urk.* IV, 1288ff; see also P-M VII, 217; I. Shirun-Grumach, “Die poetischen Teile der Gebel-Barkal Stela,” in S. Groll (ed), *Egyptological Studies* (Jerusalem, 1982), 117–86; B. Cummings, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty I* (Warminster, 1982), 2ff; P. Derchain, “Auteur et société,” in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 87.

<sup>11</sup> *Mmnw Sm3 h3styw*: R. Morkot, “Nubia in the New Kingdom: the Limits of Egyptian Control,” in W.V. Davies (ed), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (London, 1993), 294; *idem*, *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt’s Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000), 73–74. Presumably the fort and shrine lay at Gebel Barkal, and were perhaps swept away by the buildings of later times. E. Morris (*The Architecture of Imperialism* [PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2001], ch. 2, 72) suggests the fort may antedate Thutmose III.

<sup>12</sup> *Wb.* III, 288:12–15; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I (1980), 278; II, (1981), 281; III (1982), 218, “esplanade, reposoir, cour.” Cf. G. Goyon, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 351–55 (“... of Amun of the Holy Mountain”); C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 286–88.

## 3. Encomium.

The perfect god who seizes with his arm,  
 Who smites the southerners, and decapitates the northerners  
 And lops off the heads of the bad scruffies;  
 Who makes slaughter of the Montiu of Asia, and overthrows  
     those of the sand-dwellers who rebel;  
 Who ties up the lands at the end of the world, and smites the  
     bowmen of Nubia;  
 Who reaches the limits of the foreign lands that had attacked  
     him,<sup>13</sup> turning hither and yon on the battlefield in a rage!

## 4. Reminiscence of the First Campaign.

Every foreign land all together, were standing as one,  
 Prepared to fight, without any running away;  
 Trust was placed in many squadrons, and there was no end to  
     the men and horses.  
 They came on stout-hearted, with no fear in their hearts;  
 (But) he with the mighty power felled them, he with the flexed  
     arm who tramples upon his enemies!

## 5. Encomium: the Fighter (mainly 3:2 pattern)

He is a king who fights by himself, to whom a multitude is of  
     no concern, for he is abler than a million men in a vast  
     army, and no equal to him has been found;  
 a fighter aggressive on the battlefield, within whose scope no  
     one is (left) standing,  
 one who overpowers every foreign land in short order at the  
     head of his army.  
 He flashes across the two arcs (of heaven) like a star crossing  
     the sky,<sup>14</sup> who plunges into the thick ranks aggressively(?),  
     breathing fire against them,

<sup>13</sup> On the expression *ini drw* see J.M. Galan, *Victory and Border. Terminology Related to Imperialism in the xviith Dynasty* (Hildesheim, 1995), 128–32.

<sup>14</sup> On star symbolism in relation to the king, see M. Schade-Busch, *Zu Königsideologie Amenophis III* (Hildesheim, 1992), 199, 331.

and turning them into something that had never existed, wallowing in their (own) blood!

It is his uraeus that overthrew them, his flaming one that quelled his foes;

The vast army of Mittani was overthrown in a matter of minutes, Completely destroyed as though it had never existed [through] the bellicosity of the 'Devourer,'

Through the action of the Perfect God, mighty and strong in battle,

Who alone, and on his own, makes a slaughter of everyone—  
The King of Upper & Lower Egypt Menkheperre, may he live for ever!

#### 6. Encomium: Falcon & Bull. (Pattern 3:2–3:2–3:3)

He is Horus with Flexed Arm!

A good fortress for his army, a refuge for the people;

One who throws back all lands as they were on the move against him,

Rescuing Egypt in the breach, a saviour who fears not the rapacious!

He is a stout-hearted bull!

His southern boundary stretches to the 'Horn of the Earth,' south of this land.<sup>15</sup>

His northern to the Marshes of Asia and the supports of heaven. They come to him with bowed heads, seeking the breath of life.

#### 7. Reminiscence of the 8th Campaign.

He is a king, triumphant like Montu!

One who takes, but from whom no one can take, who tramples all the rebellious foreign lands—

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<sup>15</sup> Not a specific place, but a general concept derived from the image of a cosmic bovine, and signifying an extremity: see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* I, 194–95; E. Hornung, "Zur geschichtliche Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 124; R. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim* (London, 1968), 41 and n. 4; A.J. Spalinger, "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Tuthmose III in Asia," *JNES* 37 (1978), 37.

They had no champion in that Land of Naharin,<sup>16</sup> whose lord had abandoned it through fear. I houghed his cities and his towns<sup>17</sup> and set them on fire. My Majesty turned them into ruins which shall never be re-founded. I plundered all their inhabitants, who were taken away as prisoners-of-war along with their numberless cattle and their goods likewise. I took away from them their provisions and uprooted their grain, and chopped down all their trees (even) all their fruit trees. (And so) their districts, they belonged to (anyone) who would make an appropriation for himself(?),<sup>18</sup> after My Majesty destroyed them; for they have turned into burnt dust<sup>19</sup> on which plants will never grow again.

Now when My Majesty crossed over to the marshes of Asia, I had many ships constructed of cedar upon the mountains of God's-land, in the vicinity of the Mistress of Byblos, and placed upon carts with oxen drawing them. They travelled in the van of My Majesty to cross that great river that flows between this country and Naharin.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. B. Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani" in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore, 2000), 73–74. For an extended discussion of occurrences and form of this word, see J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 187–91. It is of some interest that, while in Thutmose's direct speech his idiolect leans towards "Naharin", the editor (with clear reference to the 8th campaign) prefers "Mitanni." Clearly *nhryn*, with the nunation common to north Syria and the steppe, derives from the Euphrates rather than the Litani (pace C. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil* [Paris, 1995], 300–2).

<sup>17</sup> By using *nirwt*, "cities," Thutmose's idiolect again shows a preference distinct from the usual chancery practice of the Egyptian court, which rarely uses the word of Asiatic settlements: cf. D.B. Redford, "The Ancient Egyptian City: Figure or Reality?" in W.E. Aufrecht et al. (eds), *Aspects of Urbanism in Antiquity from Mesopotamia to Crete* (Sheffield, 1997), 217 n. 17. In the account of the 8th campaign in the Day-book Excerpts (above, p. 00) *dmyw* and *whywt* are used. On the relative size of main city compared to its satellites, see G. Buccelati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (Rome, 1967), 40–1.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably read (*w*)*di n.f.* a nominalized participle; less likely a loan word from some such root as *NDP* (cf. A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* Part 1, sec. Bb (Leiden, 1989), 274 ["scatter, throw"]), in which case the translation might be something like "windblown."

<sup>19</sup> *Tkw* seems to be visible: one wonders whether the form derives from *DK(K)*, "to crush, pulverize, grind": C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), 385 (658); Murtonen, *op. cit.*, 148.

<sup>20</sup> This tactical ploy of Thutmose lived on in folklore, and is told of Semiramis in her crossing of the Indus (Diodorus ii.16–18), of Alexander in his crossing of the

Now that's a king to be boasted of, for the prowess of his arms  
in battle!

One who crossed the 'Great Bender'<sup>21</sup> in pursuit of him who  
had attacked him, at the head of his army,  
Seeking that vile doomed one [throughout] the lands of Mitanni;  
But he had fled from before His Majesty to another land, a  
far-off place, through fear.

Thereupon My Majesty set up my stela on that Mountain of  
Naharin, a block quarried<sup>22</sup> from the mountain, on the west  
side of the Great Bender.

## 8. The Return from the 8th Campaign.

I have no opponents in the southern lands, the northerners  
come bowing down to my might. It is Re that has ordained it  
for me: I have wrapped up that which his effective one encir-  
cles (i.e. the earth), he has given me the earth in its length and  
breadth. I have bound up the Nine Bows, the islands in the  
midst of the Great Green, the Hau-nebu and all rebellious for-  
eign lands!

When I turned round and went back to Egypt, having dompted  
Naharin, great was the terror in the mouth of the Sand-dwellers.<sup>23</sup>  
On that account their doors were shut, and they did not ven-  
ture out for fear of the bull!

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Euphrates (Strabo xvi.1.11), Trajan in his crossing of the Tigris (Dio lxviii.26.1), and Constantius crossing the Euphrates: Ammianus Marcellinus xxi.7.6.

<sup>21</sup> *Wb.* I, 548:14–16; C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amôsis* (Bruxelles, 1971), 165–66; Spalinger, *op. cit.*, 37 n. b; Galan, *Victory and Border*, 149; Bryan, *op. cit.*, 73; 245; how the Egyptians *understood* the name is less an issue than the derivation: *Phr Wr*, “the Great *Phr*”, bears an uncanny resemblance in construction to Sumerian *bura-nuna*, “the Great *Bura* (river),” D.O. Edzard, G. Farbera, *Répertoire des noms géographiques des textes cunéiformes* (Paris, 1977), II 256.

<sup>22</sup> Although *wḏ* can refer to inscriptions on walls and prepared natural surfaces (cf. the examples cited in S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Aegypten* [Wiesbaden, 1990], 61–63), the use of *šdi*, “extract, quarry” (cf. *Urk.* IV, 25:9) clinches the matter in favor of a free-standing stela-block of local stone. For the location and historical ramifications, see above p. 00.

<sup>23</sup> *Wb.* III, 135:12. It is true that Thutmose's homeward march from the Euphrates would have confronted him at the outset with 150 km. of desert (M. Astour, “The History of Ebla,” in C.H. Gordon, G. Rendsburg (eds), *Eblaïtica III* [Winona Lake, 1992], 68), but there is no need to construe the present passage as that specific.



That's an active king!

A good fortress for his army, a wall of iron

When he throws back every land with his arm, without a care  
for (even) a million men!

Deadly marksman every time he tries—no arrow of his ever  
misses!

One with flexed arm whose like has never come along, mighty  
Montu on the battlefield!

## 9. The Hunt in Niya.

Here's another victorious accomplishment which Re ordained for me. He did it again for me—a great triumph at the water-hole of Niya:<sup>24</sup> he let me engage several lots of elephants, (in fact) My Majesty took on a herd of 120. Never had the like been done by any king since the time of the god, even by those who of old had received the White Crown. I say this without boasting or exaggeration in any of it; (for) I did it in accordance with what [Amun-re] ordained for me, he who directs My Majesty on the right road by his good councils. He joined the Black Land and the Red Land for me, and what the sun-disc encircles is in my grasp!

## 10. Reminiscence of the First Campaign.

I will tell you something else! Listen up, you people! On my first campaign he commended to me the lands of Retenu which

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Because of the desert nature of all the approaches to Egypt, the term (which originally designated Asiatics of the Negev and Levant: W. Helck, *Beziehungen*. [Wiesbaden, 1971], 18), the term was gradually extended to all foreigners (R. Givon, *Les Bédouins Shôsou* [Leiden, 1972], 172 [18]), whether nomadic or sedentary (cf. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke für akademischen Gebrauch* [Leipzig, 1929], p. 82:13; and the present example). See also B. Couroyer, "Ceux-qui-sont-sur-le-sable: les Hériou-shâ," *RB* 78 (1971), 558–75.

<sup>24</sup> Probably to be identified with Qal'at el-Mudîq, the citadel of Apamea: E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 148–49; A. Alt, *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 35 and n. 7; W. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 307; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.* (Berlin, 1965), I, 45 n. 12. The marshes in question were those of El-Gab, which the citadel once overlooked, the *eden.gi*, "plain of reeds" in Eblaite: M. Astour, "History of Ebla," in C.H. Gordon, G. Rendsburg (eds), *Eblaïtica* 3 (Winona Lake, 1992), p. 9 n. 31; elephants were kept there well into Greco-Roman times: Strabo xvi.2.10; Philostratos, *Vita Appolon.* i.38.

had come to grapple with My Majesty by the hundreds of thousands and by the millions, the very best of every foreign country! Mounted on their chariots were hundreds of chiefs,<sup>25</sup> each with his own army. Lo! they were in the Qina-valley, ready at the narrow pass.<sup>26</sup> (But) good fortune was with me where they were concerned; for when My Majesty charged them, they fled at once falling over one another in their haste to enter Megiddo. My Majesty besieged them for a period of 7 months<sup>27</sup> before they emerged outside, begging My Majesty as follows: 'Give us thy breath!<sup>28</sup> our lord! The people of Retenu will never again rebel!' Then that doomed one together with the chiefs who were with him made all their children<sup>29</sup> come forth to My Majesty, bearing many gifts of gold, silver, all their horses that they had, their chariots 'viz.' chariots of gold and silver, and those which were (only) painted, all their coats of mail, their bows, their arrows and all their weapons of war. These with which they had come from afar to fight against My Majesty, they now proffered as gifts to My Majesty.

There they were, standing upon their walls, hailing My Majesty and asking that the breath of life be given them.<sup>30</sup> So My Majesty

<sup>25</sup> Not "330." The plural is intended in each case to convey a vague number (in *descending* node, as is customary in Egyptian), thus "hundreds and tens."

<sup>26</sup> The toponym *Qī-n3* refers to the valley, not the plain (as A.J. Spalinger, "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo and Reflexions on Egyptian Military Writing," *MDAĪK* 30/2 (1974), 227). The sign *n3* in group orthography does not necessarily stand for C+V, and is frequently used in nunated forms: see Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 446; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Freibourg, 1992), 379. Therefore the hypothetical vocalization could as easily be \**qayin*. The identification with *qina(h)*, "lament," (E.J. Penttuc, "West Semitic Terms in Akkadian Texts from Emar," *JNES* 58 [1999], 94–5) is not obligatory: some connection with metal-working seems equally plausible: L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament* III (Leiden, 1983), 1025–26; Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, 375.

<sup>27</sup> On the reading see S.N. Morschauer, "The End of *Sdf(3)-tr(y)t*, 'Oath,'" *JARCE* 25 (1988), 97 n. 54.

<sup>28</sup> D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (Baltimore, 1974), 136–44.

<sup>29</sup> For the possibility of an extended use of *msw* in this context, see S. Allam, "*Msw* = Kindes/Völkgruppe/Produkte/Abgaben," *SAK* 19 (1992), 5–6.

<sup>30</sup> The scene here described is one that by the 19th Dynasty has entered the repertoire of battle reliefs: The battles of a town, at the moment of surrender, are shown filled with supplicating inhabitants, raising hands in capitulation, burning incense and holding out their young children towards the advancing conqueror: O. Keel, "Kanaanäische Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs," *VT* 25 (1972),

had them take the oath<sup>31</sup> as follows: ‘We will not again act evilly against Menkheperre, living for ever! our lord, in our lifetime; since we have witnessed his power, and he has given us breath as he pleased.’

It was my father [Amun] that did it—it was indeed not (by) the arm of man!<sup>32</sup> Then My Majesty let them go back to their cities, and all of them rode off on donkeys, for I had confiscated their horses. I took their townsmen as plunder to Egypt and their goods likewise.

## 11. The King’s First Song.

It was my father that gave me this, [Amunre Lord of Karnak],  
The effective god of good fortune, whose counsels never mis-  
carry

Who sent My Majesty to seize all lands and countries together.  
I overthrew them at his command, on a road of his making,  
For he had allowed me to smite all the foreigners, and not one  
could face me!

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413–67; A.J. Spalinger, “A Canaanite Ritual found in Egyptian Military Reliefs,” *JSSSEA* 8 (1978), 47–60. Needless to say, none of the children is to be construed as sacrificial victims to the god as a last ditch attempt to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat; they are simply being offered to the Egyptians, in anticipation of the obligatory handing over of the “children of the chiefs.” On the shared semantic space of *cnh* and *balatu*, see M. Liverani, “Political Lexicon and Political Ideologies in the Amarna Letters,” *Berytus* 31 (1983), 53.

<sup>31</sup> *Sdf3 tryt: Wb.* V, 318:10–11. The rendering “negative promissory oath” (K. Baer, *JEA* 50 [1964], 179) may fit most occurrences (but cf. P. Cairo 86637 recto xxiii.1, where the context could easily indicate an affirmative), but that is simply because fealty most often involves a negative wish in the mind of him that administers the oath: loyalty means that you refrain from doing this or that. It may also extend to a notion of expiation: Merschauer, *op. cit.*, 103. That the oath is administrative rather than judicial introduces a false dichotomy into Egyptian thinking. For discussion and sources, see A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen’s Community of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1990), 202–8.

<sup>32</sup> This spiritualization of guidance and cause in terrestrial events, in contradistinction to human agency, becomes a hallmark of the nationalistic theology of Amun: cf. *KRI* V, 244:9–11, “What a fine thing it is, finer than [lots] of things, for the one who relies upon thee, the one that trusts in thee! Yea, thou hast let every land and every foreign country know that thou art the power of Pharaoh L.P.H., thy child, over every land and every foreign country, thou art the one that alone has made the land of Egypt strong, thy land, and there is no human agency (lit. hand) in it, but only thy great power!”

It was my mace that felled the Asiatics, my scepter that smote  
the Nine Bows!

I have tied up every land, Retenu is beneath my feet!

The barbarians are serfs of My Majesty, they labor for me of  
one accord,

## 12. The Taxes of South and North.

... taxed in products of labor<sup>33</sup> on a million varied things of  
the 'Horn of the Earth' (including) the plenteous gold of Wawat  
without limit or number. There, each and every year, 'Eight'-  
ships and many ordinary vessels to (be manned by) crews of  
sailors, are constructed for the Palace L.P.H., over and above  
the labor quotas of the barbarians in ivory and ebony. Lumber  
comes to me from Kush in the form of planks of *dom*-palm  
without limit (for) woodwork, and native acacia. My army which  
is there in Kush cut them in the millions [. . .] many ordinary  
vessels which My Majesty confiscated by force. Each and every  
year true cedar of Lebanon<sup>34</sup> is hewed for me in Djjahy, and  
brought to the Palace L.P.H. Lumber comes to me, to Egypt,  
brought south [. . .] true [cedar] of Negau,<sup>35</sup> the best of God's-  
land, sent off with its balast in good order,<sup>36</sup> to make the jour-  
ney to the Residence, without missing a single season each and

<sup>33</sup> See in General, M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* (Padova, 1990), 255–66; and below, p. 245.

<sup>34</sup> *R-mn-n*: J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), I, no. 294; for the orthography see Helck, *Beziehungen*, 273.

<sup>35</sup> P. Montet, "Le pays de Négau près de Byblos, et son dieu," *Syria* 4 (1923), 181–92; *idem*, *Kemi* 3 (1930), 121; R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 439–40; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Leiden, 1984), 150–51. If there was only one fortification erected by Thutmose in the coastal reach of Lebanon (see below, p. 214), the reference in Amenmose's tomb (N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose and Another* [London, 1933], pl. 36) clearly locates it in Negaw, and we may be safe in locating the region north of Byblos. While the term was clearly an Egyptian construction (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 272), it might be derived ultimately from *NGR*, "to cut wood (as a carpenter)": Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, no. 1609.

<sup>36</sup> Reading *m3cw mi šsr*, and construing the first word with the passage in Admonitions 3,11 (W. Helck, *Die "Admonitions": Pap. Leiden I 344 Recto* [Wiesbaden, 1995], p. 14). The addition of the "head"-determinative recalls the fatal eventuality described in Wenamun 2, 18. Alternatively read *m3cw tp mi šsr*, "(sent off) in the right direction, its ballast in good order . . ."

every year. My army, which constitutes the standing force<sup>37</sup> in Ullaza,<sup>38</sup> comes [to My Majesty(?) yearly with . . .] which is the cedar of My Majesty's forcible confiscation, through the counsels of my father [Amun-re] who consigned all the foreigners to me. I left none of it for the barbarians, (for) it is the wood he loves; he has enforced (it) so that they operate regularly for 'The Lord,' (even though) they be irked being in a state of peace(?) [. . .].

### 13. A Miraculous Victory.

[I will tell you another thing which happened to] My [Majesty].

Listen up, you people of the Southland who are in the Holy Mountain (popularly called 'Thrones of the Two Lands' and little known);<sup>39</sup> then you will know the Manifestation<sup>40</sup> of [Amun-re] in the presence of the Two Lands entire!

[. . .] the [. . .] had sneakily come to launch a night engagement, at the posting of the regular watch, when two hours had elapsed (in the night).<sup>41</sup> Coming of a celestial body,<sup>42</sup> moving to the south of them—an incomparable event—dashing forward straight ahead. Not one of them could stand their ground [. . . They fled, tumb]ling over headlong; for lo! there was [fire]

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> See above, pp. 64–65.

<sup>39</sup> It would appear that the words are addressed to Egyptians (*mnt*)—Thutmose is sensitive to racial differences, and would have used *sttyw* or *h3sttyw* if he had intended autochthonous foreigners—and it is a fair guess that these were resident garrison troops in Napata. The phrase *n rh.tw.f* is difficult, and could be taken as a *sdm.t.f* "before it was known", perhaps indicating that the two appellatives were successive stages in local toponymy (cf. C.J. Eyre, "Is Historical Literature 'political' or 'literary'?" in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* [Leiden, 1996], 421–22). But it could also apply to the remoteness and poor knowledge of the place.

<sup>40</sup> E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie Bj3* (Cologne, 1971), Dok. 208; I. Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle* (Wiesbaden, 1993), 20–21, 123 and *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> Presumably the watch was set at nightfall, which would mean that total darkness had closed in by the end of the second hour.

<sup>42</sup> As in the case of Akkadian *kakkābu* (cf. *The Assyrian Dictionary* VIII [Chicago, 1971], 48[2]), *sb3*, "star," is used of any celestial object; cf. *sb3 šđ*, "shooting star, meteor," *KRI* II, 151:9. The present description sounds indeed like that of a meteor falling to earth. Note that, by using *ūt*, i.e. the infinitive, Thutmose appears to be quoting from a day-book entry: cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 122–23.

behind them and flames in front of them! Not one of them screwed up his courage nor looked back. They had no horses, (for) they had bolted into [...] to let all the foreigners see My Majesty's power. So I turned back southward<sup>43</sup> with a happy heart, and celebrated my lord [Amunre Lord of Karnak], the one who ordained the victory, and set dread of me in the hearts of the barbarians [...] in my reign, when he placed fear of me among [all] the foreigners, so that they fled on me afar off—

All that the light shines upon is bound up under my sandals!

14. The King's Second Song. (Pattern: mainly 3:3, or 3:2)

I myself, My Majesty, speaks [to you. . .]

[. . .] victorious(?)

For I am very skilled in the martial art, which my precious father [Amun-re Lord of Karnak] granted me,

He has made me 'Lord of the Portions,'<sup>44</sup> I rule what the sun-disc encircles,

Mighty is [...] northerners,

My terror extends to the southern marches, nothing is beyond my compass!

He has sealed up for me the entire earth, there is no end to what accrues to me in victory!

He has placed my power in Upper Retenu, [. . .]

[. . .]

They bring me their offerings to the place where My Majesty happens to be, at all times,

The highland produces for me what is in her, every fine product, What she hid from former kings she has opened up [to My Majesty]

[. . .]

[Gold, lapis, turquoise] and every precious gem,

<sup>43</sup> *Hsi.n.i. m hnty*: the expression signals the end of the campaign and the return south. There can therefore be no question that the incident in question occurred on some *northern* campaign in Asia, and not the south.

<sup>44</sup> I.e. of Horus and Seth; the numeral "5" is a mistake derived from a misreading of the *dnit*-sign: cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Palaeographie* (Osnabruck, 1965), II, no. 584.

All plants of sweet aroma which are from Pwenet,  
 All fine products of the Southland, and everything that comes  
 forth by commerce<sup>45</sup> to My Majesty—  
 They are his, that I might stock his house, that I might recom-  
 pense him for his protection,  
 [. . .]  
 [. . .] on the battlefield,  
 I shall indeed give the presents and the wonders of all lands,  
 And the [best] of the plunder of his mighty arm, for he has  
 ordained it for me over all the foreigners!

15. Response of the Court. (Pattern unclear)

‘Then these courtiers [. . .]  
 ‘[. . . Amunre Lord] of Karnak, the great god of the First  
 Occasion,  
 The primaeval One who created your beauty, he gave you every  
 land  
 And he managed it, since they know you came forth from him!  
 He indeed it was that guided Your Majesty on roads [of his  
 making],  
 [. . ..]”

16. King’s Concluding Statement: the spontaneous compliance of  
 the conquered.

‘[. . .] My [Majesty]; I [have set] my terror in the farthest  
 marshes of Asia, there is no one that holds back my messenger!<sup>46</sup>  
 It was my army that sawed flag-staves<sup>47</sup> on the terraces of cedar,  
 on the mountains of God’s-land [. . .]

<sup>45</sup> *Swnt*: see B. Menu, “Les échanges portant sur le travail d’autrui,” in N. Grimal, B. Menu, *Le Commerce en Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1998), 197.

<sup>46</sup> M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “messagers” (Wpwyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva-Paris, 1976), 93 (36).

<sup>47</sup> It is unclear on how many occasions flag-staves were cut and brought to Egypt, and in which regnal years. The passage below (see p. 115) refers to local agency in cutting the wood; and Sen-nufi (*Urk.* IV, 534–36) mentions neither army nor locals in his account of cutting 60-cubit long shafts.

[...] for monuments of my fathers, all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. I hewed out a Processional-barque<sup>48</sup> of cedar [...] upon the shore of Lebanon in the fortress ["Menkheperre-is-Conqueror-of-the-Vagabonds" ...]<sup>49</sup>

[...] the chiefs, the lords of Lebanon, fashioned royal ships to sail south in them, to bring all the marvels [of Kh]enty-she<sup>50</sup> to the Palace, L.P.H.;

the chiefs of [...]

the chiefs of Retenu conveyed these flag-staves by means of oxen to the shore,<sup>51</sup> and they it was that came with their (own) products of labour to the place where My(sic) Majesty was, to the Residence in [Egypt. ...]

[... the ... came] bearing all sorts of fine gifts, brought as marvels of the South, taxed with products of labour each year, like any of My Majesty's serfs.'

# 17. Response of the People. (Pattern unclear)

'What the people say:<sup>52</sup> "[...]

[...] the foreigners have seen your power, your renown circulates to the Horn of the Earth, awe of you has cowed the hearts of them that attacked [you ...] people [...]

<sup>48</sup> Lit. "barque (*dpt!*) of rowings," referring to the official outings of the god, when he is rowed upon the river: *Wb.* III, 375:7-14. Presumably we are dealing with the *Wsr-h3t Imn*, which Thutmose commemorates among his benefactions to Amun (C.F. Nims, "Thutmose III's Benefactions to Amon," in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), fig. 7:5-7; see below, p. 00), which is curiously (and mistakenly?) linked to materials brought back from the First Campaign.

<sup>49</sup> See below, the 6th Pylon text: p. 00.

<sup>50</sup> Originally land associated with market-gardens and the pyramid: W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu die Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Gluckstadt, 1954), 107-8; R. Stadelmann, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 153ff; H.G. Bartel, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 17 (1990), 234-38. By the Middle Kingdom the term has been applied to the Phoenician coast: S. Farag, *RdÉ* 32 (1980), 75ff 7 + X, 18 + X; W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 32 (10).

<sup>51</sup> These stood on the south face of the 7th pylon (P-M II, 171 [501]), and the information of the accompanying inscription is consonant with the facts of the present text: "[...] erecting for him (i.e. Amun) precious flag-staves which he had cut out in Khenty-she, dragged from the mountains of God's-land by the *c3mw* of Retenu [...]" : *Urk.* IV, 777:12-13. See above, n. 35.

<sup>52</sup> *Sddt mnt*; this is not a formal response, but a generic reference to the kind of oral tradition generated by the king's acts: cf. Redford, "Scribe and Speaker," in E. Ben Zvi and M.H. Floyd, *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (Atlanta, 2000), 171-2.



[. . .] any [bar]barian that might violate your governance! It is your father [that has brought about] your [victory over every foreign land!]"

His Majesty was in his palace on the West of [Thebes . . .]."

### *Textual Analysis*

1. Date & Titulary
2. Building Inscription  
(in gratitude for the magnification of victories)\*
3. Encomium
  - general military success (ending with *phw sw*, "who had attacked him," i.e. derived from the circumstances of the First Campaign)
4. General Reminiscence of the First Campaign
5. Prowess as a battlefield warrior (ending in *Cartouche*)
- 6.–7a. Encomium (built of the titulary: Horus, bull, Montu)
  - "... who takes and none can take from him . . ."
- 7b. The 8th Campaign\*
  - "... they had no champion.," ending in a reference to trees & foliage.
- 7c. Prefabricated carts of wood to cross the river (with reference to Naharin).\*
- 7d. Gloss on crossing the river.
- 7e. Setting up stela (*wḏ*) on the mountain of Naharin.\*
- 8a. Re has ordained (*wḏ*) far-flung victories.\*
- 8b. Metaphor of the rampaging bull.\*
- 8c. Gloss on prowess in battle, with a reference to archery.
9. Elephant hunt\*
  - "... who directs My Majesty on the right road . . ."
10. First Campaign, with references to the road through the pass.\*
  - ending in "it was my father that did it . . ."
11. The King's song\*
  - beginning "It was my father that gave me this . . ."
  - references to "the road of his making . . ." and ending in *b3k.sn n.i . . .*
12. Taxes\* (*htrw m b3kw* etc.)
  - lumber from Kush and cedar from Lebanon.
13. Miraculous victory\* (link missing)
14. King's second song\* (link missing)

- vast extent of the king's dominion through Amun's agency
- the whole earth voluntarily yields its produce (with a reference to plants.
- all handed over to the coffers of Amun
- 15. Response of Court (link missing)
  - the king's debt to Amun (with reference to “the road [of his making]”)
- 16. King's concluding statement\* (link missing)
  - sawing of flag-staves, construction of barque and royal ships, transport of flag-staves.
- 17. Response of the people (link missing)
  - the cowing of the foreigners through Amun's agency.

The date falls within a span of c. 6 or 7 years within which construction work was initiated at Elkab,<sup>53</sup> Deir el-Bahari<sup>54</sup> and Heliopolis.<sup>55</sup> The initial format is that of the formal building inscription involving the formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f...*, but to this is appended a long edited sequence of the *obiter dicta* of the king. The edited sections constitute a sort of midrashic introduction and interspersed commentary,<sup>56</sup> metrically composed (usually on a pattern 3:3 or 3:2). Sections 15 and 17 preserve, respectively, the response of the court and the oral tradition expected to be generated by the king's speech.

<sup>53</sup> A. Weigall, *ASAE* 9 (1909), 108 (year 47[?], first month of *proyet*).

<sup>54</sup> J. Lipinska, *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966), 129; *idem*, *JEA* 53 (1967), 27 and n. 6 (year 43, v, 24); Sir A.H. Gardiner, J. Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 56:5 (year 43, vi, 1); A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyri zu Berlin* III, no.s. 10621, 10615 (year 43, vi, 2); W.C. Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), pl. 12:16 (recto—year 44, vii, 21); *ibid.*, pl. 12:17 (recto—year 45, viii, 15); thus two years elapsed from the start of work for the hauling of stone for the walls, and three years (*ibid.*, pl. 13:21 [recto], year 49, v, 23) to work on the roof. For statuary, see Lipinska, *Deir el-Bahari IV. The Temple of Tuthmosis III. Statuary and Votive Monuments* (Warsaw, 1984), 12–16. The building was unfinished at Thutmose III's death: A.J. Spencer, *JEA* 69 (1983), 173.

<sup>55</sup> P-M IV, 4, 61; *Urk.* IV, 1373 (year 45: donation of land); 832 (year 47: building of temenos wall); cf. also 830f (gates); W.M.F. Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915), pls. 4–5; L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (New York, 1977), 164–66 (obelisks); cf. A.-A. Saleh, *The Excavations at Heliopolis I* (Cairo, 1981), 32; A. Radwan, “Zwei Stelen aus dem 47. Jahre Thutmosis' III,” *MDÄIK* 37 (1981), 403–7.

<sup>56</sup> On the form see A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (Yale, 1982), 202–5. On its propagandistic intent, see E. Bleiberg, “Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7 (1985/6), 12.

It seems most probable, therefore, that the royal words were uttered at a formal *hmst-nsw* (royal seance) or *hcy-nsw*, "royal appearance," as was common during the 18th Dynasty for the issuance of pharaonic reports and directives.<sup>57</sup> The final preserved line appears to locate this seance somewhere at Thebes, but not necessarily on the west bank.<sup>58</sup>

The informing element which orders the sequence of material is not chronology, but topical reference or homophony. The general encomium in sections 3 through 5, ending in a cartouche, leads to an extension constructed upon titulary (6–7a). The reminiscence of the 8th campaign (7b) ends with a reference to trees and foliage, which accounts for the anachronistic placing of 7c with its reference to wooden boats and carts. Mention of the land of Naharin (7c) leads across the gloss (7d) to mount Naharin (7e); while use of the word *wḏ*, "stela," (7e) is resumed in 8a by the verb *wḏ*, "to ordain." The metaphor of the rampaging animal (bull) in 8b links up, across the gloss (8c) with the hunt of rampaging animals (elephants) in 9. Sections 9, 10 and 11 are all connected through the figure of "the road" ("the right road" [9], the valley (road) [10], and the "road of his making" [11]). Similarly "they work for . . . (*b3k.sn*) at the end of 11 is resumed by *b3kw*, "products of labor," in 12. From this point on the poor preservation of the text makes it impossible to detect linkages.

One unifying element in the document is the fixation with the plant- and arboreal world. Nine times throughout the text Thutmose in his reported speech mentions plants, wood or wood products, sometimes at great length (cf. sections 12 and 16). One wonders whether the recency of the specific constructions in wood mentioned in 16 provided the occasion for the speech. This (edited) royal address

<sup>57</sup> *Urk.* IV, 256:17 (Thutmose I: announcement); 349:10 (Hatshepsut: announcement); 1255:2 (Thutmose III: announcement); 1380:12 (Thutmose III: appointment); 1385:6 (probable: Amenophis II: appointment); 1345:9 (Amenophis II: parade); Cf. D.B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), 5–6; G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London, 1988), 17 (2).

<sup>58</sup> The location of the 18th Dynasty palace at Thebes north of the 4th pylon is now well attested: see Redford, "East Karnak and the Sed-festival of Akhenaten," in C. Berger and others (ed), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I. Études pharaoniques* (Cairo, 1994), 492. The position of the locative pericope is unusual, as most other examples locate the event immediately following the date. Needless to say, there is no reason to imagine the king delivering himself of these remarks at Gebel Barkal!

was clearly directed towards the assembled court in a palace setting (cf. 15, 17); yet in one pericope, as the text now stands, the people (colonists?) at Napata are addressed (section 13). One might, then, construe the speech as a general statement, edited for copying and distribution to specific places.<sup>59</sup>

## II. THE SEVENTH PYLON REVEALS<sup>60</sup>

### 1. Introductory Speech.

[... long lacuna ...] my [...] Amun-re-Harakhty, who appeared [... long lacuna ...] before him to the interior of [...]: the rule of the Two Lands, the thrones of Geb and the office of Khopry were announced on my behalf in the presence of my father, the perfect god, 'Okheperenre, given life for ever! while all the people [exulted. ...]<sup>61</sup>

(2) [... long lacuna ...] Regnal year 1, first month of *shomu*, day 4. There occurred the Appearance of the king's-son, Thutmose, given life for ever and ever [as king ... long lacuna ...], while every [...] <sup>62</sup> was about its duties, performing commendably withal, in what My Majesty is content to have done and in what is good for the temple.

My Majesty speaks so that I might inform you<sup>63</sup> that My Majesty's bent is towards excellence [...] (3) performing benefactions for him that begat him in [... long lacuna ...] exactly

<sup>59</sup> Cf., in this vein, the Buto text tailored for the local cult (below, p. 162); or the several Karnak seance transcripts and triumph stelae (below, p. 127ff) which center upon matters Theban. It may also be significant that, for the most part, the incidents told for the edification of the southerners took place in the *north*, far removed from the find-spot of this stela.

<sup>60</sup> *Urk.* IV, 178–191; P-M II, 169–70 [498c]; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon à Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 271; cf. Also C. Cannuyer, "Brélans de 'Pharaons' Ramses XI, Thoutmosis III et Hatshepsout," in S. Israelit Groll (ed), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim I* (Jerusalem, 1990), 105–9.

<sup>61</sup> On the circumstances of Thutmose III's accession, see below, p. 191.

<sup>62</sup> Sethe restores *smdt*, "support staff," for which see D. Valbelle, in *Mélanges Jacques Jean Clère* (Lille, 1991), 123–28; J.J. Janssen, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19 (1992), 13. It would seem, however, that some word such as *wnwt* would be more appropriate.

<sup>63</sup> This is the ubiquitous formula of an information speech: D.B. Redford, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 3 (1981), 91(F); with later variant *di.i. cm.tn*: *KRI* IV, 3:5; V, 39:6ff; 66:6ff, 83:10–11; P. Harris 75, 2.

(?) in everything [...lacuna...] My Majesty's desire is towards doing a good deed to him that fashioned my beauty. I am [indeed] the one he caused to appear as king under him himself,<sup>64</sup> so that I should do good things for him that begat me, I should act for him as a worker in the field (producing) more and more<sup>65</sup> (4) [...] who fashioned his beauty!

## 2. Response of the Court.

These courtiers [answered His Majesty: "... champion of the Lord of the Gods ... [...]] for his house in [... long lacuna ... Amun-re] king of the Gods, as a new work for the ages of eternity! [...]] May you celebrate, yes! may you keep on celebrating 'living, renewed, rejuvenated like Re every day'!"

## 3. Announcement of Construction Work.

"His Majesty authorized construction in stone, assigned (5) [... so that Karnak] might be (as glorious) as heaven, firm [upon its supports. ... King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, [living] for ever! [... long lacuna ... I constructed a ... with a ...] upon it in electrum, and the 'God's-Shadow' commensurate with a dignified portrayal.<sup>66</sup> It was named 'Menkheperre is [... of mon]uments, a favorite spot of the Lord of the Gods, a fine resting station for his ennead.<sup>67</sup> All the vessels were of silver, gold, various [precious] stones (6) [... long lacuna ...] daily [...]. Now My Majesty established a festival [...] in excess of what was [before ... long lacuna ...]."

<sup>64</sup> S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Ithaca, 1992), 96.

<sup>65</sup> The image is that of the tenant farmer, burdened with the annual harvest quota: C.J. Eyre, "Village Economy in Pharaonic Egypt," in A.K. Bowman, E. Rogan (eds), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford, 1999), 47.

<sup>66</sup> On the *šwt-ntr*, see H. Kees, *Opfertanz d. ägyptischen König* (Munich, 1912), 237; C. de Wit, *Le Role et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951), 67–8; R. Stadelmann, *MDÄIK* 25 (1969), 160; J. Assmann, *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 31.

<sup>67</sup> Sethe's reading *mn-mnw* (*Urk.* IV, 183:11) apparently does not quite fill the available space: C.F. Nims, "Places about Thebes," *JNES* 14 (1955), 113 and 122 (3). The structure is, however, quite clearly a way-station and probably on the southern axis. A restoration [*my-Imn mn*] *mnw* would seem to fit, although it would introduce a variant; for the way-station in question, see P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1979), pl. 9 (blocks 102, 128).

## 4. Reminiscence of the First Campaign.

[His Majesty journeyed to] Retenu to crush the northern foreign countries on his first victorious campaign, following the ordinance for him of Amun-re, Lord of Karnak, the one who leads him well, and grants [him t]tle(?)<sup>68</sup> to all the foreign countries—the Nine Bows bunched up beneath [his sandals. . .]

“(7) [. . . long lacuna . . .] every [. . .] of [. . .] their horses in [. . . long lacuna . . .] I made a [great] slaughter [among them. . .] his [. . .] placed in a fortress of their own construction which in turn was enclosed by a good circumvallation. My Majesty sat down by it like a ready lion, I kept watch over it night [and day. . .]

(8) [. . . long lacuna . . . wh]ile the chiefs who had come to fight against [My Majesty despatched(?) . . . the children(?)] of the chiefs [bearing. . .] Then My Majesty brought the wives of that doomed one and the children, as well as the wives of the chiefs who were [with him] and all their children. And My Majesty gave these women [and (9) the children to the work-house of my father Amun. . .] and their labour [was assigned] to the temple of Amun.<sup>69</sup> Moreover My Majesty authorized [. . . three towns to my father Amun, ‘viz.’ Nugas the name of one, Yeno’am the name of another, and Harenkar] the name of the remaining one.<sup>70</sup> Their labour was assigned to the temple of my father Amun, as a tax quota of each year. So My Majesty took these wives of the doomed one of Kadesh as plunder<sup>71</sup> (10) [. . . for] my father Amun, with a tax quota on labour in the course of ‘every’ year.

<sup>68</sup> [n]t-c, if correctly read: *Wb.* I, 156:14; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* III (1982), 159; while most frequently used of “customary procedure,” and therefore “ritual” (cf. S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten* [Wiesbaden, 1990], 117–20), nt-c was the closest approximation of Akkadian *rikiltu*, “treaty”: Redford, “The Hyksos in History and Tradition,” *Orientalia* 39 (1970), 43 n. 1; K. Zibelius, “Staatsvertrag,” *LdÄ* V (1984), 1223; Galan, *Victory and Border*, 79 n. 416.

<sup>69</sup> See in general, E. Feucht, “Kinder fremden Völker in Ägypten,” in A. Eggebrecht (ed), *Festschrift für Jürgen von Beckerath* (Hildesheim, 1990), 24–49; continued in *SAK* 17 (1990), 177–204.

<sup>70</sup> See above, p. 38ff.

<sup>71</sup> For discussion, see below, p. 125.

## 5. Reminiscence of the Second(?) Campaign.

Now when [My Majesty journeyed to Retenu<sup>72</sup> on my . . . victorious campaign . . .]<sup>73</sup> of Egypt, extending her boundary for ever, then My Majesty set this crew to (the task of) overlaying the ‘Monstrance-of-[his]-beauty,’ even the great riverine barque *Wsr-ḥ3t-Imn*, hewed [of fresh cedar . . . (11) . . .]

Now My Majesty performed a feat of strength with my own arm, in the midst of [ . . . ] my [ . . . ]. I came forth on the earth, ready for it and stout-hearted.<sup>74</sup> Then they [fled headlong] from before [my] Majesty, and their towns were plundered.

(12) [ . . . four groups . . . ] of *Bakhu*.<sup>75</sup> There was none (left) standing within the scope [of My Majesty. I seized . . . long lacuna . . . ] and *mrrw*-wood,<sup>76</sup> namely all the products of northern foreign lands, when My Majesty returned from this foreign land. I thereupon authorized the establishment of new [festivals] for my father [Amun . . . ]

(13) [ . . . long lacuna . . . ] in these festivals over and above what they had been formerly, on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of My Majesty. Moreover [I . . . ]

(14) [ . . . lacuna . . . ] I<sup>77</sup> made he[rds] for him [ . . . the festivals of ] heaven at the beginning of the seasons, and milch-kine according to the offering menu. They were milked, and their milk placed in container[s of electrum. . . .]<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Or “came back from . . .”?

<sup>73</sup> It is by no means clear that a second campaign is being alluded to in this passage. On the other hand, the final phrases of the preceding passage suggest finality and termination to the account of the first campaign; while the present pericope, with its mention of battles, tasks assigned the conquered, booty, tribute and festivals, sounds very much like another military expedition. It might be noted that *mrrw*-wood (12) is elsewhere mentioned as forcible seizures in the campaigns of years 23 and 24: *Urk.* IV, 672:3; (that of year 40 is among the gifts: *Urk.* IV, 670:11).

<sup>74</sup> The first person determinatives in this passage are Gardiner G7, as though the original was derived from hieratic.

<sup>75</sup> Probably designating the (mountains of) the East: D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie,” *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 80 n. 1; thus the eastern limits of the campaign?

<sup>76</sup> Probably cypress or a type of cedar: A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed; London, 1989), 432–34; R. Gale and others, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies* (Cambridge, 2000), 349–51; used for furniture (*Urk.* IV, 1149:9), shrines (Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 71:5), and doors (B. Letellier, “Le cour à peristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak,” *Hommages Sauneron* [Cairo, 1979], 56). It is found among the “booty”-lists in years 23, 24 and 40: *Urk.* IV, 664:7, 672:3, 670:11.

<sup>77</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 743; 1261:16–1262:2. These may be mentioned in Thutmose’s

## 6. Incidents during the 8th Campaign.

(15) [. . . His Majesty was in the dist]rict of Qatna<sup>79</sup> on the 8th victorious campaign, close to the bank(?) [. . . long lacuna . . . but none] therein [exceeded the limits] of his strength. Then [. . .] I [se]lected<sup>80</sup> [. . . the stron]gest of (those of) his fathers (but there was no (16) [. . . lacuna . . .] in order to make strong bows, and the one that would be found<sup>81</sup> strongest among them . . . [. . . lacuna . . .] My [Majesty] (but) none exceeded [the limits of] the strength of any of my [army . . .].

(17) Thereupon [. . .] was made [. . . lacuna . . .] for [My] Majesty (but) none therein [exc]eeded the limits of my strength. Look! [. . . Then they brought . . .] to My Majesty [. . .] his [. . .], a mistress of strength [as at] the First Occasion [. . .]

(18) [. . . long lacuna . . .] the likes of her [had never been seen] in this land, [. . .] every [. . .] its length (measuring) 2 cubits, a palm and five fingers, with various fine costly gems, [its] width [. . .]

(19) [. . . long lacuna . . .] her arrow (measuring) 1 cubit, 1 palm and 5 fingers [. . .] in a target(?) [. . .] set(?) to be a memorial in [. . .]

(20) [. . . Then] My Majesty's heart was exceedingly glad [. . .] first [. . . long lacuna . . .] (21) 'Son of Bast, champion of Egypt' was [its na]me [. . . given] all [life, stability, dominion] and health like Re [for ever]!"

While the text is certainly based on the records of a *hmst-nsw*, too little is preserved to establish editorial arrangement. Presumably a

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inscription on the barque shrine recording gilded furniture and vessels: P-M II, 95 (275), and 98-99; but there they are listed as 5 *mhr* of gold.

<sup>79</sup> Mishrife, 18 km. north-east of Homs: Comte Du Mesnil de Buisson, *Le Site archéologique de Mishrife-Qatna*, Paris, 1935; at 100 hectares the largest site in Syria (M.C. Astour, *JAOS* 88 [1968], 136), but during the Late Bronze a mere shadow of its political power in the Middle Bronze Age: H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. 2. Mittel und Südsyrien* (1965), 132-33. Given his position 5 generations before the Amarna Age, Naplimma may well have been king of Qatna at the time Thutmose arrived: J. Bottéro, "Les inventaires de Qatna," *RA* 43 (1949), 150 (131), 158 (199), 178 (49).

<sup>80</sup> Read [s]tp.n.i.

<sup>81</sup> Passive *sḏm.fy.fy* form: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, sec. 363 exx. at 5a (rather more common than is there noted: cf. the Saqqara Letter, col. 6; Merikare 79; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I (Rome, 1955), sec. 682.



date headed the whole. The statements which follow have to do with appointment and legitimacy, with reference to the gods and the royal progenitor, and the king's intent to act upon his gratitude. Then, somewhat prematurely we might imagine, the court responds.

It is section 3, the announcement of construction work, that provides the explanation for the contents of the text. The planned construction of the Way-station (sec. 3) leads to an explanation of its endowment from the proceeds of foreign conquest (First and 2nd[?] campaigns: sec. 4), as well as a record of the construction of the barque to be transported along this southern processional way (sec. 5). This in turn leads to the recounting of an incident on the 8th campaign at Qatna, a source spot for cypress (*mrw?*),<sup>82</sup> involving bow manufacture.

In spite of the reservations of Nims,<sup>83</sup> it is most tempting to identify the building mentioned in section 3 with the peripteral shrine-station south-east of the 7th pylon<sup>84</sup> (on the gate of which is inscribed the present text). The name of the gate of this shrine<sup>85</sup> can be restored to accomodate the reference in the present text, viz. "Menkheperre-and-Amun-are-Enduring-of-Monuments" (*Mn-hpr-rc Imn mn mnw*). Since the shrine was built about the time of the second jubilee (year 33–34),<sup>86</sup> we arrive at a firm date early in the 4th decade of the reign for the constructions along the southern processional way: the 7th pylon and court, the peripteral shrine and the two obelisks.<sup>87</sup> The latter, of which one stands in Constantinople, the other lies in fragments *in situ*, contains the epithet of Amun "who grants title (*nt-c*) in the lands of Mitanni, more numerous than sand";<sup>88</sup> and therefore

<sup>82</sup> G. Dossin, *Les archives royales de Mari* I, 7:5.

<sup>83</sup> Above, n. 55.

<sup>84</sup> P-M II, 173–74.

<sup>85</sup> Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 266.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 595:11 "first occasion of the repetition of the *sed*-festival—may he celebrate many more!"

<sup>87</sup> L. Gabolde, "La cour de fêtes de Thoutmosis II," *Karnak* IX (1993), 62–63. The obelisks were said to have been erected "at the double door of the temple," which must refer to pylon 7 (*Urk.* IV, 642:11, 17). The orientation will have set the side with the 5-fold titulary, towards the south, with the side with references to Delta deities (Neith, Atum) appropriately enough facing north. But with this orientation, the northern and southern allusions of the texts on the other two sides would lose their directional significance.

<sup>88</sup> *Urk.* IV, 589; Barguet, *Temple*, 270; L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (New York, 1977), 147.

their erection and inscription must postdate year 33. The flag-staves for the 7th Pylon are referred to in the slot-inscriptions on the pylon itself: "awesome flag-staves which he selected in *Khenty-she*, dragged from the mountains of [God's]-land [by] the Asiatics (*c3mw*) of Retenu."<sup>89</sup> The locution recalls the wording of Gebel Barkal, sec. 16 (where oxen do the dragging). The 7th pylon flag-staves are again mentioned on a fragment originally to the south wall (north face?) of room VI at Karnak, and now built into the Sety II construction.<sup>90</sup> "[My Majesty] erected for him (Amun) great flag-staves, dragged from the mountains(?) of Lebanon, for the [great] pylon . . ." It may be that it was Menkheperasonb, the high-priest, who was responsible for the work on the shrine, obelisks and flag-staves on this occasion<sup>91</sup> along with Sen-nufer who procured the timber from Lebanon.<sup>92</sup> Significantly, in the annals the sole record of "poles (*wḥ3w*) and staves (*s3wt*)" being specifically shipped to Egypt by boat is on the 9th campaign, in year 34.<sup>93</sup>

The notice regarding the captivity of the wives of the king of Kadesh and the wives of other Syrian leaders invites an attempt at identification. On no other campaign is it recorded that so many high-ranking women were targeted for capture and deportation.<sup>94</sup> One wonders whether the buried princesses discovered by Winlock,<sup>95</sup> all of whom bear West-Semitic names, constituted part of this captivity. The names are singular in that they all show a *mem* in initial position which seems beyond coincidence, and suggests, rather than a component of the radical, a preformative *mem*, possibly a participial formation.

<sup>89</sup> *Urk.* IV, 777:12–13.

<sup>90</sup> *Urk.* IV, 737–38; presumably once part of the text continued on the south massif of the 6th pylon (below, IV). The same text mentions a granite shrine.

<sup>91</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose and Another* (London, 1933), pl. XI. He uses the locution *m3.n.i*, "I witnessed . . ." which probably implies oversight.

<sup>92</sup> See below, p. 00.

<sup>93</sup> *Urk.* IV, 707:13, and above p. 79.

<sup>94</sup> Only in year 40 is a foreign princess mentioned as having been brought to Egypt; but the circumstances resemble a diplomatic marriage: see above, p. 00.

<sup>95</sup> H.E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*, New York, 1948; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1959) II, 130–40; cf. C. Lilquist, "Granulation and Glass: Chronological and Stylistic Investigations at Selected Sites, ca. 2500–1400 B.C.E.," *BASOR* 290–91 (1993), 29–94.

1. *Mnh(t)*: Schneider<sup>96</sup> rightly rejects Helck's derivation from NWH, and opts for a comparison with Pre-Islamic Arab. *manhaa*, "wise."<sup>97</sup> But a superior derivation, from West Semitic, is to be found in NHH, "to lament."<sup>98</sup>

2. *Mr(w)-ta*: One thinks initially, perhaps, of a feminine passive participle (G) from the root MRR, "to be bitter, strong,"<sup>99</sup> or MRH, "to be unruly."<sup>100</sup> But, while the emphatic *-ta* can render a feminine inflection,<sup>101</sup> it can also frequently stand for West Semitic *d*.<sup>102</sup> One thinks of *maruda*, "homeless," from RWD, "to wander."<sup>103</sup>

3. *Menawa*: Schneider<sup>104</sup> derives from MNH, "to take note of, love, count," thus "thing desired." But, in view of the likelihood that all three names show *mem*-preformative, to postulate a participial form from NW3, "to hinder, frustrate, fall down."<sup>105</sup>

It is by no means clear that another campaign is being alluded to in the first pericope of section 5. The text might be restored to read "Now when [my majesty returned home in victory, having overthrown the enemies] of Egypt etc." The construction of the sacred barque would then have taken place upon the First Campaign (satisfying the implication of the Nims text, for which see below), and its gilding upon the return.

If, then, a rough chronological sequence is being followed, the second pericope of section 5 (lines 11–14) may be placed between campaigns one and 8. It appears to record a feat of strength by the

<sup>96</sup> T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Freiburg, 1992), 127.

<sup>97</sup> G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 570.

<sup>98</sup> L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden, 1974), III, 638.

<sup>99</sup> C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome, 1965), no. 1556; H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), 233.

<sup>100</sup> Koehler-Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, II, 598.

<sup>101</sup> J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 511.

<sup>102</sup> Hoch, *ibid.*, nos. 528, 533 (*dala[h]*, "door"); no. 535 (*daha[h]*), no. 224 (*migdol*).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Koehler-Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, II, 598; A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* (Leiden, 1990), 395; cf. Thamudic MRWD: F.V. Winnett, W.L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (Toronto, 1970), 85, no. 4. For "wandering" as a *gestus* for lamentation and depression, see M.L. Barre, "Wandering about" as a *Topos* of Depression in Ancient Near Eastern Literature and the Bible," *JNES* 60 (2001), 177–87.

<sup>104</sup> *Op. cit.*, 125.

<sup>105</sup> Koehler-Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, III, 640; Murtonen, *op. cit.*, 275; cf. also NWH, "to wander, migrate": Huffmon, *op. cit.*, 237.

king on the battlefield, a rout of the enemy, the capture of towns and the seizure of booty (including plants, timber and milch-cows). Now of the six campaigns between one and 8, only three (nos. 5 through 7) appear in the annals; and none of these reflect a set-piece battle, as does the present pericope. In light of the presence of *mrw*-wood in the booty of the 2nd campaign (above, n. 63), it is tempting to construe the present text as a reference to Thutmose III's initial "break-out" after the Megiddo victory, into the lands further north.

The final section (6) refers to a bow-testing foray of the king on his 8th campaign, in the workshops of Qatna. The weapons for testing included ancestral relics as well as newly-made items. The rhetorical trope fastens upon the inability of the locals to provide bows beyond human capability to draw. First the natives, then the Egyptian troops, then Thutmose III himself find the artisans' products inferior. Finally, under circumstances the lacunae render difficult to fathom, a superior weapon is produced and suitably named.<sup>106</sup>

### III. FESTIVAL HALL DECREE<sup>107</sup>

#### 1. *Announcement of Building Plans and Endowments*

"(1) Year following 23,<sup>108</sup> first month of *shomu*, day 2. A royal seance took place in the audi[ence hall<sup>109</sup> on] the west, in the Palace<sup>110</sup> [of . . . 2/3 col. . . ]

<sup>106</sup> See W. Decker, *Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Aegypten* (St. Augustin, 1975), *idem*, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1992), 34–41.

<sup>107</sup> Sir A.H. Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun," *JEA* 38 (1952), 6–23, pls. II–IX; *Urk.* IV, 1252–62; S. el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Liverpool, 2000), 22–31. (Text retrograde, proceeding from king facing right in double crown. Interestingly, in the Berlin Leather Roll i, 2, Senwosret I is also said to appear at a seance in the *d3dw* wearing the double crown).

<sup>108</sup> This archaizing formula, reminiscent of Old Kingdom methods of dating (cf. Sir A.H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and the Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31 [1945], 16) was perhaps occasioned by an attempt to emulate a formula of Senwosret I on a block once standing in the south wall of the southern Hatshepsut block: *[mpt] m-ht [mpt] 9* (own copy: cf. *SSEA Newsletter* 3 (1973), 2f, fig. 1:1). The scene in question (a royal audience) was recarved by Thutmose III perhaps to compensate for a Middle Kingdom scene removed in renovations (L. Habachi, "Devotion of Tuthmosis III to his Predecessors: a propos of a Meeting of Sesostri I with his Courtiers," in *Mélanges Mokhtar* I [Cairo, 1985], 349–59). The scene is now flanked by the "Texte de la Jeunesse."

<sup>109</sup> On *d3dw* see W. Helck, *MIOF* II (1954), 204–5; H. Goedicke, *Königliche*

(2) Resting<sup>111</sup> in the gate<sup>112</sup> which is at the northern gate of the temple, while purifying [...] with divine purification [...]. Then were introduced the courtiers. . . . and they were at once on their bellies in his presence. Then His Majesty said to them: ‘behold! It is my intent]

(3) to refurbish this temple of [my] father [Amun], lord of Karnak, after my majesty found ruination<sup>113</sup> therein—a bad business(?) [... 2/3 col. . . .]

(4) a public appearance<sup>114</sup> therein, on the great seat with libation and incense [as at] the 54 seasonal [feasts]. Now that’s [... 2/3 col. . . .]

(5) with long-horns, short-horns, bulls, fowl in[n]ce[n]se and] all good [things] on

behalf of the life, prosperity and health of [My Majesty . . . 2/3 col. . . .]

(6) an enormous gift! ‘I have filled his house [... 3/4 col. . . .]

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*Dokumente aus den Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 70–1; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 131.

<sup>110</sup> Usually taken to be the palace on the West Bank, i.e. one supposes the royal rest-house associated with the mortuary temple: W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 5; R. Stadelmann, “Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den thebanischen Totentempeln,” *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 221–42; P. Lacovara, *The New Kingdom Royal City* (London, 1997), 33–41. But this cannot be squared with the reference to the “northern lake” (col. 2)—surely Karnak is meant—nor with the phrase “in the palace,” which implies that *imy-wrt* applies only to *d3dw*, i.e. it is the *western* hall of the palace. One is forced to the conclusion that the palace in question is the one at *Karnak*, north of the 4th pylon: M. Gitton, “Le palais de Karnak,” *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 63–73; D.B. Redford, “East Karnak and the Sed-festival of Akhenaten,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I* (Cairo, 1994), 491–92. This would explain the king’s allusion to “this temple” in col. 3.

<sup>111</sup> It is unclear whether the subject of this infinitive is the king or something else. If the former, is this an amplification of the locative indicators of the preceding column?

<sup>112</sup> *Rwyf*: see G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (London, 1988), 65–66 and the literature cited there. This was the spot where administrative and judicial decisions were taken and announced: E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Fribourg, 1916), 28:220, 227; 41:442; Anast. I.15.1.

<sup>113</sup> *Spw*, “fragments,” resulting from ruin or destruction: Merikare, 70; Edwin Smith 153.

<sup>114</sup> I.e. the festival celebrated on ix.1: see A. Grimm, *Die altaegyptische Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römische Epoche* (Wiesbaden, 1994), L59, p. 317.

2. *The First Campaign*

(7) between the mountains of Djahy<sup>115</sup> [. . . 4/5 col. . . . Then said]

(8) these courtiers who were in My Majesty's suite: "[six groups] upon the road

[. . . 2/3 col. . . .]

(9) we have come to this foreign land, but the [chief, lo]ok! he has gone into hiding!"<sup>116</sup> Thereupon [. . . 2/3 col. . . .]

(10) very much concerning it. My Majesty said to them: "[As surely as] Re [lives for] me, as surely as my father [Amun] favors me [. . . .]" Then My Majesty appeared upon]

(11) the chariot, having taken my [weapons], and resting upon [. . . 2/3 col. . . .]

(12) in battle array. The gr[ound] fully reflected my [dazzling] sheen! They [fled . . . 2/3 col. . . .]

(13) the remainder of them in my hand [. . . 4/5 col. . . .]

(14) a circumvallation, consisting of a thick wall,<sup>117</sup> given the name [. . . 3/4 col. . . .]

(15) they could not snuff the breath of life and exhaustion overcame them in [. . . 3/4 col. . . . after]

(16) a long time. They said: 'How great is your power, O our lord and sovereign! [. . . 3/5 col. . . .]

(17) therein. Then all foreign lands of the remotest north came doing obeissance [to the power of My Majesty, to] request [the breath of life], to the effect that [. . .] destroyed [. . . Then]

(18) My Majesty relented towards them,<sup>118</sup> after I had heard the many instances of supplication [. . .] when [. . .] entered [. . . 3/5 col. . . .]

(19) 'We shall consign to him all the products of our labor, like any of His Majesty's dependents!' Then [. . . 3/5 col. . . .]

(20) who had intended to bring destruction upon Egypt.

<sup>115</sup> Clearly a reference to the Megiddo pass.

<sup>116</sup> *H3p*: *Wb.* III, 30–31; a judgement seemingly at variance with the facts.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 184:16 (*šnw hr.s m sbty mnḥ*).

<sup>118</sup> *Phr n.sn*: cf. the usage reviewed in R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 93.

3. *Inauguration of Festivals*

My Majesty has [au]thorized the inauguration of a festival [... 3/4 col. ...]

(21) My Majesty has authorized the permission of [... Amun-re, lord of Kar]nak ... [... 3/4 col. ...]

(22) cattle, fowl, incense, oryxes, gazelles, ibexes, wine, beer and all good things on [behalf of the life, prosperity and health of My Majesty ... 2/3 col. ...]

(23) provision of clothing<sup>119</sup> and the presentation of oil<sup>120</sup> throughout his estate, as is done at the New Year's festival; and the permission that raiment<sup>121</sup> be issued [... 2/3 col. ...]

(24) My Majesty has authorized the inaugural establishment of an endowment for 'my' father Amun in Karnak, consisting of bread [... 2/3 col. ...] from(?) the loaves

(25) of the daily offering menu, more than what it used to be, when [My Majesty] came back from the land of Retenu on [the first victorious campaign ... 2/3 col. ...]

(26) regnal year [x] + 4,<sup>122</sup> second month of *akhet*, day 26, consisting of various breads, 1000; beer, 30 jugs; vegetables [... 2/3 col. ...]

(27) wine, 3 jars; fattened geese, 4; [... ] *šcyt*-loaves, 10 [+ x ... 3/4 col. ...]

(28) festivals of the beginning of the seasons.

Item:<sup>123</sup> on [... My Majesty authorized the inauguration of an endowment. ...]

(29) all sorts of fine vegetables, to consign [...] in the course of every day [... 2/3 col. ...]

(30) field-hands<sup>124</sup> to provide grain for this [endowment]. Now My Majesty has authorized [... 2/3 col. ... Now]

<sup>119</sup> Grimm, *Die altaegyptische Festkalender*, 318–19.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 319 (III.2.2.5).

<sup>121</sup> *Sfhw.* cf. *Urk.* IV, 112:14 (where the context makes it clear that clothing of some sort is intended); cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, 317 (III.2.2.2).

<sup>122</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>123</sup> *Hprt*, lit. "that which happened," see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 166. Here apparently used for itemized events within a single year.

<sup>124</sup> For the status of these field-hands, see S.L. Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period* (London, 1989), 11, 17 and *passim*; B. Menu, *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancien Égypte* (Cairo, 1998), 196–97; S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des 'Häuses des Amun' in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000), 61–66 and the literature there cited.

(31) My Majesty has authorized to have made [for him a statue in the form of a 'Receiver]-for-Life,<sup>125</sup> commensurate with My Majesty's beauty, for the riverine processional [... 2/3 col. ...]

(32) this statue, in the processional of the lake [... Now] My Majesty has [authorized] that the prophets and priests of the porter-group<sup>126</sup> be shod [... 2/3 col. ...]

(33) this Tabernacle<sup>127</sup> [... ] which My Majesty [made] for him anew.

#### 4. *A Further Military Exploit*

Item:<sup>128</sup> on the first of *proyet* [day ... His Majesty was in Retenu. ...]

(34) the lands of the *Fenkhu*,<sup>129</sup> after [... at the] approach<sup>130</sup> of [My] Majesty. It was the power [of] the majesty of this noble god that overthrew them in the moment of his strength, while [... 2/3 col. ...]

(35) with their chattels, [their] cattle and all their property. Tally thereof: children of the [chiefs], 20 [+ x; Asiatics (males) ...]; females, 500 [+ x ... 2/3 col. ...]

(36) oil, incense and [... ] by the hundreds and thousands. Then [... 3/4 col. ... I left none of it]

(37) to anyone (else). [Their] labor is directed [to the te]mple of Amun in Karnak. Now [My Majesty has] authorized [... 2/3 col. ...]

(38) an endowment before my father [Amun-re, lord of Karnak] at all his festivals. [Now My Majesty] has [auth]orized [... 2/3 col. ...]

<sup>125</sup> See *KRI* II, 596:12; H.G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca 3. Inscriptions on Old Kingdom Statues," *JARCE* 2 (1963), 24-26; *idem*, "Some Iconographic and Literary Comparisons," in *Fragen an die altägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 157 n. 9.

<sup>126</sup> *F3yt: Wb.* I, 574:8.

<sup>127</sup> See A.H. Gardiner, *Papyrus Wilbour. Commentary* (Oxford, 1948), II, 16-17.

<sup>128</sup> See above, n. 106.

<sup>129</sup> Long identified with the Phoenician coast: R. Eisler, *ZDMG* NF 5 (1926), 154-56; mentioned in contexts of hostility from as early as the Old Kingdom: J. Leclant, "Une nouvelle mention des *Fnhw* dans les textes des pyramides," *SÄK* 11 (1984), fig. 1; Cf. PT (Aba) 537 (= Faulkner 308); CT III, 394f-g, 458; W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 71, n. 41 (literature). There can be little doubt that the term has general application to the coast north of Carmel: cf. its use with reference to the coastal possessions of the Ptolemies: *Edfu* III, 241; *Urk.* II, 78:4; cf. also *Edfu* I, 30, 85, 132, 144, 234, 288; III, 141; VII, 165; *Dendera* II, 200; IV, 66; VI, 54.

<sup>130</sup> Construe *m-hsfw*, i.e. the moving against each other of hostile forces.



(39) a great gift of a foreign land! [... 4/5 col. . . .]

(40) [... ] 53 [*dbn*], 6 *kdt*; fifth-quality(?)<sup>131</sup> gold, new *dbn* [... 3/4 col. . . .]

(41) it in [... ] this(?) weight [... ] in silver: new *dbn* 595; 5th quality(?) [silver, new *dbn* x +] 63. Total [... 3/4 col. . . .]

(42) it [... ] this(?) weight [... ] of red jasper,<sup>132</sup> new *dbn* 596. Total [... 3/4 col. . . .]

(43) exacted from the best [of every foreign land] in the course of every day, as the labor of [... 3/4 col. . . .]

### 5. Construction of the Akh-menu

[. . . .]

(44) the earth had slipped away and begun [to undermine] the walls grievously.<sup>133</sup> Behold! My Majesty will make [... 3/4 col. . . . Egypt]

(45) in order to turn the countries into her dependencies. It is the [heavenly] horizon of Egypt, the Heliopolis of Upper and Lower Egypt. [To it]<sup>134</sup> come [the foreign peoples [... 2/3 col. . . .]

(46) the bird-pools<sup>135</sup> with fowl, [ in order to] provision their noble shrines, when he<sup>136</sup> had extended their frontiers<sup>137</sup> [... 2/3 col. . . .]

(47) their gifts upon their backs [... ] through the might of my father [Amun], who ordains valor and victory for me, who granted [... 2/3 col. . . . to be]

(48) Ruler of the Black Land and the Red Land, to beatify their [... ], after he assigned me his inheritance and his throne, in order to seek out [beneficent acts . . . 2/3 col. . . .] Thereupon the courtiers said: “. . . .]

<sup>131</sup> Cf. J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 36; S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptiennes* (Cairo, 1991), 394 n. 37.

<sup>132</sup> *Hnmt*: Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral*, 553–54. The main source is in Nubia and the Sudan: P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies* (Cambridge, 2000), 29–30.

<sup>133</sup> See below for discussion.

<sup>134</sup> Read *n.s.*

<sup>135</sup> *Kbhw* at the first cataract: F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Aegyptens während das mittleren Reiches I* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 12–13.

<sup>136</sup> Amun(?)

<sup>137</sup> Galan, *Victory and Border*, 57.

(49) to you, the doing of what he has granted, surpassing what [the anc]estors [did], in order that your majesty might act for him, and find a deed of excellence [... 2/3 col. ...] ... the name of which is to be]

(50) 'Menkheperre-is-effective-of Monuments-in-the-House-of-Amun,'<sup>138</sup> a temple [...] of fine white Tura limestone<sup>139</sup> [... 2/3 col. ...]

(51) doors of cedar, worked in [...] of electrum and of [silver], gold, lapis<sup>140</sup> and turquoise [... 2/3 col. ...]

(52) of silver together with gold ... [...] Now see! My Majesty has had every hieroglyphic text published [on ... 2/3 col. ...]

(53) in order to fix the instruction[s for ever!]

Now My Majesty has authorized the inaugural establishment of an endowment for [my] father [Amun-re ...] in order to do [... 1/2 col. ...]

(54) [...] morning an evening in the temple of millions 'of years' which My Majesty has made in [the House of Amun].

Now [My Majesty] has authorized [... 1/2 col. ...]

(55) anew for [my] father [Amun. ...] to do that which is commendable in the course of every day in this great temple of millions of [years,<sup>141</sup> which] My [Majesty has made ... 1/2 col ... milch-kine]<sup>142</sup>

(56) of Retenu to make [herds<sup>143</sup> for the house of] my father [Amun]. They were [milked] and their milk placed in container[s of electrum ... 2/3 col. ... in the house]

(57) of Amun in [...] Now My Majesty has authorized that the king's eldest son [Amen]emhet be appointed as overseer of cattle for these [herds ...]

<sup>138</sup> G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Cairo, 1970), 7–17; *idem*, "New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples' and 'Mansions of Millions of Years,'" in B. Shafer (ed), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1998), 96–99.

<sup>139</sup> Perhaps it was the king's initial intent to use this stone, but in the event sandstone was employed: see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 71.

<sup>140</sup> Found principally in Badakhshan: A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1989), 399. A gift of lapis from Assyria had been received in year 24: *Urk.* IV, 671:9, and above p. 122.

<sup>141</sup> Probably Akh-menu is intended: Haeny *apud* Shafer, *Temples*, 96.

<sup>142</sup> Read *mncwt*: see *Urk.* IV, 188:10, above p. 122.

<sup>143</sup> Read *irywt*: cf. *Urk.* IV, 188:6 and above, p. 122.

*Commentary*

There are several indications that the present text, though scarcely inscribed before the erection of the Festival Hall (*Akh-menu*), was written up no later than the middle of the third decade of the reign. These may be listed as follows: 1. Reference to an otherwise unknown crown-prince (57) who apparently did not survive; 2. Reference (sec. 2 and 4) to only two campaigns, the second of which cannot be identified with any from no. 6 on (see above); 3. no allusion of any kind to the 8th campaign; 4. Fixation solely on the construction, decoration, endowment and staffing of the *Akh-menu*, which was completed well before the close of the third decade of the reign, in anticipation of the first *sed*-festival.<sup>144</sup>

The text was composed on the basis of a seance given by the king during the festivities surrounding the anniversary of his accession, just two days prior to the start of his 24th year.<sup>145</sup> The speech delivered on this occasion encompasses (a) a general statement of intent to refurbish the temple (col. 3–6), (b) an account of the first campaign (col. 7–20), (c) the inauguration of festivals and endowments (col. 20–25). Part (b) is clearly inserted to explain the king's gratitude to Amun, and the source of the goods listed in (c).

At this point, and apparently without an editorial indicator, the text of the original speech is expanded by the addition of later declarations.<sup>146</sup> In col. 26 comes a date, only partly preserved, but accepted by Gardiner as year 7.<sup>147</sup> This is very doubtful. Year 7 is signalized in the record by the commencement of work on Senmut's tomb,<sup>148</sup> and the Deir el-Bahari causeway.<sup>149</sup> In year 7 Thutmose III must still have been very young, plans to build *Akh-menu* still unthought of, and official endowments proclaimed in the name of Hatshepsut.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. "First Occasion of the *sed*-festival—may he celebrate many more!" *Urk.* IV, 594; Barguet, *Temple*, 171; "first year(sic) of the *sed*-festival": *ibid.*, 173; E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Geneva, 1974), 31–32.

<sup>145</sup> The Festival Hall decree announces the plan to build *Akh-menu*, but the ground-breaking ceremony was not undertaken until vi,30 of the 24th year (*Urk.* IV, 836:7). The date in the decree text, therefore, must refer to the outgoing year 23: G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des neuen Reichs* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 90 n. 44.

<sup>146</sup> It is conceivable, of course, that the entire inscription was drafted later, say in year 25 or 26, with the original transcript of the seance as the core.

<sup>147</sup> *JEA* 38, 12 n. 5.

<sup>148</sup> W.C. Hayes, *Ostraca and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (No. 71) at Thebes* (New York, 1942), pl. 13:62; *idem*, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 79 and fig. 1:D, E; pl. 10:3–4.

<sup>149</sup> Hayes, *MDAIK* 15, fig. 1:A.

It seems more likely that, as in the case of other regnal year-dates and calendrical notations in the annals, stone-cutters have failed to distinguish digits from *tens*, and that the original in the present case was intended to be read "24". If that is the case, the *hprt*-notices in col. 28 and 33 follow *within* the regnal year given in col. 26, as entries "of the xth instant" as it were. The additions to the speech thus record the following actions and events. 1. On ii, 26 of year 24, approximately six months after the speech, the king authorized an endowment for some regular offering. 2. On an unspecified day, still in the 24th year, field-hands (POWs?) were assigned to provide for the endowment, and a royal statue and tabernacle authorized to be made. 3. Sometime in month v of the same year, a disturbance among the *Fnhw* was quelled.

As the text is now composed sec. 5, the announcement of the plan to build *Akh-menu*, its endowment and the regulations for the priests (not translated) would be part of the addition to the original transcript of the year 23–24 seance. The *Akh-menu* clearly loomed large in the king's estimation of his construction works at Thebes, the black granite stela from room VI in the Karnak temple being wholly devoted to the story of its construction.<sup>150</sup> Though considerably later in date than the Festival Hall text,<sup>151</sup> the black granite stela agrees with it in essentials, and provides a date for the inception of the work.<sup>152</sup> "(3) . . . for the [Inunda]tion viz. of the Nun at

<sup>150</sup> Cairo 34012: P-M II(2), 94; on the *Akh-menu* and its appurtenances, see P. Martinez, "Reflexions sur la politique architecturale et religieuses des premiers Lagides," *BSEG* 13 (1989), 107–16; H. Ernst, "Ein Weihgeschenk Thutmosis' III an Amun-re. Der Sonnenaltar im Re-Heiligtum im Achmenu zu Karnak," *ZAŚ* 128 (2001), 1–6.

<sup>151</sup> Indicators of date are: the comprehensive nature of the reconstruction program envisaged, including not only the area of the central Karnak shrine, but also work across the river (*Urk.* IV, 834:2–4); the recourse to protestations of accuracy (cf. *Urk.* IV 835:11–14) a characteristic of inscriptions later in the reign, his denials of encroachment (*Urk.* 835:10), and his harking back to an unlikely "wonder" at the ground-breaking ceremony: *Urk.* IV, 837. See J. von Beckerath, "Ein Wunder des Amun bei der Tempelgründung in Karnak," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 41–49.

<sup>152</sup> For discussion and references, See P. der Manuellian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 7–10. The whole point of the passage in *Urk.* IV, 835–36 is that while the king was awaiting the arrival of *psdntwy*, whenever that would have fallen, Amun stole a march on everybody on the occurrence of his 10th feast (which was the last day of the 6th month, either 29th or 30th) to stretch the cord himself. Read this way, the passage has little bearing on absolute chronology: E.F. Wente, "Thutmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975), 266–67.

his coming [had] be[aten] against the temple,<sup>153</sup> (so) I built it for him with a loving heart, and I made him content with what I did. The first occasion of temple- (4) planning was to the east of this temple-town. For lo! My Majesty found the enclosure of mud-brick, with earth mounding up to conceal [its] wall. [So My Majesty had] the earth removed from it to extend this temple: I purified it and removed its dirt, and took away the rubble which had encroached (5) [on] the town area. I leveled (*ḥwsi*) this (part of the) site which supported the enclosure-wall, in order to build this monument upon it . . . I did not put up anything over somebody else's monument."<sup>154</sup> This description is consonant with Festival Hall inscription col. 44: debris had mounded up to the east of the Middle Kingdom temple and had even encroached upon the town. I had originally taken *iwyt* to mean "sanctuary" with reference to the cella of the Middle Kingdom temple.<sup>155</sup> But much more common is the meaning "quarter" of a town.<sup>156</sup> This part of the built-up area of domestic occupation could not have been located on the site of the later Akh-menu and the sanctuary of the "Hearing Ear": the phraseology in this passage suggests an *extremity*, and we would be correct in locating the town quarter in question east of the Middle Kingdom temple, and not north or south of it. This makes sense of Thutmose's further claim that in this sector he was not in danger of building *over* the construction of some earlier king, for no one had built there since the Old Kingdom.

This word picture of conditions in East Karnak when Thutmose III contemplated his building program dovetails perfectly with the archaeological record.<sup>157</sup> While densely inhabited in the Old Kingdom, East Karnak had been largely abandoned in the Middle Kingdom. A sizeable depression some 200 m. east of the later *Akh-menu* had

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<sup>153</sup> The reference is probably to a destructive annual flood: cf. For the Second Intermediate Period M. Abdul Qader, "Recent Finds. Karnak, Third Pylon," *ASAE* 59 (1966), pl. III. L. Habachi, "A High Inundation in the Temple of Amenre at Karnak in the 13th Dynasty," *SÄK* i (1974), 207-14.

<sup>154</sup> *Urk.* IV, 834-35.

<sup>155</sup> KRI II, 884:13.

<sup>156</sup> Admonitions vi.10 (parallel to *mrt*, "midan"); Anast. Iii.5.3, iv.12.3; R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 91; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 23.

<sup>157</sup> See D.B. Redford, "Three Seasons in Egypt. II. Interim Report on the 20th Campaign (17th Season) of Excavations at East Karnak," *JSEEA* 18 (1992), 24-48.

been filled in by artificial land-fill, thrown in from the west; and nearly 100 bullae dated stylistically from Dyn. 6 through 13, suggest an early New Kingdom date. A 4-metre wide wall had been built on a N-S alignment over the land-fill, but this had been shortly abandoned; and in the later 18th Dynasty this eastern terrain could be characterized as "mud-flats."<sup>158</sup>

#### IV. SIXTH PYLON (SOUTH, EAST FACE)<sup>159</sup>

##### 1. *Introduction*

(1) "[Regnal year . . . there occurred a royal seance<sup>160</sup> in . . . and the courtiers and priests were introduced. . . Thereupon His Majesty said: ' . . . ] in the foreign land of Retenu, in the fortress which My Majesty built in his (Amun's) victories amidst the chiefs of Lebanon, the name of which is to be "Menkheperre-is-conqueror-of-the vagabonds".<sup>161</sup>

Now when it had moored at Thebes, my father Amun was (2) [ . . . 1/2 col. . . ]

##### 2. *Victory Feasts*

My Majesty inaugurated for him a victory feast when My Majesty came back from the first victorious campaign, having overthrown vile Retenu and extended the frontiers of Egypt in year 23, as the first(?) Of the victories that he ordained for me, he who directed (3) [me on good ways . . . 1/2 col. . . ]

Let there be celebrated the first of the victory feasts on the . . . ] day of the first festival of Amun, to make it extend to 5 days;

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 41 n. 23.

<sup>159</sup> P-M II(2), 90(245); *Urk.* IV, 738-56.

<sup>160</sup> The restoration of Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 739:12-15) is gratuitous. Much more likely, in view of the fact that a body of service personnel is being addressed (col. 26-30—not translated here), the occasion was a speech similar to the three examined above.

<sup>161</sup> The essential word for "transhumant," then foreigners in general with a pejorative nuance: *Wb.* IV, 470; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 314; A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 30; cf. the graphic scene of persecution in P. Duell, *The Tomb of Mereruka*, pl. 162.

let there be celebrated the second of the victory feasts on the day of “Bringing-in-the-god”<sup>162</sup> of the second festival off Amun, to make it extend to 5 days;

let the third of the victory feasts be celebrated at the 5th festival of Amun in *Henket-onkh*<sup>163</sup> when [Amun] (4) comes [at his beautiful feast of the Valley . . . .

My Majesty has established a] great hecatomb<sup>164</sup> for the victory feast which My Majesty has inaugurated, to include bread, beer, long-horns, short-horns, bulls, fowl, oryxes, gazelles, ibexes, incense, wine, fruit, white-bread of the offering table, and all good things

### 3. *Feast of Opet*<sup>165</sup>

(5) [. . . 1/2 col. . . . month] 2 of *Akhet*, day 13[+x] when the majesty of this noble god proceeds to make his water journey at his “Southern Opet.” My Majesty has established a great hecatomb for this day, at the entry to Southern Opet, to include bread, long-horns, short-horns, bulls, fowl, incense, wine (6) [fruit and all good things . . . .

### 4. *Prisoners of War*

[. . . 1/2 col. . . .] on the first of the victories which he gave me, to fill his work-house,<sup>166</sup> to be weavers, to make for him byssos, fine linen, white linen, *shrw*-linen, and thick cloth; to be farm-hands<sup>167</sup> to

<sup>162</sup> S. Schott, *Altaegyptische Festdaten* (Mainz, 1950), 37; N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y* (Cairo, 1981), 44–45, n. 112.

<sup>163</sup> The royal mortuary temple: P-M II (2), 426–29.

<sup>164</sup> *C3bt*, the largest offering-type known in Ancient Egypt, involving even wild animals: see R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1964), 103; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I (Paris, 1980), 58; III (Paris, 1982), 43; often done in someone’s name: W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 82; *Urk.* IV, 1851:6; H. Sterberg, *Mythische Motiven und Mythenbildung in den ägyptischen Tempeln und Papyri der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Göttingen, 1985), 36 n. 1) and amounting to largesse given to the faithful: *Urk.* IV, 86:6, 343:11; especially common at the *sed*-festival: D.B. Redford, “An Offering Inscription from the Second Pylon at Karnak,” in *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald J. Williams* (Toronto, 1982), 125–31.

<sup>165</sup> Schott, *Festdaten*, 85.

<sup>166</sup> *Šnc*: see D. Polz, “Die *šnc*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches,” *ZAŚ* 117 (1990), 43–60; S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des ‘Hauses des Amun’ in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000), 97–113.

<sup>167</sup> See above, p. 130.

work the fields to produce grain to fill the storehouse of the divine endowment (7) [... 1/2 col. ... For my father Amun, he who led] me on a good path.

Tally of the male and female Asiatics and male and female Nubians whom My Majesty gave to my father Amun, beginning in year 23 and down to when this inscription was put upon this temple: *H3rw*, 1,588<sup>168</sup> (8) [... 1/2 col. ...]

### 5. *Cattle*

My Majesty made a herd of the cattle of] Upper and Lower Egypt, 2 herds of the cattle of Djahy, and one herd of the cattle of Kush; total: 4 herds, to be milked, the milk thereof being placed in containers of electrum on a daily basis; in order to present (it) in offering to my father (9) [Amun. ... 1/2 col. ...]<sup>169</sup>

### 6. *Towns*

My Majesty [ga]ve to him three towns in Upper Retenu, *Nu-g-sa*, was the name of one, *Yenocam* the name of another, and *H-r-n-k3-rw* the name of the last, fixed with a tax quota in labor yearly, for the divine endowment of my father Amun.<sup>170</sup>

### 7. *Precious Metals*

(10) [I consigned to him ... 2/5 col. ...] all sorts of [jewellery?] of silver, gold, lapis, turquoise, "black-copper,"<sup>171</sup> bronze,<sup>172</sup> lead, *trw*-mineral,<sup>173</sup> emery(?) in very great quantities, to make all sorts of monuments for my father Amun (11) [... 1/2 col. ...]

<sup>168</sup> The figure is remarkably close to the tally (1,796) of P.O.W.s given in the annals: see above, p. 37.

<sup>169</sup> See above, p. 133.

<sup>170</sup> See above, pp. 38ff.

<sup>171</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 57: unpurified copper.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.



8. *Poultry*

My Majesty created for him gaggles of geese to fill the poultry-yard,<sup>174</sup> for the divine daily offering. Indeed, My Majesty gave him 2 fattened geese on a daily basis, from a tax-quota established for ever for my father [Amun (12) . . . 1/2 col. . . ]

9. *Additions to Offering Menu*

My Majesty established for him . . . ] consisting of various bread, 1.000. Now My Majesty authorized the doubling of this divine offering of various breads, 1.000, when My Majesty returned from defeating Retenu on the first victorious campaign, in order to perform what is commendable in the great temple “Menkheperre-is-Effective-of-Monuments” (13) [. . . 1/2 col. . . ] various [bread], 634, consisting of the rations of the daily offering menu, in excess of what it used to be.

10. *Agricultural land*

I requisitioned for him many fields, gardens and ploughlands, the best of Upper and Lower Egypt, to make farms and to provide the grain thereof [for the daily divine offering (14) [. . . 1/2 col. . . ] I established for him a divine endowment. . . ] on a yearly basis, including bread, long-horns, short-horns, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, fruit and all good things from a tax quota of each year.

11. *Endowment for the Sun-god*

My Majesty established a divine endowment in order to perform what is commendable for ‘my’ father Re-Harakhty, when he rises<sup>175</sup> (15) [. . . 1/2 col. . . ] My Majesty [established for] him a divine endowment of *srt*-grain, in order to perform what is commendable in it, on new-moon day and on the 6th day of the month in the daily offering menu, as is done in Heliopolis. For lo! My Majesty

<sup>174</sup> *Hrmw*: <*h3-r-mw*: D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie,” *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 92–95; at Karnak located south of the sacred lake.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. CT III, 21a; G. Conti, *Rapporti tra egiziano e semitico nel lessico egiziano dell’agricoltura* (Florence, 1979), 117.

found that the cultivation of *srt*-grain was very good in the [...]s of (16) [...<sup>176</sup> 1/2 col. ...]

## 12. *Obelisks*

[My Majesty authorized] a divine endowment for the 4 great obelisks<sup>177</sup> which My Majesty made, as something new for my father A[mun], including various breads, 100; beer, 4 jugs, (thus) for each one of these obelisks 25 loaves and 1 jug of beer.

## 13. *Statues*

My Majesty established a divine endowment for these statues of (17) [My Majesty ... 1/2 col. ...] alcoves<sup>178</sup> of this door.

## 14. *Evening Collation*

My Majesty established for him an evening collation,<sup>179</sup> including bread, fowl, incense, wine, fruit, white bread of the offering table and all good things in the course of each and every day. My Majesty established for him a *H3w-ht* offering, including (18) [... 1/2 col. ...]

## 15. *Min Festival*

My Majesty established for him a collation at the Min festival, including cattle, geese, incense, wine, fruit and all good things. Quantity of the collation prepared, *in toto*: 120 items; on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of My Majesty.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Sethe's restoration (*Urk.* IV, 747:10) is gratuitous.

<sup>177</sup> See above, p. 124.

<sup>178</sup> For *tpht* as "statue-alcove," see P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkarê-Kakâi* (Cairo, 1976), II, 449, 503 n. 1.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (Ithaca, 1996), 128–29.

<sup>180</sup> For the hecatomb on the ruler's behalf at the Min feast, see H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 129ff.

16. *Jereboams of Wine*

My Majesty authorized the provision of 5 great *hbnt*-jars<sup>181</sup> (for) wine (19) [... 1/2 col. . . on a] yearly [basis], over and above what it used to be.

17. *The Upper Lake*

My Majesty made for him something new, the ‘Upper Lake,’<sup>182</sup> planted with all kinds of fruit trees, to produce herbs therein for the daily divine offering. My Majesty authorized it as something new, over and above what used [to be . . . 1/2 col. . .] including beautiful women of the entire land.

18. *Kīng’s Affirmation*

Now My Majesty made all the monuments, all the laws and all the instructions<sup>183</sup> which I made for my father [Amun. . .] inasmuch as I know his power, I am skilled in his excellence which resides in the body,<sup>184</sup> I know (21) [. . . 1/2 col. . . never neglected] what he ordered to be done, in whatever he wanted to happen or in anything his *ku* habitually desires. I did it for him as he commanded, my heart directing me, and my [ha]nds acting for my father who created me, and doing all good things for my father (22) [. . . 1/2 col. . . For lo! It] was My Majesty that invented all the good things, in enlarging monuments, in building for the future, in ritual directives,<sup>185</sup> in purifications, in instructions, in provisioning this temple of my father [Amun. . .] . . . (23) [. . . 1/2 col. . .] his heart daily. For lo! It was My Majesty that put the food supply of the seasonal feasts on a yearly basis, and the ‘Manifestation’<sup>186</sup> in the residence

<sup>181</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 171:5 and 174:3 (totaling 5).

<sup>182</sup> See below, p. 147.

<sup>183</sup> On religious “laws” etc. in a cultic context, see D.B. Redford, “The so-called Codification of Egyptian Law under Darius I.” in J.W. Watts (ed), *Persia and Torah. The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch* (Atlanta, 2001), 154–58.

<sup>184</sup> On the intuitive, divine essence, the *vovç* innate in all living things, see *Urk.* IV, 974:9–10 “the divine *λογος* which is in every body”; cf. CT II, 43b; VI, 268–69.

<sup>185</sup> For *nt-c* in cultic contexts, see S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Aegypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 117–26.

<sup>186</sup> See above, p. 122.

of my father [Amun . . .] after My Majesty found offerings being made therein with only(?) libation and incense (24) [. . . 1/2 col. . . as] a tax quota of each year.

I have not spoken boastfully to elicit adulation for what I have done, saying: 'I did something fantastic!'<sup>187</sup> when I really did not do it. I never acted for men, so that one might call it boasting. I did these things for my father (25) [Amun . . . 1/2 col. . .] the one that says something fantastic that was not done; because he knows heaven and he knows earth, and he (can) see the entire earth in a moment!"

### Commentary

The text balances the final day-book entries on the opposite wing of the 6th pylon, and provides a fitting conclusion and corollary to the account of the foreign wars.<sup>188</sup> The intent is to record the inauguration of feasts, endowments and bequests to the gods (mainly Amun) in gratitude for the victory and in obedience to the divine will. A direct admonition to the priesthood (not translated above) clearly indicates, it might be argued, who would be the readers of the texts in rooms VI–VII of the temple. The close relationship between the texts on both wings of the pylon militates in favor of assigning the same date to the inscription, viz. Year 42.

The fact that bequests to Amun constitute the entire content of the text, helps to establish the subject and purpose of this first section. Reference to the fortress in Lebanon and to something mooring at Thebes on the return, suggests that the subject was the construction of Amun's barque.<sup>189</sup> The latter will have been constructed

<sup>187</sup> The text uses *hn*, "(fulsome) expression, cant," often used of outlandish claims in sycophantic contexts: *Urk.* IV, 1095:7; *KRI* V, 185:6–7; Berlin 1157 (= Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 84:11–12).

<sup>188</sup> Sethe's designation of the present text as "Stücke VIII" of the Annals obscures the fact of its fundamentally different origin and intent (A. Gnirs, "Die aegyptische Autobiographie," in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* [Leiden, 1996], 214 and n. 115). The present text records a seance to which is appended an instruction (*tp-rd*) for the priests. There is no evidence of day-book entries as a source.

<sup>189</sup> See above, Gebel Barkal, sec. 16; 7th Pylon Reveals, sec. 5; below, Barque Shrine (p. 146). Sethe's restoration of "three months" (*Ur.* IV, 739:15) has no foundation whatsoever. Much more likely is something like "[I hewed a barque for my father Amun] in the foreign land of Retenu, etc." This then becomes the antecedent for the suffix in *Urk.* IV, 740:2.

probably while the siege of Megiddo was in progress, and despatched south with an Asiatic crew<sup>190</sup> to complete the decoration.<sup>191</sup>

The opening pericope thus provides a valuable, though alleged, connection between the construction of Amun's barque and the fortress in the Lebanons, with a clear implication that both were accomplishments of the First Campaign.<sup>192</sup> Now ship-building and the timber used for it were virtual monopolies of the Byblos area, as far as Egypt was concerned, from time immemorial;<sup>193</sup> and *a fortiori*, one would locate any activity associated with boat-building in that region. But Thutmose III's coastal campaigns in Phoenicia seemingly did not begin until the 5th campaign.<sup>194</sup> Should we, then, honor the present implication of a date in the first campaign, and locate the fortress in *southern* Phoenicia, in the environs of Tyre or Sidon,<sup>195</sup> within easy reach of Megiddo?<sup>196</sup> The route along the coast from Carmel to Beirut or even Byblos itself, is easily negotiated in antiquity in 4 to 5 days;<sup>197</sup> and Tyre too was noted for ship-building and therefore easy access to timber, certainly in the Iron Age.<sup>198</sup> In fact, the prominent position Tyre occupies in the Amarna Period<sup>199</sup> could, arguably, derive from interest taken in fortifying the area under the founder of the empire.

<sup>190</sup> Note the determinative in *Urk.* IV, 663:1: L. Christophe, *RdÉ* 6 (1951), 97.

<sup>191</sup> 7th Pylon reveals (p. 122, above).

<sup>192</sup> See also above p. 114; p. 122.

<sup>193</sup> P. Montet, *Kēmi* 16 (1962), 86–87; *Urk.* I, 134:15; CT I, 262b; B. Altenmüller, *Syncretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 133; K. Sethe, "Byblos und dem Libanongebiet: zur ältesten Geschichte des ägyptischen Seeverkehrs," *ZAŚ* 45 (1908), 7ff; P.E. Newberry, "Three Old Kingdom Travellers to Byblos and Pwenet," *JEA* 24 (1938), 182–84; in general, see M. Saghih, *Byblos in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Warminster, 1983.

<sup>194</sup> See above, pp. 62ff.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. T. Säve-söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), 36; M. Noth, "Die Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israels* III (Munich, 1959), 134–35.

<sup>196</sup> Whether this would necessitate conjuring up a special "side-expedition" to the area, while the Megiddo siege was in progress is debatable. But the notion that out of toponym lists we can manufacture collateral campaigns ranging over the Golan, Beka'a and Galilee (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 127–9; 134–35; accepted by M.S. Drower, in *CAH* II, 1 (3), [1973], 452) depends upon what I feel to be a misinterpretation of those lists; see above, p. 00.

<sup>197</sup> Strabo xvi.2.22–25; L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Toronto, 1974), 191–92.

<sup>198</sup> I.M. Diakonoff, "The Naval Power and Trade of Sidon," *IEJ* 42 (1992), 168–93; I. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955), 127ff; J. Elayi, *JESHO* 31 (1988), 14–40.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. EA 147:62 ("principal city"); 149:10 ("servant girl of the king"); 150:7, 151:6 and *passim* ("city of the king"); 155:42 and *passim* ("city of Mayati").

There remains one disquieting possibility. In view of the fact that references to the fort in the Lebanon and construction of the barque Userhatamun date in the main from much later in the reign, could the king have conflated events and falsely retrojected accomplishments of later campaigns into the glorious first? The records, however, clearly show a precision which belies falsification.

The order in which items are listed may originally have displayed a rationale, but the loss of half the length of columns has robbed us of the wherewithal to establish connections. A chronological framework is not strongly marked, beyond giving priority of place to decisions arising from the victories of the first campaign. Generally speaking, it may be said that the institution of the feasts is followed by the sources of the endowment whereby these gala occasions are to be funded. But the focus shifts erratically to the offering menu of the daily service. Collocation of Re-harakhty's cult with obelisks is, of course, appropriate.<sup>200</sup>

#### V. BARQUE-SHRINE<sup>201</sup>

(1) "[Regnal year. . . . There occurred a royal seance; the courtiers were introduced . . . Thereupon His Majesty said: ' . . .

(X+1) [. . . I erected(?) A col]umned hall, an intermediate chamber<sup>202</sup> [. . . ]

(X+2) My Majesty er[ected] for him a great gate of gold (named): Amun-is-great-in awe,' of [. . . ]<sup>203</sup> I constructed]

(X+3) a great broad hall and(?) a columned hall (for?) coffers,<sup>204</sup> of sandstone worked in electrum and [all sorts of] gems [. . . ]

<sup>200</sup> Cf. C.C. van Siclen, "Obelisks," in D.B. Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), II, 561–64.

<sup>201</sup> P-M II, 97; C.F. Nims, "Thutmosis III's Benefactions to Amun," in G.E. Kadish (ed), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 69–74; own copy (collated); text in retrograde.

<sup>202</sup> *Hrt-ib*: P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984) 85–87; the *Akh-menu* is meant.

<sup>203</sup> The 6th Pylon: Nims, *op. cit.*, 72, C. Wallet-Lebrun ("Notes sur le temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak," *BIFAO* 84 [1984], 322) proposes an interpretation of the traces as the name of the gate of the 4th pylon.

<sup>204</sup> *I3*: Spencer, *op. cit.*, 71, 75. Wallet-Lebrun (*op. cit.*, 323) ingeniously proposes the *I3*-sign is a mistaken reading of the hieratic for *rsi*, "south." In view of the gold and gems mentioned in the following column, one wonders whether the columned

(X+4) gold and precious gems, viz. The best of the products of the southern lands, brought through the power of My Majesty [...]

(X+5) its like, for the divine processional.

I carved out for him a great barque, *Userhatamun* [was its name ...]

(X+6) worked in electrum, its hold was decorated with silver,<sup>205</sup> with a god's-shrine amid ships worked 'in' electrum, in [cedar, the best of the terraces, which I brought back from]

(X+7) Upper Retenu on the first victorious campaign which [Amun] ordained [for me]

(X+8) I erected [... which] My Majesty [cut?] with my very own hands in the terraces of cedar, worked throughout with gold and with insignia [... which my father Amun granted me]

(X+9) in valor and victory.

My Majesty consigned to him many offering tables of electrum, *špst*-vessels<sup>206</sup> *nmst*-vessels [...]

(X+10) *mnit*-necklaces,<sup>207</sup> cauldrons and collars without end (made) of various gems.

My Majesty erected for him a sh[rine(?)<sup>208</sup> of ...]

(X+11) in the [house of Amun] of sandstone of excellent workmanship, the great strong-boxes(?)<sup>209</sup> being of electrum and ... [... its ...]

(X+12) worked in gold and various precious gems, its gates of granite with doors of copper and inlaid figures of [...]

(X+13) black copper and *ihw*-copper.

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hall was the one south of the barque chamber (room VII) wherein treasures were stored. Unless it be a mistake, one might think of a generic *ṭš*, "coffer": J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 1975), 204–5.

<sup>205</sup> While "hold" suggests something below decks (cf. 2nd Kamose Stela, 12), the *wndwt* was also a place of honor where one sat: PT 602; P.Ch. Beatty III, pl. 7A, recto 9:17; CCG 1564; see H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 30 (1944), 7 n. j. Perhaps it was the exterior of the hull that was decorated with silver.

<sup>206</sup> Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), 118, 156.

<sup>207</sup> In light of the close connection between *mnit*-necklaces and Hathor (G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* [Cambridge, 1993], 164; D. Vischak, "Hathor," in D.B. Redford, (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* [New York, 2001], 85) as well as music (L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1991], 63–64), it seems plausible that what we are dealing with in the present passage is equipment for the songstresses of Amun.

<sup>208</sup> Nims (*op. cit.*, 71 n. m) opts for *hmv*. But *hm* would seem equally acceptable.

<sup>209</sup> See below, n. 214.

My Majesty erected for him his seat of oral witness<sup>210</sup> [The rubble which was]<sup>211</sup> there which had encroached

(X+14) on the town area<sup>212</sup> was taken away. I erected a temple there out of a single block of [. . .]-stone [. . .]

(X+15) opposite<sup>(?)</sup><sup>213</sup> the strong-box<sup>(?)</sup><sup>214</sup> Which is in it.

Now My Majesty had found the southern pylon<sup>215</sup> of brick, the southern gateway [of . . .]

(X+16) [st]one of inferior workmanship, the door leaves of cedar and the columns of wood. Thereupon My Majesty made it (over) in [stone. . . .]

(X+17) its [gateway] being of granite, its great door of copper, with the name of 'Amun-Great-of-Diadems,' restored in [. . .]

(X+18) [. . .] visible, with the inlaid figure upon it of electrum, the 'God's-shadow' being like Amun [. . .]

(X+19) [. . . of gran]ite.

My Majesty dug for him the Southern Lake, freshened and lengthened [. . . .]

(X+20) [. . . . of] God's-land, the temple therein was refurbished in lustrous alabaster of Hatnub [. . . .]

(X+21) [. . . . in his holy seat of the west, elevated [. . . .]"

### Commentary

If the fragmentary column (x+21) refers to the construction of *Djeser-akhet* at Deir el-Bahari,<sup>216</sup> then the present seance must be one of,

<sup>210</sup> Derive from *mtr*, in the common miswriting, influenced by *mty*. For the installation in question, immediately to the east of *Akh-menu*, and oriented east, see P-M II, 215-18; L. Habachi, "Nia the *wcb*-priest and Doorkeeper of Amun-of-the-hearing-ear," *BIFAO* 71 (1972), p. 81 and n. 2 (bibliography). C.F. Nims, "The Eastern Temple at Karnak," *FSRicke* (Bauforschung XII), 107-11.

<sup>211</sup> *Urk.* IV, 835:3-4.

<sup>212</sup> See for similar wording *Urk.* IV, 835:4, and discussion above, p. 136.

<sup>213</sup> Or "in accordance with," whatever that might mean.

<sup>214</sup> One might think of *hmt*, "seal," or "sealed document" (contract: W. Boochs, *GM* 52 [1981], 19-21; H. Goedicke, *DE* 5 [1986], 75). But the phrase itself, as well as the clear parallel in (x+11) suggests something concrete. One thinks of locked containers, or rooms perhaps: P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Neferikarê-Kakâi* (Cairo, 1976), I, 19-20; CT I, 209.

<sup>215</sup> The 7th pylon: Nims, *op. cit.*, 73(VIII).

<sup>216</sup> Nims, *op. cit.*, 74. On the temple see P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London, 1988), 178; J. Lipinska, "Deir el-Bahari, Thutmosis III temple: Seven Seasons of Work," *ASAE* 72 (1993), 45-48; M. Dolinska, "Some Remarks about



if not the latest in the king's transcribed speeches preserved for us. The construction of this shrine, begun round v,24 of the 43rd year<sup>217</sup> was nearing completion in v,23 of the 49th year<sup>218</sup> hence the present text must be dated no earlier than the last half of the fifth decade of the reign. Indeed, since the text continued beyond col. (X+21), it may well be that additional construction work was listed, perhaps the final touches to the mortuary temple *Henket-onkh*, in which case the present text may date after year 50.<sup>219</sup>

The constructions the king records may be listed as follows:

1. [*Akh-menu*], (x+1)
2. 6th Pylon gate, (x+2)
3. Hall for the reception of southern gold, (x+3–4)
4. Barque of Amun, (x+5–7)
5. [Objects] of cedar from Lebanon, (x+7–9)
6. Cult objects, (x+9–10)
7. Sandstone construction with granite gates, (x+10–13)
8. Oracular shrine of Amun, (x+13–15)
9. 7th Pylon, (x+15–18)
10. Sacred Lake, (x+19)
11. Way-station, south of 7th Pylon, (x+20)
12. *Djeser-akhet*, (x+21)

It is difficult to elicit the principle on which the items are ordered. Although nos. 1 and 12 are chronologically separated by 25 years, the sequence of the rest does not appear to be based on chronology. A spatial arrangement explains the order only in part: nos. 2–4, 6 and 7 have to do with rooms, gates and paraphernalia adjacent to the barque shrine itself, and nos. 9–11 deal with construction on the south side of Karnak. But the placement of nos. 5 and 8 break the sequence. One might argue that no. 4 (wooden barque) sug-

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the Function of the Tuthmosis III Temple at Deir el-Bahari, in R. Gundlach (ed), *Aegyptische Tempel—Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (Hildesheim, 1994), 33–45.

<sup>217</sup> Lipinska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 27 and n. 16; Sir A.H. Gardiner, J. Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 56:5; A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyri zu Berlin* III, 1062110615; W.C. Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), 51.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 13:21 (recto); pp. 47ff.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, recto 16; on the *Baugeschichte* of the mortuary temple, see H. Ricke, *Das Totentempels Thutmosis' III* (Cairo, 1939), 19 and *passim*.

gested no. 5 (wooden flag-staves?),<sup>220</sup> but if this identification is correct, why are they separated from pylon 7, for which they were intended?<sup>221</sup>

## VI. KARNAK, ROOM III (EAST WALL)<sup>222</sup>

### *Superscription*

“[Effecting the consecration of a divine offering by the king himself to his father] Amun-re, lord of Karnak, at the time when vile Retenu was overthrown.

1. [...] <sup>223</sup> inaugurated [offerings] for my father [Amun. . . .]
2. [...] To put down<sup>224</sup> the lands of the Fenkhu who had taken to attacking my frontiers
3. [...] he had mustered(?) battle squadrons to my majesty's displeasure. (But) they then fell flat on their faces
4. [tumbling over each other(?)<sup>225</sup> . . . . to the town] of Megiddo. Thereafter My Majesty encircled them in a circumvallation (*sbty*) made (very) thick
5. [...] and they could not snuff the breath of life, enclosed as they were in a fort of their (own) building.
6. [...] Then the Asiatics of every foreign land came with bowed heads, doing obeissance to the power of My Majesty.
7. [...] and these foreigners and those who were in the vile Megiddo
8. [came forth . . . . to request peace(?) from My Majesty. They said: ‘. . . . O sovereign(?) of great power! Menkheperre [son of Amun]! Grant that we survive, and we shall consign to Your Majesty our labor
9. [...] that which Your Majesty has done in this land for ever!’ Thereupon My Majesty authorized that they be given the breath of life
10. [...] all their vessels, and bearing [...] (*remainder too fragmentary from translation*)

<sup>220</sup> See above, p. 115.

<sup>221</sup> Nims, *op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>222</sup> P-M II, 88 (234); *Urk.* IV, 757–63; own copy; collated.

<sup>223</sup> Extent of loss unknown.

<sup>224</sup> *Dr?* or perhaps *ir.f šct.f*; cf. *Urk.* IV, 807:6.

<sup>225</sup> Perhaps *m gbgbyt*.

*Commentary*

It is not altogether certain that the present text records a formal seance. Sethe may be correct in postulating a simple *nsw ds.f dd.f*<sup>226</sup> although this locution smacks of popular Ramesside rhetoric.<sup>227</sup> Once again, the reason for including a sketch of the Battle of Megiddo is to provide background and to explain motivation for the bequests to Amun.

The date of the present text can be given within rather restricted parameters. Occupying, as it does, a wall surface contemporary with the construction of the 6th pylon, it can date no earlier than year 42,<sup>228</sup> when the second section of the Day-book excerpts was inscribed. In all likelihood it was put up at about the same time, and no later than the middle of the decade.

VII. PHILADELPHIA 39-12-3<sup>229</sup>

“[. . . (x+1) Then His Majesty found the stela of . . . and he commanded the erection of] ano[ther<sup>230</sup> st]ela to its north, on the east. Then was brought [. . .] (x+2) [. . . seiz]ed(?)<sup>231</sup> therein for His Majesty, upon the bank of the Euphrates. Never before had anything like it been done [by any king. . . ]<sup>232</sup> (x+3) [Then His Majesty returned in safety to Egy]pt, and his stela was brought from the end of the earth and set up on the west of the city within [. . .].”

<sup>226</sup> *Urk.* IV, 757:17.

<sup>227</sup> It is true, however, that the phrase has an earlier history; cf. Berlin Leather Roll, ii.6; *Urk.* IV, 257:5; 364:10; for Ramesside examples, see Sethe, *ZÄS* 44, 37-38; *KRI* II, 310:7; V, 28:9, 39:6, 45:12, 51:7-8, 80:6, 191:6.

<sup>228</sup> *Urk.* IV, 734:14.

<sup>229</sup> A.J. Spalinger, “A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia,” *JNES* 37 (1978), 35-41. The fragment was commented on by Helck (“Wo errichtete Thutmosis III seine Siegesstele am Euphrat?” *CdE* 56 [1981], 241-44), whose egregious restorations are not to be relied upon. There is no indication how many lines the stela once contained. It may have some significance, however, that the pre-occupation with stelae clearly comes at the end.

<sup>230</sup> The traces suit *ky*.

<sup>231</sup> “Arm-holding-stick” may be restored before *im*.

<sup>232</sup> Possibly restore *dr p3wt t3*, or something similar.

*Commentary*

This tantalizing fragment excites a strong urge to reconstruct the context. The restoration *ly*, “another,” recalls the general comment and sequence of the Day-book Excerpts for the 8th campaign.<sup>233</sup> There is no need to restore *dmi*, “town,” as the antecedent of *f* and no justification whatsoever in restoring Carchemish by conflating sources of diverse genre.<sup>234</sup> What follows is the record of something “being brought. . . therefrom”<sup>235</sup> to the king on the river bank, an act of singular nature. Goods as benevolences, prisoners, chiefs, chattels—all find numerous parallels in other texts. But the phrasing of the present passage suggests something unique, and quite out of the ordinary.

Two solutions to this conundrum might be put forward, the first already advanced by Spalinger. In the bottom line the suffix *f* demands an antecedent, which in context can only be a human male or a masculine toponym. The former is more likely, as stelae are usually identified by their human owners, not the town in which they are erected. Spalinger<sup>236</sup> suggests the antecedent is a “foreign prince,” and since the locale is the banks of the Euphrates, the prince in question must surely have been the king of Mittani. Moreover the monument must have enjoyed a *current* significance, that is to say, it must have set on display Mittanian claims at that moment in time: it would have been pointless to carry off “his” stela if the owner had been some forgotten worthy of remote antiquity. Are we, then, to imagine the Egyptians carting off a *kudduru* or the like?<sup>237</sup> But was this their usual practice? How many foreign monuments can one point to in Egypt, captured on the battlefield and returned as trophies? One thinks, rather, that the celebratory associations of any public monument of foreign, enemy, origin would have impelled the Egyptians to smash it to bits, not treasure it as a trophy!

<sup>233</sup> *Urk.* IV, 697:4–5; above, p. 00.

<sup>234</sup> As Helck, *loc. cit.* Amenemheb’s is a personal reminiscence and offers no indications as to where precisely the stelae were set up.

<sup>235</sup> The traces before *im* do not suit Helck’s *smnw*: the sign is more likely Gardiner D 40.

<sup>236</sup> *Op. cit.*, 40–41.

<sup>237</sup> U. Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudduru-Reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten*, Freiburg, 1989; for their use see W. Sommerfeld, “The Kassites of Ancient Mesopotamia: Origins, Politics, Culture,” in J.M. Sasson (ed), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East II* (New York, 1995), 920–22.

A second explanation suggests itself. The feat of bringing a stela from the “end of the earth” to be set up on display in Thebes redounds to the reputation of Pharaoh only, and especially if it is *his* stela.<sup>238</sup> I would like, therefore, to suggest a restoration in the first two lines as follows: *ist in[w inr c3 m dw r ihw hti] im n hm.f hr sp3t* etc., “then was brought [a large block to the camp, and carve]d there for His Majesty upon the bank etc.” It was the act of quarrying, carving and transporting this stela, for Pharaoh himself, that constituted the amazing feat worthy of celebration.

One final point regarding the ownership of the present text. While most scholars have assumed it to be Thutmose III whose exploits are here recorded,<sup>239</sup> nothing in the fragment proves it. If Minmose’s quarry inscription<sup>240</sup> refers to the living king’s deeds, then we must conclude that Amenophis II also erected a stela in Naharin. If he is the king in the fragment, then the earlier stela he found must have belonged to Thutmose III or even I.

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<sup>238</sup> It is most unlikely that the object was an ancestral stela: to remove it would be almost a sacrilege.

<sup>239</sup> See Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 127 n. 43.

<sup>240</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1448:13.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ENCOMIA

“Encomia” is not a genre term, and corresponds to no Egyptian word; but covers a variety of forms and presupposes several different contexts.<sup>1</sup> “Collection” (*shwy*) and “triumph stela” (*wḏ n nḥtw*) are the genres common in the 18th Dynasty, although both descend into the Ramesside age and are represented either by direct progeny or modified forms. They represent written compositions, but in a style reminiscent of oral delivery and masquerading as extemporized creations. They may point to a culture of hymnodic adulation, at home in a court setting, but certainly intended for dissemination by public recitation.

#### I. THE ERMANT STELA<sup>2</sup>

##### A. *Titulary*

(1) “Live Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes; the Two Ladies-man: Enduring of Kingship like Re in heaven; Golden Horus: Holy of Forms, of Violent Might; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Cult-master, Menkheperre, bodily son of Re, Thutmose-Lord-of-Truth, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes who is in Ermant, living for ever!

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<sup>1</sup> In general, see J. Assmann, “Eulogie—Koenigs,” *LdÄ* II (1977), 40–46; *idem*, “Verkünden und Verklären. Grundformen hymnischer Rede in Alten Aegypten,” in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 313–34; D.B. Redford, “Ancient Egyptian Literature—an Overview: Courtly Literature,” in J.M. Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), IV, 2235–37; R.B. Parkinson, “Two New ‘Literary’ Texts on a Second Intermediate Period Papyrus?” in J. Assmann (ed), *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemaischen Aegypten* (Cairo, 1999), 187–90; R.J. Leprohon, “Encomia,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), I, 470–71.

<sup>2</sup> R. Mond, O. Myers, *The Temples of Armant* (London, ), pl. 88; Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1243–47; A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, 64–66; see A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (Yale, 1982), 200–3; C.J. Eyre, “Is Historical Literature ‘Political’ or ‘Literary’?” in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 421–26.

B. *Date & Introduction*

(2) Regnal year 22, second month of *proyet*, day 10.<sup>3</sup> Compilation<sup>4</sup> of the deeds of valor and might which this perfect god performed, viz. Every successful act of physical prowess,<sup>5</sup> beginning with the first generation<sup>6</sup> which the lord of the gods and the lord of Armant made for him (the king), (namely) the one who enlarged his victories in order to cause (3) his fame to be related for millions of years to come—excluding the deeds of physical prowess which His Majesty performed day and night; (for) if one related each specific act individually, they would prove too numerous to be put into writing.

C. *Archery*

He (4) shot at a copper target, all the wooden ones having shattered as though (they had been) papyrus;<sup>7</sup> and His Majesty put one such example<sup>8</sup> in the temple of Amun. It was a target of hammered cop-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M.S. Drower, in *The Temples of Armant*, 183 n. b. Miss Drower argues ingeniously, but convincingly that this date alludes to the beginning of Thutmose III's sole reign after the death of Hatshepsut: see Spalinger, *Aspects*, 200; N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 213; B. Bryan in I. Shaw (ed), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 245. It is most unlikely that the date refers to the date of mobilization of the army, with which the sequence of an imaginary "Kriegstagebuch" began (so Alt, *ZDPV* 70 [1953], 35). There was no "day-book of the army," only a "day-book of the king's-house," and its calendrical record stretched far into the past

<sup>4</sup> *Shwy*: *Wb.* IV, 212:9–15; the term can refer to compilation within accounting and the like: cf. *Urk.* IV, 690:15 (booty), 780:4 (foreign lands); *JEA* 46, pl. XII, 16 recto (quota of stone); Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Bruxelles, 1933), 136:10–11; P. Boulaq XVIII 27:18 (income), R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1964), 136 (offerings); M. Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptienne à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie après le papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre* (Cairo, 1977), 54. But in the present passage it hovers on the edge of a "genre" term: S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 354, nos. 1573–74. It may stand as an 18th Dynasty prose precursor to the more formal royal hymn ("song"-stela) of the 19th Dynasty which, by contrast, is lyrical: Redford, *Scribe and Speaker* . . . , in Ben Zvi, *Writings and Speech* . . . , 187.

<sup>5</sup> See B. van de Walle, "Une hyperbole égyptienne devenue proverbiale," *AIPHOS* 20 (1968–72), 497–504.

<sup>6</sup> *Ht tpt*: while *ht* is often used in the sense of "corporate body" (P. Kaplony, *Orientalia* 34 [1965], 147 and n. 3; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an* (Cairo, 1971), 103 n. 196), and thus "a body of contemporaries," or "generation" (CT II, 34d, 347a, 358b; Mo'alla inscr. 14 [VI, B2]; Leiden V, 1) it may in the present instance sustain an extended meaning of "unitary body" (of items, deeds, objects, words etc.), imagined in sequence: cf. Schott, *Bücher*, no. 1349, 1463, 1672, 1683. One might entertain in the present passage a colloquial "first of the lot."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. Edel, "Schiesssporttexte der 18. Dynastie," *SAK* 7 (1979), 31–33.

<sup>8</sup> *Mn*, the 'so-and-so' prolepsis, anticipatory of replacement by the specific des-

per, several fingers<sup>9</sup> thick, transfixed by his arrow which protruded three palms (length) out the back—in order to grant the prayer of the entourage<sup>10</sup> that his arms (continue) vigorous in valor and might.

#### D. *Narrator's Comment*

I speak accurately without deceit or misstatement of what he did, (for it was) in the presence of his entire army; there is not a word of exaggeration in it.

#### E. *Hunting*

If ever he spent (7) a moment of relaxation, hunting in a foreign country, the size of his catch would be greater than the bag of his entire army. He slew 7 lions by shooting in the space of a moment, and he brought off a herd<sup>11</sup> of 12 bulls in one hour, and by the time breakfast time came, the tails thereof were on his (own) rump.<sup>12</sup> He cut down 120 elephants in the land of Niya<sup>13</sup> on his return from Naharin, (8) when he had crossed the Euphrates, destroyed the towns on both its banks, consumed with fire for ever, and set up his triumph stela upon its bank.<sup>14</sup> He got a rhinoceros by shooting, in the southland in (9) Nubia, after he had proceeded to Maw<sup>15</sup> in pursuit of him that had rebelled against him in that land. He set up his stela there, as he had done at the ends [of Asia].

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ignation in question. There seems, therefore, no reason to question this translation: P. Beylage, “*pr(j).f hr s3 = f* versus *pr(j).(w) jm = f d(j) (.w) r t3*. Eine weitere Bemerkungen zu den koeniglichen Schiesstexten der 18. Dynastie,” *SAK* 24 (1997), 24 and n. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Or “three fingers.”

<sup>10</sup> I.e. the court. If, however, “posterity” is intended (cf. W. Decker, *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt* [Yale, 1992], 36) one might opt for Gilula’s rendering of *nht* as “trust, believe” (JNES 36 [1977], 295–96) and the passage would read “to make posterity believe that his arms had been strong etc.” The whole would reside within the context of *proof* offered to future generations.

<sup>11</sup> For *hnm*, “herd,” see *Wb.* III, 381:15; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 202. In light of the implicit dismemberment and flaying associated with such an incident, could we have a mistake for *hnmw*, “hides”?

<sup>12</sup> I.e. so swiftly did he complete his early morning hunt.

<sup>13</sup> For location, see above, p. 108.

<sup>14</sup> For location, see above, p. 151.

<sup>15</sup> For the location of Maw (4th cataract?), see D. O’Connor, “The Location of Irem,” *JEA* 73 (1987), 122–36; K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 119–20; *idem*, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 192. On the rhinoceros hunt, see L. Störk,



F. *Asiatic Campaigns: General Comment*

He never ceased<sup>16</sup> going (back) to the land of Djahy to slay the rebels there and to reward those who were loyal to him—each [campaign], indeed, being attested spe[cifically] by its date;<sup>17</sup> and he would return(?) (11) every time, his attack a victorious success, that he might restore Egypt to its condition when Re was [king] in it.

G. *First Campaign*

[Thereupon His Majesty left(?)]<sup>18</sup> Memphis to slay the vile lands (12) of Retenu as his first deed of victory. It was His Majesty that opened its road and blazed its every trail for his army. After it had made [. . . Megi]ddo<sup>19</sup> His Majesty set off upon that road (13) which grows very narrow, at the head of his entire army, while all foreign lands were assembled by it, standing ready at its mouth [. . . 12 groups . . .] (13) fallen exhausted, fleeing on foot to their towns, with the chief who was in [. . . 15 groups . . . Then] (15) they made suppli[cation] with their possessions upon their backs. His Majesty returned in happiness, every foreign land being subject [to him . . . long lacuna . . . (16) . . .]s coming at one time with their tribute.

H. *Sixth Campaign*

[. . .] (17) [. . .] Regnal year 29, fourth month of *proyet*, day [. . .]

*Remainder lost*

*Commentary*

The Ermant stela represents an account of events at a distance. On the semiotic plane the speaker is an external narrator outside the

*Die Nashörner* (Hamburg, 1977), 241–96. Whether the incident is commemorated on a scarab from Tanaach must remain moot: R. Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (Fribourg, 1978), 82–4, fig. 39.

<sup>16</sup> See Spalinger, *Aspects*, 202.

<sup>17</sup> Read *mtrw is m[w n wdyt] nbt r sw.s*. This claim to precise recording is similar to a passage in the day-book excerpts: *Urk.* IV, 661:14–662:2.

<sup>18</sup> As Helck has seen (*Beziehungen*, 121, 168 n. 53) there is enough space here for a date and calendrical notation. Possibly restore *wḏ3 ḥm.f*.

<sup>19</sup> Edel (*ZDPV* 70, 36 n. 13) doubts the restoration.

events he recounts, but nonetheless present and sometimes self-identified.<sup>20</sup> He speaks in narrative prose, with a regime of acceptance dependent on strong *averral* and appeal to *evidence*. His style at face value resembles oral composition and delivery,<sup>21</sup> (although in the present case this may be a compositor's fallacy). He is, however, aware of day-book entries and uses them to anchor his text and perhaps give it authority.<sup>22</sup>

The organization of the material depends upon thematic association, and cannot be relied upon for chronology. The feat of marksmanship in archery at home suggests archery on the hunt; and the location of the hunt in foreign lands leads into allusions to wars on foreign soil. This, then, justifies a more formal review of purely military escapades.

The rhinoceros hunt introduces two issues: the relationship of the pericope in the stela to the scene on the pylon at Ermant, and the date of the incident itself. The unity of reference in the first instance might be called into question by the appearance of later usage,<sup>23</sup> and the reference to a "first campaign."<sup>24</sup> If the king in question were Thutmose III, we should be forced to conclude that the king had at sometime renumbered his campaigns.<sup>25</sup> It might prove more consonant with the facts to assign the pylon scenes and glossing texts at Ermant to a later (Ramesside?) reign. Choice of this theme might well have been dictated by the passage in the nearby stela of Thutmose III.

The date of the stela itself depends in part on the contents of sec. E. Clearly it postdates the 8th campaign of year 33. Equally persuasive in the matter of a date is the argument based on the purpose of the exercise: a collection of the mighty deeds of the king, by the time of writing too numerous to be reviewed in a single

<sup>20</sup> R. Hodge, *Literature as Discourse* (Baltimore, 1990), 48–50; M. Bal, *Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto, 1985), 122.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. The use of *sdd*: *Urk.* IV, 1245:1; cf. 1281:3; the present writer in "Speaker and Scribe" . . . (Ben Zvi, *Writings and Speech* . . .), 171ff.

<sup>22</sup> Of the three which appeared, one apparently gives the date of Hatshepsut's passing, the [second] the date of the departure from Memphis on the First Campaign, and the third the start of the 6th campaign (on which see above, pp. 68ff).

<sup>23</sup> Use of the definite article (F. Junge, *Neuägyptisch. Einführung in die Grammatik* [Wiesbaden, 1996], 54–55), *Pr-c3* for the king, and the expression *hr hpsf* (S.N. Morschauser, "The Mighty Sword of Pharaoh," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 4 (1988), 151–64).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Spalinger, *Aspects*, 202 and n. 36, correcting the present writer in *History and Chronology of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), 61–62.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 62 n. 35.

session. The overtones point unmistakably to the sort of sweeping retrospective popular late in the reign after year 42. Now the rhinoceros hunt is linked to the setting up of a boundary stela in the south, an act compared with the similar marking of the northern boundary (8th campaign), clearly the prototype.<sup>26</sup> One must look, therefore, for an occasion, after the 8th campaign and *a fortiori* later than year 42, when the king was in Nubia; and one finds such an occasion in the campaign whose return is commemorated on the island of Siheil.<sup>27</sup> Since the return is dated early in the 50th year (ix, 22), the bulk of the expedition must have occupied the last half of year 49.<sup>28</sup> It is tempting to construe year 49 as the *terminus a quo* for the Ermant stela.<sup>29</sup>

Scholars have generally agreed that the date in line 17 of the stela served to introduce the account of a military campaign, especially since the preceding pericope covered the first campaign. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the calendrics indicate a date late in the regnal year, in the very month in fact in which the king set out on his first campaign. Thus the lost account in the Armant stela can only have been that of a campaign which started at the close of year 29 and occupied the early months of year 30. Now the first campaign and those initial royal acts proceeding from it bear the general date of year 23,<sup>30</sup> whereas according to the precise

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1246:5, *mi irt.n.f.* The time reference is unmistakable. The far-flung southern campaign must, therefore, have post-dated year 33, by how long the text gives no indication. It cannot be possibly dated to year 31: R.G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000), 73.

<sup>27</sup> J. de Morgan and others, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I (Cairo, 1894), 85(18); *Urk.* IV, 814; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 260 (XXV); T. Saviesoderbergh, *Aegypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), 153; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 61 (1992), 288.

<sup>28</sup> The southern boundary stela mentioned in the Ermant stela may be the one at Kurgus, at the end of the transit corridor from Korosko, a renewal of a marker of Thutmose III's grandfather: A.J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan to 1821* (London, 1961), 89; P.L. Shinnie, "Trade Routes of the Ancient Sudan, 3000 B.C. to A.D. 350," in W. Davies (ed), *Egypt and Africa* (London, 1991), 51; S.T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia* (London, 1995), 181. For additional evidence that Thutmose III's interest in his final years centered upon the south, see the late (or posthumous?) statue of him erected at Elephantine: G. Andreu, "La collection égyptienne du musée Dobrée à Nantes," *BSFE* 148 (2000), 22–4, fig. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Supporting such a late date are other Ermant blocks which seem to speak of Thutmose III as "possessed of jubilee[s . . .]:" Sir A.H. Gardiner, "Blocks from the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Armant," in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini* (Pisa, 1995), 93–8, pl. X.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 734:7, 14; 806 and *passim*.

entry of the day-book the army had set out during the final days of year 22.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, *general* dates throughout the remainder of the edited day-book excerpts specify only the year in which the king was *in* Asia, not the year in which he departed from Egyptian soil which would in all cases be one year lower. Thus, in the present case, which clearly quotes the *entire* day-book entry for the departure, a hypothetical general reference would have assigned the number "30." In short, the lost portion of the Armant stela must have described the 6th campaign, not the 5th.<sup>32</sup> It is noteworthy that the compositor should have followed his account of the first campaign with that of the 6th, but the reason is not elusive. Both campaigns were directed against the same enemy, viz. Kadesh.

## II. BUHEN TEMPLE TEXT<sup>33</sup>

A. "Regnal year 23, under the Majesty of Horus-mighty-bull: Appearing in Thebes, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre,

Beloved of Amun-re, lord of Karnak  
 Who appears to view (2) as when the sun-disc shines,  
 Whose rays make festive the Two Lands,  
 As when Re shines on the horizon of heaven!  
 The perfect god, possessed of happiness, (3) the son of Re,  
 Thutmose perfect of form, beloved of Horus, lord of Buhen.

B. Who united with his ennead to create him in their images,

He (4) bequeathed him his inheritance (while yet) in the womb,  
 For he knew that he would champion (sic) him;  
 He affixed his diadems (as) King of Upper and Lower Egypt  
 Upon the Horus-throne of the Living;  
 He promoted (5) fear of him, he produced his (sic) slaughter  
 Among the population (*htw*) of the lands of the Fenkhu.

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> As Alt (*ZDPV* 70, 38-9), Wilson (*ANET*, 238 n. 1) and Helck (*Beziehungen*, 140). The latter curiously believed the date to mark the return from the 5th, which would be an anomaly indeed.

<sup>33</sup> P-M VII, 134(11w); *Urk.* IV, 806-10.

C. *I am a king who gets things done [for] him,*

*His beloved son who acts (6) on his behalf.  
I built his house, I constructed his monuments  
Inasmuch as he allowed me to take possession of the Two Lands.  
For a son seeks for what is good for his (sic) father,  
And brings to fruition the desire of him from whom he came;  
Keeping the memory alive, rebirthing what is old,  
Keeping every god's name alive,  
Repeating births for him through them.'*

He has seized this land on its south, and the Pool of Seth is under his authority;  
He has sealed it off on its north as far as the Pool of Horus—  
It is all this, (9) that the moon shines on,  
And the sun-disc encircles when he shines—what [Geb] and Nut enclose [. . .]

D. (10) His Majesty stood on 'The Horns of the Earth' to fell the wild men of Asia;

*I am the mighty bull, appearing in Thebes,  
Son of Atum, beloved of Montu,  
(11) One who fights for his army himself, in the sight of the Two Lands  
—that's no exaggeration!—  
I came forth from the house of my father, the king of the gods [Amun],  
who ordained victory for me, . . .*

(12) The king himself, he took the road,  
His valiant army before him like a fiery flame;  
The mighty king who acts with his arm,  
Dexterous, with none (13) to compare him to;  
Slaying the wandering foreigners(?), crushing Retenut(sic),  
Their chiefs are living captives, with their chariots (14) wrought in gold, harnessed to their horses.  
The lands of Tehenu are reckoned, doing obeissance to His Majesty's power,  
Their tribute on their backs (15) [grovelling] as dogs do,  
Seeking that they be given the breath of life!

## E. Perfect god, valorous and vigilant

Possessed of diadems like Horakhty,  
 Inspiring great fear and awful dignity,  
 [. . .] of . . .(?) In the hearts of foreigners.  
 All lands are under his authority, and the Nine Bows all prostrate beneath his feet

*(The fragmentary last lines contain the king's cartouches)*

*Commentary*

Possibly a precursor of the 19th Dynasty "Song"-stela, the present text is cast in the form of a lyrical paeon. The metre is irregular, but favors a choppy 2:2 pattern. The structure consists of 4 stanzas with the following content:

- A. Royal titulary (possibly 5 stichoi)
- B. Legitimacy, filial relationship and extent of rule (15 stichoi)
- C. The king against the (Megiddo) coalition and Libya (15 stichoi)
- D. Concluding encomium (7 stichoi)

Authorship is completely external, though the text itself is inscribed under the aegis of the viceroy. Whether the passages in the mouth of the king derive from his spoken words must remain moot; but they exhibit such generic rhetoric that to postulate direct quotation seems unnecessary.

Part of this text is identical to the wording of texts at Ellesiyeh which bear the date year 51 or 52.<sup>34</sup> Because the viceroy Nehy was assumed to be associated with the Ellesiyeh inscriptions also, one might have argued the uncertainty of the true date of our Buhen text. Could the hymn have been composed late in the reign and back-dated at Buhen, to enhance what was known to have been an *annus mirabilis*, viz. 23? The hypothesis, however, is no longer tenable. Nehy does not appear in the Ellesiyeh stelae, his closest attestation being 8 km. distant!<sup>35</sup> The latest text mentioning him dates

<sup>34</sup> P-M VII, 91(b); *Urk.* IV, 811.

<sup>35</sup> R.A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim* (London, 1968), 43.

to year 25,<sup>36</sup> and it is clear that he disappeared shortly thereafter.<sup>37</sup> One can, therefore, accept the present text as a genuine “publication” of year 23, reproduced a quarter century later at Ellesiyeh.

### III. THE BUTO STELA INSCRIPTION<sup>38</sup>

“(1) Live Horus-mighty-bull: appearing in Wese; the Two Ladies (favorite), with an established kingship like Re in heaven;<sup>39</sup> Horus-over-the-Ombite: with lofty crowns and mighty power;<sup>40</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, son of Re, Thutmose-of-beautiful emanations,<sup>41</sup> beloved of Amun-re, lord of Karnak, and Edjo, mistress of Pe and Dep—may he live for ever!

(2) The perfect god, son of Amun, offspring of Horakhty,<sup>42</sup> whom he created to restore the Two Lands, to govern what the sun-disc encircles, on the throne of his father Re; the southerners are in his grasp, the northerners are under his authority, the Two Banks of Horus (3) are in awe of him, all lands and all foreign lands lie together under his sandals, they come to him with heads bowed, grovelling to his power; the foreign chiefs of each and every land<sup>43</sup> say: ‘he’s our master!’

<sup>36</sup> J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 4 (1956), 74–5; W. Helck, *Historische-biographische Texten der 2. Zwischenzeit Ägyptens* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 136.

<sup>37</sup> M. Dewachter, “Le viceroi Nēhy et l’an 52 de Thoutmosis III,” *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 151–3.

<sup>38</sup> S. Bedier, “Ein Stiftungsdekret Thutmosis III,” *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies* 10 (1994), 1–23; cf. A.J. Spalinger, “The Festival Structure of Thutmose III’s Buto Stela,” *JARCE* 33 (1996), 69–76; *idem*, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt* (forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> On the addition of *mi Rc m pt*, see Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 255ff.

<sup>40</sup> The order of the components varies: Gauthier, *loc. cit.*; on *dsr hcrw* see J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt* (Göttingen, 1985), 199.

<sup>41</sup> *Nfr-hprw*, a constant inclusion in the second cartouche. Its presence helps to identify a new text of Thutmose’s 32nd year at Dahshur: J. Allen, *GM* 140 (1994), 7–8. The text in line 2 is to be restored [*Dhwtj*]ms *nfr-hprw*. The preserved curving stroke on the right partly destroyed in a lacuna, belongs to *ms*, not *rc*. For the former (Möller, 408) with rounded left leg see *P. Gurob* 9785, 2; R.A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1959), pl. 2, 2:4; 28:3; *JEA* 46 (1960), pl. 11 no. 13, recto 5; pl. 12 no. 17, recto 6.

<sup>42</sup> Frequently appearing together with Amun and Re: *Wb.* II, 151:10; III, 408:13; C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), pp. 66 and 73, nn. *b* & *c*.

<sup>43</sup> See D.B. Redford, “The Hyksos in History and Tradition,” *Orientalia* 39 (1970),

It is him they serve through fear (4) of him! There is no land he has not trod to extend the boundaries of Egypt<sup>44</sup> in might and power! Myriads and millions are of no concern to him!<sup>45</sup>

He is an active king, who makes great slaughter in battle, among the nomads all (5) who makes the chiefs of Retenu all together bear their labor taxes, taxed with a labor quota,<sup>46</sup> due annually, like serfs of his palace; he's more effective [than] a numerous army of millions behind him, a unique (6) Fighter, a brave for whom no other equal has come along in any land among his troops, the foreign rulers or the southerners and the northerners.

He is a king whose power deserves to be lauded, commensurate with his strength;

Egypt has been made powerful since he came (to the throne)—no country is a (7) concern to her,

She<sup>47</sup> never has to attend on the southerners or seek out the northerners, knowing<sup>48</sup> that her protector<sup>49</sup> exists like Min with uplifted arm, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, the bowman of Montu

Who sets his frontier at the horns of the earth, on the high-land of Miu;

(8) Kush is with him as his serf, directing to him her labor taxes, of numerous and endless gold, ivory and ebony.

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11–14; R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (Hildesheim, 1978), 208ff; Redford, in E. Oren (ed), *The Hyksos. New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 19. The present passage underscores its universal reference: cf. J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 133; *KRI* II, 192:4.

<sup>44</sup> For the expression, see above, p. 00.

<sup>45</sup> Read *r ib.f*, a variant of such expressions as *h3-ib*, *rdi ib m-s3* etc.

<sup>46</sup> On *htr mpt* indicating a projected annual requisition, see *Wb.* III, 391:20; E.J. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, 1996), 111; D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt* (Fribourg, 1997), 249.

<sup>47</sup> For feminine personification of toponyms, countries and gentiles, see W. Guglielmi, "Personifikation," *LdÄ* IV (1982), 982–83; common in West Semitic: J.C.L. Gibson, *Language and Imagery in the Old Testament* (London, 1998), 16–18.

<sup>48</sup> *Rh.ti*: cf. *Urk.* IV, 363:6.

<sup>49</sup> *Wb.* III, 244:19; often of the king (D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* II (1981), 274–75); also of a god protecting the king: *Urk.* IV, 238:10, 1307:2; H. de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 63 (Isis); Goyon, *Confirmation de pouvoir royal au nouvel an* (Cairo, 1972), 98 n. 147 (leonine goddesses). Here the protective role is linked to a function of Min: cf. H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 74. Ithyphallic gods were somehow regarded as suitable protectors: cf. H.J. Rose, *OCD*. 876; cf. *The Greek Anthology* (London, 1981), 225 (no. 482).



There is no king that has done what he has done, among any of the kings who ever were!

(9) My Majesty commanded that the seasonal feasts of my mother Edjo be performed and that they should lay on offerings of bread, beer, beef and fowl and all good things, in excess of what used to be."

### *Commentary*

Excluding the titulary, the paeon comprises an imbalanced sequence of 13 tristich lines which shade into 9 distich lines. These serve as introduction to Thutmose's routine statement authorizing the continued performance on an enhanced scale of the seasonal offerings in the old calendar of Butic feasts. Needless to say, this festival calendar did not originate with Thutmose III (in spite of the inclusion of his accession anniversary), but certainly dates back to the late Old Kingdom.

The date of the piece is probably rather late in the reign. The hymnists reveals an awareness of the finality of the king's victories, both in south and north, which points to a date later than year 42, and possibly in the final decade of the reign. If the final claim to a southern boundary at Miu dates to the later part of the 5th decade, we might place the Buto stela around year 49–50.

Of some interest are the specifications for the redistribution of the offerings carved on the left side of the stela, which approximate similar instructions in the Karnak Ptah temple:<sup>50</sup> "Now after this goddess' is sated with her offerings,<sup>51</sup> then the meat is to be cooked, the wine decanted and the temple staff seated to celebrate a holiday before the statue of My Majesty. When they have collected these offerings, the offerings are to be brought in, corresponding to (the requisitions for) these seasonal feasts which My Majesty has authorized for my mother Edjo, and put back in front of My Majesty's statue;<sup>52</sup> the exception being its (the statue's) rations of the [daily offering menu]<sup>53</sup> which are given to the priest (*hm-ntr*) of this temple: (viz.) Various loaves of the divine endowment, 20; beer, 2 jugs; meat, 4 ribs; *set*-bread, 1; *bit*-bread, 1; vegetables, 5 bunches; dove(?), 1 bird."

<sup>50</sup> *Urk.* IV, 768–69.

<sup>51</sup> Presumably the offerings in question are those presented on the anniversary of the accession, ix, 4, given in line 25 of the stela.

<sup>52</sup> I.e. for the assembled priests to consume.

<sup>53</sup> Partly erased and falsely restored "Amun-re."

## CHAPTER THREE

### BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENTS AND EPITHETS

#### I. THE ROYAL BARBER SI-BAST<sup>1</sup>

“Regnal year 27 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, given life and stability, the Son of Re, Thutmose, True Ruler,<sup>2</sup> like Re for ever.

Petition made by the royal barber, Si-Bast, in the presence of the ‘Children of the Nursery’ of the king’s house,<sup>3</sup> to wit:

‘My servant, assigned to me myself, whose name is Iwy-Amun, I got him by personal capture while I was following the Ruler. Listen [. . . 3 cols. . . .] of Bast, mistress of Bubastis, in place of my father, the barber Neb-sa-heh.

He is not to be beaten, [he is] not to be de[nied access] to any door of the king’s house. I have given him the daughter of my sister Nebt-to to wife, Takament [is her name]—and she shall [inh]erit equally with [my] wife and my sister—If he makes [. . .] or if he brings criminal action(?)<sup>4</sup> against my sister, no action against him shall ever be taken by anyone.’

This document was written up [by . . . who tabled] it before the guardsman Amenemheb, the king’s scribe Ahmose, the king’s-scribe and agent Baky, the king’s scribe Amenmose, the superintendent of the Porte Amunpa[. . .]”

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<sup>1</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1369; to be corrected from the photograph in Linage, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 217; B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty* (Warminster, 1984), 87–88.

<sup>2</sup> *Hk3 m3ct*: bound form qualifier.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Aegypten* (Frankfurt, 1995), 266–304. Although not certain, it is probable that people designated by this title had been brought up around the crown prince.

<sup>4</sup> *Hsb sb3t*, lit. “A reckoning of punishment.” For *hsbt* used of legal procedure, see C.T. II, 26b, III, 314a; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes* (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg I; Copenhagen, 1948), 9; *Wb.* III. *Belegstellen zu* 167:17; G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977), pl. 29. If *wnwt* is read instead of *sb3t* (as Cumming), the legal action would take on a civil connotation.

Clearly the POW Iwy-Amun (not his birthname, of course) had been captured on one of the first “four” campaigns; but failing any other indicator, it is not clear which one. Of interest, however, is the profession of the litigant, barber, as it stresses the part-time, militia-like nature of the expeditionary forces which went abroad early in the 18th Dyn.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Si-Bast was allowed to keep a personal capture is again in keeping with the times, in contrast to later practice wherein the state would take responsibility for captives and distribute them back in Egypt.

## II. THE BUTLER NEFERPERET<sup>6</sup>

“What the king’s butler Neferperet brought off, while he was in His Majesty’s suite in the land of Retenu:

Cattle of Djahy	4 cows
Egyptian cows	2
Bull(s)	1
Total	7

Bronze, milk-jug . . . in order to give them to the Temple of Millions of Years, *Henket-onkh*.<sup>7</sup> His brother, Amun-em-mekh-ib, acts as their cowherd and his son Djeserkare<sup>8</sup> shall carry milk.—‘Let them be under my charge throughout my lifetime!’

The superintendent of the Porte Neb-seny went in concerning it,<sup>9</sup> and the king’s scribe Amunmose came (out) concerning it. What was said in the Majesty of the Palace L.P.H.:<sup>10</sup> ‘They shall be under your charge throughout your lifetime; and after you yourself grow old, they shall pass from son to son, and from heir to heir.’<sup>11</sup> Do

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1965), 167.

<sup>6</sup> Cairo 42121: *Urk.* IV, 1020:7–1021:10.

<sup>7</sup> G. Haeny, in B.E. Shafer, *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 1997), 89–96; for “temples of millions of years” see D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Dusseldorf, 2000), 164.

<sup>8</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I (Gluckstadt, 1935), 409:11. A common New Kingdom name, undoubtedly indicating an origin for the family in Thebes West, where the cult of Amenophis I was of great importance.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. presented Neferperet’s case before Pharaoh.

<sup>10</sup> See above (pt. 1), p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Curiously this presupposes a human lifespan less than that of cattle! But the expression is presumably formulaic.

not assign them to the sphere of the Superintendent of Cattle. As for any who shall come to dispute (it), do not let them have a hearing in any office of the king, nor let one violate (this arrangement) in order to do anything (different).”

Neferperet brings back to Egypt, apparently under his own guardianship, 7 cattle and a milk-jug which he captured on campaign in Syria. They were destined for the mortuary temple of the king, and nothing in the text suggests that they did not become the property of this establishment. But Neferperet petitioned to be given charge over the animals, and the king issued an official determination. Although it is not stated, it is fairly obvious that this arrangement was going to redound to the mutual advantage of both Neferperet and the temple: perhaps, while most of the milk went to the temple, Neferperet would be allowed to keep a portion for himself.

### III. THE “SOLDIER” AND LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, AMUN-EM-HEB<sup>12</sup>

“The sold[er Amunemhe]b, justified, he says:

I was most trusted of the sovereign L.P.H., devoted to the King of Upper Egypt, steadfast for the King of Lower Egypt. I followed my lord in his footsteps in the northern and southern lands—he loved (it) when I was at his heels,<sup>13</sup> when he was on the battlefield of his victories, when his strength inspired confidence!

A. I made a capture in the land of Negeb and brought off 3 *c3mw* as prisoners-of-war; when His Majesty arrived in Naharin I brought the three men as captures therefrom, that I might set them before His(sic) Majesty as prisoners-of-war.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Text from tomb, TT 85 (at 17): *Urk.* IV, 890–97.; R. Stadelmann, “Deutsches archäologischen Instituut: Aufnahme und Publikation thebanischer Beamtengräber,” in J. Assmann (ed), *Thebanischen Beamtennekropolen. Neuen Perspektiven archäolog. Forschung* (Heidelberg, 1995), 11 n. 17; P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1994), 35; B. Bryan, “The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani,” in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 2000), 74.

<sup>13</sup> I do not think “page” is an appropriate rendering here: Galan, *Victory and Border*, 89 (B).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. T. Ritter, *Das Verbalssystem der königlichen und privaten Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 78–79. The pericope seems to me to be a unit: the 3 men are the same in each case, and *di.i* is subjunctive, rather than preterital.

- B. Again I made a capture ‘on’ this expedition in the country ‘the Juniper-Ridge’<sup>15</sup> west of Aleppo. I brought off Asiatics (*c3mw*) as prisoners of war, 13 men (along with) 70 live donkeys and bronze: 13 axes, and bronze worked with gold [...]
- C. Again I made a capture ‘on’ this expedition in the land of Carchemish, and I brought off [...] as prisoners of war. I crossed the water of Naharin<sup>16</sup> with them in my custody [...] and I [set] them before my lord. Thereupon he conferred on me a great reward, the tally whereof [...].
- D. Now I witnessed the victories of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, given life! In the country of *Sn-n-d3r*<sup>17</sup> [among] whom he made a [great] slau[ghter]. I made a captive in the presence of the king, and I brought off a hand there.<sup>18</sup> He gave me the gold-of-favor: tally thereof [...], silver: 2 rings.<sup>19</sup>
- E. Now again I witnessed his prowess while I was in his train: [he] plundered [the town(?) of]<sup>20</sup> Kadesh, and I did not stray from the place where he was. I brought off two maryannu [as prisoners of war that I might set them] before the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose ruler-of-Wese, living for ever! He gave me ‘Gold-for-Bravery’ in a public appearance [...]. Tally thereof: Gold of (leonine) valor, 2 collars; 2 ‘flies,’ 4 rings.
- F. Now I saw my lord upon [the land of...] in all his transformations,<sup>21</sup> in the land, the northern part of [...]—*h3*—[...]

<sup>15</sup> *T3 t3t wcn*: A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1989), 437; N. Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'ancien Égypte* (Leuven, 1988), 251–52. It is tempting to posit an Akkadian toponym from *dupranu* (CAD III [1959], 189–90) cf. The Ugaritic toponym \**gt dprmm*: M.C. Astour, “Ancient North Syrian Toponyms derived from Plant Names,” in G. Rendsberg (ed), *The Biblical World* (New York, 1980), 3 no. 14.

<sup>16</sup> In the context this can only be the Euphrates.

<sup>17</sup> Kala’at Sejar on the Orontes between Niya and Tunip: Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 157\*; apparently an independent state in the Bronze Age (cf. The “king of Sinzar” EA 53:42), though later within the sphere of Apamea (“Niya”: Strabo xvi.2.10 (Larissa).

<sup>18</sup> I.e. he killed an enemy.

<sup>19</sup> A.R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards* (Freibourg, 1988), 116–47; S. Aufrère, *L’Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo, 1991), II, 366–67.

<sup>20</sup> This could as easily be restored [*p3 w*], “the district of.”

<sup>21</sup> The word has rather heavy overtones of forms of being and stages of growth: cf. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Aegyptischen* (Mainz, 1976), 550–52; J. Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit* (Heidelberg, 1975), 22; *idem*, *Aspekte der spatägyptischen Religion* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 30. Amunemheb probably means that he was so close to the king that he saw him at all times and in all activities.

- (as) they call it.<sup>22</sup> I was the one that mounted the fort[ification], the [sp]eediest of the [entire] army.
- G. Again I witnessed his victories in the land of vile Takhsy<sup>23</sup> in the town of Mariu(?). I made a capture in it in the presence of the king, and I brought off 3 *č3mw* as prisoners of war. Then my lord gave me the Gold-of-Favor. Tally thereof: gold, 2 collars, 4 rings, 2 'flies,' one lion(amulet); one female and one male servant.
- H. Again [I witnessed] another fine deed which my lord accomplished in Niya, when he hunted 120 elephants for their ivory.<sup>24</sup> Then the largest elephant among them began to attack His Majesty. I it was that cut off his trunk while he was still alive, in the presence of His Majesty, while I was standing in the water between two stones. Thereupon my lord rewarded me with gold [...] and 5 articles of clothing.
- I. Then the chief of Kadesh released a mare and [it galloped] upon its legs and entered into the midst of the army; and I ran after her on foot with my sword(?)<sup>25</sup> And ripped open her belly. I (thereupon) cut off her tail and presented it before His Majesty.<sup>26</sup> Thanks was showered on me for it: he gave forth with rejoicing, and it filled my soul! A thrill shot through my limbs!
- J. Authorization by His Majesty that every elite trooper<sup>27</sup> of his army should proceed to breach the new rampart (*sbtj*)<sup>28</sup> which

<sup>22</sup> It is not clear whether we should read *h3st phwy n T*[...] or *h3st phwy nt* [...]. In the former case the name of the land will have begun with *s*.

<sup>23</sup> The northern Beka'a, south of Kadesh: P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 51–53; A. Alt, *ZDPV* 70 (1953), 39–40; S. Mittmann, U. Muller, *Archaeologischen Survey in der nordlichen Biq'a, Herbst 1972*, Wiesbaden, 1976.; R. Gundlach, "Tachsi," in *LdÄ* VI (1986), 143–44; P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 51–58; on the writing see M. Görg, "Von 'Taḥsi' nach 'Ḥatti,'" *BN* 45 (1988), 22–25.

<sup>24</sup> A.M. Gnirs, "Die ägyptische Autobiographie," in A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 214, n. 116.

<sup>25</sup> A hapax: *mšcw*.

<sup>26</sup> On the motif of the mare sent out among the stallion-drawn chariots, cf. Cant. I, 9; M.H. Pope, "A Mare in Pharaoh's Chariotry," *BASOR* 200 (1970), 56–61.

<sup>27</sup> *Qm*: treated by Chevereau as an honorific title (*Prosopographie*, 197–98). The present passage might suggest a more formal category.

<sup>28</sup> The standard term for an enclosure wall on a monumental scale which completely surrounds something (temple, city etc.): P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 36f (line 2); C. Traunecker, "Une Stèle commémorant la construction de l'enceinte d'un temple de Montou," *Karnak* 5 (1975), 148–49; J.-P.

Kadesh had made. I was the one that breached it as the leader of all the elite—no one was ahead of me!—and I came out and brought maryannu, 2 individuals, as prisoners of war. Again did my lord reward me for it with every fine thing of the heart's satisfaction!"

### Commentary

The contents of this text for the history of Thutmose's military activity in Asia cannot be denied. Scholarship has generally and convincingly, assigned episodes A, B and C to a single campaign.<sup>29</sup> While the inclusion of the Negeb incident may be questioned,<sup>30</sup> the battles at Juniper Ridge and Carchemish are clearly linked to what goes before by the use of the expression *m wdyt tn*, "on this expedition."<sup>31</sup> Moreover, one would have difficulty separating the incident of crossing the "water of Naharin" from the battle at Carchemish, since the captives he took were taken across the water to be set before the king. All in all, it does least damage to the evidence to assign these incidents to the 8th campaign in year 33.<sup>32</sup>

The recurrent formula in this section is "I made a capture" (*ḥfc/kf3*), three times. Only *once* is he decorated and that at the end of the section. If soldiers were decorated only once per campaign, this might be a reliable rule of thumb in trying to ascertain the number of expeditions the old soldier is recalling.

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Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque Saïte," *Hommages Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 148 n. 4. For its use in the Megiddo description, see above, p. 00.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Classically Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 156-8\*; the tendency has perhaps been overdone: cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1 (Stuttgart, 1928), 131 n. 1 (postulating chronological consistency); E. Drioton, J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1962), 403-4, 444-45; M.S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C.," *CAH* II, 1 (Cambridge, 1973), 456; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 32; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 141-43.

<sup>30</sup> If, as is virtually certain, the "Negeb" here is the same as the Biblical "dry country" (Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 196 no. 263), i.e. the terrain south of Hebron, it is difficult to see what this has to do with a campaign which went by sea and began essentially in Byblos. Did Amunemheb trundle his prisoners all the way to north Syria? And what was he doing detached from the main force? While these questions might (with difficulty) find answers, it may be safer to see a *thematic* link: 3 prisoners in each case.

<sup>31</sup> *Urk.* IV, 891:2,8. There is no evidence that the adversaries here were the "troops from Mittani": Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 92.

<sup>32</sup> Gardiner (*Onomastica* I, 157\*) would add D, E and G to this list as remembrances of this campaign, oddly omitting F. For this there is no compelling reason beyond a false intuition.

The important facts to note about the section following the reminiscences of the 8th campaign, that is to say D to H (above) are (a) the formula involving "capture" is replaced by one employing "to see" (*m33*), and (b) Amunemheb is rewarded no less than three times! In this section Amunemheb is concerned with subordinating his exploits to the mere fact of his presence on the campaign, and his witnessing the mighty deeds of his sovereign. If the number of decorations is a valid indication, we would be dealing with three campaigns; but, on the evidence of the changed format, there is no prior necessity to assume they follow in chronological order. Of the places listed Senjar (D) occurs in no known campaign, although nos. 11 and 12 are a blank in our knowledge, and the Nukhashshe towns taken on the 9th and 13th campaigns are unnamed. The partly preserved [...] *ha* [...] in F sounds like a distant land, to judge by the presence of the locution *hr.tw r.f*<sup>33</sup> and the reference to the *phw*. One is reminded that in the 10th campaign the battle took place at Aryan, far to the north, where the king of Mittani had assembled an army from *phw n t3*. Takhsy (G) is mentioned nowhere in the annals, but Minmose declares he was an eyewitness to Thutmose's capture of 30 towns therein;<sup>34</sup> and in the earliest of Amenophis II's campaigns Takhsy with its seven chiefs was the main target.<sup>35</sup> One wonders, therefore, whether the Takhsy campaign is not to be placed at the end of Thutmose's reign, after year 42.<sup>36</sup>

In the account of the Niya elephant hunt (H) the formula changes again, although Sethe's restoration conceals the fact. In contrast to the two earlier occurrences of the formula *iw whm.n.i m33*, we now have *whm* [...] *ky sp* with only two groups missing and scarcely enough room for *n.i m33*. The probability is that we have here another phrase, like *whm* [*i dd*] or (less likely?) *Whm.[n hm.f irt]*. Moreover the two incidents which follow concern themselves with animal exploits, and it is only on this basis that they are grouped together. Contrary to Gardiner's thesis, they cannot be placed in series on the basis of an assumed chronological progression.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. The way Mitanni is first mentioned in Egyptian sources: L. Borchardt, *Altaegyptische Zeitmessung* (Berlin, 1920), Tafel 18.

<sup>34</sup> See below, p. 00. Locating Amunemheb's Takhsy incident to the 8th campaign leads to confusion and error in the geography of Takhsy: Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 150-52\*.

<sup>35</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1297:4.

<sup>36</sup> See further below, p. 00.



Finally comes episode J in which, in the final assault on Kadesh, Amunemheb led the sappers, breached the wall and captured two maryannu. As Helck has seen, this is but an expanded duplicate of episode E. It is true that, in the description of the rewards, discrepant phraseology is used: *nbw n qnn* in one case and *fq3w* in the other; but the old campaigner may be allowed stylistic variation.<sup>37</sup>

One does not have to read chronological progression into this series of events to make sense out of them. Rather, Amunemheb is grouping his exploits according to another criterion entirely, viz. by *theme*. First come his most cherished (and earliest?) memories, when he distinguished himself in the 8th campaign; next those incidents in which he was an eye-witness to the king's triumphs; finally two animal incidents, the second of which leads into a more detailed description of the assault on Kadesh.

The chronological distribution of the campaigns of Amunemheb may, therefore, be set forth as follows:

Episodes A, B, C, H: clearly the 8th campaign.

Episode D: conceivably the 8th, but the 13th is a distinct possibility.

Episode F: possibly the 10th.

Episode G: unnumbered—between years 42 and 49.

Episodes E, I and J.

This (single) episode poses a problem in identification. In the extant day-book excerpts Kadesh is mentioned (apart from the first campaign) in the 6th and the last. In the former the fields around the town are laid waste, in the latter three towns in its territory are attacked. Since, however, in the last account half the column is missing at a crucial point, a reference to the sacking of Kadesh may once have stood in the lacuna. The observation (in J) that the fortifications of the city had just been strengthened, lends credence to a later rather than an earlier date: the act of re-fortifying suggests precaution born of familiarity with the pressure of constant Egyptian attacks. The campaign in question may even date *after* year 42, and be identical with G.

<sup>37</sup> Note how the expression *bw nb* occurs in both pericopes: "everyone" in E *Urk.* IV, 892:12) and *bw nb nfr*, "every good thing" in J (895:7).

IV. CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER MINMOSE<sup>38</sup>

"...<sup>39</sup> [hereditary prince, count], grandee of the King of Upper Egypt, magnate of the King of Lower Egypt, count-bishop of the prophets of Montu, lord of Thebes, superintendent of construction in the temples of the gods [of Upper and Lower Egypt], king's-scribe, Minmose.

He says:

'I followed the perfect god, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, given life! Through every land he trod. I saw how His Majesty's [arm] waxed strong in [every land unto] the end of the earth! And how [His Majesty] crossed [that water of Naharin . . . ]'<sup>40</sup>

I saw him overthrow the land of Nubia, retracing his steps<sup>41</sup> in [ . . . ] those who came to [ . . . ] while I was in His Majesty's train in [ . . . ]

[I trod] Upper [Retenu] behind my lord. I set the tax quota<sup>42</sup> for [Upper] Retenu [in silver, gold], lapis, various gem-stones, chariots and horses without number, and cattle and wild game multitudinous as they were. I instructed the chiefs of Retenu about [their] yearly labor-taxes.

I set the tax quota for the chiefs of the land of Nubia in electrum in ore-form,<sup>43</sup> in gold, ivory and ebony, and numerous ships of dome-palm wood, as a tax-quota of each year, like dependents of his palace.

May His Majesty offer himself as my witness! Indeed! These lands I have spoken (of), my lord got them with his might, his bow, his arrow and his axe.<sup>44</sup> I know it! I inventoried them, and they were placed under the authority of the treasury!

<sup>38</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1441-42; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1953), 33-34; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reiches* (Leiden, 1958), 271-72; cf. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 164-66; B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 46-48.

<sup>39</sup> *Htp-di-nsw* formula.

<sup>40</sup> Or perhaps restore *phr wr m-s3 phw sw?*

<sup>41</sup> *Hsf nmt*, or "opposing the incursion(?)."

<sup>42</sup> *Htr*.

<sup>43</sup> J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 48.

<sup>44</sup> Galàn, *Victory and Border*, 88 (F).

I saw how the arm of His Majesty waxed strong when (he took to) fighting, plundering 30 towns within the region of Takhsy,<sup>45</sup> (whence) their chiefs, chattels and cattle were brought off. I led the king's renowned army, in my capacity as king's agent who does what (he) is told."

### *Commentary*

Minmose singles out at the beginning two representative campaigns. The first, to judge from the "crossing" of water, must be the 8th campaign. This would be consonant with Minmose's claim on his Tura inscription to have erected a stela in the land of Naharin.<sup>46</sup> The second is the overthrow (*shrt*) of the land of *Mhsy*, which must refer to whatever Thutmose was doing in the south in year 49–50.<sup>47</sup> He then describes his function as assessor of taxes in Asia and Nubia, and invokes the king as witness to the veracity of his statements. Then follows a further exploit, this time one in which he distinguished himself as commander of the elite force, in Takhsy. The inference one might make is that this event took place in the same reign, viz. that of Thutmose III; after all, there has been no change of cartouche! Yet it remains barely possible, in the light of Amenophis II's early activity in Takhsy, that it might be *his* campaign that Minmose refers to.<sup>48</sup>

### V. THE KEEPER OF THE SEAL AND SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GOLD LANDS OF AMUN, SEN-NUFER<sup>49</sup>

"Now it is the hereditary prince, count, royal sealer [sole friend . . . <sup>50</sup>  
Sennufer that speaks: 'I crossed the se]a, [I . . . *lengthy lacuna* . . . which

<sup>45</sup> Above, p. 169 n. 23.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. G. Daressy, "Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Masarah," *ASAE* 11 (1911), 258.

<sup>47</sup> See above, pp. 161–162.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Leiden, 1968), 162; der Manuelian, *op. cit.*, 53–54. Klengel (*Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 94) assigns the erecting of the stela to Thutmose's reign, but includes the Takhsi battles in the 8th campaign (following Gardiner).

<sup>49</sup> *Urk.* IV, 534–35; ANET (3rd ed), 243; E. Eichler, "Die Reisen des Sennefri (TT 99)," *SAK* 26 (1998), 215–28; S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des 'Hauses des Amun' in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000), 317 no. 504.

<sup>50</sup> There may be more titles at this point.

happened to] be in the place where I was. Happy was [. . .] I went forth to this my [. . . who ride(?)] upon the storm. I entered into Lebanon [. . . Hathor, mistress of Byblos, and I authorized] that an offering of a myriad of things be presented to her on behalf [of the life, prosperity and health of the Sovereign. . .] therein, (viz.) Byblos, who had given herself to her Lord voluntarily, gave him [her timber], the choicest thereof. I got (trunks) 60 cubits in [their] length [. . .]

They were sharper than an ear of grain, and their top(s) were thick[er than. . .] I [had] them [dragged down] from the uplands of "God's-Country", and (they) arrived at the shore(sic)<sup>51</sup> of Lebanon, [and were loaded on to ships. I sailed across the s]ea with fair wind, making landfall [. . .]"

### Commentary

Apart from shrine 13 at Silsilah,<sup>52</sup> all Sen-nufer's monuments are firmly dated to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>53</sup> He is still present in office four months into the 32nd year.<sup>54</sup> It is tempting to link Sen-nufer's exploit of cutting and transporting the flag-staves with the celebrated adornments on and around the 7th pylon which, as we have argued above,<sup>55</sup> are to be dated to years 33–34. If the reference to "storm-cloud" is to be taken seriously,<sup>56</sup> Sen-nufer's voyage will have coincided, in part, with the winter season (as did Wenamun's). It is likely that his trip is to be dated *after* the crushing victory of year 33, perhaps in the winter of that year.

<sup>51</sup> Read *spt* in all probability; less likely *r-r-c*, "vicinity" or the like. To supply a first person suffix at this point would be out of place.

<sup>52</sup> R.A. Caminos, T.G.H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* (London, 1963), 37–39. Helck plausibly suggests that Sen-nufer usurped an unfinished grotto begun under Hatshepsut and superimposed his sovereign's, Thutmose III's, name: "Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer," *GM* 43 (1981), 39–41.

<sup>53</sup> S. Ratié, *La Reine Hatchepsout. Sources et problèmes* (Leiden, 1979), 286–87.

<sup>54</sup> M. Megally, *Le Papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre* (Cairo, 1971), pl. 65 (A Recto xi.3–4).

<sup>55</sup> Above, p. 125.

<sup>56</sup> There may well be deeper, mythological overtones to Sen-nufer's choice of expression. Cf. The well-known epithet of Ba'al, "Rider of the Clouds": P.E. Dion, "YHWH as Storm-god and Sun-god. The Double Legacy of Egypt and Canaan as Reflected in Psalm 104," *ZAW* 103 (1991), 51–52 and notes 32–34; N.P. Lemche, *Prelude to Israel's Past* (Peabody, Mass., 1998), 172–85; J. Tubb, *Canaanites* (Norman, 1998), 74–75.

VI. THE GREAT Wḥmw OF THE KING ANTEF<sup>57</sup>

“Hereditary prince, count, uniquely beloved courtier, mayor of Thinis in the Abydos township, chief of the Oasis in its entirety,<sup>58</sup> great wḥmw of the king<sup>59</sup> Antef repeating life and possessed of veneration . . . who is in the heart of the Perfect God, able scribe of the accounts, great wḥmw of the king . . . chief wḥmw of the Porte, he says:

O ye living upon earth, all ye people, priest, scribe and lector who may enter into this tomb of the necropolis, who love life (sic) as surely as ye hate death! Your town gods shall favor you, ye shall not experience the fear of a foreign(ky) land,<sup>60</sup> ye shall be buried in your tombs and hand on your offices to your children, whether ye be those that read your (sic) words on this stela in writing, or (simply) listen to them<sup>61</sup> just as ye say: an offering that the king gives to Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, that he might give 8,000 bread, beer, beef, fowl and cloth to the *ku* of the hereditary prince and count, seal bearer, sole friend,

Trusted by the king with the command of his troops, who makes the staff-officers of the elite corps step lively;<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> P-M I (2), 263–65 (TT 155).

<sup>58</sup> For the prominence of Thinis in the 18th Dynasty, see R.W. Smith, D.B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. I. Initial Discoveries* (Warminster, 1977), 119 and the sources there given; G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (London, 1988), 214. On the 8th township of Upper Egypt and its connexions with the oases, see W. Helck, *Die altaegyptische Gaue* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 130; F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches II.* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 389–93; G. Wagner, *Les Oases d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Cairo, 1987), 143.

<sup>59</sup> Sources for discussion in S. and D. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project Vol. 4. The Tomb of Re'a (TT 201)* (Toronto, 1994), 29–35. The office differs markedly from the office of wḥmw in the 2nd Intermediate Period.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Wb.* V, 215:144, lit. “Another land.” The passage is probably to be taken literally, i.e. as “foreign parts” (cf. Sir A.H. Gardiner, J. Cerny, *Hieratic Ostraca* [Oxford, 1956], pl. VIIIA, no. 3, 9), rather than as a reference to the Underworld.

<sup>61</sup> One of the few locutions that betray formal “readings” of texts for the benefit of the illiterate or “slow” readers: D.B. Redford, “Scribe and Speaker.” in E. Ben Zvi and others (eds), *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (Atlanta, 2000), 161.

<sup>62</sup> On the *mnfyt*/*mnfyt*, always in the context of infantry, see A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), 13f; C. Vandersleyen *Les guerres d'Amosis* (Bruxelles, 1968), 177–90; P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1994), 42–44; but cf. A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), 96 n. 64. But the *mnfyt* could also engage in construction work: P. Anast. I.14.2. Does the appearance of a *z3b* of the *mnfyt* indicate a sort of “gentlemanly” status for the whole corps? Cf. T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I* (Oxford, 1974), no. 435 (pl. 87).

Who reckons the courtiers and ushers in the dignitaries, and inducts the king's nobles into their positions;

Manager of managers, organizing a million men, chief of the most prominent officers of the departments, one of the first rank, able in the presence,

One who transmits the words of the plebs and reports on the Condition of the Two Banks, who speaks to the point(?) in camera;<sup>63</sup>

One who goes in with acclamation(?)<sup>64</sup> and comes out with praise, who sets every man in the place of his father, One who gives satisfaction and is praised by the praised;

One at whose speech the magistrates station themselves, who effects the arrangements of the audience hall,<sup>65</sup>

Who produces directives in the king's-house LPH and lets everyone know his duties,

Who makes splendid [. . .], awe of him in the midst of the throne-room;<sup>66</sup>

Who silences the disputant and preserves decorum,<sup>67</sup> with careful steps when discretion is called for;

Plummet of the balance of the Perfect God which guides all the people to what they should do;

Who says: 'Let it be done!' and [immediately] it is, just as though it were an enunciation from the god's mouth!

Who brings the Sun-folk's attention to reckoning their labor-taxes<sup>68</sup> for the king;

Stern<sup>69</sup> towards every foreign land, who does business with their chiefs, One with large balances when he does the accounts;

Alert [. . .], who knows what is in the heart of the Sovereign LPH;

(With) a tongue (free to) talk to him that is in the palace;

<sup>63</sup> Lit. "Who speaks about business in the secret place": cf. *Wb.* II, 179:16.

<sup>64</sup> But possibly read *nfrwt*, "good things": *Wb.* II, 259:9.

<sup>65</sup> Read *cryt*.

<sup>66</sup> *St wrt*: A.H. Gardiner, "The Founding of a New Delta Town in the Twentieth Dynasty," *JEA* 34 (1948), 21 n. 4; K.P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Aegypten* (1979), 28, 98ff; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1088), 108-14.

<sup>67</sup> *Shpr dsw*: J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt* (Göttingen, 1985), 177f.

<sup>68</sup> *B3kw*; for such imposts see below, pp. 245ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Snn hr*: *Wb.* IV, 132:28. The expression seems to have a more severe connotation than this lexicon will allow.

Eyes of the king, heart of the palace-lord—an instruction for the entire land!—

Who curbs the rebel and expels the defiant [...] from the contentious,

Who seizes upon(?)<sup>70</sup> thieves, who deals tough with those who deal tough, hard-liner<sup>71</sup> against hard-liners,

Who forces down the arm of the smart-ass and frustrates the violent in his moment (of glory),

Who makes the lawless man follow the instructions of the letter of the law, even though it is against his disposition;

Very dreadful towards criminals, inspiring fear among the naturally defiant,

Banisher of the rebel, punisher of the violent;

Prospering the palace and establishing its laws, pacifying multitudes for its lord—

The chief *Wḥmw* of the Porte, mayor of Thinis in the Abydos township, chief of the Oasis in its entirety, able scribe skilled in the script,<sup>72</sup> Antef . . .

Unique and wise, equipped with knowledge and truly prosperous;

One who can tell the fool from the one who knows, who can distinguish the (true) craftsman and ignores the ignoramus;

Wise(?)<sup>73</sup> Very clever and patient in audience. . . .

Free from wrong-doing, useful to his masters,

Straightforward<sup>74</sup> with no evil in him,

Skilled in every means, respectful of the pleasant,

Hearkening to his plea, mild to the calm-tempered,

Acting as spokesman for him that acts according to his policy. . . .

Who knows the devisings<sup>75</sup> of the mind before they have passed the lips,

<sup>70</sup> *Wb.* III, 80:5; is this writing a simplex of *Wb.* II, 296:11, or is Antef manufacturing an “archaism”?

<sup>71</sup> *Shm-ib.*

<sup>72</sup> *Wḥc dṛf*, lit. “Who can interpret the signs”: *Wb.* V, 477:16; KRI II, 387:15; for the literacy with which learned men of the reign prided themselves, see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 166f.

<sup>73</sup> *Ṭ3-ib.* *Wb.* V, 342:9; unlikely to have anything to do with the idiom “to be depressed, discouraged”: E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Fribourg, 1916), 19:63; Wenamun 2, 69; Sisine and the General (Chass. 1 x 3: x+6).

<sup>74</sup> *Cq3-ib.*

<sup>75</sup> Read *mdwyrw*.

Discoursing in speech according to what he thinks—there is nothing he does not know!

Who pays attention to him that speaks truth, ignoring him that speaks falsehood,

[. . .], not mild towards him that runs on at the mouth;

One who went out of his way to do good, well-disposed one who brings calm,

Who does not distinguish the one he does not know from the one he does know, busy<sup>76</sup> with the concerns of associates,

Patient in hearing petitioners, who judges [two men to th]eir (mutual) [satisfaction,

One who showed no partiality to the liar, free from bias,

Who acquits him who is in the right, and punishes the criminal for his crime;

Supporter<sup>77</sup> of the wretched, father of the poor,

Guide of the orphan, mother of the fearful,

Refuge of him who has been attacked, protector<sup>78</sup> of the sick,

Champion of the one deprived<sup>79</sup> of his property by him that is more powerful than he;

Husband of the widow, refuge of the orphan [. . .] . . .

One over whom his acquaintances<sup>80</sup> exult, praised for his character,

One to whom men of good will and gods sing hymns, inasmuch as he is good,

Whom health and life is prayed for by all men;

The g[reat] *whmw* of the audience hall, chief steward, overseer of granaries, manager of all the construction work of the king's house LPH, to whom every office reports, who reckons the labor taxes of managers, mayors and reeves of Upper and Lower Egypt, the able scribe Antef, justified. He says:

<sup>76</sup> *Phr*, with overtones of service: cf. Devaud, *op. cit.*, 27:199, 29:235; J.W.B. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 1, A:17 ("... when his conversation turned to what had happened..."); cf. *Urk.* IV, 1383:7.

<sup>77</sup> *Mrw* used collectively; the idea of "support" is a primary connotation of the word: cf. Merikare 22, 57, 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Mkty*: the noun *mkt*, "protection," whence comes the derived noun, bears therapeutic overtones: cf. J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), 118; F. A-M Ghattas, *Das Buch Mk.t-hcw*, "Schutz des Leibes", Göttingen, 1968.

<sup>79</sup> Read as passive participle from *rwi*, "to remove, expel," with the prothetic, euphonic augment, anticipating the prothetic *alif* of Late Egyptian. On the sense see P. Vernus, *Athribis* (Cairo, 1976), 51 n. *e*.

<sup>80</sup> Passive participle with euphonic augment; cf. the "emphatic" *i.sdm.f* in which the \**e*- is rendered by *iw*: *Urk.* IV, 651:6.



‘That’s my character and witness of me! And there is by no means exaggeration therein!

That’s my nature in truth, and there is no misstatement in it;

Nor indeed are there euphemisms<sup>81</sup> of boasting of me falsely—what I have done<sup>82</sup> is in fact my personality—

It’s my function in the king’s-house LPH, its my service in the palace LPH, its my duties in the audience hall—

It was my heart that made me do it through his guidance for me, and he is a good witness [for me];

I never discounted what he said, I was afraid to overstep his direction—

I prospered very much on account of it and I benefited on account of what he made me do!

Virtue came to me through his direction, Indeed! [...] by people. He is the divine utterance which is in every body,

And its a lucky man whom he has lead on the good road of action. See! I’m an example of that!

Now I followed the king of the Two Lands and stuck close to his footsteps in [the northern and the southern lands;

I attained the ex]treme south of the earth, I arrived at its northern extremity at the feet of His Majesty LPH.

I was as much a soldier<sup>83</sup> as the master swordsman, and deported myself like his braves.

Every palace<sup>84</sup> situated (*hr-s3*) in a foreign land was assessed for [supplies] and I travelled before the elite corps at the head of the

<sup>81</sup> *Wb.* IV, 335:13.

<sup>82</sup> *Wnt ir.i*: again, as in the case of the prothetic augments noted above, we have here a reflexion of the vernacular, viz. the preterital convertor *wn* which, unlike other convertors in the Late Egyptian system, retained the ability to inflect for both gender and relativity.

<sup>83</sup> *Qnn.i*, modal nominalisation. The effect is to stress the fact (which can be elicited clearly from the rest of the text) that Antef was *not* a soldier by profession. Here and in the following line there is a rhetorical play on *qni*, “to be courageous,” and *qmw*, “brave, commando/ranger”: *Wb.* V, 44:17; A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), 67; P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1994), 197–200.

<sup>84</sup> *Ch nb*: the king’s rest-houses when on progress in Egypt are called *ch*: P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), I, 98; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir au nouvel an* (Cairo, 1972), 83 n. 3; cf. The title *hrp ch*, D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2000), no. 2579. In the present case Antef is talking of quarters commandeered in the towns of Asia. The practice is related to the formula for stocking the harbors: Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* (Beersheva, 1990), 57–60.

army; and (by the time) my lord came safely to me I had provisioned it. I supplied it with all good and desirable things (available) abroad (*hr ḥ3st*), better than an Egyptian palace, purified, cleansed, with privacy and security for their apartments, and the pantry staffed by its attendants. So I caused the king's heart to be satisfied with what [I] did [...] me. I assessed the benevolences of the chiefs who are in every foreign land in silver, gold, oil, incense and wine.”

### *Commentary*

This text provides the best description of the duties of the chief royal *whmw*, at least in the middle of the 18th Dynasty. The office appears to encompass and combine the tasks of a chief-of-staff and spokesman for the king with those of a judicial prosecutor. While the function hovers on the fringe of a paramilitary role, Antef is aware that he belongs to a civil, rather than military, cadre of official. As the officer responsible for preparing the way for the expedition, his role will have dovetailed with that of the “superintendent of fortresses in the northern foreign lands,” Si-amun, who, it is argued below,<sup>85</sup> was in charge of the coastal depots and their supplies.

The final passage of the biography calls to mind the generic statement at the conclusion to the entry in the Daybook excerpts for year 40<sup>86</sup> where the restored text states that the benevolences were received wherever the king established a camp. Here, the inclusion of Antef's role in assessing the benevolences, juxtaposed with the description of the rest-houses, suggests we are dealing with the same thing, viz. a field for the reception of *imw*. That *ihw* is used in one passage and *ch* in the other, should give rise to no problem: the king's choice of venue could fall equally on municipal or rural setting, depending upon the occasion.

<sup>85</sup> P. 257 n. 12.

<sup>86</sup> Above, p. 52.

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PART THREE

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE EARLY 18TH DYNASTY (BEFORE YEAR 22 OF THUTMOSE III)

The extent of Egyptian involvement in the early 18th Dynasty was modest and in many respects “traditional.” In terms of hostile incursions of a military nature, the Pharaohs of the time rarely indulged themselves.<sup>1</sup> One can point to the reduction of Sharuhēn and excursions into the Byblos region by Ahmose,<sup>2</sup> a possible clash somewhere in Asia(?) Under Amenophis I,<sup>3</sup> a more formal invasion of the Orontes and north Syria by Thutmose I,<sup>4</sup> and punitive action against transhumants,

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<sup>1</sup> For the evidence see D.B. Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia during the Early 18th Dynasty,” *JAOs* 99 (1979), 270–87. The Position of Helck (*Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, Leiden, 1968), viz. that Ahmose automatically stepped into the Hyksos ruler’s role as overlord of Asia, is rightly rejected by H. Goedicke, “The End of the Hyksos in Egypt,” in L.H. Lesko (ed), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard H. Parker* (Providence, 1986), 46–7. I must add, however, that I never espoused this view, pointing only to Egyptian *traditional perception*.

<sup>2</sup> C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d’Amosis*, Bruxelles, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. The large and beautiful limestone shrine of Amenophis I in the Sheikh Labib storeroom at Karnak (personal observation) with a large scene—king’s figure c. 2.5 m. tall—showing the king slaughtering grovelling prisoners. Unfortunately the identity of the latter cannot be determined.

<sup>4</sup> Redford, *op. cit.*, 274–76. The gate inscription, which I tentatively assigned to Amenophis I, may in fact belong to Thutmose I: cf. L. Bradbury, “Nefer’s Inscription: on the Death Date of Queen Ahmose-Nefertary and the Deed found Pleasing to the King,” *JARCE* 22 (1985), 78–9. Since I wrote the gate has been published by F. Le Saout, “Un magasin à onguents de Karnak et le problème du nom de Tyr: Mise au point,” *Cahiers de Karnak* VIII (1987), 325–38, who assigns a 12th Dyn. Date to the piece. I believe that this date can be demonstrated to be in error for the following reasons. 1. The range of toponyms conforms to the political configuration of the Late Bronze, not the EB/MB Period. The interest in Qedem (= the hinterland of Byblos: W.F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* [Baltimore, 1956], 62; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 168 n. 43; not Nukhashshe, as F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* [Hildesheim, 1978], 185) betrays the political interests of the 18th, not the early 12th, Dynasty when Byblos was not a polity. Tunip, though known from a very early period (H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II [Berlin, 1969], 79–80; M.C. Astour, “History of Ebla,” *Eblaitica* 3 [1992], 9 n. 32), the city does not figure as an adversary until the New Kingdom. *Ši-u-na* (= Hitt. *Ži-(w)a-na*, “mountain”: G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Repertoire géographique des Textes cunéiformes*. VI. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* [Wiesbaden, 1978], 515) brings us into a period

perhaps in Lebanon.<sup>5</sup> An argument that there was once significantly more evidence, now lost, is based solely on an argument from silence, and founders on the complete absence of the expected circumstantial evidence (large numbers of POWs, booty, governors assigned, traces in the onomasticon, etc.).<sup>6</sup> During the 7 or 8 decades sepa-

of Hittite dominance, certainly much later than the 12th Dyn. (Needless to say equating *Ši-u-na* with Tyre is impossible on phonetic grounds). While occurring earliest in Sinuhe, "Upper Retenu" is the common term for inland Syria during the New Kingdom (Helck, *Beziehungen*, 266–68. 2. The phrase *m nḥt m wsr m m3c-ḥrw* corresponds to New Kingdom usage, derived from a shorter Middle Kingdom phrase (Redford, *JAOs* 99, 280 n. 8). 3. The orthography betrays an origin for two words within a New Kingdom system, rather than a Middle Kingdom one. *Tiw-n-pi* suggests a Hittite form (del Monte-Tischler, *op. cit.*, 441) which would have been impossible in a text of 12th Dyn. date. The group-writing in *D3-u-ny* approximates Late Egyptian syllabic orthography, not the earlier system represented by the E(xecration) T(exts): *d3* for *s/z* is common in the New Kingdom, not found in the ET; *iw* for *iu* is regular in the New Kingdom, virtually non-existent in ET: J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* [Princeton, 1994], 487–512. 4. The iconographic details point to the early 18th Dyn. to the exclusion of the 12th. While the two-handled jars—the exact size cannot be precisely estimated "in life"—shown on the trays of the offering bringers have a long life in the ceramic repertoire of the Levant, extending from late MB I to LB II (P. Gerstenblith, *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age* [Winona Lake, 1983], p. 167, fig. 14 no. 16; I. Finkelstein and others [eds], *Megiddo III The 1992 to 1996 Seasons* [Tel Aviv, 2000], p. 229, fig. 10.4 no. 13; p. 241, fig. 10.13 no. 10), the jars in the Karnak scene most closely approximate forms in vogue at the end of the Middle Bronze and the beginning of the Late Bronze (J. Bourriau, "Relations between Egypt and Kerma during the Middle and New Kingdoms," in V. Davies [ed], *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* [London, 1993], fig. 6:14; P.E. McGovern, G. Harbottle, "Hyksos' Trade Connections between Tell el-Daba (Avaris) and the Levant," in E. Oren (ed), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* [Philadelphia, 1997], 142–43). Finally: the queen's figure determinative most closely resembles that of Tety-shery in Ahmose's Abydos stela (Cairo 34.002; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1951], pl. 4): the modius (not circlet, as in H.E. Winlock, *The Treasure of El Lahun* [New York, 1934], pl. II–IV) appears first in the 13th Dyn: M.F. Laming MacAdam, "A Royal Family of the 13th Dynasty," *JEA* 37 (1951), 20–28; L. Sabbahi, *The Development of the Titulary and Iconography of the Ancient Egyptian Queen from Dynasty One to Early Dynasty Eighteen* (University of Toronto PhD Dissertation, 1982), 330ff.

<sup>5</sup> On this localization of the Shasu, see above p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> At the risk of having a label pinned on me and my work branded as "obsolete," I should like to reject the characterization of my position as "minimalist" (see W.G. Dever, "Hurrian Incursions and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine: a Rejoinder to Nadav Na'aman," in L.H. Lesko (ed), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Honor of William A. Ward* [Providence, 1998], 91), which serves only to obfuscate. No one, least of all myself, doubts for a moment the reality of the numerous destruction levels in the MB/LB interface, and the subsequent "gap" in the cultural history and demography of the southern Levant. I am also willing to be persuaded as to the time frame involved: a narrow span or a spread over several years (Dever, "The Second Millennium B.C.E.: the Archaeological

rating the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Megiddo campaign those few texts bearing on Western Asia show a traditional interest in the Levant, the chief component of which centers upon access to cedar,<sup>7</sup> and Asiatic copper.<sup>8</sup> This meant simply maintaining the age-old connexion with Byblos and its environs<sup>9</sup> and did not necessitate or entail grandiose schemes of conquest. Allusions to dominion over Asia are few, banal and conventional.<sup>10</sup>

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Picture,” in J.H. Hayes, J.M. Miller, *Israelite and Judaeon History* [Philadelphia, 1977], 89; *idem*, “The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C.E. A Review of Current Issues,” *BASOR* 288 (1992), 13–17). Even the debate over the *agent* of the destruction is, for me, a red herring, as I think pinning the blame on the Hurrian (N. Na’aman, “The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Levant* 26 [1994], 175–87) is evoking a *deus ex machina*. Now Dever has set forth clearly and succinctly his position which now he maintains “even more strongly in the light of steadily accumulating evidence”: “the Egyptian Pharaohs of the early 18th Dynasty, after the expulsion of the ‘Hyksos’ from the Delta at the End of the 17th Dynasty, pursued the Asiatics back to their original homeland in Palestine. There, in successive campaigns . . . reasonably well attested in Egyptian texts, 18th Dynasty Pharaohs from Amenophis I to Thutmose III . . . systematically destroyed the heavily-defended Middle Bronze II–III Palestinian City-states” (*Studies . . . Ward*, 91–2). Almost every aspect of this statement may be queried. What “steadily accumulating evidence” is the author referring to? Has there been *any* in the last decade or so? (Archaeological results cannot be counted, as it is *their* significance that is at issue). The roster of evidence from Ahmose to Thutmose III year 22 is the same as listed above, and provides no support for Dever’s contention. The acquisition of various commodities (on which see below) provides poor support for anything beyond trade, and in no way necessitates the postulate of city-destruction! And in the records of which kings is there any mention of systematic destruction? Even in the Karnak door-jambs Qedem, Tunip, Zi’ana and the rest are not symbolically depicted as “destroyed,” although it was in the repertoire of the Egyptian artist to depict them so: they are alive and robust as they proffer their gifts. And what evidence suggests the MB III towns of Palestine were “heavily defended”? If they had been, the POWs and booty of all sorts would have been visible in the records. But where are they? Down to the morrow of Thutmose III’s campaigns they are conspicuous by their absence.

<sup>7</sup> Mainly for the manufacture of cultic paraphernalia for Amun (*Urk.* IV, 23:10–12 [the river barque], 56:3–4 [flag-staves], 423:2 [doors]), Osiris (*Urk.* IV, 98:13–14 [barque]) and stores in general (*Urk.* IV, 55:6, 373:3–5, 455:16); the source of the cedar, “all lands of *Fenkhu* . . . are at Amun’s feet”: P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), 307.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 56:9. That Takhsy has any relationship to the word for Bronze, must remain moot: M. Görg, “Das Lexem *taḥas*—Herkunft und Bedeutung,” *BN* 109 (2001), 9.

<sup>9</sup> See above, n. 7; cf. N. Na’aman, “The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine,” *Levant* 26 (1994), 182.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV, 18:6 (king’s war-whoop is in the lands of the *Fenkhu*), 55:8–9 (*hryw-šc* bring gifts), 248:6–7, 272:6–7 (foreign chiefs are cowed), 372:8 (Montiu are in the grasp).



The exception to the minimal interest in Asia characteristic of these pre-conquest years is provided by the brief reign of Thutmose I.<sup>11</sup> The novelty of this reign which in several ways departs from Middle Kingdom precedent,<sup>12</sup> can be seen in both civil and military spheres. In the latter it was to provide the model for what was to follow under his grandson in terms of the size of expeditionary forces, the articulation of the threat, the insistence on expanding frontiers<sup>13</sup> the technique of subversion by oath<sup>14</sup> and the extension of the tax system to the conquered territory.<sup>15</sup> Thutmose's campaign into Asia constitutes a resuscitation (if not an outright innovation) of a concept of military confrontation which involves something more than a mere *razzia* or punitive attack. An expeditionary force, of some size we may presume, set forth with prospects of a set-piece battle as well as a routine *expedition chevauche*.<sup>16</sup> The objective lay in that arc stretching from Alalakh through Aleppo and Carchemish to Ashtata, a region which had, within the last three decades, received succes-

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<sup>11</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 153–54. Additional evidence for Thutmose I in Asia may be elicited from AEIN 713 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (M. Jorgensen, *Catalogue Ny Carlsberg. Egypt II* [1998], no. 4). This limestone fragment of a long, columnar inscription mentions bulls and cows; and in a partly preserved column it is tempting to restore *St[i]*, “Asia” and perhaps “Niya.” Another possible source for this king's activity in Asia might be the curious inscription of the barracks master and king'scribe Sapair, with its reference to chariotry and universal dominion: J. Malek, “An Early 18th Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqara,” *JEA* 75 (1989), 61–76 (although a date under Thutmose III cannot be excluded).

<sup>12</sup> A similar ethos may be found in the royal ideology of the 12th Dynasty (E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des mittleren Reiches I. Die Phraseologie* [Berlin, 1970]), but it is not strongly marked and differs in numerous details. If a model must be found for the Asiatic campaign, it is more likely to be the far-flung expeditions of a Hattusilis or a Mursilis: T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 75–84, 102–5.

<sup>13</sup> *Urk.* IV, 85:14. For the specificity and importance of the “border” in Egyptian ideology, see J.M. Galán, *Victory and Border. Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*, Hildesheim, 1995; S.T. Smith, “To the Supports of Heaven: Political and Ideological Conceptions of Frontiers in Ancient Egypt,” in B.J. Parker, L. Rodseth (eds), *Frontiers through Space and Time*, Salt Lake City, Utah (forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV, 86:1.

<sup>15</sup> *Urk.* IV, 55:8–9, 70 (yearly); 272:6–7.

<sup>16</sup> A chariot contingent may have been involved: cf. “His Majesty's (Thutmose I's) charioteer Karay” endowed with 150 *arura* of land: Berlin 14994 (*Ägyptische Inschriften II*, 115); cf. Also the depictions of chariotry in glyptic and relief art from this period: C. Constanze Heinz, *Die Feldzugdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches* (Vienna, 2001), 235.

sive attacks from Hattusilis I, Mursilis I and Hantilis II.<sup>17</sup> Reflections of the engagement with Mittanian forces appear in some of the earliest scenes depicting northern captives,<sup>18</sup> and (less convincingly perhaps) in the southern orientation of LBIA Syrian pottery.<sup>19</sup> It may well be that the dompting of Mittani by Egypt at this time opened a new chapter in friendly relations with Kassite Babylonia, who stood to gain by the weakening of a northern rival.<sup>20</sup>

The premature death of Thutmose I<sup>21</sup> suspended temporarily the new, flamboyant approach to dealings with Asiatics, and while the epithets regarding oath-taking indicate an extension of the “oath-of-office” long employed in Egypt to ensure loyalty, with the king’s passing the legal niceties inherent in the process evaporated in the mind of the Canaanites. There was no “empire” in Syria.<sup>22</sup> In Palestine the relationship remains to be defined. It would appear that the extreme youth of Thutmose II at the moment of his accession and his short reign<sup>23</sup> precluded his pursuing his father’s energetic activity in the north.

<sup>17</sup> O.R. Gurney, “Anatolia c. 1750–1600 B.C., *CAH* II (1973), 240–50; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I, 36–7.

<sup>18</sup> N. de G. Davies, *Private Tombs at Thebes* IV (London, 1963), pl. 22; cf. Also Senimose, Thutmose I’s guardsman and his wife (“the Hazorite”) and daughter (“The lioness”), Helck, *Beziehungen*, 380 nos. 27–36, all of whom may have arrived in Egypt as POWs. Full bibliography and discussion in A.J. Spalinger, “The Will of Senimose,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Aegyptens* (FS Westendorf: Göttingen, 1984), 631–50.

<sup>19</sup> R.H. Dornemann, “The Late Bronze Age Pottery Tradition at Tell Hadidi, Syria,” *BASOR* 241 (1981), 46.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. The seal of “Kurigalzu, chief (*wr*) of Sangar,” done in hieroglyphic from Armenia: J. Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan . . .,” *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 424–25; 61 (1992), 318; 64 (1995), 350. Relevant to Kurigalzu may be the reminiscences of Egypto-Babylonian friendship in EA 6:8–12 and 9:19–27.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Aegypten* (Mainz, 1997), 120–21 (assigning 10 to 15 years).

<sup>22</sup> It is injudicious to construe a ring from Hamath (P-M VII, 392) and an Egyptian bowl from Alalakh (L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* [Baltimore, 1953], pl. 8a) as evidence for an Egyptian governorate! Cf. A. Pohl, “Alalakh,” *Orientalia* 23 (1954), 243–4; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II, 243–44. To postulate control of trade routes, “enfcoffing” states as far north as Aleppo, and extension of cultural influence is ingenious, but smacks of eisegesis: W. Helck, *Politische Gegensätze im alten Aegypten* (Hildesheim, 1986), 48–49.

<sup>23</sup> See L. Gabolde, “La chronologie du regne de Thoutmosis II, ses conséquences sur la datation des momies royales et leurs répercussions sur l’histoire du développement de la Vallée des Rois,” *SAK* 14 (1987), 61–75; but cf. also J. von Beckerath, “Nochmals zur Regierung Thutmosis’ II,” *SAK* 17 (1990), 65–74.

The capture of Sharuhén by Ahmose and the disintegration of its polity has been correctly seen as a significant opening shot in the weakening of Canaan.<sup>24</sup> Its reduction meant that the early 18th Dynasty had nothing immediately to fear across the Sinai. The insouciance born of the knowledge that once again hither Asia had been reduced as of old to Egypt's "sphere of influence" is well reflected in the confidence Hatshepsut's generic formulae exude. All lands have been bequeathed to her by Amun,<sup>25</sup> her power courses through (foreign) valleys,<sup>26</sup> fear of her pervades the foreign lands.<sup>27</sup> Most references of this sort can as easily be assigned a southern as a northern frame of reference;<sup>28</sup> and those which do enjoy an Asiatic context are few and formulaic.<sup>29</sup> One passage appears to acknowledge that the peaceable conditions alleged to exist in Asia stem from the *Pax Aegyptiaca* imposed by her father's exploits.<sup>30</sup> The current "years of peace" foster a climate in which "all foreign lands labor in unison" for Egypt.<sup>31</sup>

Whether the rosy cast Hatshepsut gives to her view of the world corresponds to the reality of the times is open to question. The texts

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<sup>24</sup> N. Na'aman, "The Hurrians . . .," *Levant* 26 (1994), 181. Geopolitically the Negeb, Shephelah and the southern hill-country, when viewed over time, can only sustain a large and powerful state when Egypt is either weak or occupied by a congenial regime. With Sharuhén gone, there was no other metropolitan state of significance south of Hazor.

<sup>25</sup> Lacau-Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 61, 68, 133, 219, 224, 383.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>28</sup> For the undoubted historical involvement of the queen in military activity in Nubia, see L. Habachi, "Two Graffiti at Schel from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut," *JNES* 16 (1957), 100 fig. 6; W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 121 no. 133; cf. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* VI (London, 1908), pl. 165. The activity probably occupied the middle of the second decade of the reign, to judge from the frequency of dated texts in a Nubian context: cf. *Urk.* IV, 1375 (year 12, Tombos); P-M VII, 157; F. Hintze, *Kush* 13 (1965), 14 n. 11 (year 15, Tangur); Helck, *Historisch-biographischen Texte*, no. 141 (year 16, Abka West); L. Habachi, *Kemi* 18 (1968), 55 fig. 5 (year 17, Aswan); Helck, *Historisch-biographischen Texte*, no. 142 (year 18, Shelfak).

<sup>29</sup> *Urk.* IV, 372:8; Lacau-Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 115 (Montiu of Asia); *Urk.* IV, 248:6-7; 370:16-17 (chiefs of Retenu).

<sup>30</sup> *Urk.* IV, 248:6-7.

<sup>31</sup> Lacau-Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 311; cf. 230-31; *Urk.* IV, 272:6-7; 373:3-5; 523:5.

recording the first campaign of Thutmose III, immediately following the demise of Hatshepsut,<sup>32</sup> imply the complete hegemony exercised by Kadesh over territory as far south as Megiddo, the headman of which, himself, is a virtual cipher in the account! The extent of the personal property of the king of Kadesh in the north Jordan valley<sup>33</sup> (if the items listed are not merely offerings to the local shrine) indicates that, in the events leading up to the campaign Kadesh had aggrandized its territorial possessions and increased its power to the point of being, however briefly, the major player in Levantine politics. But this prominence was of recent date: references to the city in the sources, both cuneiform and Egyptian, begin only in the 15th Cent. B.C.<sup>34</sup> This absence of earlier evidence firmly places the new regime at Kadesh within an LB I context.<sup>35</sup> The interface between the period of the three great Levantine kingdoms of the Middle Bronze Age, viz. Yamkhad, Qatanum and Hazor,<sup>36</sup> and the world of Thutmose III's conquests, consists precisely in the arrival and rapid expansion in Coele and southern Syria<sup>37</sup> of an Indo-Europaeen element, the Mittanian elite and their "Hurri-warriors." This must be placed in the second half of the 16th Cent. B.C. and understood as being pursuant to the establishment of the state of Mittani.<sup>38</sup> It resulted in the forcable replacement<sup>39</sup> of older regimes with new ones,

<sup>32</sup> J. Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut, the Female Pharaoh* (London, 1998), 210–11.

<sup>33</sup> *Urk.* IV, 664:17–665:4; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1965–70), II, part B, 157.

<sup>34</sup> Klengel, *op. cit.*, 142–43.

<sup>35</sup> The establishment of the new regime finds some consonance in the archaeological record in the destruction of Phase G at Tel Nebi Mend, and the inauguration of Phase F after a brief abandonment, both within the 16th Cent. B.C.: S.J. Bourke, "The Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Syria: the Evidence from Tell Nebi Mend," *Levant* 25 (1993), 162.

<sup>36</sup> Klengel, *Syria 3000–300 B.C.* (Berlin, 1992), 44–83.

<sup>37</sup> In northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia a Hurrian presence is detected somewhat earlier: sources in Na'aman, "The Hurrians," *Levant* 26 (1994), 179; Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 57–59.

<sup>38</sup> For the consensus which has emerged, see among others M.C. Astour, "Les hourrites en Syrie du nord: rapport sommaire," *RHA* 36 (1978), 9–12; *idem*, "Ugarit and the Great Powers," in G.D. Young (ed), *Ugarit in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1981), 7–10; O. Gurney, "The Hittite Empire," in M.T. Larsen (ed), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (Copenhagen, 1979), 155; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), 18; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 84ff; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, 134–38. Also the notes which follow.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Above, n. 32. It seems gratuitous, however, to imagine the Hurrians entering

cat's-paws in fact of the new empire beyond the Euphrates, featuring personal names of Aryan derivation,<sup>40</sup> and producing an astounding degree of cultural syncretism between Hurrians and Canaanites.<sup>41</sup> While Hurrian linguistic influence seems to be confined to the region north of Sumur and Qatna,<sup>42</sup> further south in Transjordan the archaeological record reveals an urban culture with strong northern contacts from c. 1550 B.C. on.<sup>43</sup> Whether at any point this *Drang nach Süden* transformed itself into a conscious attempt to invade Egypt must remain moot, but the possibility is very tempting indeed.<sup>44</sup>

One of the thorniest questions one might pose in the present context has to do with the degree of Egyptian military action in Asia undertaken by Thutmose III before the Megiddo campaign.<sup>45</sup> Most of the evidence consists, as pointed out above, in the persuasion formulae of the celebration of ideology. While such *shibboleths* inspire little confidence in most historians, some might argue that no formula would have been chosen for use unless it fitted a perceived reality. Be that as it may, if Thutmose III had conducted military operations in the north while Hatshepsut yet lived, some corroboration ought to be forthcoming from booty and prisoner records. Names of persons of foreign (northern) derivation do, indeed, turn up occasionally during this period; but we can never be sure that they do not belong to the captivity of Thutmose I brought back a quarter century before.<sup>46</sup> What little activity can be identified as

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Palestine with fire and sword (cf. Na'aman, "The Hurrians . . .," *Levant* 26, 181–84): see above, pp. 2–3 n. 6.

<sup>40</sup> A. Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter," *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 129–44.

<sup>41</sup> Extending even to the pantheon! Cf. E. Laroche, "Notes sur le panthéon Hourrite de Ras Shamra," in W.H. Hallo (ed), *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (New Haven, 1968), 150.

<sup>42</sup> A. Gianto, "Amarna Akkadian as a Contact Language," in K. van Lerberghe, G. Voet (eds), *Languages and Cultures in Conflict* (Leuven, 1999) 125.

<sup>43</sup> P.E. McGovern, "Central Transjordan in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages," in A. Hadidi (ed), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III* (London, 1987), 268.

<sup>44</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 120; *idem*, *Politische Gegensätze im alten Ägypten*, 51.

<sup>45</sup> See the present writer in *History and Chronology of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), 60ff, wherein I was perhaps a little too sanguine.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Satuwana*: W.C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), fig. 1:D, pl. 10:3 (year 7), and see D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1952), 189:44, T.O. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des neuen*

northern in location focuses on the Sinai turquoise mines.<sup>47</sup> A small number of individuals who are known to have begun their careers under the joint reign allude to activity in the north, but the time reference is often equivocal. Anebny, whose British Museum statue was a bequest of Hatshepsut, refers to himself as “attendant of his lord at his heels in southern and northern foreign parts.”<sup>48</sup> It may be that the occupant of T.T. 73 (Amenophis?)<sup>49</sup> Who worked on Hatshepsut’s obelisks, employed the same epithets.<sup>50</sup> Yamu-nedjeh, who participated in Thutmose’s later conquests, began his career in year 15;<sup>51</sup> but whether his time in the army dates that early is open to doubt.

To sum up: the situation on the eve of Hatshepsut’s death would have entailed a Kadesh-lead, Mittanian-backed coalition assembling in the plain of Megiddo, and intent on moving on Egypt, with the support of every headman from Yursa north. Numerous texts place the initiative squarely with the Canaanites: they were not sitting passively in expectation of attack, but were on the move against Egypt.<sup>52</sup> The only permanent Egyptian presence in the region was a small(?) standing force located at Sharuhen which clearly had never been relinquished since its capture by Ahmose. Similarly the Gaza region which, as argued above was “the ruler’s (personal) expropriation,”<sup>53</sup>

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Reiches (Freiburg, 1992), 195; “the Hazorite” and “the Lionness”: Spalinger, *loc. cit.*; Benya son of Artenna: T. Säve-söderbergh, “The Stela of the Overseer of Works,” *Orientalia Suecana* 9 (1960–61), 54–61; S. Ratić, *La reine Hatchepsout. Sources et problèmes* (Leiden, 1979), 285 n. 105; Schneider, *op. cit.*, N 61, N 170; Anabni(?): *Urk.* IV, 464–65; cf. M. Birot, “Textes économiques de Mari IV,” *RA* 50 (1956), vi.23(n), *A-na-ba-lu; Bint-Shamash*: W.C. Hayes, “A Selection of Tutmosid Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri,” *JEA* 46 (1960), pl. IX.4, vs. 2; *Yasha*: *ibid.*, pl. XI.13 recto 20, Jesse(?); *Mar-ba’al*!: *ibid.*, pl. XI.13, vs.1: cf. H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), 174 and 233; *P3-c3mw*, “the Asiatic,” *ibid.*, pl. XI.14, vs. 4.

<sup>47</sup> J. Černý, A.H. Gardiner, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1952–55), pl. 56–57, p. 150f (year 5); pl. 68:179 (year 11); pl. 61:180 (year 13); pl. 14:44 (year 16); pl. 57:181 (year 20); cf. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1377–78; *idem*, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 116ff, no. 130.

<sup>48</sup> *Urk.* IV, 465:2.

<sup>49</sup> P-M I (2nd ed), 143–44.

<sup>50</sup> *Urk.* IV, 460:13.

<sup>51</sup> *Urk.* IV, 940–41.

<sup>52</sup> Barkal, 2–3, 7–9 (above, p. 00); P. Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amonre a Karnak* (Paris, 1962), 161; *Urk.* IV, 758:7;1254:9.

<sup>53</sup> See above, p. 13.

was definitely in Egyptian hands,<sup>54</sup> and comprised a possession which might well date back to Ahmose himself.<sup>55</sup>

Those who assume that, prior to the first campaign, some sort of subservient status of legal force had been already imposed by Egypt on the Canaanite headmen, have adopted the mind-set which ancient Egyptian public relations assumes is universally valid: viz. that all peoples on earth are bound by ties of loyalty to the Son of the sun and the Heir of Geb. Apart from this claim, arising solely out of Pharaonic ideology, there is no evidence for a legal status of subservience before Thutmose's Megiddo campaign.

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<sup>54</sup> Scarabs and other minor texts of Thutmose III abound at Tell el-Ajjul and in the el-Moghraka area north of Wady Gaza: W.M.F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* I (London, 1931), pl. 7:65; II (London, 1932), pl. 55:1093, pl. 7:23-4, 52-3, 56:1055, 1062; 59:1510; III (London, 1933), pl. 50:375; cf. Also the communication of the Council for British Research in the Levant, May 31, 2001. Scarabs of Thutmose III, of course, need not be contemporary: specimens from Palestine show a remarkable extension in time from the 18th Dynasty through the Late Period: A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 111-23. But fragments of a store jar from Tel el-Ajjul with the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Petrie, *Gaza* II, pl. 55) cannot be misconstrued: they must date from the joint reign.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. scarab(s) of Amenophis I at Tel el-Ajjul: Petrie, *Gaza* I, pl. 14:129; possibly *Gaza* II, pl. 55:1025.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE NATURE AND SIZE OF THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

While the campaign to the Euphrates of Thutmose I served in a general sense as a model for his grandson, the specifics of that enterprise were not immediately available to Thutmose III. The latter was not yet born when it took place, and it is doubtful whether in his 22nd year many who had accompanied Thutmose I 40 years before were still alive. Moreover the fact that his short reign prevented the realization of further innovations in military action and administration renders his grandson's accomplishment an innovative exercise in itself. Borrowing from a strategy of Senwosret I and III,<sup>1</sup> Thutmose III hammered the Asiatics relentlessly in a series of almost yearly campaigns, not only to crush dissent, but also to ensure the "milking" of produce and resources. Again patterning himself on Egypt's Nubian experience, the king determined to establish a permanent presence in the form of depots and garrison posts to transfer the old-fashioned "sphere of influence" into something resembling an empire.

Egyptian troop sizes of the Late Bronze Age must have varied considerably, depending on the purpose of the expedition. Set-piece battles required large forces and recruitment dealt a serious blow to Egypt's plantation economy as well as construction projects. Sources for the early 18th Dynasty suggest the core of the recruited force, i.e. those immediately surrounding the king, were drawn from household,<sup>2</sup> administration<sup>3</sup> or "the nursery."<sup>4</sup> The result was a sort of

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<sup>1</sup> See most recently R. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000), 55–57.

<sup>2</sup> Butlers (above, p. 166), barbers (above, p. 165), a tutor (*Urk.* IV, 1455:14).

<sup>3</sup> Heralds, priests, stewards, engineers, scribes of alimentation, and treasurers: W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 468f; N. de G. Davies, *Studies presented to F. Ll Davies* (Oxford, 1931), pl. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nebamun, "the Memphite," who supervised (militarily) "the numerous *mg3*-youths and the children of the nursery on an equal footing (*r mltt-iry*)": M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère, *Égypte et Provence. Musée Calvet, Avignon* (n.d.), 32 and fig. 12 (Inv.A.1); D.C.



household troop, “the company of Menkheperre” or “. . . of Pharaoh.”<sup>5</sup> Full-time, professional cadres are rare before the 14th Century B.C.<sup>6</sup> Raising the required additional force by drafting 10% of the temple communities is attested for the Ramesside period, but the passage from which this information comes suggests it was an unpopular practice.<sup>7</sup> The divisions so raised marched under the banner of the appropriate god, as in the famous case at Kadesh.<sup>8</sup> Under Thutmose III a sizeable contingent probably came from the Delta.<sup>9</sup> The pericope in Anastasi I has often been taken to mean that a military unit of division size approximated 4,500 to 5,000 men;<sup>10</sup> and it is a curious fact that attested army sizes from the Bronze Age are often c. 5000 men or multiples of that figure.<sup>11</sup> Forces in excess of 30,000 are rare and the passages which mention them highly suspect.<sup>12</sup> Smaller units are referred to, 2000 being a number also considered sufficient for expeditions.<sup>13</sup>

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Patch, *Reflections of Greatness. Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, 1990), no. 47. While both groups are similar enough to be subjected to the same recruitment procedure, there is no telling what *mg3* means. One might compare Canaanite \**maqila*, “rod” (J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* [Princeton, 1994], 166–67 [217]), or Semitic *mgr*, “overthrow, annihilate” (A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting* I, A (Bb) [Leiden, 1989], 253); or it might have a connection with *mg3*, “crocodile demon”: P. Vernus, *Athribis* (Cairo, 1976), 415 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> S. Sauneron, *Kēmi* 18 (1968), pl. 8; Cairo 34093.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P.-M. Chevereux, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1994), *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Harris 57.8–9; P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (Cairo, 1994), II, 187–88, n. 779.

<sup>8</sup> See further KRI I, 345:1; *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . in the British Museum* IX (London, 1970), pl. 47 (146); P.-M. Chevereux, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiennes du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1994), *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. The military prominence given to “the mayor of the Great River” (above, n. 57), and also to the “army of the Western River”: *Urk.* IV, 981:11.

<sup>10</sup> Anastasi I, 17.5–6; cf. E.g. S. Curto, *The Military Art of the Ancient Egyptians* (Turin, 1971), 16; A.M. Gnirs, “Military. An Overview,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), II, 404.

<sup>11</sup> W. Helck, “Die Bedeutung der Felsinschriften J. Lopez, *Inscripciones rupestres* Nr. 27 and 28,” *SAK* 1 (1974), 215–26 (20,000); J. Oates, *Babylon* (New York, 1986), 65 (10,000); O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 109 (9,000); T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 136 (10,000), 388 (20,000), 352 (28,800); EA 287:54 (5,000). For the Iron Age we have similar figures: cf. *ANET* 279 (20,000 from Damascus, 10,000 from Hamath, 10,000 from Israel, 10000 from Irkanata).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. EA 170:22; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, “Der Amarna-Briefe VAB 2, 170,” in R. Stiehl, H.E. Stiehl (eds), *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben* I (Berlin, 1969), 14–23; W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1987), 257; W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1990), p. 18 n. 101. 90,000 surely is an error for 9,000.

<sup>13</sup> ARM V, no. 23; RS.16.402 (M.C. Astour, *AJA* 69 [1965], 257). Contingents

Thutmose III's army, in terms of recruitment, stood at a transitional point in the development of the Egyptian military. On the one hand, it continued to rely upon a locally recruited militia, "citizens of the army,"<sup>14</sup> sometimes recruited from a particular part of the country,<sup>15</sup> or from palace personnel.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand we can trace throughout the reign the expansion of a professional soldiery (*wcw*)<sup>17</sup> in the proliferation of titles of full-time servicemen.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of Thutmose III's activity set-piece battles were predicted and materialized on the first, eighth and tenth campaigns. For the second through fourth and the eleventh and twelfth we have no information; all the rest were in the nature of "expeditions chevauchées." (see above). Only for the first do we have any chance of estimating numbers. We have argued above that the Egyptian forces started debouching from the pass into the plain shortly after first light, and had all cleared the valley by noon. Since they had had to adopt an order of march which was virtually single file, with horses interspersed, an exit which took six hours to complete would have involved 10,800 men if, on average, one man emerged every two seconds. This figure is surprisingly close to the "10,000" we have encountered above as a common size for armies of the period.

The size of the Canaanite forces is more difficult to calculate; but results might be forthcoming from the quantity of livestock the coalition had assembled.<sup>19</sup> The Egyptians captured, apparently outside the city, 387 [bulls], 1,929 cows, 2,000 goats and 20,500 sheep. On the basis of the co-efficients between cattle and goat/sheep,<sup>20</sup> the

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smaller than this would be mainly garrison size: EA 197:34 (200), EA 93:11 (300), ARM I, no. 23 (400, 500), V no. 18 (500).

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV, 730:5.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. The "army of the western river": *Urk.* IV, 981:11.

<sup>16</sup> See above, pt. 3, I-III.

<sup>17</sup> From a root "to kill, slaughter": M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant 1300-1185 B.C.* (Leiden, 1998), 28-29; the generic word for "(common) soldier": cf. *Wpt n wcw*, "military service," KRI II, 59:8; often used of marines: T. Säve-söderbergh, *The Navy of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), 71-72; C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis* (Bruxelles, 1968), 26-30. On its use by Abdi-Khepa of Jerusalem to identify himself as part of the military, see W.L. Moran, "The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters, in H. Goedicke (ed), *Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (Baltimore, 1975), 156.

<sup>18</sup> P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du nouvel empire*, Paris, 1994.

<sup>19</sup> *Urk.* IV, 664:11-14. The list is incomplete, so that the total is the minimum.

<sup>20</sup> B. Rosen, "Subsistence Economy in Stratum II," in I. Finkelstein (ed), *Izbet Sartah. An Early Iron Age Site near Rosh Ha'ayin, Israel* (Oxford, 1986), 156-85.

total sheep/goat units would be 32,151. Since a soldier's diet consisted of 10 loaves of bread,<sup>21</sup> it is a fair estimate that this component would have accounted for c. 1500 cal. of the c. 2400 required by an individual.<sup>22</sup> Since one sheep/goat unit provides 300 calories per day,<sup>23</sup> it would take approximately 3 to provide the necessary supplement for a single soldier's caloric intake, thus yielding a figure of 10,717 for the entire Canaanite force.

Set-piece battles were comparatively rare. Costly to prepare for, this kind of engagement involved such large forces that disaster could easily befall even though no defeat had been suffered. A resourceful opponent could adopt a scorched-earth policy, coupled with guerilla tactics; and, in view of the woeful state of "intelligence," ambushes could easily be laid. Advancing with no enemy to engage, an expeditionary force would waste time and resources; and the longer it remained in the field the greater the adverse impact on the economy of the plantations whence the thousands of able-bodied men had been recruited.

Easier to manage, and more remunerative, and therefore more common, was the "targeted" march, designed either for punitive purposes, or to "milk" the foreign land of its resources. Since no united and substantial opposition was to be expected, the size of the force could be reduced. Pharaoh would plant his standard and the local chiefs would present their benevolences "brought through the power of His Majesty" to "every place His Majesty came where camp was pitched." Pharaoh in turn would construe these gifts as tribute and signs of loyalty,<sup>24</sup> and therefore "give things to them that are upon his water."<sup>25</sup> Towns which failed to give a benevolence or actively opposed Pharaoh's will, would *ipso facto* be in a state of *bṭn*, "disobedience," or *bšṭ*, "rebellion." These could be attacked, although

<sup>21</sup> A.M. Gnirs, "Military: an Overview," in D.B. Redford, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), II, 404; see also below.

<sup>22</sup> M.C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, Rome, 1997; M.R. Woodward, "Considering Household Food Security and Diet in the Classic Period Village of Ceren, El Salvador (A.D. 600)," *Mayab* 13 (2000), 22–33.

<sup>23</sup> A. Sasson, "The Pastoral Component in the Economy of Hill Country Sites during the Intermediate Bronze and Iron Ages, Archaeo-Ethnographic Case Studies," *TA* 25 (1998), 1–51.

<sup>24</sup> M. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 192.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1246:6–8; 1301:16. For the meaning of the expression, see T. Holm-Rasmussen, "The Original Meaning of *ḥr mw*," *GM* 148 (1995), 53–62.

the action sometimes involved little more than devastating the surrounding countryside. Disorder in the rural districts, although not necessarily directed against Egypt, was deemed intolerable by Pharaoh, and would evoke severe policing action,<sup>26</sup> and even deportation.<sup>27</sup> At the best of times the "targeted march" was simply a tour of inspection; at the worst a species of *razzia* comparable to the mediaeval "expedition chevauchée."<sup>28</sup> As time passed the "targeted march" developed into a routine summer tour by an officer with a small force, to collect imposts and other requisitioned items.<sup>29</sup>

It is important to note that, certainly in the eyes of the natives, the razing of crops and the destruction of orchards did not in and of themselves entail their submission. The Canaanite chief and his subjects "rode out the storm" behind their walls, in the certain knowledge that the Egyptians had neither the time nor the means to reduce their city. Once the invaders had retired and the dust settled, the *status quo ante* would have remained intact: the embattled town in question would still have stood beyond Egyptian control, formal or informal. Many, such as Alalakh, Tunip, Kadesh and Qatna, continued to be bound by treaty to Mitanni, no matter how Egyptian scribes and artists might include them among the conquered.<sup>30</sup>

The true sign of hegemony was the chief's public *submission*: proskynesis, request for "breath,"<sup>31</sup> renunciatory oath, and the delivery of children. Benevolences would follow on a yearly basis. The northern

<sup>26</sup> W. Helck, "Die Bedrohung Palaestinas durch einwandernde Gruppen am Ende der 18. Und am Anfang der 19. Dynastie," *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968), 472–80.

<sup>27</sup> D.O. Edzard, *Kamid el-Loz—Kumidi* (Bonn, 1970), 55–56.

<sup>28</sup> D. Seward, *The Hundred Years War. The English in France 1337–1453* (New York, 1978), 38.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. M. Liverani, "A Seasonal Pattern for the Amarna Letters," in T. Abusch and others (eds), *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Atlanta, 1990), 345. It is tempting to construe the phrase *u zakam uššimi* in the "General's Letter" (RS 20.33 rev. 12: J. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica* V [Paris, 1968], no. 20) as a reference to Pharaoh's appearance on *chevauchée*: if *zakam* means "unaccompanied" (S. Izre'el, "When was the 'General's Letter' from Ugarit Written?" in M. Heltzer, E. Lipinski [eds], *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* [Leuven, 1988], 164–65), it will mean the absence of a sizeable expeditionary force.

<sup>30</sup> On the lack of permanence in Egyptian control north of Hums, in spite of impressive victories, see Klengel, *Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 94–5; T.R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 129.

<sup>31</sup> S. Israeli, "*ʾl3w n cnh* ('breath of life') in the Medinet Habu War Texts," in I. Shirun-Grumach (ed), *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 271–84.

border of the *territorium* of the northernmost chief's bailiwick would then be construed as Egypt's "expanding" frontier.

Born of an immediate need to pre-empt attack, Thutmose III's move into Asia enjoyed no long-range "financing," if that indeed is an appropriate term. An arsenal already existed, and Hatshepsut had renovated the military.<sup>32</sup> As the mustering of many thousands of men could not have been accomplished in the two months which elapsed between Hatshepsut's death and the marching out, Thutmose III must have begun to assemble the troops some time before.<sup>33</sup> Rations would have been issued to carry the troops across the desert (approximately one week), and into a terrain where they could live off the land, or to a point where they could engage the enemy (approximately three weeks). The famous passage in Anastasi I regarding the rations for a division of 5,000 men is no help in calculating the amount of food required and the consequent size of the baggage train, as the satirist intentionally underestimates the quantity in order to point up the incompetence of the addressee.<sup>34</sup> More reliable as comparanda would be the rations given to laborers at quarry- or construction-sites. From Wady Hammamat and Gebel Silsileh come figures for daily rations of 20 loaves, a bunch of vegetables and a cut of meat.<sup>35</sup> In these cases, however, the authorities, by revealing these figures, obviously wished their generosity to be put on record, and thus exaggeration was invited; and a lower figure, say, the 8–10 loaves per day of the Reisner and Sinai texts, would seem more realistic.<sup>36</sup> If we add two jars of beer as a daily ration,<sup>37</sup> we probably arrive very close to the "starvation" rations of the expeditionary

<sup>32</sup> D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 152.

<sup>33</sup> From year 20 forces may already have been on hand from the Sinai campaign (Sir A.H. Gardiner, J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* [London, 1952], pl. 57 [181]; *Urk.* IV, 1377f) and the Nubian campaign (*Urk.* IV, 1375f; P-M VII, 175).

<sup>34</sup> Anastasi I, 17.5–6; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 149–52.

<sup>35</sup> J. Couyat, P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammamat* (Cairo, 1912), no. 114:13; *KRI* I, 60:13–14.

<sup>36</sup> W.K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I* (Boston, 1961), 35–46; *idem*, "Two Lexical Notes on the Reisner Papyri," *JEA* 59 (1973), 220; D. Mueller, "Some Remarks on Wage Rates in the Middle Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975), 249–63; B.J. Kemp, "Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings (and the Archaeology of Administration)," *JAS* 113 (1986), 132.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 255; cf. J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 472–73.

force which set out from Sile late in year 22. A 10-day supply of bread (80 small loaves) could be carried in a soldier's ruck-sack; the required beer (contents equivalent to 200,000 jars for 10,000 men for 10 days) could have been carried on 1,000 donkeys.<sup>38</sup> More likely, however, as in riverine traffic, travelling breweries accompanied the troops.<sup>39</sup> Presumably beyond Gaza the army could have drawn on stores provided by the garrison at Sharuhén, or on requisitions from local towns. Nevertheless the rations were scarcely sufficient to hold body and soul together, an inference supported by the unbridled gusto of the ravenous troops in falling on the provisions and supplies of the enemy camp, and the wonderment which underlies the record of the vast foodstocks of the Esdraelon and Arka plain.

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<sup>38</sup> Donkeys manage 20 km. per day, just right for a 10-day crossing of the Sinai: F. Hassan, "Town and Village in Ancient Egypt: Ecology, Society and Urbanism," in T. Shaw (ed), *The Archaeology of Africa. Food, Metals and Towns* (London, 1993), 566. One thousand donkeys could transport 75,000 kg: R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 39.

<sup>39</sup> K. Liszka, "The Multi-purpose Mixing Bowl in the Late 3rd Millennium Pottery Corpus," *Akhenaten Temple Project Newsletter* June, 2001.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RATES OF SPEED ON THE MARCH AND THE TRANSIT CORRIDORS INTO ASIA

The distance between Tel Hebwa (Sile) and Gaza via the ancient North Sinai route is c. 220 km. A 9 day crossing would mean that approximately 24 km. was covered each day.<sup>1</sup> While comparable to the estimated rate of march of Mayan armies<sup>2</sup> or Napoleon's *Grande Armée*,<sup>3</sup> this is considerably slower than the rate of 45–50 km. per day for the Sinai route achieved in Greco-Roman times;<sup>4</sup> but we may put that down to two factors. First, the army was laden, not only with equipment and weapons, but also with foods for the journey. Second, the route was as yet undeveloped by the siting of block-houses and hydreia, and the clearing of the route.<sup>5</sup> There was a limited number of *natural* stopping points along the route; and the 9 to 12 known from various lists must correspond to what Thutmose III's army faced.<sup>6</sup>

From Gaza on the pace slackened.<sup>7</sup> The army negotiated the distance to Yehem, c. 115 km. away, in 11 days, or 10.5 km. per day. The reason for this may be unfamiliarity with the terrain, caution in hostile territory or the difficulty of transit. And on the final leg

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<sup>1</sup> R.O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo," *JEA* 28 (1942), 2 n. 5 (Faulkner is wide of the mark in both distance and estimates).

<sup>2</sup> A.F. Chase, D.Z. Chase, *Late Classic Maya Political Structures, Polity Size and Warfare Arenas* (Madrid, 1998), 17–18.

<sup>3</sup> M. Glover, *The Napoleonic Wars* (New York, 1979), 108.

<sup>4</sup> L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1994), 190–93; cf. Strabo xvi.2.31–33.

<sup>5</sup> Occasional traces of what appear to be 15th Cent. B.C. finds do not invalidate the overwhelming impression that the establishment of a formal chain of way-stations lay still in the future: E. Oren, "The Ways of Horus in North Sinai," in A.F. Rainey (ed), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (Tel Aviv, 1987), 78–84; *idem*, "Sinai (North Sinai)," in E. Stern (ed), *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Investigations in the Holy Land* (New York, 1993), 1389; G. Cavillier, "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine: a Reassessment," *GM* 185 (2001), 23–31.

<sup>6</sup> P. Figueras, *From Gaza to Pelusium. Materials for the Historical Geography of North Sinai and South-western Palestine* (Beersheva, 2000), 310–11.

<sup>7</sup> J.K. Hoffmeier, "Reconsidering Egypt's Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," *Levant* 21 (1989), 185.

of the march, north of Joppa, the troops would have had to march through a forest.<sup>8</sup>

It has been claimed that the very route covered by the Egyptians from Gaza to the pass is reflected in the toponym list<sup>9</sup> beginning with no. 57.<sup>10</sup> These are, in sequence, 57. *N-g-b*, 58. *I-šw-š-ḥ-n*, 59. *R-n-m*, 60. *Y-r-d3* (= Yurša), 61. *M-i-ḥ3-s3* (= Muḥazzi of EA 298:25, contiguous with the territorium of Gezer), 62. *Y-p-w* (= Joppa), 63. *K-n-t-w* (a *gt*-plantation), 64. *Rw-tn* (= Lud?), 65. *Iw-in-iw* (= Ono), 66. *I-pw-q-n* (= Aphek), 67. *š3-w-k3* (= Socoh),<sup>11</sup> 68. *Y-ḥ-m*. If no 57 is taken as Gaza, we have exactly eleven names up to and including Yehem to correspond to the eleven days of the march.

But a moment's scrutiny of this hypothesis demonstrates that it is untenable. By no stretch of the imagination could the Gaza stop be referred to as "the Negeb": the city is coastal, while the Negeb refers to the Judaeen hill-country from Hebron to Kadesh. From the standpoint of the Egyptians Gaza is "east" or "north"! In fact nos. 57 to 62 represent a route originating somewhere in the Negeb and proceeding via Tel el-Hesy to the coast at Joppa; while 63 to 71 delineate a route from Joppa through Sharon to Carmel. Admittedly this reconstruction of the list might encounter difficulty if one accepts the very tempting identification of no. 58 with *Šašhimi* of EA 203:4 and locates it in the Bashan.<sup>12</sup> The only reason, however, *Šašhimi* is located in that area is the similarity in clay and ductus of the script linking EA 201–206, one of which (201) comes from *Siri-Bashan*. Of the others one (202) lacks a town reference and two (204–205) lack the personal names of the town headmen! All six are formulaic statements of readiness to participate in an expedition. The solution to

<sup>8</sup> Josephus *Bellum* xiv.13.3; Strabo xvi.2.27. The slackening of speed has nothing to do with the need to reduce rebellious towns (as for example is maintained by Y. Aharoni and others in *MacMillan Bible Atlas* [3rd ed; New York, 1993], map 27 and text), for which there is no evidence at all. It is preposterous to think of fortified towns such as Joppa and Gezer being reduced within days or hours, when Megiddo took months! Moreover the Canaanite coalition remained as yet unengaged! Was Thutmose going to jeopardize the entire campaign by distributing his forces in collateral sieges, thus exposing himself to overwhelming attack and defeat in detail?

<sup>9</sup> M. Noth, "Der Aufbau der Palaestinaliste Thutmosis' III," *ZDPV* 61 (1938), 26ff; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 122–23.

<sup>10</sup> E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 154.

<sup>11</sup> Tel er-Ras, 4 km. North of Tulkarm: S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem, 1984), 178–79.

<sup>12</sup> M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altaegyptischen Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1893), 396; Ahituv, *Toponyms*, 71–2.



this apparent conundrum is to postulate a single scribe as writer of these tablets, one who was not familiar with the towns in question. He was writing simple “acceptances” from oral commitments communicated to him by a *rābiṣu*, and was probably based in a headquarters. There is, then, no need to locate *Šašḫimi* close to *Siri-bashan*.<sup>13</sup>

Beginning at the outset of the fourth decade of his reign, Thutmose III initiated the practice of transporting his troops by sea. Presumably, as in land crossings, the departure would have been from Memphis,<sup>14</sup> via the easternmost, or Pelusiac, branch.<sup>15</sup> The subsequent course across open water had long since been charted by mariners bound for, or coming from, Byblos.<sup>16</sup> Travel time must have varied considerably depending on wind and current: a week’s voyage must have been considered remarkably fast for the size of ships involved.<sup>17</sup> The latter must have belonged wholly to the transport class: no warships would have been required.<sup>18</sup> “Crossing (the sea)” was conveyed by the verb *nmi*,<sup>19</sup> and *nmiw* “(troop) transports” is the earliest technical term used for the vessel in question.<sup>20</sup> The three words used of the crafts involved in the “Byblos-run” under Thutmose III<sup>21</sup> likewise

<sup>13</sup> Cf. W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1987), 277–79 (with note to no. 204); J.-G. Heintz, *Index documentaire d’El-Amarna* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 308–9.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. The Armant stela, line 11 (= *Urk.* IV, 1246:14; cf. 1305:4, 1308:16. It has been pointed out (T. Säve-söderbergh, *The Navy of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty* [Uppsala, 1946], 34) that in the writing of *wḏyt* a “boat”-determinative is used for the first time in the record of the 6th campaign of year 30. Too much, however, should not be made of this, as the determinatives vary: “legs” in the passages referring to campaigns 5, 10, and 13, some of which certainly went by sea, “boat” in the generic reference to *all* campaigns: *Urk.* IV, 662:1.

<sup>15</sup> *P3 mw n p3 Rc*: Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), II, no. 408. The discharge of this branch was strong in the Bronze Age, providing ease of navigation: F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches* II (Wiesbaden, 1987), 221; W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-Htj* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 12–14; R.A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 6; Sinuhe 244–47. Cf. M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab’a II* (Wien, 1975), 77–87.

<sup>16</sup> J.M. Weinstein, “Byblos,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), 219–21; Egypt’s debt to Byblos in the realm of ship-building technology dates from the Third Millennium B.C.: CT I, 262b; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 133.

<sup>17</sup> In classical times the crossing from Rome or the Hellespont to Egypt under optimum conditions occupied no less than 9 or 10 days: L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1994), 152. Alexandria to Cyprus was expected to take 6 ½ days: *idem*, *Ships and SeamanSHIP in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1995), 289.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R.S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt* (Lund, 1968), 197.

<sup>19</sup> *Wb.* II, 265:6; PT 1260; CT IV, 262a.

<sup>20</sup> *Urk.* I, 104.

<sup>21</sup> Above, p. 80 n. 138.

designated large vessels for transport. No surviving texts give, or even hint at, the size and number of this fleet; but it is clear that cargo vessels varied between 35 and 70 metres in length,<sup>22</sup> and thus compared favorably with the grain ships that plied between Rome and Egypt in classical times.<sup>23</sup> The numbers that could be accommodated by ships of this size certainly exceeded the 50 hoplites per pentaconter estimated for the 6th Cent. B.C.<sup>24</sup> Even the 120 of the Shipwrecked Sailor's ocean-going barge accounted for the crew alone, and we could easily double that figure to accommodate soldiers and marines. Forty vessels, therefore, of this size would be required to transport 10,000 troops. But the latter, as maintained above, is a judicious estimate for the Egyptian army at the Battle of Megiddo, arguably the largest engagement ever fought by Thutmose III. The campaigns amounting to little more than *chevauchée*-like tours would have required a considerably smaller fleet, perhaps comparable to the one Necho II used to carry his troops on a Nubian campaign.<sup>25</sup> The transport of horses by sea for the chariotry was perfectly feasible in the reduced numbers that an *expedition chevauchée* would require (i.e. considerably less than the 2,000 or so implied for the Megiddo campaign).<sup>26</sup> The mediaeval *taride* could carry about 40 animals, and a mere 5 could provide enough teams for 100 chariots.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> G. Goyon, "Schiff, Last- (*Les navires de charge*)," *LdÄ* V (1984), 610–13.

<sup>23</sup> Lucian *Navigium* 5 (K. Kilburn, *Lucian* vol. 6 [Cambridge, 1959], 430–86): c. 60–65 metres long and capable of carrying enough grain to feed Athens for one year. Only a ship of a capacity beyond 70 metric tons would be capable of sea voyages: R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 35; cf. P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 1989), 233–34.

<sup>24</sup> H.T. Wallinga, "Polycrates and Egypt: the Testimony of the *Semaina*," in *Achaemenid History* VI (Leiden, 1991), 187.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. F. Junge, *Elephantine XI. Funde und Bauteile* (Mainz am Rhein 1987), 66–67, Taf. 40c; K. Jansen-Winkel, "Zur Schiffliste aus Elephantine," *GM* 109 (1989), 31. The translation of the fragment must be as follows: "[the troops, the ho]rses and the ch[ariots of the army(?) . . . and the ships] and cargo vessels which went south carrying them upon the water: [. . . -boat], 1; 'Necho-*b3i*'-boat, 1; large transports, 5; small transports, 5; the 'Red'-barque, 1; great vessels, 5; small vessels, [5] . . ." The words which follow on the left are not further designations of ships, but part of the continuing narrative. The fleet, then, numbered 2 command ships and 21 transport vessels.

<sup>26</sup> *Urk.* IV, 663:8.

<sup>27</sup> J.H. Pryor, "Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades: eighth century to 1288 A.D.," *The Mariners Mirror* 68 (1982), 9–30, 103–25.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO: THE GROWTH OF THE TRADITION

To judge by the amount of space devoted to it, the First Campaign was in Thutmose III's estimation the most significant military exercise in his life.<sup>1</sup> Viewed in the light of subsequent history it most certainly was the single event that for 4 centuries placed Cis- and Transjordan firmly within Egypt's sphere of direct control. The battle established a lively, historical tradition that survives well beyond the 15th Cent., and is still echoed in Manetho.<sup>2</sup> The annals were composed with the benefit of 20 years of hindsight as well as an ideological template which in this case corresponded to reality. The king's *obiter dicta*, however, as recorded in the seances and encomia, also reflect the beginnings of the Megiddo tradition. Their content may be summarized as follows.

- A. Buhen Text (above, pt. II, 2. II), year 23.<sup>3</sup>
  - 1. The king's leading the way.
  - 2. The capture of ornate chariots.
  - 4. Slaying the vagabonds (*šm3w*).
- B. Festival Hall Decree (above, pt. II, 1. III), between years 25 and 30.
  - 3. The Council of War.
  - 4. The Battle and rout.
  - 4a. Location of the engagement in the Amountains of Djahy."
  - 5. The siege of Megiddo and the counter circumvallation of the town.
  - 7. The supplication of the defeated and the oath of fealty.

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<sup>1</sup> G.I. Davies, *Megiddo* (Grand Rapids, 1986); A.B. Knapp, "Independence and Imperialism: Politico-economic Structures in the Bronze Age Levant," *Archaeology, Annales and Ethnohistory* (Cambridge, 1992), 92.

<sup>2</sup> D.B. Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," in E. Oren (ed), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 22–25.

<sup>3</sup> A stela fragment from Qubban dated to year 24 may once have contained another panegyric on the Mégiddo campaign: S. Donadoni, "Frammento di una epigraphe nubiana di Thutmose III," in *Mélanges Mokhtar I* (Cairo, 1985), 219–22.

- C. The Seventh Pylon Reveals (above, pt. II, 1. II), about year 34–37(?)
  - 5. The siege of Megiddo and the counter circumvallation.
  - 6. The emergence of the chiefs' children and the wives, subsequently given to Amun.
  - 6a. The confiscation of the three towns for Amun.
- D. The Sixth Pylon (above, pt. II, 1. IV), year 42.
  - 6. The confiscation of the three towns for Amun.
  - 8. The construction of a fortress in the Lebanons.
  - 9. The construction and transport of Amun's barque.
- E. Karnak, Room III (above, pt. II, 1. VI), between years 42 and 45.
  - 4. The rout of the enemy: the *Fenkhu* are specifically mentioned.
  - 5. The circumvallation of the city, described as a "fort of their own building."
  - 7. The supplication of the defeated and the oath of fealty.
- F. The Barque Shrine (above, pt. II, 1. V), between years 45 and 50.
  - 9. The construction and transport of Amun's barque on the First Campaign.
- G. The Barkal Stela (above, pt. II, 1. I), year 47.
  - 1a. The location of the march as through the Qina Valley.
  - 4. The rout of the enemy.
  - 5. The siege of Megiddo . . .
  - 11. . . . which lasted 7 months.
  - 6. The emergence of the chiefs' children with gifts, including splendid chariots.
  - 7. The supplication of the defeated and the oath of fealty.
  - 9. The construction of Amun's barque.
  - 10. The size and quality of the enemy forces.
  - 12. The re-instatement of the chiefs within their own bailiwicks.
  - 13. The confiscation of the chiefs' horses.
- H. The Armant Stela (above, pt. II, 2. I), year 49.
  - 1. The departure from Memphis, the king leading the way.
  - 6. The supplication of the defeated and the proffering of tribute.
  - 14. The progress through the narrow pass, the enemy at its mouth.
  - 15. The flight of the chiefs to their towns.

The initial reports on the First Campaign (A), within months of the event, single out three facts with which contemporaries were meant to be impressed: 1. the initiative of the king in leading his troops, 2. the seizure of rich booty in the form of chariots. Exceptionally,

the enemy is referred to by the slightly archaic *šm3yw*, and 7. The submission of the chiefs couched in conventional phrases. By the close of the decade (year 30) five of the basic components in the official account have made their appearance: 3. The council of war, 4. The battle and rout of the enemy, 5. The siege and counter circumvallation, 6. Supplication of the defeated and 7. The oath of fealty. (B). Exceptionally again, the events are located in (4a) “the mountains of Djahy.” By the second half of the fourth decade (C), while no. 5 continues to be recounted much as before, no. 6 takes on embellishment: the wives and children of the chiefs are given to the workhouse, and the three towns are confiscated for Amun. The fifth decade of the reign witnesses the most extensive embellishment and midrashic “use” of the event: 8. The fortress in the Lebanons appears (D), and 9. The construction of Amun’s barque is noted (D, F). Nos. 4, 5 and 7 are highlighted in E, which also identifies the enemy as *Fenkhu*. Over 25 years after the event the narrative reaches its most embellished state. G. plays upon 10., the size and quality of the enemy forces, 11. the siege now specified as 7 months duration, the oath (7) and 12. The re-instatement of the chiefs and 13. The confiscation of their horses. H., though more succinct, shows signs of further coloring: the king the king leads the way (1), through the narrow pass with the enemy now waiting at its mouth (14); they flee to their towns (15), and ultimately take the oath of fealty (6–7).

When measured against the published daybook account, only a little of this smacks of artifice or wholesale creation. Is the confiscation of horses merely a gloss upon the tally of the booty? Is the presence of the enemy, ready at the mouth of the pass, included to heighten the measure of the king’s personal success in routing them?

Especially taxing to credulity are the statements regarding the duration of the siege and the construction of Amun’s barque. Seven months reflects a time-honored cliché:<sup>4</sup> in the event it is inconceiv-

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<sup>4</sup> “Seven,” the monad producing a doubling pair, became a “neutral”, mythic ideal. It could be applied to inimical events such as seven years of famine (Gilgamesh vi.104; AQHT—i.43 [ANET, 153], J. Vandier, *La Famine dans l’Égypte ancienne* [Cairo, 1936], 132–39; Gen. 41:26) periods of Oppression (Jud. 6:1; AQHT c iv.177 [ANET, 155], spans of rule (Jud. 12:9; I Kings 2:11; A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* [Winona Lake, 2000], chr. 22 iv.7, p. 176; Idrimi 28 [S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* [London, 1949], 16; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* [Oxford, 1999], 286; ANET, 141), military conquest (Deut. 2:14 + Jos. 14:7), servitude (Gen. 29:20f), gestation (KRT B iii.22 [ANET, 146]).

able that anything beyond a few weeks would have been required to reduce this medium-sized settlement, now packed with fugitives.<sup>5</sup> The problem of the barque of Amun and the extent of control in southern Lebanon on the first campaign might occasion some reservations: does the late date of the first notices suggest historical “tele-scoping?” In fact, Hatshepsut had already made a new *Wsr-h3t-Imn* just a few years before:<sup>6</sup> was a new one needed so soon? Or does the replacement of the queen’s barque reflect the incipient antipathy the king felt towards his aunt’s memory? The fortress in the Lebanons, which only makes its appearance in the records two decades later, and is there closely associated with the construction of the barque, cannot be discussed without launching into a discussion of action taken “post-Megiddo.”

<sup>5</sup> Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 90–91; cf. A. Alt, “Zu Thutmosis’ III Kampf um Megiddo,” *PJB* 32 (1936), 16–17.

<sup>6</sup> W.J. Murnane, “The Bark of Amun on the Third Pylon at Karnak,” *JARCE* 16 (1979), 11–27, esp. 18–21. Both treasurer Djehuty (*Urk.* IV, 421:2–4) and Hapuseneb (*Urk.* IV, 474:5–8) claimed that they supervised construction on the queen’s new barque; and the vessel itself is depicted in the Red Chapel: P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, pl. 9 (291 and 104). This might point to a date of construction well within the second decade of the reign, less than 10 years before Thutmose claimed to have carved his new boat!

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE PROBLEM OF THE 2ND THROUGH 4TH CAMPAIGNS (YEARS 24–29)

No surviving text refers specifically and by ordinal numeral to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th campaigns. Yet by year 42, when the decision was taken to complete the record to, what was by then called, the 16th(?) Campaign, the numbering system was in place, and some escapades were being labelled 2nd, 3rd and 4th. What were they, and in which years are they to be dated? Were they in fact numbered *post eventum*?

The *prima facie* case for a “second” campaign can be made on the basis of col. 107 of the first part of the Daybook records. Here the text reads “year 24: tally of the benevolences brought to the might of His Majesty in the country of Retenu.”<sup>1</sup> Now the phrase *hr h3st* followed by toponym, which occurs widely in the daybook excerpts, always refers to the receipt of goods on expedition, not in Egypt;<sup>2</sup> and there is no reason to make an exception in the present instance.<sup>3</sup> Additional allusions, however, to this campaign are difficult to confirm. Sethe believed the second campaign was originally recorded on the east face of the west wall (now gone) of the ambulatory, north section, abutting col. 110.<sup>4</sup> This would, however, present us with an anomalous arrangement in which the record of the receipt of benevolences *preceded* the action of the campaign itself. Sethe thought that a block in the Cairo museum conformed to the dimensions of the columns of the “annals,” and might once have formed part of the said east face of the west wall.<sup>5</sup> The case will be made below that the block in question comes from the record of the 8th campaign.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 685:4, 689:4, 696:16, 703:17, 709:16, 721:10; N. Beaux, *Le Cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III* (Louvain, 1990), 38, pl. 1a; cf. Grapow *Studien*, 8ff; “from” is indicated by *m*: *Urk.* IV, 871:10.

<sup>3</sup> Pace Helck, *Beziehungen*, 139, who simply follows the older literature: Meyer, *Geschichte* II,1, 126, n. 1; Gardiner *JEA* 38 (1952), 9; Drioton-Vandier, *L’Égypte*, 401 etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* IV, 675, and plan 625 (at *d*).

<sup>5</sup> *Urk.* IV, 676–77.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 223; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 123.

A second (fragmentary) pericope which has been thought to be a reminiscence of the 2nd campaign is to be found in the king's speech on the reveals of the 7th pylon.<sup>7</sup> As divided by Sethe,<sup>8</sup> this section begins with a statement about the decoration of the barque of Amun by "this crew." Now the construction of Amun's barque, according to the unanimous assertion of the sources,<sup>9</sup> was carried out pursuant to the victory on the First campaign, so that the reference in col. 10 of the inscription must fall within the account of the First campaign. But in the 8 groups missing at the beginning of col. 11 there is ample space to restore an introductory phrase differentiating what follows from the First campaign. In that case the content of cols. 11 to 14 will have referred to a campaign subsequent to the barque-building. The provision of milch-kine and milk-jugs is also mentioned in the Festival Hall decree<sup>10</sup> and on the Sixth Pylon (south).<sup>11</sup> While this act is not specifically tied in to the First campaign, it is juxtaposed with events known to have occurred in year 23: the sentence immediately preceding (12) refers to the establishment of new festivals which elsewhere are consistently linked to activity undertaken on the return from the First campaign. The nature of the campaign described, however, does not fit what we know of the First: a confrontation, a rout, the plundering of towns, a march(?) to [mountains] of the east.<sup>12</sup>

The textual analysis of the Festival Hall decree<sup>13</sup> has revealed another record which one is tempted to connect to a Second campaign, in this case dated to the fifth month of the year. The fragmentary sequence of events bears comparison with that of the pericope of the 7th pylon text: confrontation, rout, plunder. Significantly, perhaps, cattle appear among the plunder, and children of the chiefs and their congeners are confiscated for Amun.

It might be argued that the dating of the ground-breaking ceremonies for the Festival Hall introduces a difficulty to the reconstruction of events here envisaged.<sup>14</sup> If, during the fifth month of his

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 122f.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 186.

<sup>9</sup> Above, pp. 115, 124, 143-4.

<sup>10</sup> Above, p. 133 (56-57).

<sup>11</sup> Above, p. 137.

<sup>12</sup> For the evolution of *B3hw*, see P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon* (Leuven, 1997), 302-3.

<sup>13</sup> Above, pp. 134-35.

<sup>14</sup> Above, p. 135 and n. 152.



24th year, Thutmose III was to be found in Asia, dompting the local recalcitrants, does it not tax credulity to find him ostensibly back in Karnak on the last day of the 6th month? Moreover a campaign which encompasses the 5th month would have had to begin in the dead of winter, an anomaly when compared with the king's normal practice. Again: if the siege of Megiddo ended after seven months, i.e. in December, would the king have set out again within a matter of weeks?

None of these caveats, it might be argued, is really compelling. For one thing, as has been demonstrated above,<sup>15</sup> the figure "7 months" for the siege is highly suspect. Again: the black granite stela from Karnak room VI<sup>16</sup> is a late document, possibly as late as year 50. A hiatus of 25 years opens the door to dimming memory and tendencies towards embellishment. Moreover, the date is applied to a miraculous event, which does not exactly inspire confidence in the historian. But even if the date were accepted as historical, there is still no dilemma. As reconstructed, the text would only claim that on an unspecified day in the fifth month the king was in Asia. Since, by inference from the stela, he was in Karnak on the last day of the 6th month, a maximum of 8 weeks would have intervened, ample time for a homeward journey. As for the unseasonal date for the campaign, it must be kept in mind that we are at the outset of the wars of expansion: that, in retrospect, Megiddo was a landmark victory, we today can appreciate. At the time, however, it may have seemed far from certain that victory was complete, and the slightest uproar in Canaan would have brought Thutmose III back immediately. The "rhythm" of campaigning periods awaited the certainty of victory, and still lay in the future.

The curious entry for year 24 is the benevolence of Assyria. Had the impact of the Battle of Megiddo reached so far afield, especially in light of Mitanni's continued geographical integrity and military power? What kind of weak Assyrian state could have established contact with Egypt? Would they not have been obliged to cross territory controlled by Mitanni? In year 40, after two signal defeats of

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<sup>15</sup> Above, p. 208.

<sup>16</sup> P-M II, plan xi.

the Mittanian army,<sup>17</sup> or in the Amarna Age with the collapse and disintegration of Mittani,<sup>18</sup> this clearly was possible.

The historical implications of the present passage, however, are not as undermining of its credibility as the foregoing would suggest. Saustatar's expansion to the east and the subsequent subversion of Assyria, certainly are to be dated after Thutmose III's recorded campaigning period, and perhaps even after his death. In his 23rd year there is no reason to believe Assyria, probably under Ashur-nirari I, was not an active participant in the West Asian political scene.<sup>19</sup>

For the presence of Thutmose III in Asia in year 25 support is afforded by the text in the "Botanical Garden" at Karnak, with a date in that year.<sup>20</sup> The text, after date and cartouches, continues "plants (*sm*) which His Majesty found in Retenu." A longer text (north wall) amplifies this laconic entry: "various strange plants and various fine blooms which are in 'God's-land,' br[ought to] His Majesty when His Majesty journeyed to Upper Retenu to overthrow the [rebellious] foreign lands . . ." It is a curious fact that the contents of the final columns of part 1 of the Daybook excerpts cols. 109–10) fasten upon wood, plants and wood products to the virtual exclusion of all else.

A "fourth" campaign is recorded on no surviving inscription. Whatever its nature, its date must fall within the 36-month period between years 26 and 28. Inscriptions from this time span seem to attest the king's presence(?) near Meidum late in year 26,<sup>21</sup> a flurry of activity in Nubia in year 27,<sup>22</sup> an expedition to Sinai, also in year

<sup>17</sup> See below, pp. 220ff.

<sup>18</sup> R. Cohen, "On Diplomacy in the Ancient Near East: the Amarna Letters," in *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 7 (1996), 253.

<sup>19</sup> G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), 26–27; A. Harraak, *Assyria and Hanigalbat* (Hildesheim, 1987), 52–53; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 149.

<sup>20</sup> L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (Austin, 1989), 13; M. Beaux *Le Cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III* (Leuven, 1990), p. 41 (a–b); A. Wilkinson, *The Garden in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1998), 137–40. Whether the text was carved in that year is another matter. The flooring of this part of the complex shows re-used blocks of Hatshepsut: A. Varille, "Quelques Notes sur le sanctuaire axial du grand temple d'Amon à Karnak," *ASAE* 50 (1950), 132ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. The graffito of the scribe of measuring: W.M.F. Petrie, *Meidum*, pl. 34:8, p. 41. The date is viii, 21, i.e. just before a campaigning season might have begun.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. J. Vercoutter, *Kush* VI (1958), pl. 46a (year 27, vi, 8).

27,<sup>23</sup> and the induction(?) of the vizier's major domo Amenemhet in year 28.<sup>24</sup> Whether the first and third are in any way connected with activity which might later be construed as a "fourth" campaign, must remain moot.<sup>25</sup>

In sum: for the dark period of years 26 to 28 we may postulate the following on the basis of the fragmentary evidence:

1. The completion of something that could qualify as a "fortress" (*mnw*) in the Lebanon.<sup>26</sup> With the power of Kadesh and Tunip intact and stretching as far as the coast, such a fort could scarcely have been sited anywhere but in southern Lebanon. In spite of the fact that the relevant text<sup>27</sup> refers to building and naming a "fort," there is a good likelihood that all the king means is that he expanded an *existing* structure. One thinks of Tyre, called significantly in the Amarna Letters a "royal" city,<sup>28</sup> a status of long standing.<sup>29</sup> Again: it is not inconceivable that the pericope hangs on some minor addition to the fortifications of Byblos which, by the usual Egyptian conceit, Thutmose renamed.<sup>30</sup> A point of some importance to bear in mind in assessing the territorial extent

<sup>23</sup> J. Černý, A.H. Gardiner, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1952), pl. 64:198. It is to be noted that this inscription contains the earliest known occurrence of Thutmose III's second titulary: H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* II, 257 (XIII).

<sup>24</sup> N. de G. Davies, A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915), pl. 24ff; *Urk.* IV, 1043. The date stands at the head of the mortuary stela, and is followed by the invocation and an encomium of the vizier User.

<sup>25</sup> It should be remembered in this regard that Si-Bast's legal text (year 27) presupposes a recent military campaign: see above, p. 00.

<sup>26</sup> Discussion in Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 150–53.

<sup>27</sup> Above, p. 137.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. EA 146:10, 150:7, 151:6, 155; cf. The epithet *amti šarri* in 149:10, 63 and *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> EA 150:35–37. Note that the traditional, natural sphere of influence of Tyre extended from the Litani River to Carmel, very close to where the Egyptian forces were now located: E. Lipiński, "The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher," in E. Lipiński (ed), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Louvain, 1991), 153–66. But Tyre's interests may already have ranged farafield, presaging its Iron Age commercial interests as far as the Gulf of Alexandretta (P.E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales* [Paris, 1997], 70–72), making it an ideal possession: note how Pharaoh uses it as a listening post for the entire Levant: EA 151:49ff.

<sup>30</sup> P-M VII, 389; P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), I, pl. 152 (947), 249; S. Wimmer, "Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai," in S. Israelit-Groll (ed), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* II (Jerusalem, 1990), 1080–83, 1097; J. Weinstein, "Byblos," in Redford, *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* I (New York, 2001), 219–21.

of Egypt's sway at any given moment in the early 18th Dynasty is that there is no evidence that Byblos was anything but friendly towards Egypt, and had been so from the Middle Kingdom.<sup>31</sup> In fact, prior to the campaigns of the fourth decade of the reign, the geopolitical configuration saw a sphere of Egyptian influence in Palestine and along the south Lebanese coast to Byblos, paired off against a sphere of influence of Kadesh and Tunip inland, under Mittanian suzerainty, east of the Lebanons and as far south as Galilee.

2. The sack of cities. A skirmish with "Fenkhu," as we have seen, may be attested for year 24, along with the "plundering" of their towns.<sup>32</sup> Since it is unlikely that the Palestinian city destructions took place on the march during the First campaign, it is probable that the call to dismantle fortifications went out pursuant to the capitulation of the coalition, and occupied year 24. It is interesting to note that the nature of the campaign of year 25, insofar as it enjoys a record at all, is said to have encompassed the overthrow of foreigners (i.e. a set-piece battle?). Yet, the concentration on plants from the open fields, meadows and uplands removes us entirely from the milieu of urban assault into the countryside.
3. The Processional barque. As pointed out above, the references to acquiring timber for Userhatamun on the first campaign occur only in the later accounts, between years 42 and 50.<sup>33</sup> The shrine inscription, in fact, alludes to the king's being involved in the tree-cutting. Two passages associate the preparation of the wood with the fortress. In light of the extreme "business" of the First campaign, it seems to me extremely unlikely that all of this could be accomplished with summer past and winter approaching. More

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<sup>31</sup> For the Second Intermediate Period see K.A. Kitchen, "Byblos, Egypt and Mari in the Early 2nd Millennium B.C.," *Orientalia* 36 (1967), 39–54; Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 220. When to the evidence from the site is added a scattering of scarabs (G.T. Martin, *Administrative and Private Name Seals* [Oxford, 1971], nos. 810, 1689; W. Ward, "Some Personal Names of Hyksos Period Rulers and Notes on the Epigraphy of their Scarabs," *UF* 8 [1976], 353–69), a generation count of 10 to 12 generations may be set up from c. 1770 B.C., reaching almost into Thutmose III's reign.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps occasioning the scarab in H.E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (New York, 1948), pl. XIX F and p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> Above, pp. 208–9.

likely the decision to “build” a “fort” and to cut timber for a barque was taken, and work begun, before Thutmose III returned to Egypt; but was continued into year 24 by a contingent of troops left behind to supervise.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> One wonders whether the “crew” that is mentioned on the 7th pylon reveals as working on the barque (above, p. 122) has anything to do with the “gang” which carried plunder to Egypt in the Daybook Excerpts (Pt. I, col. 95: above, p. 00).

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE STRATEGY OF YEARS 29 TO 31

Whether a reaction to Thutmose III's victories or an occupation of long-standing, the "presence" of Tunip in the Eleutheros Valley and along the Phoenician coast represents one of two geopolitical thrusts coeval with the initial *Drang nach Norden* of the Egyptians. The first, that of Kadesh, which sought to establish its hegemony through an *inland* sphere of influence extending from the upper Orontes to the Esdraclon, entailed a move on Egypt as its ultimate goal. This had been wholly thwarted by Thutmose III's prompt action. The second, that of Tunip, was designed to establish a *coastal* sphere of control extending from the middle Orontes through the Eleuthereos to the middle Phoenician coast (the later Amurru). Insofar as we *can* speak of an Egyptian "foreign policy" (better: geopolitical stance) we should have to classify Egypt's concern for access to timber as among her chief priorities. Byblos had acted as Egypt's gateway to the cedar reserves, always friendly and always open. But now a hostile force from Tunip lay within 50 km. of Byblos, having strengthened itself, if our suggested emendation is correct,<sup>1</sup> by co-opting the Apiru of the region. It was this aggressive action that precipitated the Egyptian response.

Thutmose's developing strategy corresponds to the three years of campaigning. In the first he secured the port and captured the Tunip garrison before moving inland to destroy the environs of Ardata. All important was his demonstration that *he* now controlled the food stocks of the area, and could ship plunder back to Egypt by sea. (Whether the Egyptians themselves had come by sea is a moot point; but it is tempting to reconstruct a maritime crossing with landfall at Byblos).<sup>2</sup> The next stage was designed (a) to teach Kadesh that she was not beyond his reach, and (b) to secure the Eleutheros Valley and the Akkar plain politically. To this end—the sequence of events

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N.-C. Grimal, *A History of Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 215.

follows the above order—Thutmose III and his army must have marched by land through the Esdraelon up the Jordan valley to debouche in the Beka'a.<sup>3</sup> Kadesh suffered to wasting of its territory, before the Egyptian forces exited by way of the mountains to descend upon Sumur and Ardata whose environs were similarly ravaged. In the aftermath 36 principalities came over to Thutmose III who inaugurated the practice of hostage-taking to ensure loyalty. The social structure of the palatine<sup>4</sup> coastal cities abetted the Egyptian take-over: a king, with small maryannu elite, supported by semi-free peasantry.<sup>5</sup> Compromise the king, remove the maryannu, and the resistance of the community collapses. A coastal section of Western Asia had thus been added to the Egyptian "dominion" of Palestine.

The third stage involved securing the newly-subverted chiefdoms of the middle Phoenician coast by establishing a permanent presence.<sup>6</sup> To that end the town of Ullaza was ransacked, its Tunip garrison captured and the settlement taken over as an Egyptian garrison town. It is interesting to note that, if our restoration of the traces is correct,<sup>7</sup> the Egyptians had encountered a band of Apiru at Ullaza. This will have been, then, one of the earliest references to these people in Egyptian sources.<sup>8</sup> Significantly they are to be found in the same region they later occupy in force during the Amarna Age.<sup>9</sup> In order to make the Egyptian military and (presumably) civilian presence self-sustaining from this point on, Thutmose III transformed

<sup>3</sup> The year date preserved in the Armant stela (above, p. 156) suggests a departure by land.

<sup>4</sup> This apt term for the metropolitan territoria of Canaan, based as they were on a *palace* economy, was coined by Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land. The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield, 1991), 45 n. 76.

<sup>5</sup> M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982); J.M. Halligan, "The Role of the Peasant in the Amarna Period," in D.N. Freedman, D. Graf (eds), *Palestine in Transition* (Sheffield, 1983), 15–20; M. Liverani, *Antico oriente. Storia, società, economia* (Rome, 1988), 546–52; N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land. The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield, 1991), 45 and n. 76. The felicitous "patrimonial" state is used by Liverani: "The Great Powers' Club," in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 2000), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Although not stated, it is very likely that the army crossed by sea.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 72 n. 92.

<sup>8</sup> For their presence in T.T. 39 and 155 see sources in O. Loretz, *Ḥabiru-Hebraer* (Berlin, 1984), 36; for the occurrences in folklore attached to Thutmose III's name, *ibid.*, 38–9.

<sup>9</sup> M. Liverani, "Farsi ḥabiru," *Vicino Oriente* 2 (1979), 65–77; W.L. Moran, "Join the Apiru or Become One?" in D.M. Golomb (ed), *Working with No Data. Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, 1987), 209–12.

the “harbors”<sup>10</sup> of the region into depots where local food stuffs could be deposited.<sup>11</sup> Presumably the arrangements for garnering the harvest depended upon the same type of share-cropping on *khatto*-land which had worked in the Esdraelon.<sup>12</sup> The harvest was of such great importance to the survival of Canaanite cities, that special legislation was in place to protect this vital resource during the crucial winter months.<sup>13</sup> By confiscating it Thutmose III had rendered the region destitute, a strategy imitated by Ashurnasirpal some 5 centuries later.<sup>14</sup>

By his actions on these three campaigns, Thutmose III for the first time had exceeded, not only the accomplishments, but also the vision of his predecessors. He had not only defeated an “absentee” enemy and brought back much plunder: he had also *secured* the region and most importantly its food stores, and denied the enemy future access. That was not a fortuitous result: clearly Thutmose was looking *beyond* the Levant.

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<sup>10</sup> From the location of named towns it is clear that *myt* can refer as much to settlements near the coast as those actually on the shore.

<sup>11</sup> N. Na'aman, “Praises to Pharaoh in Response to his Plans for a Campaign to Canaan,” in T. Abusch and others (eds), *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Atlanta, 1990), 397–98; D.B. Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* (Beersheva, 1990), 56–60.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> P. Vargyas, “Marchands hittites à Ougarit,” *OLP* 16 (1985), 71–9; *idem*, “Immigration into Ugarit,” in K. van Lerberghe (ed), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Louvain, 1995), 401.

<sup>14</sup> B. Cifola, “Ashurnasirpal II's 9th Campaign: Seizing the Grain Bowl of the Phoenician Cities,” *A/O* 44–45 (1997–98), 156–58.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE EIGHTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 33)

In all likelihood the 7th campaign witnessed the king's return, after the harvest had been deposited in the harbors, in *akhet* ii (early September) or thereabouts, of his 31st year. If, as would be expected, the 8th campaign got under weigh in the second spring thereafter<sup>1</sup> the hiatus in campaigning would have amounted to 16 to 18 months. Why Thutmose should have desisted from campaigning for this span of time is not immediately apparent. One distinct possibility is that the requirements of the *sed*-festival<sup>2</sup> in the 32nd year demanded the king's presence at home. Moreover, the complete success of Egyptian arms along the Phoenician coast, the result, not of ephemeral razzias, but campaigns of territorial acquisition, had temporarily awed the opposition. With their garrisons captured and farm-land ravaged, the Syrian enemy, Kadish and Tunip, seemed to have remained quiescent, bracing themselves for a fourth campaign in four years which failed to materialize.

A greater number and variety of sources exist for the 8th campaign than for any other of Thutmose III's military exploits. None, however, constitutes a complete record, to be relied on to the exclusion of others. The order and nature of events must be reconstructed on the basis of *all* the texts. When this is done it will be recognized that, of all the sources passed in review in the table, the Daybook Excerpts clearly reflect the correct sequence of incidents selected. The authors of the seance texts and the encomia add significant facts, but their over-all agenda was different. The biographical texts stress individual exploits and recall the one outstanding event, viz. the crossing of the river.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. in the late winter or early spring of the 32nd year; on the problem of the calendar dates, see below, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> The second? On the problem touched upon here, see below, p. 227.



Problems remain however.<sup>3</sup> Most reconstructions of the sequence of events have labored under the burden of the mistaken order assigned to them by Gardiner. As demonstrated above,<sup>4</sup> the latter misunderstood the criteria of selection of episodes in Amenemheb's autobiography, and thereby created a curious pastiche of incidents far removed from reality.<sup>5</sup> While episodes 1 to 3 are obviously to be placed at the head, and 11, 13 to 15 at the conclusion, there is some doubt about the rest. The geographic location of Qatna and the insouciance of the archery contest (no. 12), it could be argued, suggest that this stop was on the return:<sup>6</sup> only with the battle already won could such self-indulgence be contemplated.<sup>7</sup> The main difficulty lies in the order and nature of episodes 4 through 9. When were the stela(e) set up: before or after the final battle? And what *was* the latter: one of the confrontations *sub* no. 3, or the river battle (no. 7)? And when did the king of Mittani flee: before or after the river-crossing?

The setting up of the stela<sup>8</sup> occupies a pivotal position in the sequence. In Barkal (13) the stela is erected following the flight of the enemy king. In Armant (8) it follows the crossing of the river and the hacking up of the towns. The stela is again mentioned in the Daybook Excerpts (11) where its erection immediately precedes

<sup>3</sup> For the table above note the following: A = the Daybook Excerpts; B = Gebel Barkal stela; C = the Armant Stela; D = Amenemheb; E = the 7th Pylon reveals; F = the Constantinople obelisk; G = the Poetical Stela; H = Menkheperassonb; I = Yamu-nedjeh; J = Iwy-montu; K = Min-mose; L = Sen-nufe; M = Nebenkeme.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 170ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* (4th ed; Paris, 1962), 403–4: here Thutmose III hops about from north to south in a ludicrous distortion of the obvious. Klengel too has fallen victim to Gardiner's version (*Syria: 3000 to 300 B.C.* [Berlin, 1992], 91–93), as also, to a lesser extent, Drower (*CAH* II, 1 [Cambridge, 1973], 456), and Grimal (*A History of Ancient Egypt* [Oxford, 1992], 215–16); cf. A. Tulhoff, *Thutmosis III* (Munich, 1984), 139ff; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Qatna is also a likely stopping point en route, for both outward-bound and homeward-bound journeys, as the ford of the Orontes is in the vicinity: *Urk.* IV, 1302:7; der Manuelian, *Studies . . . Amenophis II*, 60. North of Qatna the Egyptians will have followed the high east bank of the Orontes, to avoid the swampy conditions of the valley: P.E. Dion, "L'incursion d'Assurnasirpal II au Luhutu," *Orientalia* 69 (2000), 137.

<sup>7</sup> As pointed out above (p. 77), the restoration of "Qatna" in *Urk.* IV, 696:17 is wholly gratuitous and without foundation.

<sup>8</sup> Older discussions in which two stelae, one on either bank, were considered (cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 175\* and n. 1; Smith, *Idrimi*, 46–47), are now obsolete, in spite of recent attempts to resuscitate the notion: A. Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile* (London, 1995), 87; cf. Galán, *Victory and Border*, 148–50.

Thutmose's retirement south to Niya. Should we, therefore, understand the *sdm.n.f* form at the beginning of col. 20 of the Excerpts as pluperfect, thus "Indeed, after His Majesty had gone downstream . . ."? This would indeed bring the order of events into line with the sequence in Barkal, Armant and the Philadelphia fragment,<sup>9</sup> and would also conform to logical expectations: one sets up a triumph-stela only when the enemy has been defeated. On the other hand, as was argued above, the Daybook Excerpts would be expected to preserve the chronological order, whereas seance and encomia are organized along different lines.

The lie of the land in the vicinity of Carchemish would dictate that any stela, whether quarried on a rock or quarried and free-standing, be placed north of the city where the contours rise.<sup>10</sup> Thutmose III's ravaging of the countryside would have involved the river valley either north or south of the city: both stretches show extensive occupation in antiquity.<sup>11</sup> The sequel, however, involving a hastily-assembled force to block the Egyptian route, might best be explained by the Egyptians' attempt to head towards the more populous(?) North (see map 2).<sup>12</sup>

One additional text, of uncertain provenience and therefore omitted from consideration heretofore, may now be considered as a potential source of information. This is the block in the Cairo museum which Sethe believed to contain part of the record of the 2nd campaign.<sup>13</sup> While this attribution may be dismissed as a mere guess, traces of royal titulary on the reverse may arguably be assigned to Thutmose III,<sup>14</sup> and allusions to archery may indicate the 8th campaign. An examination of the content suggests a retrograde reading:<sup>15</sup> A(9) [. . . My Majesty commanded] to bring it outside for me. Then [. . .] (8) [. . . in order to] tread the roads of [this] country

<sup>9</sup> Note how the return follows immediately on the erection of the stela.

<sup>10</sup> W. Helck, "Karkemisch," *LdÄ* III (1980), 340; J.D. Hawkins, "Carchemish," in E.M. Meyers (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East* I (New York, 1997), 423–24.

<sup>11</sup> G. Bunnens, *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain, 2000), p. 386 (fig. 1).

<sup>12</sup> On the equivocal nature of the text—*hdi* is not a certain restoration—see above, p. 82 n. 351.

<sup>13</sup> *Urk.* IV, 675–78.

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV, 677.

<sup>15</sup> Commands to march (7–9); pillaging an oasis (6); razing towns (5); indulging in archery (4); collection of . . . (?) and offerings to the gods (3); construction(?) of a boat(?) for a water journey.

[...] (7) [...] His Majesty] l.p.h. His Majesty commanded to have [...] organized<sup>16</sup> [...] (6) [...] Then His Majesty despatched(?) the army(?) and char[iotry to plunder this settlement. Then [...] brought [...] (5) [...] then] these towns [were set] on fire, and after[wards. . .] (4) [...] and so] His Majesty took some recreation in<sup>17</sup> archery [...] (3) [...] a hecatomb . . .] consisting of all fine things for Amun-re, lord of Karnak, and for Re-[Harakhty. . .] (2) [...] a craft(?)<sup>18</sup> on(?)] the ship-[canal/basin(?)]<sup>19</sup> which has no outlet, while its crew was in [...]” If this fragment bears upon the 8th campaign it presumably describes the homeward journey after the army has come from the Euphrates. The term *wh3t* indicates rural settlements in contrast to urban, fortified centers,<sup>20</sup> and thus would be appropriate for the steppe across which the army would have to proceed to Niya. The archery display (at Qatna) follows, with the collection of benevolences(?), an offering to the gods, and finally a reference to a ship constructed(?) in a land-locked water-basin. It is tempting to construe this as a reference to the harbors and a homeward journey undertaken by timber-bearing ships.

In assessing the context of the 8th campaign, one consideration seems to override all others: the 8th campaign involved the surprise occasioned by strategic planning and secret equipment, and was not a set-piece battle announced and intelligenced in advance. As the Egyptians moved into the Orontes basin it must have looked to the king of Mittani, so used heretofore to employing others as cat’s-paws, as though Thutmose was engaged yet again in an *expedition chevauchée*, designed to elicit the oath and benevolences. But the Egyptians continued north, devastating several territories and moving relentlessly

<sup>16</sup> *Wb.* II, 220:5–14.

<sup>17</sup> *Sd3i hr*: same expression used of Thutmose III’s recreation in Armant (*Urk.* IV, 1245:12).

<sup>18</sup> The resumptive demands a masculine noun for some sort of boat.

<sup>19</sup> The suffix .s requires a feminine noun for the body of water. One thinks of *hnt* (*Wb.* III, 105:1–8; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* IV, 32; CT II, 64b), “(swampy) lake, canal”; *šdyt*, “(excavated) pool” (Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, p. 8\*; R.O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962], 274); or *mryt*, “harbor” (*Wb.* II, 109–10). The present passage suggests a body of water which, for whatever reason, had no direct outlet to the sea: for such land-locked features in Egypt, see C.A.R. Andrews, “Pathyrite Waterways in Documents of Ptolemaic Date,” in B. Menu (ed), *Les Problèmes institutionnels de l’eau en Égypte ancienne et dans l’Antiquités méditerranéenne* (Cairo, 1994), 30–31.

<sup>20</sup> *Wb.* I, 346:12–14; R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe* (Oxford, 1977), col. 3:4; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* II (Paris, 1981), 102.

through the kingdom of Aleppo to Carchemish, further north in fact than ever before. Even then they did not stop, but brought forward their prefabricated boats and crossed into the Mittanian heartland.

For this the king of Mittani was not prepared. A defence force of a size capable of withstanding the Egyptian expeditionary force would have taken months to muster. This explains why the Mittanian king quit the field,<sup>21</sup> and his nobility sought refuge in caves:<sup>22</sup> the overwhelming numbers of the Egyptians made both battlefield and domicile unsafe. Thus, at least initially Thutmose found himself with no opponents. It was now that sufficient time was found for the preparation for the stelae and the methodical destruction of towns and hamlets. A Mittanian militia scratched together from three(?) towns attempted to bar the way, but were easily repulsed. The stelae completed, the Egyptians returned to Niya via the Nukhashshe steppe, plundering and firing some villages en route. After the elephant hunt, they made their way to Qatna, where Thutmose examined the local bow-manufacturing industry, and put on a show of marksmanship. The collection of benevolences followed. After the commissioning of ship-building at some inland harbor on the Phoenician coast, Thutmose and the troops returned to Egypt by land.<sup>23</sup>

It was participation in the 8th campaign which conferred on contemporary notables epithets and phrases referring to following the king on water and land (although the appellatives were not new). The earliest occurrences make the association explicit: "who did not desert the Lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield in any northern country, who crossed the Euphrates after His Majesty in order to fix the boundary of Egypt";<sup>24</sup> "I followed the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Menkheper]re to [eve]ry [foreign country] in my youth . . . he trod the mountains and crossed the river Euphrates";<sup>25</sup> "I followed the Perfect God, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre . . . in every foreign land he marched through; I saw His Majesty flex his arm against [the vile doomed one] who had attacked the land, when [he] crossed [the Euphrates] . . ."<sup>26</sup> Thereafter

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<sup>21</sup> For the use of the trope of "flight to another land" in Egyptian sources, and its historical accuracy, see below.

<sup>22</sup> *Urk.* IV, 931:1-3.

<sup>23</sup> This seems to follow from the wording of Barkal: above, *Urk.* IV, 1232-33.

<sup>24</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1370:10-11 (Yamu-nedjeh).

<sup>25</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1466-67 (Iwy-Montu, butler).

<sup>26</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1441 (Minmose, engineer).

the phrase is reduced to an almost generic level: “who followed the king on water and land in the southern and northern countries.”<sup>27</sup>

While no direct statement is made in any source about the length of the 8th campaign, a judicious estimate, on the basis of quantifiable activities and itineraries, yields the following:

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Sea journey to Byblos from the Delta                                     | c. 5–7 days                        |
| 2. The cutting of timber and making<br>assault craft                        | c. 15–20 days <sup>28</sup>        |
| 3. The march to the Euphrates   | No less than 30 days <sup>29</sup> |
| 4. Crossing the river   | 1 day                              |
| 5. River battle   | 1 day                              |
| 6. Hacking up the towns and villages  | 15 days(?)                         |
| 7. Carving the stela  | 5 to 7 days (?) <sup>30</sup>      |
| 8. The march to Niya <sup>31</sup> & the plundering<br>of villages en route | 15–21 days(?)                      |
| 9. The elephant hunt  | 2 days                             |
| 10. The march to Qatna <sup>32</sup>  | 7 days                             |
| 11. Sporting contest and inspection   | 2 days                             |
| 12. Collection of benevolences  | c. 5 days(?)                       |
| 13. Return march to Egypt <sup>33</sup>                                     | c. 37 days                         |

<sup>27</sup> Berlin 10756; O. Kaiser, *Aegyptisches Museen Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), no. 584 (Nebenkeme, child of the harim); H.M. Stewart, *Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I. New Kingdom* (Warminster, 1976), pl. 15 (Duwa-erneheh, steward); *Urk.* IV, 1020:5–8 (Neferperet, butler, child of the harim); *Urk.* IV, 1024:17 (Amunmose, steward); *Urk.* IV, 1062:2, 1641 (Amunemhet, king's-scribe, food supply); *Urk.* IV, 1462:19 (Pekh-sukher, lieutenant general); CCG 34092 (Duwa, captain); *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . British Museum VIII* (1939), pl. 9 (Amunhotpe, high-priest of Anhur).

<sup>28</sup> It remains a possibility that the king had ordered some of this work to be done before he and the troops arrived. Yet the statement in Barkal claims that he was on the spot during the work.

<sup>29</sup> The distance is approximately 450 km., and I have reckoned the rate of speed at c. 15 km. per day. This might have to be lengthened in view of the skirmishes the army engaged in on the way.

<sup>30</sup> With a prepared text of modest length, perhaps such as Thutmose I carved at Kurgu in the Sudan as a boundary stela: P-M VII, 233; A.J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan to 1821* (London, 1961), 83 fig. 10; P.L. Shinnie, *Ancient Nubia* (London, 1996), 80 fig. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Approximately 200 km.

<sup>32</sup> Approximately 100 km.

<sup>33</sup> Approximately 550 km.

Thus (and these estimates err on the conservative side), Thutmose III's 8th campaign cannot have occupied a span of time much less than 5 months. If the army had set out at the same time of year as they had on the first and sixth campaigns, i.e. the end of month viii, they would have returned no earlier than the end of the first month of *akhet*. But a text from Bersheh<sup>34</sup> dated to the 12th day of the 12th month (iv. *Shomu*) of the 33rd year might be taken to imply the king's presence in Egypt on that day. The text reads, after the date, "the inauguration of a myriad of very frequent *sed*-festivals which Thoth himself has c[opi]ed out in his writing on the precious *isd*-tree. Appearance(?) by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, son of Re, Thutmose-of-perfect-being, upon the Horus-throne of the living like Re for ever!" The choice of the phrase *h3t hbw-sd c33 wrt* would seem to point to the second jubilee;<sup>35</sup> but whether it is a commemoration of a jubilee in progress, or the announcement of one to come in about a year's time is unclear.<sup>36</sup> In either case, if the king maintained his normal campaigning schedule, he could not have been in Egypt on xii.12!<sup>37</sup>

An escape from the dilemma, in the case of the 8th campaign, might be found in assuming that, for some reason Thutmose III had left Egypt much earlier than usual. To be present for an "appearance" on xii.12, after a five-month campaign, he would have had to set sail around vii.1 (approximately Feb. 20). The early time of departure would certainly not have been expected by the enemy, and that, in part, could account for the tactical surprise one senses Thutmose achieved.

<sup>34</sup> P-M IV, 185; *Urk.* IV, 597(D); E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Geneva, 1974), 32.

<sup>35</sup> In spite of the absence of the phrase "repetition of the *sed*-festival," the technically correct designation of the second: E.F. Wente, C. van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 227; W.J. Murnane, "The Sed-Festival: a Problem in Historical Method," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 373.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. at the end of the 33rd and the beginning of the 34th year, when a second jubilee was normally celebrated: H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* III (Cairo, 1914), 92–93; J. Von Beckerath, "Gedanken zu den Daten des Sed-Feste," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 32–33.

<sup>37</sup> If he had left around viii.25, as he did on his first campaign, i.e. mid-April, a 5-month campaign would have terminated in mid-September, 6 weeks after the Bersheh graffito's date (= Aug. 1). On the uncertainty surrounding Thutmose III's jubilees, see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 184–85; E. Hornung, "Sedfest und Geschichte," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 171.



One major difficulty with the above reconstruction is the danger inherent in voyaging on the Mediterranean during the winter. No one risked the entire enterprise, whether military or commercial, by embarking before May; and he who set sail while the Pleiades were setting might well sink with them.<sup>38</sup> It is no use protesting that, above, we have postulated a date in the 5th month for the 2nd campaign:<sup>39</sup> that expedition travelled by land.

The solution may well lie in the attenuated and (perhaps) apocoped nature of Thutmose III's *sed*-festival celebrations.<sup>40</sup> Sen-nufer's Bersheh text need not be a commemoration of a festival *in progress*, as much as an anticipatory assertion that one will follow at the end of the regnal year. The writing of the king's name on a leaf of the *išd*-tree is generally associated with the crowning of Pharaoh,<sup>41</sup> and the re-affirmation of his kingship,<sup>42</sup> although its primary link seems to be to the solar cult.<sup>43</sup> Why the date xii.12 heads the text is not clear, although it was certainly an auspicious (if artificial) choice, removed from the time when a jubilee ought to have been performed. Perhaps the choice has something to do with the mythological date of the final defeat of Seth, and his expulsion to the East.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Vegetius advocated sailing between May 27 and Sept. 14, with outside limits no earlier than March 10: L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1995), 270; Cf. Alexander of Alexandria, "Epitaph for Cleonicus," in *The Greek Anthology* (Harmondsworth, 1981), 68 (84); L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1994), 150–51; imprecations against rulers of Levantine, coastal cities aptly included evil winds, torn rigging and destroyed masts: Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II* (Chicago, 1927), sec. 587.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 212.

<sup>40</sup> Above, n. 37.

<sup>41</sup> I am indebted to my student, Ms. Kate Liszka, for an array of evidence collected for her thesis "Coronation Scenes in Ancient Egypt."

<sup>42</sup> A.H. Gardiner, "Davies' Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription," *JEA* 32 (1946), 50, n. g; Edfu I, 112; W. Helck, "Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak," *ZAŚ* 82 (1958), 98–110; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965), 275ff; P. Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres. Contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (Liege, 1994), 105–6; D.B. Redford, "The Concept of Kingship during the 18th Dynasty," in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1996), 172.

<sup>43</sup> K. Mysliwiec, "Die Rolle des Atum in der *išd*-Baum Szene," *MDÄIK* 36 (1980), 349–56; H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I* (Chicago, 1981), pl. 137; for its connexion to Osiris in the Late Period, see H. Junker, *Das Goetterdekret über das Abaton* (Wien, 1913), *passim*; Koemoth, *loc. cit.*

<sup>44</sup> Cf. A. El-M. Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637* (Cairo, 1966), pl. XXXVIII, vs. VIII.3–6. The Mittanians had, significantly, been expelled to the east!

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE POLITICAL CONFIGURATION OF SYRIA AND MITTANI'S RIPOSTE

The euphoria one senses in the later accounts of the 8th campaign centers upon the tactical details of the encounter. The river is crossed, the enemy king flees, his noblemen become refugees, the Egyptians cut a swath of destruction, the local population is overwhelmed with awe. But the seances and the encomia celebrate the moment: the reality of the aftermath did not invite celebration.

If the Egyptians could pride themselves, as we know they did, on having won an early round in the contest with Mittani, in reality it amounted to little more than spoiling tactics. Within two years Mittani retaliated with effect. The statement that the “chief of Naharin had fled to another land” need not be taken at face value, but is perhaps to be understood as the Egyptian construction placed on his withdrawal to the east. Whoever had “fled” in year 33, someone had returned as leader in year 35 with an army mustered from all Mittani’s dependencies. That the Mittanians could within two years muster a large army and engage the Egyptians in a set piece battle in the environs of Aleppo argues the ability of the yet unbroken enemy to call upon an impressive array of vassals. The result, in spite of what Thutmose III considered a novel tactic, was a stalemate. The paltry tally of POWs and plunder suggests that the engagement was more in the nature of a draw and that in fact the Egyptians were fought to a standstill.

Who was the “chief of Naharin” and what treaty relationships could he rely upon? The Mittanian king-list cannot, at the present time, be established fully and beyond all doubt.<sup>1</sup> While the four generations from Artatama I to Shattiwaza are known and fixed as to relative chronology,<sup>2</sup> the family tree prior to Artatama is full of gaps

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<sup>1</sup> C. Kuehne, “Politische Szenerie und internationale Beziehungen Vorderasiens um Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,” in H.J. Nissen, J. Renger (eds), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (Berlin, 1982), 203–64.

<sup>2</sup> A. Harrak, *Assyria und Haniabalbat* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik; Hildesheim, 1987), 20–21.

and uncertain relationships. Saushtatar's floruit, with its expansion eastward into Assyria<sup>3</sup> and its reassertion of hegemony in North Syria,<sup>4</sup> must have followed the final decade of Thutmose III's reign and possibly even Amenophis II's campaigns;<sup>5</sup> and there is no certainty that he was the immediate predecessor of Artatama. Witnesses in Nuzi texts contemporary with Saushtatar are found in a document mentioning the death of Barratarna.<sup>6</sup> We can, therefore, place Barratarna at least one generation before Saushtatar, presumably as predecessor to Saushtatar's father Parsatatar. Niqmepa of Alalakh who was a contemporary of Saushtatar,<sup>7</sup> must have been preceded in the kingship of Mukishe by his short-lived brother Adad-nirari. His father, Idrimi, enjoyed a floruit of 37 + years,<sup>8</sup> from the time of his flight from Aleppo, and thus would have been Thutmose III's contemporary during the latter's campaigning years.<sup>9</sup> Since Barratarna was a contemporary of Idrimi, it is safe to assume that it was he that opposed Thutmose III in the latter's 33rd year.<sup>10</sup> How many generations, if any, separated Barratarna from Shutarna I son of Kirta, the founder of the house,<sup>11</sup> is anyone's guess at present: is it too daring to make Shutarna I Thutmose I's opponent?

<sup>3</sup> T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 149.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), nos. 13:2, 14:1 (adjudicating in cases involving Alalakh, Tunip and Kizzuwadna); A.H. Podany, *The Land of Hana* (Bethesda, 2002), 6.

<sup>5</sup> One wonders whether it was Saushtatar that concluded the treaty with Amenophis II: P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 77; B. Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani," in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 2000), 76–77; according to Helck, however, the peace with Egypt had followed the death of Saushtatar: *Geschichte der alten Aegypten* (Leiden, 1968), 163.

<sup>6</sup> HSS XIII, 165: 1, 18.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 213.

<sup>8</sup> In spite of the ideological template the numbers "30" and "7" seem to betray, there is in the present case no reason to doubt their historicity, as they are both periods of time voluntarily determined by Idrimi himself.

<sup>9</sup> S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi*, London, 1949; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Die Inschrift der Statue des Königs Idrimi von Alalakh," *UF* 13 (1981), 199–269; *idem*, "Die 'Autobiographie' des Königs Idrimi von Alalakh (Idrimi-Stele)," *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament* 1, 5 (1985), 501–4. He may have begun his career before Thutmose III's main campaigns: Helck, *Beziehungen*, 97ff; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I, 227, 245 n. 53.

<sup>10</sup> It remains but a tempting surmise that the flight of the unnamed chief of Naharin in the Barkal text, is to be understood as the interface between Barratarna and the reign of Parsatatar.

<sup>11</sup> G. Wilhelm, "The Kingdom of Mittani in Second Millennium Upper Mesopotamia," in J.M. Sasson (ed), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East II* (New York, 1995), 1247.

With the contemporaneity of Barratarna and Thutmose III determined, it is possible to sketch the power base of the enemy Thutmose III faced.<sup>12</sup> In the first place there was an awareness at the time that the imperial phenomenon we call "Mittani" was a composite. Egyptian scribes frequently speak of the "lands" of Mittani,<sup>13</sup> (although Akkadian scribes usually write only KUR or URU before the name),<sup>14</sup> a reference that probably encompasses not only the conglomerate heartland of the empire east of the Euphrates, but probably also the subverted states of North Syria. Among the latter Alalakh is a prominent member, bound by treaty<sup>15</sup> and obliged to pay tribute.<sup>16</sup> If Barratarna had had a hand in the insurrection which overthrew Ilim-ilimma of Aleppo,<sup>17</sup> he probably controlled that state as well, although whether a treaty had been signed is difficult to say. On the other hand, the repeated attacks on Aleppo and its territory administered first by Hattusilis II and Mursilis I in the outgoing 16th Cent., and a century later by Tudkhalijas, must have so weakened the city and fractured its former territorium, that it had probably become a no-man's land between the incipient power structures of Mittani and Khatte.<sup>18</sup> Idrimi's bellicose activity along the coast north of the Orontes<sup>19</sup> compromised Kizzuwadna<sup>20</sup> which, through treaty with Alalakh, was brought within the Mittanian sphere of influence.<sup>21</sup> Niya, lately in thrall to Alalakh and Aleppo, probably had little chance of self-determination. If the Niqmepa-Ir-Addu treaty reflects a relationship of long-standing,<sup>22</sup> as must surely be the case, then

<sup>12</sup> Cf. N. Na'aman, "Syria at the Transition from the Old Babylonian Period to the Middle Babylonian Period," *UF* 6 (1974), 265-74.

<sup>13</sup> *Urk.* IV, 616:8, 1232:9, 1347:13; W.M. Mueller, *Egyptological Researches II* (Washington, 1905), 83 fig. 15; N. de G. Davies, A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another* (London, 1933), pl. 7.

<sup>14</sup> G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 272-73.

<sup>15</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I, 182, 228-29 and n. 33; N. Na'aman, "The Historical Introduction of the Aleppo-Treaty Reconsidered," *JCS* 32 (1980), 41-2.

<sup>16</sup> Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, no. 395.

<sup>17</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens*, 187 n. 4.

<sup>18</sup> G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta, 1999), 94.

<sup>19</sup> Idrimi 64-71.

<sup>20</sup> Kizzuwadna enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy at the time: cf. The (slightly later) treaty with Khatte: G.R. Meyer, "Zwei neue Kizzuwatna Verträge," *MIOF* 1 (1953), 108ff, 122; Beckmann, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 12-13.

<sup>21</sup> Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets*, no. 3, esp. Lines 40-43. While, as pointed out above (p. 17 and n. 86) "Kizzuwadna" cannot be considered linguistically related to Egyptian "Qode," both undoubtedly share semantic space.

<sup>22</sup> Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets*, no. 2, esp. Lines 73-75; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz,

Tunip and the mid-Orontes too must have been constrained by a treaty relationship with Barratarna.

South and west of Niya and Tunip Mittanian control lessened, although it must still have exercised some influence. Qatna was already within the Egyptian camp by the 8th campaign,<sup>23</sup> and this subservience of long standing is duly noted a century later.<sup>24</sup> Kadesh may once have been egged on by Mittani, and its continued resistance to Egypt may have derived from adherence to a formal pact with Barratarna.<sup>25</sup> While Takhsy, between Kadesh and Damascus, remained a somewhat lawless and intractable district,<sup>26</sup> Damascus and the district of Upe were firmly within the Egyptian sphere, presumably from the time of the first or second campaign.<sup>27</sup> Along the coast south of the mouth of the Orontes Mittanian influence did not penetrate. In fact there is reason to believe that Egyptian hegemony was shortly to be imposed on the littoral from Ugarit south to the Eleutheros Valley.<sup>28</sup>

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“Der Vertrag zwischen Ir-Addu von Tunip und Niqmepa von Mikiš,” in G.D. Young and others (eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (Bethesda, 1997), 225.

<sup>23</sup> Above, p. 221.

<sup>24</sup> EA 52:5–7, 55:7–9; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, 167. It seems briefly to have offered resistance under Amenophis II (Helck, “Qatna,” *LdA V* [1984], 47; P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 61; cf. A.A. Assaf, “Mishrifeh,” in E.M. Meyers (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East 4* [New York, 1997], 35), a fact which Akizzi glosses over. The protestations in the Amarna Letters of long-standing loyalty to Pharaoh have, of course, to be measured against the urgency of immediate aid from Pharaoh, not historical accuracy. The terms used are far from “insolent,” as has been suggested: A. James, “Egypt and her Vassals: the Geopolitical Dimension,” in Cohen, Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 2000), 118.

<sup>25</sup> Note the presence of Mittanian troops in the territory of Kadesh in year 42: below, p. 240.

<sup>26</sup> See below, p. 242.

<sup>27</sup> W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (Winona Lake, 1987), 56. Cf. Also N. Na’aman, “Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kamid el-Loz Apiru Letters,” *UF* 20 (1988), 187; A.F. Taraqji, “Temoignages egyptiens de la region de Damas,” *BSFE* 144 (1999), 27–43.

<sup>28</sup> On the controversy surrounding the toponym *I-k3-ti* in Amenophis II’s Memphis and Karnak stelae, see M.C. Astour, “Ugarit and the Great Powers,” in G.D. Young (ed), *Ugarit in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1981), 13–14; R. Giveon, “Some Egyptological Considerations concerning Ugarit,” *ibid.*, 55–58; der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 63; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 160–1 & n. 153. EA 49:17–20 reflects a lengthy relationship between Egypt and Ugarit. That the coastal principalities are absent from Thutmose III’s toponym list is of no moment: the lists are land itineraries, not a periplus. See above, pp. 43ff.

## CHAPTER NINE

### THE STRATEGY OF YEARS 36 TO 42: RETRENCHMENT AND DIPLOMACY

While there is nothing to indicate that the Egyptian forces did not remain intact, it is hard to construe the battle of Ar'anu as anything but a stalemate. It was proving increasingly difficult for Thutmose to defeat, let alone annihilate, an enemy with a base as remote and resources as widespread as Mittani. Failing the ability to mount successful siege operations, the Egyptians fell back on diplomatic manoeuvring and punitive action.

The situation of Nukhashshe provides a case in point for the former. As noted above,<sup>1</sup> this region hosted a semi-sedentary and agropastoralist economy, poised in the steppe midway between the Qatna and Ashtata. Here was no palatine, metropolitan polity with which an inter-state pact might be concluded. Sometime during the period between the final years of Thutmose III and the accession of Amenophis III the peoples of Nukhashshe and Ashtata, who shared somewhat a community of interest, tried to press, first Mittani and later Khattu, for possession of Aleppo's erstwhile eastern district, bordering the Euphrates.<sup>2</sup> If this represents a sort of "manifest destiny" in the perception of the peoples of the steppe, viz. to occupy the right bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish, Thutmose III's great interest in Nukhashshe becomes understandable. Unable to "crack" and thereby reduce the strongly-fortified cities of northern Syria,<sup>3</sup> Pharaoh attempts to outflank these Mittanian dependencies by driving a wedge through the desert edge to the Euphrates. Razzias were mounted in years 34, 37(?)<sup>4</sup> and 38, and twice it is noted that

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I, 177, 184–85; *idem*, "Ein neues Fragment zur historischen Einleitung des Talmišarruma-Vertrages," *MIOF* 10 (1964), 213ff, 217; Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 94; Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 153.

<sup>3</sup> On the localization of the Bronze Age palatine states with respect to water resources, see W.J. van Liere, "Capitals and Citadels of Bronze Age Syria in their Relationship to Land and Water," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 13 (1963), 107–22.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 87.

the local opposition surrendered abjectly.<sup>5</sup> It must have been on one of these occasions that Thutmose decided to *create* a polity within the steppe and secure it for Egypt, by appointing as king one Takuwa.<sup>6</sup> His descendent Addu-nirari implies that Pharaoh had adopted the local Near Eastern practice of a charismatic ritual, and offered his *own* guarantee for his protege, rather than extracting a promissory oath, children and tribute.<sup>7</sup> While this must be judged in the light of Addu-nirari's desperate need for aid—how better to convince the contemporary king of Egypt than by stressing his ancestor's commitment?—the broad essentials must be correct. By this move Thutmose had established himself as the quasi-founder of a new polity in Nukhashshe, which he could now use as his own cat's-paw against Mittani.

The record for years 36 and 37 is largely missing. We have opined above that year 37 may have seen the army again in Nukhashshe. In any event, these campaigns may have been mounted on a modest scale, for it would have been during these years that the third jubilee was celebrated. Marking this event was the erection of the

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 00.

<sup>6</sup> EA 51:4. The *Manahpia* of this passage and the *Manahpiriya* of EA 59:8 can only be Thutmose III, not Thutmose IV. While all the evidence need not be reviewed again (for a convenient summary of the history of the discussion, see B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* [Baltimore, 1991], 341), several points are unsailable: 1. While the prosody curiously varies over the centuries, in the present case *mn* is clearly under stress, while *hpr* is in a bound construction with *rc*, and thus, lacking stress, has suffered the reduction of its first syllable. A plural would *not* have produced this vocalization, as the pattern C^C^C^w would have required a reduction of the penultimate syllable, C^CC^w and, with the assimilation of the unvoiced labial and the operation of vowel harmony, would have produced exactly the form we see in *\*-hurru-*.

2. The Coptic *ⲙⲏⲣⲉ* offers no parallel, and constitutes something of a “red herring.” The word derives from *hpr*, a feminine singular participial form: W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwoerterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1977), 322. 3. *Misaphres* is not a reliable form to base anything on. The intrusive *a* is certainly euphonic. The majority of the forms of Thutmose III's name, as they appear in Greek, viz. Μήφρης, Μίφρης, Μηφραγμοῦθωσις, Μισφραγμοῦθωσις (Waddell, *Manetho* [Cambridge, 1940], 108, 114, 240) show stress on *mn* and a reduction of the vowel between *h* and *p* (now metathesized).

<sup>7</sup> E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtakt im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient* (BZAW 87; Berlin, 1963), 34–35; D. Pardee, “A New Ugaritic Letter,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34 (1977), 14–18; A. Malamat, “The Cultural Impact of the West (Syria-Palestine) on Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian Period,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 24 (1997), 314 and n. 19. The rite was also known in Egypt: S. Thompson, “The Anointing of Officials in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 53 (1994), 15–25.

obelisks at Heliopolis<sup>8</sup> and the pylon,<sup>9</sup> both of which must have involved manpower and organization which would not have been consonant with large-scale foreign expeditions. Dated texts from the same period add little to the picture. There seems to have been a flurry of activity in the Sudan in year 35,<sup>10</sup> and a celebration (of the jubilee?) in year 37 at Karnak.<sup>11</sup> Scribes were reconnoitering the ruined complex of Djoser at Saqqara sometime in year 39,<sup>12</sup> and the pyramid of Pepy II early in year 40.<sup>13</sup>

It is not clear whether the activity during year 40 was construed by the composing scribe as a formal *wḏyt*, that is to say whether the king was actually in Asia when the gifts of the chiefs were received.<sup>14</sup> The dating by the phrase *m mpt 40* militates in favor of the digest-format,<sup>15</sup> in which several receptions of gifts are combined within a single year, and not listed by campaign. Understood in this light, year 40 may not have witnessed a formal campaign at all.

Apart from the Assyrian benevolence, the provenience of the gifts remains uncertain. The varied complement of manufactures, live-stock, incense, wine, minerals and costly wood points to a region boasting meadows for cattle-rearing, vineyards, timber, or access (at least) to other areas which produce them. Mittani itself might fit the description, but the historical profile of the age does not conform: Mittani and Egypt remained on a hostile footing until late in Amenophis II's reign.<sup>16</sup> The incense and honeyed wine and perhaps other commodities in col. 106 sound like produce destined for the harbors, although the "harbor-stocking" formula is not used in this

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 590:15; L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (New York, 1977), 164ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV, 940:12.

<sup>10</sup> *Hieroglyphic Texts . . . British Museum V* (London, 1914), pl. 36 (368); J. Vercoutter, *Kush IV* (1956), 68; cf. Also H. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions* (London, 1976), index D, s.v. "Tuthmosis III."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Fragment of Aswan granite stela dated in year 37 of a king whose name is lost. The style appears to be 18th Dynasty (private hand-copy).

<sup>12</sup> C. Firth, J.E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid I* (Cairo, 1935), 80(E).

<sup>13</sup> G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepy II III* (Cairo, 1940), 43–4, fig. 33. The unnamed king of this text could conceivably be Ramesses II.

<sup>14</sup> If it was not accorded the status of a *wḏyt*, then the total number of expeditions was 16.

<sup>15</sup> Above, pp. 53–54.

<sup>16</sup> B. Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani," in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore, 2000), 76–77.



part of the day-book excerpts. The wood listed points to the Lower Orontes and North Syria.<sup>17</sup>

The appearance of a chief's daughter (col. 104) as part of the benevolence of an unnamed land naturally has attracted speculation. Even though Assyria is loosely subsumed under "Retenu,"<sup>18</sup> in the present passage the chief of Assyria is separated from the Retenu list. The entry, following immediately on the rubric, is clearly the signal component of the gift in this year. The resumptive *f* and the phrase "this foreign land" suggest that the scribe is thinking of a specific country and regime. But where and what is it? And do all the items listed in cols. 104–106 constitute a single entry, i.e. the benevolence of this mysterious region? If this be the case, it is tempting to construe the list as the dowry or marriage gifts which accompanied the bride-to-be.<sup>19</sup> But there are difficulties in understanding the present text as the record of a "diplomatic" marriage, comparable to those unions known from the "high Amarna Age."<sup>20</sup> The latter were negotiated between equals, according to the international rules known as *parsu*;<sup>21</sup> and the dowry and *terhatu* which changed hands in the transaction dwarfed the amounts recorded by Thutmose III's scribe.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, this "marriage game" reaches the peak of its development only when the balance of power between the imperial polities has been achieved, pursuant to the Egypto-Mittanian alliance.<sup>23</sup> While war between these two power blocs was in progress

<sup>17</sup> Goats were requisitioned in years 29, 31, 33, 38, 39 and 40, the latter being the largest lot, with years 29 and 31 following closely. Does this point to a coastal provenience?

<sup>18</sup> *Urk.* IV, 671:6–8. The reference to lapis is not crucial, as it can be "claimed" by several countries.

<sup>19</sup> C. Zaccagnini, "On Late Bronze Age Marriages," in S.F. Bondi and others (eds), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (Pisa, 1985), 593–605.

<sup>20</sup> P. Artzi, "The Influence of Political Marriages on the International Relations of the Amarna Age," in *La Femme dans la Proche Orient antique* (Paris, 1987), 23–26; S.S. Meier, "Diplomacy and International Marriages," in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 165–73.

<sup>21</sup> P. Artzi, A. Malamat, "The Great King: a Pre-eminent Royal Title in Cuneiform Sources and the Bible," in *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.H. Hallo* (Bethesda, 1993), 33.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. D. Pardee, "A new Ugaritic Letter," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34 (1977), 13; R. Cohen, "On Diplomacy in the Ancient Near East: the Amarna Letters," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 7 (1996), 150–51; Meier, *loc. cit.*; Z. Cochavi-Rainey, *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age, Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.*, Beersheva, 1999.

<sup>23</sup> F. Pintori, *Il matrimonio interdynastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i Secoli XV–XIII*, Rome, 1978; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 166–68; Zaccagnini, "The Forms of Alliance and Subjugation in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age," in L. Canfara (ed), *I trattati nel mondo antico: forma, ideologia, funzione* (Rome, 1990), 38.

it is inconceivable that an "Amarna-style" diplomatic marriage should have even been possible.

But there is serious doubt as to whether the notice of year 40 does in fact record a marriage. The daughter is subsumed under the benevolences of her father, and there is no indication that a marriage is in the offing. This is in marked contrast with the sources for the Egypto-Mittanian marriages under Thutmose IV, Amenophis III, Akhenaten and Ramesses II, where the language is specific.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, it is arguable that those items which follow the reference to the girl's jewelry and attendants belong to the benevolence, and are not meant to be understood as a dowry.<sup>25</sup> The excerpting scribe declines to mention the chief's identity, an indication perhaps of lesser status: if a "great power" were in question, the girl's nationality surely would have been mentioned.

There is no compelling reason, therefore, to interpret this "princess" as the prospective bride of Pharaoh.<sup>26</sup> She is simply an outstanding member of the growing body of "children of the chiefs,"<sup>27</sup> sent as part of the benevolence of a loyal (coastal?) chief.

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<sup>24</sup> There is no mention, significantly, of any status of "brotherhood" which would result from the marriage: R. Cohen, "All in the Family: Ancient Near Eastern Diplomacy," *International Negotiations* 1 (1996), 11–28. The "chief" is simply a local vassal fulfilling his obligations.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. The wording "male and female servants of his benevolence": *Urk.* IV, 669:4.

<sup>26</sup> As, for example, A.R. Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriages in the Egyptian New Kingdom," *JNES* 38 (1979), 183 (emend "year 24" to "year 40").

<sup>27</sup> E. Feucht, "Kinder fremder Völker in Aegypten I," in A. Eggebrecht, B. Schmitz (eds), *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath* (Hildesheim, 1990), 39.

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE UPRISING OF YEAR 42

Most historians view the campaign of year 42 as a response to a set-back.<sup>1</sup> Thutmose's *chevauchée* of the 41st year had presumably extending into his familiar stomping-ground of Niya,<sup>2</sup> but after the army's withdrawal Mittani was on the move. Trouble broke out (fomented by Tunip?) in the Akkar plain, and garrison troops were despatched to Kadesh.

For the first time since the first campaign the composing scribe mentions a *road*, a piece of information clearly of importance to him. If, as seems likely, the "coast road" refers to what we today call the *via maris*, there would be scarcely any reason to mention it if the army had arrived on the Phoenician coast *by ship*. Rather, this notice must be employed as a signal to the reader that this campaign involved a *land* march up the coast, around Carmel, and through southern Phoenicia.<sup>3</sup> In year 42 this entire route as far north as the region of Byblos lay in friendly territory, and therefore some degree of surprise may have been achieved.

The identity of the place-names in the preserved part of the text—there is room for at least two more in the lacunae—indicate the seriousness of the continued opposition to Egypt. Two towns (at least) in the Arka plain, not mentioned before in the record,<sup>4</sup> attracted Thutmose's attention, before the army proceeded by way of the Eleutheros valley into the Orontes plain, bound for Tunip. After Tunip the army moved on to another town now lost in a lacuna,

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<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1 (Stuttgart, 1928), 130; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 153; M.S. Drower, *CAH* II, 1 (1973), 459; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster, 1989), 27; N.-C. Grimal, *A History of Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 216; Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, 94–95; T.R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 129–30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the 18 tusks of ivory in the benevolence: above, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> The route is described in detail by Strabo: xvi.2.22–25. The only difficult sector for an army to traverse would be the Carmel range; but even here the coastal plain is 2 km. wide: D.C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan* (Sheffield, 1985), 67.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 153.

which marked the northernmost extent of the expedition.<sup>5</sup> The booty from the latter settlement was given over to the rank and file of the army, which may be a sign that, in the king's estimation, the troops had performed well. Three times in the surviving text of year 42 the composing scribe uses the verb *sksk* to describe the Egyptian treatment of the cities assaulted: the ferocity of the Egyptians' attack betrays, not only the perceived gravity of the uprising, but also the growing skill of Egyptian forces in siege technique.

The case of Tunip raises a problem of historical interpretation. As pointed out above,<sup>6</sup> when Tunip re-appears in the period after Thutmose III's death it continues to enjoy its old power and influence under the aegis of Mittani.<sup>7</sup> Thutmose III's capture of the city, then, could not have entailed the wholesale destruction one might have inferred. The reference in EA 59:7–10 is of some significance in this regard, since it provides another, independent, source linking Thutmose III<sup>8</sup> with Tunip, and no matter how the root YŠB is translated in context,<sup>9</sup> it implies Egyptian hegemony.<sup>10</sup> This was first imposed, obviously, in year 42.<sup>11</sup> Since, however, in the time of Saushtatar, i.e. following Thutmose III's reign, we find Tunip bound to Mittani once again, Egyptian occupation must have been short-lived. Tunip could conceivably have reverted to Egypt again once the entente cordiale between Egypt and Mittani was in place—in fact the presence of a son of Akit-teshup at Pharaoh's court suggests the formal acceptance of obligations of loyalty—but we should remember that under Akhenaten Tunip was desperate, and exaggeration of former relationships perfectly understandable.

<sup>5</sup> *It m htp* (Urk. IV, 730:8) indicates the beginning of the return.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Note how Amenophis II avoids the city on his Syrian campaign.

<sup>8</sup> On the identification see above, p. 234 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> It may simply mean "to rule," rather than "to dwell" (M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *BASOR* 226 [1977], 22 [S 21]), although admittedly the same verb is used two lines later of the gods, who certainly "dwell" in Tunip.

<sup>10</sup> EA 59:9–10 asserts the presence in Tunip at the time of writing of Egyptian numina and something of wood. I would like to suggest that in the word *gis. Mu-ta-as-su* we have the transcribed Egyptian *mdw*, "standard," often used of gods' insignia and the poles on which they were displayed (*Wb.* II, 178:3, 6–9), vocalized as *\*mat w* (plural): cf. Akk. (*Is-pi*)-*ma-a-tu*: G. Fecht, "Zu den Namen ägyptischer Fürsten und Städte in den Annalen des Assurbanipal und der Chronik des Asarhaddon," *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 116 n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Helck, "Tunip," *LdA* VI (1986), 805.

On the return, via Kadesh, the Egyptians were obliged to engage the Mittanian garrisons in the three towns in the territory of that city. The Mittanians sustained 29 casualties before the cessation of hostilities and their capitulation. But the resistance of these auxiliaries, no matter how brief, may have deterred Thutmose III from attempting a direct assault on Kadesh. The text leaves no room for any such restoration: Kadesh was not captured in year 42.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### MILITARY ACTIVITY IN ASIA BETWEEN YEARS 42 AND 53

The question arises: why do the excerpted day-book entries stop in year 42? Was it a whimsical decision on the part of the king?<sup>1</sup> Was available wall space filled up? Or did the conquests of year 42 mark a *real* hiatus, at least in the perception of Thutmose III, and thus was it *his* decision that campaigning should cease?<sup>2</sup> Certainly, if the reduction of Coele- and North Syria had been his intent, Thutmose's work remained unfinished. Under Saushtatar Mittani was about to return in greater strength than ever: and Amenophis II was to find everything north of Qatna hostile territory.<sup>3</sup>

The dated evidence for royal activity in the last decade of the reign suggests major construction operations dominated the agenda. Work was undertaken at Karnak, Deir el-Bahari, Medinet Habu,<sup>4</sup> Elkab and Heliopolis,<sup>5</sup> and in Nubia,<sup>6</sup> and the latter was inspected<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Whether "whimsy" is an appropriate characterization of the king's attitude, it may be curiously significant that the campaigning period in question is 20 years. A 20-year time-span has some currency both in history and society as an "appropriate" period for certain kinds of human activity. Suppiliuliumas was occupied for 20 years in campaigning in Anatolia (KUB XIX:9; W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* [Chicago, 1985], 223), the Tunipians petitioned Pharaoh for 20 years (EA 59:13, 44; W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* [Baltimore, 1987], 131 n. 5); the ark was detained 20 years (I Sam. 7, 2), a hiatus in correspondence for 20 years (EA 59:13); a "recruitment period" sets in at age 20 in the Egyptian army and workforce (Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* [Wiesbaden, 1977], 34), the time to marry is at age 20 (P. Insinger 17,21-18,4), the health of a dignitary may be honored after 20 years of rule (R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* [Leipzig, 1928]. Gr. 10)

<sup>2</sup> It is a curious fact that all the retrospectives in the seances inscribed after year 42, continue to cite only those incidents dated within the 20 years of campaigning: the first campaign, possibly the second (above, p. 131), certainly the sixth (Armant: above, p. 156) and the 8th (Barkal, Armant). The miracle of the "star" (Barkal: above, p. 112) is undated, but presumably falls during the same period.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1302-4.

<sup>4</sup> M. Cozi, "Les Interventions de la XVIII Dynastie sur le 'Petit Temple' de Medinet Habou," *GM* 163 (1988), 35-46.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> P.L. Shinnie, *Ancient Nubia* (London, 1996), 83-89.

<sup>7</sup> P-M V, 251; *Urk.* IV, 814; T. Säve-söderbergh, *Aegypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1940), 153; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 61 (1992), 288.

and perhaps raided<sup>8</sup> in years 49–50. Year 46 attests an interest in inventorying,<sup>9</sup> and in the following year comes the most detailed of the many retrospectives.<sup>10</sup> None of this evidence, however, precludes some military activity in the north.

The principal argument for further campaigning in Syria after year 42 must be based on the inscription of Minmose from Medamud.<sup>11</sup> While this worthy survived into Amenophis II's 4th year at least, the Medamud text mentions only Thutmose III. Here is recorded the attack on Takhsy, with its reference to chiefs, chattels and cattle, an incident missing from the (surviving) day-book excerpts. In fact the region of Takhsy, between Kadesh and Upe, did not figure at all in what we can reconstruct of Thutmose's geopolitical strategy from years 22 to 42. It does, however, appear an area of interest early in his son's reign.<sup>12</sup> The tempting inference that Takhsy attracted the attention of the Egyptians for a circumscribed period of time overlapping the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenophis II, draws us *a fortiori* towards assigning Amenemheb's anecdote to the same time span,<sup>13</sup> or even to the same campaign.

Is it possible, in fact, to go one step further and equate Amenophis II's "first campaign" (Amada and Elephantine stelae)<sup>14</sup> with the same incident? A coregency of the two kings is now assured of at least one year, four months, and probably no more than 2 years, four months.<sup>15</sup> This would mean that the coregent was appointed on iv.1

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<sup>8</sup> Minmose, who participated in the 8th campaign and lived on under Amenophis II, states clearly "I saw (how) he overthrew the land of Nubia" (*Urk.* IV, 1441:18), surely a reference to a campaign, later than those (dubious) escapades of the joint reign.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. The fragmentary stela south of the Karnak shrine, recording benefactions for Amun and Mut "year 1 to year 46 and down to millions of y[ears . . .]" (personal copy). Cf. C.C. van Sichen III, "The Date of the Granite Bark Shrine of Tuthmosis III," *GM* 79 (1984), 53.

<sup>10</sup> Barkal stela; above, pp. 103ff.

<sup>11</sup> Above, p. 171.

<sup>12</sup> Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, index s.v. *Takhsy*; R. Gundlach, "Tachsi," *LdA* VI (1986), 143.

<sup>13</sup> Above, p. 169, episode G.

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1296:15–16.

<sup>15</sup> D.B. Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 (1965), 107–22; *idem*, "The Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JNES* 25 (1966), 119–20; W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago, 1977), 44–57; der Manuelian, *Studies*, 23–40; K.A. Kitchen, "The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age," in P. Astrom (ed), *High, Middle and Low* (Gothenburg, 1987), 41; J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Aegypten* (Mainz, 1997), 119;

(around Sept. 17) of either the 52nd or 51st year of his father;<sup>16</sup> but while the inception of his sole reign shows that he was counting his years from his appointment, no double-dated texts exist for the joint reign.<sup>17</sup> The Amada (and presumably Elephantine) texts record the authorization of the stelae and the ground-breaking ceremony for the two temples as occurring on xi.15 of year 3,<sup>18</sup> “after H.M. came back from Upper Retenu. . . . having slain with his own mace the 7 chiefs who were in the district of Takhsy. . . . Then he hanged six of these doomed ones on the outer face of the wall of Thebes . . . and had the other doomed one taken south to Nubia and hung on the wall of Napata.”<sup>19</sup> The sequence of events and the length of time required proves that “after” (*m-ht*) is employed in the loosest way. The trip from Takhsy to Napata would have taken two months at the very least, not including the time spent in Thebes celebrating the victory and enjoying the lynching. Moreover the date xi.15 would have fallen at the end of April or the beginning of May, and two or three months prior to this would take us back to the middle of winter, a most unlikely time of year to mount a campaign.<sup>20</sup> It is much more likely, therefore, that the Takhsy campaign of Amenophis II took place in the spring and summer of his 2nd year, and that the captive chiefs were “held over” for execution in the following year. On either the short or long computation of the coregency, Thutmose III would still have been alive in the 2nd year of his son.

There are difficulties, admittedly, in equating the Takhsy campaign of the Amada-Elephantine stelae with that of Min-mose’s inscription. Neither notice implies the presence of a senior (or junior) coregent, yet both state specifically that His Majesty was present. The details seem at variance: chiefs (plural) in contrast to 7 specified, “30 towns,”<sup>21</sup> chattels and cattle, as opposed to no specific statement;

C. van Siclen III, “Amenhotpe II,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* I (New York, 2001), 71.

<sup>16</sup> I.e. when he was 18 years old: Redford, *JEA* 51, 117f; der Manuelian, *Studies*, 43. He would then have been born around year 33, of the third royal wife Hatshepsut II: W. Seipel, “Hatshepsut II,” *LdA* II (1980), 1052.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Gauthier, *Le Livres des rois d’Égypte* II, 260 (XXVI), year 51, x.14; 260 n. 1; P-M VII, 91 (year 52); Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 260 (XXVIII), year 53, vii.30.

<sup>18</sup> *Urk.* IV 1289:1; cf. 1294:13–1295:14. The stelae cannot pre-date year 4:1299:2.

<sup>19</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1296–97.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 228.

<sup>21</sup> Or better the indefinite plural: “several tens,” or “a score or more” in our parlance.



the assertion, in one notice, that the *chevauchée* constituted the *first* campaign, contrasted with the absence of any numbering in the other.

The differences, however, are not compelling. We have seen above that “campaigns” (*wḏyt*) were loosely applied to expeditions, and presence or absence of the term means little.<sup>22</sup> Discrepancies also are only apparent: Min-mose and Amenemheb use formulae appropriate to their reminiscences, while Amenophis II is interested on the stelae only in the chiefs. One might hit upon the absence of the co-regent partner as more serious. But by the time the Amada-Elephantine text was being composed, Thutmose III was dead; in a reflex all too common in Ancient Egypt, the new king (it could be argued) thrust himself to the fore as sole protagonist in an event in which in reality he had only shared.<sup>23</sup>

Earlier the discussion touched briefly on the problems of linking the references to Kadesh in Amenemheb’s biography with the events of the last campaign recorded in the day-book excerpts.<sup>24</sup> Nowhere, one is reminded, is the *sacking* of Kadesh set forth anywhere in the excerpts,<sup>25</sup> while such a sacking is clearly the burden of Amenemheb’s episodes E, I and J. Now Takhsy and Kadesh are frequently mentioned together,<sup>26</sup> a collocation which bespeaks, perhaps, a political as well as a geographical proximity.<sup>27</sup> It would be easy to imagine Kadesh fomenting trouble in Takhsy, and it is therefore tempting to link the Takhsy campaign with the final assault on Kadesh.

<sup>22</sup> Above, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> Der Manuelian, *Studies*, 37ff.

<sup>24</sup> Above, p. 168, episodes E, I and J.

<sup>25</sup> But see above, p. 172 for the critical lacuna.

<sup>26</sup> It has even been claimed that in Anast. I. 22.3–4 Kadesh is located in Takhsy: H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 192.

<sup>27</sup> Sir A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (Oxford, 1947), 150–52; A. Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 39f; E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn, 1966), 11; M. Gorg, *BN* 11 (1980), 14–17; Edel, *ibid.*, 71; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Leiden, 1984), 187.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### THE EXACTIONS OF THE CONQUERED

Those foreign chiefs who had taken the oath and were now bound to Pharaoh as “those who were on his water,” were expected to pay on Egyptian demand. Several terms are used for these imposts<sup>1</sup> many of which overlap in meaning, and often confound those who have postulated precision in Egyptian usage.<sup>2</sup> The problem is compounded when the corresponding Akkadian vocabulary is introduced.

Perhaps the most common Egyptian word used of what the conquered give to Pharaoh is *inw*. This term has of late come under the scrutiny of exhaustive research, from a variety of vantage points, both linguistic and socio-economic.<sup>3</sup> Translations cover a wide range: “deliveries,”<sup>4</sup> “trade,”<sup>5</sup> “contributions (to the king’s privy purse),”<sup>6</sup> “tribute,”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* (Beersheva, 1990), 40–41.

<sup>2</sup> *H3qt* (D. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt* [Fribourg, 1997], 141–42) should be eliminated from the discussion. This was battlefield plunder, usually claimed by the state, but on occasion given the rank and file who were allowed to keep what they had captured (cf. Years 31, 35, 42; *Urk.* IV, 1020–1021; 1821:5–9). This may have been for good service, but it could also have been a practical measure: transport of plunder to Egypt traditionally involved difficulties: cf. A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Bruxelles, 1933), 108:15–109:1; S. Sauneron, *Kēmi* 18 (1968), pl. 2 and p. 21: When the victory is won His Majesty l.p.h. distributes the plunder for the return march to Egypt, (but) the Asiatic woman is exhausted by the march, and is put upon the soldier’s shoulders.”

<sup>3</sup> See in particular for bibliography and recent discussions A.J. Spalinger, “Foods in P. Bulaq 18,” *SAK* 13 (1986), 209 n. 6; *idem*, “From Local to Global: the Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire,” *SAK* 23 (1996), 353–76; G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London, 1988), 284 n. 1; M. Romer, *Gottes- und Priester- Herrschaft in Aegypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 382–94; J.J. Janssen, “*B3kw*: from Work to Product,” *SAK* 20 (1993), 91–94 E.J. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, 1996); D. Warburton, *State and Economy . . .*, 221–36.

<sup>4</sup> Van den Boorn, *op. cit.*, 284.

<sup>5</sup> C. Aldred, “The Foreign Gifts Offered to Pharaoh,” *JEA* 56 (1970), 111.

<sup>6</sup> E.J. Bleiberg, “The King’s Privy Purse during the New Kingdom: an Examination of *INW*,” *JARCE* 21 (1984), 154–67.

<sup>7</sup> R. Müller-Wallerman, “Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen,” *GM* 66 (1983), 81–93; cf. W. Boochs, “Weitere Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen,” *GM* 71 (1984), 61–65.

“revenues,”<sup>8</sup> “personal gifts.”<sup>9</sup> But the very fact, which at this stage of the discussion must have become obvious, that no *single* term or modern category adequately accounts for all occurrences,<sup>10</sup> leads inevitably to the conclusion that we are not dealing, even in the Egyptian perception, with a precise technical term.<sup>11</sup> One can only try to delineate the parameters of the realm of use, without being disheartened by the fact which will soon become apparent, namely that *inw* shares semantic space with other terms.

First: *inw* is a noun derived from an extended use of a passive participle, it is something “brought.” The recipient (king, god or someone else) is not directly involved in effecting the means of transport. For this reason the word will focus interest on the *agent*<sup>12</sup> of the bringing, and the *source*.<sup>13</sup> Both Egyptian and non-Egyptian agents are responsible for *inw*.<sup>14</sup>

Second: the recipient expects *inw*, even though the context suggests spontaneity on the part of the giver. This expectation leads to the insistence on regularity of delivery and specific labeling. Certain commodities, such as wine, *smt* and fowl, are categorized as “of the *inw*.”<sup>15</sup> and storehouses and containers are set aside for *inw*.<sup>16</sup> In administrative texts *inw* is sometimes called on to make up a shortfall outside the budgetary estimate.<sup>17</sup> In this sense they may be termed “special deliveries” from a sort of slush fund;<sup>18</sup> but this need not mean that the latter was irregularly replenished.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>8</sup> M.A. Leahy, *Excavations at Malqata and Birket Habu. The Inscriptions* (Warminster, 1978), 6.

<sup>9</sup> N. Na’aman, “The Egyptian-Canaanite Correspondence,” in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 2000), 131.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A.I. Pershits, “Tribute Relations,” in S.I. Seaton, H.J.M. Claessen (eds), *Political Anthropology. The State of the Art* (den Haag, 1979), 149.

<sup>11</sup> Warburton, *State and Economy* . . . , 236.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. P. Kah. xlv.1; W.C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III,” *JNES* 10 (1951), no. 207, 209, 286 etc.

<sup>13</sup> See in particular the Old Kingdom usage: Bleiberg, *The Official Gift* . . . , 29–53; J.C. Mareno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire* (Paris, 1999), 157 n. 17, 158 n. 24; cf. 104 n. 136; Leahy, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1115:12 (elsewhere designated *ipw* in the same tomb: 1119:16); N.de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna* (London, 1905), II, pl. 29; III, pl. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Hayes, *JNES* 10, p. 171 (R, S and U); Leahy, *op. cit.*, xlvi, lviii, xxi; parallel constructions replace *n inw* with qualifications of *destination* (*n p3 hb* and the like).

<sup>16</sup> *KRI* VI, 67:3–4; P. Mallett v.2 (*wd3 n inw*); P. Kah. xxvi.1–2 (*qrhwt*).

<sup>17</sup> Spalinger, *SAK* 13, 208–10, 227–28.

<sup>18</sup> S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* (New Malden, Surrey; 1990), 29.

<sup>19</sup> Regularity is implied by such expressions as “the day of bringing *inw*” (P. Koller

Finally: the word itself smacks of Egyptian formulation and ideology *only*, and arises from an ideological perception which is thoroughly Egyptian.<sup>20</sup> When used, the concept of *inw* is for home consumption. Foreign heads of state might have been confused and non-plussed were they to have had the word translated for them. The chiefs of Retenu undoubtedly believed they were paying a rigorously enforced tax; while the king of Khatte or Asshur would have considered his articles to be nothing more than voluntary *šulmānu*.<sup>21</sup> "Ideology circumscription" exercises its expected limitation: what Pharaoh would undoubtedly have considered rewards "to those who are on his water," at Ugarit are termed *šulmānu*.<sup>22</sup> Even the Egyptians, if faced with the need to translate, would have realized the loose application of their own word. For in the case of Thutmose III's records, *inw* is used in two ways: for *šulmānu* in the case of kings of more or less equal status with Pharaoh, and for the expected deliveries of chiefs within the Egyptian pale.

The fact that, in the case of the conquered chiefs, the obligation to deliver is on *them*, and is expected to be fulfilled without demur, introduces the element of coercion. The Amarna letter of Akizzi is illustrative in this regard.<sup>23</sup> He knows that submission to Pharaoh involves *inw*, and while to him it may be *qīštu*, "a gift," it is the Egyptian *rābu* who will assess the quantity!<sup>24</sup> Inasmuch as it was the donor's expected obligation, and assessed as to amount and content, while masquerading as a free-will offering, *inw* approximates most closely the late mediaeval English *benevolence*.<sup>25</sup>

5.1); cf. The "day of computing *b3kw*": Cairo 20536; Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 103 n. 298; W. Boochs, "Zur Bedeutung der *b3kw*(t) Leistungen," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1987), 207–9.

<sup>20</sup> A.H. Gordon, review of Bleiberg, *The Official Gift* . . ., in *JARCE* 35 (1998), 203.

<sup>21</sup> M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 263.

<sup>22</sup> F. Malbran-Labat, "Les textes akkadiens découverts à Ougarit en 1994," in K. van Lerberghe (ed), *Languages and Cultures in Conflict* (Leuven, 1999), 237–44 (esp. 239).

<sup>23</sup> EA 53:50–52.

<sup>24</sup> Mirrored exactly in one of the jobs of Minmose: *Urk.* IV, 1442:4–7. Perhaps significantly, Minmose uses the terms *htr* and *b3kw*, demonstrating the interchangeability of the terms.

<sup>25</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 40–41. For the incidence of *inw* in Thutmose III's daybook excerpts, see E.J. Bleiberg, "Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III," *JSSA* 11 (1981), 107–110; *idem*, "The King's Privy Purse," *JARCE* 21, 157–58; *idem*, *The Official Gift*, 92–100; A. Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word Inw from the Protodynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom*, Ann Arbor, 1983.

While the items constituting the *inw* have been dealt with elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> yet a few remarks would seem to be in order. On the basis of Min-mose's statement,<sup>27</sup> the Egyptian authorities must have set the list of exactions along with the amounts. This responsibility could in no way be ceded to the conquered peoples themselves. If this is the case, then the requisitions represent what the Egyptians thought to be a practical need at that moment in time; but for us today the specific rationale is often lost.

Horses, for example, are requisitioned in relatively small numbers.<sup>28</sup> The 1,485 + [x] from eight campaigns between the years 29 and 40 is barely 2/3 of the number captured at Megiddo! Moreover, while the horses must have been destined for military use generally speaking, their numbers and incidence in the lists do not parallel the chariots.<sup>29</sup> One wonders whether their primary use would have been as stud. Here, perhaps, we have the origins of the later *ihw*, that combination barracks-stable, so common in Ramesside times. Significant is the fact that sizeable deliveries are demanded only on those campaigns which reached the lower Orontes and North Syria; for here lay the breeding grounds for horses.<sup>30</sup>

Foodstuffs vary in amount. Livestock entries show a preference for cattle and goats, not sheep.<sup>31</sup> Wine, honey and oil are found in sizeable quantities.<sup>32</sup> The fluctuations in amount may be keyed into the spacing and requirements of the jubilees,<sup>33</sup> and some may have been consumed by the army on the march.<sup>34</sup> Firewood too may have been used by the troops on the expedition, but only two entries survive (years 37 and 40).

Most of the non-edible items will have been transported back to Egypt; but here we face a further anomaly. While unworked gold and silver and sometimes copper and lead, are specified by weight or number of ingots, there is a disquieting tendency on the part of

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<sup>26</sup> W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. III; D.B. Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom* (Beersheva, 1990).

<sup>27</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1442:4-7.

<sup>28</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, III, 314-16.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. The discrepancies in years 38, 40 and 42.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. D. Pardee, *Les textes hippiatriques. Ras Shamra-Ougarit II* (Paris, 1985), and pp. 64-65 (coriander[?] of Aleppo).

<sup>31</sup> With the exception of the first campaign; Helck, *Materialien* III, 282, 294.

<sup>32</sup> Helck, *ibid.*, 541ff; Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 60-61.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

the scribe simply to state the presence of an item in the list, without specifying amount. Consistently "vessels, wood, minerals and gems appear without tally. This could be explained in either of two ways: either the redacting scribe, in the process of editing and epitomizing the original day-book, omitted the numbers; or the day-book itself merely noted the substance at the moment of reception, in the expectation that some other organization (the treasury?) back in Egypt would eventually specify quantity in *its* records.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### DIPLOMATIC GIFTS FROM FOREIGN POWERS

Thutmose III's relentless campaigning in Western Asia brought Egypt to the attention of the other great powers of the day.<sup>1</sup> Their response is reflected in the diplomatic gifts which began to arrive on the morrow of the 8th campaign, and continued arriving beyond year 42. These gifts may be itemized as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Urk. Reference</i>
1. Year 24	Asshur	lapis [. . .]	671:8-9
2. Year 33	[. . .]	birds	700:11-14
3. Year 33	Babylon	lapis	701:1-3
4. Year 33	[Asshur?]	lapis, vessels	701:6-9
5. Year 33	Great Khatte	silver, gems, wood	701:11-14
6. Year 34	Ashuwa	copper, lead, lapis, ivory, wood	708:1-7
7. Year 35	[Khatte]	silver, gold, wood	713:13-16
8. [Year 37]	[. . .]	minerals, game, firewood	715:4-8
9. Year 38	Ashuwa	ore, horses	719:13-15
10. Year 38	Alalakh	slaves, ore, wood, plants	720:1-4
11. Year 39	Ashuwa	ivory, ore, lead	724:10-13
12. Year 40	Asshur	lapis, vessels [. . .]	668:6-15
13. Year 41	Great Khatte	silver [. . .]	727:13-14
14. [Year 42]	[Niya?]	[. . .]	[. . .]
15. Year 42	[Great Khatte]	silver vessels, lapis, wood, ore	732-33
16. Year 42	Tanaya	silver vessels, iron	733:4-8

The dates of the gift-giving and the identity of the givers make perfect sense in context. The activity in Palestine (years 25-28) and

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the states of Liverani's "inw-belt": M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 256-57.

along the Phoenician coast (years 29–31) excited little attention in distant regimes: Egypt was simply re-asserting its claim to a traditional sphere of influence. But with the dramatic break-out in year 33 and the discomfiture of Mittani, Thutmose III had *ipso facto* entered a much broader sphere. Four states, more in fact than in any other year, sent congratulatory gifts to Pharaoh; and, as far as one can judge, the identity of the four corresponds to regions hostile to Mittani. A year later Ashuwa followed suit, probably prompted by the events of the same year. A similar flurry of gift-giving was set off by the Egyptian victories in year 42, which may have seemed to presage a resumption of attacks on North Syria and the Mesopotamian heartland. On this occasion the impression created by Egypt penetrated to its furthest extent (Tanaya).<sup>2</sup>

Of the corresponding states Great Khatte is most frequently mentioned (4 times). On each occasion its gifts followed significant Egyptian penetration of either north Syria or Mittani itself.<sup>3</sup> One wonders whether the earliest Egypto-Hittite treaty, involving the people of Kurushtama, could date back to this period.<sup>4</sup> Although nothing of even a circumstantial nature in Thutmose III's record would suggest such a pact, the Hittite presents reflect the sort of amicable climate within which such an alliance could have taken shape.

Curiously, the second most frequent entry (3 times) is Ashuwa.<sup>5</sup> Its gifts in years 34, 38 and 39 fall within the period of intensive campaigning in North Syria. A general term for the coalition on the Ionian coast, Ashuwa would have been sensitive to trade relationships; and the appearance of a new power to be reckoned with in the environs of Alalakh, the great east-west hub of trade, would have encouraged moves towards friendship. Ashuwa was later to fall victim to Tudkhaliyas I,<sup>6</sup> but in the time of Thutmose III the region appears to have been strong and independent.

Keftiu is the glaring omission from the list.<sup>7</sup> In light of the relative frequency with which Cretan gift-carriers are depicted in Theban

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 96–98.

<sup>3</sup> T.R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1999), 128–29.

<sup>4</sup> D. Suerenhagen, *Partitaetische Staatsverträge aus Hethitischen Sicht* (Pavia, 1985), 22–38; sources and discussion in B. Bryan, *The Reign of Tuthmosis IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 360, nn. 32–33; Bryce, *op. cit.*, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Bryce, *op. cit.*, 135–37.

<sup>7</sup> Of the vast bibliography on Keftiu one should note in particular the exhaustive



tombs of the reign, one might have expected several entries.<sup>8</sup> If the securing of Levantine ports in years 29 to 31 really hampered Aegean trade,<sup>9</sup> one might have expected diplomatic links to have been in evidence shortly after years 31 or 32. One might seek an escape in supposing that the Keftiuans are lumped in with “Ashuwa (Ionia) and Tanaya (Mycenae),”<sup>10</sup> but that seems rather unlikely. These are separate toponyms, of comparatively rare occurrence. Even the general “islands in the midst of the Great Green” are kept distinct from Keftiu.<sup>11</sup> Could the reason lie in how Crete was classified by the Egyptians? Like Byblos, Keftiu was an Egyptian friend of long-standing with frequent contacts;<sup>12</sup> and this close relationship may have caused it to be treated differently from Asiatics. This, however, is hard to believe. Asiatics and Aegeans are shown in the same tomb scenes, bearing *mutatis mutandis* the same types of gifts, seeking the same “breath of life.”<sup>13</sup> It is likewise difficult to solve the puzzle by resorting to time sequence, in fact by postulating that the scenes in Theban tombs show emissaries who arrived after year 42. While the decoration in question in the tombs of Menkheperassonb, Rekhmire

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collection of the evidence in J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (Cairo, 1956), 33–122; also J. Strange, *Caphtor/Keftiu. A New Investigation* (Leiden, 1980); J. Osing, *Aspects de la culture pharaonique. Quâtres leçons au Collège de France* (Paris, 1992), 25–36.

<sup>8</sup> On Cretans in Theban tombs, see E. and Y. Sakellarakis, “The Keftiu and the Minoan thalassocracy,” in R. Hagg, N. Marinatos (eds), *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (Athens, 1984), 197–203; S. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* Leuven, 1987; *idem*, *Sea-going Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (London, 1998), 84–6.

<sup>9</sup> So J. Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Pré-Hellènes* (Paris, 1954), 163. But he exaggerates the case. In any case there is now ample evidence for a direct sea-link between Crete and the Delta coast (L.V. Watrous, *Kommos III. The Late Bronze Age Pottery* [Princeton, 1992], 172–78), rendering unnecessary the circuitous coastal route around the Levantine littoral: cf. E. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, 1994. The great maritime trading hub was Ugarit: A. Bernard Knapp, “An Alashiyan Merchant at Ugarit,” *TA* 10 (1983), 38–45.

<sup>10</sup> E.H. Cline, “Crete,” in D.B. Redford (ed), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2001), 315.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 616:2, 7, 13.

<sup>12</sup> B.J. Kemp, R.S. Merrillies, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, Mainz, 1980. Cf. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasien zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrh. Vor Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 26–44.

<sup>13</sup> D. Warburton, *Egypt and the Near East. Politics in the Bronze Age* (Paris, 2001), 145. How one is to discriminate when the Egyptians fail to permit us to do so, escapes me.

Amunemheb and Antef could with special pleading be dated late in the reign, Useramun is definitely early<sup>14</sup> as is Senenmut.<sup>15</sup>

It might be noted in passing that in the five tombs in question, all of Thutmose III's *floruit*, a certain sloppiness in identification infects the representation of foreigners. The artist is familiar with standard Canaanite costume (short kilt or sari with filet or headcloth); the costume of North Syria and Mittani (tight-fitting "city"-galabiya with skull cap or shorn head); and the exotic coiffure of Anatolia and the Aegean.<sup>16</sup> These, however, are not always shown on the right individual, as identified by caption.<sup>17</sup>

Several solutions to this conundrum might be proposed. 1. The daybook excerpts themselves are selective to a degree we had not realized, and so at this distance of time cannot control. 2. The daybook, being "of the king's house," records only *inw* brought to the palace;<sup>18</sup> the goods from Keftiu were received and recorded at another place. 3. What the Keftiuans are shown bringing constitutes trade items, and so were not classified as *inw*. 4. Contact with the Aegean dates back over a century before Thutmose III, and Egyptian artists are copying *Vorlagen*, rather than commemorating contemporary embassies.<sup>19</sup> 5. The scenes in question are to be construed in the context of attendance at *sed*-festivals.<sup>20</sup> None of these inspires much confidence: we shall have to live with ambiguity.

The one entry which appears curiously out of place is the benevolence of Asshur in year 24. Apart from the difficulties in the dates on this part of the wall,<sup>21</sup> gifts are otherwise not recorded before year 33. That such a far-off place as Assyria should have reacted

<sup>14</sup> P-M I, 246 (no. 131); cf. *Urk.* IV, 1384 (year 5).

<sup>15</sup> P.F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London, 1988), 66ff.

<sup>16</sup> J.B. Pritchard, "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs," *BASOR* 122 (1951), 38-40; N. de G. Davies, "Foreigners in the Tomb of Amenemheb," *JEA* 20 (1933), pl. 25; D.B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. II. Rwd-Mnw and the Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1988), ch. 2).

<sup>17</sup> A.-L. Osthoek, "Hittite ou pas Hittite? Trois représentations à caractere hybride," in C. Obsomer (ed), *Amosiades* (Leuven, 1992), 335-46.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 121-26.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (London, 1996), 67-83; P. Rehak, "Aegean Breechcloths, Kilts and the 'Keftiu' Frescoes," *AJA* 100 (1996), 35-51.

<sup>20</sup> R.B. Koehl, "Minoan Rhyta in Egypt," in A. Karetsou (ed), *Κρητη-Αιγυπτος* (Athens, 2000), 94-100.

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 53.

immediately to a victory in a part of the world remote from her own bailiwick, would be anomalous to say the least. One possible solution might be to see in *I-sw-r* a *Hörfehler* for *I-s-r*, the region in Galilee.<sup>22</sup> The scribe, at the moment of compiling the text (year 40), confused a record of submission of a minor Galilean chief with the king of Assyria. The neighboring entry of Asshur's benevolence in year 40 was then used mistakenly to flesh out the passage.

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<sup>22</sup> Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography* (London, 1979), 181; G.W. Ahlstrom, *Who were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake, 1986), 63–4. S. Ahituv (*Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* [Leiden, 1984], 73) declines to locate it.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN LANDS

Sometimes the provincial administration and the diplomacy evident during the Amarna Age has been made to serve as a sort of timeless paradigm, and retrojected into the period of the empire's creation;<sup>1</sup> but a moment's reflection will demonstrate that such a modular perception cannot be supported by the evidence. Between the first victory of Thutmose III, at Megiddo, and the commencement of the Amarna Age nearly a century had elapsed. In the interim several significant events had changed the political landscape of Western Asia. For one thing, the only serious opponent to Egypt in the north, Mittani, had been neutralized by treaty and diplomatic marriage.<sup>2</sup> For another, pillage and deportation had reduced the threat of resistance by the indigenous population in those parts of the Levant closest to the Egyptian border.<sup>3</sup> The scale of involvement manifest in Thutmose's time was no longer necessary. The practice of *chevauchée*, therefore, and full-scale campaigns undertaken regularly and frequently, fell into abeyance; and Egypt had to devise other means to collect taxes and produce from the north. The upshot in Amarna times was the military captain, sent out on circuit to a number of Canaanite towns,<sup>4</sup> usually in the spring,<sup>5</sup> with letters and assessments. Only in Ramesside Times did a full-fledged provincial system, with "governors," commercial agents and military personnel become the norm.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy*, Baltimore, 2000. Admittedly by no means all of the contributors to this excellent volume fall into this trap.

<sup>2</sup> B. Bryan, in Cohen-Westbrook, *loc. cit.*, 79–83.

<sup>3</sup> P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 76–77.

<sup>4</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 29–36.

<sup>5</sup> M. Liverani, "A Seasonal Pattern for the Amarna Letters," in T. Abusch and others (eds), *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Atlanta, 1990), 337–48.

<sup>6</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 19–26; *idem*, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 192–213; C. Higgenbotham, "Elite Emulation and Egyptian Governance in Ramesside Canaan," *TA* 23 (1996), 154–69; W.J. Murnane, "'Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries': Reflections on the Upper

The initial structure of Egyptian administration in the north arose out of the nature and purpose of Thutmose III's conquests:

1. Demolition. The obsession of Thutmose with the possibility of a recurrence of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt lead to his denying Palestine as a base for an indigenous power. This he accomplished by bringing about the demolition of fortified centers which had (or could have) shown hostility to Egypt, and by promoting the practice of deportation. In the process the socio-political structure of the southern Levant was wholly destabilized to Egypt's advantage, and the few surviving centers of population transformed into nodal entrepôts.<sup>7</sup>
2. Confiscation. The wheat-producing plains of the Esdraelon and the tripolis in the north Jordan valley were taken over by the crown and the estate of Amun, respectively; but elsewhere little alienation of property seems to have occurred. The so-called "harbors" in Phoenicia<sup>8</sup> were probably simply provided with storehouses and perhaps a shrine: the inhabitants of the neighboring Akkar plain presented their food-stuffs, but did not relinquish ownership of their fields.
3. Political Adjustment. Thutmose III followed common practice (in Egypt as well as Western Asia) in administering the oath to subjugated headmen; but he also supplemented what was essentially a cult ritual with a practical mechanism to control the local families who wielded power. The latter were forcibly tied to Pharaoh through their children.<sup>9</sup> Seldom did Thutmose III intervene to sponsor a new polity. It may be significant that, when he did, as in the case of Taku in Nukhashshe, it was in a region where kingship was weak or entirely absent in the face of traditional "rule by the elders."<sup>10</sup>
4. Permanent presence. While Thutmose lived, the administration of the Levant (if we can even use this formal term) was rudimen-

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Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia," in J. van Dijk (ed), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Herman te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), 251–58.

<sup>7</sup> A. Bernard Knapp, "Complexity and Collapse in the North Jordan Valley: Archaeometry and Society in the Middle-Late Bronze Ages," *IEJ* 39 (1989), 129–48.

<sup>8</sup> J.M. Galán, "The Heritage of Thutmosis III's Campaigns in the Amarna Age," in B.M. Bryan, D. Lorton (eds), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio, 1994), 97 n. 34.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 97.

tary in the extreme. The Egyptian army marched forth at such regular intervals, that “resident governors” were unnecessary, and specific tasks in the north were assigned on an ad hoc basis to civil administrators.<sup>11</sup> Only later in the reign (year 47) is mention made of permanent troops in the Akkar plain (Ullaza)<sup>12</sup> and they have been stationed there for three purposes: to guard the stores in the “harbors,” to supervise the cutting and transport of timber and to keep the Eluetheros Valley under surveillance. At the southern extremity of the coast, recent discoveries<sup>13</sup> make it likely that Gaza experienced a permanent Egyptian presence by the close of the reign. Elsewhere there is little evidence of garrisons. The depot at Joppa<sup>14</sup> appears in our sources only after the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>15</sup> The Egyptian occupation of Beth Shean as a garrison point likewise postdates the time of Thutmose III,<sup>16</sup> and we have no evidence as to how the Egyptians secured the regions of Damascus and Kumidi. Controllers had been assigned to the Esdraelon plain to supervise the farm-land there;<sup>17</sup> but they may well have functioned on a seasonal basis, at planting and harvest.

<sup>11</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 2–7. Cf. The “King’s-scribe, stable-master, treasurer and child of the nursery” who was somehow involved in “the governance of the countries, whether by water or by land” Sapair (date uncertain, but early 18th Dynasty): J. Malek, “An Early 18th Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqara,” *JEA* 75 (1989), 61–76.

<sup>12</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1237:15. One wonders whether the “harbors” were the special purview of the “superintendent of fortresses in the northern foreign lands” Si-Amun: L. Speleers, *Recueils des inscriptions égyptiennes des musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1923), no. 117. Si-amun was “trusted by the king in matters pertaining to Asia, familiar with conditions of the lands (sic) of the Fenkhu, who receives the benevolences of the ‘scruffies’ who come through the power of His Majesty . . .” It sounds as though Si-Amun was an Egyptian “resident” in charge of the receipt of foodstores for deposit in the coastal depots.

<sup>13</sup> Above, pp. 13–16.

<sup>14</sup> Redford, *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*, 35.

<sup>15</sup> The celebrated story of its capture by a ruse perpetrated by Djehuty (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* [Bruxelles, 1932], 82–85) is pure folklore (C.J. Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary?’” in A. Loprieno (ed), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* [Leiden, 1996], 415–33; W. Guglielmi, “Der Gebrauch rhetorischer Stilmittel in der ägyptischen Literatur,” *ibid.*, 480, 494) and one should be extremely cautious in trying to detect an historical “kernel” of truth (S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* [Leiden, 1984], 121; M.S. Drower, *CAH* II, 1 (1973), 446–47). Needless to say the archaeological record yields no evidence one way or the other: C.R. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine* (Leiden, 2000), 106–7.

<sup>16</sup> M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant 1300–1185 B.C.* (Leiden, 1998), 134.

<sup>17</sup> On *rudw*, see above, p. 42 n. 52.

## EPILOGUE

Although during the four centuries following Thutmose III's death the territory he had conquered in Palestine and along the Phoenician coast rarely if ever were lost to Egyptian control, his bequest to future generations lay mainly in the tradition of conquest and *chevauchée* and in the image of the war Pharaoh. The king's accomplishments translated his figure in the memory of posterity into the great ancestral monarch, Osiris himself,<sup>1</sup> "the father of the fathers,"<sup>2</sup> "the great god,"<sup>3</sup> the quintessential "son of Amun,"<sup>4</sup> the natural model for an Alexander.<sup>5</sup> In cultic contexts his presence remained on stelae, temple walls,<sup>6</sup> and offering processions;<sup>7</sup> and for centuries his name was a talisman to be conjured with on scarabs<sup>8</sup> or in personal names.<sup>9</sup> Native folklore made of him the key figure about whom clustered several plot motifs distantly related to his activities,<sup>10</sup> and even in foreign parts his great feats lived on into classical times, sometimes

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<sup>1</sup> O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* no. 4. *Catalogue des sarchphages et cercueils égyptiens* (Copenhagen, 1951), pl. XLVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2135.

<sup>3</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush* 8 (1960), pl. 15; *KRI* III, 120 (temp. Ramesses II); cf. A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), no. 473.

<sup>4</sup> L. Speleers, *Recueils des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1923), 37 no. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. The recarving of the Karnak sanctuary east of Akh-menu: H. Gauthier, *Livres des rois d'Égypte* II, 265 (XLII).

<sup>6</sup> P-M VIII, 1048 (Ramesses IV); VI, 90 (Dendera); VI, 115; *Esna* III, 287 (Esna); P-M VI, 200 (Kom Ombo); H. Kees, *RT* 36 (1914), 51ff (Akhmim); C.M. Coche-Zivie, *Giza au premier millénaire* (Boston, 1991), 222 (Karnak).

<sup>7</sup> D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* (Mississauga, 1986), 34–9.

<sup>8</sup> B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et de datation des scarabées Menkheperré* (Fribourg, 1982).

<sup>9</sup> H. Ranke, *Die altaegyptische Personennamen* I (Glueckstadt, 1936), 150:13–14; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III, 263–9 (21st Dyn. High-priest); *ibid.*, 124, 404–5; IV, 74 (XXXIII, associated with Psammetichus I), 90 (XVI, associated with Necho II); J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> Dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965), 237 n. 1 (Shabataka).

<sup>10</sup> A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. A Commentary* I (Leiden, 1976), 102–4.

purloined by other great figures of the past.<sup>11</sup> His contribution to the “Sesostris” Legend, though extensive, did not leave a trace of his name.

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<sup>11</sup> The Battle of Megiddo (cf. Jud. 5, and above, p. 36); the siege of Megiddo (Waddell, *Manetho* [Cambridge, 1940], 86–88); crossing the Euphrates (above, p. 106); sometime presence in North Syria (above, p. 234); the misappropriation of the Daybook Excerpts and benevolence lists (Tacitus, *Annali* ii.67–68).



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*st wrt* 177 n. 66  
*stpw* 79 n. 133  
*sḏ3i hr* 224 n. 17  
*sḏf3 tryt* 110 n. 31  
*sḏd* 115 n. 52, 157 n. 21  
  
*Š3sw* 81  
*šwt-ntr* 120 n. 66

*šfyt* 54  
*Šm3yw* 208  
*Šmsw-Hr* 26  
*šnc* 67  
*škr* 87  
*šdyt* 224 n. 19

*qni/qnn* 169 n. 27, 180 n. 83  
*Qbhūw* 132 n. 135  
*(mw) qd* 16

*ky* 151, 176

*Th(w)r* 63  
*tp-rd* 143 n. 188  
*tpht* 141 n. 178

*Tkw* 106 n. 19

*t3* 145 n. 204  
*t3-ib* 178 n. 73  
*T3gw* 76, 79f, 85, 96  
*thn* 14 n. 78, 83 n. 157

*didī* 87 n. 181  
*dbn n tp* 84 n. 160  
*dmūw* 106 n. 17, 151

*d3t* 77  
*d3dw* 127 n. 107, 109, 128 n. 110  
*dsr-ḥcw* 162 n. 40  
*ddh* 32  
*ddt m hm n stp-s3* 18

#### AKKADIAN

*balātu* 110 n. 30  
*dīmtu* 48  
*duṣṣrānu* 168 n. 15  
*ēgu* 52 n. 303  
*iašibu* 48  
*kakkābu* 112 n. 42  
*kanaktu* 80 n. 137  
*kuddūru* 151  
*Manahḫiṣya/Manahḫiṣya* 234 n. 6

*matāti* 76  
*maṣṣartu* 95 n. 221  
*mu-ta-as-su* 239 n. 10  
*parsu* 236  
*rābu* 247  
*qištu* 247  
*šulmānu* 247  
*terḫātu* 236  
*zakām* 199 n. 29

#### GREEK

Ἑλλάς ἡ μεγάλη 76 n. 117  
 κενεοΦροσύνη 21  
 λόγος 142 n. 184

Μήφρης 234 n. 6  
 Μηφραγμούθωσις 234 n. 6  
 Μισφραγμούθωσις 234 n. 6

## MAPS, PLATES AND FIGURES

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## THE EXCERPTS FROM THE DAY-BOOK ENTRIES A NOTE ON THE HAND-COPIES & ERRATA

The hand-copies of the text which follow show the extent of loss during the century or so which has elapsed since Sethe made his hand-copies. Unfortunately I could not include copies of all the photographs in my possession. Moreover I have not had access to Sethe's Fragment F (*Urk.* IV, 682), nor to a new fragment which seems by all reports to have recently come to light. The bottoms of columns 33 to 37 are presently obscured by a cross-wall and were not available to me for collation. The columns in fig. 4 originally extended c. 10 cm. below the line given; and in fig. 8 the base line does *not* represent the bottom of the columns. For ease of comparison with the much-used *Urkunden* publication I have had recourse to quoting it for ease of reference.

### *Part 1*

- Col. 23: for the "book-roll" read the *kd*-sign.
- Col. 31: for the man-with-hand-to-mouth, read the (simple) seated man.
- Col. 38: supply book-roll at the bottom of column.
- Col. 83: for *t3wy* read the *mr*-sign.
- Col. 84: for the throw-stick read Gardiner T 13.
- Col. 86: for the wood-sign read *d*.
- Col. 87: for *h3m* read *h3*.
- Col. 87: (in lacuna) read *ck*.
- Col. 92: see emendation for col. 84 above.
- Col. 97: for the bound captive, read Gardiner A 12.
- Col. 100: read [...] + 27.
- Col. 104: for "4" read "5".
- Col. 109: read *mrw* 190.



*Part 2*

Col. 7: to *nmw* add plural strokes.

Col. 10: read *mpt t[n]*.

Col. 11: read Gardiner N 36 for N 31.

Col. 22: for Gardiner A 12 read Gardiner A 4.

Col. 32: read Gardiner D 49 as determinative for *kfcw*.

Col. 37: read Gardiner U 19 for U 21.

Col. 87: in the writing of *w*, “district,” add Gardiner N 21.

Col. 90: read *hnty*.

Col. 91: read Gardiner A 2 for A 1.

(Pylon) col. 9 (bottom): read *3b*.



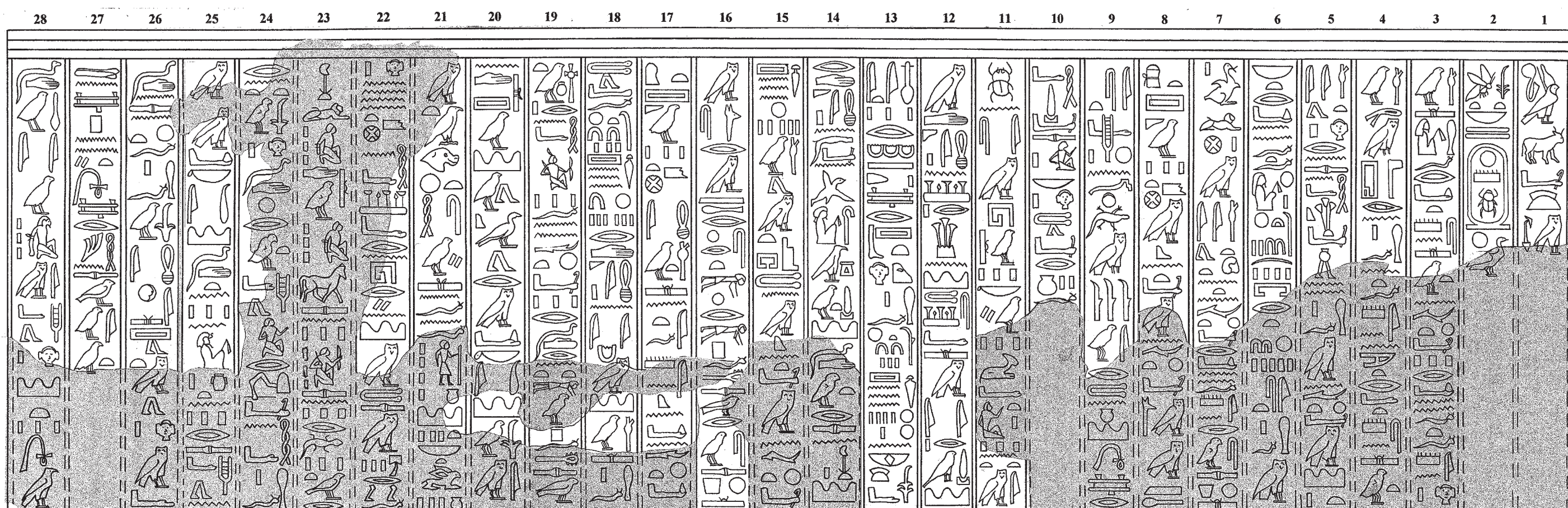


Fig. 1 - Part 1, cols. 1-28

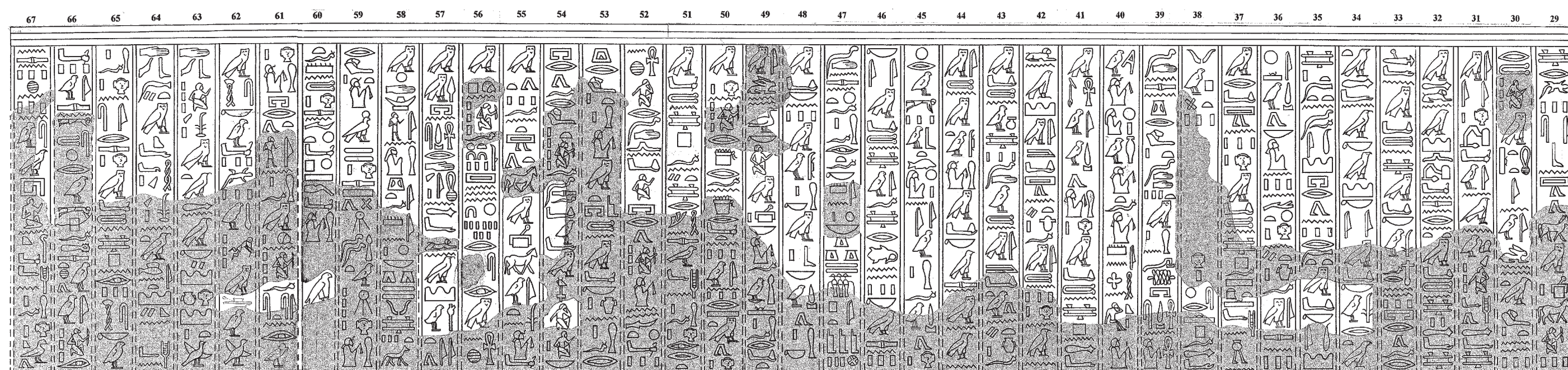


Fig. 2 - Part 1, cols. 29-67

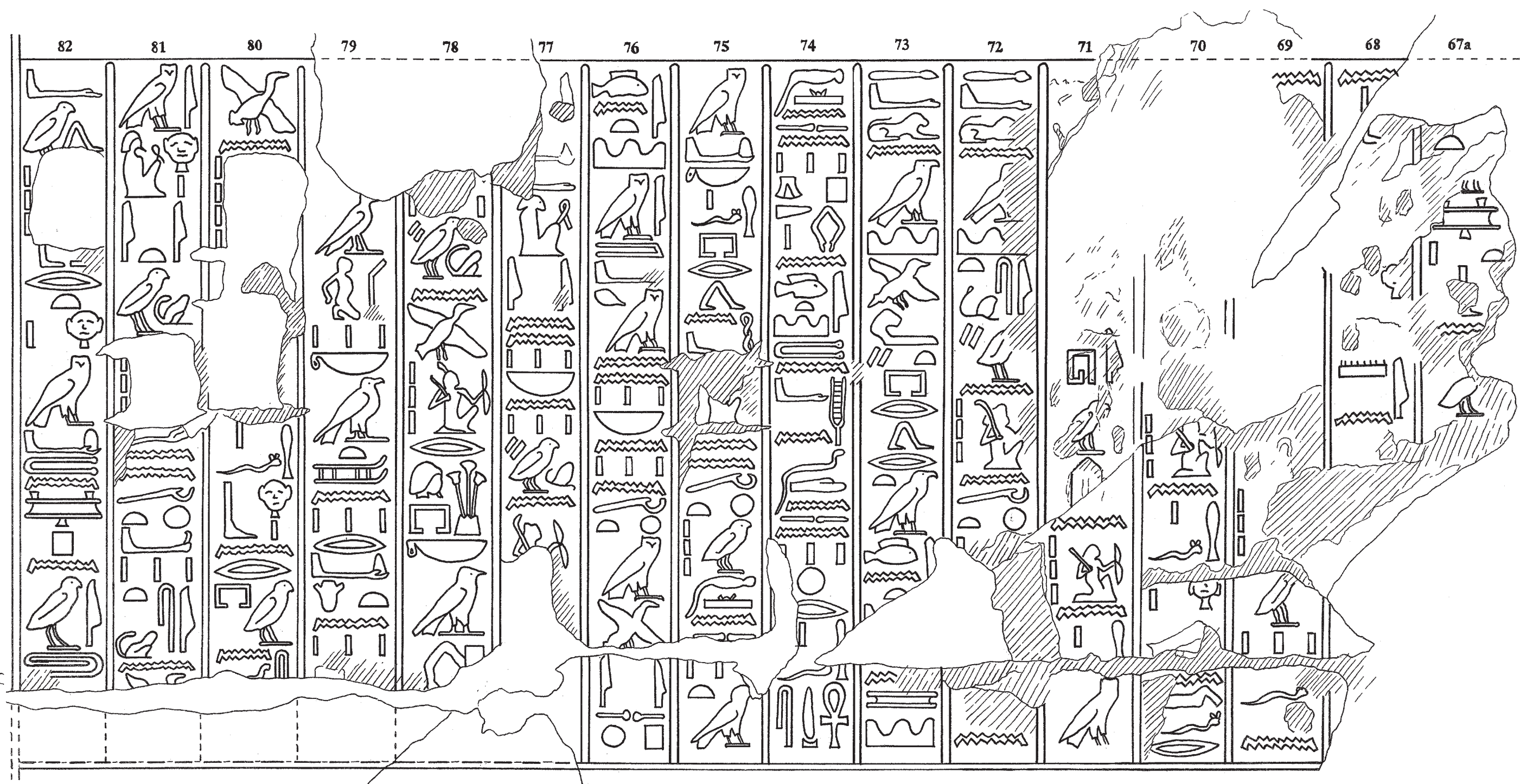


Fig. 3 - Part 1, cols. 67a-82





Fig. 4 - Part 1, cols. 83-110



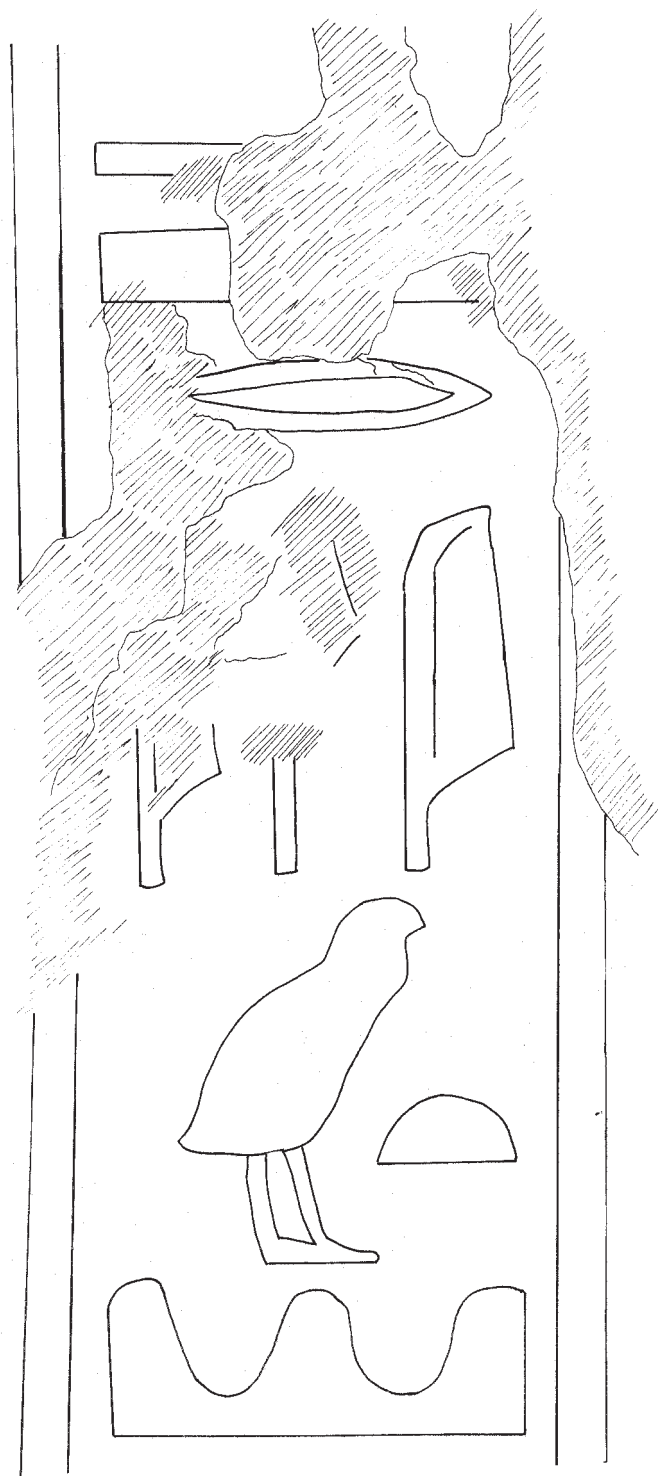


Fig. 5 - Part 2, detail of col. 9





Fig. 6 - Part 2, cols. 3-32







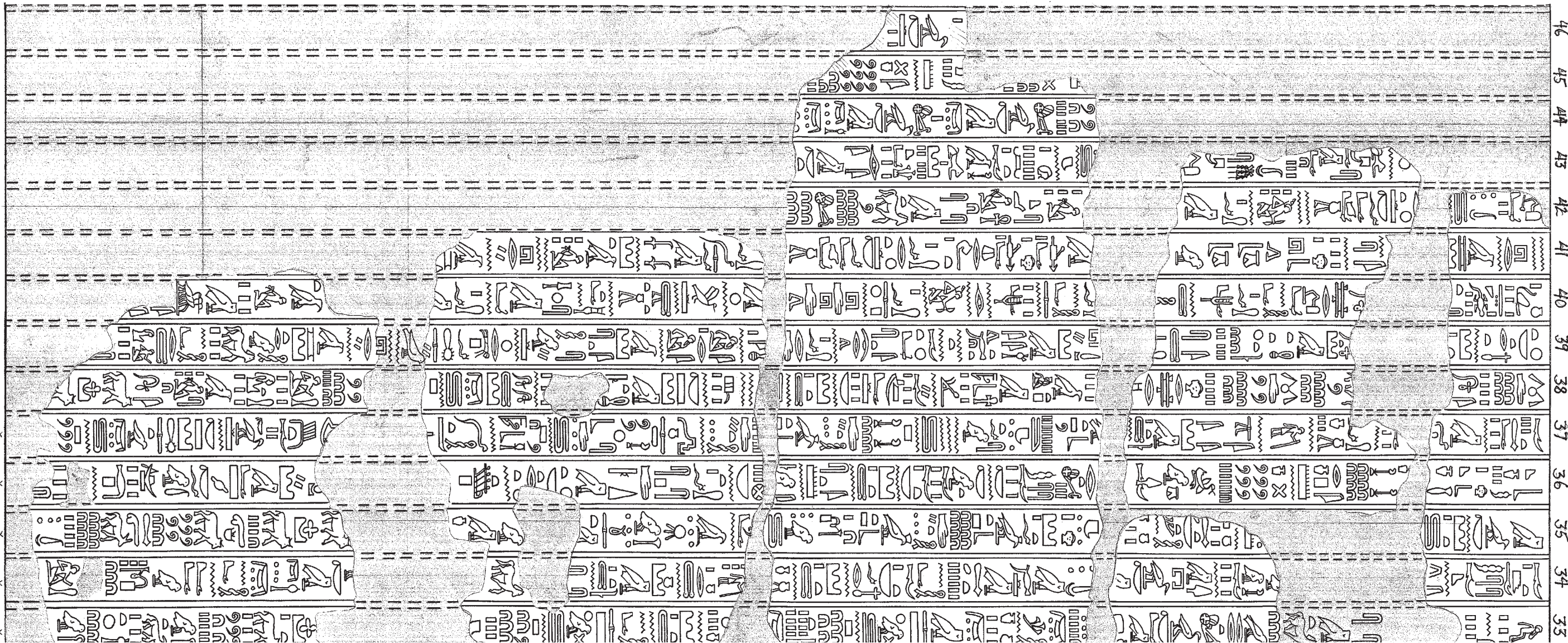


Fig. 8 - Part 2, cols. 33-46

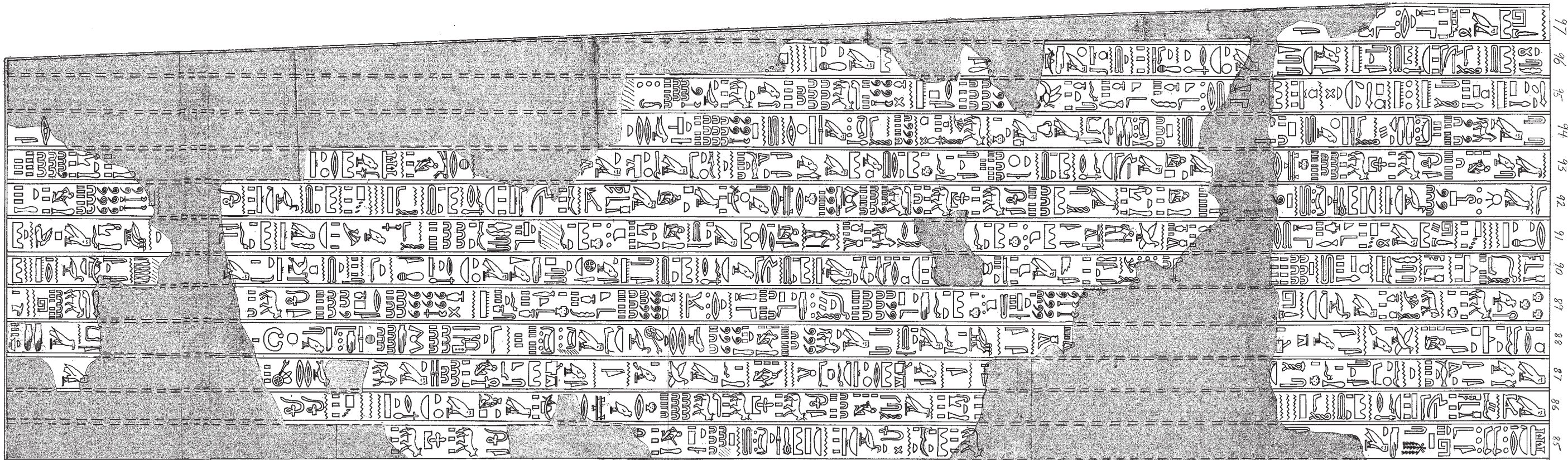


Fig. 9 - Part 2, cols. 85-97

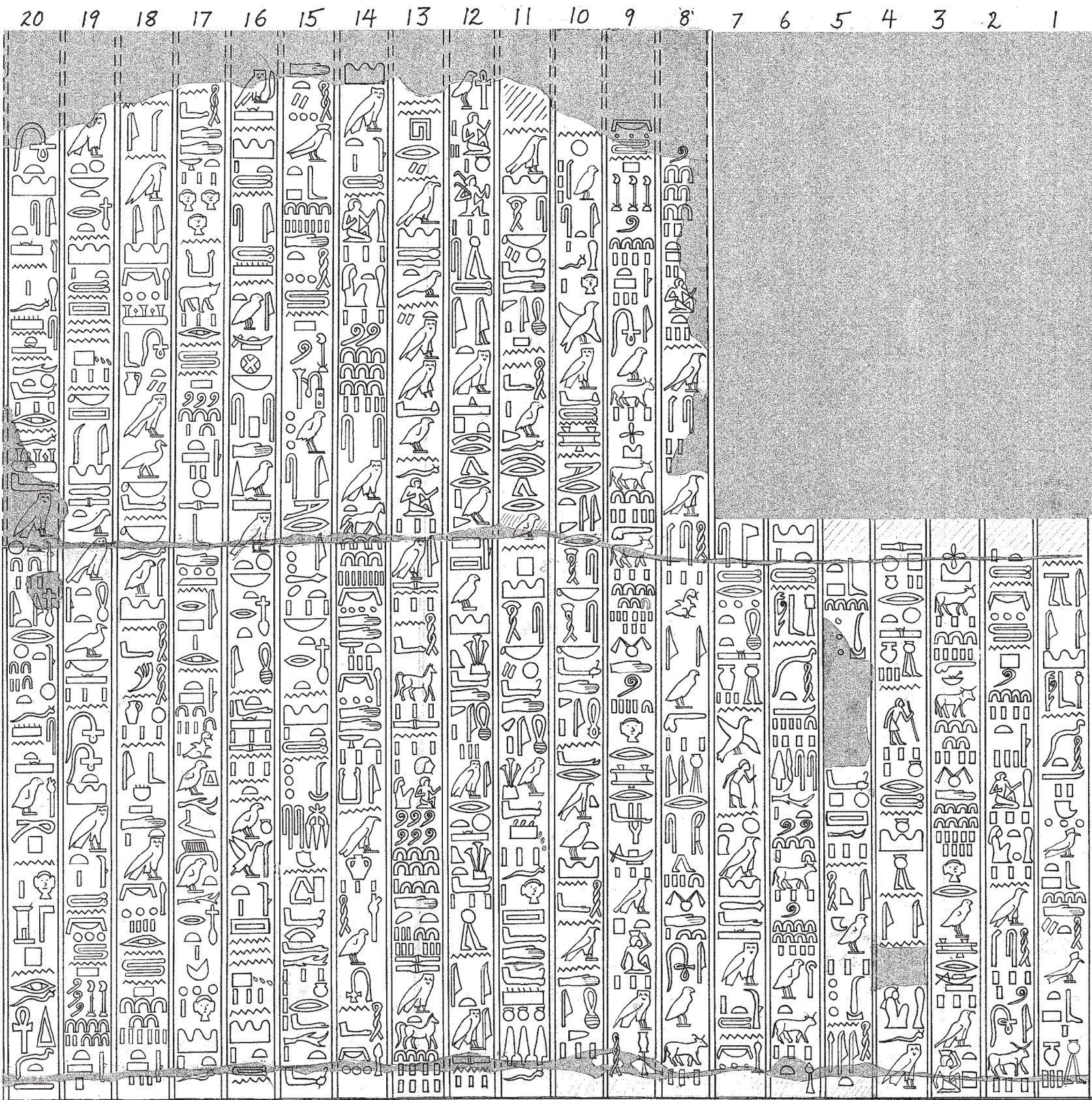


Fig. 10 - Part 2 (pylon), cols. 1-120





Plate 1 - Part 1, cols. 7-13



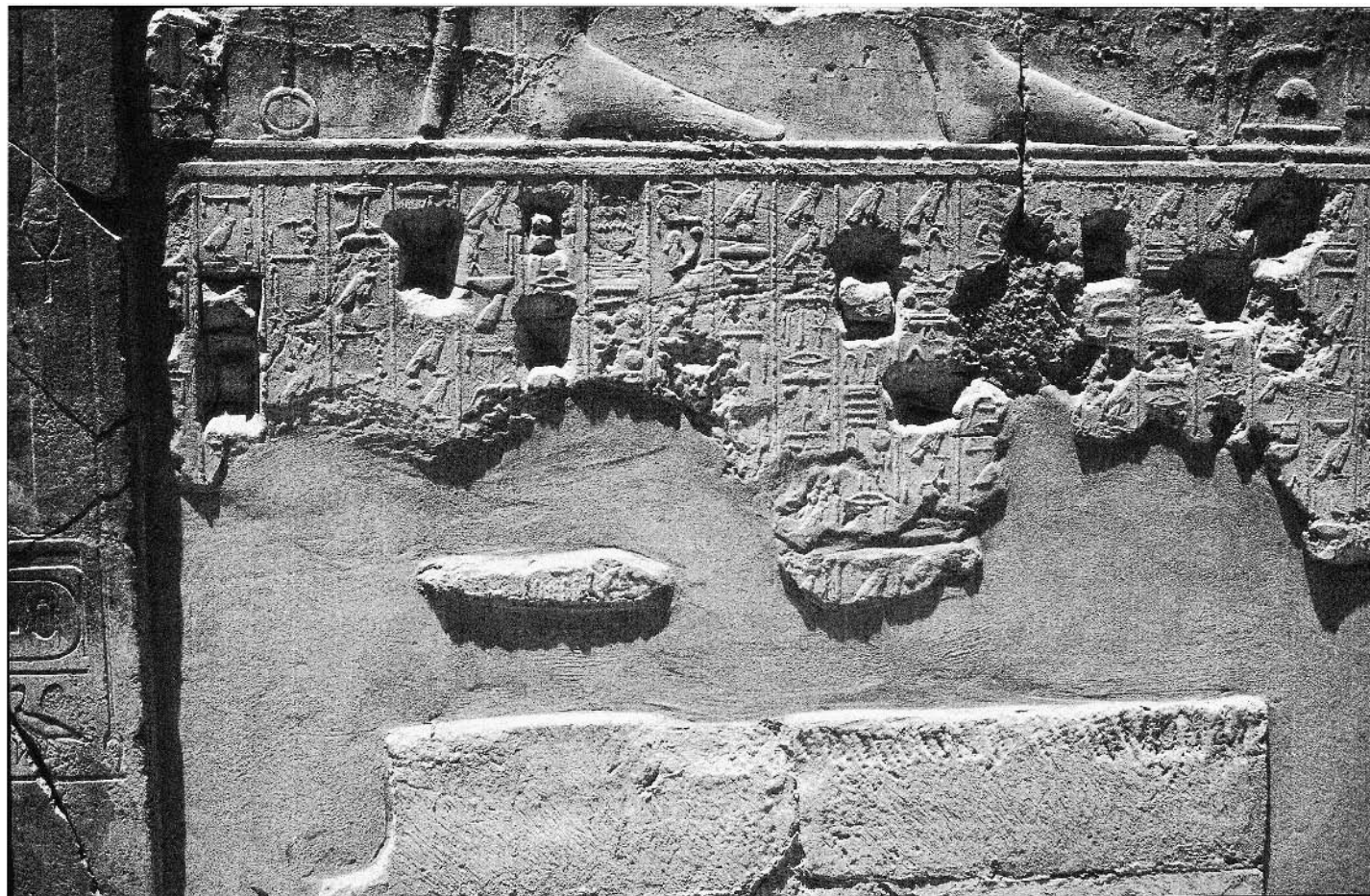


Plate 2 - Part 1, cols. 48-67





Plate 3 - Part 1, cols. 67a-80



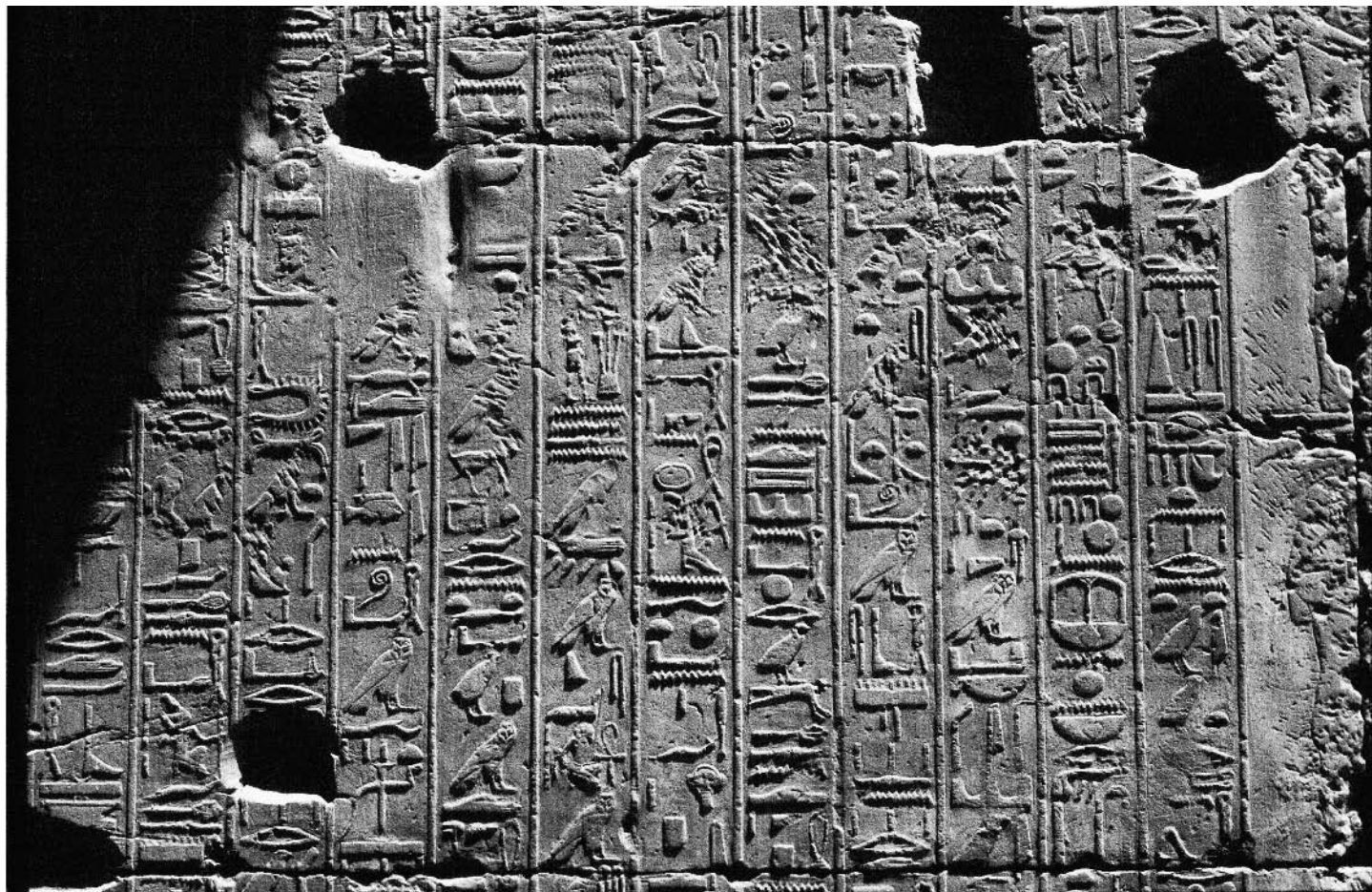


Plate 4 - Part 1, cols. 83-94 (part)





Plate 5 - Part 1, cols. 82-94 (part)



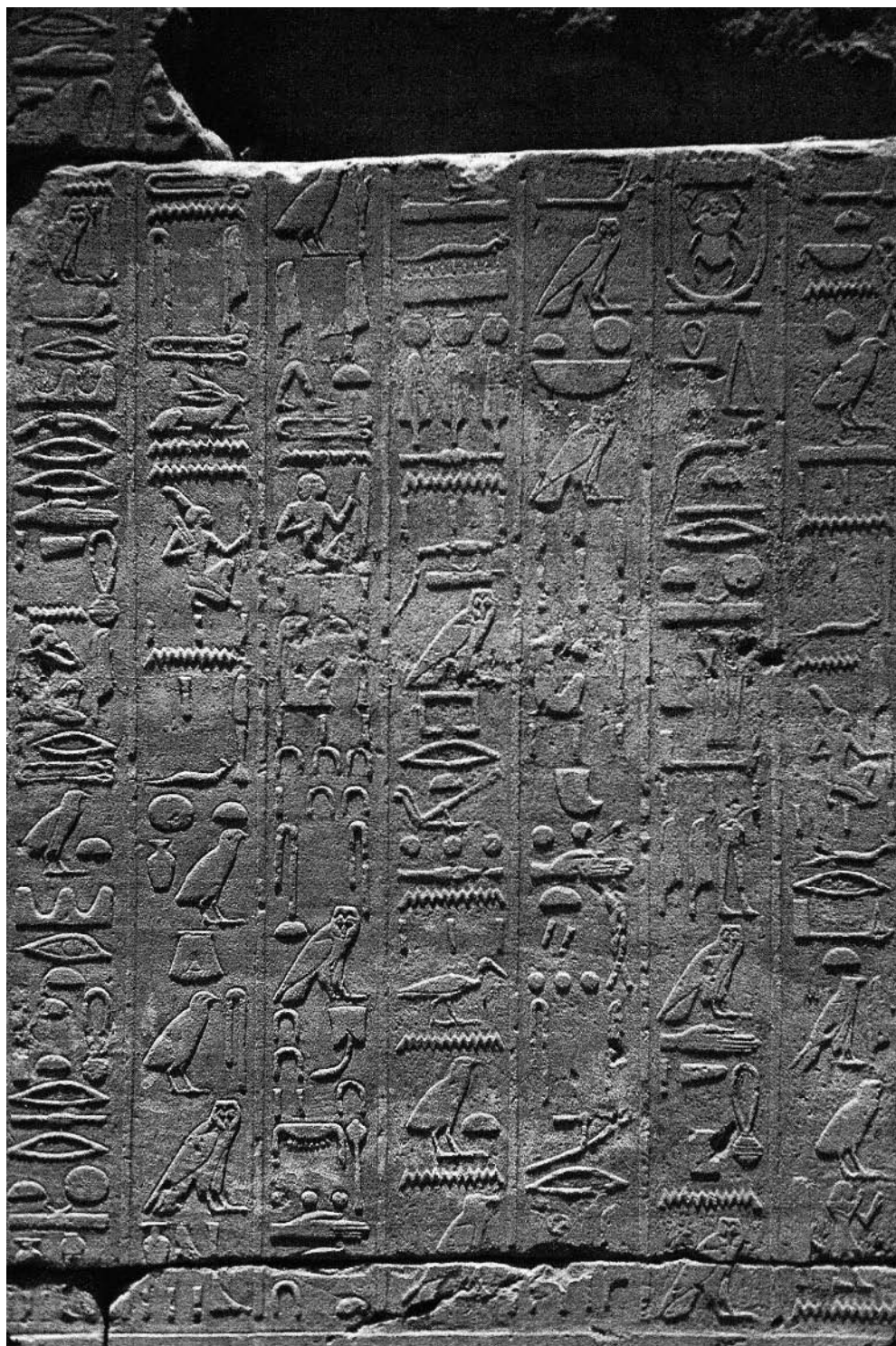
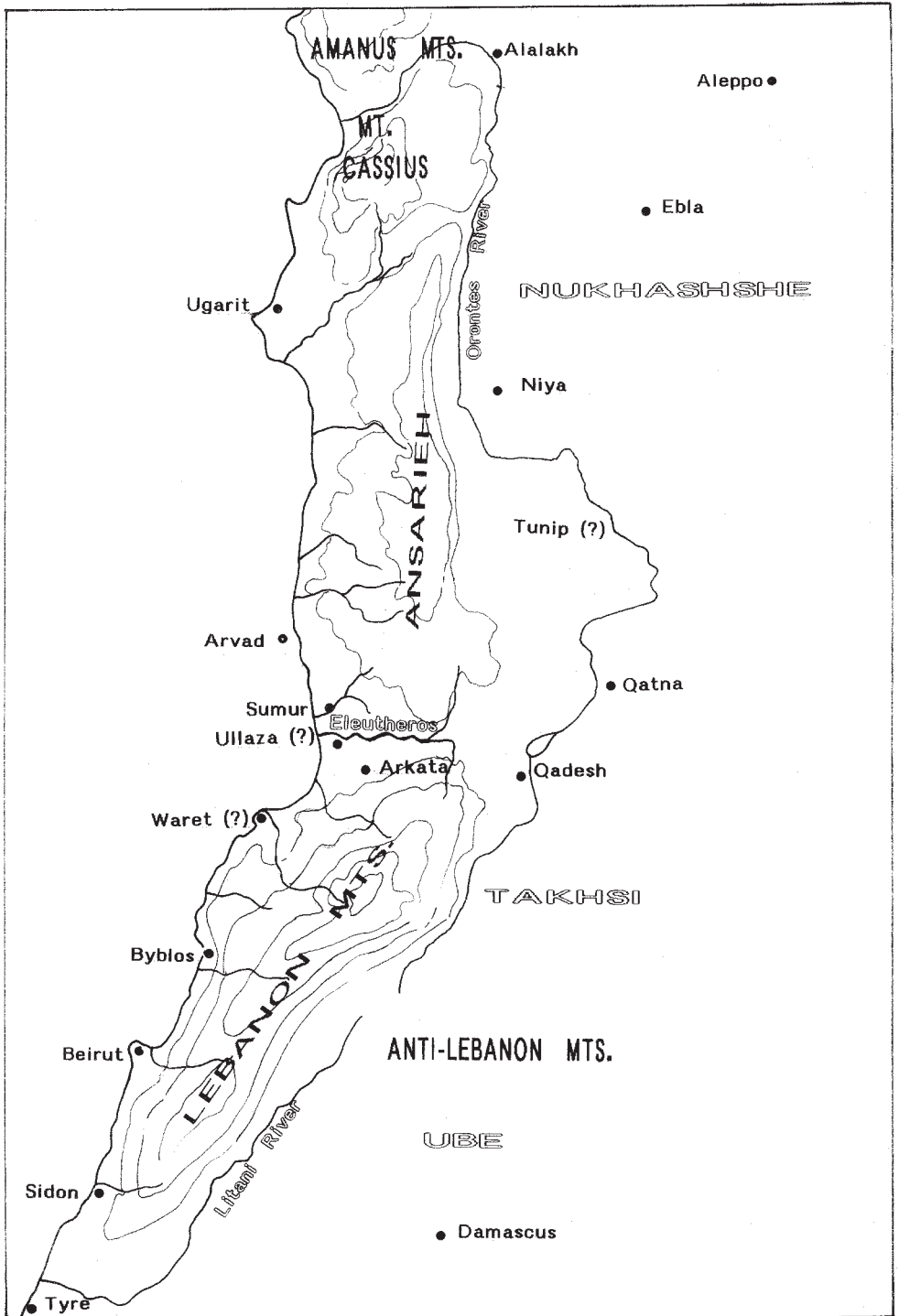
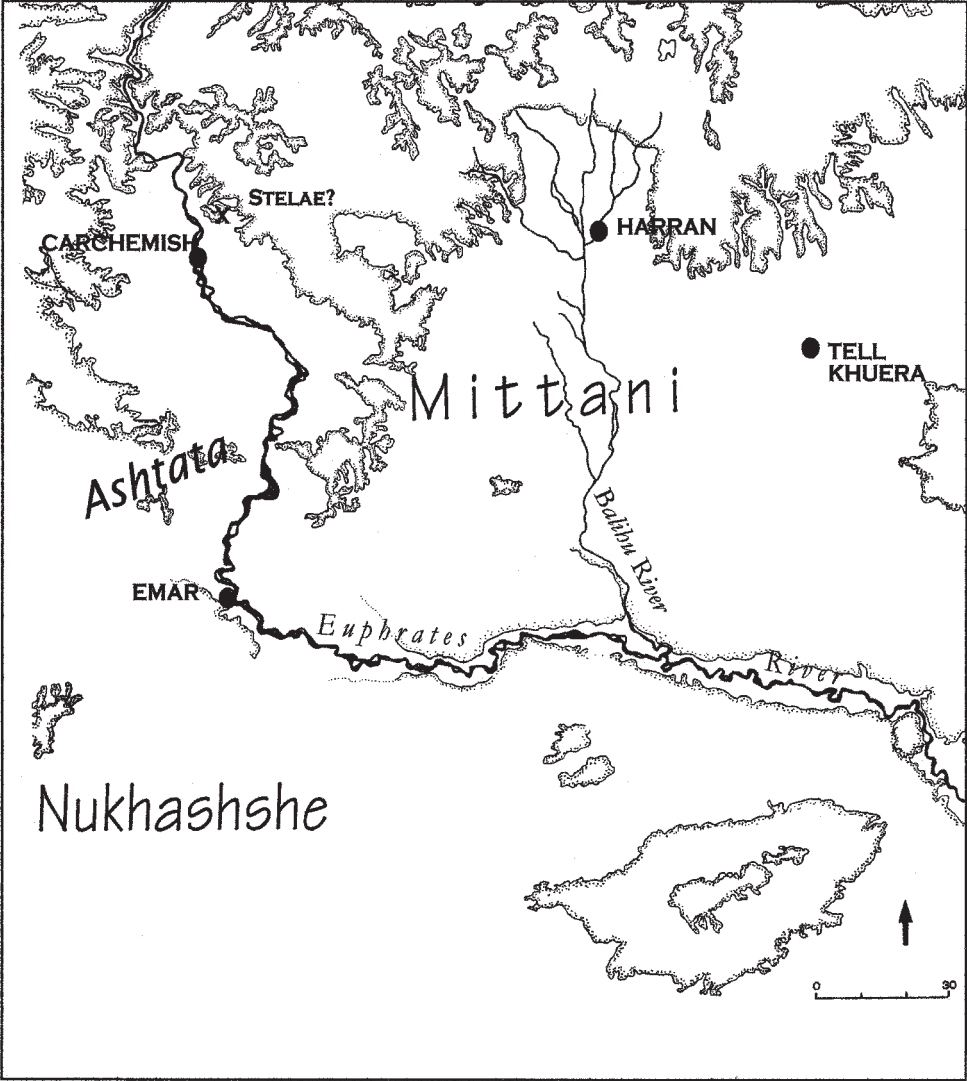


Plate 6 - Part 2, cols. 3-9 (bottom)



Map. 1 - Phoenicia & Syria



Map. 2 - Naharin