THE WARS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE OF THUTMOSE III
CULTURE AND HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

EDITED BY

B. HALPERN, M. H. E. WEIPPERT
TH. PJ. VAN DEN HOUT, I. WINTER

VOLUME 16

THE WARS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE OF THUTMOSE III

BY

DONALD B. REDFORD

BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON
2003
CONTENTS

List of Figures and Plates ................................................. ix
Forward .............................................................................. xi
Abbreviations ................................................................. xiii
Introduction ........................................................................ xv

PART ONE
THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS

CHAPTER ONE The Day-Book Excerpts, First Part .......... 1
Excursus I: The Council of War ........................................ 18
Excursus II: The Sequence of Events .............................. 25
Excursus III: Toponym Lists and City Destruction .......... 43

CHAPTER TWO The Day-Book Excerpts, Second Part ... 57

PART TWO
OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE Sittings of the King ............................... 101
I. The Gebel Barkal Stela .................................................. 103
II. Seventh Pylon Reveals ............................................... 119
III. Festival Hall Decree .................................................... 127
IV. Sixth Pylon (South, East Face) .................................. 137
V. Barque-shrine ............................................................. 145
VI. Karnak, Room III (East Wall) .................................... 149
VII. Philadelphia 39–12–3 .................................................. 150

CHAPTER TWO Encomia ..................................................... 152
I. The Erman Stela ............................................................ 153
II. The Buhen Temple Text ............................................... 159
III. The Buto Stela Inscription .......................................... 162
CHAPTER THREE  Biographical Statements and Epithets  ....  165
   I. The Royal Barber Si-Bast .................................. 165
   II. The Butler Neferperet ..................................... 166
   III. The “Soldier” and Lieutenant-General Amun-em-heb .... 167
   IV. The Construction Engineer Minmose ...................... 173
   V. The Keeper of the Seal and Superintendent of the
      Gold Lands, Sen-nufer .................................. 174
   VI. The Great W(zmw of the King Antef ...................... 176

PART THREE  
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

CHAPTER ONE  The Early 18th Dynasty ......................... 185
CHAPTER TWO  The Nature and Size of the Expeditionary
             Force ............................................... 195
CHAPTER THREE  Rates of Speed on the March and the
                 Transit Corridors into Asia ...................... 202
CHAPTER FOUR  The Battle of Megiddo: The Growth of
               the Tradition .................................. 206
CHAPTER FIVE  The Problem of the 2nd through 4th
              Campaigns ....................................... 210
CHAPTER SIX  The Strategy of Years 29 to 31 .................. 217
CHAPTER SEVEN  The Eighth Campaign (Year 33) ............... 220
CHAPTER EIGHT  The Political Configuration of Syria and
               Mittani’s Riposte ................................ 229
CHAPTER NINE  The Strategy of Years 36–42: Retrenchment
              and Diplomacy ..................................... 233
CHAPTER TEN  The Uprising of Year 42 ......................... 238
CHAPTER ELEVEN  Military Activity in Asia between
                Years 42 and 53 .................................. 241
CHAPTER TWELVE  The Exactions of the Conquered .......... 245
CHAPTER THIRTEEN  Diplomatic Gifts from Foreign
                  Powers ......................................... 250
CHAPTER FOURTEEN  The Beginnings of the Administration
                  of the Northern Lands ............................ 255

Epilogue ..................................................................... 258
Index ......................................................................... 261

LIST OF FIGURES AND PLATES
(Karnak Day-Book Excerpts)

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. 7 – Part 2, detail of col. 11
Fig. 8 – Part 2, cols. 33–46
Fig. 9 – Part 2, cols. 85–97
Fig. 10 – Part 2 (pylon), cols. 1–20

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 and Syria
Map 2 – Naharin
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 the 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, I 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 Lileyquist, 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 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.
INTRODUCTION

The sources for Thutmose III’s Asiatic wars are more extensive than those for any other comparable period in Egypt’s history.¹ 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 god) 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].”² 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], encomium and private biographical statements), a series of excursus on specific topics, and a synthesis of the evidence in narrative format.

¹ Cf. The famous remark of J.B. Bury (History of the Later Ptolemaic 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.!
² Urk. IV, 1077.5–6 (The words are in Rekhmire’s mouth).
No earlier than year 402 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. 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. Beyond (west of) the door leading to the north block of

---


2 See below, pp. 60-62.

3 P.M II (2nd ed), plan XII, room VIII.

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, 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. 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—and for the 7th campaign it is in fact cited with respect to food stuffs. Two additional sources, separate from the day-book, are also mentioned. One is an unspecified ledger tallying foodstuffs and kept in the pr-hd; the other is the leather role, placed in the temple, which listed in detail and calendrically military operations on the first campaign. This list is specified by the repetition of m in the equivalence of Hebrew beth essentiae. 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-

\[\text{\footnotesize 5} \] 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.


\[\text{\footnotesize 7} \] A. Schaaf, Das AEGYPTEN (1922), 51ff.

\[\text{\footnotesize 8} \] Ubk. IV, 698:11.

\[\text{\footnotesize 9} \] Ubk. 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.

\[\text{\footnotesize 10} \] Ubk. IV, 661–62; see also Redford, Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books (Mississauga, 1986), 98–99; see below, pp. 33–34 for discussion.

\[\text{\footnotesize 11} \] Gardiner, Grammar, sec. 162:3.

\[\text{\footnotesize 12} \] 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, Bevölkerung, 127. A similarly unjustified use of the list would turn it into the towns of origin of the anti-Egyptian coalition at Megiddo: H. Klenig, Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. (Berlin, 1992), 91. See further below, pp. 00.

\[\text{\footnotesize 13} \] Y. Koenig, "Livraisons d’or et de galène au trésor du temple d’Amon sous le XXe Dynastie" in Hommages Samaon (Cairo, 1979), 123–220.

\[\text{\footnotesize 14} \] S.S. Eichler, Die Verwaltung des "Haus des Amon" 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. Valllegga, Recherches sur les “Messeges” (Wpysys) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes [Geneva, 1976], 89–90 [31], 116 [52]; P.M. Chevereau, Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du nouvel empire [Paris, 1994], 196), or “king’s-agent, leading the king’s brave army”: Ubk. IV, 144:19–20.
Those parts which reflect literary embellishment, 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, 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; although it is doubtful that he was old enough to have been present on Thutmose's early campaigns. The qualifying phrase "m m s m n s r" in 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 inscripturation. ~

When we turn to the question of the "readership" (or the auditors) 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 were written compositions, none would 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.

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.

Translation

(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, Menhenpet, 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 in the temple which His Majesty made [for his father Amun, with the intent to have published] (5) each individual campaign together with the

15 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.


17 Urk. IV, 1004-9-10. The phrase m n m s r, "to fix in writing," though it can refer to the writing of oral statements in any medium (cf. Urk. IV, 336, 338, 399; A.M. Blackman, JEA 27 [1941], pl. X, 15; S. Schott, Bücher und Bibliotheken in alten Aegypten [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. Grabow, Studien, 7 n. 3.

18 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 Tjanuny. Theben Nr. 74 [Mainz, 1977], 90).

19 Cf. The same location 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.

20 See the present writer, "Scribe and Speaker," in E. Ben Zvi and M.H. Floyd (eds), Writings and Speech in frühe and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy (Atlanta, 2000), 193, 204-5.

21 See below, part 2, no. IV.

22 Tacitus Annals ii.67-68.

23 Apart from wet pm, "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, Ägypt. Geschichte, 70, 34) are not exactly genre terms, they do indeed have a certain application in the present case.

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

25 Wo: 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 Papyri der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Leipzig, 1931), no. 18. In Urk. IV, 684:10 (see below, p. 60), sH, "wall," replaces wo.
booby [which His Majesty] brought back in victory\textsuperscript{26} from] every (6) [foreign land] which his father Re had granted him.

Regnal year 22, 4th month of \textit{prepyt}, [day 25.\textsuperscript{27} His Majesty was in\textsuperscript{28}?] Silé\textsuperscript{*} on his first victorious campaign [which his father Amun had granted him, in order to extend]\textsuperscript{29} (8) the frontiers of Egypt, in valor, [in victory, in might and in justification]."

\textit{Silé} Almost certainly to be identified with Tel Hebwa, c. 10 km. NNE of Qantarà 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.\textsuperscript{30} While a fortification at Silé existed already in the Middle Kingdom,\textsuperscript{31} most of our information concerning Silé comes from the post-Amarna period when the coastal road from the Pelusiac mouth to Gaza was operational and fortified with block-houses;\textsuperscript{32} and it is questionable 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 \textit{him}, "fortress"? This is the common designation in later times\textsuperscript{33} paralleled by \textit{hoty} in the Late Period;\textsuperscript{34} but whether this is sufficient reason to adopt the restoration remains doubtful.

\textit{Hd} of Egypt, Far from the specific content Sethé would have, the present pericope follows a pattern known elsewhere,\textsuperscript{35} and especially in the retrospective of the Great Harris Papyrus,\textsuperscript{42} 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

\textsuperscript{26} Sethé's restoration is unnecessary. The restoration favored here adequately fills the available space.

\textsuperscript{27} After Champollion.

\textsuperscript{28} The restoration is doubtful. Sethé (\textit{ZAS} 47 [1910], 75 restored \textit{sl bsmf bsm n} on the basis of the use of the phrase by Ramesses II: \textit{KR} II, 1, 12, \textit{Wdj}, "to proceed" might also be possible: Ati, \textit{ZDPV}, 70, 37f.

\textsuperscript{29} Contrary to Sethé, this restoration would fit the available space perfectly.


\textsuperscript{31} For sources see F. Gomaa, \textit{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: \textit{ibid.}, 130 and n. 36. For the 18th Dynasty see J.-L. Chappaz, "Un nouveau prophète d'Abydos," \textit{BSEG} 14 (1990), 23–31. For jar-sealings of Thutmosis III from Hebwa, see M.A. Maksoud, \textit{Heboua, Enquête archéologique sur la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire et le Nouvel Empire à l'Extrémité orientale du Delta} (Paris, 1989), 271.


\textsuperscript{33} Sir A.H. Gardiner, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Onomastico II} (Oxford, 1947), 202*; \textit{idem, Late Egyptian Miscellanies} (Bruxelles, 1953), 108–9; \textit{KR} II, 1, 12.

\textsuperscript{34} H. Goedicke, \textit{Dictionnaire géographique II}, 121; D. Kofod-Petersen, \textit{Publication de la Cigalehke Ny Carlsberg. Les Sites égyptiennes} (Copenhaque, 1948), 54.

\textsuperscript{35} There seems to be inadequate space for Sethe's restoration; for \textit{eh} cf. \textit{Urkh}, IV, 3444; But see also \textit{Urkh}, IV, 1543.5.

\textsuperscript{36} Cf. the present writer, "The Historical Retrospective to the Beginning of Thutmosis III's Annals," in M. Görg (ed), \textit{Festschrift Elmar Edel} (Bamberg, 1979), 338–42; the late W.J. Murnane oral communication, and later in "Rhetorical History. The Beginning of Thutmosis III's First Campaign in Western Asia," \textit{JARCE} 26 (1989), 183–93; favored restoring \textit{eh}. On a further investigation in 1999 I still feel that the original read \textit{Rh(mf); abbasian seems to have caused a false curse to an original \textit{r}.}

\textsuperscript{37} The traces suggest it: they do not suit Sethé's \textit{ehk3}; \textit{ZAS} 47, 81.

\textsuperscript{38} The restoration \textit{sn.mw.jf} is almost certain. The whole finds a close parallel in \textit{Libnms} 111–113: \textit{wÆ hek3 x j s n br itt sn.mw.jf}, people "engage in pillage, and everyone robs his fellow." (11) Then it transpired, in later times\textsuperscript{39} that the garrison\textsuperscript{*} which was there\textsuperscript{40} (12) was (now) in the town of Sharubten\textsuperscript{*}, while (the territory) from Yarusa\textsuperscript{*} (13) as far as the distant marshlands had broken out in rebellion against His Majesty."
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\(^1\) indicates that, in the events leading up to the campaign Kadesh had arrogated 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.\(^1\) 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, Qatana and Hazor,\(^2\) and the world of Thutmose III's conquests consists precisely in the arrival and rapid expansion in Cœle and southern Syria\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) It resulted in the replacement of older regimes with new ones, featuring personal names of Aryan derivation. Whether at any point this Drang nach Süden transformed itself into a conscious attempt to invade Egypt must remain open, but the possibility is very tempting.\(^5\)


\(^2\) Ibid., 142–43.


\(^4\) In northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia a Hurrian presence is detected considerably earlier: see T. Bryce, The Kingdom of the Hitites (Oxford, 1999), 57–59.


\(^6\) Cf. W. Heck, Beziehungen Ägyptens zur Vorderasien, 120. A fragmentary biographical text in the tomb of Yamu-nedjej (Udr. IV, 649f) may refer to the rebellion: "[... of (?) Foreign[ers] of Retenu in rebellion, the land (sic) from its south to its north, as far [as ...]"

\(^7\) Although sometimes referring to foreign troops,\(^8\) the word normally applies to Egyptian standing forces, as opposed to part-time militia.\(^9\) While the latter could be called up for expeditionary service when set-piece battles were in the offing,\(^10\) the standing army was apportioned for garrison duty to Kush,\(^11\) Asia,\(^12\) and Egypt.\(^13\)

\(^8\) See, e.g., A. Vogelsang-Eastman, "Tell el-Farah (south), 25 km. South of Gaza,"\(^14\) or Tell Haror, 15 km. South-east of Gaza.\(^15\) 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.\(^16\) If this was the
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! Too much can be made of the Amenophis III (> Ramesses II) list from Amara West. Nos. 65 to 71, although located generally in the south, are not in order: R3[...]

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.

**Tarsa**

Alt argued 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 Muhaazi and Jabneh, equating it with Tel el-Ful, 18 km. SSW of Lud. None of this makes much sense if the lists arecorrectly viewed as itineraries (see below): Ashdod and Ashkelon did not figure simply because they were not on the routes chosen for

inclusion. More to the point is the use of Yursa as a point of limitation in relationship to Sharuhen. As Rainey has shown, it can only lie north of Sharuhen, and if the latter be Tel Haror, his identification of Tel el-Hesy (54 km. South of Joppa) is very appealing. In the toponym lists Yursa occurs two stations from Joppa (no. 62), which would mean a longitudinal 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 Sequence,' [called] Gaza [of Khurru] (15) First month of shomu, day 5;[57] 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 [valor and might (18) that he might take possession."

**Huy-nsw**

This is the day following the death of a king's predecessor, in the present case 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?

**Mlnp3 Hk3**

There is scholarly unanimity that this phrase indicates that Gaza already was an Egyptian possession at the time of Thutmose's first campaign. 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, but if that were the case would not lm.f have been used

---

60 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.
62 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'amah, "The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," _Levant_ 26 [1994], 181) seems overdrawn.
63 _Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel_ I (Munich, 1959), 105.
64 _Ibid._, 226 and n. 1.
instead of $p_3 \text{ br}^2$? 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$^{72}$ the town of Yehem*. [His Majesty] gave orders for (19) a consultation with his victorious army, speaking as follows:$^{73}$ [that vile] doomed once (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]$^{74}$ (22) loyal to Egypt, together with (places) as far away as Naharin* [—dogs at his heels]$^{75}$ (23) (namely) Khurians, and Qodians*, their horses and their troops [being very many indeed]; (24)$^{76}$ and further:$^{77}$ it is rumoured that he is saying: “I shall make a stand to [fight with His Majesty]$^{78}$ (25) in Megiddo.” Tell me [what you think about it.” Then$^{79}$ (26) they spoke before His Majesty: “What would it be like to proceed [upon] this$^{80}$ (27) [road] which grows progressively narrower? It is [reported]$^{81}$ (28) that the enemy are there, standing upon [the high ground]$^{82}$ and are incr (29) easing in numbers. Would not the horses have to go in single file and the [army] (30) personnel likewise$^{83}$ Shall our own vanguard be [already] (31) fighting, while the [rearguard stands here]

$^{72}$ 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 context to the next day. Obviously “day 16” labels the information which follows.

$^{73}$ This first $r$-$nv$ deals with the presence and composition of the enemy: cf. Christophe, RB 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.

$^{74}$ $Hw$w would barely fit the lacuna; $nlt$ is possible.

$^{75}$ The restoration is based on Piankhy stela, 3. But we could have another locative indicator further qualifying Naharin. A restoration “Mrayanum”$^{1}$ does not fit the context.

$^{76}$ Moch of columns 22–24 are now missing; cf. Copies of Lepsius and Sethe.

$^{77}$ The second $s$-$nlt$ introduces the enemy’s intentions.

$^{78}$ Following Sethe in restoring $d\beta^\prime$; but $hbn$ would fit equally well. There is no need to restore $c\beta$, “here.”

$^{79}$ There is too much space for Sethe’s restoration.

$^{80}$ 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 Semitistics (Bloomington, 1993), 138–39.

$^{81}$ The soldiers continue to speak: Faulkner, JEA 28, 3. A supposed $w.t\tau r d\d n hnm$ would be rare: Grapow, Studien, 61.

$^{82}$ Read $hr$ $h\beta^\prime$ $nt$ 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).

$^{83}$ It is used in a rhetorical question, as in Late Egyptian: cf. F. Junge, Neauyptische Einleitung in die Grammatik (Wiesbaden, 1996), 2.2.4 (1); Gardiner, Grammar, p. 402.
British.\textsuperscript{94} Kadesh enjoys a strategic location as a control point for the east-west transit corridor emerging from the Mediterranean coast via the Eleutheros valley.\textsuperscript{95} 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.\textsuperscript{96}

\subsection*{Naharin}
To be identified with northern Syria and the gezira beyond the Euphrates.\textsuperscript{97} Recent discussion has focused on a return to understanding the word as a dual with \textit{numation}.\textsuperscript{98} One might suggest, in light of its synonymous use with Mitanni, that the Euphrates and the Balikh are intended.

\subsection*{Qdyans}
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.\textsuperscript{99} The name occurs in our present passage for the first time in Egyptian texts and, failing an acceptable West Semitic or Anatolian \textit{Vorlage}, is probably an Egyptian term. Denials to the contrary, it is tempting to link the word with the root \textit{qd}, “to go round, to describe a curve,”\textsuperscript{100} in which case it would share both semantic and geographic aptness with \textit{nw qd}, the “curving water,” i.e. the Euphrates.\textsuperscript{101} 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

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item \textsuperscript{95} Sj. Bouke, “The Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Syria: the Evidence from Tell Nebi Mend,” \textit{Levant} 25 (1993), 155.
\item \textsuperscript{96} \textit{Hid}, 160–62.
\item \textsuperscript{97} \textit{Heck, Beziehungen}, 277–78; H. Kleangel, \textit{Syria 5000 to 500 B.C.} (Berlin, 1992), 90–4.
\item \textsuperscript{98} Hoch, \textit{Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts}, 187–91 (no. 253).
\item \textsuperscript{100} \textit{Hid}, V, 78:1–8.
\item \textsuperscript{101} E. Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten in den Tempeln von Akha, Amarah und Soleb im Sudan,” \textit{RV} 11 (1980), 72.
\end{thebibliography}
**Dedti 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. 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 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 (see above, pp. 3–4), one cannot wonder at a degree of rhetorical reworking that sacrifices some factual accuracy.


109 Heck *nokā* (*Beziehungen*, 124) that the use of the phrase “Aruna road” must mean that the three roads diverged south of that town.

110 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. 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), looting 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. The role these activities and attitudes delineate, though rooted in the image of the nisāw of the First Intermediate Period, 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...
a terrestrial record. 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. 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 be-devils 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. 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.


116 Cf. Diodorus on Egyptian kingship: i.70 72.

117 Diodorus xv.92 3.

118 Plutarch Aegyptus xxxviii.4; xxxiv.3–4.

119 Ibid.: xxxvi.6; cf. Plutarch Per. xxxvii.4.


121 See Sehee, Un. IV, 632 n. a. His restoration seems unlikely: cf. Faulkner, op. cit., 5 n. It is conceivable that the n is a second datē introducing something like hiri or rm, “to the chariotry and/or people to proceed upon etc.”

122 The conflated writing with w is occasioned by the erroneous 19th Dyn. Restoration of Inn.


124 This seems to fit available space better than hmf.
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 shomnu, day 19. [Lively] reveille (57) in the tent of life, prosperity and health at the town of Aruna. Proceeding (58) northwards by My Majesty under (the aegis of) my father [Amon-re, lord of Karnak, while Wepwawet] (59) was before me, Reharakhety spr[eding brightness over My Majesty], (60) my father Montu strengthening [My Majesty’s] arm, and [Khonsu(?)]... (61) over My Majesty.126 Proceeding [by His Majesty at the head of] his [army]—now they were already drawn up] (62) in numerous squadrons (but) the enemy were isolated;128 the (63) southern flank was in Ta[anach, in the hills(?), the] (64) northern flank was at the southern bend129 [of the valley of Qina].

126 Helck ("Das Datum der Schicksal von Megiddo," MAIK 28 [1972], 101-2) assumes the “awakening” was in Yehem, followed by “(Marches) 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.

127 On the restoration and meaning see below.

128 Sethe’s restoration is wholly gratuitous. Ist s/n is to be restored, taking “army” as antecedent.

129 See Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 3, 7ff.

130 Accurately not near the north, as Yein, JNES 9 (1950), 103; Yadin, Warfare, 102. The northern flank barely touched the hills south of the exit to the pass; Christophe, REd 5, 100f; Wilson, ANET, 236 n. 27.

131 He is quite in order. Proceeding by His Majesty (67) the outer road [.. c. 1/2 col. (32 cm.)..] (68) of [His Majesty... behind him] (67) while Amun [.. c. 1/2 col. ..] (69) of [.. c. 1/2 col. ..]. The... (67) you(?), for (70) [.. c. 1/2 col... the army [gave praise] to His Majesty for the greatness of his sword more than (71) [any other king.129 Regnal year 23; first month of shomnu, day 20;(?)]130 the camp of [His Majesty’s] army [was set]131 in (72) Aruna, (but) while the rear of the victorious army of [His Majesty was in the environs?] (73) Aruna, the van was gone forth into the valley of (74) and they filled the opening of the valley.132 Then they said to His Majesty, i.p.h. (75)—now His Majesty had (just) come out with his victorious army and they (now) filled the

132 No Wh. II, 204, “to summon or announce” often, but by no means always, in a cyclic context. Elsewhere the challenge to, or announcement of battle is conveyed by smi, “to report” (Helck, Die Lehre für König Mosiwaren [Wiesbaden, 1977], 50), or, “to forecast” (N.-C. Grimal, Le Temple triomphale du roi (pharaoh), 24-26 line 10.

133 The traces suit the restoration, and the clear presence of auk3 decides the issue. Regnal year 23 is used in such contexts, see Wh. III, 164:21 (fr n bi, “rhythmic song”); C. Ziegler, Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens (Paris, 1979), 102 (fr n biḥ ṯ ḫ biḥ, “the rhythmic chant which he speaks”); Edfu V, 34:10 (ḫm nḥ nḥ, “the exultant shout”); Grimal, Stèle triomphale, 72 n. 178; see S. Schott, Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten (Wiesbaden, 1990), 320.

134 The traces are quite clear in the acts in cols. 65–67, and again in col. 68; so that a restoration [auk3 b3 mḥm] or [⟨eke n haunted⟩; [hrob. eke] is quite in order.

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

136 Perhaps hr-j3.

137 Hr-3/j is just possible.

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

139 The traces agree with Faulkner, op. cit., p. 9, n. 14, and the context strongly supports his contention that “the troops are rejoicing over their safe passage”; ibid., p. 9, n. 14. Clearly, however, they are not yet through the pass.

140 See discussion below.

141 Sethe’s restoration (Urk. IV, 654:6) is unlikely. The traces suit w3ḥs ḫwā.

142 Sethe’s dmi seems to require too much space for what is available. Perhaps read m ḫwā.

143 PsA 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],144 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 outside145 and taking a seated position (81) there, protecting the rear of his victorious army. Now by the time the (rear of)146 (82) the expatriationary force reached the (point of) exit,147 on this road, the shadow (83) had turned; and when His Majesty arrived south of Megiddo on the bank148 of the brook Qina, seven hours had elapsed in the day.149

Then the camp was pitched there for His Majesty. A command was issued to the entire army (as follows): 'If you are ready! Sharpen your weapons! For battle will be joined with that side doomed one in the morning, and on that account, One [now(?) will(?)] (85) res150 in the fortified camp151 of life, prosperity and health. Preparations of the officers' mass and oaths for the attendants. Posting sentries for the army with the words: 'Steady! Steady! Wide awake! Wide awake!'

Lively revels 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.'152

---

144 Are these the king's household troops or camp-followers, presumably the men of col. 84? See Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 4-5 n. 4; Goedicke, The Battle of Megiddo, 50.
145 The omission of is indicates in the daybook original this passage followed the first half of (74) in which in is served as antecedent. See Helck, Beziehungen, 123.
146 See discussion below.
147 See Wilson, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 236. See fig. 4.
150 The lance on col. 84 is only 20 cm deep, scarcely enough room for an extended predicate. Therefore it may be that the heap at the top of (85) falls that function (inspite of the expected daybook infinitive style): cf. Urk. IV, 1303-13, 1312-18: Ezel, ZDPV, 69, 143.
151 wgp signifies an enclosure, with a circumvallation for protection: J.K. Hofmeier, "Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East," JJS 17 VII (1977), 16. The root can denote waling in with hostile intent (cf. W. Helck, Historisch-biographische Inschriften der 2. Zwanzigster Dynastie (Wiesbaden, 1975), 101; cf. also the broad designation of the camp as a whole, the word for the latter being is, ibid. cf. Col. 71, 84), a very broad and diverse for both an army encampment and 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 outside145 and taking a seated position (81) there, protecting the rear of his victorious army. Now by the time the (rear of)146 (82) the expatriationary force reached the (point of) exit,147 on this road, the shadow (83) had turned; and when His Majesty arrived south of Megiddo on the bank148 of the brook Qina, seven hours had elapsed in the day.149

Then the camp was pitched there for His Majesty. A command was issued to the entire army (as follows): 'If you are ready! Sharpen your weapons! For battle will be joined with that side doomed one in the morning, and on that account, One [now(?) will(?)] (85) res150 in the fortified camp151 of life, prosperity and health. Preparations of the officers' mass and oaths for the attendants. Posting sentries for the army with the words: 'Steady! Steady! Wide awake! Wide awake!'

Lively revels 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.'152

---

144 Are these the king's household troops or camp-followers, presumably the men of col. 84? See Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 4-5 n. 4; Goedicke, The Battle of Megiddo, 50.
145 The omission of is indicates in the daybook original this passage followed the first half of (74) in which in is served as antecedent. See Helck, Beziehungen, 123.
146 See discussion below.
147 See Wilson, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 236. See fig. 4.
150 The lance on col. 84 is only 20 cm deep, scarcely enough room for an extended predicate. Therefore it may be that the heap at the top of (85) falls that function (inspite of the expected daybook infinitive style): cf. Urk. IV, 1303-13, 1312-18: Ezel, ZDPV, 69, 143.
151 wgp signifies an enclosure, with a circumvallation for protection: J.K. Hofmeier, "Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East," JJS 17 VII (1977), 16. The root can denote waling in with hostile intent (cf. W. Helck, Historisch-biographische Inschriften der 2. Zwanzigster Dynastie (Wiesbaden, 1975), 101; cf. also the broad designation of the camp as a whole, the word for the latter being is, ibid. cf. Col. 71, 84), a very broad and diverse for both an army encampment and 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 outside145 and taking a seated position (81) there, protecting the rear of his victorious army. Now by the time the (rear of)146 (82) the expatriationary force reached the (point of) exit,147 on this road, the shadow (83) had turned; and when His Majesty arrived south of Megiddo on the bank148 of the brook Qina, seven hours had elapsed in the day.149

Then the camp was pitched there for His Majesty. A command was issued to the entire army (as follows): 'If you are ready! Sharpen your weapons! For battle will be joined with that side doomed one in the morning, and on that account, One [now(?) will(?)] (85) res150 in the fortified camp151 of life, prosperity and health. Preparations of the officers' mass and oaths for the attendants. Posting sentries for the army with the words: 'Steady! Steady! Wide awake! Wide awake!'

Lively revels 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.'152
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 ṣmsw-$Hr$ preceding the royal figure: falcon-falcon-canine and "cushion." These are poetically transmogrified into Re-Harakhty, Montu, Wepwawet and possibly Khonsu. It may be significant that this is the verbatim, first person 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.

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. 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 accommodate the *psdnyw* entry (see further below). But if night passed and the 20th day came, we should 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 *m3jw*, "leaders," but this introduces a difficulty. The definite article *ḥ3* militates in favor of a masc. sing. noun, not a plural. If the van of the army is here described, the word can only be some writing of *ḥ3ḫ3*, and what follows must be a bound construction. But then there would be insufficient space left for the writing of *m3jw*.

The arrangement of signs at the top of column 82 strongly suggests either a miswriting of *cq* or *di iw.w*. "(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 wwnwt* 7 m *pḥr* m hrw. Parker 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...
understood to have elapsed after the "turning" (ḥḥr), i.e. noon,\textsuperscript{166} then 7 PM would have found the sun already set, a shadow-clock useless, and the phrase mḥn, "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 īst ḥḥn ḥḥr [ḥḥr... ] 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 accommodating the psḏntw 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.\textsuperscript{167} 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.\textsuperscript{168} Yet in the passage in col. 85 no date precedes the ṛṣ ṣ m ḥḥb formula. Clearly the king wakes in the morning and receives the situation report. Then the day changes to 21.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{166} So Faulkner, op. cit., 10, n. bb; Helck, Beziehungen, 125.

\textsuperscript{167} On the selectivity of the excerpting scribe, see W.J. Murnane, “Once again the Dates for Thutmose III and Amenhotep II,” JNES 3 (1970–71), 4 and n. 13.

\textsuperscript{168} Cf. Ue. IV, 1310–18, 1312–18; 1314–18; 1315:10–11; 1736:1.

\textsuperscript{169} Spalinger (MDAIK 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 preceding day. The report, however, implies that the terrain can be seen to be clear; In any case, the technical ṛṣ ṣ m ḥḥb denotes waking in the morning, not the night: Faulkner, op. cit., 6–7 Grapow, Studien, 32, A. Ah.; "Hoefsches

One might suspect that a foreshortening of some sort has occurred. It is tempting to invoke homoioteleuton: ṛṣ to the sentries, and ṛṣ m ḥḥb of the king; ṛ-mḥti of the troops, ṛ-mḥti 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.\textsuperscript{170} But this could be dismissed as eisagogy. 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 psḏntw-fest. Appearance of the king at early morning. The entire army was commanded to fall in, in battle line.\textsuperscript{171} (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 [Amen] strengthened his arms.

The southern flank\textsuperscript{172} of His Majesty’s army was upon the southern slope [of the valley of Qj na;\textsuperscript{173} the north-flank was on the north-west of Megiddo,\textsuperscript{174} with His Majesty in their midst, his father [Amen] the protection of his limbs, and the energy of the mighty one\textsuperscript{175} pervading] his members.

\textsuperscript{170} Faulkner, op. cit., p. 11, n. 4k.

\textsuperscript{171} Probably ṛṣ [m ḥḥb... ]. There is too little space for anything like ṛ ṣ ḥḥb... .

\textsuperscript{172} This resumption of the daybook entry connects directly with the putative ṛṣ [m ḥḥb].

\textsuperscript{173} ṛṣ is quite clear; there is insufficient space for ṛ ṣ ḥḥb.

\textsuperscript{174} In order to cover the gate area: D. Ussishkin, Megiddo III. The 1992 to 1996 Seasons (Jerusalem, 2000), 104–22.

\textsuperscript{175} 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, so they cast (87) clothes over to hoist them up into this town.

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.

For the vile doomed one of Kadesh and the vile doomed one of this town were hauled 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, while the victorious army of His Majesty appropriated their possessions. For the tent of [that] vile [doomed one] was captured [...] (89) [...] 9 groups [...] Then the entire army 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 on his army, saying: ‘Quit yourselves well! Look! The land is entirely visible. For the vile doomed one of Kadesh and the vile doomed one of this town were hauled 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.”

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) [...] 2 meters... commands were issued to the] troops commanders to draw up [their squads and let] every [man know] his position.

They surveyed this town, (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 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 [... 5’ 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! We’re awake! Wide Awake!’”

176 There is, however, just enough room for hr.[sn].

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

178 The construction is another anticipation of Late Egyptian: Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, sec. 435 at n. 28; for negative construealins (but ¬f sign) used in classic Late Egyptian, cf. P. Chester Beatty I, 15.2-3. Restore [hr.]t fr. r]: a trace of r is visible.

179 Cf. Faulkner, op. cit., 14, n. pp. The restoration skt. “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.

180 Restore rdt m br. n.

181 Read ibv. There is no room for any statement of intent to lay siege.

182 Seehe’s restoration is too long (Urk. IV, 6666), although the passage must have contained a reference to the town to provide an antecedent for m-[hm]-f.

183 Restore rdt m br. n.


185 Cf. N.-C. Grimal, La Stéle triomphale de P cânkh y au musée de Caire (Cairo, 1981), 17 n. 40.

186 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 htw3d, which might be rendered “pallisade,” seem to satisfy this expectation. But then a fort (hbr).187 is mentioned and, after the lacuna, the construction of a strong circumvallation. The following solutions may be considered. First, the verbal forms htw and inhwt 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,188 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 uses ddt, “to besiege, shut up”; the 7th Pylon reveals refers to a sbw wnh, “a good circumvallation”; Karnak Room III mentions a “circumvallation made (very) thick”; the Ptahe Temple Inscription describes a “thick wall”.192 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.193 While reference to “fruit trees” often conjures up parallels only in miswe, i.e. the chopping down of orchards, in the present instance the addition of w3d, “green, leafy” must indicate living trees.

---

187 Or “fortified gate”?
188 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).
190 Below II, p. 121.
191 Below VI, p. 149.
192 Usk. IV, 767:10-12. Goodacre has suggested (The Battle of Megiddo, 86) that the construction of a counter-palisade concentrated on the gate area, and may not have extended completely around the town.
the farms of the Esdraelon was taken in charge by controllers and
given over to the palace. 4. Certain items (luxury products and manu­
factures?), 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.199

"Then the chiefs of this foreign land came and were on their bel­
lies, doing proskynesis to the power of His Majesty, to beg breath
for their nostrils, so great was his sword and so mighty the power
of Amun . . .] (95) [. . . e. 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 benevolences200—while His Majesty
[re]appointed201 chiefs (96) [to every town . . . e. 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.202
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.O.W.s, 340</th>
<th>Hands, 83</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manes, 2,041</td>
<td>Foals, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stallions,203</td>
<td>Colts, [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.O.W.s, 340
Manes, 2,041
Stallions,203

[For archival practice, see R. Parkinson, S. Quirke, Papyri (Austin, 1995), ch. 3.

199 I.e. he allowed them to reoccupy their former patrimonies. I would not interpret
this as indicating prior loyalty to Egypt: cf. Hoffman, “Reconsidering Egypt’s Part . . .” Levent 21, 185.
200 I.e. 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—while His Majesty
[re]appointed chiefs (96) [to every town . . . e. 1.80 m . . .]

201 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.202
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.O.W.s, 340</th>
<th>Hands, 83</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manes, 2,041</td>
<td>Foals, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stallions,203</td>
<td>Colts, [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.O.W.s, 340
Manes, 2,041
Stallions,203

204 I.e. 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—while His Majesty
[re]appointed chiefs (96) [to every town . . . e. 1.80 m . . .]

201 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.202
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.O.W.s, 340</th>
<th>Hands, 83</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manes, 2,041</td>
<td>Foals, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stallions,203</td>
<td>Colts, [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.O.W.s, 340
Manes, 2,041
Stallions,203

204 I.e. 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—while His Majesty
[re]appointed chiefs (96) [to every town . . . e. 1.80 m . . .]

201 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.202
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.O.W.s, 340</th>
<th>Hands, 83</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manes, 2,041</td>
<td>Foals, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stallions,203</td>
<td>Colts, [ . . . ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.O.W.s, 340
Manes, 2,041
Stallions,203

204 I.e. 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—while His Majesty
[re]appointed chiefs (96) [to every town . . . e. 1.80 m . . .]

201 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.202
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.
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.\textsuperscript{210}

The second part gives totals of the army's confiscation of livestock. 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.\textsuperscript{211}

An interesting observation may be derived from the chariot totals. The king of Kadesh and his army\textsuperscript{212} from the Orontes valley account for 695 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.”\textsuperscript{213} 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\textsuperscript{214} or Solomonic,\textsuperscript{215} to Post-exilic.\textsuperscript{216} It is tempting to entertain the suggestion that the Hebrew preserves a folkloric remembrance of the Megiddo coalition.

210 Ibid.

211 Cf. Ush. 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 Dbyh4:—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).”

212 Mitj' hsi of col. 97 (= Ush. IV, 664:1) must refer to the king of Kadesh.


216 While the maria 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), 47–52. This helps to explain their presence in this passage, functioning as assigned escort to ladies and children: cf. Hoch, Semitic Words, 135–57.


218 Hoch, Semitic Words, 428 (no. 36).


221 Thutmose himself to make plain royal agency and right of appropriation.

Statue of that doomed one which was in it: its head being of gold
3
Staves with human heads
Ivory-ebony-ssandm wood, worked with gold:
Chairs of that doomed one,
Footstools belonging to them,
Ivory-ssandm wood:
Great altar(s)
Sandal wood-worked in gold with several gesso:
A bed in the form of a krtr of that doomed one, worked in gold all over;
Ebony, worked in (102) gold:
A statue of that doomed one which was in it, its head of lapis... c. 85 cm... this...]
Vessels of bronze
Much clothing belonging to that doomed one."

Yanucam:
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 Korn el-Hsis text groups it with toponyms of the Damascus and Bashan regions. Several sites have been proposed, including Tel el-Abeidiya, and Tell es-Shihab; but the old and tempting identification with Tell en-Na'am, south-west of the Sea of Galilee, has of late been revived. The name seems to derive from a personal name, presumably the same as is transcribed "Ya-an-ja-ru," and since west Semitic apin is almost always rendered by e in Egyptian, the root is clearly Ncm.

Nugas:
The problem of this toponym centers upon whether or not it is to be equated with Nukhashshe in North Syria. There are, however, difficulties with this view. First, Nugas in the present passage is said to be a town, while Nukhashshe in north Syria is a district. 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. Unfortunately, the toponymy of this area as presently known does not offer clear candidates; but one might note in passing the relative frequency of Nhs in the onomasticon of Transjordan and the desert limes.

223  Hw pet. The reference is to finish in the form of (aristocratic) human heads.
225  "Couch; divan": Hoch, Semitic Words, 333-35.
226  Sources in S. Ahibov, 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.
221  Hasel, op. cit., 147-50.
Herenkaru

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

All commentators have presumed that columns 99 to 102 comprise the list of personnel and goods confiscated from the three towns; and, with the excision of the passage describing those who voluntarily surrendered, this undoubtedly is the case. It remains unclear, however, whether the towns themselves formed a sort of southern Herzogtum of the king of Kadesh. The solution turns on the expression ḫt pr n ḫr ḫt n’ty m + town name (col. 98); if the relative adjective resumes ḫr, “estate,” then one can make the case for a kind of barony. But if, on the other hand, the antecedent is ḫt, the text could not be made to say that the tripolis itself constituted his fief, but that only some of his movable property was to be found there. The parallel of ḫt n n3 n ḫm (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: ḫm n n3 n ḫm (3) ; ḫm n3 n ḫm (3) ...

Testaments (Leiden, 1983), 1.5-12; M.-J. Mélík, J. Starcky in F.V. Winniett, W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (Toronto, 1970), 158 no. 112.


242 Clearly a number of items have been divided by 3 into groups of 29, and the process of threes repeated by 2.

243 Homer, The Iliad, 158 no. 112.

244 Mintmann, op. cit., p. 32 (1982), 66 (155), 127 (334).

245 Clearly the reference is to 103 men who fell the siege.

246 As Helek, 3.127. 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,” 1237.3.1996, 553.

247 The personnel and goods in question break down under the following heads: 1. Personnel.

248 The parallel of ḫt n n3 n ḫm (Urk. IV, 665:3) supports the latter understanding, as it clearly distinguishes between the property of “these towns” themselves and that of Kadesh.

249 The personnel and goods in question break down under the following heads: 1. Personnel.


251 Mittermann, op. cit., p. 32 (1982), 66 (155), 127 (334).

252 Clearly a number of items have been divided by 3 into groups of 29, and the process of threes repeated by 2.

253 Homer, The Iliad, 158 no. 112.


255 Clearly the reference is to 103 men who fell the siege.

256 As Helek, 3.127. 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,” 1237.3.1996, 553.

257 The personnel and goods in question break down under the following heads: 1. Personnel.
had placed ex votal offerings in the local shrine(s), much as his contemporaries and perhaps he himself were doing at Qatna. 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.

"Now the arable land was made into fields and entrusted to controllers of the king's house to reap their harvest. Tally of the harvest which H.M. took from the fields of Megiddo: wheat 5,379,207,300 (± x), 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 the case in Egypt. Quite clearly it became royal land, a status which remained in place throughout the period of the Egyptian empire. 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. It may be noted, however, that if the total yield represents the known Egyptian rate of 20 h3r per acre (i.e., the contribution of tenant share-croppers), then we would be dealing with c. 21,000 acres. One final note: the cereal harvest falls in June in the southern Levant. 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 demoralizing.

**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 constitute a vital source for West Asian demographics and the history of the Egyptian conquests during the 15th Cent. B.C. But the question is: how did the Egyptians

---


250 One wonders whether a place called Hikadum (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), FSBmaw Ede (Bamberg, 1979), 138-40.


come into possession of these names? The proto-syllabic orthography used to render the names into Egyptian[261] 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,[262] or in the mewth of the dying as another fortified town crashed to ruin. That the names represent districts, the late Middle Bronze Age polities of the Levant,[263] 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.[264] 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[265] 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 assailing "mountain," "valley," "spring," "stream" and "wady"! In fact, nowhere in the lists is there a statement or implication that the text
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.273 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,”274 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 personified representations brought forward for ceremonial execution.275 This is important, as Egyptian iconography could easily have produced a list of symbolized place-names, committed to physical destruction.276 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.277 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 appellative “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 hunches278—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.279 The
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 lurk 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 modest assaults on cities through bombardment, sapping and scaling. But for the early 18th Dynasty all the evidence points to a woeful lack of expertise in “poliorcetic” warfare.


280 W. J. I: 415:13–17; III, 253:2–11; W. Helck, *Die Ablösungen*, Pp. *Leiden* 1 344 vto (Wiesbaden, 1995), 10–11 (of cities and townships); PT 1837–a–b (of fortresses; Wenig 21H (region); Paleme Stone obv. li.10; v.9; vi.2 (city); S. Farag, *RdE* 32 (1989), 75II (8×r[egion], 16×s[cities]; Kamose I, 1 (fort); II, 12 (discalce).


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.285 Strongly fortified cities manned by resolute defenders might well require months to reduce.286 Second, the attacking force must enjoy a substantial superiority in numbers, and outclass the defenders in quality of equipment.287 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 lurk 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 modest assaults on cities through bombardment, sapping and scaling. But for the early 18th Dynasty all the evidence points to a woeful lack of expertise in “poliorcetic” warfare.


280 W. J. I: 415:13–17; III, 253:2–11; W. Helck, *Die Ablösungen*, Pp. *Leiden* 1 344 vto (Wiesbaden, 1995), 10–11 (of cities and townships); PT 1837–a–b (of fortresses; Wenig 21H (region); Paleme Stone obv. li.10; v.9; vi.2 (city); S. Farag, *RdE* 32 (1989), 75II (8×r[egion], 16×s[cities]; Kamose I, 1 (fort); II, 12 (discalce).


lengths of the investments of Avaris and Sharuhen shield light on why from Ameinophsis 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 from such ventures.
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” (štī) meted out to cities is specified as the destruction of crops and the demolition of orchards, and very rarely the razing of hamlets. While such action had a deleterious effect on the economic prospects and business life of a community, the city itself remains intact and not subverted by the invaders. Often the texts use štī, “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. 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 Garchemish on the 8th campaign, 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.

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. 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. 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.

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 1 large block, Making 20 deben, 9 kidet Total 3
- true lapis, 2 blocks, Total
- pulverized(?), Total
- Fine lapis of Babylon, Total
- Assyrian vessels of variegated color [ ... ]
- [...] (104) very many [...]"
Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu:
- a Chief's daughter (with) . . .
- [her] jewellery of gold and her native lapis, 65
- [attendants, (personal servants,]
- [male and female slaves belong]ing to her, 30
- male and female slaves of his benevolence 124
- [horses,]
- chariots worked in gold, with a pole (overlaid with) gold, 5
- chariots worked in gold, with a pole (overlaid with) antimony paste 5
- Total, 19
- Oxen (?) and short-horns 45

Bulls 749

[Sheep] 5,603

Gold, (in the form of) dishes . . . . . .
(105) weight not recorded

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 [ . . . . . . . . . . ]
(106) intense 823 jars

Honeyed wine 1,718 jars

Antimony: wood (overlaid with?) antimony; much pigment; ivory, boxwood, mra-wood 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."

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 accommodate 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 chieftains 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. 310

The date itself should have occasioned more concern among historians. Most ignore the problem. 312 Some reconstructions are demonstrably wrong. 313 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. 314 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 sme (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

---

305 See Wh. I, 295:6 (costly wood from Assyria—yet neither occurrence names Ashur directly); see Harris, Lexicographical Studies, 63 (suggesting a loan word). One thinks of Akkadian anu, "antimony paste": CAD IV, 47.

306 A scribal entry in the daybook stating that the figure was never entered, presumably for the weight of the gold dishes.

307 The horse's head is discernible. Probably derive from shu "to control, pull back, restrain" (Wh. IV, 218-19).

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

309 One might reasonably argue for the presence of such phrases as ša šešu šat, "to inform," ša biš šat.tu a šat.tu, if šat.tu a šat.tu, etc., "another wonder his father Amun bestowed upon H.M. through[ ] the chiefs of Retenu in regnal year 40."

310 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 accommodate 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 chieftains 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. 310

311 The date itself should have occasioned more concern among historians. Most ignore the problem. 312 Some reconstructions are demonstrably wrong. 313 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. 314 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.

314 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 sme (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

---

315 The day-book excerpts: first part
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, 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 (ḫépt) 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 inscripturation of the first part of the excerpts. The hypothesis of an illustrative selection to explain the contents of col. 108 finds support in the initial phrases of col. 107:

\[\text{r₁₁ ṣḥt nfr m ḫtj ṣḥt m ḫtj nfr} \]

Sethe’s ingenious, but highly probable, restoration (ṣḥt ḫtj) simply bolsters the case for a generative 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 ḫtj nfr) might well have been present—by the foreign chiefs to wherever His Majesty chose to set up his camp.

536 Urk. IV, 724; and see below.

537 This is the only modification I would make: Sethe appears to be trying to link the sentence specifically with the year 40 entry.

538 Urk. IV, 671.3.

539 See further below, s.v. “Antef.”
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. 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. 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 V² 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). 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, we would have also to accept the corollary that for 18 years the surface remained undecorated! The assumption that the first building phase of Thutmose III, and with it pylon 6, was undertaken in anticipation of the first

---

2 See below, pp. 137ff.
3 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.
4 See below, p. 68.
5 Zur Baugeschichte des Amon-tempel von Karnak (Hildesheim, 1905), 22.
6 The final column of the day-book excerpts unequivocally assigns a date of year 42 to the inscription: Ust. IV, 734:14 (with the necessary emendation).
CHAPTER TWO

58

The 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. 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, but the chronology of his building operations, and even their scope, defy easy arrangement. In assigning a date around year 24 for the construction of the 6th pylon and adjacent shrines, Borchart seems to have been influenced by the date given on the black granite stela found in Karnak room VI. But this text is not itself dated, and year 24 clearly refers to construction "east of this temple," i.e. the Akh-menu. Until new evidence comes to light, we shall have to live with ambiguity.

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 (which 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

benevolences received, however, conforms precisely to what is expected of the journal of the king's house. 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. 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, 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 and treasury records. The record of the 8th campaign provides a good example of the sort of precis the composing scribe created. 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, 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 reminiscence, 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 credence comes to light, we shall have to live with ambiguity. All the 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 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

---

7 I have argued elsewhere (Pharaonic king-lists, Annals and Day-books, 104-85) that the jubilees of Thutmose III must have been celebrated, if at all, on an attenuated scale.


9 C. Wallet-Lébrun, ("Notes sur le temple d'Amon de Karnak," BIFAO 62 [1982], 356-62; 84 [1984], 315-33) who opens an interesting debate on the builder of pylon 4 and the adjacent colonnaded hall.

10 Cairo 34012: P-M II, 94; Uruk IV, 833-38; Borchart, Baugeschichte, 22;


12 "Canopé et les orientations nord-sud de Karnak, établies par Thoutmosis III," Rev. 50 (1999), 278-82.


14 Tanuni himself comes to mind: see above, p. 4 and notes 13-14. There may also be—perhaps the protagonists at least claim it— an element of超出-imagining involved: Uruk IV, 109:4; 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 Vorlange of a day-book.

15 Uruk IV, 694:7.

16 Uruk IV, 694:11.

17 See below. The translation has been provided with section designations, corresponding to nothing similar in the original.

18 Uruk IV, 693-14.
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 inscription.

(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 in order that 'every' campaign [be published] specifically, together with the booty that His Majesty brought from it. It was done in accordance with [that which was in writing ...]"

It is noteworthy that in none of the demonstrably early references to campaigning is the march singled out as a wedyt, and numbered sequentially. Even as late as what would be expected to be called the "7th campaign" that designation is nowhere used. 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. Thutmose IV and Amenophis III refer to numbered campaigns only sporadically. Finally: no veteran of foreign wars ever numbers a campaign he reminisces about.

20 Read [mi ndj] n[t é bm/s] d(s). The sense requires an expression of the royal initiative, not the god's.

21 On k3k 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 k3k (Usk IV, 690:2, 690:15, 704:9, 730:12) and k3k (711:4, 10; 716:17), but much more frequently insw: 608:3, 669:17, 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 k3k covers whatever was taken or received in the context of a military presence or activity. This should caution us against pressing locations and lexical items to closely.


24 Usk IV, 690:14–5.


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 wedyt could be used to designate any royal or private journey, even those of a peaceful nature.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Column space</th>
<th>Column number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>8 columns, 85 cm.</td>
<td>1–8+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>C. 2 columns</td>
<td>9–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>8 columns, c. 40 cm.</td>
<td>11–18+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>12 columns</td>
<td>19–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Nearly 8 columns</td>
<td>31–38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>10 columns</td>
<td>39–48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


28 Each column in Room V is approximately 4.70 m. tall.
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 does not recommend itself. The uncertainty of the inscription 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.30 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 Djahy, destroying the foreign lands which had rebelled against him on his 5th victorious campaign.

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

Offering praise to His Majesty by his army, giving adalatia to (4) [Aman] 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 cog-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] Me-kheper-re, given life for ever and ever!

Tally of the plunder brought from this town, namely the (5) garrison of that doomed one of 'Tranp*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief of this town</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thwy-troops*</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>100 deben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>100 deben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapis, turquoise, vessels of copper and bronze.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then seized upon were the cargo boats [and the ships, and despatched loct]dcd with various things, with male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery(?), and all fine things, after His Majesty journeyed south to Egypt, to his father [Amun-re] with a joyous heart.

Then His Majesty sacked the town of Ardata 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 laden with their fruit; their wine (7) was found lying in their vats like flowing water and

---

30 See above, p. 11.
32 Restore skt-wt 10; cf. W. Helck, Historisch-biographischen Texte der 2. Zeitgeschichte (Wiesbaden, 1975), 24(15). 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 Seafaring in the Bronze Age Levant* (London, 1996), 10, 39.
34 That is to say, apparently, the sending of the plunder by ship followed the departure of the king and the end of the campaign.
36 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
- (b) incense, oil, honey         470 jars
- wine                            6,428 jars
- bronze, lead, lapis, malachite 36
- 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!73

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.39 The text more precisely locates the site on a body of water Ns-r3-n3 (formerly misread Mrn). As Helck has seen,40 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 nm, 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 campaign41 "Ullaza" is written Isn-r3-t, a form attested elsewhere in the Kingdom and accepted with the place in question.42 In the 1st passage, however, the scribe has given quite a different writing beginning with Ns3 and terminating with t.43 Only in the Gebelein stela is a similar writing attested for a place which all have named to be Ullaza.44 It would be curious if, in this same inscrip., only two campaigns apart, the same toponym should be written two quite different ways. One wonders in the present case whether the consonantal structure of another place-name has not affected the writing. Very close to Ullaza, within the later bailiwick smurr, lay the port of Wahhuya, possibly to be identified with 3l.45 In the light of the weakness of Phoenician qm and its tendency to interchange with alif,46 it is tempting in spite of the Egyptian scribes would thus have correctly reconstructed a derivation from W3L, "near, proximate, stony."47 The Egyptian scribes would thus have correctly rendered root, and their alif would have to be consonantal, not a mater mis.

Tunip
Known from the 17th Cent. B.C. on,48 Tunip spring prominence politically during the 18th Dynasty as an independent subordinate to Mitanni. The precise location continues to remain uncertain, though it cannot have lain as far north as Alalah. The textual

64 CHAPTER TWO

65 THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS: SECOND PARt

46 H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques... I (Cairo, 1953); J. Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to W Asia (Leiden, 1957), list XIII, no. 56.
47 A tethering-rope (V 13) is by no means certain; the island (v) is equally possible.
49 EA 114:12 (Moran, Amarna Letters, 189); Klengel, Geschichte 5, 268; idem, Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C., 162.
51 Cf. G.L. Harding, An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Names and Inscriptions (Toronto, 1971), 649.
52 As in Old Aramaic: J.A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of (Rome, 1995), 183-86.

---
38 Harris, Lexicographical Studies, 102-4.
39 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 Idami [London, 1949], 77-78) is far from convincing.
40 Beziehungen, 306.
41 Ud. IV, 690:17.
evidence presents the consistent picture of a city within reach of the coast, between Amurru and Nukhashshe, north-west of Qatna and Kadesh. The ease with which it is reached from the coast suggests it was west of the Orontes, but the manifest contiguity of its boundary with that of Alalakh must mean that it controlled much of the middle Orontes valley. The most recent choice is Tell Ashtarma.

Th(u)-Troops
It has become customary to render this term “foreign troops” or “foreign auxiliaries,” 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”? Th is used of some Hittite troops but not in a context that would suggest their ethnicity was what distinguished them. 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, Albright long ago tendered DHR, “to dash (of a horse),” as the root sought for, while more recently Helck suggested a derivation from the root THHR, “be pure.” Phonologically both are barely admissible, /d/ and /t/ only occasionally being rendered by Egyptian t.

Helck’s more recent derivation from tohara(b) is phonetically impossible. 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 coextensive with the root; but one might consider a preformative form from a root HTH(L). Thella(h) would yield “praised, exalted,” 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, would suggest an Egyptian locale, or an “Egyptian-like” installation, in the town itself. But there is no need to resort to extremes. The king is striving for locations in Egypt that will suit the kind of Canaanite sacred space he has encountered: sin, a secure, walled-in block for storage and production, in which offering, udnu, is habitually carried on. The building, I would suggest, is the local temple, numerous examples of which are attested archaeologically. 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. Though the c3hbt is Egyptian in nature, the dedication on behalf of the life of the king would have resonated among the onlooking Canaanites.
The plunder brought off from Wored 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 compiler is generalizing in want of any specific figures at all for this part of the campaign.

To find the harvest gathered in, Tlumose 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, 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.

**Year 30**

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

**Tally of the children of the chiefs brought in this year:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male and female slaves</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariots (11) worked in gold and silver (as well as those painted)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arid-region**

The writing of the word (fig. 5) usually understood as sfr is only in part decipherable. The s-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 s as the verb "to pass by," which Helck (rightly) rejected. 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. 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 sfr, "to dry out." But if the orthography suggests a local word, one might cite the city *Shurashu,* or perhaps compare the later (Iron Age) Sisu in the Lebanon. If an initial n is read instead of s, the root NSR springs to mind, with its suggestion of acries and mountains heights.

---

70 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.
71 For the record of this campaign on the Armant stela, see below, p. 159.
72 Galan, *Victory and Border,* 65 (for discussion and references).
73 ANET, 229; cf. E. Edel, *JDF* 69 (1953), 153 n. 58; Galan, *Victory and Border,* 82.
74 Bezettingen, 169 n. 76.
76 *Ws IV,* 295–9–11.
The inclusion in the gloss of the *suw* “brothers,” presumably linked with *mer* rather than *msw*, invites comparison again with Amenophis II’s list. The great importance in Canaanite society of the paternal uncle/brother-in-law (*cam*) is well known,66 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 3.67

Compendium (*shmy*)68 of His Majesty’s plunder in this year.

– Plunder brought from the town of Ullaza69 which is on the bank of *N.-r3-n3*.

Prisoners-of-war 492

Commander60 of the vile army(?)61 of the son of the doomed one of Tumip

<1>


65 See above, p. 60.


67 For discussion see above, p. 59.

68 Above, pp. 64f.

69 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*, 3119 (enemy officers); *KRI II*, 915:2 (group commander); P. Harris 77, 9 (parallel to *mb*w).

70 A lacuna of 13 cm. Separates *htrn* from *n p3 šy*, quite enough for *msw šy*, there is no numeral (pace Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 691 n. b).
By the time [. . .] who were there

Total 494 men

Horses 26

Chariots 13

...and all their military equipment.

Then His Majesty plundered this town in short order, all its property being
(declared) a 'Come-and-Get-it'.

- Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu who came to do prosynthesis to the
  power of His Majesty in this year:

[. . .]

Now every harbor His Majesty came to was supplied with fine bread,
various breads, oil, incense, wine, honey, [various fine] fr[uits of this
foreign land, and . . . c. 80 cm . . . ] 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
accommodate them properly in the place [where] th[ey are done into
writing]. . . . c. 1.10 m . . .

Now77 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 . . .]

Various [vessels]

With malachite, and every gem-stone of this foreign land, and many blocks
of glass (17) . . . 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 inve 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 Wakhā, 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.99 “(19) Regnal year 33. Now His Majesty was in the land of
Retenu

96 Lit. “To do what is appropriate to them”. Read iv[H m S ir] in

97 There is no reason with Sethu (Urk. IV, 694:2) to restore the negative
particle. A denial would not have involved the long list of items.

98 Cf. V. Tatton-Brown, C. Andrews, “Before the Invention of Glass-blowing,”
northern Syria, or Mittani: G.M. Schwartz, rev. of D. Oates and others, Excavations
at Tell Brak, Vol. 1 . . . in BASOR 317 (2000), 81.

99 The sections are lettered to facilitate reference.
B. Arrival [at . . . Destroying . . . c. 1.40 m. . . . 100 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, 101 plundering the towns and razing the villages of that doomed one of ile Naharin.

D. [ . . . c. 1.70 m. . . . ] Then he [went] sailing an in 102 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 103 [ . . . c. 2.25 m. . . . ] from the entire army. 104

Chiefs

(22) Their wives

Men who were captured

Maie and female servants and their children

Those who surrendered and [their] wives [ . . . c. 1.95 m. . . . ]

Dbis. Arrival at . . . 105 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. 106

---

100 Seth’s restoration here is not certain. See commentary.
102 10.5 km., Sethe’s fig is by no means certain for discussion see Gardiner, Onomastica. 161-2; Smith, Idrimi, 45-6; R.O. Faulkner, “The Euphrates Campaign of Thutmosis III,” JEA 32 (1946), 40 n. 9; Helck, Beziehungen, 150.
103 Construe ‘taw swa as N1; N2 is lost in the lacuna.
104 The Mitannian army?
105 Town name.
106 Presumably the mid-Orontes valley is intended, from Niya to Qatna.
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 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, it must once have stood in the lacuna. In all probability, however, it will have been followed immediately by r ʌbhu nūm 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 wkd, “stela,” in the gap before “[ea]st of this water.” The use of ʌ by here is proleptic and emphatic; if the Philadelphia fragment 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 contexts following the lacuna describe the rout. We should restore something like iri h₃yt ʌst in hmʃ in.sm ʌn nhr ḫr玩家来说, perhaps something like ḥc.n ḥkn.n hmʃ r n3 n h₃ytw. This would occupy c. 1.55 m. and leave c. 15–20 cm. for Sethe’s ḥc.n + verb.

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 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, it must once have stood in the lacuna. In all probability, however, it will have been followed immediately by r ʌbhu nūm 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 wkd, “stela,” in the gap before “[ea]st of this water.” The use of ʌ by here is proleptic and emphatic; if the Philadelphia fragment 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 contexts following the lacuna describe the rout. We should restore something like iri h₃yt ʌst in hmʃ in.sm ʌn nhr ḫr玩家来说, perhaps something like ḥc.n ḥkn.n hmʃ r n3 n h₃ytw. This would occupy c. 1.55 m. and leave c. 15–20 cm. for Sethe’s ḥc.n + verb.
The list of captures arouses suspicion. 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 commissariat 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)? 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(?)) “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.

Year 34

“(31) . . . Regnal year 34.
Now His Majesty was in Djahy [. . . 1.75 cm. . . . ] his [. . .] capitulating to His Majesty completely and abjectly.

---

125 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.
126 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”!
127 See below, pt. 2, pp. 28–29.
128 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?
129 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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individuals as plunder which His Majesty brought off [. . . c. 1.65 m. . . . people brought by capture,

Those who capitulated, their wives and (33; see fig. 8) their children [. . .]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charroits worked in silver and gold</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold: vessels (Sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold in sheets</td>
<td>50 dbn, 8 kdt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Silver: vessels of this country together with sheels 153 dbn [. . . 40 cm. . . . ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flocks of sheep</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flocks of goats</td>
<td>50(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkeys</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Much T3gw-wood,130 “black-wood,” swnm-wood,131 qni: [. . .],132 much [. . .].133 wood, together with tent-poles worked in bronze inlaid with gems: 6; and the various fine woods of this foreign land. Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu in this year:

| Horses | 41(?) |
| [Chariots worked 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 |
| Gold, silver, [lapis], bitumen(?)134 various gems: vessels [. . .] |

---

130 Unknown wood: Hoch, Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts, 373–74.
131 Above p. 38.
133 Probably read stwp, “much cut wood” (not Sethe’s stwp).
134 On the problem of maww, 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.
### Chapter Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naive copper</td>
<td>80 ingots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>11 ingots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paint</td>
<td>100 dbn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh myrrh, malachite,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Long-horns and short-horns</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herds</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkeys</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronze: many weapons,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many vessels of copper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incense</td>
<td>693 jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36) Sweet oil with fresh oil</td>
<td>2,080 [jars]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(37) large lumber which</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the [garrison] of His Majesty had cut.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence of the chief of Asy* in this year:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bronze]</td>
<td>108 1/2 ingots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet bronze</td>
<td>2,040 dbn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>5 ingots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead (in) wax-form</td>
<td>1,200 (units)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapis</td>
<td>110 dbn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory</td>
<td>1 tusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[. . .]-wood</td>
<td>2 staves . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The taxes from the Sudan follow)

---

**Nukhashshe**

This tract of land, identical with Iron Age *Lu’ash*, has long since been (correctly) identified as lying east of the Orontes between Qatna and Eba. The name is Hurrian in origin, 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. The sparseness of the population and the pastoral nature of the subsistence base combined to resist political unification, and explains the Egyptian designation for “district.” Interestingly, of the 4 entries in the daybook excerpts listing those who capitualated (*hitpepa*), two are in the context of Nukhashshe (years 34 and 38).

But the inhabitants of Nukhashshe are not designated *βsu*, “wanderers, transhumants,” and are kept distinct from the Apiru as well. 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. But the territory was not a political unit: there were “kings” (= tribal sheikhs?) of Nukhashshe.

---

**Notes**

135 *Hr ḫuṣṭ*: See Harris, Lexigraphical Studies, 56.
139 Restore *ayyit* in the lacuna. The traces suit.
Young and others (eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (Bethesda, Md; 1997), 106–7; M.R. Adamite (ed), *Late Hittite Emur* (Louvain, 2001), 2017–23. For example V. Karagiorghis, *Cypriot 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: Helek, *Besehungen*, 290.

W. Helek, *Die Besehungen Egyptians and Vorderasien zu Ägypten bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 35.

S. Farag, *RE* 32 (1980), 75ff (3+x, 16+x).


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 did the Egyptians know of Ashuwa?

**Asy**

The problems of identifying and locating this place continue to defy resolution. Long identified with Cyprus, the identification must now be given up, as *Akaashes*, the undoubted toponym designating the island, is found in texts along with *Asy* and was current even in the Middle Kingdom. In fact under Thutmose III a decline appears to have set in in contact with Cyprus. Since the “Poetickal Siela” 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-wiya*/*A-si-wiyo* of Linear B and the Hittite Assuwa on the west coast of Asia Minor the *Vorlage* of the Egyptian transliteration.

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

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.

**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 Naharjın 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; and then the army of His Majesty performed the charging manoeuvre with the cry ‘It’s-up-for-grabs!’ 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.

---

153 Needles to say *Asu* is not to be equated with *I-t-r* of the North Syrian list (*Ur* IV, 791[215]), 792[263]), as W. Mayer, “Der antike Name von Tall Munsaya, die Schreiber und die chronologische der Tafelfunde...,” *MDG* 122 (1999), 49.


155 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.


157 This was an area of great natural wealth and fertility, with a large number of oil plants and bushes.

158 See discussion below.
CHAPTER TWO

Tally of the captures which His Majesty brought off himself from these foreigners of Naharin [... c. 1.50 m. ...] bronze: suits of[...]

Bronze: helmets

Tally of the captures which the army of His Majesty brought off from [these foreign]enemies:

Prisoners of war
Horses
Chariots
[... 2.50 m. ...] 4 groups ...
Bronze: inlaid harnesses
Bronze: suits of mail
Bronze: helmets
Hurrain bows

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 ...]

84 CHAPTER TWO

The benevolence of another specific foreign land may have been listed here.

162 BIBLIOGRAPHY, 153; Drioton-Vandier, L’Egypte, 405.

“Place-names from the Kingdom of Alalakh in the North-Syrian List of
Thumose III.” In A Study in Historical Topography.” JNES 22 (1963), 235.

163 Drower, CAH II, 1, 458; Klengel, Syria 3000 to 300 B.C., 94 n. 56; none of the Hittite toponyms approximating Ar’aniu seems to suit: del Monte and Tischler, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes VI, 32-34.

164 Cf. Ncs. 169 ([r3-r3-nr3], 233 ([r3-...], 238-89 ([r3-nr3]).

165 WB. III, 289; S. Schott, Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten (Wiesbaden, 1990), 320 (no. 154).


168 The location of this place is uncertain. Helck, citing Dussaud, would locate it 20 km. North-west of Aleppo. Astour equated it with classical Ariandum, but declined to locate it. Most others have simply followed Helck. Unfortunately no toponym in the extant portions of the “Syrian” list on pylon 7 exactly fits the transliteration of the present passage. 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 h3 n imu (or h3 n. 302 31) in particular provides, one would be lead to predict, a precious insight into the use of sound in the fray. For h3 n is certainly the word used for a type of recitation or speech often rhetorical in nature, or shouted aloud by a throng. It has been treated by Gardiner, and has achieved conventional acceptance as an “expression for disorderly or erratic movement or conduct.” The present passage is thus rendered by Faulkner “a ragged chorus of
shouts. 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. 

Ity means to wrest complete control over something and inti 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.” Again: “I was one that restored what was ruined, and made acceptable what was delapidated, with a positive outlook (wriff-ib), free from (the desire for) seizing and keeping.” 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.”

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.” Hatshepsut’s obelisk inscription throws up some difficulty: “My heart is directing me to make him two obelisks.... indeed my heart is ity 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 warwhoop 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 included the “harvest of Djahy” as part of the food stocks. The remainder, despite Sethe’s fanciful and unjustified restoration 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) Skr-mineral, haemetite(?), green porphyry(?), eye-paint... [... c. 95 cm. ...] Wild ga[ne], 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

[85] ... Regnal year 38. Now His Majesty was in....] (87) on the 13th victorious campaign. Then His Majesty destroyed the towns of.... which were in the disrict of Nukhashshe.
CHAPTER TWO

THE DAY-BOOK EXCERPTS: SECOND PART

Tally of the captures which His Majesty's army brought off in the district of Nukhashshe:

Prisoners-of-war 50

Horses [worked in gold and silver ... equipped] with [their] weapons (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 and plates (89) <adorned with> faces of (wild) game and the face of a lion, and vessels of all sorts of Djah[y] workmanship [ ...]

[ ... ] 2,821 [dbn], 3 1/2 kdt (89)

Native copper 276 ingots

Incense 656 [ ...]

Sweet oil and fresh oil and cedar-oil (?) 1,752 containers

Wine 155 (jars)

---

183 See above, p. 43 n. 187.
185 Cf. N. de Garis Davies, The Tombs of Mentuhotepet, Amenmose and Another (London, 1933), pl. III.
186 It is unclear to what this figure refers, unless it is to the combined weight of all the silver vessels.
188 R. Germer, Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im alten Ägypten (Hamburg, 1979), 14-20.
189 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. Khaatov, 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 der Toorn and P. Sijpesteijn (eds), Languages and Cultures in Contact (Leuven, 1999), 145-52.
191 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 steppes 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] doomed Shasu*.

Tally of the benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu: . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male and female servants</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold: dishes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together with sheet (gold)</td>
<td>12 dbn [ . . ] kdt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine [lapis]</td>
<td>30 dbn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver: dishes and a mixing cauldron adorned with a bull's head and various vessels</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together with sheet silver, making</td>
<td>1,495 dbn, 1 kdt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariot(s) [worked in silver and gold . . . 1.55 m . . . ] manufactured? . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(95) white gems, rock crystal</td>
<td>natron, msw-stone and all sorts of gems of [this] foreign land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incense, sweet oil, fresh oil, cedar-oil(?),194</td>
<td>364 [containers]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>1,405 jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(96) All [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 Lebanon] likewise, and the harvest (97) of Djahy, consisting of grain, incense, fresh oil, sweet oil and w[ne].

(98) Benevolence of the chief of Asy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ivory</td>
<td>2 tusk(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>40 ingots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>1 ingot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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,” 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,198 has sparked a lively debate over, not only Hebrew origins,199 but also Shasu distribution in the Levant.

196 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).

197 Sethe quite correctly postulates the sometime presence here of a benevolence from some specified foreign land: Utr. IV, 724:7.


While a “land of the Shasu” is known,200 the specifics of the Soleb list have invited identification with Transjordan, specifically Edom.201 An alternate location for the Soleb group, promoted with cogent arguments, has been suggested in the Lebanon and southern Syria.202 As though it were a choice of “homelands,” there have been some who have attempted to “straddle the fence.”203

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.”206 Undoubtedly a number of “Shasu” were to be found in Se‘ir,203 but the inhabitants of the central highlands of Gis-Jordan could also fall under this head.206 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.207 Adding to the breadth of the “semantic space” occupied by the Shasu is the Egyptian proclivity to extend its application to Asians in general.208


205 Giveon, Shasu, 131–34 (37). The extra r in Sṭr 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 /ṛ/.

206 See the present author in Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times (Princeton, 1992), 278–79.


208 Cf. N. Na’aman, “The Town of Iibra and the Relations of the ‘Apiru and the Shasu,” GM 57 (1982), 27–33; Giveon, Shasu, 152–62; cf. ESR 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<nn>.” The latter certainly did not belong in a nomadic society.

209 Identification and location cogently argued by Rainey (Tel Ani 2 [1975], 13–14); cf. The discussion and literature in H.W. Fischer-Elfert, Die aufsichtsleiter des Papyrus Anastasi I (Wiesbaden, 1986), 164–65 (p). It is sp 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.


211 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 ḫēḥ-n ḫūyūn, “the spring of the Shasu,” of Anastasi i.19.2.199 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 lacuma unknown. . . .] 210

Benevolences of the chiefs of Retenu, brought through the power of His Majesty in (5)[this year . . . extent of lacuma unknown. . . .]

[lead]

Bronze: suits of mail], hacking-swords,211

Bronze: javelins [ . . . extent of lacuma not known. . . . of] this

[for] eign land,

Ivy

18 tusks

Sand-wood

241 logs(?)

Cattle

184

the Shasu,” GM 57 (1982), 27–33; Giveon. Shasu, 152–62; cf. ESR 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<nn>.” The latter certainly did not belong in a nomadic society.

Identification and location cogently argued by Rainey (Tel Ani 2 [1975], 13–14); cf. The discussion and literature in H.W. Fischer-Elfert, Die aufsichtsleiter des Papyrus Anastasi I (Wiesbaden, 1986), 164–65 (p). It is sp 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.


Giveon, Shasu, 131–34 (37). The extra r in Sṭr 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 /ṛ/.

See the present author in Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times (Princeton, 1992), 278–79.


Cf. N. Na’aman, “The Town of Iibra and the Relations of the ‘Apiru and the Shasu,” GM 57 (1982), 27–33; Giveon. Shasu, 152–62; cf. ESR 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<nn>.” The latter certainly did not belong in a nomadic society.

Identification and location cogently argued by Rainey (Tel Ani 2 [1975], 13–14); cf. The discussion and literature in H.W. Fischer-Elfert, Die aufsichtsleiter des Papyrus Anastasi I (Wiesbaden, 1986), 164–65 (p). It is sp 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.


Sheep (7) \[. . . extent of lacuna not known . . . \] 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 impost of Kushi 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. 4.213 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 \( \text{udjy} \); and the same argument may be applied to the following columns containing the record of [year 42]. Thus, since col. 93214 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 \( \text{udjy} \) remains moot; but the passage in col. 107215 might indicate that the king was in Asia. In that case the total number of campaigns might be understood as “17.”

Year 42

(10) \[. . . Regnal year 42. Now His Majesty was in the land of . . . on his . . . the victorious campaign . . . approx. 8 groups . . . the lands of the Fenkuh\]217

212 There is no clear evidence that the lacuna once contained the formulaic description of harbor-stocking; the preserved words “incense likewise” is found in no other examples of the formula. On the other hand, the component phrase \( \text{n htw nfrt} \) suggests that by definition it was a yearly event.

213 See above, p. 93.

214 \( \text{Urk. IV, 721.9-10.} \)

215 \( \text{Urk. IV, 671.3; see also above, p. 55.} \)

216 See above.

217 See pt. II, p. 41, n. 112; Sethe’s restoration \( \text{Urk. IV, 729.5) is gratuitous. With more probability one might restore “Now His Majesty ferried over to the lands of the Fenkuh.”} \)

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) \[. . . extent of lacuna not known . . . \]

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) \[. . . Arrival at . . . destroying the town(?) \] incense likewise. Now as for the plunder, His Majesty bestowed it upon the citizens of the army219 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(?)220 of vile Naharin who (functioned) as garrison troops221 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:

Silver: dishes and a cast mixing cauldron, together with silver (15) . . .

218 There is certainly sufficient room to restore an additional place name and the record of an assault.

219 As \( \text{cntrw (a nfr)} \) as a general designation of the “conscript” rank and file, as opposed to the officer class and the professional soldiers (\( \text{wcrw} \)), see A.R. Schulman, \textit{Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom} (Munich, 1964), 33-4; A.J. Spalinger, \textit{Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians} (New Haven, 1982), 95-6; G. Husson, D. Valtelle, \textit{L’État et les Institutions en Égypte des premiers pharaons aux empereurs romains} (Paris, 1992), 141-2.

219 Sethe’s restoration is a guess: \( \text{Urk. IV, 730.16. When the text resumes after the lacuna it clearly is continuing with the “plunder” from the 3 towns.} \)

perhaps significantly, it is qualified as "tribal" rather than urban (with headmen). In the Amarna Age it remained under the administration of "elders", and continued to attract suspicion of a rebellious disposition. Though inland, the town would have to be approached by the Egyptian forces by way of the coast.

* Ik'ta

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 is construed as the second and third radical of the root, it is tempting to restore [Mr]ka, "settlement," in the sense, perhaps, of "encampment, tabernacles." 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. Edel's initial suggestion of Rhodes was quite gratuitous, and his later equation with Adana in Cilicia founders on geographical and historical considerations. Although not common in loan-words and personal names, the use of Egyptian ta to render the voiced alveolar is well attested in toponyms; and thus an equation with (later) Greek Ακοντιον or the land designation from

---

227 Harris, Lexicographical Studies, 163.
228 Party erased, and later restored as imn.
229 There is sufficient space to restore the benevolence of a third country.
231 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. Asféric, L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne II (Cairo, 1991), 431 ff; J. Ogden, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds), Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology (Cambridge, 2000), 166–68.
232 Helck, Beziehungen, 153; H. Klengel, Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. (Berlin, 1992), 162 n. 430 (references).
which it derives, becomes very attractive indeed.\textsuperscript{236} If this be the case, and in light of the early application of this ethnic term,\textsuperscript{237} it is most tempting to identify Tanaya with the plain of Argos, and more specifically the kingdom of Mycenae.\textsuperscript{238}

\textit{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.


\textsuperscript{237} Trdikel-Scot, \textit{Greek-English Lexicon} (9th ed; Oxford, 1990), 369.

\textsuperscript{238} W. Helck, \textit{Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.} (Darmstadt, 1979), 52; F. Schachermeyr, \textit{Mycene und das Hellätterreich} (Wien, 1986), 73, others attempt to extend the range of the term: Hadier, \textit{op. cit.}, 8–9 and n. 32, 42 (most of the Peloponnese); M. Liverani, \textit{Prestige and Interest}, 257 and n. 15 (the Aegean); cf. Ousin, \textit{loc. cit.} For LH II A pottery found in Egypt \textit{temp.} Thutmose III, see sources in P.A. Mountjoy, \textit{Mycenaean Pottery, an Introduction} (Oxford, 1993), 3.
CHAPTER ONE

SITTINGS OF THE KING

The ḫmst-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, that an historical “seance” may in fact underly such texts.

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. There is nothing of the “Novella” in the seance-texts. By its very nature Novella exists in another

---

1 Some of the texts which follow can be found treated in S. Grallert, Bauens-Stift-Weihen. Aegyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinschriften, von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie (Berlin, 2001), 262-89.
2 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna (London, 1903-8), I, pl. 8; VI, pls. 18, 20, 29.
3 This is not to deny that, as we now have them, such texts may have undergone midrashic expansion and redaction.
4 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 eisagesis. 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.\(^5\) Such a pretense is precisely what the royal interlocutor at a seance denies engaging in: the stock-in-trade of a Novella \((\text{ue-m} \text{s and ebc in Egyptian})\) is at all times vigorously denied.\(^6\) The king's speech at a seance is rather \textit{Verkündigung}, in an atmosphere of "... and-now-it-can-be-told...", to the surprise and gratification of the listeners.

The form of the \textit{hmst-nsw} 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.\(^7\) 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.\(^8\) Although people listen and respond, the form is not a dialogue. The motivation comes from human society in the world of the \textit{nds:w}.

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 Heracleopolis 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.


\(^6\) It lacks that open-ended signification, that "simultaneously signifying and unfulfilled nature" (R. Barthes, "Literature and Signification" in R. Barthes, \textit{Critical Essays} [Evanston, 1972], 268–69) that some would see as the prime quality of a literary Novella.

\(^7\) See A.J. Spalinger, "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII." \textit{AJA} 24 (1997), 269–300 (esp. 271–72). The earliest royal examples thus far recovered \((\text{acknow, apparently, the specific court-frame})\) are the statements of Wakahk Antef II. Cairo 20512: J.J. Clère, J. VANDIER, \textit{Textes de la première période intermédiaire} ( Cairo, 1949), no. 16; D. Arnold, \textit{Graber des Alten und Mit leren Reiches in El-Tayr} ( 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, \textit{Die Lehre für König Merikare} (Wiesbaden, 1977), XXIII, XXXI, XXXV.


---


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,13 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 able 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,14 who plunges into the thick ranks aggressively(?),
breathing fire against them,


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 rapa­
cious!

He is a stout-hearted bull!
His southern boundary stretches to the 'Horn of the Earth,'
south of this land.15
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 tramps
all the rebellious foreign lands—

13 On the expression ina ḫr w see J.M. Galan, Victory and Border. Terminology Related
to Imperialism in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hildesheim, 1995), 128–32.
14 On star symbolism in relation to the king, see M. Schade-Busch, Zu Königslistologie
Amenophis III (Hildesheim, 1992), 199, 331

15 Not a specific place, but a general concept derived from the image of a cos­
mic bovide, and signifying an extremity: see H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique I,
194–95; E. Hormung, "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 Tuthmosis III in Asia," JNES 37 (1978), 37
They had no champion in that Land of Naharin, whose lord had abandoned it through fear. I houghed his cities and his towns 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? after My Majesty destroyed them; for they have turned into burnt dust 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.

8. The Return from the 8th Campaign.

I have no opponents in the southern lands, the northerners coming bowing down to my might. It is Re that has ordained it for me: I have wrapped up that which his effective one encircles (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 foreign lands!

When I turned round and went back to Egypt, having decimated Naharin, great was the terror in the mouth of the Sand-dwellers. On that account their doors were shut, and they did not venture out for fear of the bull!

Now that’s a king to be boasted of, for the prowess of his arms in battle!

One who crossed the ‘Great Bender’ 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 from the mountain, on the west side of the Great Bender.


17 By using *nswt*., “cities,” Thutmose’s idiolect again shows a preference distinct from the usual chancery practice of the Egyptian court, which rarely uses the word of Asitic settlements: cf. D.B. Redford, “The Ancient Egyptian City: Pigment 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 *tbntr* are used. On the relative size of main city compared to its satellites, see G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (Rome, 1967), 40-1.

18 Presumably read (tytt) r.f., a nominalized participle; less likely a loan word from some such root as *APB* (cf. A. Murtonen, *Hébreu in Its West Semitic Setting* Part 1, sec. Bb [Leiden, 1989]), 274 [“scatter, throw”]), in which case the translation might be something like “windblown.”

19 *Tkw* seems to be visible: one wonders whether the form derives from *DKH*, “to crush, pulverize, grind”; C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), 385 (658); Murtonen, op. cit., 148.

20 This tactical ploy of Thutmose lived on in folklore, and is told of Semiramos in her crossing of the Indus (Diodorus ii.16-18), of Alexander in his crossing of the Euphrates (Strabo xvi.1.11), Trajan in his crossing of the Tigris (*Dio lxxvi.26.1*), and Constantinus crossing the Euphrates: Ammianus Marcellinus xxi.7.8.


22 Although *qfr* can refer to inscriptions on walls and prepared natural surfaces (cf. the examples cited in S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten* [Wiesbaden, 1990], 61-63), the use of *lkh*, “extract, quarry” (cf. *Urk. IV, 25-59*) clinches the matter in favor of a free-standing stela-block of local stone. For the location and historical ramifications, see above p. 00.

23 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. Rendsborg (eds), *Eblaistica 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 missed
One with flexed arm whose like has never come along, mighty Montu on the battlefield!


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:24 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 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,25 each with his own army. Lo! they were in the Qina-valley, ready at the narrow pass.26 (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 months27 before they emerged outside, begging My Majesty as follows: ‘Give us thy breath!28 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 children29 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 preferred 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.30 So My Majesty

---

24 Probably to be identified with Qal‘at el-Mudiq, the citadel of Apamea: E. Edel, *ZDPF* 69 (1959), 148–49; A. Alt, *ZDPF* 70 (1954), 35 and n. 7; W. Heck, Beziehungen, 307; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend n. u. Z.* (Berlin, 1965), I, 45 n. 12. The marshes in question were those of El-Gab, which the citadel once overlooked, the eden, “plain of reeds” in Eblaite: M. Astour, “History of Ebla,” in C.H. Gordon, G. Rendsburg (eds), *Eblaica* 3 (Winona Lake, 1992), p. 9 n. 31; elephants were kept there well into Greco-Roman times: Strabo xvi.2.10; Philostratos, *Vita Appolonii* i.38.

25 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.”
29 For the possibility of an extended use of mww in this context, see S. Allam, *Mww = Kindes/Völkergruppe/Produkte/Abgaben,* *SAK* 19 (1992), 5–6.
30 The scene here described is one that by the 19th Dynasty has entered the repertoire of battle reliefs: The battalions of a town, at the moment of surrender, are shown filled with suppurating inhabitants, raising hands in capitulation, burning incense and holding out their young children towards the advancing conqueror: O. Keel, “Kanaanäische Sühnenraten auf aegyptischen Tempelreliefs,” *VT* 25 (1972),
had them take the oath\(^31\) 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 [Amon] that did it—it was indeed not (by) the arm of man\(^32\) 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, [Amonre 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!

---

---

413-67; A.J. Spalinger, “A Canaanite Ritual found in Egyptian Military Reliefs,” JNES 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 *can* and *balatu*, see M. Liverani, “Political Lexicon and Political Ideologies in the Amarna Letters,” Berytos 31 (1983), 53.

\(^31\) Sg3 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 86597 recto xxviii.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: Morschauser, *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 Communities of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1990), 202–8.

\(^32\) This spiritualization of guidance and cause in terrestrial events, in contradistinction to human agency, becomes a hallmark of the nationalistic theology of Amun: cf. *KR* 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\(^33\) 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\(^34\) is hewed for me in Djahy, and brought to the Palace L.P.H. Lumber comes to me, to Egypt, brought south [...] true [cedar] of Negau,\(^35\) the best of God’s land, sent off with its balast in good order,\(^36\) to make the journey to the Residence, without missing a single season each and

---

---


\(^33\) P. Montet, “Le pays de Négau près de Byblus, et son dieu,” *Syria* 4 (1923), 81–92; *idem*, *Kemi* 3 (1930), 121; R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 439–40; S. Altman, *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 Amenemose’s tomb (N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperre, Amenemose and Another* [London, 1939], pl. 36) clearly locates it in Negau, and we may be safe in locating the region north of Byblus. While the term was clearly an Egyptian construction (Helck, *Byzantien*, 272), it might be derived ultimately from NGR, “to cut wood (as a carpenter)”:

*Gordon, Urartian Handbook, no. 1609.*

---

---

\(^34\) Reading mšwn mi šmr, and construing the first word with the passage in Admonitions 3,11 (W. Helck, *Die Admonitionen*: Papyri, Leiden I 344 Recto [Wiesbaden, 1995]), p. 14). The addition of the “head”-determinative recalls the fatal eventuality described in Wosamun 2, 18. Alternatively read mšwn ṣmr mi šmr, “sent off” in the right direction, its balast in good order...
every year. My army, which constitutes the standing force in Ullaza, 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 (?) [...].


[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); then you will know the Manifestation 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). Coming of a celestial body, moving to the south of them—an incomparable event—dashing forward straight ahead. Not one of them could stand their ground [... . . .] They fled, tumbling over headlong; for lo! there was [fire]

behind them and flames in front of them! one of them screwed up his courage nor looked back. Thad no horses, (for) they had bolted into [...] to let all the signers see My Majesty's power. So I turned back southwaJ with a happy heart, and celebrated my lord [Amun-re Lord of Karnak], the one who ordained the victory, and set dread on in the hearts of the barbarians [...] in my reign, when placed fear of me among [all] the foreigners, so that they'd on me afar off—

All that the light shines upon is bound up ler my sandals!

14. The King's Second Song. (Pattern: mainly 3:or 3:2)

I myself, My Majesty, speaks [to you....]

[. . . .] victorious(?)

For I am very skilled in the martial art, wh my precious father [Amun-re Lord of Karnak] granted:

He has made me 'Lord of the Portions,' I r what the sun-disc encircles,

Mighty is [...] northerners,

My terror extends to the southern marches, hing is beyond my compass!

He has sealed up for me the entire earth, etc 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, etc fine product,

What she hid from former kings she has oped up [to My Majesty]

[Gold, lapis, turquoise] and every precious gi,

See above, p. 11.

See above, pp. 64–65.

It would appear that the words are addressed to Egyptians (mufs)—Thutmose is sensitive to racial differences, and would have used siṣṭw or ḫṣṣṭw if he had intended autochthonous foreigners—and it is a fair guess that these were resident garrison troops in Napata. The phrase n ḫḥ-'t.f is difficult, and could be taken as a i$e$e$t" 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. Laprieno (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.

This expression signals the end of the canaan the return south. There can therefore be no question that the incident question occurred on some northern campaign in Asia, and not the south.

I.e. of Horus and Seth; the numeral "5" is a mistake rived from a misreading of the dmt-sign: cf. G. Möller, Hieratische Paaographie [naburk, 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 to My Majesty—
They are his, that I might stock his house, that I might recompense 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 [...]"
"[... Amonre Lord] of Karnak, the great god of the First Occasion,
The primavcal 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],
[...]
"


"[...] My [Majesty]; I [have set] my terror in the farthest marshes of Asia, there is no one that holds back my messenger!
It was my army that sawed flag-staves on the terraces of cedar,
on the mountains of God's-land [...]."

CHAPTER ONE

SITTINGS OF THE KING

[... for monuments of my fathers, all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. I hewed out a Processional-barque of cedar [... upon the shore of Lebanon in the fortress ["Menkheperre-is-Conqueror-of-the-Vagabonds"] [...]"

[...] the chiefs, the lords of Lebanon, fashioned royal ships to sail south in them, to bring all the marvels [of Kh]enty-she to the Palace, L.P.H.;
the chiefs of [...]
the chiefs of Retenu conveyed these flag-staves by means of oxen to the shore, 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: [...]"
"[...] 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 [...]

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 "Barque from Amun," which Thutmose commemorates among his benefactions to Amon (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.

See below, the 6th Pylon text: p. 00.


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 Kheny-she, dragged from the mountains of God's-land by the "Barque of Retenu [...]": Urk. IV, 777:12–13. See above, n. 35.

116

CHAPTER ONE

[... any barbarian 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 st, “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 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 (wgl) on the mountain of Naharin.*
3a. Rc has ordained (wed) far-flung victories.*
3b. 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: his ...”
   - references to “the road of his making ...” and ending in b3k.n S n.t ... 
12. Taxes* (htru w h3kw 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,35 Deir el-Bahari44 and Heliopolis.35 The initial format is that of the formal building inscription involving the formula ir.n.f m mnw, f., but 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,56 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.

35 A. Weigall, A.M.E 9 (1909), 108 (year 47[7], first month of proyet).
36 J. Lipinska, Mêlanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski (Warsaw, 1966), 129; idem, JEA 53 (1967), 27 and n. 6 (year 43, v, 24); Sir A.H. Gardiner, J. Cerny, Hieratic ostraca (Oxford, 1956), pl. 56:5 (year 43, v, 1); A. Erman, Hieratische Papyri zu Berlin III, nos. 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 Thutmosis III’s death: A.J. Spencer, JEA 69 (1983), 173.
It seems most probable, therefore, that the royal words were uttered at a formal horus-nsw (royal seance) or hy-nsw, "royal appearance," as was common during the 18th Dynasty for the issuance of pharaonic reports and directives.\(^57\) The final preserved line appears to locate this seance somewhere at Thebes, but not necessarily on the west bank.\(^58\)

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 _wed_ "stela," (7e) is resumed in 8a by the verb _wed_, "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.w) at the end of 11 is resumed by b3k.e, "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 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.\(^59\)

II. The Seventh Pylon Reveals\(^60\)

1. Introductory Speech.

\[... long lacuna ...\] my [... Amun-re-Harakhety, 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 ...].\(^61\)

(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 [...]\(^62\) 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\(^63\) that My Majesty’s bent is towards excellence [... \(\ldots\)] (3) performing benefactions for him that begat him in [... long lacuna ...] exactly

\(^57\) Urk. IV, 256:17 (Thutmose I: announcement); 349:10 (Hatshepsut: announcement); 1255:2 (Thutmose III: announcement); 1386:12 (Thutmose III: appointment); 1365:5 (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.F.F. van den Boorn, The Duties of the Vizier, Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom (London, 1988), 17 (2).

\(^58\) 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), Hommage à Jean Leclant I, Études pharaoniques (Cairo, 1994), 492. The position of the locative pericope is unusual, as with other similar 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!

\(^59\) Cf., in this vein, the Buto text tailorec for the local cult (below, p. 162); or the several Karnak seance transcripts and triumph atlae (below, p. 127f) 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.


\(^61\) On the acynia 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 _wed_ "stela," (7e) is resumed in 8a by the verb _wed_, "to ordain."

\(^62\) On 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 _wed_ "stela," (7e) is resumed in 8a by the verb _wed_, "to ordain."

\(^63\) 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.w) at the end of 11 is resumed by b3k.e, "products of labor," in 12. From this point on the poor preservation of the text makes it impossible to detect linkages.

\(^64\) 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 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.\(^59\)

\(^65\) My Majesty speaks so that I might inform you\(^65\) that My Majesty’s bent is towards excellence [... \(\ldots\)] performing benefactions for him that begat him in [... long lacuna ...] exactly
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 to] 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 ...] while 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. 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. 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 (10) [... for] my father Amun, with a tax quota on labour in the course of ‘every’ year.

64 S. Morenz, Egyptian Religion (Ithaca, 1992), 96.

65 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. Rosén (eds), Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times (Oxford, 1999), 47.


67 See’s reading mm-nn-nn (5×k. 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-ššn mn] mmw would seem to fit, although it would introduce a variant; for the way-station in question, see P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, Une Chapelle d’Hatchepout à Karnak (Cairo, 1979), pl. 9 (blocks 102, 128).


70 See above, p. 38ff.

71 For discussion, see below, p. 125.
5. Reminiscence of the Second(?) Campaign.

Now when [My Majesty journeyed to Retenu\(^2\) on my...victorious campaign...\(^3\)] 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 \(Wsr-h31-imn\), hewed [of fresh cedar...\(^1\)]

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.\(^4\) Then they [fled headlong] from before [my Majesty, and their towns were plundered.

(12) [...four groups...\] of \(Bakhu\),\(^5\) There was none [left] standing within the scope [of My Majesty. I seized... long lacuna...\] and mrw-wood,\(^6\) 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 [Amon...]

(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\(^7\) made he[frds] for him [...the festivals of] heaven at the beginning of the seasons, and milk-kine according to the offering menu. They were milked, and their milk placed in container[s of electrum...\]\(^8\)

\(^2\) Or “came back from...?”

\(^3\) 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 mrw-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: \(Urk. IV, 670:11).\)

\(^4\) The first person determinatives in this passage are Gardiner G7, as though the original was derived from hieratic.

\(^5\) 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.

\(^6\) 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), 349-57; used for furniture (\(Urk. IV, 1149:9\)), shrines (Sethe, \(Asyptische Lesestucke, 71:5\)), and doors (B. Letellier, “Le cour à peristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak,” \(Hommages Sauvanon\) [Cairo, 1979], 56). It is found among the “booty”-lists in years 23, 24 and 40: \(Urk. IV, 664:7; 672:3; 670:11).\)

\(^7\) See above, note 74.

\(^8\) Cf. \(Urk. IV, 743; 1261:16 1262:2). These may be mentioned in Thutmoses’s 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 \(mh\)r of gold.

6. Incidents during the 8th Campaign.

(15) [... His Majesty was in the district of Qatna\(^9\) on the 8th victorious campaign, close to the bank? [... long lacuna... but none] therein [exceeded the limits] of his strength. Then [... I [selected] [... the strongest of (those of) his fathers (but) there was no (16) [... lacuna...\] in order to make strong bows, and the one that would be found\(^9\) 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 [exceeded 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 name [... given] all [life, stability, dominion] and health like Re [for ever]”\(^7\)

While the text is certainly based on the records of a \(hmst-nsw\), too little is preserved to establish editorial arrangement. Presumably a...
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 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?), involving bow manufacture.

Inspite of the reservations of Nims, it is most tempting to identify the building mentioned in section 3 with the peripteral shrine-station south-east of the 7th pylon (on the gate of which is inscribed the present text). The name of the gate of this shrine can be restored to accommodate 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), 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. 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”, and therefore 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-sh, dragged from the mountains of [God’s]-land [by] the Asians (3smt) of Retenu.” 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. “[My Majesty] erected for him (Amon) great flag-staves, dragged from the mountains (?) of Lebanon, for the [great] pylon...” It may be that it was Menkheperrasob, the high-priest, who was responsible for the work on the shrine, obelisks and flag-staves on this occasion along with Sen-nefer who procured the timber from Lebanon. Significantly, in the annals the sole record of “poles (wh3w) and staves (3wtd)” being specifically shipped to Egypt by boat is on the 9th campaign in year 34.

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. One wonders whether the buried princesses discovered by Winlock, 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.

---

82 G. Dossin, Les archives royales de Mari I, 75.
83 Above, n. 53.
84 P-M II, 173–74.
86 Cf. Urk. IV, 595:11 “first occasion of the repetition of the sol-festival—may he celebrate many more!”
87 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 Deka deities (Neith, Atum) appropriately enough facing north. But with this orientation, the northern and southern assinations of the texts on the other two sides would lose their directional significance.
88 Urk. IV, 589; Barguet, Temple, 270; L. Habachi, The Obelisks of Egypt (New York, 1977), 147.
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 mnrw-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.  

III. FESTIVAL HALL DECREES

1. Anouncement of Building Plans and Endowments

“(1) Year following 23, first month of shomu, day 2. A royal seance took place in the audience hall on the west, in the palace [of... 2/3 col... ]

[...]

96 T. Schneider, Asiatische Personenamen in aegyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches (Freiburg, 1992), 127.
97 G.L. Harding, An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions (Toronto, 1971), 570.
100 Koehler-Baumgartner, op. cit., II, 598.
102 Hoch, ibid., nos. 528, 532, 533 (dana/h), "door"); no. 535 (dana/h), no. 224 (migdol).
103 C.F. Lehmann, Baumgartner, op. cit., II, 598; A. Murtonen, Hebrews in its West-Semitic Setting (Leiden, 1990), 395; cf. Thamudic FVMD: F.V. Winnett, W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (Toronto, 1970), 85, no. 4. For "wandering" as a gesture for lamentation and depression, see M.I. Barre, "Wandering about" as a Topos of Depression in Ancient Near Eastern Literature and the Bible, JNES 60 (2001), 177-87.
105 Koehler-Baumgartner, op. cit., III, 640; Murtonen, op. cit., 275; cf. also NWH, "to wander, migrate": Huffman, op. cit., 237.
106 See W. Decker, Quellenzitate zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Aegypten (St. Augustine, 1979), idem, Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt (New Haven, 1992), 34-41.
107 Sir A.H. Gardiner, "Thutmose III Returns Thanks to Amun," JEA 38 (1952), 6-23, pls. II-IX; Us. IV, 1250-62; 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 g3dw wearing the double crown).
108 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 Harashpet block: [f3pt] m-h [f3pt] 9 (own copy; cf. SSEA Newsletter 3 [1973], 2f. fig. 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 Thutmose III to his Predecessors: a propos of a Meeting of Setosiris I with his Gourriers," in Mélanges Mohie 1 [Cairo, 1985], 349-59). The scene is now flanked by the "Texte de la Jeunesse."
109 On g3dw see W. Helck, MIOF II (1954), 204-5; H. Goedicke, Königliche...
(2) Resting\(^{111}\) in the gate\(^{112}\) 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 raination\(^{113}\) therein—a bad business(?) [...] 2/3 col. [...] 2/3 col. ...

(4) a public appearance\(^{114}\) 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 incense 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. [...]

2. The First Campaign

(7) between the mountains of Djahy\(^{115}\) [...] 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\(^{116}\) 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 Majesties appeared upon"

(11) the chariot, having taken my [weapons], and resting upon [...] 2/3 col. ...

(12) in battle array. The ground fully reflected my [dazzling] sheen! They [fed ... 2/3 col. ...]

(13) the remainder of them in my hand [...] 4/5 col. ...

(14) a circumvallation, consisting of a thick wall,\(^{117}\) 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,\(^{118}\) 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.

\(^{111}\) 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, 1938), 5; R. Staschmann, "Tempelpalast und Ereignungsfenster 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 *cf[s]e*, 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), 63–75; D.B. Redford, "East Karnak and the Sed-festival of Akhenaten," in *Hommages a Jean Ledant* (Fribourg, 1988), 65–66 and the literature cited there. This was the spot where administrative and judicial decisions were taken and announced: E. Devaud, *Les MAXIMES de PTAH-HEP ET Tawnoujer* (Fribourg, 1916), 28:220, 227: 41:442; Anast. I.15.1. This would explain the king's allusion to "this temple" in col. 3.

\(^{112}\) 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?


\(^{115}\) It is uncertain 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?

\(^{116}\) 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, 1938), 5; R. Staschmann, "Tempelpalast und Ereignungsfenster 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 *cf[s]e*, 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), 63–75; D.B. Redford, "East Karnak and the Sed-festival of Akhenaten," in *Hommages a Jean Ledant* (Fribourg, 1988), 65–66 and the literature cited there. This was the spot where administrative and judicial decisions were taken and announced: E. Devaud, *Les MAXIMES de PTAH-HEP ET Tawnoujer* (Fribourg, 1916), 28:220, 227: 41:442; Anast. I.15.1. This would explain the king's allusion to "this temple" in col. 3.

\(^{117}\) 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?

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 Karnak ... [.. 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\(^{119}\) and the presentation of oil\(^{120}\) throughout his estate, as is done at the New Year’s festival; and the permission that raiment\(^{21}\) 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,\(^{122}\) 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; [...] sryt-loaves, 10 [+ x ... 3/4 col. . . .]

(28) festivals of the beginning of the seasons.

Item:\(^{123}\) 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\(^{124}\) to provide grain for this [endowment]. Now My Majesty has authorized [.. 2/3 col. . . .]

---

\(^{119}\) Grimm, Die altägyptische Festkalender, 318–19.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., 319 (III.2.2.5).

\(^{121}\) If not: cf. Uruk IV, 112:14 (where the context makes it clear that clothing of some sort is intended); cf. Grimm, op. cit., 317 (III.2.2.7).

\(^{21}\) See discussion below.

\(^{122}\) Hpet, ln. “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.


\(^{124}\) Cf. PT (Aba) 537 (= Faulkner 308); CT III, 394–4, 458; W.J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (Chicago, 1985), 71, n. 41 (literature). There can be little doubt that the terr: has general application to the coast north of Carmel: cf. its use with reference to the coastal possessions of the Ptolemies: Edda III, 241; Uruk, II, 78:4; cf. also Edda I, 30, 85, 132, 144, 234, 288; III, 141; VII, 165; Dendera II, 200; IV, 66; VI, 54.

---

(31) My Majesty has authorized to have made [for him a statue in the form of a ‘Receiver-for-Life,’\(^{125}\) commensurate with My Majesty’s beauty, for the riverine procession [.. 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\(^{126}\) be shod [.. 2/3 col. . . .]

(33) this Tabernacle\(^{127}\) [....] which My Majesty [made] for him anew.

4. A Further Military Exploit

Item:\(^{128}\) on the first of projekt [day ... His Majesty was in Retenu....]

(34) the lands of the Fenklu,\(^{129}\) after [.. at the] approach\(^{130}\) 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 [... j by the hundreds and thousands. Then [.. 3/4 col. ... I left none of it

(37) to anyone (else). [Their] labor is directed [to the ter]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 [authorized] [.. 2/3 col. . . .]

---


\(^{126}\) Eddy IV, 1, 574–8.


\(^{128}\) See above, n. 106.

\(^{129}\) 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 Fenklu dans les textes des pyramides,” SIK 11 (1984), fig. 1; Cf. PT (Aba) 537 (= Faulkner 308); CT III, 394–4, 458; W.J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (Chicago, 1985), 71, n. 41 (literature). There can be little doubt that the terr: has general application to the coast north of Carmel: cf. its use with reference to the coastal possessions of the Ptolemies: Edda III, 241; Uruk, II, 78:4; cf. also Edda I, 30, 85, 132, 144, 234, 288; III, 141; VII, 165; Dendera II, 200; IV, 66; VI, 54.

\(^{127}\) Construe m-fylle, i.e. the moving against each other of hostile forces.
(39) a great gift of a foreign land! [. . . 4/5 col. . . .]
(40) [. . .] 33 [dbn], 6 klu; fifth-quality[?]131 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,132 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.133 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]134 come [the foreign peoples [. . . 2/3 col. . . .]
(46) the bird-pools135 with fowl, [ in order to] provision their noble shrines, when he136 had extended their frontiers137 [. . . 2/3 col. . . .]
(47) their gifts upon their backs [. . .] through the might of my father [Amen], 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: "[. . .]

133 See below for discussion.
134 Read n.s.
136 Amen[?]
137 Galal, Victory and Border, 57.
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.144

The text was composed on the basis of a sequence given by the king during the festivities surrounding the anniversary of his accession, just two days prior to the start of his 24th year.145 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.146 In col. 26 comes a date, only partly preserved, but accepted by Gardiner as year 7.147 This is very doubtful. Year 7 is signalized in the record by the commencement of work on Senmut’s tomb,148 and the Deir el-Bahari causeway.149 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.

144 Cf. “First Occasion of the sed-festival—may he celebrate many more!” Urk. IV, 594; Barquet, Temple, 171; “first year(sic) of the sed-festival”: ibid., 173; E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, Studien zum Sedfest (Geneva, 1974), 31–32.
145 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, therefore, must refer to the outgoing 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.150 Though considerably later in date than the Festival Hall text,151 the black granite stela agrees with it in essentials, and provides a date for the inception of the work.152 “(3) . . . for the [Inundation] viz. of the Nun at

146 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. IV 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 Tempelgrundung in Karnak,” ZÄS 128 (2001), 1–6.
147 JEA 38, 12 n. 5.
148 W.C. Hayes, Ostracon 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. 1:1-D, F; pl. 10:3 4.
149 Hayes, MDAIK 15, fig. 1:A.
151 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 high 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 Ḡнибудь 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.150 Though considerably later in date than the Festival Hall text,151 the black granite stela agrees with it in essentials, and provides a date for the inception of the work.152 “(3) . . . for the [Inundation] viz. of the Nun at

151 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 high 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 Ḡнибудь 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.150 Though considerably later in date than the Festival Hall text,151 the black granite stela agrees with it in essentials, and provides a date for the inception of the work.152 “(3) . . . for the [Inundation] viz. of the Nun at
his coming [had] been [aten] against the temple,\textsuperscript{153} (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 (\textit{husu}) 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.\textsuperscript{154} 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 \textit{akhet} to mean “sanctuary” with reference to the cella of the Middle Kingdom temple.\textsuperscript{155} But much more common is the meaning “quarter” of a town.\textsuperscript{156} This part of the built-up area of domestic occupation could not have been located on the site of the later Akh-men and the sanctuary of the “Hearing Ear”; the phraseology in this passage suggests an \textit{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.\textsuperscript{157} While densely inhabited in the Old Kingdom, East Karnak had been largely abandoned by the later Middle Kingdom. A sizeable depression some 200 m. east of the later Akh-men had 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.”\textsuperscript{158}

IV. SIXTH PYLON (SOUTH, EAST FACE)\textsuperscript{159}

1. Introduction

(1) “[Regnal year . . . there occurred a royal seance\textsuperscript{160} 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 “Menkhperse-is-conqueror-of-the-vagabonds”.\textsuperscript{161}

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, 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;


\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Urk.} IV, 834–35.

\textsuperscript{155} KRI II, 884–13.


\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Ibid.}, 41 n. 23.

\textsuperscript{159} P.M II(2), 90(345); \textit{Urk.} IV, 738–56.

\textsuperscript{160} The restoration of Sethe \textit{KRI II, 884: 13.} The reference is probably to a destructive annual flood: cf. For the SeC'ollll

let there be celebrated the second of the victory feasts on the day of “Bringing-in-the-god”\textsuperscript{162} 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 \textit{Henket-onkh}\textsuperscript{163} when [Amun] (4) comes [at his beautiful feast of the Valley .

My Majesty has established a] great hecatomb\textsuperscript{164} 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\textsuperscript{165}

(5) [. . . 1/2 col. . . . month] 2 of \textit{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,\textsuperscript{166} to be weavers, to make for him byssos, fine linen, white linen, \textit{shra}-linen, and thick cloth; to be farm-hands\textsuperscript{167} to

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: \textit{H5m}, 1,588\textsuperscript{168} (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. . . .]

6. Towns

My Majesty [ga]ve to him three towns in Upper Retenu, \textit{Nu-g-sa}, was the name of one, \textit{Yenocam} the name of another, and \textit{H-r-n-k3-w} the name of the last, fixed with a tax quota in labor yearly, for the divine endowment of my father Amun.\textsuperscript{170}

7. Precious Metals

(10) [I consigned to him . . . 2/5 col. . . .] all sorts of [jewellery?] of silver, gold, lapis, turquoise, “black-copper,”\textsuperscript{171} bronze,\textsuperscript{172} lead, \textit{te-mineral},\textsuperscript{173} emery(?) in very great quantities, to make all sorts of monuments for my father Amun (11) [. . . 1/2 col. . . .]

\textsuperscript{162} S. Schott, \textit{Altaegyptische Festdaten} (Mainz, 1950), 37; N.-C. Grimal, \textit{La stele omphale de Pi(ankh)y} (Cairo, 1981), 44–45, n. 112.

\textsuperscript{163} The royal mortuary temple: \textit{P-M II} (2), 426–29.


\textsuperscript{165} See above, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{166} See above, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{167} See above, p. 133.

\textsuperscript{168} See above, pp. 38f.

\textsuperscript{169} Harris, \textit{Lexical Studies}, 57: unpurified copper.

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., 63.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., 233.
8. Poultry

My Majesty created for him gaggles of geese to fill the poultry-yard\(^{174}\) 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) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ]

9. Additions to Offering Menu

My Majesty established for him \ldots [consisting of various bread, 1,000. Now My Majesty authorized the doubling of this divine offering of various bread, 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) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ] 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) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots I established for him a divine endowment. \ldots ] 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\(^{175}\) (15) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ] My Majesty [established for] him a divine endowment of \(\text{st}-\text{grain}\) 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 found that the cultivation of \(\text{st}-\text{grain}\) was very good in the [\ldots]s of (16) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ]

12. Obelisks

[My Majesty authorized] a divine endowment for the 4 great obelisks\(^{177}\) 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 \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ] alcoves\(^{178}\) of this door.

14. Evening Collation

My Majesty established for him an evening collation,\(^{179}\) 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 \(\text{H}3\text{w}-\text{ht}\) offering, including (18) \ldots 1/2 col. \ldots ]

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.\(^{180}\)

\(^{174}\) Hirme: \(\text{<}\text{h3}-\text{r-mu}\) D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie,” \(\text{R}i\) 28 (1976), 92–95; at Karnak located south of the sacred lake.

\(^{175}\) Cf. CT III, 21a: G. Conti, \(\text{Rapporto tra egiziano e semitico nel lessico egiziano dell’agricoltura}\) (Florence, 1979), 117.

\(^{176}\) Sethe’s restoration (\(\text{Urk. IV, 747:10}\)) is gratuitous.

\(^{177}\) See above, p. 124.

\(^{178}\) For \(\text{ipt}\) as “statue-alcove,” see P. Posener-Kriéger, \(\text{Les archives du temple funéraire de Neferré-Kakété}\) (Cairo, 1976), II, 449, 503 n. 1.


\(^{180}\) For the hecatomb on the ruler’s behalf at the Min feast, see H. Gauthier, \(\text{Les Fêtes du dieu Min}\) (Cairo, 1931), 129ff.
16. Jereboams of Wine

My Majesty authorized the provision of 5 great hmbt-jars\(^{181}\) (for) wine (19) [. . .] 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,’\(^{182}\) 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 . . .) including beautiful women of the entire land.

18. King’s Affirmation

Now My Majesty made all the monuments, all the laws and all the instructions\(^{183}\) which I made for my father [Amun . . .] inasmuch as I know his power, I am skilled in his excellence which resides in the body,\(^{184}\) I know (21) [. . .] 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) [. . .] For lo! It was My Majesty that invented all the good things, in enlarging monuments, in building for the future, in ritual directives,\(^{185}\) in purifications, in instructions, in provisioning this temple of my father [Amun . . .] (23) [. . .] 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’\(^{186}\) in the residence of my father [Amun . . .] after My Majesty found offerings being made therein with only (?) libation and incense (24) [. . .] 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!’\(^{187}\) 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 . . .] 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.\(^{188}\) 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 inscripturation, 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.\(^{189}\) The latter will have been constructed

---

\(^{181}\) Cf. Uruk. IV, 171:5 and 174:3 (totaling 5).

\(^{182}\) See below, p. 147.


\(^{184}\) On the intuitive, divine essence, the \(nu\) innate in all living things, see Uruk. IV, 974:9–10 “the divine \(nu\) which is in every body”; cf. CT II, 43b; VI, 268–69.

\(^{185}\) For \(nt\)-\(n\) in cultic contexts, see S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 117–26.

\(^{186}\) See above, p. 122.

\(^{187}\) The text uses \(ht\), “(fulsome) expression, cant,” often used of outlandish claims in syncopthic contexts: Uruk. IV, 1095:7; KRI V, 185:6–7; Berlin 1157 (= Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 9:11–12).

\(^{188}\) Sethe’s designation of the present text as “Stücke VIII” of the Annals obscures the fact of its fundamentally different origin and intent (A. Güns, “Die ägyptische 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 (yp-\(nt\) for the priests. There is no evidence of day-book entries as a source.

\(^{189}\) See above, Gebel Barkal, sec. 16; 7th Pylon Reveals, sec. 5; below, Barque Shrine (p. 140). Sethe’s restoration of “three months” (Uruk. IV, 739:15) has no foundation whatsoever. Much more likely is something like “[I had a barque for my father Amun] in the foreign land of Retenu, etc.” This then becomes the antecedent for the suffix in Uruk. IV, 740:2.
probably while the siege of Megiddo was in progress, and despatched south with an Asiatic crew to complete the decoration.

The opening pericope thus provides a valuable, though alleged, connection between the construction of Amun's barque and the fortress in the Lebanon, with a clear implication that both were accomplishments of the First Campaign. 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; 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. 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, within easy reach of Megiddo? The route along the coast from Carmel to Beirut or even Byblos itself, is easily negotiated in antiquity in 4 to 5 days; and Tyre too was noted for ship-building and therefore easy access to timber, certainly in the Iron Age. In fact, the prominent position Tyre occupies in the Amarna Period could, arguably, derive from interest taken in fortifying the area under the founder of the empire.

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. Collocaction of Re-harakhty's cult with obelisks is, of course, appropriate.

V. Barque-shrine

(1) "[Regnal year]... There occurred a royal seance; the courtiers were introduced... Thereupon His Majesty said: '... (X+1) I erected (?) A column hall, an intermediate chamber... (X+2) My Majesty erected for him a great gate of gold (named): Amun-is-great-in-awe, of [... (X+3) I constructed a great broad hall and (?) a column hall (for?) coffers, of sandstone worked in electrum and [all sorts of] gems..."

190 Note the determinative in Ušḫ. IV, 663-1: L. Christophe, RA VI (1951), 97.
191 7th Pylon reveals (p. 122, above).
192 See also above p. 114; p. 122.
194 See above, pp. 62ff.
196 Whether this would necessitate conjuring up a special "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 Golani, Bekaa and Galilee (Heck, Beziugew., 92-93; T. D. Drower, in CAH II, 1 (5), [1973], 452) depends upon what I feel to be a misinterpretation of those lists; see above, p. 60.
I would like to make a few remarks about [text]

I carved out for him a great barque, Userhatamun [was its name...]

worked in electrum, its hold was decorated with silver, with a god's-shrine amid ships worked 'in' electrum, in [cedar, the best of the terraces, which I brought back from]

Upper Retenu on the first victorious campaign which [Amon] ordained [for me]

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 Amon granted me]

in valor and victory.

My Majesty consigned to him many offering tables of electrum, 206 mmst-vessels 207 cauldrons and collars without end (made) of various gems.

My Majesty erected for him a sh[rine?] of . . .

in the [house of Amon] of sandstone of excellent workmanship, the great strong-boxes(?) 209 being of electrum and . . .

worked in gold and various precious gems, its gates of granite with doors of copper and inlaid figures of . . .

black copper and ilhu-copper.

hull 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 5, "coffer": J.J. Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period (Leiden, 1975), 204–5.

While "hold" suggests something below decks (cf. 2nd Kamose Stele, 12), the usedj was also a place of honor where one sat: PT 602; P.Ch. Betty 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.


Nims (op. cit., 71 n. m) opts for hnw. But hmn would seem equally acceptable.

See below, n. 214.

My Majesty erected for him his seat of oral witness 210 [The rubble which was] 211 there which had encroached (X+14) on the town area 212 was taken away. I erected a temple there out of a single block of [... -stone [...]

(X+15) opposite(?) the strong-box(?) 213 Which is in it. Now My Majesty had found the southern pylon 215 of brick, the southern gateway [of . . .]

[X+16] [stone 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 'Amon-Great-of-Diadems,' restored in [ . . .]

[X+18] [ . . .] visible, with the inlaid figure upon it of electrum, the 'God's-shadow' being like Amon [. . .]

[X+19] [. . . in gran]ite.

My Majesty dug for him the Southern Lake, freshened and lengthened [. . .]

My Majesty erected for him a sh[rine?] of . . .

in the [house of Amon] of sandstone of excellent workmanship, the great strong-boxes(?) 209 being of electrum and . . .

worked in gold and various precious gems, its gates of granite with doors of copper and inlaid figures of . . .

black copper and ilhu-copper.

Coromnentary

If the fragmentary column (x+21) refers to the construction of Djers-akhat at Deir el-Bahari, 216 then the present seance must be one of,


208 Nims (op. cit., 71 n. m) opts for hnw. But hmn would seem equally acceptable.

209 See below, n. 214.


211 Or "in accordance with," whatever that might mean.

212 See for similar wording Urk. IV, 835:4–5, and discussion above, p. 196.

213 Or "sealed document" (contract: W. Boosch, BIFAO 71 [1972], p. 81 and n. 2 [bibliography]. C.F. Nims, "The Eastern Temple at Karnak," FSRicke (Bauformorsch XII), 107–11.)

214 While "hold" suggests something below decks (cf. 2nd Kamose Stele, 12), the usedj was also a place of honor where one sat: PT 602; P.Ch. Betty 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.

215 Or "sealed document" (contract: W. Boosch, BIFAO 71 [1972], p. 81 and n. 2 [bibliography]. C.F. Nims, "The Eastern Temple at Karnak," FSRicke (Bauformorsch XII), 107–11.)

216 See for similar wording Urk. IV, 835:4–5, and discussion above, p. 196.
The construction of this shrine, begun round v,24 of the 43rd year, was nearing completion in v,23 of the 49th year; 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-ankh, in which case the present text may date after year 50.

The constructions the king records may be listed as follows:

1. [Akhn-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. Djoser-ahket, (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) suggested no. 5 (wooden flag-staves?); but if this identification is correct, why are they separated from pylon 7, for which they were intended?

VI. KARNAK, ROOM III (EAST WALL)

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. [...] inaugurated [offerings] for my father [Amun... . . .]
2. [...] To put down [...] 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?]... . . . to the town] of Megiddo. Thereafter My Majesty encircled them in a circumvallation (sby) 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 obedience to the power of My Majesty.
7. [...] and these foreigners and those who were in the vile Megiddo... . . . 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
8. [...] that which Your Majesty has done in this land for ever!' Thereupon My Majesty authorized that they be given the breath of life
9. [...] all their vessels, and bearing [...] (remainder too fragmentary from translation)"
Commentary

It is not altogether certain that the present text records a formal seance. Sethe may be correct in postulating a simple nsw ds i f df f although this locution smacks of popular Ramesside rhetoric. 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, 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

"[.... (x+1) Then His Majesty found the stela of... and he commanded the erection of] ano[ther st]ela to its north, on the east. Then was brought [....] (x+2) [.... seiz]ed therein for His Majesty, upon the bank of the Euphrates. Never before had any­thing like it been done (by any king....) (x+3) [Then His Majesty returned in safety to Egypt, and his stela was brought from the end of the earth and set up on the west of the city within [....]]."

226 Urk. IV, 757:17.
227 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, ZAS 44, 37–38; KRI II, 310:7; V, 28:9, 39:6, 45:12, 51:7–8, 80:5, 191:5.
228 Urk. IV, 734:14.
229 A.J. Spalinger, "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia," ZMN 37 (1978), 35–41. The fragment was conjoined on by Helck ("Wo errichtete Thutmosis III seine Siegesstele am Euphrat?" CIE 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.
230 The traces suit ky.
231 "Arm-holding-stick" may be restored before im.
232 Possibly restore ds i f, or something similar.
233 Urk. IV, 697:4–5; above, p. 00.
234 As Helck, loc. cit. Amenemheb's is a personal reminiscence and offers no indi­cations as to where precisely the stelae were set up.
235 The traces before im do not suit Helck's sign; the sign is more likely Gardiner U 10.
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.238 I would like, therefore, to suggest a restoration in the first two lines as follows: ist im[w ir e3 m dhw n h s] im n hmr f h r 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,239 nothing in the fragment proves it. If Minmose’s quarry inscription240 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.

---

238 It is most unlikely that the object was an ancestral stela: to remove it would be almost a sacrilege.

239 See Morris, Architecture of Imperialism, 127 n. 43.


---

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.1 “Collection” (šny) and “triumph stela” (wd 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

A. Title

(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!

---


B. Date & Introduction

(2) Regnal year 22, second month of proget, day 10. Compilation of the deeds of valor and might which this perfect god performed, viz. Every successful act of physical prowess, beginning with the first generation 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; and His Majesty put one such example in the temple of Amun. It was a target of hammered cop-

3 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, Aprils, 200; N. Grimal, A History of Ancient Egypt (Oxford, 1992), 213; B. Bryan in L. Shaw (ed), The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (Oxford, 2000), 245. It is most unlikely that the date refers to the imitation 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.

4 Shaw, Wh. IV, 212-9-15; the term can refer to compilation within accounting and the like, cf. Uuk. IV, 690:15 (booty), 780:4 (foreign lands); TFA 46, pl. XII, 16 recto (quota of stone); Sir A.H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Bruxelles, 1933), 136:10-11; P. Boulouix XVIII 27:18 (income), R.A. Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (Rome, 1964), 136 (offerings); M. Megally, Recherches sur l’administration et la comptabilité égyptienne à la XVIIIe 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, 1980), 304, 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 ..., 437.


6 The stela while the stel is often used in the sense of “corporate body” (P. Kaplony, Orientation 34 [1965], 147 and n. 3; J.-C. Goyon, Conférence du pouvoir royal au Nouvel empire [Cairo, 1971], 103 n. 196), and thus “a body of contemporaries,” or “generation” (CT II, 341d, 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.”


8 Min, the “so-and-so” prolepsais, anticipatory of replacement by the specific designation in question. There seems, therefore, no reason to question this translation: P. Beylage, “prj(prj) jw sr 加 = f versus prj(prj) jn mn = f d(j τ) (w) re ṣ. Eine weitere Bemerkung zu den königlichen Schießtexten der 18. Dynastie,” SMK 24 (1997), 24 and n. 12.

9 Or “three fingers.”

10 I.e. the court. If, however, “posterity” is intended (cf. W. Decker, Eine weitere Bemerkungen zur Urk. der 19. Dynastie, 3: 36, pI. XII, 16 recto: quota of stone). Sir A.H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Bruxelles, 1933), 136 (offerings); M. Megally, Recherches sur l’administration et la comptabilité égyptienne à la XVIIIe 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, 1980), 304, 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 ..., 437.

11 For ḫmn, “herd,” see IV, III, 381:15; R.O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1982), 202. In light of the implicit dismemberment and flaying associated with such an incident, could we have a mistake for ḫmn, “hides”?

12 I.e. so swiftly did he complete his early morning hunt.

13 For location, see above, p. 108.

14 For location, see above, p. 151.

15 For the location of Maw (4th cataract?), see D. O’Connor, “The Location of Irem,” JEA 73 (1987), 122-36; K. Zibelius, Afrikanske Orts- og Vilkommenn in hieroglypsiske og hieratisk tekst (Wiesbaden, 1972), 119-20; idem, Die agyptische Expansion nach Nubien (Wiesbaden, 1989), 192. On the rhinoceros hunt, see L. Störk, per, several fingers thick, transfixed by his arrow which protruded three palms (length) out the back—in order to grant the prayer of the entourage 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 of 12 bulls in one hour, and by the time breakfast time came, the tails thereof were on his (own) dump. He cut down 120 elephants in the land of Niyar 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. He got a rhinoceros by shooting, in the southland in (9) Nubia, after he had proceeded to Maw 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].
CHAPTER TWO

F. Asiatic Campaigns: General Comment

He never ceased 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 specifically by its date17 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(?)]18 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 [. . . Memphis] 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 supplication with their possessions upon their backs. His Majesty returned in happiness, every foreign land being subject to him . . . long lacuna . . . (16) . . . is 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 events he recounts, but nonetheless present and sometimes self-identified.20 He speaks in narrative prose, with a regime of acceptance independent on strong avowal and appeal to evidence. His style at face value resembles oral composition and delivery,21 (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.22

The organization of the material depends upon thematic association, and cannot be relied upon for chronology. The feat of marksman-ship 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 rhinocerus 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,23 and the reference to a “first campaign.”24 If the king in question were Thutmose III, we should be forced to conclude that the king had at sometime renumbered his campaigns.25 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


19 Read mtrw n w.wldy nh.t r sw.s. This claim to precise recording is similar to a passage in the day-book excerpts: Urk. IV, 661:14–662:2.

20 Read mtrw r n w.wldy nh.t r sw.s. This claim to precise recording is similar to a passage in the day-book excerpts: Urk. IV, 661:14–662:2.

21 As Helck has seen (Beziehungen, 121, 168 n. 53) there is enough space here for a date and calendrical notation. Possibly restore w.wldy hm.f.

22 Edel (ZDPV 70, 36 n. 13) doubts the restoration.


24 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.

25 Ibid., 62 n. 35.


31 Cf. The use of ywd: Urk. IV, 1245:5; cf. 1281:3; the present writer in “Speaker and Scribe” ... (Ben Zvi, Writings and Speech . . .), 171ff.

32 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. 86ff).


34 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.

35 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. 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. 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. It is tempting to construe year 49 as the terminus a quo for the Erman stela.

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 calendars 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 Erman 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 29, whereas according to the precise

entry of the day-book the army had set out during the final days of year 22. Similarly, general dates throughout the remainder of the cohorted 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 hypothetic 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. It is noteworthy that the composer 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. Bure Temple Text

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 Bubon.”

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 (htte) of the lands of the Fenkhû.

27 J. de Morgan and others, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte ouitique I (Cairo, 1894), 85(18); Uuk. IV, 814; Gautheîer, Louvre des rois II, 760 (XXV); T. Savy­soderbergh, Agypten und Nubien (Lund, 1941), 153; J. Leclant, Orientati 6! (1992), 282.
29 Supporting such a late date are other Erman blocks which seem to speak of Thutmose III as “possessed of jubilee[s . . .];” Sir A.H. Gardiner, “Blocks from the Temple of Thuthmosis III at Armant,” in Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini (Pisa, 1995), 95–8, pl. X.
30 Cf. Uuk. IV, 734:7, 14; 806 and passim.
G. '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 [Amon],
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) [groveling] 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. 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. The latest text mentioning him dates

---

34 P.M VII, 91(1); Ust IV, 811.
to year 23, and it is clear that he disappeared shortly thereafter. 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

(1) Live Horus-mighty-bull: appearing in West; the Two Ladies (favorite), with an established kingship like Re in heaven; Horus-over-the-Omibite: with lofty crowns and mighty power; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkeperre, son of Re, Thutmose-of-beautiful emanations, 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, 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 are in awe of him, all lands and all foreign lands lie together under his sandals, they come to him with heads bowed, groveling to his power; the foreign chiefs of each and every land say: 'he's our master!'

It is him they serve through fear (4) of him! There is no land he has not trod to extend the boundaries of Egypt in might and power! Myriads and millions are of no concern to him!

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, 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 [8] never has to attend on the southerners or seek out the northerners, knowing [9] that her protector exists like M(n) with uplifted arm, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkeperre, the bowman of Montu

Who sets his frontier at the horns of the earth, on the high-land of M(n);

(8) Kush is with him as his serf, directing to him her labor taxes, of numerous and endless gold, ivory and ebony.


For the expression, see above, p. 00.

Read the variant of such expressions as ḫ3-ḥb, ḫd ḫw m-ḥs etc.

On the right indicating a projected annual requisition, see *Wh. III*, 391:26; E.J. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift to Ancient Egypt* (Norman, 1996), 111; D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt* (Fribourg, 1997), 249.


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 paean 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 Batic feasts. Needless to say, this festival calendar did not originate with Thutmose III (inspite 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: "Now after this goddess' is sated with her offerings, 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; the exception being its (the statue's) rations of the [daily offering menu], which are given to the priests: (hm-ntr) of this temple: (viz.) Various loaves of the divine endowment, 20; beer, 2 jugs; meat, 4 ribs; std-bread, 1; bit-bread, 1; vegetables, 5 bunches; dove(?), 1 bird."

---

**CHAPTER THREE**

**BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENTS AND EPITHETS**

I. The Royal Barber Si-Bast

"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, 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, 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 [...] 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(?t 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 Baky, the king's scribe Amenmose, the superintendent of the Porte Amun[...]

---


2 *Ht3 m3t;* bound form qualifier.

3 See E. Feuchtwanger, *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.

4 *Hs st3t,* lit. "A reckoning of punishment." For *hsbt* used of legal procedure, see CT II, 26b, III, 314a; O. Koelof-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes* (Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg I; Copenhagen, 1948), 9: Wb. III, Belegstellen zu 167;17; G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapels of Mose* (Warminster, 1977), pl. 29. If *umr* is read instead of *shbt* (as Cumming), the legal action would take on a civil connotation.

---

See *Urk.* IV, 763–69.

Presumably the offerings in question are those presented on the anniversary of the accession ix, 4, given in line 25 of the stela.

I.e. for the assembled priests to consume.

Partly erased and falsely restored "Amun-re."
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. 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

“What the king’s butler Neferperet brought off, while he was in His Majesty’s suite in the land of Retenu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle of Djahy</td>
<td>4 cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian cows</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull(s)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bronze, milk-jug . . . in order to give them to the Temple of Millions of Years, Henket-onkh. His brother, Amun-em-mekh-ib, acts as their cowherd and his son Djeserkare shall carry milk.—‘Let them be under my charge throughout my lifetime!’

The superintendent of the Porte Neb-seny went in concerning it, and the king’s scribe Amunmose came (out) concerning it. What was said in the Majesty of the Palace L.P.H.: ‘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.’

III. The “Soldier” and Lieutenant-General, Amun-em-heb

“The soldier Amunemheb, 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, when he was on the battlefield of his victories, when his strength inspired confidence!

I made a capture in the land of Negeb and brought off 3 servants 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.”

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.

3 Cf. J. Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt (Chicago, 1965), 167.
7 G. Hassan, 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 (Düsseldorf, 2000), 164.
8 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.
9 I.e. presented Neferperet’s case before Pharaoh.
10 See above (pt. 1), p. 18.
11 Curiously this presupposes a human lifespan less than that of cattle! But the expression is presumably formulaic.
13 I do not think “page” is an appropriate rendering here: Galan, Victory and Border, 89 (B).
14 Cf. T. Ritter, Das Verbal System der königlichen und privaten Inschriften (Wiesbaden, 1995), 78–79. The periphrasis seems to me to be a unit: the 3 men are the same in each case, and it is subjunctive, rather than pretential.
B. Again I made a capture 'on' this expedition in the country 'the Juniper-Ridge' west of Aleppo. I brought off Asians (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 with them in my custody [... and] I [set] them before my lord. Thereupon he commended 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 Siu-n-Abr [among] whom he made a [great] slaughter. I made a captive in the presence of the king, and I brought off a hand there. He gave me the gold-of-favor: tally thereof [...], silver: 2 rings.

E. Now again I witnessed his prowess while I was in his train: [he] plundered [the town?] of 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, in the land, the northern part of [...]—h2—[...]

---

22 It is not clear whether we should read h2st phwy n Tf. I or h2st phwy nT [...].


25 A hapax: m3w.


27 Qw: treated by Chevereau as an honorific title *Prosopographie*, 197-98). The present passage might suggest a more formal category.

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. While the inclusion of the Negeb incident may be questioned, 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." 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.

The recurrent formula in this section is "I made a capture" (khfr), 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.

Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque Saïte," *Hittomis Sauvarin* (Cairo, 1979), 148 n. 4. For its use in the Megiddo description, see above, p. 00.

If, as is virtually certain, the "Negeb" here is the same as the Biblical "d" 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 *tematic link*—3 prisoners in each case.

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 Śenjar (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 location *br.tw r.f.⁵⁵ and the reference to the *phw. One is reminded that in the 10th campaign the battle took place at Aryston, 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 Minnose declares he was an eyewitness to Thutmose's capture of 30 towns therein;⁵⁴ and in the earliest of Amenophis Ii's campaigns Takhsy with its seven chiefs was the main target.³⁵ One wonders, therefore, whether the Takhsy campaign is not to be placed at the end of Thutmose's reign, after year 42.⁵⁶

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 [...] by 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 dq] or (less likely?) Whm.[n hfrf ir]. 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.

---

⁵⁶ 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*, 1, 150-52.
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 Jq3w in the other; but the old campaigner may be allowed stylistic variation.

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 sack 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.

---

37 Note how the expression ba nb occurs in both pericopes: “everyone” in E Ukt. IV, 892:12 and ba nb nfr, “every good thing” in J (895:7).
I saw how the arm of His Majesty waxed strong when (he took to) fighting, plundering 30 towns within the region of Takhsy,\textsuperscript{45} (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.\textsuperscript{46}

**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.\textsuperscript{46} The second is the overthrow (šprij) of the land of Nḫṣy, which must refer to whatever Thutmose was doing in the south in year 49–50.\textsuperscript{47} 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 expoit, 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 cartouch! 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.\textsuperscript{48}

V. The Keeper of the Seal and Superintendent of the Gold Lands of Amun, Sen-nufer\textsuperscript{49}

"Now it is the hereditary prince, count, royal sealer [sole friend . . .\textsuperscript{50}]

**Commentary**

Sen-nufer that speaks: 'I crossed the sea, [I . . . lengthy lucrea . . . which

\textsuperscript{45} Above, p. 169 n. 23.

\textsuperscript{46} Cf. G. Daressy, "Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Masarah," \textit{ASAE} 11 (1911), 258.

\textsuperscript{47} See above, pp. 161–162.

\textsuperscript{48} Cf. Helck, \textit{Geschichte des Alten Ägypten} (Leiden, 1968), 162; der Manuelian, \textit{op. cit.}, 53–54. Klenegl (\textit{Syria 3000 to 380 B.C.}, 94) assigns the erecting of the stela to Thutmose's reign, but includes the Takhsy battles in the 8th campaign (following Gardiner).


\textsuperscript{50} There may be more titles at this point.

\textsuperscript{51} Read šp in all probability; less likely r-r-c, "vöarmacy" or the like. To supply a first person suffix at this point would be out of place.


\textsuperscript{53} S. Ratière, \textit{La Reine Hatchepsout. Sources et problèmes} (Leiden, 1979), 286–87.

\textsuperscript{54} M. Megally, \textit{Le Papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3225 du Louvre} (Cairo, 1971), pl. 65 (A Recto xi.3–4).

\textsuperscript{55} Above, p. 125.

VI. The Great Whmm of the King Antef

"Hereditary prince, count, uniquely beloved courtier, mayor of Thinis in the Abydos township, chief of the Oasis in its entirety, great whmm of the king Antef repeating life and possessed of veneration . . . who is in the heart of the Perfect God, able scribe of the accounts, great whmm of the king . . . chief whmm 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 land, 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 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.

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),

One who goes in with acclamation 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,

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.

Who silences the disputant and preserves decorum, 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 emanation from the god's mouth!

Who brings the Sun-folk's attention to reckoning their labor-taxes for the king;

Sten on 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;
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 thieves, who deals tough with those who deal tough, hard-liners 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 [. . .]

The chief Wm.w of the Porte, mayor of Thinis in the Abydos township, chief of the Oasis in its entirety, able scribe skilled in the script, 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 Very clever and patient in audience . . .
Free from wrong-doing, useful to his masters,
Straightforward 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 of the mind before they have passed the lips,

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 with the concerns of associates,
Patient in hearing petitioners, who judges [two men to their] (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 of the wretched, father of the poor,
Guide of the orphan, mother of the fearful,
Refuge of him who has been attacked, protector of the sick,
Champion of the one deprived of his property by him that is more powerful than he;
Husband of the widow, refuge of the orphan . . .
One over whom his acquaintance exults, 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 great wmm 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:

70 Wb. III, 80:5; is this writing a simplex of Wb. II, 296:11, or is Antef manufacturing an “archaism”?
72 T3-sh: Wb. V, 342:9; unlikely to have anything to do with the idiom “to be depressed, discouraged”; E. Devaud, Les Maximes de Pithoupe (Fribourg, 1916), 19:63; Wenamun 2, 69; Sisine and the General (Chass. 1 x 3: x*6).
73 Cq3-ab.
74 Read ndwyw.
"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 of boasting of me falsely—what I have done 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 extreme south of the earth, I arrived at its northern extremity at the feet of His Majesty LPH.
I was as much a soldier as the master swordsman, and deported myself like his braves.
Every palace situated (hr-s3) in a foreign land was assessed for [supplies] and I travelled before the elite corps at the head of the 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 b3t), 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 whnwyw, 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, 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 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 intw. That intw 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.
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. One can point to the reduction of Sharuhen and excursions into the Byblos region by Ahmose, a possible clash somewhere in Asia(?) Under Amenophis I, a more formal invasion of the Orontes and north Syria by Thutmose I, and punitive action against transhumants.


3 Cf. The large and beautiful limestone shrine of Amenophis I in the Sheikh Labib storerooms 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.

4 Redford, op. cit., 274-76. The gate inscription, which I tentatively assigned to Amenophis I, may in fact belong to Thutmose I: cf. L. Bradley, "Nefertiti'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 tym: 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 Nuh-hasshe, as F.-J. Schmitz, Amenophis I [Hildesheim, 1978], 183) 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. Klenge, Geschichte Syriens II [Berlin, 1959], 79-80; M.C. Astour, “History of Ebla,” Eblatika 3 [1992], 9 n. 32), the city does not figure as an adversary until the New Kingdom. Si-nu-na (= Hitt. Ši-nu-na, “mountain”): G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, Repertoire géographique des Textes cunéiformes. VI. Die Orts- und Gedächnisnamen der hethitischen Texte [Wiesbaden, 1978], 515) brings us into a period
perhaps in Lebanon. 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.). During the 7 or 8 decades separating 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, and Asiatic copper. This meant simply maintaining the age-old connections with Byblos and its environs and did not necessitate or entail grandiose schemes of conquest. Allusions to dominion over Asia are few, banal and conventional.

Figure,” in J.H. Hayes, J.M. Miller, Israelite and Judan 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 one, a red herring, as I think pinning the blame on the Hurrians (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 Asians 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-destroyation! And in the records of which kings is there any mention of systematic destruction? Even in the Karnak door-jambs Qeletum, Tutip, Zitana 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 profer 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.

Mainly for the manufacture of cultic paraphernalia for Amun (Unk. IV, 23:10-12 [the river barque], 56:8-4 [flag-staves, 423:2 [doors]), Osiris (Unk. IV, 98:13-14 [barque] and stores in general (Unk. IV, 55:6, 373:3-5, 455:16); the source of the jugs 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. Bourriaud, “Relations between Egypt and Kermâ during the Middle and New Kingdoms,” in V. Davies [ed], Egypt and Africa. Nahâb 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-V] appears first in the 13th Dyn. M.F. Laming MacAdam, “A Royal Family of the 15th 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), 398:2.

On this localization of the Shasu, see above p. 92.

[1] On the risk of having a label pinned on me and my work branded as “obsol­

ete,” 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, dares for a moment the reality of the numerous destruction levels in the MB/LH 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 framed: a narrow span or a spread over several years (Dever, “The Second Millennium B.C.E.: the Archaeological
The exception to the minimal interest in Asia characteristic of these pre-conquest years is provided by the brief reign of Thutmose I. The novelty of this reign which in several ways departs from Middle Kingdom precedent, 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 the technique of subversion by oath and the extension of the tax system to the conquered territories. 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. The objective lay in that area stretching from Alalakh through Aleppo and Carchemish to Ashtata, a region which had, within the last three decades, received successive attacks from Hattusilis I, Mursilis I and Hanilis II. Reflections of the engagement with Mittanian forces appear in some of the earliest scenes depicting northern captives, and (less convincingly perhaps) in the southern orientation of LBIA Syrian pottery. It may well be that the devastating 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.

The premature death of Thutmose I 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 Cannaanites. There was no "empire" in Syria. In Palestine the relationship remains the be defined. It would appear that the extreme youth of Thutmose II at the moment of his accession and his short reign precluded his pursuing his father's energetic activity in the north.
The capture of Sharubut by Ahmose and the disintegration of its polity has been correctly seen as a significant opening shot in the weakening of Canaan. 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, her power courses through (foreign) valleys, fear of her pervades the foreign lands. Most references of this sort can as easily be assigned a southern as a northern frame of reference; and those which do enjoy an Asiatic context are few and formulaic. One passage appears to acknowledge that the peaceful conditions alleged to exist in Asia stem from the Pax Aegyptiaca imposed by her father’s exploits. The current “years of peace” foster a climate in which “all foreign lands labor in unison” for Egypt.

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 recording the first campaign of Thutmose III, immediately following the demise of Hatshepsut, 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 (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. This absence of earlier evidence firmly places the new regime at Kadesh within an LB I context. The interface between the period of the three great Levantine kingdoms of the Middle Bronze Age, viz. Yamkhad, Qatanum and Hazor, and the world of Thutmose III’s conquests, consists precisely in the arrival and rapid expansion in Coele and southern Syria of an Indo-European 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. It resulted in the forcible replacement of older regimes with new ones,

---

24 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 Sharubut gone, there was no other metropolitan state of significance south of Hazor.


26 Ibid., 144.

27 Ibid., 258.


29 *Urk.* IV, 2486-7; 370:16-17 (chiefs of Retenu).

30 *Urk.* IV, 2486-7.

31 Lacau-Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, 311; cf. 230-31; *Urk.* IV, 2726-7; 3733-5; 3255.
northern; in location focuses on the Sinai turquoise mines. 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. Ancby, 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." It may be that the occupant of T.T. 73 (Amenophis)? Who worked on Hatshepsut's obelisks, employed the same epithets. Yamu-nejdj, who participated in Thutmose's later conquests, began his career in year 15; 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. The only permanent Egyptian presence in the region was a small (?) standing force located at Sharon, 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."

---

Palestine with fire and sword (cf. Na'aman, "The Hurrians...", Levant 26, 181-81): see above, pp. 2-3 n. 6.


44 Helck, Beziungen, 120; idem, Politische Gegensatze im alten Aegypten, 51.

45 See the present writer in History and Chronology of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Seven Studies (Toronto, 1967). 60f, wherein I was perhaps a little too sanguine.

46 Cf. Satunawa: W.C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," MDAIK 15 (1957), fig. 1:3, pl. 10:3 (year 7), and see D.J. Wiseman, The Alalah Tablets (London, 1952), 189:44, T.O. Schneider, Asiatische Personenamen in aegyptischen Quellen des neuen...
was definitely in Egyptian hands, and comprised a possession which might well date back to Ahmose himself. 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.

54 Scarabs and other minor texts of Thutmose III abound at Tell el-Ajjul and in the el-Moghara area north of Wady Gaza: W.M.F. Petrie, Ancient Gaza I (London, 1931), pl. 7:55; 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, 2000. 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.

55 Cf. scarab(s) of Amenophis I at Tel el-Ajjul; Petrie, Gaza I, pl. 14:129; possibly Gaza II, pl. 55:1023.

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, 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, administration or “the nursery.” The result was a sort of
household troop, "the company of Menkheperre" or "... of Pharaoh."

Full-time, professional cadres are rare before the 14th Century B.C. 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. The divisions so raised marched under the banner of the appropriate god, as in the famous case at Kadesh. Under Thutmose III a sizeable contingent probably came from the Delta. 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, and it is a curious fact that attested army sizes from the Bronze Age are often c. 5000 men or multiples of that figure. Forces in excess of 30,000 are rare and the passages which mention them highly suspect. Smaller units are referred to, 2000 being a number also considered sufficient for expeditions.

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 mg8 means. One might compare Canaanite *naqailo, "rod" (J. Hoch, Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period [Princeton, 1994], 66–67 [217]), or Semitic *mgur, "overthrow, annihilate" (A. Murtonen, Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting I, A (Bl) [Leiden, 1989], 253); or it might have a connection with mg3, "crocodile demon": P. Vermes, "Abarib" (Cairo, 1976), 415 n. 2.

Smaller units are referred to, 2000 being a number also considered sufficient for expeditions.

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," sometimes recruited from a particular part of the country, or from palace personnel. On the other hand we can trace throughout the reign the expansion of a professional soldierly (see the proliferation of titles of full-time servicemen.

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. The Egyptians captured, apparently outside the city, 387 [bulls], 1,929 cows, 2,000 goats and 2,500 sheep. On the basis of the coefficients between cattle and goat/sheep, the
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, and even deportation. 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.” 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.

It is important to note that, certainly in the eyes of the natives, the raising 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.

The true sign of hegemony was the chief’s public submission: proskynesis, request for “breath,” renunciatory oath, and the delivery of children. Benevolences would follow on a yearly basis. The northern

198  CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE AND SIZE OF THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE 199

total sheep/goat units would be 32,151. Since a soldier’s diet consisted of 10 loaves of bread, it is a fair estimate that this component would have accounted for c. 1500 cal. of the c. 2400 required by an individual. Since one sheep/goat unit provides 300 calories per day, it would take approximately 3 days 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 guerrilla 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, and therefore “give things to them that are upon his water.” Towns which failed to give a benevolence or actively opposed Pharaoh’s will, would ipso facto be in a state of bps, “disobedience,” or bêt, “rebellion.” These could be attacked, although


29 On the lack of permanence in Egyptian control north of Hums, inspite of impressive victories, see Klengel, Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C., 94–5; T.R. Bryce, The Kingdom of the Hittites, 129.

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.32 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.33 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.34 More reliable as comparanda would be the rations given to laborers at quarry- or construction-sites. From Wady Hammamat and Gebel Silsilah come figures for daily rations of 20 loaves, a bunch of vegetables and a cut of meat.35 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.36 If we add two jars of beer as a daily ration,37 we probably arrive very close to the “starvation” rations of the expeditionary 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.38 More likely, however, as in riverine traffic, travelling breweries accompanied the troops.39 Presumably beyond Gaza the army could have drawn on stores provided by the garrison at Sharuhen, 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.

---

33 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, 1377) and the Nubian campaign (Urk. IV, 1375f; P-M VII, 175).
CHAPTER THREE

RATES OF SPEED ON THE MARCH AND THE TRANSIT CORRIDORS INTO ASIA

The distance between Tel Hebewa (Silé) and Gaza via the ancient North Sinai route is c. 220 km. A 9 day crossing would meant that approximately 24 km was covered each day. While comparable to the estimated rate of march of Mayan armies or Napoleon’s Grande Armée, this is considerably slower than the rate of 45-50 km per day for the Sinai route achieved in Greco-Roman times, 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 blockhouses and hydrea, and the clearing of the route. 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.

From Gaza on the pace slackened. The army negotiated the distance to Yechem, 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 of the march, north of Joppa, the troops would have had to march through a forest.

It has been claimed that the very route covered by the Egyptians from Gaza to the pass is reflected in the toponym list beginning with no. 57. These are, in sequence, 57. N-g-b, 58. I-sa-s-h-n, 59. R-n-m, 60. Y-r-g3 (= Yurṣa), 61. M-i-h3-s3 (= Muḥazzī of EA 298:25, contiguous with the territory of Gezer), 62. Y-p-w (= Joppa), 63. K-n-t-w (= a gr-plantation), 64. Raw-lm (= Luth), 65. Iw-n-w (= Ono), 66. I-pw-q-n (= Aphek), 67. S3-w-k3 (= Soco学习成绩), 68. Y-h-m. If no 57 is taken as Gaza, we have exactly eleven names up to and including Yechem 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 Judaean 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 Šašīmi of EA 203:4 and locates it in the Bashan. The only reason, however, Šašīmi 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 Sirī-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
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 'rabûn, and was probably based in a headquarters. There is, then, no need to locate 'Salîhîmi close to 'Sūrî-bâshân. 13

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, via the easternmost, or Pelusiac, branch. 15 The subsequent course across open water had long since been charted by mariners bound for, or coming from, Byblos. 16 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. 17 The latter must have belonged wholly to the transport class: no warships would have been required. 18 "Crossing (the sea)" was conveyed by the verb mmî, 19 and mmaw "(troop) transports" is the earliest technical term used for the vessel in question. 20 The three words used of the crafts involved in the "Byblos-run" under Thutmose III 21 likewise 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, 22 and thus compared favorably with the grain ships that plied between Rome and Egypt in classical times. 23 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. 24 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. 25 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). 26 The mediaeval taride could carry about 40 animals, and a mere 5 could provide enough teams for 100 chariots. 27

---


14 Cf. The Armanat stela, line 11 (= Urk. IV, 1246:14; cf. 1305:4, 1308:16. It has been pointed out (T. Sße-sôgederbergh, *The Navy of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty* [Uppsala, 1965], 34) that in the writing of uwyt 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 sense of "craft" 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). 26 The mediaeval taride could carry about 40 animals, and a mere 5 could provide enough teams for 100 chariots. 27


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. 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. 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.
1. The king’s leading the way.
2. The capture of ornate chariots.
3. Slaying the vagabonds ($m3w$).

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.

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.

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 43.
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.

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.
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.

1. The departure from Memphis, the king leading the way.
4. The supplication of the defeated and the proferring 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 šmn3yw, 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 circumvaluation, 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 Fenkh. 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 cliche: in the event it is inconceivable that anything beyond a few weeks would have been required to reduce this medium-sized settlement, now packed with fugitives. 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 “telescoping”? In fact, Hatshepsut had already made a new Wsr-h3t-Imn just a few years before: 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.”

---

4 “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 vs. 104; AQHT f.1–43 [ANET, 153]). J. Vander, La Famine dans l’Egypte ancienne [Cairo, 1936], 132–39; Gen. 41:26 periods of Oppression (Jud. 6:1; AQHT c.iv.177 [ANET, 155]), span of rule (Jud. 12:9; I Kings 2:11; A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles [Winona Lake, 2600], 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]).


6 W.J. Mannan, “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 Thutmosese 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.”! Now the phrase ëb3t followed by toponym, which occurs widely in the daybook excerpts, always refers to the receipt of goods on expedition, not in Egypt; and there is no reason to make an exception in the present instance. 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. 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 “annals,” and might once have formed part of the said east face of the west wall. The case will be made below that the block in question comes from the record of the 8th campaign.

1 Above, p. 64.
3 Pace Helck, Beziehungen, 139, who simply follows the older literature: Meyer, Geschichte II, 1, 120, n. 1; Gardiner JEA 38 (1952), 9; Drioton-Vandier, L’Égypte, 491 etc.
4 Urk. IV, 675, and plan 625 (at d).
5 Urk. IV, 676, 77.
6 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. As divided by Sethe, 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, 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 milk-kine and milk-jugs is also mentioned in the Festival Hall decree and on the Sixth Pylon (south). 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.

The textual analysis of the Festival Hall decree 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. If, during the fifth month of his
24th year, Thutmose III was to be found in Asia, dompating the local recalcitrants, does it not tax credulity to find him ostensively 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, the figure "7 months" for the siege is highly suspect. Again: the black granite stela from Karnak room VII 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 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 the Mittanian army, or in the Amarna Age with the collapse and disintegration of Mitanni, this clearly was possible.

The historical implications of the present passage, however, are not as undermining of its credibility as the foregoing would suggest. Sausata'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.

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. 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,' brought 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, an flurry of activity in Nubia in year 27, an expedition to Sinai, also in year 28

---

17 See below, pp. 220ff.
21 Cf. The graffito of the scribe of measuring: W.M.F. Petrie, Meidum, pl. 34–8, p. 41. The date is vii, 21, i.e. just before a campaigning season might have begun.
22 Cf. J. Vercoutter, Kahun VI (1958), pl. 46a (year 27, vi, 8).
27-23 and the induction (?) of the vizier’s major domo Amenemhet in year 28.4 Whether the first and third are in any way connected with activity which might later be construed as a “fourth” campaign, must remain moot.25

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” (mnnw) in the Lebanons.26 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. Inspite of the fact that the relevant text27 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,28 a status of long standing.29 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.30 A point of some importance to bear in mind in assessing the territorial extent

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.31 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 50.32 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

---

26 N. de G. Davies, A.H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet (London, 1915), pl. 24 ff; 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.  
27 It should be remembered in this regard that Si-Bast’s legal text (year 27) presupposes a recent military campaign: see above, p. 100.  
29 Above, p. 137.  
30 Cf. EA 146:10, 150:7, 151:6, 155; cf. The epitaph amti sarri in 149:10, 63 and passim.  
31 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. Lipinski, “The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher,” in E. Lipinski (ed), Phoenicia and the Bible (Leuven, 1991), 153-66. But Tyre’s interests may already have ranged farfield, 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], 7C-72), making it an ideal possession: note how Pharaoh uses it as a listening post for the entire Levant: EA 149:49ff.


33 Perhaps occasioning the scarab in H.E. Winlock, The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses (New York, 1946), pl. XIX F and p. 35.

34 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.\(^3^4\)

---

\(^3^4\) 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. 1, 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 Esdraelon, 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,\(^1\) 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).\(^2\) 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

\(^1\) Above, p. 81.

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. 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 coastal cities abetted the Egyptian takeover: a king, with small maryannu elite, supported by semi-free peasantry. 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. 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, 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. Significantly they are to be found in the same region they later occupy in force during the Amarna Age. In order to make the Egyptian military and (presumably) civilian presence self-sustaining from this point on, Thutmose III transformed the “harbors” of the region into depots where local food stuffs could be deposited. Presumably the arrangements for garnering the harvest depended upon the same type of share-cropping on khatto-land which had worked in the Esdraelon. 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. By confiscating it Thutmose III had rendered the region destitute, a strategy imitated by Ashurnasirpal some 5 centuries later.

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.
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 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 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.

---

1 I.e. in the late winter or early spring of the 32nd year; on the problem of the calendar dates, see below, p. 226.
2 The second; On the problem touched upon here, see below, p. 227.
Problems remain however. Most reconstructions of the sequence of events have labored under the burden of the mistaken order assigned to them by Gardiner. As demonstrated above, 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. 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; only with the battle already won could such self-indulgence be contemplated. 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 subj 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 stela8 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 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,9 and would also conform to logical expectations: one sets up a triumph-stela only when the enemy has been defeated. Or, 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.10 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.11 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).12

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.13 While this attribution may be dismissed as a mere guess, traces of royal titulary on the reverse may arguably be assigned to Thutmose III,14 and allusions to archery may indicate the 8th campaign.15 An examination of the content suggests a retrograde reading: A(9) [...] My Majesty commanded [to bring it outside for me. Then [... ] (8) [...] in order to] tread the roads of [this] country

---

3 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 Constantiniople obelisk; G = the Poetical Stela; H = Menkheperrasonb; I = Yamu-nejreh; J = Iwy-montu; K = Min-mose; L = Sen-nufe; M = Nebenkeme.

4 See pp. 170ff.


6 Qatna is also a likely stopping point en route, for both outbound and homeward-bound journeys, as the ford of the Orontes is in the vicinity: Uruk IV, 1902:7; der Manuelian, Studies ... Amenemheb 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’Assurinisrap II au Lutu’t,” Orientinha 69 (2008), 137.

7 As pointed out above (p. 77), the restoration of “Qatna” in Uruk IV, 696:17 is wholly gratuitous and without foundation.

8 Older discussions in which two stelae, one on either bank, were considered (cf. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, 175* and n. 1; Smith, Idrom, 46–47), are now obsolete, in spite of recent attempts to reassert the notion: A. Dodson, Monarch of the Nile (London, 1995), 87; cf. Galán, Victory and Border, 148–50.

9 Note how the return follows immediately on the erection of the stela.


11 G. Bommes, Essays on Syria in the Iron Age (Louvain, 2000), p. 386 (fig. 1).

12 On the equivocal nature of the text—sdt is not a certain restoration—see above, p. 82 n. 351.

13 Uruk IV, 675–78.

14 Uruk IV, 677.

15 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.
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, and his nobility sought refuge in caves: 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 of 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.

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?” “I followed the Perfect God, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Menkheperre] to [every foreign country] in my youth... he trod the mountains and crossed the river Euphrates”.

“I followed 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]...” Thereafter

16 Wb. II, 220:5-14.
17 *Sdj-3i* hr: same expression used of Thutmose III’s recreation in Arment (Urk. IV, 1245:12).
18 The feminine *-3* requires a feminine noun for the body of water. One thinks of *’ét* (Wb. III, 195:1-9; H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique IV, 92; CT II, 64b), “(swampy) lake, canal”; *’ ét-3* “(excavated) pool” (Gardiner, Onomastica I, p. 8*; R.O. Faulkner, Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian [Oxford, 1962], 274); or *m3pt*, “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’Antiquité méditerranéenne (Cairo, 1994), 30–31.
the phrase is reduced to an almost generic level: “who followed the king on water and land in the southern and northern countries.”

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 assault craft c. 15–20 days
3. The march to the Euphrates No less than 30 days
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
8. The march to Niya & the plundering of villages en route 15–21 days
9. The elephant hunt 2 days
10. The march to Qatna 7 days
11. Sporting contest and inspection 2 days
12. Collection of benevolences c. 5 days
13. Return march to Egypt c. 37 days

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 abchet. But a text from Bersheh 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 copied out in his writing on the precious idd-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 hbd hbrt sd c3 wht would seem to point to the second jubilee; 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. In either case, if the king maintained his normal campaigning schedule, he could not have been in Egypt on xii.12.

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.

27 Berlin 10756: O. Kaiser, Ägyptisches Muscum Berlin (Berlin, 1967), no. 584 (Nebenker, child of the harim); H.M. Stewart, Relics, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I, New Kingdom (Warminster, 1976), pl. 15 (Djeu-ernekh, steward); Utk. IV, 1024:6 (Nekpenert, butter, child of the harim); Utk. IV, 1024:17 (Amenmose steward); Utk. IV, 1062:2, 1641 (Amenemhet, king’s-scribe, food supply); Utk. IV 1462:19 (Pekhi-sukher, lieutenant general); CCG 34092 (Duwa, captain); Hieroglyphic Texts ... British Museum (Berlin, 1967), no. 584 (Amunhotep, high-priest of Anhur).
28 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.
29 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.
31 Approximately 200 km.
32 Approximately 100 km.
33 Approximately 500 km.
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.²³ It is no use protesting that, above, we have postulated a date in the 5th month for the 2nd campaign,²⁴ that expedition travelled by land.

The solution may well lie in the attenuated and (perhaps) apocryphal nature of Thutmose III's self-festival celebrations.²⁵ Sen-nufu'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 isd-tree is generally associated with the crowning of Pharaoh,²⁶ and the re-affirmation of his kingship,²⁷ although its primary link seems to be to the solar cult.²⁸ 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.²⁹


²⁴ See above, p. 212.

²⁵ Above, n. 37.

²⁶ I am indebted to my student, Ms. Kate Lizuka, for an array of evidence collected for her thesis “Coronation Scenes in Ancient Egypt.”


²⁹ 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!

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 co-optation 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 Mittani’s reply 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.¹ While the four generations from Artatama I to Shattiwaza are known and fixed as to relative chronology,² the family tree prior to Artatama is full of gaps


² A. Harrak, Assyria und Hamagalit (Texte und Studien zur Orientistik; Hildesheim, 1987), 20–21
and uncertain relationships. Saushtatar's floruit, with its expansion eastward into Assyria and its reassertion of hegemony in North Syria, must have followed the final decade of Thutmose III's reign and possibly even Amenophis II's campaigns; and there is no certainty that he was the immediate predecessor of Artarata. Witnesses in Nuzi texts contemporary with Saushtatar are found in a document mentioning the death of Barratarna. 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, must have been preceded in the kingship of Mukuhe by his short-lived brother Adad-nirari. His father, Idrimi, enjoyed a floruit of 37 + years, from the time of his flight from Aleppo, and thus would have been Thutmose III's contemporary during the latter's campaigning years. 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. How many generations, if any, separated Barratarna from Shutarna I son of Kirta, the founder of the house, is anyone's guess at present: is it too daring to make Shutarna I Thutmose I's opponent?

3. One wonders whether it was Saushtatar that concluded the treaty with Amenophis II: P. de la Mare, Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II (Hildesheim, 1967), 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, 1966), 163.
4. HSS XIII, 165: 1, 18.
5. See above, p. 213.
6. See also, 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.
8. 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.

With the contemporaneity of Barratarna and Thutmose III determined, it is possible to sketch the power base of the enemy Thutmose III faced. 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, although Akkadian scribes usually write only KUR or URU before the name, 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 and obliged to pay tribute. If Barratarna had had a hand in the insurrection which overthrew Imililamma of Aleppo, 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 Murulis I in the outgoing 16th Cent., and a century later by Tudkhaliyas, must have so weakened the city and fractured its former territory, that it had probably become a man's land between the incipient power structures of Mittani and Khatte. Idrimi's bellicose activity along the coast north of the Orontes compromised Kizzuwadna which, through treaty with Alalakh, was brought within the Mittanian sphere of influence. Niya, lately in thrall to Alalakh and Aleppo, probably had little chance of self-determination. If the Niqmepa-Il-Addu treaty reflects a relationship of long-standing, as must surely be the case, then...
Tunip and the mid-Oroutes 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, and this subsidence of long standing is duly noted a century later. 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. While Takhsy, between Kadesh and Damascus, remained a somewhat lawless and intractable district, Damascus and the district of Upe were firmly within the Egyptian sphere, presumably from the time of the first or second campaign. Along the coast south of the mouth of the Oroutes 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.

"Der Vertrag zwischen Ir-Addu von Tunip und Nimpea von Mipkii," in G.D. Young and others (eds), Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons (Bethesda, 1997), 223.

21 Above, p. 221.


23 Note the presence of Mittanian troops in the territory of Kadesh in year 42 below, p. 246.

24 See below, p. 242.


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 maneuvering and punitive action.

The situation of Nukhashshe provides a case in point for the former. As noted above, 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 Kheta, for possession of Aleppo’s erstwhile eastern district, bordering the Euphrates. 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, 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(?), and 38, and twice it is noted that...
the local opposition surrendered abjectly. 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 Takua. 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. 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 obelisks at Heliopolis and the pylon, 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, and a celebration (of the jubilee?) in year 37 at Karnak. Scribes were reconnoitering the ruined complex of Djoser at Saqqara sometime in year 39, and the pyramid of Pepy II early in year 40.

It is not clear whether the activity during year 40 was construed by the composing scribe as a formal wght, that is to say whether the king was actually in Asia when the gifts of the chiefs were received. The dating by the phrase m nmp 40 militates in favor of the digest-format, 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, livestock, 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. 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

---

5 See above, p. 00.
6 EA 51:4. The Monashiva of this passage and the Monashpiva 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 unsatisfiable: 1. While the prosody curiously varies over the centuries, in the present case m is clearly under stress, while hpt is in a bound construction with ni, and thus, lacking stress, has suffered the reduction of its first syllable. A plural would not have produced this vocalization, as the pattern C’CC’C’w would have required a reduction of the penultimate syllable, C’CC’C’w and, with the assimilation of the unvoiced labial and the operation of vowel harmony, would have produced exactly the form we see in -hpt.
2. The Coptic -hpt offers no parallel, and constitutes something of a “red herring.” The word derives from hpt, a feminine singular participial form: W. Westendorf, Keftisches Handworterbuch (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 II’s name, as they appear in Greek, in a. Hesperia, N. Hesperia, Περιοδικός Νισαπήρης, Περιοδικός Νισαπήρης (Waddell, Moneta [Cambridge, 1940], 100, 114, 240) show stress on m and a reduction of the vowel between b and p (now metathesized).
9 Urk. IV, 940:12.
11 Cf. Fragment of Aswan granite stele dated in year 37 of a king whose name is lost. The style appears to be 18th Dynasty (private hand-copy).
12 C. Firth, J. E. Quibell, The Step Pyramid I (Cairo, 1933), 80ff.
13 G. Jequier, Le monument funéraire de Pepy II (Cairo, 1940), 43–44 fig. 33. The unnamed king of this text could conceivably be Ramesses II.
14 If it was not accorded the status of a reign, then the total number of expeditions was 16.
15 Above, pp. 33–54.
part of the day-book excerpts. The wood listed points to the Lower Orontes and North Syria.17

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,”18 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 ʃ 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.19 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.”20 The latter were negotiated between equals, according to the international rules known as parsu;21 and the dowry and terḥatu which changed hands in the transaction dwarfed the amounts recorded by Thutmose III’s scribe.22 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.23 While war between these two power blocs was in progress 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 offering. 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.24 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.25 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.26 She is simply an outstanding member of the growing body of “children of the chiefs,”27 sent as part of the benevolence of a loyal (coastal?) chief.

17 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 provenance?
18 Uruk IV, 671-6-8. The reference to lapis is not crucial, as it can be “clanned” by several countries.
23 Cf. The wording “male and female servants of his benevolence”: Uruk IV, 669-4.
26 As, for example, A.R. Schulman, “Diplomatic Marriages in the Egyptian New Kingdom,” JNES 38 (1979), 183 (emend “year 24” to “year 40”).
CHAPTER TEN

THE UPRISING OF YEAR 42

Most historians view the campaign of year 42 as a response to a set-back. Thutmose's chevauchée of the 41st year had presumably extending into his familiar stomping-ground of Niya, 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. 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, 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, which marked the northernmost extent of the expedition. 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, 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. 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 with Tunip, and no matter how the root YSB is translated in context, it implies Egyptian hegemony. This was first imposed, obviously, in year 42. 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.

2 Cf. the 18 tusks of ivory in the benevolence: above, p. 93.
3 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.
4 Helck, Beziehungen, 153.
5 Chapter 4.
6 As we have seen, the capital was given to Akhetaten, and the former residents were relocated to a new city. This was followed by a period of peace and prosperity.
7 The text does not specify whether the city was captured or merely besieged.
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? 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? 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.

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, Elkab and Heliopolis, and in Nubia; and the latter was inspected.

1 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. Suppuliuliumas was occupied for 20 years in campaigning in Anatolia (KUB XIX:9; W.J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (Chicago, 1985), 225), the Tumipians petitioned Pharaoh for 20 years (EA 59:13, 44; W.L. Moran, The Amarna Letters (Baltimore, 1987), 121 n. 5); the ark was detained 20 years (1 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 Felsenschriften von Hatnub [Leipzig, 1928], Gr. 10).

2 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. 136) and the 8th (BarkaJ, Armant). The miracle of the “star” (BarkaJ: above, p. 112) is undated, but presumably falls during the same period.

3 Urk. IV, 1302–4.


5 Above, p. 235.


7 P.M.V. 251; Uitk. IV, 814; T. Sjöse-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien (Lund, 1940), 153; J. Leclant, Orientalia 61 (1992), 288.
and perhaps raided in years 49–50. Year 46 attests an interest in inventoring, and in the following year comes the most detailed of the many retrospectives. 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. 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 Takhshy, with its reference to chiefs, chattels and cattle, an incident missing from the (surviving) day-book excerpts. In fact the region of Takhshy, 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. The tempting inference that Takhshy 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, 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) with the same incident? A corygecy of the two kings is now assured of at least one year, four months, and probably no more than two years, four months. This would mean that the coregent was appointed on iv.1

8 Minmose, who participated in the 8th campaign and lived on under Amenophis II, states clearly “I saw (how) he overthrew the land of Nubia” (Unk. IV, 1441,18), surely a reference to a campaign, later than those (dubious) escapades of the joint reign.
10 Barkal stela; above, pp. 102 ff.
11 Above, p. 171.
13 Above, p. 169, episode G.
14 Unk. IV, 1296:15–16.

(around Sept. 17) of either the 52nd or 51st year of his father, 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. 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, “after H.M. came back from Upper Retenu . . . having slain with his own mace the 7 chiefs who were in the district of Takhshy . . . 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.” The sequence of events and the length of time required proves that “after” (m-h) is employed in the loosest way. The trip from Takhshy 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. It is much more likely, therefore, that the Takhshy 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 Takhshy campaign of the Amada-Elephantine stelae with that of Minmose’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,” chattels and cattle, as opposed to no specific statement;

16 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 wife Hatshepsut II: W. Seipel, “Hatshepsut II,” LA IV (1986), 1092.
19 Unk. IV, 1296–97.
20 See above, p. 228.
21 Or better the indefinite plural: “several towns,” or “a score or more” in our parlance.
the assertion, in one notice, that 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” (aydy) were loosely applied to expeditions, and presence or absence of the term means little. 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.

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. Nowhere, one is reminded, is the sacking of Kadesh set forth anywhere in the excerpts, while such a sacking is clearly the burden of Amenemheb’s episodes E, I and J. Now Takhsy and Kadesh are frequently mentioned together, a collocation which bespeaks, perhaps, a political as well as a geographical proximity. 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.

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 many of which overlap in meaning, and often confound those who have postulated precision in Egyptian usage. 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 inu. This term has of late come under the scrutiny of exhaustive research, from a variety of vantage points, both linguistic and socio-economic. Translations cover a wide range: “deliveries,” “tribute,” “contribution (to the king’s privy purse),” “tax”.

1 Redford, Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom (Beersheba, 1990), 40–41.
2 H3gl (D. Warburton, State and Economy in Ancient Egypt [Fribourg, 1997], 141–42).
3 Der Manuelian, Studies, 37ff.
4 Above, p. 168, episodes E, I and J.
5 But see above, p. 172 for the critical lacuna.
6 It has even been claimed that in Anat. I, 22.3–4 Kadesh is located in Takhsy: H.-W. Fischer-Ellen, Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I (Wiesbaden, 1986), 192.

22 Above, p. 38.
23 Van den Boorn, Ph. cit., 284.
First: \textit{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\textsuperscript{12} of the bringing, and the source.\textsuperscript{13} Both Egyptian and non-Egyptian agents are responsible for \textit{inw}.\textsuperscript{14}

Second: the recipient expects \textit{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, \textit{qmt} and fowl, are categorized as “of the \textit{inw},”\textsuperscript{15} and storehouses and containers are set aside for \textit{inw}.\textsuperscript{16} In administrative texts \textit{inw} is sometimes called on to make up a shortfall outside the budgetary estimate.\textsuperscript{17} In this sense they may be termed “special deliveries” from a sort of slush fund;\textsuperscript{18} but this need not mean that the latter was irregularly replenished.\textsuperscript{19}

Finally: the word itself smacks of Egyptian formulation and ideology only, and arises from an ideological perception which is thoroughly Egyptian.\textsuperscript{20} When used, the concept of \textit{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 \textit{slumnamu}.\textsuperscript{21} “Ideology circumscription” exercises its expected limitation: what Pharaoh would undoubtedly have considered rewards “to those who are on his water,” at Ugarit are termed \textit{slumnamu}.\textsuperscript{22} 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, \textit{inw} is used in two ways: for \textit{slumnamu} 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 \textit{them}, and is expected to be fulfilled without demur, introduces the element of coercion. The Amarna letter of Akizzi is illustrative in this regard.\textsuperscript{23} He knows that submission to Pharaoh involves \textit{inw}, and while to him it may be \textit{gišu}, “a gift,” it is the Egyptian \textit{rábu} who will assess the quantity.\textsuperscript{24} Inasmuch as it was the donor’s expected obligation, and assessed as to amount and content, while masquerading as a free-will offering, \textit{inw} approximates most closely the late mediaeval English \textit{benevolence}.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[15] Hayes, JNES 10, p. 171 (R, S and U); Leahy, op. cit., xlvii, xlvii, xxi; parallel constructions replace \textit{n inw} with qualifications of \textit{destination} (n p3 rb and the like).
\item[16] KRI VI, 67:3–4; P. Mallet v.2 (wod n inw); P. Kah. xxvi,1–2 (qrhot).
\item[18] S. Quirke, The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom (New Malden, Surrey, 1990), 29.
\item[19] Regularity is implied by such expressions as “the day of bringing \textit{inw}” (P. Koller 5.1); cf. The “day of computing \textit{bškēst}”: Cairo 20536; Redford, Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom, 103 n. 298; W. Boochs, “Zur Bedeutung der \textit{bškēst} (Leistung),” Vors Ergonomica 3 (1997), 207–9.
\item[21] M. Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 263.
\item[23] EA 53:50–52.
\item[24] Mirrored exactly in one of the jobs of Minnows: Ukt. IV, 1442:4 7. Perhaps significantly, Minnows uses the terms \textit{br} and \textit{kškr}, demonstrating the interchangeability of the terms.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
While the items constituting the *inw* have been dealt with elsewhere, yet a few remarks would seem to be in order. On the basis of Min-mose’s statement, 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. 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. 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.

Foodstuffs vary in amount. Livestock entries show a preference for cattle and goats, not sheep. Wine, honey and oil are found in sizeable quantities. The fluctuations in amount may be keyed into the spacing and requirements of the jubilees, and some may have been consumed by the army on the march. 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

---

248 CHAPTER TWELVE

THE EXACTIONS OF THE CONQUERED 249

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.
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. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Urk. Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Year 24</td>
<td>Ashur</td>
<td>lapis [....]</td>
<td>671:8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Year 33</td>
<td>[... ]</td>
<td>birds</td>
<td>700:11-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Year 33</td>
<td>Babylon</td>
<td>lapis</td>
<td>701:1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Year 33</td>
<td>[Asshur?]</td>
<td>lapis, vessels</td>
<td>701:6-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Year 33</td>
<td>Great Khatte</td>
<td>silver, gems, wood</td>
<td>701:11-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Year 34</td>
<td>Ashuwa</td>
<td>copper, lead, lapis, ivory, wood</td>
<td>708:1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Year 35</td>
<td>[Khatte]</td>
<td>silver, gold, wood</td>
<td>713:13-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. [Year 37]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>minerals, game, firewood</td>
<td>715:4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Year 38</td>
<td>Ashuwa</td>
<td>ore, horses</td>
<td>719:13-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Year 38</td>
<td>Alalakh</td>
<td>slaves, ore, wood, plants</td>
<td>720:1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Year 39</td>
<td>Ashuwa</td>
<td>ivory, ore, lead</td>
<td>724:10-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Year 40</td>
<td>Ashur</td>
<td>lapis, vessels [....]</td>
<td>668:6-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Year 41</td>
<td>Great Khatte</td>
<td>silver [....]</td>
<td>727:13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. [Year 42]</td>
<td>[Niya?]</td>
<td>[... ]</td>
<td>[... ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Year 42</td>
<td>[Great Khatte]</td>
<td>silver vessels, lapis, wood, ore</td>
<td>732-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Year 42</td>
<td>Tanaya</td>
<td>silver vessels, iron</td>
<td>733:4-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 ipse 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).²

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.³ One wonders whether the earliest Egypto-Hittite treaty, involving the people of Kurushtama, could date back to this period.⁴ 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.⁵ 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,⁶ but in the time of Thutmose III the region appears to have been strong and independent.

Keftiu is the glaring omission from the list.⁷ In light of the relative frequency with which Cretan gift-carriers are depicted in Theban

² See above, pp. 96-98.
⁵ Above, p. 82.
⁷ Of the vast bibliography on Keftiu one should note in particular the exhaustive
Diplomatic Gifts from Foreign Powers

Amunemheb and Antef could with special pleading be dated late in the reign, Useramun is definitely early as is Senenmut. 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. These, however, are not always shown on the right individual, as identified by caption. 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 inv brought to the palace; 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 inv. 4. Contact with the Aegean dates back over a century before Thutmose III, and Egyptian artists are copying Vorlagen, rather than commemorating contemporary embassies. The scenes in question are to be construed in the context of attendance at sed-festivals. 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, gifts are otherwise not recorded before year 33. That such a far-off place as Assyria should be mentioned in the tombs of the reign, one might have expected several entries. If the securing of Levantine ports in years 29 to 31 really hampered Aegean trade, 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 (Mycenea)," 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. 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; and this close relationship may have caused it to be treated differently from Asians. This, however, is hard to believe. Asians and Aegeans are shown in the same tomb scenes, bearing mutatis mutandis the same types of gifts, seeking the same "breath of life." 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 Menkheperraonb, Rekhmire collection of the evidence in J. Vercoutter, L'Egypte et le monde égén préhellénique (Cairo, 1956), 33-122; also J. Strange, Caphtor/Keftiu, A New Investigation (Leiden, 1980); J. Oeming, Aspects de la culture pharaonique. Quatres leçons au Collège de France (Paris, 1992), 25-36. 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 Seafarers in the Bronze Age Aegean (London, 1998), 84-6.


11 Cf. Ux. IV, 6162, 7, 3.
13 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.

14 P.M I, 246 (no. 131); cf. U x. IV, 1384 (year 5).
21 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 Höflehler for I-s-r, the region in Galilee. 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.


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; but a moment’s reflection will demonstrate that such a modular perception cannot be supported by the evidence. Between the first victory of Thutmosis 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. 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. The scale of involvement manifest in Thutmosis’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, usually in the spring, with letters and assessments. Only in Ramesside Times did a full-fledged provincial system, with “governors,” commercial agents and military personnel become the norm.

1 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.
4 Redford, Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom, 29–36.
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.7

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 Phoenicia8 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.9 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."10

4. Permanent presence. While Thutmose lived, the administration of the Levant (if we can even use this formal term) was rudimen-

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.11 Only later in the reign (year 47) is mention made of permanent troops in the Akkar plain (Ullaza)12 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 Eluertheros Valley under surveillance. At the southern extremity of the coast, recent discoveries13 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 Joppa14 appears in our sources only after the reign of Thutmose III.15 The Egyptian occupation of Beth Shean as a garrison point likewise postdates the time of Thutmose III,16 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 there17 but they may well have functioned on a seasonal basis, at planting and harvest.

---

7 Redford, Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom, 2-7. Cf. The "King's-scribe, stablemaster, treasurer and child of the nursery" who was somehow involved in "the government of the countries, whether by water or by land" Sapair (date uncertain, but early 18th Dynasty); J. Malak, "An Early 18th Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqara," TEA 75 (1989), 61-76.
12 Ullaza, IV, 1237-15. One wonders whether the "harbors" were the special purview of the "superintendent of fortresses in the foreign lands of Amun: T. Speleers, "Receaux 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 Feniku, 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 foodstoes for deposit in the coastal depots.
13 Above, pp. 13-16.
14 Redford, Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom, 35.
15 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 aegyptischen 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. Drover, CAH II, 1 (1973), 446-47). Needless to say the archaeological record yields no evidence one way or the other: C.R. Higginbotham, Egyptization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine (Leiden, 2000), 106-7.
17 On Joppa, see above, p. 42 n. 52.
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, "the father of the fathers," "the great god," the quintessential "son of Amun," the natural model for Alexander. In cultic contexts his presence remained on stele, temple walls, and offering processionals; and for centuries his name was a talisman to be conjured with on scarabs or in personal names. Naive folklore made of him the key figure about whom clustered several plot motifs distantly related to his activities, and even in foreign parts his great feats lived on into classical times, sometimes purloined by other great figures of the past. His contribution to the "Sesostris" Legend, though extensive, did not leave a trace of his name.

1 O. Koefoed-Petersen, Publications de la Glyptothéque Ny Carlsberg no. 4. Catalogue des sarcofages et cercueils égyptiens (Copenhagen, 1951), pl. XLVIII.
2 U. IV. 2135.
3 T. Sève-Soderbergh, Kish 8 (1959), pl. 15; KR III, 120 (temp. Ramesses II); cf. A. Rowe, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs... in the Palästine Archaeological Museum (Cairo, 1936), no. 473.
4 L. Speleers, Besnefs des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles (Bruxelles, 1923), 37 no. 133.
5 Cf. The recarving of the Karnak sanctuary east of Akh-menu: H. Gauthier, Livres des rois d'Égypte II, 265 (XLII).
6 P-M VIII, 1048 (Ramesses IV); VI, 90 (Dendera); VI, 115; Esna III, 287 (Esna); P-M VI, 200 (Kom Ombo); H. Keels, RT 36 (1914), 51ff (Akhmin); C.M. Coche-Zive, Goût au premier millénaire (Boston, 1991), 222 (Karnak).
8 B. Jaeger, Essai de classification et de datation des scarabées Memhôtêrî (Fribourg, 1982).
9 H. Ranke, Die altägyptische Personennamen I (Gütersloh, 1936), 150:13-14; Gauthier, Livres des rois III, 263-9 (21st Dyn, High-priest); ibid., 124, 404-5; IV, 74 (XXXIII, associated with Psmunetjclus I); 90 (XVI, associated with Necho II); J. Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXIVe Dynastie dite éthiopienne (Cairo, 1965), 237 n. 1 (Shabataka).
INDEX

Abdi-khepa 197 n. 17
Abydos 178, 186 n. 4
acacia 111
accounts 177
Adanirari 230, 234
Adana 97
Adoraism 239
administrators 257
Aegae 82 n. 152, 98 n. 238, 252f.
agents 255
agro-pastoralists 61, 233
Ahmose 20, 185, 187 n. 6, 190, 193f
Ahm-Menu 58, 133 n. 141, 135 and n. 145, 136, 145 n. 202, 147
n. 210, 148, 258 n. 5
Ahkenaten 237, 239
Akit-teshup 239
Akizzi 232, 247
Akkar plain 70, 211, 217, 238, 256f
alabaster 147
Alalakh 65f, 89, 188, 189 n. 22, 199, 230f, 250f
Alashiya 76 n. 128, 82
Aleppo 17, 50, 83, 85, 168, 188, 189 n. 22, 221, 225, 229–231, 233, 248 n. 30
Alexandria 106 n. 20, 258
Alexandretta 214 n. 29
All-black 86
altars 39, 41, 89
Amada 242f
Ambulator 6f, 210
Amunemheb 50, 222, 242, 244
Amunemheb I 133, 214
Amenophis I 49 n. 284, 166 n. 8, 185 and nn. 3, 4, 187 n. 6, 194
n. 55
Amenophis II 60, 70f, 84 n. 160, 118 n. 5, 217, 171, 174, 230, 233
24, 235, 241f, 242 and n. 8, 243f
Amenophis III 12, 46, 60, 233, 237
Amorite 42 n. 149
Amun (re) 7, 17, 22f, 29, 31, 42

Gold-lands of 174
Treasury of 142, 151, 154, 256

Treasury of 5
Amenemheb 177f, 253
Amenemhet 226 n. 27
Amenhotpe 226 n. 27
Amenemhet 226 n. 29
Amurru 16, 65f, 217
Anastasi I 46, 196, 200
Anatolia 253
Anepny 193
Ani 226 n. 27
Antef 176f, 253
antimony 52 and n. 303
Apane 108 n. 24, 169 n. 17
Aphek 203
Apiru 72, 81, 217f
arable land 42f
Aryan 192
Aryans 192
Arsyn 85
"Arid-region" 68f
Ark 241 n. 1
Armenians 153ff, 157, 204 n. 14, 207, 222f
Arrapkha 76 n. 107
Arrapkha 75 n. 102
arrows 109, 123
Arsenal 120
Artatama 229f
Artau 15, 18 n. 109, 22f, 26
Āryan 192
Ashed 12
Ashkelon 12
Ashur-nirari I 213
Asia Minor 82
INDEX

Akkaši 110 n. 80
Nine 48
dupašu 168 n. 15
 prv 52 n. 303
utušu 48
kakkābu 112 n. 42
kanakku 80 n. 157
kudālu 151
Manahḥiyya/Manahḥiyu 234 n. 6

Greek
"Ελλας ἤ μεγάλη 76 n. 117
κυνεοθρασύς 2'
λόγος 142 n. 104

MAPS, PLATES AND FIGURES
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 mw 190.
Part 2

Col. 7: to nme add plural strokes.
Col. 10: read mpt t[n].
Col. 11: read Gardiner N 36 for N 31.
Col. 32: read Gardiner D 49 as determinative for kfeq.
Col. 87: in the writing of w, “district,” add Gardiner N 21.
Col. 90: read ḫntyš.
Col. 91: read Gardiner A 2 for A 1.
(Pylon) col. 9 (bottom): read 3b.
Map. 2 - Naharin
Plate 2 - Part 1, cols. 48-67