

HILDESHEIMER ÄGYPTOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE

26

**Peter Der Manuelian**

**Studies in the Reign of  
Amenophis II**

GERSTENBERG VERLAG · HILDESHEIM

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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON ARNE EGGBRECHT

—PELIZAEUS-MUSEUM · HILDESHEIM—

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Մօրս Լուսիկ Տէր Մանուէլեանի՝ որուն  
Մայրական սիրով յարատեւ քաջալերանքը  
կարելի դարձուց սոյն ուսումնասիրութեան  
գոյութիւնը:



## PREFACE

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Except for the some of the illustrations (which are by the author unless otherwise noted), the manuscript was produced on a computer and dot-matrix printer. The hieroglyphs, tables and maps were generated by means of a laser printer. It is hoped that what has been saved in the areas of speed and cost of production has not been lost in readability and appearance. This format is intended merely as an interim solution until such time as laser printing improves to (affordably) replace the dot-matrix system altogether.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABSA</i>	See Decker, <i>ABSA</i>
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
<i>AEL</i>	---> Lichtheim, <i>AEL</i>
<i>AEO</i>	---> Gardiner, <i>AEO</i>
AF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
<i>AFO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AL</i>	---> Meeks, <i>AL</i>
<i>ARE</i>	---> Breasted, <i>ARE</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
AV	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
BA	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
Barguet, <i>Temple</i>	P. Barguet, <i>Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak</i> . Cairo 1962
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>

- BdE Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Bibliothèque d'Etude
- BIE* *Bulletin d'Institut d'Egypte*
- BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
- BiOr* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
- BJPES* *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*
- BMA* *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
- BN* *Biblische Notizen*
- Bonnet, *RÄRG* H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin 1952
- Breasted, *ARE* J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols., Chicago 1906-7
- Brugsch, *Thesaurus* H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*. Altägyptische Inschriften gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert. 6 fasc., Leipzig 1883-91
- BSFE* *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie*
- Burkhardt, *Übersetzung* A. Burkhardt, E. Blumenthal, I. Müller, W.F. Reineke, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16*. Berlin 1984.
- CAH<sup>3</sup>* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 10 vols., Cambridge 1970-

- CG Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
- CdE* *Chronique d'Égypte*
- CDEAE Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'ancienne Égypte
- CDME* ---> Faulkner, *CDME*
- Champollion,  
*Notices descriptives* Champollion Le Jeune, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux.* Paris 1844
- CMB* *Cleveland Museum Bulletin*
- CRIPEL* *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de l'Université de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie. Publications de l'Université de Lille*
- Davies and Macadam, *Corpus* N. de G. Davies and F.L. Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones.* Oxford 1957
- Decker, *ABSA* W. Decker, *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Sport im alten Ägypten.* St. Agustin 1978 (with supplements in *Stadion*)
- Dict. Géogr.* ---> Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.*
- EG* ---> Gardiner, *EG*
- Erman, *Näg.* A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik<sup>2</sup>.* Leipzig 1933
- esp. especially
- Faulkner, *CDME* R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* Oxford 1962

FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
Fs.	Festschrift
Gardiner, <i>AEO</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols., Oxford 1947
Gardiner, <i>EG</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> <sup>3</sup> . Oxford 1957
Gauthier, <i>Dict. Géogr.</i>	H. Gauthier, <i>Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques</i> . 7 vols, Cairo 1925-31
Gauthier, <i>Livre des Rois</i>	H. Gauthier, <i>Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte</i> . 5 vols. = MIFAO 17-21, Cairo 1907-17
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
Gs.	Gedenkschrift
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Helck, <i>Materialien</i>	W. Helck, <i>Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches</i> . Wiesbaden 1963
Helck, <i>Übersetzung</i>	W. Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22</i> . Berlin 1962
Helck, <i>Verwaltung</i>	W. Helck, <i>Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs</i> . PdÄ III, Leiden - Cologne 1958
Hermann, <i>Stelen</i>	A. Hermann, <i>Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie</i> . AF 11, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1940

<i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i>	<i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &amp;c., in the British Museum</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JPOS</i>	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>KBSW</i>	<i>Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft</i>
<i>Kees, Priestertum</i>	H. Kees, <i>Das Priestertum im altägyptischen Staat</i> . PöÄ I, Leiden - Cologne 1953
<i>K.R.I</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . Oxford 1968-
<i>LED</i>	---> Lesko, <i>LED</i>
<i>Lepsius, Denkmäler</i>	K.R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> . 6 vols., Berlin 1849-58

- Lesko, *LED* L.H. Lesko, *A Late Egyptian Dictionary*. 2 vols., Berkeley and Providence 1982-84
- Lichtheim, *AEL* M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 vols., Berkeley 1975-80
- Livre des Rois* ---> Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*
- MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
- MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo*
- Meeks, *AL* D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* I-III, Paris 1980-82
- Mém. Miss. ---> MMAF
- MIFAQ Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
- MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
- MJbK* *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*
- MMAF* *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*
- de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, and A. Barsanti, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*. 1ère série, vol. I, Vienna 1894
- n. note
- Näg.* ---> Erman, *Näg.*

<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
no.	number
<i>Notices descriptives</i>	---> Champollion, <i>Notices descriptives</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
p	papyrus
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
<i>PM</i>	B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 7 vols., Oxford 1927-51; 2nd edition rev. by J. Málek 1960-
<i>PN</i>	---> Ranke, <i>PN</i>
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>RÄRG</i>	--->Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i>
Ranke, <i>PN</i>	H. Ranke, <i>Die altägyptischen Personennamen</i> . 3 vols. Glückstadt 1935-77
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RIK	Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
TT	Theban Tomb

TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B Geisteswissenschaften
<i>Thesaurus</i>	---> Brugsch, <i>Thesaurus</i>
<i>Übersetzung</i>	---> Burkhardt, <i>Übersetzung</i> and Heick, <i>Übersetzung</i>
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alttertumskunde Aegyptens
<i>Urk.</i>	G. Steindorff, et. al., <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Alttertums</i> . Leipzig and Berlin 1903-
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>
<i>Wb.</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols., Leipzig and Berlin 1926-63
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alttertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina- Vereins</i>

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## INTRODUCTION

Each reign of the Egyptian New Kingdom has left numerous questions for the modern historian. Among them are problems of chronology, the extent and nature of the Egyptian "empire," the changing concept of the monarchy and patterns of central and provincial administration. It is perhaps a mistake to focus on kings and events in isolation, for this tends to obscure developmental patterns and cumulative evidence over extended periods of time. Nevertheless, such a "simplistic" approach to New Kingdom history one reign at a time is as good an introductory system as any for dividing the era into manageable, yet not completely artificial, portions for further study. Once basic material has been gathered for individual reigns, a firmer groundwork will have been laid for comparative analysis between one era and the next, leading in turn to a clearer picture of the historical development of the period as a whole.

It is upon this premise that the following study of aspects of the reign of Amenophis II is based. An attempt has been made to present the relevant material in as practical and accessible a form as possible. The reader will thus find several source lists, basic translations and bibliographies, all intended to accompany the discussion of the principal topics in each of the four chapters. Furthermore, in the case of some of the more complex and as yet unresolved historical questions, priority has been given to clear presentation of the state of the problem, in an effort to avoid further clouding the issue with additional speculation and interpretation. This will hopefully better pave the way for eventual resolution of some of these problems by more competent scholars.

The work is conceived as a sort of introductory handbook of source material on the reign of Amenophis II, but makes no attempt at exhaustive analysis of every facet of the king's life and times. One will find, for example, neither a collection of each and every monument or object bearing the name of Amenophis II, nor translations of every last inscription associated with the reign. Historical analysis must by nature remain selective, and such exhaustive lists might prove of greater and more practical use in contexts other than those of the present study.

Chapter I deals with the pertinent astronomical data and the evidence for absolute and relative dating in the reign of Amenophis II. Here the coregency problem(s) and the length of the king's reign are also discussed.

The second chapter moves into Amenophis' military campaigns with descriptions and assessments of all of his known expeditions. Additional material which has been assigned, or in one case reassigned, to Amenophis' reign is also analyzed. The king's administration is summarized in catalogue form in Chapter III, with subsequent remarks on some of the most important and best documented officials. The final chapter investigates the possibility of characterizing the person of Amenophis II. After a brief discussion of his youth and family, it assesses his role within the development of the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaonic tradition, with special emphasis on his contribution to the royal "sporting tradition" so popular during this period.

Appendices cover Amenophis II's campaign accounts, the lists of foreign place names attested under his reign, and references to his building activity throughout the country. For practical reasons, the arrangement of groups of hieroglyphic signs throughout the text occasionally differs from that of the original monument quoted, e.g. when certain passages from *Urk.* IV are followed.

## CHAPTER I

### AMENOPHIS II AND CHRONOLOGY

Any discussion of the chronology of the reign of Amenophis II must consider the reigns of his predecessor and successor, as well as the (overlapping) problems of absolute and relative dating. A series of questions confronts the historian: Can one determine exactly where in time the reign of this seventh king of the Eighteenth Dynasty belongs? How long did he rule? Was the institution of coregency utilized and, if so, for how long and at which end of Amenophis' reign?

A clearer view of the evidence pertaining to these questions may be obtained by first separating the various kinds of data. Part I of this chapter will consider the astronomical evidence, namely the lunar dates of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. Only when the lunar dates and absolute chronology have been discussed can one proceed to the coregency problem. This problem will be the focus of Part II, in which the evidence surviving in relative, rather than absolute, contexts will be discussed. Finally, Part III will take up the possibility of a second coregency, that of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, and will conclude with remarks on the total length of Amenophis' reign.

#### Part I: The Lunar Dates of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

The following remarks assume the reader's basic familiarity with the Egyptian system of Sothic dating. Better and more detailed discussions of

this crucial aid to attempts at absolute dating are available elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> as are some interesting recent departures from the standard interpretation of the Sothic system.<sup>2</sup> The reader is referred to these, and our discussion begins with the lunar dating evidence which bears on the reign of Amenophis II.

The Egyptian month lasted either twenty-nine or thirty days, and was determined by observation in the early morning. When the moon's crescent was no longer visible in the morning sky, then the first day of the new month (*psdhtjw*)<sup>3</sup> was declared to begin at sunrise. Conversely, if the crescent moon was still visible, the coming dawn was declared the thirtieth and last day of the month, and the following day became *psdhtjw*.<sup>4</sup> In any given lunar cycle, *psdhtjw* tended to fall on the same day once every twenty-five years.<sup>5</sup> Since *psdhtjw* is occasionally mentioned in the dates

<sup>1</sup> The best introduction to Egyptian systems of dating in general is still R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 26, Chicago 1950. On the dubious dependability of Sothic dates and their supposed abuse by modern scholars, see R. D. Long, "A Re-examination of the Sothic Chronology of Egypt," *Orientalia* 43, 1974, 261-74. Cf. Parker's reply which upholds the validity of Sothic dating, "The Sothic Dating of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39, Chicago 1976, esp. 185-86. In general see also S. Schott, "Die altägyptischen Jahreszeiten," *Studium Generale* 9, 1956, 18-24. For Censorinus' recorded date cf. *De dei natali* 21:10; E. Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, Berlin 1904; D.B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies*, Toronto 1967, 211-12. On the seven Sothic dates known: Parker, "Sothic Dates and Calendar Adjustment," *RdE* 9, 1952, 101-8.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Ägyptens*, HÄB 20, Hildesheim 1985 (in press at this writing); cf. Krauss' summary of this work, "Sothis, Elephantine und die altägyptische Chronologie," *GM* 50, 1981, 71-80, esp. 76, where he suggests "daß der 365-tägige Sonnen- bzw. Sothiskalender mit seiner inhärenten Verschiebung gegenüber dem wahren Sonnen- bzw. Sothisjahr überlegt und planmäßig eingeführt wurde." On the preference of Elephantine as the place where Sothic citations were made, see *ibid.*, 71-72; *idem*, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, HÄB 7, Hildesheim 1978, 189-94; W. Barta, "Die ägyptischen Sothisdaten und ihre Bezugsorte," *JEOL* 26, 1979-80, 26-34; E. Hornung, "Chronologie in Bewegung," in M. Görg and E. Pusch, eds., *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, ÄAT 1, Bamberg 1979, 247-52. The present writer agrees, however, with the apt comments against Elephantine by W.J. Murnane in *Orientalia* 52, 1983, 282 (review of Krauss, *Amarnazeit*) and by E.F. Wente in *JNES* 42, 1983, 317. On the variability of locations for Sothic citations, see J. von Beckerath, "Noch einmal zu den Bezugspunkten der Sothisdaten," *GM* 83, 1984, 13-15.

According to Krauss, a crucial chronological problem is the determination of whether the Egyptians used a schematic or astronomical system for their Sothic calendar, for the latter would lead to earlier absolute dates; cf. *GM* 50, 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> Krauss reads *psdt(j)w* for the form in the Pyramid Texts, and *psdht* for the later form, *Sothis- und Monddaten*, 15 (this information courtesy Krauss, personal communication).

<sup>4</sup> Parker, *Calendars*, 9-23; *idem*, "The Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II," *JNES* 16, 1957, 39; Barta, "Der ägyptische Mondkalender und seine Schaltregulierung," *GM* 47, 1981, 7-13.

<sup>5</sup> Parker, *Calendars*, 25, table 5.

of certain inscriptions, one can align the Egyptian date to a specific set of Julian dates. By comparing the various possibilities one may possibly arrive at an absolute chronology. Lest the system sound flawless one must note that the numerous variables involved, such as hazy skies, predictions, or simple observational error, often render it an untrustworthy method.

Two lunar dates from the reign of Tuthmosis III and one from the reign of Amenophis II allow us to propose various alignments with absolute dates. All of the dates considered here mention the occurrence of a *psdhtjw*. For Tuthmosis III, the evidence is as follows:

A. Year 23, I *šmw* 21, *psdhtjw*, the date of the Battle of Megiddo<sup>6</sup>

B. Year 24, II *prt* 30, possible *psdhtjw* (see below) "stretching of the cord ceremony"<sup>7</sup>

From the reign of Amenophis II, one specific date presents itself:

C. Probably year 19 (or possibly 20), II *šmw* 10 (+ X); concerns the allotment of grain for *psdhtjw* and other feasts mentioning grain from a year 18<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most important point concerning Tuthmosis' two dates is the length of the interval between them. The absolute year possibilities for these two events will always be two years apart, e.g. 1457 and 1455 B.C., or 1493 and 1491 B.C. etc., even though the dates given in the texts indicate only a one year difference of year 23 and 24. The following chart demonstrates why twenty-two months separate the dates rather than nine. In the New Kingdom, regnal years were counted from the accession date of the king (in Tuthmosis III's case I *šmw* 4; see *Urk.* IV, 180.15), and no attempt was made to reconcile this date with the calendar years, which

<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* IV, 657.2.

<sup>7</sup> *Urk.* IV, 835.17-836.3.

<sup>8</sup> W. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques Nos. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impériale à St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg 1913, pl. 22; W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1963, 620-33, esp. 621; Parker, "Once Again the Coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II," in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, SAOC 35, Chicago 1969, 76-77; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 194-96.

began in *šht*. Therefore, the Megiddo date occurs at the very beginning of year 23, and the second (cord ceremony) date at the very end of year 24:











	<u>YEAR 23</u>	<u>YEAR 24</u>
šmw	 A	
šht		
Prt		 B

FIG. 1. TWENTY-TWO MONTH INTERVAL BETWEEN LUNAR DATES OF TUTHMOSIS III.

A brief summary of the three lunar dates and their various interpretations in the scholarly literature will now follow. Comment has been reserved until these differing positions have received attention.

**Lunar date A.** The date for the Battle of Megiddo is the subject of a debate starting in 1942 when R.O. Faulkner attempted to emend the day of the battle from I *šmw* 21 to I *šmw* 20.<sup>9</sup> This proposed emendation is significant, for Parker<sup>10</sup> and others<sup>11</sup> have incorporated it into their chronology calculations for the period, and their results differ accordingly from those based on an unemended date. Since Tuthmosis III's Annals imply that the Egyptian army departed from Aruna on I *šmw* 19, arrived in the Qina valley on the same day, and yet fought the battle on I *šmw* 21, "the exact day of the new moon,"<sup>12</sup> Faulkner inquired after the disappearance of the 20th. His solution put forth a corruption of  into , which he claimed was more plausible than one of  into . Hence the battle actually took place on the 20th, despite the corrupt text entry.

<sup>9</sup> R.O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo," *JEA* 28, 1942, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Parker, *JNES* 16, 40; idem, "The Beginning of the Lunar Month in Ancient Egypt," *JNES* 29, 1970, 218.

<sup>11</sup> A. Spalinger, "Some Additional Remarks on the Battle of Megiddo," *GM* 33, 1979, 47-54, and idem, "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo and Reflections on Egyptian Military Writing," *MDAIK* 30, 1974, 221-29.

<sup>12</sup> *Urk.* IV, 657.1; Faulkner, *JEA* 28, 4.

In 1971, W.J. Murnane attempted to reverse Faulkner's emendation with arguments based on the Egyptian system of reckoning time.<sup>13</sup> After stating that the Egyptian day stretched from sunrise to sunrise, he observed:

Since the entire action from conference to battle must have fallen on the same day, it is apparent that the preparations mentioned occupied the twilight before sunrise announced the new day...The result was, that when the sun rose, the ensuing business fell in I *šmw* 21.<sup>14</sup>

If Murnane's logic has been correctly understood, he contends that action took place at the end of the day, *before* sunrise (sunrise = the next day), and that day 20 was simply left out of the account. Furthermore, such an omission should not surprise us, since the Annals were apparently composed of selected entries from a scribal journal of Tuthmosis' campaigns.<sup>15</sup>

Faulkner's emendation was again challenged in 1972 by W. Helck, who sought to reinterpret the text itself. He renders the passage in question (*Urk.* IV, 652.13-14) *r dmj n ʿrn* as "toward (versus Faulkner's "at") the town of Aruna."<sup>16</sup> In other words, the king's army had at this point not yet reached Aruna, but was still in transit, and thus the trip must have covered both the 19th *and* the 20th. Since a verb of motion is required for reading *r* as "toward," Helck separates lines 13 and 14 into two individual statements and, citing a parallel from the Memphis stela of Amenophis II,<sup>17</sup> adds *spr* to *r dmj n ʿrn*. Thus he removes the necessity for an emendation of day 21, and claims the battle occurred exactly as the Annals reported.

In defense of Faulkner, A. Spalinger demonstrates that Helck's position in fact depended on the unacceptable addition of the verb *spr*.<sup>18</sup> Spalinger argues that lines 13 and 14 of *Urk.* IV, 652 do indeed belong together, and are in fact a common form of entry in the Annals.<sup>19</sup> Helck's solution therefore could not be accepted unless one also accepted *his* emendation of *spr* for the text as well.

<sup>13</sup> W.J. Murnane, "Once Again the Dates for Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II," *JANES* 3, 1970-71, 1-7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 and 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 with n. 13.

<sup>16</sup> W. Helck, "Das Datum der Schlacht von Megiddo," *MDAIK* 28, 1972, 102.

<sup>17</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1303.5.

<sup>18</sup> Spalinger, *MDAIK* 30, 221-29.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 227-28.

E.F. Wente does not discuss Spalinger's comments in his paper on Tuthmosis' lunar date, taking Helck's argument at face value.<sup>20</sup> He reverses several of Parker's *psdhtjw* calculations, since he feels that the Battle of Megiddo occurred on the 21st as written, and not on the 20th as emended.

In the next contribution to the debate, G. Lello cites the concluding remark of Spalinger's paper: "If we accept either theory (that is, Faulkner's or Helck's) a correction in the inscription must be made."<sup>21</sup> Lello proposes a third interpretation which eliminates the need for emendation. He suggests that day 19 ended, and day 20 began in the early morning at Aruna, but was left out of the selected scribal day-book excerpts which comprise the Annals. According to Lello then, Tuthmosis awoke before dawn, that is before day 20 actually began; thus it was still technically day 19, and the subsequent day change was apparently considered unnecessary. Lello asserted that the primary purpose of the Annals was the glorification of the king, and this purpose was well served by the recording scribe. By keeping Tuthmosis' awakening back in day 19, the scribe

was both accurate and also emphasized the eagerness of His excellency in arising before the entire Egyptian army. Of course, an hour or two later, dawn began to break and so day 20 commenced, which was the day the army moved from 'Aruna through the pass and into the plain of Megiddo.<sup>22</sup>

Lello concluded with the following sequence (cf. *JNES* 37, 330):

- "Day 16" - The Egyptian army arrived at Yehem (Jemma), probably by late afternoon
- Day 17 - Scouts dispatched and return, followed by consultation
- Day 18 - Scouts dispatched again and return, followed by Pharaoh's decision
- "Day 19" - The march from Yehem to 'Aruna
- Day 20 - The march from 'Aruna to the Qina valley
- "Day 21" - The Battle of Megiddo and the day of the true new moon

In response to Lello, Spalinger has added some remarks on this troublesome passage.<sup>23</sup> Still favoring Faulkner's emendation from day 21 to day 20, Spalinger faulted Lello on his conception of Egyptian time measurement.

<sup>20</sup> E.F. Wente, "Thutmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *JNES* 34, 1975, 265.

<sup>21</sup> G. Lello, "Thutmose III's First Lunar Date," *JNES* 37, 1978, 328.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>23</sup> Spalinger, *GM* 33, 47-54.

The day supposedly did *not* begin at "dawn" but rather at "morning twilight." Spalinger bases this statement on Neugebauer and Parker's discussion of Egyptian time-reckoning by the shadow-clock, which could only measure eight hours per day.<sup>24</sup> The remaining four hours were divided into two groups: the two early morning hours, consisting of the twilight immediately preceding and immediately following sunrise, and the two early evening hours. Regardless of when the sun rose, then, day 19 had already begun beforehand. Therefore Tuthmosis did not awaken at the very *end* of day 19, as Lello asserted, but the very *beginning* of day 19, once again justifying Faulkner's emendation of the battle date one day earlier to day 20.

More recent discussions of the problem have generally followed one or the other of the positions reviewed above. Parker briefly defended his position, still siding with Faulkner,<sup>25</sup> while Barta supported Lello's arguments.<sup>26</sup> Krauss and von Beckerath have followed Helck's explanation,<sup>27</sup> and Helck himself has strengthened his own position with a discussion of numerous examples of *r dmj* versus *m dmj*.<sup>28</sup> Here the issue seems to rest for the moment without conclusive proof for either side. A similar debate has taken place over Tuthmosis' second *psdntjw* date.

**Lunar date B.** The passage in which the second *psdntjw* date appears may be interpreted in two different ways.<sup>29</sup> The text concerns Amen's personal role in the foundation ceremony of one of Tuthmosis' buildings (very possibly the *ḫ-mnw* itself) in the temple of Amen at Karnak. The date, year 24, II *prt* 30, is clear. So is the writing of *psdntjw*. What is not clear, as we will see below, is whether this date refers to the actual *psdntjw* occurrence. The crucial point, however, which no scholar has previously emphasized, is that there is no solution to this problem without some kind of alteration or emendation of data. In other words, according to the possibilities calculated for the occurrence of *psdntjw*, there is no candidate which falls exactly on II *prt* 30, and any solution would

<sup>24</sup> O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, *The Early Decans*, London 1960, 116-21, esp. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Parker, "Some reflections on the lunar dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II," in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham), Boston 1981, 146-48.

<sup>26</sup> W. Barta, "Die ägyptischen Monddaten und der 25-Jahr-Zyklus des Papyrus Carlsberg 9," *ZAS* 106, 1979, 3 n. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 170; J. von Beckerath, "Ein Wunder des Amun bei der Tempelgründung in Karnak," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 49, esp. n. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Helck, "Chronologische Schwachstellen II," *GM* 69, 1983, 37-40.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 835.17 - 836.3; CCG 34012; P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CG), Cairo 1909, 24-26, pl. 8; *PII* II, 94; Breasted, *ARE* II, 241-42 SS 606-8.

necessitate some kind of emendation of one or another of Tuthmosis' dates. This is in contrast to the Megiddo date above, for which exact solutions are possible. We will return to this problem below.

Parker bypasses this conflict by assuming a one-day error in the observation of the coming *psdhtjw*.<sup>30</sup> Accepting this potential error, as well as Faulkner's emendation of day 21 to day 20 (see A. above), he calculates four possible absolute dates for II *pwt* 30, for the corresponding dates for the Battle of Megiddo, and for Tuthmosis' accession. In conclusion, he favored 26 February 1466 as the cord ceremony date, 11 May 1468 for Megiddo, and 1490 for Tuthmosis' accession year.<sup>31</sup>

Wente chose to reverse several of Parker's calculations from "impossible" to "possible." He accomplishes this by first accepting Helck's argument that the Megiddo date should remain unemended at day 21, and then by reinterpreting the cord ceremony passage as an emphatic construction.<sup>32</sup> The ceremony itself would thus have occurred on III *pwt* 1, one day later than II *pwt* 30. The text of the cord ceremony and the two possible renditions as translated by Wente are given below (*Urk.* IV, 835-36). The basic difference between the two is that with the first, or non-emphatic, interpretation, that date does not qualify the action of the main verb (*wd*), whereas in the second, or emphatic, interpretation, it does:



**Non-emphatic:** "My majesty gave the order to prepare for the stretching of the cord while awaiting the day of the new moon in order to stretch the cord for this monument in year 24, II *pwt* 30, (being) the day of the tenth day of the feast of Amen in Karnak."

**Emphatic:** "It was in year 24, II *pwt* 30, (being), the day of the tenth day feast of Amen in Karnak, that my Majesty gave the order to prepare for the stretching of

<sup>30</sup> Parker, *JNES* 16, 39-43.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>32</sup> Wente, *JNES* 34, 265-72.

the cord while awaiting the day of the new moon in order to stretch the cord for this monument."<sup>33</sup>

*Psqhtjw* falls exactly on II *prt* 30 according to the first translation. In the second, II *prt* 30 is merely the date of the order for preparation; the *execution* of these preparations was intended for *psqhtjw* itself, which was soon to arrive on III *prt* 1.

As additional support for his emphatic interpretation, Wente discusses the tenth-day feast as a celebration independent of lunar activity, and thus not requiring a *psqhtjw*.<sup>34</sup> These arguments led him to favor the dates of 24 February 1480 for the cord ceremony, 16 May 1482 for the Battle of Megiddo, and 1504 for Tuthmosis' accession year. Wente adhered to this earlier chronology in his subsequent articles as well.<sup>35</sup>

Von Beckerath recently republished the entire cord stretching text discussed above.<sup>36</sup> His results follow Wente's position that, grammatically speaking, the cord-stretching event cannot be *psqhtjw*. The day of the *order* to prepare to stretch the cord was II *prt* 30 as stated in the text, and *psqhtjw* would have occurred the next day on III *prt* 1. Von Beckerath reconstructs the chain of events as follows: On the morning of II *prt* 30, the priests could still see the moon in the sky, and thus set *psqhtjw* for the following day, III *prt* 1. The king apparently approved of the idea of performing the cord-stretching ceremony on *psqhtjw*,<sup>37</sup> and gave the order to prepare everything for the next day's events. It was at this time that Amen surprised everyone by performing the ceremony himself, one day ahead of schedule.<sup>38</sup> Thus both the day of the king's order and the ritual itself took place on II *prt* 30, the day before *psqhtjw*, for it would have made little sense to include the date of an order in a text which otherwise had no bearing on the main event of the text (the cord ceremony). Von Beckerath is certain that in year 24 of Tuthmosis III, III *prt* 1 was indeed *psqhtjw*.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 265-66.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 266-67.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Wente and C.C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," *Studies Hughes*, 218, table 1 (a detailed review of this article is given by K. A. Kitchen in *Serapis* 4, 1977-78, 66-80); and J.E. Harris and E.F. Wente, eds., *An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, Chicago 1980, 251-52.

<sup>36</sup> *MDAIK* 37, 41-49.

<sup>37</sup> Von Beckerath cites some parallels for foundation ceremonies held on *psqhtjw*, *ibid.*, 48, esp. n. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Von Beckerath speculates that the god decided to act while he was still out on procession and before his image had to return to its shrine, *ibid.*, 47-48.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

It is here that Wentze and von Beckerath part company. Wentze and Van Siclen settle on 1504 as Tuthmosis accession year;<sup>40</sup> while von Beckerath, along with Krauss, Barta and Hornung prefer 1479.<sup>41</sup> Von Beckerath's calculations show that, of the two absolute year choices for the ceremony, namely 1480 and 1455 (N.B. this was 24 years into Tuthmosis' reign), only 1455 is a viable solution, for only then did the lunar month in question have a 30th day. In 1480 this lunar month had only 29 days, and there would have been no need for the king to postpone the ceremony to one day later.

An additional article by Helck on this date follows Wentze's (and subsequently von Beckerath's) translation, but nevertheless throws the date out of the chronological discussion.<sup>42</sup> Helck considers it impossible to determine on just which day *pschtjw* actually did fall, once one has concluded that it definitely was not on II *pwt* 30.

\* \* \*

At this point we can summarize the data in an attempt to separate the facts from the variables. The table in fig. 2 gives the evidence from Tuthmosis III's reign relevant to that of Amenophis II.

### FACTS

- 1) THE REIGN OF TUTHMOSIS III LASTED 53 YEARS, 10 MONTHS AND 26 DAYS.  
HIS DEATH OCCURRED IN YEAR 54, III PRT 30 ( *URK.* IV, 895.16).<sup>43</sup>
- 2) THE TWO KNOWN LUNAR DATES OF TUTHMOSIS III ARE 22 MONTHS APART.

<sup>40</sup> Wentze, *JNES* 34, 265-68; Wentze and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 218, 223. For a more recent study also preferring 1504 B.C., see now L.W. Casperson, "The Lunar Dates of Thutmose III," *JNES* 45, 1986, 139-50.

<sup>41</sup> Von Beckerath, *MDAIK* 37, 48-49; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 202; Barta, *JEOL* 26, 26; Hornung, *Fs. Edel*, 251.

<sup>42</sup> Helck, *GM* 69, 40-42.

<sup>43</sup> Some would argue, however, that since Amenophis II's accession date is known to be IV *3jht* 1, the death of Tuthmosis III must have occurred on \*III *3jht* 30; see Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 173-74, esp. 174 n. 1, and his (at this writing) forthcoming *Sothis- und Monddaten*, HÄB 20; cf. also Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago 1977, 44 n. 56 (mentioned merely as a possibility). Nevertheless, the present study follows the explicit statement of Amenemheb's biography ( *Urk.* IV, 895.14-16) that the king "completed his lifetime...beginning from year one up to year fifty-four, third month of *pwt*, last day..."

VARIABLESA) THE DATE OF THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO (*URK.* IV, 657.2)

(A <sub>1</sub> ) UNEMENDED (YEAR 23, I ŠMW 21)	16 MAY 1482 OR 9 MAY 1457
(A <sub>2</sub> ) EMENDED (YEAR 23, I ŠMW 20)	17 MAY 1493 OR 13 MAY 1479 OR 11 MAY 1468 OR 5 MAY 1443

B) CORD CEREMONY DATE (YEAR 24, II PRT 30; *URK.* IV, 835.17-836.3)

(B <sub>1</sub> ) TAKEN AS PSDNTJW EXACTLY	NO SOLUTION
(B <sub>2</sub> ) TAKEN AS DAY BEFORE PSDNTJW (I.E. PSDNTJW IS III PRT 1)	24 FEB. 1480 OR 18 FEB. 1455
(B <sub>3</sub> ) ASSUMING AN ERROR OF OBSERVATION (I.E. PSDNTJW ACTUALLY OCCURRED ON II PRT 29)	25 FEB. 1491 OR 19 FEB. 1466 OR 13 FEB. 1441

CALCULATED DATES

	<u>ACCESSION OF TUTHMOSIS III</u>	<u>DEATH OF TUTHMOSIS III</u>
(A <sub>1</sub> )	1504 OR 1479	1450 OR 1425
(A <sub>2</sub> )	1515 OR 1490 OR 1465	1461 OR 1436 OR 1411
(B <sub>1</sub> )	NO SOLUTION	NO SOLUTION
(B <sub>2</sub> )	1504 OR 1479	1450 OR 1425
(B <sub>3</sub> )	1515 OR 1490 OR 1465	1461 OR 1436 OR 1411

FIG. 2. SUMMARY OF CHRONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM THE REIGN OF TUTHMOSIS III.

From the table one can see that it is impossible to accept both dates as they stand without emendation. Curiously, however, this point has received no attention in the scholarly literature as a reason to emend either or both lunar dates. Instead, the debate has focused on the significance of literary genres, the geography of the Qina valley, and the ritual of the tenth-day feast, etc. One would think that Faulkner's best argument in 1942 for the Megiddo emendation was the simple observation that the *two* dates do not

harmonize as they stand. In addition, to decide one of the dates is *ipso facto* to determine the other, since they are known to be twenty-two months apart (Fact 2). At any rate, the chart in fig. 3 illustrates the possible dates for the reign of Tuthmosis III.<sup>44</sup>

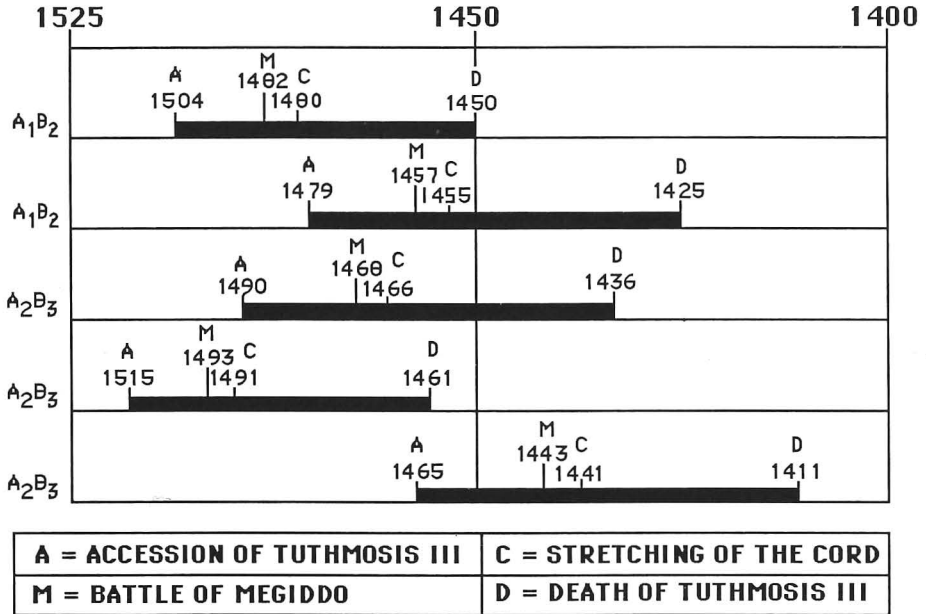


FIG. 3. FIVE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE REIGN OF TUTHMOSIS III.

**Lunar date C.** The final lunar date of our discussion falls in the reign of Amenophis II. pLeningrad 1116A lists grain allotments for a coming *pschtjw* feast and other occasions. Though no king is specifically mentioned, scholars have conclusively dated the papyrus to Amenophis II. Among the evidence cited are early New Kingdom palaeography, the mention of Peru-nefer (the "dockyard" and royal residence near Memphis), and the occurrence of the personal name *ḥ3-ḥprw-(rḥ)-r-nhh* (Vs. 50), which incorporates Amenophis' prenomen and proves he had already ascended the throne (no matter whether as coregent or as sole ruler when the text was

<sup>44</sup> Compare Barta's results, *ZAS* 106, 3.

written).<sup>45</sup> The papyrus may be chronologically pinpointed further to Amenophis' eighteenth, nineteenth, or twentieth year. Line 19 of the text mentions an allotment "from the grain of year 18."<sup>46</sup> Parker claims that this entry dates the papyrus to year 19; "since grain would presumably have been apportioned from the current year's income, the specific mention of year 18 indicates an older supply, most plausibly from the immediately preceding harvest."<sup>47</sup>

Grain was issued for a *psdhtjw* celebration after III *šmw* 6 but before III *šmw* 10 in year 19 (the exact day is unclear due to lacunae). Parker declared a necessary interval of at least four days after delivery to allow for the making of beer for the holiday.<sup>48</sup> Using Hornung's calculation that a *psdhtjw* occurred in 1419 B.C. on II *šmw* 30,<sup>49</sup> Parker constructed a table of the possible dates for the lunar month mentioned in the Leningrad papyrus. The result is a *psdhtjw* on III *šmw* 11, which falls within the above-mentioned range of days 6-10.<sup>50</sup> Thus since 1419 B.C. was presumably Amenophis' nineteenth year, his first was 1439-38 B.C. Parker then goes on to defend a coregency between Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II of two and one-third years, based on his acceptance of 1490 B.C. for the accession of Tuthmosis III.<sup>51</sup>

Wente, on the other hand, rejects two of Parker's "givens;" these are Faulkner's emendation of the Megiddo date, and the occurrence of the cord ceremony *psdhtjw* exactly on II *prt* 30 (see the discussion above). With these rejections, Wente argues for equally plausible accession dates of 1504 B.C. for Tuthmosis and 1453 B.C. for Amenophis.<sup>52</sup> Wente's scheme

<sup>45</sup> On the palaeography, see Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiéroglyphiques*, 108. Peru-nefer and its specific relation to Amenophis II is discussed by D.B. Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51, 1965, 109 with n. 2, and W. Helck, "Perunefer," in *LA* IV, 990. On the name *ḥꜣ-ḥꜣr-ḥꜣ-ḥꜣ-ḥꜣ*, see H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935, 58, n. 3. The name also appears on ushebti-box Turin Museum 2190.

<sup>46</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 621.

<sup>47</sup> Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 76.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 79 and n. 21.

<sup>49</sup> E. Hornung, "Neue Materialien zur ägyptischen Chronologie," *ZDMG* 117, 1967, 14. The year 1419 is determined by applying Parker's lunar calendar system of the Graeco-Roman period to the Eighteenth Dynasty, Parker, *Calendars*, 13 SS 49ff., and Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches*, AA 11, Wiesbaden 1964, 56.

<sup>50</sup> Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 79-80. Calculations show that the month actually began on III *šmw* 10. Parker ascribes the error to poor visibility or the possible use of a lunar cycle dating system, *ibid.*, 79 and n. 23; see *idem*, *JNES* 16, 39-40 on errors in lunar observation.

<sup>51</sup> Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 80-81.

<sup>52</sup> Wente, *JNES* 34, esp. 265-68; *idem* and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 218 and 223.

permits what he feels is a necessary *additional* day for the beer-making process; that is, he favors 1434 B.C. for Amenophis' nineteenth year because *psdhtjw* occurred on day 12, one day later than the day 11 of 1420 B.C. in Parker's arrangement.<sup>53</sup> Redford at first agreed with Parker's accession date of 1490, but over a decade later opted for the earlier date of 1504.<sup>54</sup>

Krauss prefers to utilize other astronomical evidence to decide the question, based on two assumptions: first that 1479 B.C. is the likeliest date for Tuthmosis III's accession,<sup>55</sup> and second that no coregency took place between Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. These parameters reveal that only year 20 (= 1406) of Amenophis II would fit for the pLeningrad date since *psdhtjw* fell on III *šmw* 10 in that year. By contrast, *psdhtjw* fell in year 18 (= 1408) on III *šmw* 2, and in year 19 (= 1407) on III *šmw* 21. Both of the last two options are impossible since they fall outside the prescribed dates for this *psdhtjw*, namely between III *šmw* 6 and 10.<sup>56</sup> Krauss notes that acceptance of Wente's coregency position (allowing one more day for beer-making) would result in dating Amenophis' *psdhtjw* to year 19 after all, as did Parker in the first place.<sup>57</sup>

\* \* \*

The preceding discussion reveals the diversity of opinion among scholars and the multiple factors involved in dealing with these dates. It is this writer's opinion that the problem cannot be conclusively solved from the data presently available. Too many solutions hang on emendations and the application of modern logic to the ancient problem, often a dangerous procedure at best. With regard to Amenophis' lunar date (pLeningrad), one hesitates to base a chronological reconstruction on speculation about the duration of ancient beer manufacture. In this writer's view, it seems that the primary way to argue for Tuthmosis' accession in 1504 B.C. is to prove that Hornung's 1439/38 calculation for Amenophis II's first year is incorrect. Wente, however, chooses a different day for *psdhtjw* (day 12),

<sup>53</sup> See Parker's table, *Studies Wilson*, 80.

<sup>54</sup> Redford, "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *JNES* 25, 1966, 124, and idem, "New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemheb," *BASOR* 211, 1973, 49.

<sup>55</sup> Other scholars who also prefer 1479: Hornung, *Fs. Edel*, 249; von Beckerath, *MDAIK* 37, 49; Barta, *JEGP* 26, 26; idem, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme," *SAK* 8, 1980, 39-40, n. 42.

<sup>56</sup> Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 194-96.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

thus allowing Hornung to be ignored altogether. Wente then cites Parker for "additional support" for the solution of 1504.<sup>58</sup> But Parker's work does not support Wente's position, for Parker worked with a completely different set of dates for Tuthmosis III (1490 B.C.). Wente's argument would seemingly require a new interpretation of the pLeningrad passage, but we find instead the advocacy of additional time to allow for sufficient bread and beer preparation.<sup>59</sup>

Similarly, Parker's position seems less than secure; it is based on an assumed error of observation, for calculation has shown that the month in question actually began on III *šmw* 11, which is the next "closest fit."<sup>60</sup> Neither is Krauss' solution of year 20 of Amenophis II (= 1406 B.C.) convincing, based as it is on the crucial prerequisite of 1479 for Tuthmosis III's accession year, and no possible coregency between Tuthmosis and Amenophis II.<sup>61</sup> We shall see below that the evidence in favor of a coregency cannot be dismissed so easily.

In short, too many variables restrict the dependability of the pLeningrad lunar date of Amenophis II.<sup>62</sup> The year is only inferred, not stated; a lacuna mars the date; and shall we ever know all the possible delays or short-cuts in producing beer in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt? For these reasons, Amenophis' lunar date is rejected by this writer as unreliable for chronological purposes.

Likewise rejected herewith is Tuthmosis III's second *psdhtjw* date, the stretching of the cord ceremony. Von Beckerath's arguments are certainly sound; assuming *psdhtjw* fell on III *prt* 1, 1455 does provide the only solution as the sole year with a thirtieth day on the lunar month in question. And it would indeed make little sense, as von Beckerath states, for the text to list the date of an order given, while ignoring the main event of the inscription (Amen's role in the cord stretching ceremony). But did *psdhtjw* fall on III *prt* 1? And is the date of Tuthmosis' order to prepare for stretching the cord indeed one day ahead of *psdhtjw* itself? Helck considered it impossible to tell, and thus also threw the date out of the

<sup>58</sup> Wente, *JNES* 34, 266.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>60</sup> Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 79.

<sup>61</sup> Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 195; cf. Murnane's review of this work in *Orientalia* 52, 1983, 283.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Barta, *SAK* 8, 51, who prudently arranges his chart of king's accession, coronation, death and burial dates "ohne daß dabei im einzelnen gekennzeichnet wird, wie sicher die Zuordnung des jeweiligen Datums...zu belegen ist."

chronology discussion.<sup>63</sup> Von Beckerath bases his position here upon Wente's interpretation of the passage in question, so we must return to the case for an emphatic versus non-emphatic translation of *Urk.* IV, 835.17 - 836.3.

Wente assumes that, as an emphatic form, the date must qualify the action of the main verb, i.e. literally and somewhat crudely translated: "It was in year 24..." The vexing ambiguity of emphatic forms, however, lies in multiple possibilities for emphasis. To this writer's knowledge, no one has clearly defined the principles of which adverbial clause, when several are present, should form the emphasized adjunct of a nominal/emphatic sentence. If such a study could actually produce a hierarchical list of which types of clauses often take "emphasized priority" over others (clauses of time, circumstance; clauses in the middle or at the end of a sentence etc.), then passages such as the present one might be far less confusing. In our case, however, without the aid of such a study, one could just as easily take the date to qualify either the main clause *or* the subordinate clause, thus:

It was while awaiting the day of the new moon in order to stretch the cord for this monument in year 24, II *prt* 30, (being) the day of the tenth day feast of Amen in Karnak, that my Majesty gave the order to prepare for the stretching of the cord.

This translation assumes an emphatic form but still allows the same interpretation that Parker attained with a non-emphatic rendering, namely that the date should be taken as it stands. In other words, the king's order, Amen's performance of the ceremony *and psdhtjw* could all have occurred on II *prt* 30, and von Beckerath's and Wente's solutions, based on III *prt* 1, would correspondingly no longer hold. One cannot know which of the two adverbial components takes the focus of the second tense, the date, or the "awaiting." The ambiguity is therefore a fundamental one, and not one which depends on emphatic or non-emphatic translation.<sup>64</sup>

Wente further questioned in a footnote whether the opening phrase *wd hm=f* might "represent an early instance of the reduction of nominal (emphatic) *sdm.n=f* to *sdm=f*."<sup>65</sup> While this is certainly possible, it remains a venture into the relatively uncharted waters of the transition from Middle

<sup>63</sup> Helck, *GM* 69, 40-42.

<sup>64</sup> One should note that Dr. B.M. Bryan has independently arrived at this same conclusion in her doctoral dissertation on Tuthmosis IV. Her kind permission to allow the author to read parts of her manuscript is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>65</sup> Wente, *JNES* 34, 266 n. 12.

to Late Egyptian.<sup>66</sup> However sound this suggestion may be, one hesitates to make extensive use of it here, especially since a chronological issue hangs in the balance. Much fundamental work on different literary genres and their relation to the different phases of the Egyptian language remains to be done before this question can be decided.<sup>67</sup>

In the end, what evidence do we have in support of an emphatic translation which qualifies the date given? Of the non-emphatic rendering, Wente states: "To my mind, there is something rather un-Egyptian in this interpretation, according to which a formal date is applied to an event that is yet to occur in relation to the main verb."<sup>68</sup> Rather than a question of emphatic versus non-emphatic or Middle Egyptian versus Late Egyptian, the problem ultimately seems to rest on scholarly opinion of a very confusing passage. In this writer's view, no definitive translation of Tuthmosis' cord-stretching text can be reached without additional chronological evidence, and the passage is therefore set aside for the present.

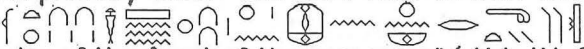
The only evidence we can trust, then, is the one event whose date *itself* has not been disputed - the Battle of Megiddo. It may seem like a step backward to ignore all but the Megiddo date, but the alternative seems to require too many unproven prerequisites. One can honestly, if cautiously accept the one date written and securely associated with an actual *pschtjw* (i.e. Tuthmosis III's Megiddo date), or one can continue to emend and restore, with of course potentially dangerous consequences. Only the Megiddo date can stand alone without alteration. It is a fact that the Annals of Tuthmosis III are formed of selected excerpts from the scribal journal of the campaign, and that not every day is listed. One could speculate endlessly on the absence of day 20, but the reasons need not concern us here. Recent scholarship has not argued convincingly against Faulkner's emendation of day 21 to day 20. Helck, for example, has merely replaced one emendation with another; i.e. the addition of the verb of motion *spr* to avoid emending day 21. All those who have followed Helck on this point seem little concerned that leaving the date unemended is hardly an improvement when it necessitates another emendation to do so.<sup>69</sup> Spalinger demonstrated that no verb of motion could be added to *Urk.* IV, 652.13-14 to

<sup>66</sup> One notable exception is B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*, Tübingen 1970.

<sup>67</sup> But see now A. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 9, New Haven 1982.

<sup>68</sup> Wente, *JNES* 34, 266.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 265; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 170; von Beckerath, *MDAIK* 37, 49; all of these citing Helck, *MDAIK* 28, 101-102.

render *r dmj n ʿrn* "towards" (instead of "at") the town of Aruna (see the discussion above). The important point, however, is that no argument is necessary, for it is Faulkner (and his successors) after all, who are challenging the primary data. The bare fact is that the Battle of Megiddo occurred on:  "Year 23, 1 šmw 21, the exact day of the feast of the new moon" (*Urk.* IV, 657.2).

As the text now stands, we are in no position to question its accuracy; we can accept and deal with what is written, or we can accept nothing.<sup>70</sup> Spalinger also favors this policy, and in regard to the sequence of events before the battle, wrote:

...Follow the text. This must be the first procedure for every scholar, although by no means must it remain the sole method of interpretation. Other scholars, including myself, have been led down false paths interpreting these "Annals"...simple but troublesome errors can be overcome so long as we take the text's account as firm basis for our interpretation.<sup>71</sup>

Spalinger then went on, however, to emend the Megiddo date from 21 to 20.

To sum up: On the basis of an unemended Battle of Megiddo, we are left with two choices for Tuthmosis III's dates - either an accession in 1504 B.C. with death in 1450 B.C., or an accession in 1479 B.C., with death in 1425 B.C. These two choices are illustrated by fig. 3 (top two solutions for  $A_1B_2$ ). The problem here, as mentioned above, is that a decision on one of Tuthmosis' lunar dates *ipso facto* determines the other one, since the two *psdhtjw* occurrences are twenty-two months apart. Because the two dates do not harmonize as they stand, the *unemended* interpretation of Megiddo necessitates an *emended* interpretation of the cord ceremony. One hesitates to accept any emendations, especially those based on textual dispute, and one readily admits this inconsistency seems at present to be an insolvable problem. However, the unemended Megiddo date must take precedence, since it is our only date which survives intact, and which definitely marks the event in whose context it occurs. It therefore remains the surest foundation on which to build any further hypotheses, although those outlined above prove unconvincing upon closer scrutiny. The rejection of the Leningrad papyrus date precludes any definitive correlation of Amenophis II's reign with that of Tuthmosis III by means of absolute dating.

<sup>70</sup> Parker's claim that J.G. Read, who similarly refused to emend "...must believe that no Egyptian scribe ever made a mistake in a date...", *JNES* 29, 218, clouds the issue. No two candidates for emendation present identical circumstances. Even without crediting the Egyptian scribe with superhuman talents, one should deal with what is actually attested, rather than fabricate what is not.

<sup>71</sup> Spalinger, *GM* 33, 51-52.

We may now move on to the evidence for a relative chronology and for a coregency between the two kings.

## Part II: The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

Many diverse sources support a coregency, though some are as ambiguous as the lunar dates of the two kings discussed above. The evidence consists of several representations of the two kings together with apparently equal status, two different accession dates for Amenophis II, and two separate campaigns dating to years 3 and 7 respectively, which are both hailed as Amenophis' "first campaign of victory." The following list attempts to provide a brief overview of the evidence relevant to the coregency; before accepting or rejecting this material, it deserves presentation unadorned by interpretation. Some of the data has, of course, already received attention above.

### List of Sources Pertaining to the Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

1. Karnak festival hall of Tuthmosis III; year 24 of Tuthmosis III:



"...appointing the king's eldest son [Amen]emhat as overseer of cattle."

Amenemhat was half-brother to Amenophis II; *Urk.* IV, 1262.1, and Chapter IV, fig. 40.

2. pB.M. 10056, Dynasty 18, determined to date to the reign of Amenophis II:

A. Fragmentary date: III *prt* 4 of either year 30, 15, 25 or 35 according to S.R.K. Glanville, *ZAS* 66, 1931, 120 n. 3 (Vs. 9.8; Glanville assigned the papyrus to Tuthmosis III). Year 30 was recently supported by Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 225, as belonging to the reign of Amenophis II. For a reading of either year 10 or 20, see Redford, *JEA* 51, 1965, 110.

B. "King's son and *s(t)m*-priest, Amenhotep." See Redford, *JEA* 51, 107-8; Glanville, *ZAS* 66, 106ff., and 68, 1932, 7ff.

C. A second regnal date: year lost, IV *ḥt* 1 (Vs. 3, 6). Compare to Amenophis II's accession date mentioned on Semna stela of Usersatet (no. 5 of this list); see Redford, *JEA* 51, 110.

## 3. Biography of Amenemheb:

## A. Year 54 of Tuthmosis III:



"...from year 1 down to year 54, III *prt* 30, under the [majesty of] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, justified..." *Urk. IV*, 895, 15-16. This date equates Tuthmosis' death with the thirtieth day of the seventh month. His reign fell one month and four days short of fifty-four years (accession date: I *šmw* 4; *Urk. IV*, 180.15; Burkhardt, *Übersetzung*, 313).

## B. Year 54, after the death of Tuthmosis III:



"When dawn broke in the morning, the sun shone forth, and heaven grew bright, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperure, Son of Re', Amenophis (II), ruler of Thebes, given life, was established upon the throne of his father..." *Urk. IV*, 896.4-8. If taken literally, as the very next day after Tuthmosis' death, this passage fixes Amenophis' accession at IV *prt* 1 (cf. also the representation of the two kings together in Amenemheb's tomb, below no. 15).

## 4. Great Sphinx stela of Amenophis II:



"Now his Majesty appeared as king as a fine youth after he had become well-developed", and had completed eighteen years in his strength and bravery." Line 11 = *Urk. IV*, 1279.8-10 (on *jp.n=f dt=f* cf. M. Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41).



"After this, his Majesty was made to appear as king; the uraeus came to rest upon his brow" (Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 42). Line 26 = *Urk.* IV, 1283.5-6. Note *sp<sup>c</sup>w hm=f* rather than *sp<sup>c</sup>.n hm=f* in Redford, *JEA* 51, 117. On the verb *h<sup>c</sup>j* see *Wb.* III, 240.1-2, R.S. El-Nadoury, *The Egyptian Term h<sup>c</sup>-nswt and the Problems of the "Accession" of the Egyptian King*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago 1953, and Redford, *History and Chronology*, 3-27, and most recently M. Schunck, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm h<sup>c</sup>*, Bonn 1985, esp. 63-86; for its relation to *nswt* versus *hm*, see W. Barta, *SAK* 8, 1980, 34; cf. also our Chapter IV Part I below.

5. Stela of Usersatet (*Wsr-st.t*), king's son of Kush under Amenophis II:

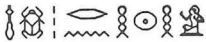


"Year 23, IV *zht* 1, the day of the festival of the king's accession." *Urk.* IV, 1343.10; W. Helck, "Eine Stele des Vizekönigs *Wsr-St.t.*," *JNES* 14, 1955, 22-31; for a drawing of the stela, see Chapter III Part II, fig. 37, and the discussion there.

6. pLeningrad 1116A:

A. The papyrus has been dated to years 18, 19 or 20 of Amenophis II (see above, Part I); grain allotment listed in line 19 of the text "from the grain of year 18" on II *šmw* 10 + X. "Since grain would presumably have been apportioned from the current year's income, the specific mention of year 18 indicates an older supply, most plausibly from the immediately preceding harvest" (Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 77; see also Helck, *Materialien*, 621). Earliest date mentioned in the text: II *šmw* 10 + X (Vs. 18), Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques*, pl. 15; latest date mentioned in the text: [III] *šmw* 10 (Vs. 205), *Ibid.*, pl. 22.

B. Personal name in Vs. 50 composed with prenomen of Amenophis II:



"May 'Akheperure (live) forever." Ranke, *PN* I, 58.3; Helck, *Materialien*, 620, 623; Redford, *JEA* 51, 107, 109.

7. pLeningrad 1116B:

Tuthmosis III mentioned as *ḥh wḏs snb* (Vs. 61, 64; Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques*, pl. 28), hence alive and ruling at this time? This text appears to be contemporary with pLeningrad 1116A; cf. Redford, *JEA* 51, 107-10.

8. Amada stela of Amenophis II:

A. Contains the date Year 3, III *šmw* 15, *Urk.* IV, 1289.1.



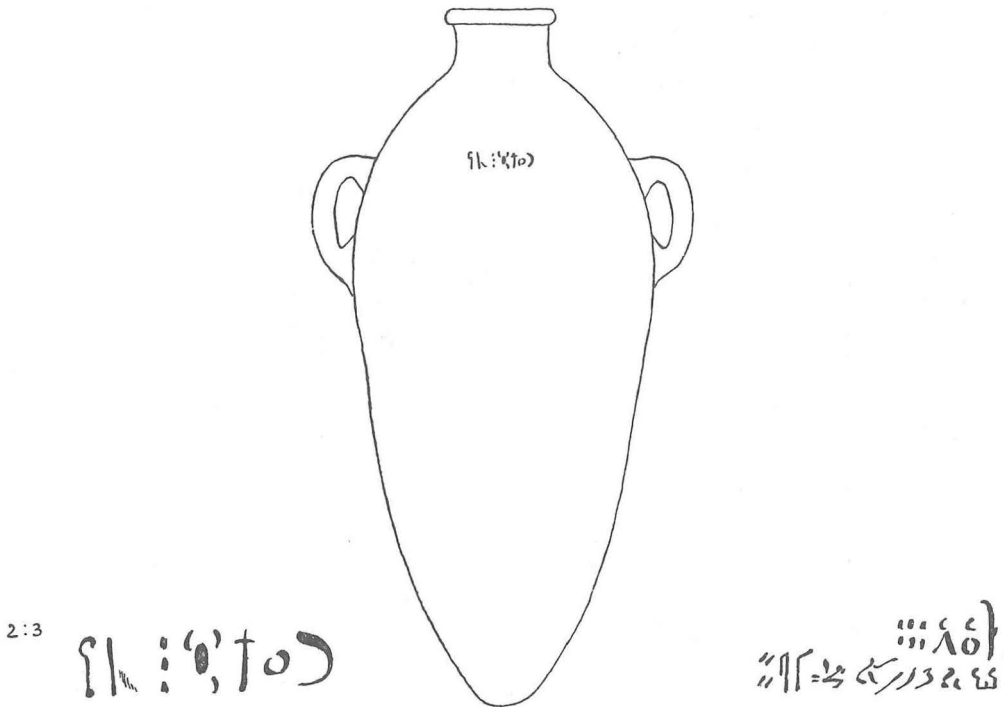


FIG. 4. WINE JAR FROM THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS II; FROM PETRIE, *SIX TEMPLES AT THEBES*, PL. 5: 3, 5, 6.

Representations, Cartouches, etc. of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II Together

13. TT 42, Amenmose; north wall, east end: painted stela showing two kings seated back to back; one cartouche bears the name of Menkheperre, while the other is blank. Cartouches and partial titularies of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II also appear above the door leading to the shrine:



*PM* I, i, 83(11); N. and N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another*, Theban Tombs Series 5, London 1933, 33 and pl. 39; Redford, *JEA* 51, 115; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53d.

14. TT 43, Neferronpet (fig. 5); north wall: two kings seated together in a kiosk; the cartouches of the first king are empty; those of the second king contain the name of Amenophis II; *PM* I, i, 84(3); A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, MÄS 21, Berlin 1969, 4-5; W. Helck, *MDAIK* 17, 1961, 103, fig. 3 and 106; M. Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine*, MIFAO 63, Cairo 1935, pl. 8; Redford, *JEA* 51, 116; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53d; Seele photographs 559-60.

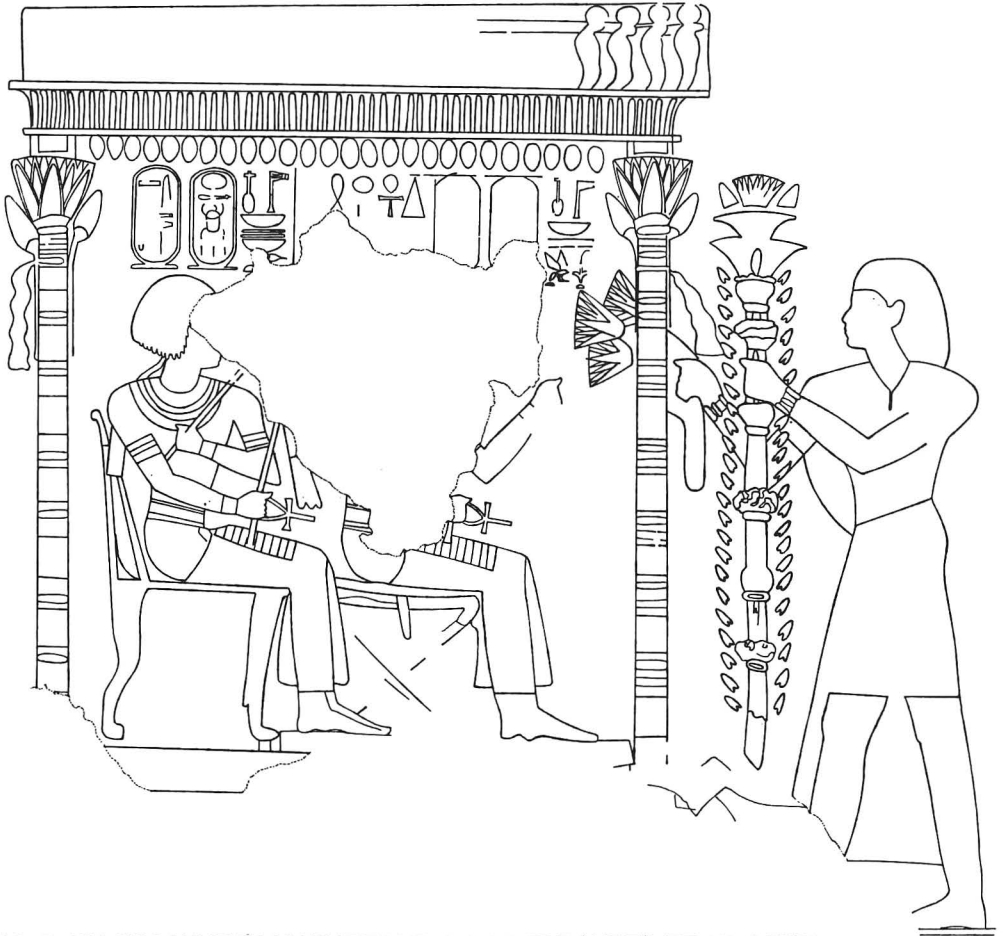


FIG. 5. KIOSK SCENE FROM THE TOMB OF NEFERRONPET (TT 43); AFTER BAUD, *MIFAO* 63, PL. 8; SEELE PHOTOGRAPHS 559-560; HELCK, *MDAIK* 17, 103, FIG. 2.

15. TT 85, Amenemheb; north wall of hall: scenes on either side of doorway showing Tuthmosis III (east side) and Amenophis II (west side) in separate kiosks; *PM* I, i, 171(9) and 172(17); C.C. Van Siclen, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, San Antonio 1982, 49.

16. TT 172, Mentuiwyw (fig. 6); east side of hall: two seated kings, most likely Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, face each other; *PM* I, i, 280(3); Radwan, *Darstellungen*, 5 n. 16; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53 n. 94.

17. TT 200, Dedy; north wall of hall, west of doorway: both kings represented reviewing troops; *PM* I, i, 303(3); Champollion, *Notices descriptives* I, 528; Radford, *JEA* 51, 116; Radwan, *Darstellungen*, 37, fig. 1 (Wilkinson's rough sketch); Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53d.

18. TT 256, Nebenkemet; north wall of hall, east and west sides of doorway: separate figures of both kings in kiosks (now destroyed); *PM* I, i, 341(3),(5); Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 49.

19. Two similar hard limestone group statues, one with the name of Tuthmosis III, the other with the name of Amenophis II; both were found in the second chamber of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut to the south of the granite sanctuary at Karnak; both are damaged, and are possibly *in situ*.

Height: 1.5 meters (Tuthmosis III) and 2 meters (Amenophis II); G. Legrain, *Rec.Trav.* 23, 1901, 62-63; Redford, *JEA* 51, 116; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 52-53(b).



FIG. 6. TWO SEATED KINGS FROM THE TOMB OF MENTUIWY (TT 172); AFTER MMA PHOTOGRAPH T 3071.

20. El Kab; temple of Tuthmosis III (now destroyed) once contained cartouches of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II "in close proximity" (Redford, *JEA* 51, 116); *PM* V, 176; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 49F; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 57f.

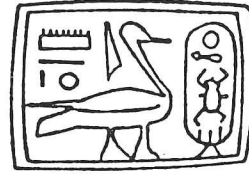
21. Kumma temple; three scenes separated by vertical inscriptions naming Tuthmosis III, connected by a horizontal band of hieroglyphs above. In each scene, a royal figure offers to Khnum and/or Sesostris III. Several cartouches are effaced, but the central and right hand ones clearly show Amenophis II. The upper (horizontal) band of text states that Tuthmosis III built the temple; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, pl. 64b; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 278; Redford, *JEA* 51, 116; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 57f.

22. Temple of Amada; Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II appear equally (with some exceptions) throughout the temple; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 54-57; Redford, *JEA* 51, 116; Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 1-6; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 279f.; idem, *Le Temple d'Amada*, Cairo 1913; Petrie, *A History of Egypt*<sup>10</sup>, London 1923, 135; Breasted, *AJSL* 23, 1906-7, 48-51.; M. Aly et. al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, CDEAE 1967.

23. London, British Museum 30581 (fig. 7); green glazed steatite rectangular plaque. Obverse: Mentu seated on a throne holding a *w3s*-scepter, with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III. Reverse: cartouche of Amenophis II, "Son of Amen-Re." H.R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum* 1, *Royal Scarabs*, London 1913, 161, no. 1638; B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperré*, OBO Series Archaeologica 2, Fribourg 1982, 182 no. 976a; F.S. Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée Egyptien* 1, Beirut 1971, 185 no. 385 (with  $\sim$  'incorrectly for  $\infty$ ).



Obverse



Reverse

FIG. 7. BRITISH MUSEUM 30581; AFTER HALL, *CATALOGUE OF SCARABS*, 161, NO.1638.

24. London, British Museum 29233 (fig. 8); green glazed steatite scarab. On base: prenomen of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II with *nfr* sign, all beneath a winged scarab with uraei; Hall, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, 165 no. 1671; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 977.

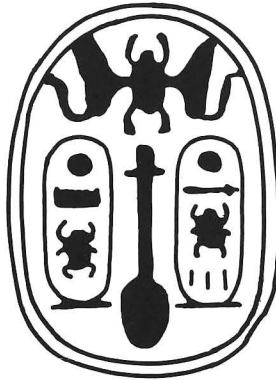


FIG. 8 BRITISH MUSEUM 29233; AFTER JAEGER, *SCARABEES MENKHEPERRE*, 182, NO. 977, ILL. 514.

25. New York, Metropolitan Museum plaque bearing the names of both kings; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, New York 1959, 144; Murnane, *Coragencies*, 52(a); Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 48A.

26. Alnwick Castle 1019, now in Durham University. Rectangular plaque with cartouches of both kings, one on each side; accompanying Tuthmosis' prenomens are a bearded sphinx and a winged uraeus; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London 1880, 135; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 974; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 48A.

27. Augsburg, Roman Museum of the city of Augsburg; unpublished scarab with names of both kings; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 975.

28. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum no. 1927; scarab with the names of Amenophis II below and Tuthmosis III as a sphinx above; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis...*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1899, 418.

29. Private collection, B. Hertz. Plaque with names of both kings; *Catalogue of the Collection of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian... Antiquities, formed by B. Hertz*, London 1851, 112 no. 652; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 979.

30. Vatican Museum Gregorianum Etr. Inv. 13.236. Oval plaque with names of both kings; G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien I*, *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 62, Leiden 1979, I 161-63; II 137-38 no. 555; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 980; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 48A.

31. Rectangular plaque with figure of Mentu and cartouche of Tuthmosis III on one side, and a royal sphinx with Amenophis II's cartouche crushing a foe on the other; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 981a, figs. 92a-b.

32. Oval plaque from Tell el-Ajjul with figure and name of Tuthmosis III on one side, and sphinx (trampling foe) and name of Amenophis II on the other (fig. 9); F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, London 1933, pl. 4 no. 124; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 981b and ill. 515.

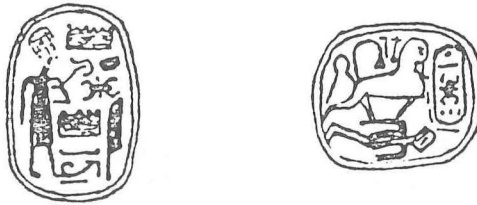
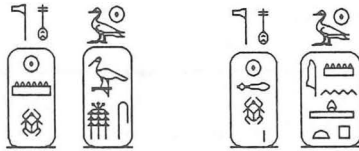


FIG. 9. OVAL PLAQUE FROM TELL EL-AJJUL; FROM PETRIE, *ANCIENT GAZA III*, PL. 4, NO. 124.

33. Collection Posno. Scarab with names of both kings; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 982; A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte I*, Gotha 1884, 356 n. 6.

34. London, British Museum 890. Part of a grey granite bowl made for a royal scribe Djehutmose with cartouches side by side:



*PM V*, 133; British Museum, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London 1909, 109-10 no. 376; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 50J.

35. Block FT 47 from the great temple at Armant, showing part of Tuthmosis III's name on one face, and cartouches of Amenophis II on another (fig. 10); R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, London 1940, 174, pl. 100 nos. 4-5; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 51.

36. Rock shrine no. 30 at Gebel es-Silsileh (fig. 11; owner anonymous). Balanced arrangement of both kings' names over the entrance (not "Hatshepsut united with Amen" as hitherto believed); R.A. Caminos and T.G.H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I*, London 1963, 93-94, pl. 73; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 50K.

37. Cairo Museum CG 12846. Oval plaque with name of one king on each side (fig. 12); G.A. Reisner, *Amulets II*, Cairo 1958, 41, pl. 11; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 983 and ill. 516.

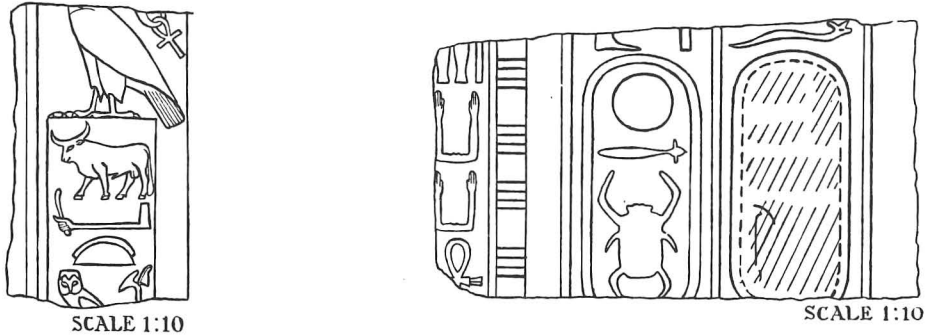


FIG. 10. BLOCK FT 47 FROM THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ARMANT; FROM MOND AND MYERS, *TEMPLES OF ARMANT*, PL. 100, NOS. 4-5.

38. Rectangular plaque with name of one king on each side (fig. 13); J. Ward, *The Sacred Beetle*, London 1902, pl. IV no. 501; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 984.

39. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Unpublished rectangular plaque with names of both kings; Jaeger, *Scarabées Menkhéperre*, 182 no. 985.

40. Scarab with names of both kings, termed "BH.IV.12" by Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée*, 75; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 52 n. 88; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 48A.

41. Leiden stela V, 11 of Henetnofret representing both kings seated, facing each other accompanied by their respective prenomens. An offering table stands between them, and an inscription fills two registers below (fig. 14); "An offering which the king and Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, King of the Gods, and the royal *k3* of Menkheperre, given life, give, that they might grant everything good and pure which comes and goes in the presence every day for the *k3* of the lady of the house, Henetnofret." P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* VI, 3. Abteilung: *Stelen*, The Hague 1913, 3, pl. 7 no. 8; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53 c; detail views of the two faces in K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, pl. 41, figs. 97-98. The author is indebted to H.D. Schneider, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, for permission to draw and reproduce the stela in fig. 14.

### Possible Representations of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

42. TT 143 (fig. 15; name lost). Three representations of the same(?) king, spearing a lion, sitting enthroned, and shooting an arrow; *PM* I, i, 255(5); Radwan, *Darstellungen*, 95-96; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 55 n. 94; Davies, *BMMA* Nov. 1935 Section II, 49-53, figs. 5-6; note that W. Decker and J. Klauk suggest that the scenes might represent kings Tutankhamen and Ay, *KBSW* 3, 1974, 31-32, and in the same vein, O. Keel, *ZDPV* 93, 1977, 154, 155 fig. 16; cf. below our Chapter IV Part II section D. (archery) no. 9.

43. Bark station of Tuthmosis III at Tod, outside the great temple. At least one pillar has a representation of Amenophis II; P. Barget, *BIFAO* 51, 1952, 81-104, pls. 1-12; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 49F.

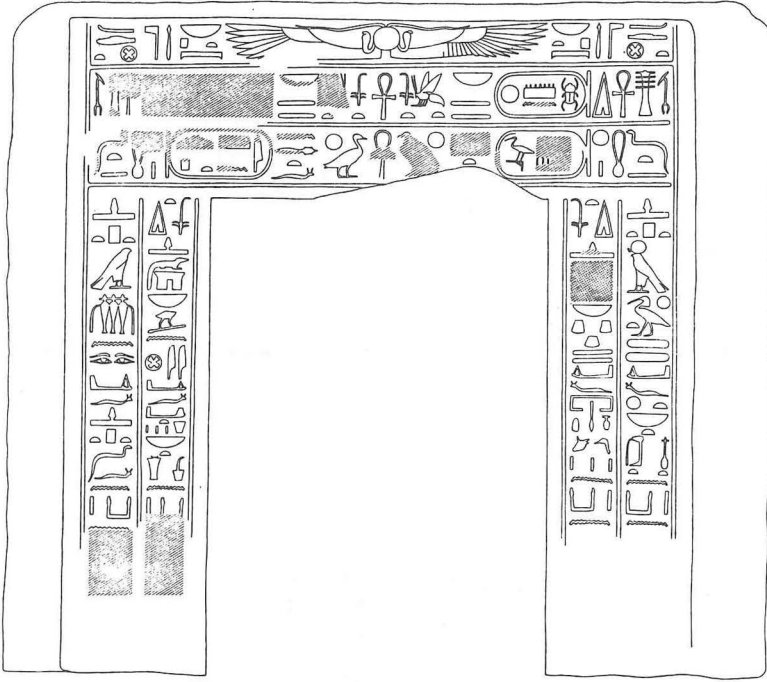


FIG. 11. CARTOUCHES OVER THE ENTRANCE TO SHRINE 30 AT GEBEL ES-SILSILEH;  
FROM CAMINOS AND JAMES, *GEBEL ES-SILSILAH* I, PL. 73.

44. Cairo Museum CG 42057; statuette of Tuthmosis III with names of both kings in several places; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 49-50(G).

45. Similar statuettes of Tuthmosis III (Cairo Museum JE 43507A) and Amenophis II (New York MMA 13.182.6) from Deir el-Medineh(?); *PM* I, ii, 693, 709; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 50H.

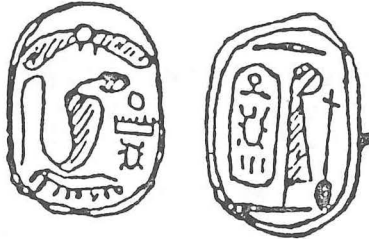


FIG. 12. CG 12846; AFTER REISNER, *AMULETS* II, PL. 11.

46. Small Sphinx stela of Amenophis II possibly contains name of Tuthmosis III; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 50 I, but cf. C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo 1976, 89 n. 1.



FIG. 13. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE; AFTER WARD, *SACRED BEETLE*, PL. IV, NO. 501.

47. Temple of Khnum at Elephantine may show evidence of work by both kings; *PM V*, 224-25; Van Siclen, *Uranarti*, 50L.



FIG. 14. LEIDEN V, 11, STELA OF HENETNOFRET; AFTER BOESER, *BESCHREIBUNG... VI, STELEN*, PL. 7, NO. 8.

48. Karnak, hall of Tuthmosis I between the IVth and Vth pylons shows evidence of construction by both kings; *PM* II, 80-83; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 51, and in general idem, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 44-45.



FIG. 15. THREE ROYAL SCENES FROM THEBAN TOMB 143; DRAWING BY DAVIES, *BMMA* NOV. 1935, SECTION II, 50-51, FIGS. 5-6.

(For the structures listed above, cf. also Appendix III on the construction of activity of Amenophis II.)

\* \* \*

Perhaps more than most other sources, the two accession dates of Amenophis II (nos. 2C, 3B and 5 of the preceding list) support the coregency. The first date of IV *ꜥꜥt* 1 occurs in both the Semna stela of Usersatet and pBritish Museum 10056, and the second is inferred from the biography of Amenemheb, being the morning after Tuthmosis' death, or IV *pꜣt* 1.<sup>72</sup> Of course one cannot be absolutely certain that the reference to the "next morning" is not a figurative one. Redford cited the change in year number in the BM papyrus date as proof that Amenophis' regnal years were figured from this date (IV *ꜥꜥt* 1), and not the one from Amenemheb.<sup>73</sup> Now did Tuthmosis' death (III *pꜣt* 30) precede or follow Amenophis' accession (IV *ꜥꜥt* 1)? The two charts below (fig. 16) show that Amenophis' accession date must have come first (chart A), lest a "pharaohless" period of two-thirds of a year result (chart B).

According to the scheme in Chart A, the interval of four months between Amenophis' accession and Tuthmosis' death led Gardiner to postulate a coregency of precisely that length.<sup>74</sup> Yet although we can be sure that the son's accession preceded the father's death, we do not know that the two events definitely occurred in the same year. Therefore, the coregency may have lasted longer than a mere four months, such as one year and four months, two years and four months, three years and four months, etc.

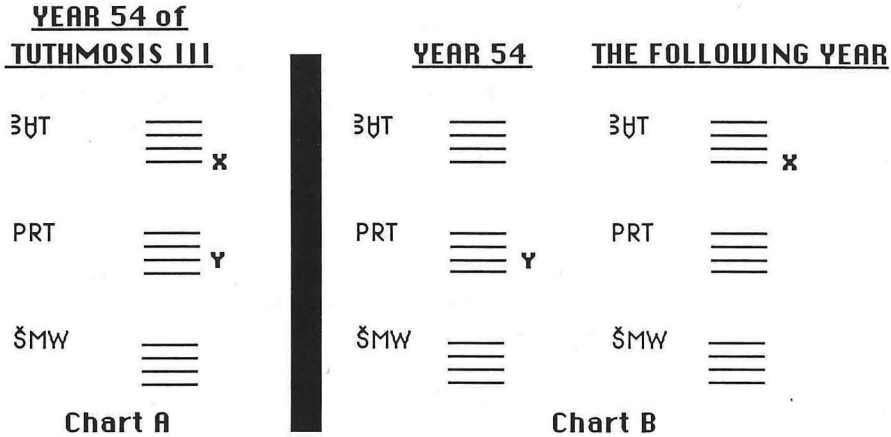
Another focus of the coregency debate is the "first campaign of victory" problem. Since the commemorative stela from Amada describes a first campaign of Amenophis II in his third year (no. 8A of the preceding list), and the Memphis stela mentions yet another first campaign in his seventh year (no. 11A), many writers have concluded that some kind of association with the preceding reign of Tuthmosis III explains this confusing numbering

<sup>72</sup> The date is taken as it stands, despite argument to emend *pꜣt* to *ꜥꜥt*, cf. note 43 above. On the possible reference to two different rites, one for accession as coregent and the other for coronation as sole ruler, see the Sphinx stela, lines 11 and 26 (*Urk.* IV 1279.8 and 1283.5) discussed below in Chapter IV Part I.

<sup>73</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 121.

<sup>74</sup> A.H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31, 1945, 27.

system. Two points are pivotal in the first campaign problem. The first is, of course, the accuracy of the dates: Is there a reasonable explanation for two first campaigns, or is there a scribal or some other kind of error? Second, what kind of numbering system marked the transition from one reign to the next, and from coregency to sole rule?



X = accession of Amenophis II (IV 𓇑HT 1)

Y = death of Tuthmosis III (III PRT 30)

FIG. 16. THE ACCESSION DATE OF AMENOPHIS II.

To avoid resorting to emendation, we shall consider for the moment that the dates are to be left as they stand, and that somehow there are indeed two first campaigns. Others have suggested that each stela might possess its own internal numbering system; e.g. the first and second campaigns of the Memphis stela (years 7 and 9) are so named only because they are the first and second to be described in that particular text.<sup>75</sup> But such a hypothesis is unsupported by other commemorative documents (and fortunately so, lest considerable chronological confusion result). Once we assume the existence of two separate first campaigns we may posit the following hypothesis:

The two campaigns cannot both be dated during a coregency or during the sole reign of Amenophis II; otherwise they would not both be labeled "first."

Taking the two texts literally then, we must now consider the Egyptian regnal year system, and specifically the passing from one reign to the next. If there was a coregency, could Amenophis' regnal years have started over

<sup>75</sup> E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>5</sup>, Paris 1975, 407.

again upon his father's death and the commencement of his sole reign? There seems to be no evidence to support such a suggestion. In his valuable work on Egyptian coregencies, Murnane does not discuss such a possibility.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Gardiner's contribution to Egyptian chronology is silent on the matter, albeit his primary focus was on the synchronization of regnal and civil calendar years.<sup>77</sup> Only J.A. Wilson, and later B. Mazar (Maisler) suggested such a double dating scheme to explain the first campaign problem (see solution C below),<sup>78</sup> but E. Edel rejected this notion in his comprehensive study of Amenophis' campaigns, with subsequent support from Redford.<sup>79</sup> It may well be that no such "renumbered" or double dating system was ever utilized. But it is precisely Amenophis II's reign which raises the question.

Five different solutions to the first campaign problem are available. The first two (A-B) assume no change in the numbering of Amenophis' regnal years from his accession as coregent onward. The remaining three (C-E) necessitate a return of Amenophis' years back to 0 upon the death of Tuthmosis III. While this may seem unlikely, the special nature of the problem requires the presentation of all possibilities. The five solutions A-E, each summarized by a time-line in fig. 17, are discussed individually below.

### Single Dating Systems

**Solution A.** This solution has received the most support in the scholarly literature, and it is favored here as the most likely.<sup>80</sup> Since Amenophis

<sup>76</sup> Compare reviews of Murnane's *Coregencies* by J. von Beckerath, *BIOr* 36, 1979, 305-6; A. Spalinger, *JARCE* 16, 1979, 189-92, esp. 191; M.L. Bierbrier, *Orientalia* 49, 1980, 107-9, R.D. Delia, *Sarapis* 5/2, 1980, 51-54; and M. Gitton, *CdE* 54, 1979, 260-64.

<sup>77</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 11-28.

<sup>78</sup> Wilson in J.B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*<sup>3</sup>, Princeton 1969, 245 n. 1; B. Mazar (Maisler), "The Military Campaigns of Amenhotep II to the land of Canaan," in *The Military History of the Land of Israel*, 1965, 34.

<sup>79</sup> E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69, 1953, 159; Redford, *JEA* 51, 120-21. A. Alt was the first to present this solution, "Neue Berichte über die Feldzüge von Pharaonen des Neuen Reiches nach Palästina," *ZDPV* 70, 1954, 35ff.

<sup>80</sup> See also Redford, *JEA* 51, 107-22; Parker, *Studies Wilson*, 80; Wente, *JNES* 34, 267-68; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 48-49.

alone is mentioned on the Amada stela, Tuthmosis III is presumed dead by year 3, the date inscribed on the monument.<sup>81</sup> However, Amenophis must have commenced the campaign of year 3 while his father still lived, otherwise two "first" campaigns would remain inexplicable. Thus Amenophis fought the campaign as coregent but returned to Egypt as sole ruler, whereupon "the earlier numbering was either forgotten or ignored and Amenophis' wars were numbered afresh beginning with his first sole exploit, viz., that of year 7."<sup>82</sup>

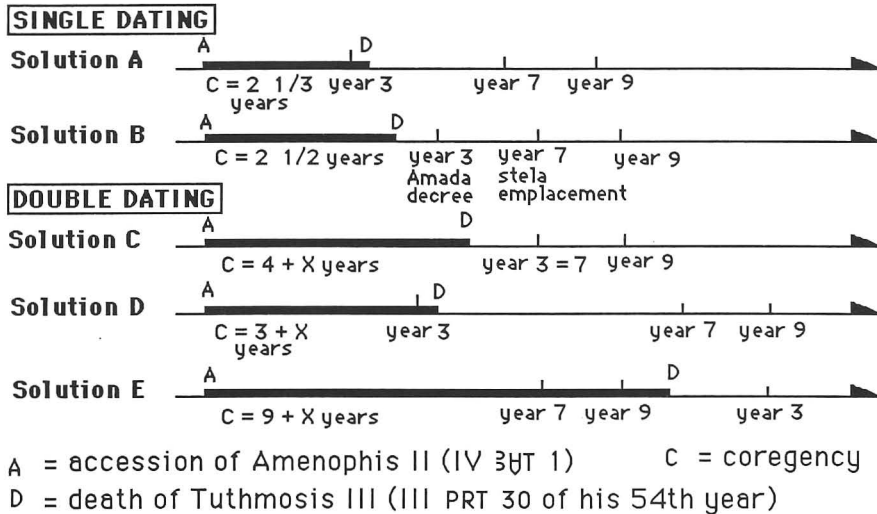


FIG. 17. THE FIVE COREGENCY SOLUTIONS A - E FOR TUTHMOSIS III AND AMENOPHIS II.

In this solution, however, one might expect some mention of Tuthmosis on the Amada stela, if indeed he still lived at the start of the campaign. Edel

<sup>81</sup> This terminus for the life of Tuthmosis III might be challenged by those who claim that coregents possessed separate courts, administrations and officials, all of which shared little interaction - hence the absence of Tuthmosis III's name on the Amada stela. See C. Aldred, "The Second Jubilee of Amenophis II," *ZAS* 94, 1967, 3-4; idem, *Akhenaten Pharaoh of Egypt*, London 1968, 103-4; idem, "The Beginning of the El-Amarna Period," *JEA* 45, 1959, 31. However, Murnane has convincingly disproven such a separation between coregents with his discussion of numerous officials who served several masters, *Coregencies*, 258-61. For additional modification of Aldred's position, see K.A. Kitchen, "Further Notes on New Kingdom Chronology and History," *OAE* 43, 1968, 313-24.

<sup>82</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 122.

raised this objection, but Redford countered with the perhaps tenuous suggestion that Tuthmosis had died by the time of the drafting of the stela, which consequently centered only on the reigning monarch (Amenophis II) as its protagonist.<sup>83</sup> Redford's remark that Tuthmosis III "probably did not figure prominently in public life during the last few years of his life" cannot be substantiated.<sup>84</sup> At any rate, with Amenophis' accession date of IV 3HT 1 as one chronological boundary, and year 3 of the Amada stela which finds him sole ruler as the other, a coregency of at most two years and four months would have occurred. Similar solutions of one year and four months or simply four months can be ruled out, unless one proposes a different interpretation of the first campaign problem and assumes that Tuthmosis was dead before the year 3 campaign ever began. The chart in fig. 18 illustrates the two and one-third year coregency.

	<u>YEAR 52</u>	<u>YEAR 53</u>	<u>YEAR 54</u>
ŠMW	≡ ≡ ≡	≡ ≡ ≡	≡ ≡ ≡
3HT	≡ ≡ ≡ A	≡ ≡ ≡	≡ ≡ ≡
PRT	≡ ≡ ≡	≡ ≡ ≡	≡ ≡ ≡ D
A = accession of Amenophis II (IV 3HT 1)		Coregency:	
D = death of Tuthmosis III (III PRT 30)		2 years,	
(Accession of Tuthmosis III = I ŠMW 4)		4 months	

FIG. 18. THE CALENDAR ACCORDING TO THE REGNAL YEAR OF TUTHMOSIS III.

**Solution B.** This solution involves antedating, i.e. dating an event back to a period which is earlier than its actual occurrence. In this case, Murnane has solved the first campaign problem by equating the two campaigns of years 3 and 7.<sup>85</sup> Murnane took the year 3 date to refer not to the campaign or to the

<sup>83</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 159; Redford, *JEA* 51, 121.

<sup>84</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 121.

<sup>85</sup> Murnane, *Coregencies*, 44-47. See also T. Säve-Söderbergh's review of Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, in *BiOr* 13, 1956, 122.

erection of the stela, but to the decree in the text to improve the temple of Amada:

On III Shomu 15 of year three Amenophis II authorized(?) the improvements in his father's temple; although the work itself was carried out with dispatch, the commemorative stela was not set up until after the "first campaign" of year seven...sufficiently late in the day so that the subsidiary decrees of year four could be included as a colophon to the Elephantine stela (*a duplicate text of the Amada stela, see no. 9 of our list above*). If this reasoning is accepted and its bearing on the Amada stela conceded, Amenophis II's alleged "first campaign" prior to his seventh year vanishes.<sup>86</sup>

Thus since the year 3 date and the erection of the stela are apparently unrelated, there is in turn no support for a campaign at such an early date. Murnane added that most stelae are in fact antedated since they had to be carved after the event they recorded, and carving itself was a time-consuming process.

The larger issue in Murnane's solution is the separation of the dates for the decree and the actual emplacement of the stela. The two texts of years 3 and 7, however, seem to discuss completely separate campaigns. The year 3 campaign, as related by the Amada and Elephantine stelae, concerns the king's attack on the region of Takhsy in Syria (see below, Chapter II Part I). Seven chiefs from Takhsy were captured and beheaded, and their corpses were displayed on the walls of Thebes and Napata as a symbol of Egyptian might. Yet not so much as a mention of Takhsy appears in the Syrian campaign of year 7, described by the Karnak and duplicate Memphis stelae. Murnane countered this objection by comparing Amenophis' military documents to the Annals of Tuthmosis III which are of course selected day-book excerpts, and not day-by-day records. Furthermore, according to him, the campaign of year 7 was at least in the vicinity of Takhsy (near Kadesh),<sup>87</sup> so geographically and logistically the two campaigns could have been one and the same.

Murnane's solution does not alter the length of the coregency. By citing the "general usage of renewal formulas in Egyptian monuments,"<sup>88</sup> Murnane followed the chronological work of Parker and Wente discussed above in Part I, such that regardless of whether one places Tuthmosis' accession in 1490 or 1504 B.C., the result is still a coregency of two and one-third years.

<sup>86</sup> Murnane, *Coregencies*, 47.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 48 and the references cited in n. 71.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

### Double Dating Systems

**Solution C.** One finds results similar to Murnane's in this scheme; the one difference is the vehicle used to equate the two campaigns of years 3 and 7. Prior to Murnane's antedating solution, Wilson suggested a double dating system whereby "year 7," Amenophis' seventh year *since the beginning* of the coregency, equalled "year 3," his third as sole ruler.<sup>89</sup> If we subtract three from seven, a coregency of four years results from this arrangement. As Edel has pointed out, however, logistical problems call this solution into question.<sup>90</sup> The Karnak duplicate of the Memphis stela tells us Amenophis was in the plain of Sharon on III *šmw* 6 + X (compare *Urk.* IV, 1314 lines 1 and 8), while the date of the Amada stela is III *šmw* 15, a mere nine days later. Both Edel and later Redford argued that Amenophis could not have crossed southern Palestine and the Sinai desert in only nine days.<sup>91</sup> In addition to this objection, the absence of Takhsy and its seven ill-fated chiefs in the Karnak and Memphis accounts may also disqualify Wilson's solution, depending on whether one gives significance (as this writer does) to this omission.

**Solution D.** This solution is comparable to Solution A above. Tuthmosis is again presumed dead upon Amenophis' return from the campaign of year 3, which is separate from that of year 7. Solution A differs in that the year 7 campaign occurred four years after that of year 3. In the present solution, however, Amenophis must have recommenced his regnal years upon the death of his father (after a two and one-third year coregency).<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the year 7 campaign, under a new numbering system, actually took place *a full seven years* after the Takhsy campaign of year 3 (under the old numbering system).

**Solution E.** This solution is perhaps the least likely of those outlined here. It nevertheless deserves consideration, at least insofar as does the double dating system itself. As in Solution D, Amenophis' numbering system here

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<sup>89</sup> Wilson in *ANET*, 245 n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 158.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 158; Redford, *JEA* 51, 120-21 (note that "Karnak" should replace "Memphis" in Redford's last sentence on p. 120). Edel points out, *ZDPV* 69, 158 n. 68, that *Arrian* 3,1 mentions that Alexander the Great needed nine days to cross the Gaza Strip.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Barta, *SAK* 8, 35, who writes (concerning Tuthmosis III's death): "Da es sich dabei um das Ende einer Mitregentschaft handelt, hat offenbar zu Beginn der Alleinherrschaft noch eine Thronbesteigungsfeier stattgefunden."

must have started over again upon Tuthmosis' death. However, this solution reverses the order of the campaigns: those of years 7 and 9 of the Karnak and Memphis stelae were under a coregency numbering system and *preceded* the campaign of year 3. At some point after year 9, Tuthmosis died, at which time Amenophis commenced his "sole rule numbering system." Three years later, the Takhsy campaign of year 3 took place. A coregency of 9 + X years is therefore proposed.

Some of the chronological implications of this solution are noteworthy. Tuthmosis ceased his Asiatic campaigns after his forty-second year. Traditional chronologists would have a gap of fifteen years (Tuthmosis' remaining twelve plus the three of Amenophis leading up to the Takhsy campaign) without direct royal Egyptian military presence in Syria and Palestine. If the campaigns of years 7 and 9 did indeed precede that of year 3, thus indicating a long coregency, this militarily silent gap would be partially filled with Amenophis' service as "staff of old age" to his father. Murnane discusses one of the advantages of the institution of coregency during Dynasty 18 in allowing an aging king to perpetuate his role as military pharaoh by sending his son to do battle in his stead.<sup>93</sup>

With regard to the completion of the Amada temple, this solution allows construction by the two kings to continue right up until the "9 + Xth" year of the coregency,<sup>94</sup> whereupon Tuthmosis died. The temple was subsequently completed and three years later, the renovation decrees were executed. The erection of the Amada stela then took place (without the delay which Murnane proposed) to commemorate the event as well as the Takhsy campaign, the "first campaign" of sole rule.

\* \* \*

The above discussion reveals the many and various explanations for the coregency between Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. As involved as they are, however, they still serve, in this writer's opinion, to handle the evidence better than the more recent theories which would eliminate a coregency altogether. Krauss' study of the problem not only seems to sweep the entire list of material given above for the coregency under the rug, but also requires emending the date for Tuthmosis III's death in Amenemheb's

<sup>93</sup> Murnane, *Coregencies*, 253.

<sup>94</sup> On the fact that the Amada temple was built by both kings during the coregency, see Murnane, *Coregencies*, 56, and Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 49E.

biography from III *prt* 30 into III *zht* 30.<sup>95</sup> It seems more reasonable at this point to abstain from adding still more variables to an already complex problem.

### Part III: The Alleged Coregency of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, and the Length of the Reign of Amenophis II

It is unfortunate that the events surrounding the accession of Tuthmosis IV are so obscure, especially since his Dream Stela between the paws of the Great Sphinx suggests that he was not the originally intended heir to the throne.<sup>96</sup> Evidence for a coregency between Tuthmosis IV and his father is scanty indeed. Amenophis is thought to have celebrated two jubilee festivals,<sup>97</sup> but Tuthmosis IV, who reigned hardly a decade according to most scholars,<sup>98</sup> states that he repeated one.<sup>99</sup> This inconsistency resurrects the vexing problem of the Egyptian jubilee ceremony, which with many notable exceptions seems to take place around the given king's thirtieth year.<sup>100</sup> Aldred has postulated a coregency between the two kings during which Tuthmosis IV "participated" in the second jubilee of his father.<sup>101</sup> This purportedly explains Tuthmosis' "second jubilee" when evidence of a first one was lacking. Now, however, such evidence is not

<sup>95</sup> *Urk.* IV, 895.15-16; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 174-75; cf. Murnane's comments, *Orientalia* 52, 1983, 282-83.

<sup>96</sup> See Redford's discussion of the identity of the Amenhotep of pBritish Museum 10056, the king's son Amenhotep in TT 64, the king's son Amenhotep from two Konosso graffiti, and the king's son, "Prince B," who erected the Sphinx stela of Amenophis II, *JEA* 51, 112-15. See also Chapter IV Part I below, and the forthcoming study on the reign of Tuthmosis IV by B.M. Bryan, Chapter 6.

<sup>97</sup> Amenophis II's structure between the IXth and Xth pylons at Karnak has been identified as a jubilee kiosk built for the repetition of the king's jubilee; see L. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, Cairo 1938, 61-66; Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 1. For additional comments on Amenophis II's Karnak monuments, see Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 and *passim*.

<sup>98</sup> Redford, *JNES* 25, 120; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, 443; Hornung, *Untersuchungen*, table at end with list of several scholar's dates; J. von Beckerath, *Abriss der Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, Munich 1971, 38. Against a short reign see Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 229-30, 248-49.

<sup>99</sup> See pillars I-III, V-VII of the Amada temple, Aly et. al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, pls. 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40. For further references on the jubilees of both kings, see E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* I, Geneva 1974, 32-33. More recent remarks are by Murnane, "The Sed Festival: A Problem in Historical Method," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. Habachi), 369-76.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. W.K. Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty," *JARCE* 2, 1963, 59-63.

<sup>101</sup> Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 1-6.

lacking. Murnane has discussed a sandstone building at Karnak built to commemorate Tuthmosis IV's first jubilee.<sup>102</sup> Thus four separate ceremonies, two for Amenophis II and two for Tuthmosis IV, may have taken place, despite the short length of the reigns involved.<sup>103</sup> We must look elsewhere for evidence of a coregency.

Three other sources led Aldred to argue for joint rule, but Murnane has, in our view, successfully refuted them. The first is a royal statuette in the Louvre with the name of Tuthmosis IV on the belt buckle and that of Amenophis II on the base. That Amenophis' name was not erased proves to Aldred that this was not simple a case of usurpation.<sup>104</sup> Murnane on the other hand observed that these two names bear no particular spatial relation to each other, and that multiply-named statuary which is *not* indicative of joint ownership of rule is indeed quite common.<sup>105</sup> A second potential source for a coregency is a fragmentary group statue in the temple of Amenophis II at Karnak, in which Aldred saw one figure of Amenophis and one of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>106</sup> The author had the opportunity to examine this statue in 1984; in its battered condition, the piece is unfortunately of little help.<sup>107</sup> None of the figures can be securely identified (no inscriptions are visible), and the statue as a whole is useless as far as historical evidence is concerned.

Finally, Aldred took the anonymous king seated beside Amenophis II in the Theban tomb of Neferronpet (TT 43; see no. 14 of the list above) to be Tuthmosis IV, rather than Tuthmosis III, based on the wide streamer attached to the blue crown, which he assigned stylistically to the middle of Tuthmosis IV's reign.<sup>108</sup> In his article on the tomb, however, Helck identified the king as Tuthmosis III, and Murnane rejected Aldred's streamer-evolution argument as too linear.<sup>109</sup> It is perhaps worth noting,

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<sup>102</sup> Murnane, *Coregencies*, 118, and n. 33. The building was subsequently dismantled by Amenophis III.

<sup>103</sup> See below for comments on the length of the reign of Amenophis II.

<sup>104</sup> Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 5. For the statuette, see B.V. Bothmer, "Membra dispersa. King Amenhotep II Making an Offering," *BMFA* 52, 1954, 11-20, and idem, "Amenhotep II Restored," *ibid.*, 41.

<sup>105</sup> Murnane, *Coregencies*, 215-17.

<sup>106</sup> Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 4-5, with photograph.

<sup>107</sup> Murnane writes that it "cannot be proved either to represent the two kings Aldred suggests or to have been deposited in the temple during Amenophis II's reign," *Coregencies*, 121.

<sup>108</sup> Aldred, *ZAS* 94, 5.

<sup>109</sup> W. Helck, "Das thebanische Grab 43," *MDAIK* 17, 1961, 106, and 103 fig. 3; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 121.

if only for future reference, that the two kings in this scene actually sit on different types of seats: Amenophis II (left) uses a typical New Kingdom "classic" chair, while the anonymous king (right) sits on a faldstool with leather seat complete with hanging tail. The faldstool is known to have military connotations, but one wonders what the significance of two different seats here might be.<sup>110</sup> In sum, then, the evidence for a coregency between Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV is both meager and disputed, and such a coregency cannot for the present be substantiated.<sup>111</sup>

### The Length of the Reign of Amenophis II

The highest known regnal date for Amenophis II, year 26, is written on a wine jar from the king's funerary temple at Thebes (see above list no. 12). On one side of the jar is inscribed the king's prenomen, and on the other, year 26, with the name of the vintner Panehsy. The date was formerly rejected by Griffith,<sup>112</sup> because most scholars granted Amenophis II a reign of only five years, a classic case of rearranging the data to fit the theory.<sup>113</sup> The subsequent discovery of higher dates for Amenophis, such as the year 23 of the Semna stela of Usersatet (see above, no. 5 and Chapter III Part II, fig. 37), vindicated the wine jar date. The wine jar date also agrees with Manetho, who assigns twenty-five years and ten months to a Misphragmouthosis. Rather than equate Misphragmouthosis with Tuthmosis III, for whom twenty-five years and ten months is, so far as we know, an otherwise insignificant number, Helck has suggested that this king is indeed Amenophis II.<sup>114</sup> Redford argued, perhaps questionably, that year 26 must be near the end of the reign since the jar was found in the king's funerary temple:

<sup>110</sup> On the faldstool in general see O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis. The Folding Stool. An Ancient Symbol of Authority*, Copenhagen 1980, 1ff. (this last reference courtesy M. Eaton-Krauss). The author is indebted to W. Raymond Johnson of the Epigraphic Survey for pointing out the faldstool, visible in Seele photograph 559, hardly so in Baud's reproduction, *Les dessins ébauchés*, pl. 8. On the "classic" chair see E. Brovarski et al., eds., *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom*, Boston 1982, 64-65, 66-67 (cat. no. 37); on faldstools 64, 70-71 (cat. no. 41), and J. Harris, "The Folding Stool of a Famous Soldier," *Acta Orientalia* 37, 1976, 21-25.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 229.

<sup>112</sup> Griffith explained the date away as belonging to some later king, while the cartouche of Amenophis II appeared only because the wine jar happened to come from his vineyard, "The Length of the Reign of Amenhotep II," *PSBA* 31, 1909, 42-43.

<sup>113</sup> The year 5 date is the one from pRollin 1887 containing a hymn to the king; see no. 10 of the above sources list, and Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 277 no. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königlisten*, UGÄA 18, Berlin 1956, 40, 66; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 236-39.

Since pottery jars are relatively porous the wine which they contain must be consumed not long after bottling.<sup>115</sup> A mortuary complex would be fully stocked with wine only upon the death of a king, or at least when it became clear that a king was upon the point of death. In fact up to that time in many cases a mortuary temple would probably still be in process of construction.<sup>116</sup>

Some scholars have postulated a longer reign of about thirty-four years for Amenophis II. Wentz and Van Siclen attempt to reverse Redford's position with evidence for long-term storage of wine and the active functioning of Egyptian mortuary temples well before the death of their pharaoh.<sup>117</sup> They further observe that Tuthmosis IV's erection of the Lateran obelisk occurred a full thirty-five years after the death of Tuthmosis III, for whom it was originally intended. Thirty-five years according to Wentz and Van Siclen exactly marks the length of the interceding reign of Amenophis II minus the length of the coregency with his father.<sup>118</sup> Finally, they argue that the occurrence of Amenophis' jubilees supports the extension of his reign past twenty-six years.<sup>119</sup>

Much of this dating by means of indirect reference can be made to "fit," but the results nevertheless remain inconclusive. The fact is that year 26 is Amenophis' highest *surviving* date. No dates accompany the jubilee monuments, and our understanding of the jubilee institution is too imperfect to allow us to assign an automatic "thirtieth year" at every mention of a *hb-sd* festival.<sup>120</sup> The only other evidence for the determination of Amenophis' tenure on the throne is the X-ray investigation recently conducted on the royal mummies. The age of the mummy of Amenophis II at death has been estimated at thirty-five to forty-five years, with forty as a safe mean.<sup>121</sup> Now if, as Redford suggests, lines 11ff. of the Great Sphinx stela (*Urk.* IV, 1279.8-10) refer to Amenophis' accession (as coregent), "having completed eighteen years in his strength and bravery,"<sup>122</sup> then eighteen years plus twenty-six years of rule equals forty-four years for Amenophis' entire life. This figure falls within the limits set by the autopsys results. On the other hand, eighteen years plus a

<sup>115</sup> Redford cites H.W. Fairman in J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* III, London 1951, 154.

<sup>116</sup> Redford, *JNES* 25, 119.

<sup>117</sup> Wentz and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 228 and notes 64-65.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 227-28.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 227 and notes 55-56; cf. Murnane on this point, *Coregencies*, 118.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Murnane, *MDAIK* 37, 376, who prefers to take jubilee references seriously as historical evidence, rather than mere "wish formulae."

<sup>121</sup> Harris and Wentz, *X-Ray Atlas*, 202 table 6.3.

<sup>122</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 117-18.

longer rule of thirty-four years (after Wente and Van Siclen) produces fifty-two years, an impossibly high result according to the medical evidence.<sup>123</sup>

Perhaps X-radiography on the royal mummies is no safer a method for conclusively determining Egyptian chronology than is dating by jubilee festival.<sup>124</sup> Yet in this case, one should at least be wary of extending Amenophis' reign farther than firmly supported evidence, be it medical or otherwise, permits. For this reason, a twenty-six year reign is preferred one of thirty-four.

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<sup>123</sup> Wente calculated Amenophis' age at death to be thirty-four years at maximum, based on historical sources alone; Harris and Wente, *X-Ray Atlas*, 251-52. But to postulate a *reign* of some thirty-four years, as Wente does (Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies Hughes*, 218, table 1), places Amenophis' coronation at his birth. This also requires that the king's eighteen years of age on the Sphinx stela be unrelated to his accession, either as coregent or sole ruler. But the occurrence of the verb *h<sup>c</sup>* in the text (*Urk.* IV, 1279.8) seems to vitiate this requirement.

<sup>124</sup> For remarks casting doubt upon the medical evidence as a whole, see G. Robins, "The value of the estimated ages of the royal mummies at death as historical evidence," *GM* 45, 1981, 63-68.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS OF AMENOPHIS II

The previous chapter has shown that scholars disagree on both the number and the sequence of the campaigns of Amenophis II. Nevertheless, we have taken the texts as they stand and assumed that three separate campaigns actually did occur. For purposes of clarity, this policy is retained for Chapter II. The three campaigns shall follow in the order of the year dates attached to them; thus, the discussion of the year 3 Takhsy campaign of the Amada and Elephantine stelae (Part I of this chapter) precedes that of the campaigns of years 7 and 9 from the Karnak and Memphis stelae (Part II). In most cases, the relevant excerpts from the various stelae are quoted as needed; full translations of the texts may be found in Appendix I. Two foldout maps outline the king's route during the expeditions of year 7 and 9 (figs. 19 and 21); no map of the Takhsy campaign is given because the texts contain no geographical descriptions. Part III assesses the contribution of several diplomatic inscriptions, which are often associated with Amenophis II's Syro-Palestinian campaigns, and then continues with an analysis of the evidence for the king's military activity to the south of Egypt. Appendix I (at the back of the book) provides full translations of the Karnak and Memphis stelae. Appendix II assembles a list of all foreign place names attested in the records of Amenophis II's reign (both royal and private) which the author was able to collect. Identification of the original location of these names is often difficult, especially when they appear in topographical lists or on private monuments without any geographical or sequential context. The list is therefore offered merely as a starting point on the subject as applied to the reign of Amenophis II.<sup>1</sup>

Major questions surrounding Amenophis II's campaigns concern his contribution to the stability of the Egyptian empire. The early Eighteenth Dynasty marked Egypt's greatest expansion in the regions of Syria and

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<sup>1</sup> On the possibility of certain Medinet Habu topographical lists deriving from those of Amenophis II, see M.C. Astour, "Mesopotamian and Transjordanian Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists of Ramses III," *JAS* 88, 1968, 749.

Palestine,<sup>2</sup> and we will therefore attempt to ascertain the significance of our king's role in the country's imperial era. What were his reasons for embarking upon these campaigns? Was the Egyptian empire expanded, sustained or weakened?

A significant consequence of the king's campaigns, whose study unfortunately lies outside the scope of this discussion, is Egypt's increased contact with the outside world, and the far-reaching effects this had on Egyptian society. Foreigners consisting of merchants, slaves, and even royal children taken home to be raised at the Egyptian court, brought with them all manner of foreign customs, not the least of which were new deities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the motives behind Egyptian imperialism in the first place, and the country's differing policies towards Asia and Nubia, see the stimulating study by P.J. Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," in M.T. Larsen, ed., *Power and Propaganda*, Mesopotamia 7, Copenhagen 1979, esp. 177-81. In general, see additionally D. O'Connor in B.G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt; A Social History*, Cambridge 1983, 203-209 with fig. 3.5; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*<sup>2</sup>, Wiesbaden 1971, 107ff.; M.S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C.," *CAH*<sup>3</sup> II, i, 444ff.; K.M. Kenyon, "Palestine in the Time of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *ibid.*, 526ff.; J. von Beckerath, *Abriß der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, Munich 1971, 35ff.; G. Steindorff and K.C. Seele, *When Egypt ruled the East*<sup>2</sup>, Chicago 1957, chapters 6-10; J.A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt (= The Culture of Ancient Egypt)*, Chicago 1951, 166ff.; J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1980, 42-45; and A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, 177-210.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of foreign gods in Egypt, see R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, PdÄ 5, Leiden 1967, chapter 2. On the popularity of the cults of Reshep and Astarte, both in general and in particular at Memphis during the reign of Amenophis II, see W.K. Simpson, "New Light on the God Reshep," *JAS* 73, 1953, esp. 86 n. 4; *idem*, "Reshep in Egypt," *Orientalia* 29, 1960, esp. 63-66; *idem*, "Reschef," in *LÄ* V, 244-46; H. De Meulenaere, "De cultus van Reshef in Egypte," *Handelingen van het Eenentwintigste Vlaams Filologencongres*, Leuven, 12-14 April 1955, 129-31; Helck, "Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten," *Oriens Antiquus* 5, 1966, 1-14, esp. 5; E. Hornung, "Amenophis I.," in *LÄ* I, 204; J. Leclant, "Astarte," in *LÄ* I, esp. 204 (Peru-nefer is mentioned in notes 1 and 24); A.R. Schulman, "Reshep times two," in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Fs. Dows Dunham), Boston 1981, 157-66, and the references cited in n. 1; W. Fulco, *The Canaanite God Reshep*, New Haven 1976; H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, PdÄ 6, Leiden, 1967; and J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne*<sup>2</sup>, Les anciennes religions orientales I, Paris 1949, 218. For further references, see Wilson in *ANET*, 249-50. On Egyptian administrative structures abroad see now E.D. Oren, "'Governors' Residencies' in Canaan under the New Kingdom: A Case Study of Egyptian Administration," *JASSEA* 14, 1984, 37-56.

## Part I: The Campaign of Year 3 to Takhsy

Due to the special nature of the Amada and Elephantine stelae with regard to military texts, a full translation is provided below instead of in an appendix.

## Sources

## 1.) On both the Amada and Elephantine stelae

J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, 247-48; *Urk.* IV, 1287-99; Helck, *Übersetzung*, no. 374, pp. 28-32; C. Kuentz, *Deux stèles d'Amenophis II*, BdE 10, Cairo 1925, with additional bibliography on pp. iii-viii; B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the later Eighteenth Dynasty* I, Warminster 1982, 24-28.

## 2.) On the Amada stela alone

H. Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, Cairo 1913, 19ff., pl. 10; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, Paris 1844, 105-107 (inaccurately copied); Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 65, a; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1280 (lines 12-20); M. Aly et. al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, CDEAE 1967; S. Gruen, "An Analysis of *Urk.* IV, 1287, 20-1 (Amada Stela)," *JEA* 59, 1973, 226-27.

## 3.) On the Elephantine stela alone

(N.B. The Elephantine stela now consists of two separate parts; the upper part (the first 13 lines) is in Vienna, no. 141; the lower part is in Cairo, no. 34019 according to Wilson, *ANET*, 247, and no. 158 according to Breasted, *ARE* II, 309g; E. von Bergmann, "Ein Denkmal aus den Zeiten Amenophis II.," *Rec. Trav.* 4, 1883, 33-38; P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire* (CG), Cairo 1909, 38-40, pl. 12 (Cairo portion); W. Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien*, Leipzig 1906, no. 141.

## Translation

(1) Year 3, III *šmw* 15 under the Majesty of the Horus, Mighty Bull, great of strength, the Two Ladies, powerful in splendor, who is caused to arise in Thebes, Horus of Gold who takes with his power from all lands, the good God, lord of the ritual, King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

“Akheperure, bodily beloved son of Re<sup>c</sup>, lord of every foreign land,<sup>4</sup> Amenophis, the-God-who-  
rules-in-Heliopolis, beloved of Re<sup>c</sup>-Horakhty, and of Amen,<sup>5</sup> Lord of the Thrones of the Two  
Lands (2), the perfect god, whom Re<sup>c</sup> created; a sovereign who came forth from the womb as a  
powerful one, likeness of Horus upon the throne of his father, great of strong arm, one whose equal  
does not exist, one whose peer has not been found.

He is a king exceedingly weighty of arm. There is no one who can draw his bow among his soldiers  
(3), among the rulers of the foreign lands (or among) the chiefs of Retenu, because his strength is  
greater than (that of) any king who has existed. (He is) one who rages like a panther when he  
treads the battlefield. There is none who can fight in his vicinity; (he is) a brave Bowman in  
combat,<sup>6</sup> a wall<sup>7</sup> which protects Egypt, standing firm upon the battlefield in the moment of  
plunder,<sup>8</sup> one who tramples those who rebel against him, at once powerful against all foreign  
lands, with people (and) horses (when) they come by the millions.<sup>9</sup> They do not know that Amen-  
Re<sup>c</sup> (5) is loyal to him.<sup>10</sup> He is perceived rushing forward immediately, his limbs imbued with  
majesty, the equal of Min in the year of terror, without any who can save him from him (=Min).  
He makes prisoners(?)<sup>11</sup> out of his enemies, likewise for the nine bows. All rebellious lowlands

<sup>4</sup> Elephantine variant: “lord of all foreign lands (*ḥꜣswt nb(w)t*), *Urk.* IV, 1289.10.

<sup>5</sup> Elephantine: “beloved of Khnum...,” *Urk.* IV, 1289.10.

<sup>6</sup> *ḥw-ny-r-ḥr*; cf. Faulkner, *CDME*, 165.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of *sbtj*, see now P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple; A lexicographical Study*, London 1984, 270–78.

<sup>8</sup> *mn ḥr pꜣꜣ...*; Elephantine: *mn jb ḥr pꜣꜣ...*; “firm-hearted upon the battlefield...,” *Urk.* IV, 1290.14.

<sup>9</sup> *m ḥḥw*; Elephantine: *m s ḥḥw*, *Urk.* IV, 1291.2.

<sup>10</sup> *ḥr mw=f*; Elephantine: sic *mw=f*, *Urk.* IV, 1291.4. Westendorf’s rendering of dependence for this idiom does not fit our context, “‘Auf jemandes Wasser sein’ = ‘von ihm abhängig sein,’” *GM* 11, 1974, 47–48.

<sup>11</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1291.9–10. Faulkner translates the difficult word *rswt* “sacrificial victims?,” *CDME*, 152, citing our passage and Louvre stela C 14 (Dyn. 11): “I know...” *ssnd ḥr n rst*, “to make frightened the face of the enemy(?)”, cf. alternative translations and discussion by W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C 14)*, MÄS 22, Berlin 1970, 104ff. Other occurrences include the stela of Horus, a copper mining official under Sesostri I: “the sovereign (= Sesostri)...” *jn ḏrw rst...* “who reaches the utmost frontiers of the Reset/prisoners(?)”, cf. A. Rowe, “Three new stelae from the south-eastern desert,” *ASAE* 39, 1939, 190 n. 4, and a difficult passage in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Shellal stela of Psammetik II (with a very different spelling), H. Goedicke, “The Campaign of Psammetik II against Nubia,” *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 195–96, and H.S.K. Bekry, “Psammetichus II and his Newly-Found Stela at Shellal,” *Oriens Antiquus* 6, 1967, 240; in her translation of the text M. Lichtheim, *AEL* III, 85 seems to skip over the word altogether.

and highlands serve him. (6) He is a king who is extolled<sup>12</sup> proportionally to<sup>13</sup> his arms being in the fray, without any foreign lands making a boundary (i.e. a conflict) with him, for they live by his breath, a king of kings, a ruler of rulers, who puts an end to<sup>14</sup> (7) those who attack him; a single brave one whose might is praised so that Re<sup>c</sup> in heaven may know it,<sup>15</sup> a courageous one<sup>16</sup> on the day of combat. There is no limit to what he has done against every highland<sup>17</sup> collectively, (and) every lowland totally, which fell immediately because of his uræus like an action of (8) devouring flame. There is none who can escape the slaughter, like the enemies of Bastet upon the road which Amen has made. It is a fortunate occasion for all who know that he is his true son, who came forth from (his) limbs, alone (9) with him, in order to rule what the sun has encircled, and (as for) all lowlands and highlands which he knows, he has taken them immediately with power and might.

He is a king well-disposed toward construction projects for all the gods, in building their temples and fashioning their images. The offerings (10) are established anew (with) bread, beer in great quantity, plentiful ʕ3-geese, with daily offerings for eternity, large cattle and small cattle in their seasons without lack thereof. He caused the house of his lord to be equipped with everything, consisting of longhorns, (11) shorthorns, calves, and ducks without limit. This temple was provided completely with bread, beer and wine. He established festival outlays for his fathers, the gods, so that the people would see (12) and all the people would know.<sup>18</sup>

Now it was his Majesty who embellished<sup>19</sup> this temple which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, had made for his fathers, all the gods,<sup>20</sup> it being built out of stone as a work of eternity; the walls around it being of brick, the doors of cedar from the top (13) of the

<sup>12</sup> On *swḥ3* (here as participle), *Wb.* IV, 71.11-17, and pCh. Beatty I C 2, 8-9; A.H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a mythological Story, Love-Songs, and other miscellaneous Texts*, London 1931, pl. 23, 8. For this last reference, the author is indebted to W.J. Murnane.

<sup>13</sup> *R-g3wt*; cf. Amenophis II's archery stela line 7 (= *Urk.* IV, 1321.18) for the same expression (translated below in Chapter IV); *Wb.* V, 520.3-6; Faulkner, *CDME*, 319; Gardiner, *EG3* 136, S 180c.

<sup>14</sup> *jnj pḥw*; cf. Faulkner, *CDME*, 22, and the references cited there.

<sup>15</sup> Prospective relative form, later renamed by Gardiner "perfective relative form," *EG3* S 387, p. 304 n. 0; G. Lefèbvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique*<sup>2</sup>, BdE 12, Cairo 1955, 242-44 S 486, 242-44; B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, Paris 1924, 14-15; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, RIK 4, OIP 107, Chicago 1986, pl. 28.4.

<sup>16</sup> *ḥsy/hr=f*; perhaps more accurate: "one who turns his attention/face toward..."

<sup>17</sup> Elephantine: *ḥ3swt nb(w)t* (*Urk.* IV, 1292.10) in place of Amada: *ḥ3st nb(t)* (*Urk.* IV, 1292.9); cf. A. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven 1982, 64 no. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. n. 15 above.

<sup>19</sup> Or perhaps better: "restored" (*snfr*); cf. *Wb.* IV, 163.1-2; see Spencer, *Temple*, 40 (discussion of *r-pr*).

<sup>20</sup> Elephantine: "...for Khnum, lord of the Cataracts, his mother, Satet, lady of Elephantine, and Anukis, foremost of Nubia," *Urk.* IV, 1294.16.

terraces,<sup>21</sup> the gates of sandstone,<sup>22</sup> (all) in order that the great name<sup>23</sup> of his father, the son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Tuthmosis, might endure in this temple forever and ever.



Thereupon the Majesty of this god, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,<sup>24</sup> "Akheperure, stretched the cord and loosened the cord for all his (14) fathers,<sup>25</sup> in order to make for him a great sandstone pylon<sup>26</sup> in front of the festival hall in the august columned hall surrounded by columns of sandstone truly as a work<sup>27</sup> of eternity. (There were) many offering tables with vessels of silver and bronze, stands, (15) bowls, a libation trough, braziers, basins, "b-bowls, (and) metal objects(?)<sup>28</sup>

His Majesty caused this stela to be made, established in this temple in the place<sup>29</sup> of the station of the lord - Life! Prosperity! Health!<sup>30</sup> - engraved with the great name of the Lord of the Two Lands, the son Re<sup>c</sup>, (16) Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, in the house of his fathers, the gods,<sup>31</sup> after his Majesty had returned from Upper Retenu, having overthrown all his enemies and broadened the borders of Egypt on the first campaign of victory.<sup>32</sup> It was with his father Amen's joy that his Majesty returned<sup>33</sup>, (17) after he had smitten with his own mace the seven chiefs who were in the district of Takhsy, they being placed upside-down at the bow of the falcon-bark of his Majesty, whose name is called "Akheperure (18) causes the Two Lands to be established." Thereupon six of these enemies were hanged upon the wall of Thebes, the hands likewise.

The other enemy was sent to Nubia and hanged on the wall of (19) Napata, in order to cause the victories of his Majesty to be seen forever and ever in all lowlands and highlands<sup>34</sup> of the land of Nubia, for he had seized the southerners and encircled the northerners, the limits of the entire land and what Re<sup>c</sup> shines upon. He makes his boundary as he desires without opposition to his hand, just as his father, Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, commanded<sup>35</sup> the son of

21 I.e. from the Lebanon; Elephantine: "...doors of cedar worked with copper."

22 Elephantine: ... "gates of hard granite" (*m3t rwdt*), *Urk.* IV, 1295.6.



23  versus Elephantine:  *Urk.* IV, 1295.7-8.



24 *Nb t3wy* is absent from the Elephantine version, *Urk.* IV, 1295.10.

25 Elephantine: "for his father, Khnum, lord of the Cataracts," *Urk.* IV, 1295.12.

26 On *bpnt*, see Spencer, *Temple*, 192-96.

27 Elephantine shows the plural of *k3t*, *Urk.* IV, 1296.2.

28 *Staw*  ; Elephantine:  , *Urk.* IV, 1296.5-6.

29  (correctly over Kuentz, *Deux stèles*, 19) versus Elephantine:  *Urk.* IV, 1296.9-10.

30 Missing from the Elephantine version, *Urk.* IV, 1296.10.

31 Elephantine: "in the house of his father, Khnum, lord of the Cataracts," *Urk.* IV, 1296.12.

32 See above, Chapter I for the "first campaign" problem; Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 85, no. 17 (= 98 no. 6), and on the word *nbt*, 227-32.

33 Cf. Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 98 no. 7.

34 Elephantine shows *h3st nb(t)* in the singular, *Urk.* IV, 1298.4.


35 *mj wdt.n jt=f* versus Elephantine: *mj wdt.n jt=f*, *Urk.* IV, 1298.11-12.

Re<sup>f</sup>, of his body, whom he loves, Amenophis, the God-who-*rules-in-Heliopolis*, given life, stability, dominion, health and his joy<sup>36</sup> entirely like Re<sup>f</sup> forever, to do (it) for him.

### Elephantine Colophon

Year 4. His Majesty commanded to cause the banners to be made for the procession of these gods who are in Elephantine, large banners, each one (of them) ten cubits, having been small banners, each one of three cubits. His Majesty commanded the endowment of one day for his mother, Anukis, for her festival of Nubia at her river procession, provided with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, figs and every good and pure thing being the dues for every year over and above the three days of her regular festival, to cause her festival at the beginning of *šmw* to be for four days, enduringly and in perpetuity, that he may achieve a "given life" forever.

\*                     \*                     \*

As is evident from the translations above, the two stelae are of little aid in describing any sequence of events or route of the campaign. Indeed, it is precisely the paucity of detail which has led some scholars to label the Takhsy affair merely a punitive raid, or even just an episode from a later campaign.<sup>37</sup> The location of the district of Takhsy (  *Urk.* IV, 1297.3-4)<sup>38</sup> has been settled with relatively little dispute. Although Gardiner insists that the listing of towns consecutively in Egyptian topographical lists by no means assures their actual geographical proximity, he nevertheless marks the close association of Kadesh and Takhsy in numerous monuments. He places Takhsy less than one hundred kilometers

<sup>36</sup> Elephantine lacks *snb 3wt-jb=f*, but adds *r nhh* after *dt*, *Urk.* IV, 1298.14.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Sh. Yeivin, "Amenophis II's Asianic Campaigns," *JARCE* 6, 1967, 120; B. Mazar (Maisler), "The Military Campaigns of Amenhotep II to the Land of Canaan," in *The Military History of the Land of Israel*, 1965, 33.

<sup>38</sup> The name first appears in the biography of Amenemheb under Tuthmosis III, *Urk.* IV, 893.6. Other occurrences may be found in the discussion below, and possibly on a fragment of a Karnak topographical list of Amenophis II; W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Washington 1906, pl. 54. In general, see R. Givéon, "Tachsi," in *LA* VI, 143-44.

Rainey reconstructs original \**Tahtj* from the numerous textual occurrences; "Amenhotep II's Campaign to Takhsy," *JARCE* 10, 1973, 71 n. 5. These include the cuneiform *kur Taḥ-šī* (cf. El Amarna letter 189, rev. 12); the Biblical *Tahaš* (Gen. 22:24), as suggested by both B. Mazar, "The Military Campaigns," 33, and A. Alt, "Neue Berichte über Feldzüge von Pharaonen des Neuen Reiches nach Palästina," *ZDPV* 70, 1954, 39-40. See also S. Yeivin, who cites Takhsy as support for an early appearance of the *ma-n-sū-t* (Mansuwateans), *JARCE* 6, 123. For the Egyptian syllabic-orthographical *Ta-ḥ-šī*, see the Amenemheb reference above; *Urk.* IV, 1297.3-4 (the Amada stela), and in general Helck, *Beziehungen*, 567-69.

distance from Kadesh-on-the-Orontes.<sup>39</sup> Where this view differs from others, however, is in positing the region north rather than south of Kadesh. Gardiner derives his northern identification from an analysis of the biography of Amenemheb. His conclusion requires the assumption that the order of the towns mentioned therein reflects the original, correct sequence of Tuthmosis III's eighth campaign (in his thirty-third year).<sup>40</sup> Edel and Helck refrain from such an assumption and locate Takhsy south of Kadesh.<sup>41</sup>

Unfortunately, no more than a paragraph of the Amada and Elephantine accounts bears on the campaign itself. No specific rebellion is described, no route of the Egyptian army is given, and only the vague mention of a general region occurs where one would expect a detailed list of conquered towns and provinces. Egyptian military documents are not known for belittling a victory of any sort. But all we are told is that Amenophis erected his stela after he had returned from Upper Retenu having smitten the seven chiefs of the district of Takhsy.

We cannot even determine any hierarchical differences between the seven Takhsy chiefs (unless there is some significance to hanging on the wall of Napata as opposed to that of Thebes). The standard Egyptian military policy following a victory consisted of the replacement of local chieftains with new leaders loyal to pharaoh, and the removal of royal children home to be raised at Egyptian court.<sup>42</sup> This served a two-fold purpose; to "Egyptianize" a generation of future foreign leaders, and yet hold them simultaneously as hostages, should their homelands misbehave. However, the Takhsy campaign mentions neither living prisoners, nor hostage children. Indeed, the reference to the campaign seems to emphasize first and foremost the glorification of the king through examples of excessive cruelty. Though the (literary and artistic) motif of pharaoh smiting his enemies enjoys a history as long as that of the unification of the Two Lands itself, Amenophis may have taken royal ruthlessness to new extremes.<sup>43</sup> This penchant for what

<sup>39</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 150\*-52\*, no. 258.


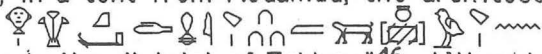
<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 150\*-51\*, 153\*-58\*.

<sup>41</sup> Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69, 1953, 158 n. 69; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 156 n. 108. On Takhsy in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, see B. Bryan, *The Reign of Tuthmosis IV*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University 1980, 437.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the *msw wrw* "children of chiefs" taken home by Amenophis II (Memphis stela line 16 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.7), and Breasted, *ARE* II, 198 S 467. Some of these children are also called *brdw* on occasion, cf. E. Feucht, "The *brdw n kšp* reconsidered," in S.I. Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity*, Jerusalem 1985, 38-47, 343-45.

<sup>43</sup> See J.A. Wilson, *Burden*, 195-201.

seems almost a casual narration of the king's gruesome treatment of his enemies will be discussed later. For now one might note that another defeated foe was once hanged upside down from the prow of Tuthmosis I's bark.<sup>44</sup>

Glimpses of the Takhsy region appear in the biographical inscriptions of some of the officials who served both Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. Four officials have mentioned Takhsy in their respective monuments. Unhappily in two cases Tuthmosis III seems to have been the king involved, even though these two officials later retained their important posts under Amenophis II. Under Tuthmosis III, Amenemheb records in his biography that he saw his sovereign's triumph  "in the land of vile Takhsy".<sup>45</sup> Similarly, in a text from Medamud, the architect Minmose observed Tuthmosis III  "plundering thirty towns in the district of Takhsy."<sup>46</sup> Although this reference to Takhsy definitely belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III, a second inscription of Minmose, this time from Tura, begins with "Year 4 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Akheperure (see Chapter III Part II for the text). Here Minmose states that he erected stelae in the lands of Naharin and Karoy (Napata).<sup>47</sup> The chronology of these events is at first glance unclear. One is inclined to assume that at some point before year 4, Amenophis II ordered stelae erected in Naharin (and Karoy in Nubia). However, prior to year 4, we know only of a campaign to *Takhsy*. How then are these dates to be harmonized? Gardiner answers this question by associating Minmose's Naharin and Karoy exploits with his earlier service under Tuthmosis III, specifically in the latter's eighth


<sup>44</sup> *Urk.* IV, 9.5 (biography of admiral Ahmose). Is Amenophis II looking back to the original architect of the Egyptian empire, and associating himself with him by borrowing his literary motifs? Compare also Amenophis II's attitude toward the Nubians, as evidenced by the Semna stela of Usersatet below, Chapter III Part II (Usersatet).

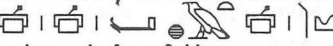
<sup>45</sup> *Urk.* IV, 893.6. According to D. Lorton, *hsj* means "defeated" rather than "vile" when used for a foreign land or people actually beaten in combat, "The So-called "Vile" Enemies of the Kings of Egypt (in the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XVIII)," *JARCE* 10, 1973, 65-70. We stand here, however, by the traditional translation. On the remote possibility of this passage referring to the reign of Amenophis II, cf. D.B. Redford, "Thutmosis III.," in *LA* VI, 542.

<sup>46</sup> E. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1926. Les inscriptions*, FIFAO, Cairo 1927, 54-55, and *Urk.* IV, 1442.17.

<sup>47</sup> See H. Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh* III, London 1842, plate before p. 95, and *Urk.* IV, 1448.13. Breasted translates "Minhotep" in place of "Minmose;" the name is broken in the text, *ARE* II, 315 S 800. Naharin and Karoy (Napata/Gebel Barkal) were Egypt's northern and southern boundaries respectively; see the discussion of Minmose in Chapter III Part II.

campaign, the only one in which Tuthmosis crossed the Euphrates.<sup>48</sup> In other words, year 4 of Amenophis II refers to the stela date, and has nothing to do with Minmose's reminiscences about his earlier exploits under Tuthmosis. This hypothesis would both explain the chronological sequence here and vitiate the possibility that Amenophis ever reached as far north as Naharin.<sup>49</sup> Such a northern penetration could not have occurred in the Takhsy campaign, and Amenophis' second campaign (termed his first in the Karnak and Memphis texts), though a more likely candidate, was mounted in year 7. The second campaign cannot, therefore, be equated with Minmose's exploits, for it had not yet taken place when Minmose's year 4 stela was carved. One should bear in mind, however, that both the correct order of the campaigns and the dating system in use around the time of the coregency are far from settled. Were one to place the Takhsy campaign *after* those of the Karnak and Memphis stelae and suggest a double dating system, new interpretations of the evidence discussed here would be required (see above, Chapter I).

Amenophis II's Nubian viceroy, Usersatet, accompanied his sovereign to Retenu at some point prior to his promotion to the south. In the Semna stela of this official, dated to year 23, Amenophis refers to Usersatet's Syrian exploits, and states (lines 8-9 = *Urk.* IV, 1344.8):  "The people of Takhsy are completely worthless." Since no campaign is mentioned, this statement cannot be conclusively assigned to the expedition of year 3, but Takhsy is not mentioned in either the year 7 or year 9 campaigns. Perhaps Usersatet accompanied the king to Retenu in year 3, witnessed the capture of the seven chiefs of Takhsy, and was at a later date stationed in Nubia as viceroy. One wonders if he was somehow involved in the hanging of one of the Takhsy chiefs on the Napata gate, i.e. within his own administrative area (for further discussion of Usersatet, see Chapter III Part II).

A fourth and final official associated with Takhsy is Amenerhatef (*Jmn-r-h3t=f*), standard-bearer of the regiment  "crushing Takhsy." This title appears on an offering stela of the same man which

<sup>48</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* I, 150\*-51\*. Could the stelae Minmose refers to be those mentioned in Tuthmosis III's text from Armant, *Urk.* IV, 1246.1-5? (For this reference the author is indebted to W.J. Murnane). Unconvincing is Gardiner's placement of Minmose's earlier reference to Takhsy also in Tuthmosis III's eighth year, based solely on the geographical proximity of Takhsy, Naharin and Niya. There is no evidence for uniting the accounts of Minmose's two stelae under only a single campaign of Tuthmosis III.

<sup>49</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* I, 163\*.

presumably now rests in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, it is unclear if our standard-bearer is indeed referring to the campaign of Amenophis. So far as we know, no other soldiers, who might belong to Amenophis II's army have written on Takhsy.

What, then, happened in year 3? A discussion as sketchy as the one above requires no ancillary remarks about the paucity of information on the Takhsy campaign, even though the district itself is fairly well-known. We can approach the Amada and Elephantine texts in one of three ways, short of the unlikely solution of incorporating the event merely as an episode into the campaign of year 7. First, we can assume that a full-scale military campaign actually took place, and we simply do not possess a detailed account similar to those that have survived for the campaigns of years 7 and 9. The Amada and Elephantine texts, then, would represent mere glimpses into a military endeavor far more important than hitherto suspected, especially since it was most likely the first after the Egyptian throne changed hands. There are in fact many foreign place names mentioned in various monuments dating to Amenophis II's reign, but which do not appear in any of our preserved campaign texts (see Appendix II); perhaps some of them even derive from the Takhsy campaign. However, one might counter this point by stressing the generally selective and incomplete nature of Egyptian annalistic texts (see Chapter I), and thus any number of names might be omitted from the official campaign records of years 7 and 9.<sup>51</sup> At the very least, one may not eliminate the possibility that we lack some of Amenophis' military records.

A second explanation of the Takhsy account assumes that the absence of detail reflects the insignificance of the campaign. In this case the affair may be seen not as a full-scale campaign, but a punitive raid, or the suppression of a localized area. Perhaps Amenophis was sent off to Takhsy by his father to reinforce the Egyptian presence in a region which, after all,

<sup>50</sup> Limestone stela n. 66; E. von Bergmann, "Inchriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserhauses," *Rec. Trav.* 9, 1887, 38. The name is mutilated throughout the stela by Atenists. Curiously, Amenerhatef's son is named Minnose. On the inversion of the spelling of Takhsy, see Gardiner, *AEO* II, 150\*, textual note 258a-b. A similar stela likewise belongs to a standard-bearer, Amenerhatef, but a different wife here (Renenu as opposed to Ipy) obscures a definite identification of the two men; see K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen II: München*, Strassburg 1904, 27 no. 19, pl. 13; B. Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinapel*, Strassburg 1908, 21. The above correspond to Ranke's list, *PN* I; 29.24, with the additional reference of British Museum no. 345.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. D.B. Redford, "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan (nos. 89-101 of Thutmose III's List of Asiatic Toponyms)," *JSSSEA* 12, 1982, 57-59.

had seen no pharaoh since Tuthmosis III's forty-second year. Thus a detailed account of this "affair" may have been unnecessary. That the future king's physical prowess and undisputed sovereignty receive the most attention here fulfills the primary purpose for mentioning the expedition at all: the glorification of the monarchy and, in particular, Tuthmosis' successor.<sup>52</sup>

A very unlikely third possibility would consider the description of Takhsy as total fiction, designed purely for propagandistic reasons.<sup>53</sup> While the military kings seldom missed an opportunity for self-aggrandizement, the invention of a campaign, to a specific region and with the detailed punishment of the seven Takhsy chiefs no less, would amount to a type of falsification of which even the Egyptians seem innocent.<sup>54</sup>

If evidence can be manipulated in as many ways as outlined above, then that evidence is likely insufficient for any definite conclusions. However, the true significance of Takhsy for Amenophis II (and for Egypt) probably lies somewhere in between the first two possibilities mentioned above. In other words, the campaign was indeed a reality, but may well have been of minor military significance. Yet owing to the non-military nature of the stelae which recount it, and the singular lack of detail given there, one should not rule out the possibility that a fuller version of the events of year 3 once did exist.

## Part II: The Campaigns of Years 7 and 9

Our first glimpse of the following two campaigns of Amenophis II came with Champollion's discovery of a pink granite stela in the temple of Amen at Karnak. The Karnak stela had suffered greatly in the generations following Amenophis' reign. Atenist agents censored the text, and the subsequent pharaonic restorations are questionable in many places. Fortunately, the sketchy picture which this stela gives was greatly enlarged by the subsequent discovery of an almost perfectly preserved and more

<sup>52</sup> On the glorification and exaggeration of Egyptian military actions, cf. the Aswan stela of Ramesses II, *KRI* II, 344-45, and Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>5</sup>, Paris 1975, 422.

<sup>53</sup> Or, to go one step further, the accounts cover up with vague and hasty references to a campaign which proved unsuccessful. Reading defeat between the lines of victory is not an unusual practice among scholars; see Y. Aharoni's preoccupation with Amenophis' setbacks during the campaigns of years 7 and 9; *The Land of the Bible*, Philadelphia 1967, 155; idem and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, New York 1968, 35-36.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Redford, *JSSA* 12, 61 (no. 95).

detailed version from Memphis. This second stela had formerly served as a ceiling for the burial chamber of Sheshonq I, son of Osorkon I, of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Roughly speaking, most of the dates survive on the Karnak stela, while most of the place names may be found in the Memphis text.<sup>55</sup> The Memphis stela is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 6301). Sources for and translations of first the Memphis, and then the Karnak stela are given in Appendix I. In the discussion below, and in the appendices, Helck's system for transcribing the syllabic orthography of the place names occurring in the texts (which in turn is a modification of Albright's system) has generally been followed.<sup>56</sup> The subject sorely needs a thorough reconsideration, and one is not entirely content with any of the present systems. Yet to introduce a new transcription here, in dealing with the subject only peripherally, would prove more confusing than helpful, hence the retention of the older system.

**A.) The Campaign of Year 7 (see map, fig. 19)<sup>57</sup>** Regardless of how one interprets the confusing chronology at the start of Amenophis II's reign, there is little doubt that by the time he had marshalled his troops for the year 7 campaign, he was in sole command of the country. It is highly unlikely that the king would leave Egypt on such a major expedition if any uncertainties about the royal succession remained behind.



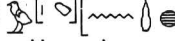

A. F. Rainey contends that whatever the ancient motives for labelling two different campaigns as the first campaign of victory may have been, the Memphis stela scribe was in fact aware of the Takhsy campaign.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, Rainey sees reference in the Memphis prologue made to the Amada

<sup>55</sup> See the chart in Edel's *editio princeps*, *ZDPV* 69, 146. See also Edel's addenda to this study in *ZDPV* 70, 1954, 87.

<sup>56</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 567-69; W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven 1934. Edel is less convinced of the syllabic orthography; see his criticisms of Helck's system in his *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.*, Bonn 1966, chapter 2, esp. 87-90. A number of more recent studies by M. Görg on individual items may be found in *BN*; cf. also in general his *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palästinischer Ortsnamen*, Bonn 1974.

<sup>57</sup> For other maps of the campaigns, cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 162; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 154 map 10; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, maps 35-36; Mazar, in *Military History*, 37; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 133\*; F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, Paris 1938, map I (general map). On the campaign in general, see S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, London 1949, 50-57.

<sup>58</sup> Rainey, *JARCE* 10, 71-73. J. Simons takes the opposite tack by citing the Amada stela as alluding to the Asiatic campaigns of the Karnak (and Memphis) account; see his *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937, 44 n. 1.

stela account. In addition to noting "close parallels in thought and wording between the description of the military action and the subsequent display of the vanquished foes' bodies in the Amada text with the "prologue" of the Memphis stela," Rainey rejects Helck's reading in the Memphis stela passage (*Urk.* IV, 1301.10) of  *t3 Nhsy*, "the Nubian land," from the Nineteenth Dynasty restoration of  (compare *Urk.* IV, 1298.4). In its stead Rainey prefers to read  "the district of Takhsy."<sup>59</sup> Wilson, however, associates the phrase with the rest of the preceding sentence:  "His Majesty<sup>sic</sup> has trod<sup>sic</sup> Naharin, *which* his bow has crushed, *being devastated...*"<sup>60</sup>


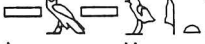
Yeivin takes a different tack altogether in explaining the redundancy in the numbering system: both the Amada and Elephantine texts were sited outside of Egypt proper (containing propagandistic warnings for her southern neighbors), while the campaign accounts of years 7 and 9 were erected at Karnak and Memphis, well within Egyptian borders.<sup>61</sup> The implication is that the two pairs of monuments were so far apart from another, that the two responsible parties had no consistent contact, hence the result of two first campaigns. According to Yeivin, the Karnak/Memphis scribes were ignorant of the distant Amada and Elephantine texts, or deliberately ignored them in favor of a new numbering system (possibly due to the death of Tuthmosis III and the end of the coregency; see Chapter I). This observation may be neither proven nor disproven, but is hardly likely. No matter where stelae were eventually erected, one would assume that at least the organization, if not the production as well, of all such royal texts would emanate from a central agency responsible for such works, and very likely located at the Theban capital. While provincial stone, scribes and labor might have been used, there is little evidence to support numerous "propaganda offices" scattered throughout Egypt and ignorant of each other's activities.

<sup>59</sup> Rainey, *JARCE* 10, 72-73.

<sup>60</sup> Wilson, in *ANET*, 245 (italics are Wilson's). The correct rendering reads "His mace has struck Naharin.," cf. Edal, *ZDPV* 69, 114 n. 17. *t3 nhsy* still makes the best sense, however; see the translation below, Appendix I. As for the mention of Naharin, Gardiner is correct in ascribing it to the king's laudatory rhetoric rather than a destination of the campaign, cf. *AEO* I, 147\*. For other occurrences of Naharin under Amenophis II, see Appendix II; the Semna stela of Usersatet, *Urk.* IV, 1344.2 translated below in Chapter III Part II (Usersatet); the tomb of Qenamun, N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1930, 31, pl. 22; the tomb of the architect Kha, *Urk.* IV, 1509.13; the Tura stela of Minmose, *Urk.* IV 1448.13, and Edal, *ZDPV* 69, 159.

<sup>61</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 120-21.

Another question crucial to our discussion is the specific cause of the campaign of year 7. Since we do not know the chronology of the campaigns for certain, it is difficult to ascertain not only the exact length of time between them, but also the degree of success they attained. (Characteristically enough, the Egyptian accounts report resounding victories across the board.) A reasonable assumption, however, is the intervention of Mitanni in the affairs of the Egyptian sphere of influence in Syria-Palestine.<sup>62</sup> Despite Tuthmosis III's military successes, Mitanni remained Egypt's primary adversary in Dynasty 18, and there is no reason to doubt her continued aggressive policy in the reign of the young king Amenophis II.<sup>63</sup> Thus year 7 marks Amenophis II's first serious countermeasure. If the Takhsy campaign of year 3 was indeed a mere punitive raid or "practice campaign" for a young coregent, the year 7 campaign was a major undertaking nearly equal to any single campaign of Tuthmosis I or III. What we are told in the texts, however, is merely that Amenophis proceeded to Retenu (Syria) to extend his frontier.<sup>64</sup> Hardly one to break with the blossoming military tradition of the early New Kingdom, Amenophis set out in April of his seventh year, the preferred season for embarking upon such ventures. Tuthmosis III had begun his first campaign in April back in his twenty-third year.<sup>65</sup> It seems that both literally and figuratively, the new king may have picked up where his father had left off in terms of dealing with Western Asia.

On I *šmw* 25 the Egyptian army reached its first destination,  *š-m-šū-a-tu-m* (M. lines 3-4 = *Urk.* IV, 1302.1;  K. line 3 = *Urk.* IV, 1310.11). Perhaps precisely because it comes first, its location is also the most disputed of all the towns of the campaign. Many Egyptologists have placed Shamash-Edom on the west bank of the Orontes, one day's ride from Qatna.<sup>66</sup> This

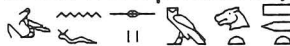
<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 121. Yeivin also emphasizes the "unsettling factor" of the semi-nomadic tribes on the steppe east of the Orontes, *ibid.*, 122.


<sup>63</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 197-98; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 160, 163-64; *idem*, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, HdO, Leiden 1968, 162, 163; J. von Beckerath, *Abriß*, 38; D. O'Connor in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 203, 206.

<sup>64</sup> For other occurrences of Retenu in the monuments of Amenophis II's reign, see Simons, *Handbook*, 129 nos. 1-2; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pl. 54; II, Washington 1910, 109, fig. 34; Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, 23 and pl. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 156, and A. Malamat, "Campaigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV to Canaan," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, Jerusalem 1961, 224 n. 19.

<sup>66</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 147; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 157; W.F. Albright and T.O. Lambdin, "New Material for the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography," *JSS* 2, 1957, 118(a), and n. 2; Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 148.

identification rests primarily on the next entry in the texts which finds Amenophis crossing the river in the Qatna region on the very next day, I *šmw* 26. Seldom do we find such conveniently consecutive numbering in the military texts, and we may assume therefore that events here are relatively carefully and comprehensively recounted. The situation can only make sense with Shamash-Edom so close to the Orontes (see map, fig. 19). Several Biblical scholars, however, prefer to locate Shamash-Edom much further south, slightly west of the Sea of Chinnereth. Aharoni claims there is no order to the arrangement of the texts' events. In the place name itself, he sees reference to the sun god Shamash, and equates the town with the *tell* of Qurn Haṭṭin = Adamah, where an attribute of the god Adam-Edom apparently had a sanctuary.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Mazar notes that in topographical list I of Tuthmosis III, Shamash-Edom is mentioned between various cities on the sea coast, a fact which, he claims, related to its geographical location.<sup>68</sup> But equating the order of cities on topographical lists with their actual geographical order is a dangerous practice;<sup>69</sup> nevertheless Mazar also places Shamash-Edom in the Galilee region.<sup>70</sup> At any rate, Helck's suggestion cannot be substantiated that the city was not destroyed, but merely the surrounding areas were plundered, based on the verb *bš* in M. line 4 (= *Urk.* IV, 1302.2)  "he hacked it (Shamash-Edom) up in a short moment.

On the very next day, I *šmw* 26, Amenophis crossed the Orontes,  (restored, M. line 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1302.7).<sup>71</sup> Some writers have chosen an area somewhere on the middle course of the river as the most likely fording point for Amenophis and his army.<sup>72</sup> The king seems to have stationed himself at the rearguard of the troops, and he was the first to notice the attempt of some Asiatic bands to surprise the army from behind. The

<sup>67</sup> Y. Aharoni, "Some Geographical Remarks concerning the Campaigns of Amenhotep II," *JNES* 19, 1960, 177-81. Adamah (Joshua 19:36) is mentioned with other place names in lower Galilee. Shamash-Edom is briefly mentioned in Aharoni and Avi-Jonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, map 35.


<sup>68</sup> B. Mazar, in *Military History*, 34 (based on an earlier article with the same title in *Jerusalem* 4, 1952, 13-20).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 147\*, 151\*-52\*.



<sup>70</sup> "Apparently Shamash-Edom stood beside the main road that led from the land of the valley north of eastern Galilee and from there to the Biq'ah of Lebanon and to the Orontes crossings," Mazar, in *Military History*, 34.

<sup>71</sup> The Karnak variants:  (line 4; correct *Urk.* IV, 1310.18 accordingly), and  (line 5, fragment Legrain; following Edel, *ZDPV* 69, pl. 7; cf. *Urk.* IV, 1311.1 esp. n. b).

<sup>72</sup> Yeivin prefers the area near Qarqar, *JARCE* 6, 121; Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 147ff.; cf. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, map X, A/3.

Karnak text reports that Asiatics came from the town of  Qatna (K. line 6 = *Urk.* IV, 1311.5), so the Egyptians' general position here is clear.<sup>73</sup> Needless to say, the Asiatic attack was repulsed, and Amenophis reportedly single-handedly captured local princes and *maryannu*-warriors, along with all of their chariots and weapons (*Urk.* IV, 1303.1ff.).<sup>74</sup>

B. Bryan attempts to demonstrate Qatna's loyalty to Amenophis during this episode.<sup>75</sup> She claims the town is not directly associated in the account with the skirmish which takes place in the vicinity, and notes in addition that Qatna is not even mentioned in the Memphis stela (*Urk.* IV, 1302.9-10). One wonders, however, if any great significance should be attached to the disagreements between the two texts. One account often bears a date while the other a place name; one lists six prisoners where the other names two. Add to this the confusion caused by the damage present in the two stelae, and one hesitates to draw conclusions from the absence of a place name such as Qatna. In the Karnak stela, the rebel Asiatics do clearly derive [*m dmj*] *n Qatna*, even if the town itself does not figure in the fighting (*Urk.* IV, 1311.5). But regardless of whether Qatna actually revolted, the end result after Amenophis' departure was the same: the town supported the pharaoh.<sup>76</sup>

The next date given is II *šmw* 10 (K. line 9 = *Urk.* IV, 1312.2), a full two weeks after the crossing of the Orontes. The army turned southward and reached the town of  Niya (M. line 7 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.5;  K. line 10 = *Urk.* IV, 1312.3) which posed no opposition. For the location of Niya, most scholars agree upon a general region east of the Orontes, just

<sup>73</sup> For Qatna in Amenophis II's monuments, see Simons, *Handbook*, 129, no. 17 = Breasted, *ARE* II, 314 S 798A, no. 17; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 40, pl. 54. In general, cf. Helck, in *LA V*, 46-47, where Qatna is stated to be part of the Mitannian sphere of influence at this time.

<sup>74</sup> Note that the numbers of captives disagree between the two texts, a not uncommon feature, K. line 8 (= *Urk.* IV, 1311.14ff.) versus M. line 7 (= *Urk.* IV, 1303.1ff.). On *maryannu*-warriors, see W.F. Albright, "Mitannian *maryannu*, "chariot-warrior," and the Canaanite and Egyptian Equivalents," *AIO* 6, 1930-31, esp. 217-18.

<sup>75</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 436.

<sup>76</sup> See Bryan's remarks on Qatna's subsequent appearance in the topographical lists of Amenophis II and Amenophis III, *ibid.*

south of the latitude of Ugarit, modern Ras es-Shamrah.<sup>77</sup> To quote Gardiner:

Niya lay on the homeward route from Nahrin and was not in that country; also it lay on a lake, not on the Euphrates or any other river. The stelæ of Amenophis II prove, however, beyond a doubt that it was situated somewhere within range of the Orontes, the northernmost possibility being Alalakh, and the southernmost Kadesh.<sup>78</sup>

Niya thus lay at Apamea, the present-day Qal'at el-Mudiq.

It is within the two-week gap between the Orontes crossing and the arrival at Niya that scholars assume Amenophis reached the northernmost point of both the year 7 and year 9 campaigns. In addition, the silence of the accounts during this period has suggested to some a defeat of the Egyptian army at the hands of Mitannian forces. According to Helck, Amenophis may have tried to take Alalakh,<sup>79</sup> but more likely failed in an attempt to imitate his father by reaching the Euphrates.<sup>80</sup> In agreement with Helck, Aharoni stresses the fact that Amenophis turned *southward* (i.e. in retreat?) to regroup at Niya.<sup>81</sup> Tempting though these suggestions might be, they are little more than attempts to second-guess the texts. While it is true that no blatant Egyptian defeat would likely have crept into the narrative, reading between the lines here nevertheless provides only meager evidence at best for some sort of Mitannian success at this point in the campaign.

We hear nothing of the duration of Amenophis' stay at Niya. But the town does seem to mark the beginning of the Egyptian army's homeward march.


<sup>77</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158, 297, and idem, "Nije," in *LA* IV, 479-80; Gardiner, *AEO* I 158\*-68\*; Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 118(d) and n. 4, and the references cited there; Mazar, in *Military History*, 34. Niya is also mentioned under Amenophis II in various topographical lists: Simons, *Handbook*, 129 no. 14 = Breasted, *ARE* II, 314 S 798A, no. 14; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 40, pl. 54. One of the few *Gegenstimmen* comes from S. Smith, who prefers to place Niya along the southern bank of the Euphrates, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, 47ff.

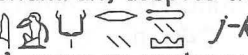

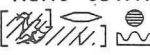
<sup>78</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* I, 167\*, and references there to Winkler, Weber, and Albright. See also A. Goetze, review of S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, in *JCS* 4, 1950, 230.

<sup>79</sup> Alalakh is mentioned on the stela of Amenophis' Nubian viceroy, Usersatet, *Urk.* IV, 1344.6; see Chapter III, fig. 37, line 8.

<sup>80</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158. On the location of Tuthmosis III's stela on the east bank of the Euphrates, see idem, "Wo errichtete Thutmosis III. seine Siegesstele am Euphrat?" *OAE* 56, 1981, 241-44, refuting the arguments in A. Spalinger, "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia," *JNES* 37, 1978, 35-41.

<sup>81</sup> See Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, map 35; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 155.

We learn that the king reached   $\text{ʔ(a)-kú-ta}_2$  (M. line 8 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.9; same spelling in K. line 11 = *Urk.* IV, 1312.8). A rebellion here was crushed by Amenophis.<sup>82</sup> The reference in K. lines 11-12 (= *Urk.* IV, 1312.7-10) to the Asiatics, conspiring against the Egyptian garrison (*jwʕyt*) makes it clear that a true revolt, and not some initially Egyptian-initiated offensive, was in progress. Helck suggests the revolt was a result of the recent Egyptian *Mißerfolg* (prior to the stop at Niya), and was certainly supported by Saustatar of Mitanni. Otherwise, no revolt should have occurred, for the king himself was on the scene.<sup>83</sup> However, one must not confuse the order of events: the king first *hears* about the conspiracy, and *then* moves to crush it. He was most likely not inside  $\text{ʔ(a)-kú-ta}_2$  itself when the revolt began, to judge from the passage. There still remains no direct evidence in support of an Egyptian defeat prior to the quelling of the conspiracy.

The Karnak text gives as its next date II *šmw* 20, from which we may assume that the revolt took ten days to put down (cf. II *šmw* 10 at Niya above). Many scholars equate  $\text{ʔ(a)-kú-ta}_2$  with Ugarit, the modern coastal town of Ras es-Shamrah, despite the fact that in the New Kingdom the name normally reads  *j-ka-rj-ty*.<sup>84</sup> They attribute the omitted *-r* either to scribal error or perhaps an older writing of the name. But Edel remains unconvinced, and Albright and Lambdin reject an identification with Ugarit because the error is too "persistent."<sup>85</sup> The question has been settled recently against an identification with Ugarit by Astour.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, Yeivin notes that the identification in question rests heavily on yet another identification, namely that of the next town mentioned:  *šl-R-tá* (M. line 9 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.13);  (K. line 13




<sup>82</sup> Cf. Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>5</sup>, 407.



<sup>83</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158.



<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 158; Mazar, in *Military History*, 34f.; W.M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig 1893, 262; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, i, *Die Zeit der ägyptischen Grossmacht*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1928, 147; Breasted, *ARE* II, 308 S 787; F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften III, i, Heidelberg 1927, 46 n. 4. For the more common writing of Ugarit, see Simons, *Handbook*, 199.

<sup>85</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 149-53; Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 118(e) and n. 5.

<sup>86</sup> See M.C. Astour, "Ugarit and the Great Powers," in G.D. Young, ed., *Ugarit in Retrospect*, Winona Lake, Indiana 1981, 13-14. In the same publication see also the remarks by R. Giveon, "Some Egyptological considerations concerning Ugarit," 55-58, and in general idem, "Ugarit," in *LA* VI, 838-42.

= *Urk.* IV, 1312.17) with the land of Zalḥi of Amarna letter 126.5.<sup>87</sup> Zalḥi, located in the area southeast of Ugarit, southwest of Niya and west of the Orontes,<sup>88</sup> is mentioned together with Ugarit in the Amarna letter, just as it is in the Karnak and Memphis stelae. But to Yeivin *śi-ḫá* does not equal Zalḥi; citing Edel and Albright, he asserts that the sign  (Gardiner Sign List G 47) transcribes the syllable *śi (zi)* only.<sup>89</sup> Rather than equate *ʿ(a)-kú-ta<sub>2</sub>* and *śi-ḫá* with Ugarit and Zalḥi respectively, Yeivin prefers to seek both cities east of the Orontes in central Syria.<sup>90</sup> Edel and Albright and Lambdin agree at least in part that *śi-ḫá* and Zalḥi are not one and the same, yet hesitate to locate it on the east bank of the Orontes.<sup>91</sup> All that can be stated with certainty for now is that *śi-ḫá* definitely lay east of   *śá-ś-ra-m* (M. line 9 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.14). Yeivin's claim that the name implies the existence of a shrine for the worship of the Hurrite goddess Ša(w)uš(ka) may be pertinent in the identification of *śá-ś-ra-m*.<sup>92</sup>

In the vicinity of *śi-ḫá* and *śá-ś-ra-m* must also have been the settlements of   *ma-n-sú-t* (M. line 9 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.15), which, the Memphis stela reports, were plundered by Amenophis. Although Wilson calls the name unknown (*ANET*, 246 n. 20), it has been quite plausibly equated with the Mansuwateans, semi-nomadic bands east of the Orontes in central Syria, north of the northern edge of the Anti-Lebanon.<sup>93</sup> The town of *ma-n-sú-t* itself has been identified with Tell Menis, ancient Thelmenissos, six kilometers west of Maʿaret en-noʿman.<sup>94</sup>

After the plundering of the Mansuwatean districts, Amenophis moved on to   *h-śi-ri-ʿá* (M. line 9 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.16), whose prince

<sup>87</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 122. For another occurrence of *śi-ḫá* see no. 342 of the topographical list of Tuthmosis III, Simons, *Handbook*, 115. Among the proponents of equating *śi-ḫá* with Zalḥi are Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158-59; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 165\*; and A. Badawi, "Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II.," *ASAE* 42, 1943, 10.

<sup>88</sup> See Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158-59.

<sup>89</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 122 and notes 33-35.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 123 and n. 39.

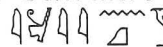

<sup>91</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 150-52; Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 118(f) and n. 6; Albright, "New Canaanite Historical and Mythological Data," *BASOR* 63, 1936, 25.



<sup>92</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 123 and the references cited there.

<sup>93</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 159; Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 123 with references. Yeivin's attempt to demonstrate early Aramean presence in the region is less than convincing, pp. 123, 128.

<sup>94</sup> M.C. Astour, "Place-Names from the Kingdom of Alalakh in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography," *JNES* 22, 1963, 233.

peacefully received the Egyptian army. The city is mentioned in no other topographical lists, and no plausible identification is forthcoming. Despite this, Yeivin, considers it as a transcription of Hebrew *hassela*<sup>95</sup>, "the Rock," "indicating some mountain fastness on a northern outspur of one of the ranges running southwest-northeast, parallel to the Anti-Lebanon."<sup>95</sup>

Up to this point, then, Amenophis II had been quite busy. He had smashed Shamash-Edom, met with opposition at the Orontes crossing, and subdued several smaller enemy strongholds. Still more cities opened their gates to welcome the pharaoh. The town of  *ja-n-qa* (M. line 10 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.18) was next to submit to the king's army. Badawi compared *ja-n-qa* with  *u-nu-qa*, no. 148 of Tuthmosis III's topographical list.<sup>96</sup> But Edel is correct in rejecting such an identification on the basis of different vocalization for each name, and the fact that Tuthmosis' no. 148 lay north of Niya, while our *ja-n-qa* lay north of Kadesh.<sup>97</sup> Mazar suggested the town Unqi of the later Assyrian sources, i.e. the valley of Antiochia (El-<sup>c</sup>amuq).<sup>98</sup> Yeivin presents yet another solution, this time rejecting Unqi in favor of a certain *j-j-j-<sup>c</sup>n-q* of an execration text from Mirgissa.<sup>99</sup> Clearly the last word on *ja-n-qa* has not been written. For the present we can locate it only roughly along the southward path taken by the king towards Kadesh, which is the very next city listed, and also the site of heroic athletics on the part of Amenophis.

The scribe has chosen - or was instructed - at this point to round out the description of the campaigns with some glimpses of the "local color" of the region. After the prince of  *q-d-s* (M. line 10 = *Urk.* IV, 1303.19) came out to greet Amenophis, and all present swore the oath of allegiance(?) ( *sdf3 tryt*, M. line 10 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.2),<sup>100</sup> the king awed the locals by piercing two hammered copper targets with his bow.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 123-24. On the supposed "neu eingepaßtes Fragment" (following an old copy by Brugsch?) bearing the date either II *šmw* 23, 26, or 27, cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 159.

<sup>96</sup> Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 11; Simons, *Handbook*, 113.

<sup>97</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 153; cf. also Yeivin's criticism of both Badawi's and S. Smith's equations, *JARCE* 6, 123-24

<sup>98</sup> Mazar, in *Military History*, 35.

<sup>99</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 123-24, and the studies listed there.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian texts through Dynasty XVIII*, Baltimore 1974, 132; K. Beer, "The oath *sdf3-tryt* in Papyrus Lee 1, 1," *JEA* 50, 1964, 179-80.

<sup>101</sup> On the various literary elements of which the texts make use, cf. Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 147-52.

The sporting tradition in Dynasty 18, along with the concept of the military king, as illustrated by this episode, are particularly applicable to Amenophis' reign; these topics are reserved for discussion in Chapter IV.

While still in the vicinity of Kadesh, Amenophis took the time to hunt in the forest of *la-b-ʿu* (M. line 11 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.5). Helck places the forest south of Kadesh at present-day Lebwe, and this writer would follow suit.<sup>102</sup> Mazar extends the association still further. He equates *la-b-ʿu* with Biblical Lebo-Hamath, now a large *tell* on the Canaanite border.<sup>103</sup> Yeivin, however, sees another solution.<sup>104</sup> Rather than identify the name of the forest with no. 82 of Tuthmosis III's topographical list, Yeivin cites no. 10: *rʿ-(bʿ)-bʿ-n-ʿ* (*Urk.* IV, 781, no. 10), in the Hittite texts written *lab/pana*.<sup>105</sup> Although Yeivin admits that by Ramesside times *rʿ-bʿ-n-ʿ* may have lost its locative *-n* (and he quotes the case of *ʿ-p-q-n*),<sup>106</sup> he locates Amenophis' forest on a "road leading from Megiddo (at the valley of Esdraelon end of the so-called "via maris") towards the Baqa<sup>c</sup> and Qadesh-on-the-Orontes (ultimately)." Therefore, *bj* (or *rbj*; no. 82 of Tuthmosis' list), belongs at Horbat Qurn Haṭṭin, near to which lies the modern village of Lübiye, supposedly preserving the ancient name Lāḫi<sup>107</sup>

Amenophis II made a second excursion, apparently unaccompanied this time, to *ḥá-šá-bu* (M. line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.10), a town also mentioned in the Amarna letters. That the king returned from there (back to Kadesh?) "in a short moment" seems to indicate that *ḥá-šá-bu*, *la-b-ʿu* and Kadesh all occupied the same general region. Indeed Tell Ḥašbe, 66 kilometers west-southwest of Baalbek, is now considered to be the site of

<sup>102</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 159, notes the occurrence of *la-b-ʿu* in the Annals of Tuthmosis III (no. 82), and the account of Ramesses II's Battle of Kadesh. Cf. also Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 178 n. 4, and A. Kuschke, "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Biḳāʿ," *ZDPV* 74, 1958, 94–98. For further mention of Kadesh in topographical lists of Amenophis II, see Simons, *Handbook*, 129, no. 12 = Breasted, *ARE* II, 314 § 798A, no. 12; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 40, pl. 54.

<sup>103</sup> B. Mazar (Mazar), "Canaan and Canaanites," *BASOR* 102, 1946, 9; idem, "Topographical Researches V: Lebo-Hamat and the Northern Boundary of Canaan," *BJPES* 12, 1946, 100ff. (in Hebrew); idem, in *Military History*, 35; idem, *Jerushalaim* 4, 16.

<sup>104</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 124.

<sup>105</sup> See additionally Mazar, *BJPES* 12, 91ff. (with English summary on p. VIII).

<sup>106</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 125–26 and n. 69.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

ancient *ḥá-šá-bu*.<sup>108</sup> Though the numbers appear rather exaggerated, Amenophis returned from *ḥá-šá-bu* with sizable plunder, as well as the submission of the entire town (*Urk.* IV, 1304.12ff.). One can only guess at the meaning of these lines. Surely a military clash is not indicated here, for no matter how brave Amenophis was, single-handed combat against an entire settlement is out of the question. Assuming the passage is not pure propaganda, we might perhaps envision the king reviewing conditions in a town already loyal to him. In this connection, Helck questioned the mention of *ḥá-šá-bu* in the texts in the first place, for it was definitely within the Egyptian sphere even before Amenophis' reign.<sup>109</sup> An alternate interpretation would be a revolt in a nominally pro-Egyptian settlement, as had occurred in the case of *ʿ(a)-kú-ta<sub>2</sub>*.


After the *ḥá-šá-bu* episode, the Egyptian army most likely turned homeward. The map (fig. 19) shows that Amenophis was marching consistently southward with each consecutive city ever since his arrival at *ma-n-sú-t* (*Urk.* IV, 1303.15). In fact, the next locality mentioned is much further to the south: *ʿa-m-qu sù-ri-na*, or the Plain of Sharon (M. lines 13-14 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.16). The Karnak text gives a date here of III *šmw* 6 (*Urk.* IV, 1314.1), indicating that a little over two weeks had passed between the camp at *št-R-ḥá* and the arrival at Sharon. At this point Amenophis captured an envoy of the chief of Naharin (), M. line 14 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.17), with correspondence tied around his neck.<sup>110</sup> Was the envoy en route to various Palestinian chiefs who were conspiring with the Mitannian king to eliminate the Egyptian presence in Retenu? If so, this capture would significantly indicate how far south the anti-Egyptian "alliance" or "conspiracy" had penetrated. The Plain of Sharon, the coastal

<sup>108</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 155 n. 61a; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 159-60; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 178, n. 4; Kuschke, *ZDPV* 74, 94-98. But see the problem discussed by Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 118(g) and n. 7, and Yeivin's elaborations on the location, *JARCE* 6, 125. *ḥá-šá-bu* also appears in the Ptolemaic copy of Amenophis' topographical list, Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 66.

<sup>109</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 159-60.

<sup>110</sup> A similar event may be found in the second stela of Kamose, in which the king captures a messenger from Avaris who was heading south to the ruler of Kush, L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, ADAIK 8, Glückstadt 1972, 39-40; W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KAT, Wiesbaden, 1975, 94 (= lines 18-19 of the text). For another reference to Naharin, see C.C. Van Siclen's recently published text from the dismantled alabaster shrine of Amenophis II at Karnak, "A New Historical Text of Amenhotep II," *GM* 82, 1984, 61-64, esp. 63 col. 10, and idem, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 31-33, pls. 26, 55.

area of Palestine between Joppa and Caesarea,<sup>111</sup> was far removed from the Mitannian kingdom in the north. Tentative as this suggestion remains, at least it is based on the text itself. The same cannot be said for interpretations which see Amenophis' southerly direction as a reaction to defeat somewhere along in the campaign. Unfortunately, we learn nothing of the contents of the envoy's message. The king proceeded *m sbyn* (place name? See App. I notes 14 and 37) back to Egypt.

Amenophis reached Memphis (  M. line 15 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.4), and the "first campaign of victory" was concluded, presumably on III *šmw* 27 according to Edel's reconstruction of the date in the second booty list from the Karnak stela.<sup>112</sup> If any events occurred during the journey home, they were not deemed worthy of description in the texts; there follows only the list of booty which the Egyptian army amassed during some six weeks of marching through Syria and Palestine. The validity of the numbers given in the booty list will be discussed following the commentary on the campaign of year 9.

Several features are of particular significance in this campaign. First of all, the map in fig. 19 shows the large amount of ground covered by the Egyptian army. The campaign of year 9 achieved no such wide geographical range (compare fig. 21). Second, no northern limit for the campaign is explicitly stated; while this in itself is hardly enough to warrant interpreting an Egyptian defeat, one nevertheless wonders just what Amenophis' strategy might have been as he marched closer and closer to the Mitannian sphere of influence. Third, just how far south that influence was beginning to spread seems clear from the capture of the Mitannian envoy in the vicinity of the Plain of Sharon. Successful though this campaign sounds, it seems Amenophis left some unfinished business in Syria-Palestine.

**B.) The Campaign of Year 9 (see map, fig. 21).** If Amenophis II thought his first major campaign had stabilized and reaffirmed the Egyptian presence in Syria-Palestine, he was apparently mistaken. It proved necessary to mount another expedition a mere two years later (if the year

<sup>111</sup> Helck, *Übersetzung*, 38 n. 1; Mazar, in *Military History*, 35; For another occurrence of the name of Sharon under Amenophis II, see pLeningrad 1116A, Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1963, 623, 628.

<sup>112</sup> K. line 33 = *Urk.* IV, 1315.10; Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 167.




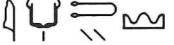






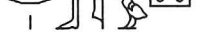



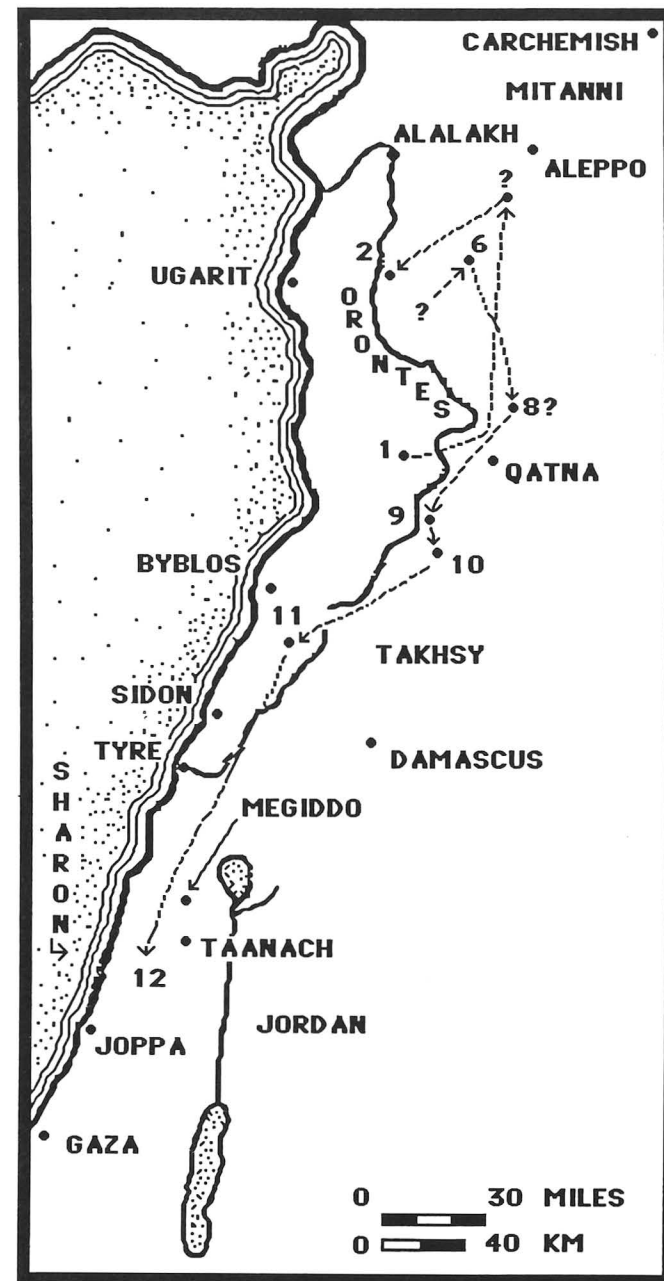
SYLLABIC ORTHOGRAPHY	TRANSLITERATION	MODERN NAME
1 	š-m-šu-ᵝe-tu-m	—
	q-d-na	Qatna
2 	n-y-a	Qalcat el-Mudiq
3 	ᵝ(a)-kú-ta <sub>2</sub>	—
4 	ší-l <sup>2</sup> -ḥá	—
5 	šá-š-ra-m	—
6 	ma-n-šú-t	Ma <sup>c</sup> aret en-No <sup>c</sup> man
7 	h-ší-ri-šá	—
8 	ja-n-qa	El- <sup>c</sup> muq?
9 	q-d-š	Tell Nebi Mend
10 	la-b-ᵝu	Lebwe
11 	ḥá-šá-bu	Tell ḥašbe
12 	ᵝa-m-qu sù-ri-na	Plain of Sharon
	n-h-rn	Naharin

FIG. 19. THE CAMPAIGN OF YEAR 7 OF AMENOPHIS II.



dates are trustworthy).<sup>113</sup> We shall refer to this campaign simply as that of year 9 in the hope of avoiding confusion with the numbering of Amenophis' previous expeditions.<sup>114</sup>

This campaign was more localized than its predecessor. The king concentrated his efforts on Canaan, specifically the coastal regions of Palestine and the Valley of Jezreel. Mitanni, Egypt's most powerful rival in the early New Kingdom, may well once more have been aiding, if not instigating, insurrection in the Egyptian sphere of Retenu. The argument that the campaign took place too far south and out of the reach of Mitannian influence collapses when one considers the episode of the enemy messenger apprehended by Amenophis two years earlier.<sup>115</sup> Perhaps the capture of this envoy of Naharin provides only a minor glimpse at a tip of the iceberg of a developing resistance movement against the pharaoh. Moreover, Yeivin sees additional pressure on the Egyptian holdings caused by increased infiltration of semi-nomadic groups.<sup>116</sup> On the problem of the length of the campaign, the reader is referred to the remarks at the end of this section.

On III *ḫt* 25 (M. line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.13), Amenophis reached the town of  $\begin{matrix} \square & \square \\ \square & \square \end{matrix}$  3-p-q (M. line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.15). The campaign took place in November-December, a much later start than many Egyptian expeditions. One wonders if the king consciously planned a much shorter campaign this time, and hence could afford to wait until later in the year before setting out.<sup>117</sup> Apeh, present-day Ras el-*ʿ*Ayin, first appears in Egyptian sources as early as the execration texts.<sup>118</sup> One of the major settlements in the southern Sharon, the town was the first station along the *via maris*. Its

<sup>113</sup> Cf. the discussion of the "first campaign of victory problem" above in Chapter I Part II. Aharoni sees the king's second campaign following so rapidly as testimony to the "failure" of the year 7 campaign, Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, map 36.

<sup>114</sup> It should be remembered, however, that the Memphis stela explicitly refers to this expedition as the "second campaign of victory" (line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.14; restored to the Karnak stela, *Urk.* IV, 1314.15).

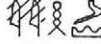
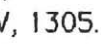

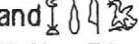


<sup>115</sup> Against Mitannian involvement in the year 9 campaign see A. Spalinger, "The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenophis II," *JSEEA* 13, 1983, 89-101. While Spalinger is perhaps correct in citing the campaign as "a minor fight against a minor foe" (p. 101), that minor foe might still have acted either out of pro-Mitannian sympathies, or under actual Mitannian influence.

<sup>116</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 126 and n. 77.

<sup>117</sup> On this point see Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 156 and Wilson in *ANET*, 246, n. 33.

<sup>118</sup> Mazar in *Military History*, 35; Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 45; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 181; Wilson in *ANET*, 246, n. 34; Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 126. The name occurs in the topographical list of Tuthmosis III, no. 66, 3-p-w-q-n; Simons, *Handbook*, 112. With reference to Albright, Helck equates the name with the later Antipatris, and not the Akko of the execration texts; *Beziehungen*, 160.

strategic location accounts for its involvement in a number of crucial events in the history of Syria-Palestine. The Bible mentions the town as a Canaanite city-state (Joshua 12:18) which later served as a base of operations for the Philistines, as well as for Assyria and Babylon.<sup>119</sup>

No further details concerning Apeq other than its surrender are given. The narrative moves directly to Amenophis' attack on the town of  ja-h-má (M. line 18 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.17;  K. line 30 = *Urk.* IV, 1314.17). Most scholars agree that this is Jemma,<sup>120</sup> south of Carmel, the same town at which Tuthmosis III camped before the Battle of Megiddo.<sup>121</sup> Without further description, the account races on to the king's capture of the settlements of  má-pá-si-n (M. line 18 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.18), and  há-tá-si-n, (M. line 19 = *Urk.* IV, 1306.1;  K. line 30 = *Urk.* IV, 1315.1), both of which are located "west of"  sú-kú (M. line 19 = *Urk.* IV, 1306.2).<sup>122</sup> The latter name is securely identified with ancient Socho, modern Ras es-Suweke.<sup>123</sup> Both Socho and Jemma lay strategically along the *via maris* from Apeq to the Wadi ʿAra and Megiddo. As for má-pá-si-n and há-tá-si-n, our only clue is their position west of Socho. Alt places the two settlements in the Wadi el-hawōret,<sup>124</sup> while Yeivin prefers to call them semi-nomadic ethnic groups which practiced seasonal agriculture.<sup>125</sup> Whatever their precise location, they apparently did not survive Amenophis' attack. Both the Karnak and Memphis narratives give a description of the king's might and brutality here which is lacking for most of the other place names. In addition, no later sources known to this writer mention either of the two settlements. It is unfortunately not clear why the king expended such effort here; had he learned of a Mitannian hand in the revolt in this area, or was it a local, independent uprising that was challenging Egyptian authority?

<sup>119</sup> Mazar, in *Military History*, 35.

<sup>120</sup> Compare *Urk.* IV, 649.3; 784 no. 68; I Kings 4:10.

<sup>121</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 160; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 181; Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 119(h), Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 46-47 and n. 51; Spalinger, *JSSSEA* 13, 90 n. 9.



<sup>122</sup> Albright and Lambdin wonder whether the first group represents a diphthong *ś Ju*, *JSS* 2, 119(i) and n. 1.

<sup>123</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 161; Mazar in *Military History*, 35. On the small size of these settlements cf. Spalinger, *JSSSEA* 13, 95.

<sup>124</sup> Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 47.

<sup>125</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 126.

After the events in the Socho region, the Memphis account describes a dream of the king, an episode missing oddly enough from the Karnak text, erected at the seat of Amen's power. This god appeared in a vision to instill bravery in his son, and to assure him of divine protection. Though the dream may seem carefully placed at this juncture in the narrative, there is apparently no direct connection to either the preceding or the following events.<sup>126</sup> The king was prevailing in the campaign before Amen appeared, and he continued to prevail after the vision. No mutually beneficial transaction took place, such as that between Tuthmosis IV and Re-Harakhti in another famous dream.<sup>127</sup> There is, of course, no way to prove that Amenophis actually dreamt such a vision and ordered it recorded for posterity; but doubtless the dream motif served as a characteristic literary creation for the glorification of the monarch. Such a literary device is perhaps best viewed as pure royalist propaganda.

Armed with divine protection, Amenophis rose with the dawn to attack two more towns,  ḏa-tu-ri-n (M. line 22 = *Urk.* IV, 1307.4), and  ma-k-tá-la-j̄-n (M. line 22 = *Urk.* IV, 1307.5). According to the text, a fierce clash took place, and the amount of the king's plunder and prisoners was considerable (*Urk.* IV, 1307.6-10).<sup>128</sup> The location of both place names remains obscure. ḏa-tu-ri-n has been equated with Tell ed-Drur, eight kilometers northwest of Jemma on one of the major roads leading from the Sharon into the Wadi ḏAra.<sup>129</sup> The absence of the *ḥ3st* determinative had led Yeivin, however, to interpret ḏa-tu-ri-n not as a locality but as a people, possibly the Itourians, an Ishmaelite tribe (Gen. 25:15). But the evidence fails to attest to the presence of the Itourians in this part of Retenu.<sup>130</sup>

Ma-k-tá-la-j̄-n on the other hand, has been placed even closer to Jemma, only five kilometers to the northwest. The name itself contains the base *migdol*, indicating both a fortified palace and a cult-center.<sup>131</sup> Several writers have mentioned El-Madjal as a likely identification, but no

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 127; Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13, 92; *idem*, *Military Documents*, 152.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 204.



<sup>128</sup> Cf. Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 181, who claims these areas were full of swamps, sparsely populated, and thus not a center of uprisings as Alt contends, *ZDPV* 70, 47; cf. also Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13, 90 n. 8.

<sup>129</sup> Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 48; Mazar, in *Military History*, 36.

<sup>130</sup> Compare Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 127

<sup>131</sup> Mazar, in *Military History*, 36; cf. Tuthmosis III's list, *Urk.* IV, 784, no. 71, the execration texts, G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Brussels 1940, 67(E5); and Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, 21, 66, 90-91 versus Helck, *Beziehungen*, 161.

archaeological material has confirmed this view.<sup>132</sup> As an alternative, Aharoni presents the same Tell ed-Drur suggested for *ʿa-tu-ri-n*.<sup>133</sup>

Edel identified both of these names in connection with  from the mortuary temple of Amenophis III (list B<sub>N</sub> re. 8) and *aduri* (EA 256, 24) in the case of *ʿa-tu-ri-n*, and *magdali* (EA 256, 26) in the case of *ma-k-tā-la-jʿ-n*.<sup>134</sup> The lack of the *ḥst* determinative for *ʿa-tu-ri-n* poses no problem for Edel; neither do the variant endings with and without  thanks to some parallel examples.<sup>135</sup> By all accounts south/southeast of Megiddo, between Jemma and Anaharath, remain the most likely general locations for both terms.

A curious event occurred at this stage of the campaign. Amenophis supervised the digging of two ditches which were subsequently set on fire. It is quite clear that this episode provides yet another device for the glorification of the monarch. Many interpret the glorified act to be Amenophis' ensuing vigil, axe in hand, through the night,<sup>136</sup> but another view is forthcoming. Yeivin writes:

...the narrative does not deal with flaming trenches round the area in which the prisoners were kept during the night, but with a fiery holocaust of the prisoners themselves. What is described here is the Canaanite practice of *herem*, dedication to the deity through burning.<sup>137</sup>

This interpretation is followed here, but for different reasons. Yeivin associated this rather macabre affair with the king's gratitude to Amen for appearing in his dream. But nothing in the text indicates that the dream and fiery vigil belong together. If a dedication were being made, might we not expect the inclusion of this god receiving such homage? Neither can Yeivin's (correct) remark on the Egyptians' increasing exposure to Syro-Palestinian customs<sup>138</sup> be extended to the pharaoh and his rights of dedication,

<sup>132</sup> Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 48; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 181, n. 27.

<sup>133</sup> Aharoni, "Zephath of Tuthmose," *IEJ* 9, 1959, 131f.; idem, *Land of the Bible*, 155.

<sup>134</sup> Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, 90-91.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> See Wilson in *ANET*, 247, n. 40.

<sup>137</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 127 and notes 84-86, with reference to V. Vikentiev's long study, "La traversée de l'Oronte. La chasse et la veillée de nuit du Pharaon Aménophis II, d'après la grande Stèle de Mit-Rahineh," *BIE* 30, 1947-48, 251-307.

<sup>138</sup> Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 127.

especially when they are intended for an Egyptian god. Why would one perform *herem*, a Canaanite ritual, for the benefit of Amen, a thoroughly Egyptian deity?

More likely evidence for the holocaust comes from the writing of *m qd* (M. line 24 = *Urk.* IV, 1307.12) with the bookroll rather than the walking legs. This implies that the prisoners ended up in the ditches, and not that the ditches were built "all around them" (see Appendix I, n. 17). Furthermore, such brutal treatment of his enemies should not surprise us in Amenophis II's case - witness the execution of the seven chiefs of Takhsy discussed above in Part I of this chapter. Hence philological arguments rather than the assumption of foreign customs best support the holocaust interpretation.

The chronological sequence of the campaign is clarified somewhat by the next entry: the king went forth after "daybreak on the second day," which, we are told, was the day of the feast of his accession (M. lines 25-26 = *Urk.* IV, 1308.2-4). The date implied here is most likely IV *šht* 1, the day of Amenophis' accession according to the Semna stela of Usersatet (see Chapter I Part II; *Urk.* IV, 1343.10; and Chapter III, fig. 37), and six days after the first date of the campaign, III *šht* 25 (M. line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.13). In other words, each day of the campaign appears to be accounted for, from the beginning (Apheq), as far as the plunder of the next town listed: *á-nú-ḥar-tá* (M. line 26 = *Urk.* IV, 1308.5).<sup>139</sup> Amenophis' progress is summarized as shown in fig. 20.

- |    |  |                     |                   |                                   |                     |
|----|--|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1) | <i>ḥ-p-q</i> (Apheq) III <i>šht</i> 25 | 5)                  | <i>ḥa-tu-ri-n</i> | [III <i>šht</i> 29]               |                     |
| 2) | <i>ja-h-má</i>                         | [III <i>šht</i> 26] | 6)                | <i>ma-k-tá-la-j<sup>2</sup>-n</i> | [III <i>šht</i> 30] |
| 3) | <i>má-pá-si-n</i>                      | [III <i>šht</i> 27] | 7)                | <i>á-nú-ḥar-tá</i>                | IV <i>šht</i> 1     |
| 4) | <i>ḥá-tá-si-n</i>                      | [III <i>šht</i> 28] |                   |                                   |                     |

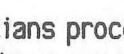
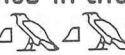
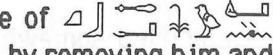


FIG. 20. POSSIBLE DATES FOR THE FIRST PART OF THE YEAR 9 CAMPAIGN OF AMENOPHIS II.

*á-nú-ḥar-tá* is identical to Anaharath of Issachar (Joshua 19:15), the Biblical town of the same name. However, it is not to be confused with the *ḥa-nú-ḥar-tu*, no. 52 of Tuthmosis III's list, for the latter lies much further north near Shamash-Edom, well outside the range of the campaign of year 9. Rather, our Anaharath lay north of the Jezreel Valley, in the ruins of Tell el-Ajjul, some fourteen kilometers east of Nazareth.<sup>140</sup> This view carries the

<sup>139</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 161.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 161-63.

support of several scholars.<sup>141</sup> Anaharath is the northernmost securely identified town listed in the campaign. Unfortunately, only two additional place names remain in the narrative, thus eliminating the possibility of tracing a clear southern, homeward route for the Egyptian army. Nevertheless, we may assume that Amenophis, apparently satisfied with the status of Egypt's holdings, began soon after Anaharath to head for Egypt. Once again, the army came away with considerable booty (M. lines 26-28 = *Urk. IV*, 1308.5-10).

From Anaharath, the Egyptians proceeded to  *hu-k-tá* (M. line 28 = *Urk. IV*, 1308.11), one of the most perplexing names in the entire account. It was apparently here that Amenophis punished  Qaqa, the prince of  *q-ba-a-sú-mi-n* (M. line 28 = *Urk. IV*, 1308.12), by removing him and installing another, presumably more faithful prince, in his stead. Perhaps *q-ba-a-sú-mi-n* was the major force behind the revolt which prompted the campaign in the first place. *Hu-k-tá* may be read in several different ways. Taken as it stands, the name has no known geographical identification.<sup>142</sup> Wilson, with subsequent support from Edel, tentatively suggested that the name was a misspelling of *hšw ktj*, "the vicinity of Akhty," although this still provided no geographical solution.<sup>143</sup> Grdseloff and Mazar read  in place of  hence *Hwmkt*, a name similar to the two final names in the list of Tuthmosis III.<sup>144</sup> Aharoni attempts to combine the views of Wilson and Mazar to form *hšw mktj*, "the vicinity of Megiddo."<sup>145</sup> This solution is tempting, for the army does indeed seem to be in the Megiddo area. However, too much emendation is required for such a reading; two separate reconstructions are grafted onto a name that may simply be *hu-k-tá* after all. For the present, *hu-k-tá* shall be taken as it stands, an as yet unidentified place name.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., and idem, *Übersetzung*, 40, n. 2; A. Jirku, *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen*, Leipzig 1937, 12, n. 2; Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 127-28; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 179; Mazar, in *Military History*, 36; Albright and Lambdin, *JSS* 2, 115, n. 4 and 119(j). Aharoni has written elsewhere that *ḥā-nū-ḥar-tá* is Tell el-Mukharkhash, five miles southeast of Mt. Tabor; *Land of the Bible*, 155; Edel accepts this view in K. Galling, ed., *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, Tübingen 1968, 33, n. 30.

<sup>142</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 163; Alt, *ZDPV* 70, 53.

<sup>143</sup> Wilson, in *ANET*, 247, n. 42; Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 123(f), 157.

<sup>144</sup> See Simons, *Handbook*, 115, no. 2; Mazar, *Jerusalem* 4, 19. The more recent version of the last article takes a more cautious stand, *Military History*, 36-37.

<sup>145</sup> Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 182. Yeivin supports this view, *JARCE* 6, 128.

Prince Qaqa's town of *q-ba-ʿa-sú-mi-n* poses less of a problem than *hu-ʿk-tá*. The same name occurs in the topographical list of Tuthmosis III,<sup>146</sup> and corresponds to Josephus' "Gaba of the Cavalry" of Roman times, the modern Tell el-ʿAmer.<sup>147</sup> Its location is in the Jezreel region, eighteen miles northwest of Megiddo, at the entrance to the Plain of Acre. Thus it seems that Amenophis was heading for the coast, probably for the return journey to Egypt. *q-ba-ʿa-sú-mi-n* is the last town mentioned in the texts, and no further events are recorded in between the replacement of Qaqa and the king's triumphal appearance in Memphis (line 29 = *Urk.* IV, 1308.16). The campaign's confined and concentrated geographical focus is shown by the map in figure 21. Evidently, the localized revolt which had broken out in the Sharon region was quelled by the end of the campaign. The campaign of year 7 by contrast resembles an ambitious expedition to reinforce the Egyptian presence and subdue a more general uprising in a much larger area.

The Karnak text provides some interesting variants concerning the end of the year 9 campaign. First of all, the dockyard and royal residence of Perunefer is mentioned, in addition to the city of Memphis itself (*Urk.* IV, 1315.11). Helck interprets the passage as an indication that the army returned by ship, perhaps from the port of Joppa, a logical if by no means provable assumption.<sup>148</sup> Secondly, a final (broken) date appears in line 33 of the Karnak stela (*Urk.* IV, 1315.10): X [šm]w 27. Edel assumes that the initial date of the entire campaign, III ʿht 25 (M. line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1305.13) requires at least an additional twenty-one days to allow for the mobilization of the army from Memphis to Apheq.<sup>149</sup> This places the actual start of the campaign back at III ʿht 4. However, combining this date with the final šmw date, even if we assume the illegible month in the latter to

<sup>146</sup> See *Urk.* IV, 782, no. 41.

<sup>147</sup> Yeivin, "The Third District in Tuthmosis III's List of Palestino-Syrian Towns," *JEA* 36, 1950, 57; idem, *JARCE* 6, 128; Malamet, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 223; Aharoni, *JNES* 19, 183; Maisler (Mazar), "Topographical Researches IV; Gaba and Harosheth of the Gentiles," *BJPES* 11, 1945, 35f.; idem, "Beth She'erim, Geba, and Harosheth of the Peoples," *HUCA* 24, 1953, 80f. Alt is cautious about Tell el-ʿAmer, *ZDPV* 70, 53, n. 76, and Helck suggests an equation with Semunje, west of Sheikh Ibrag, *Beziehungen*, 163. Rainey includes a discussion of *q-ba-ʿa-sú-mi-n* with original meaning "Hill of the Eight;" *JARCE* 10, 74-75, and the references cited there.

<sup>148</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 160; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, Uppsala 1946, 38. For more on the function and location of Perunefer, see S.R.K. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III," *ZAS* 66, 1931, 108-109; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, PdA 3, Leiden-Cologne 1958, 6 with references given; idem, "Perunefer," in *LA* IV, 990, and in Appendix III below.

<sup>149</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 157.

be the *first* month of *šmw*, produces a campaign of 203 days.<sup>150</sup> Edel rejects the possibility of such a long period for such a short expedition; the first campaign, which reached much farther north, lasted less than half of this time.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, the chart in figure 20 accounts for more than half of the place names listed in as little as a week's time. The German scholar's solution to this problem maintains that the date was borrowed from the first campaign, and that consequently the booty list given after X [*šm*]*w* 27 belongs to year 7 as well.<sup>152</sup> Up to this point this proposition is the most plausible one offered. However, we must bear in mind the selective nature of the military texts; perhaps one should hesitate to assume that the whole picture is recounted, and that no delays, setbacks, changes of strategy or other events might have lengthened the campaign.

The booty lists for both year 7 and 9 present similar logistical inconsistencies.<sup>153</sup> The strikingly large number of captives brought back to Egypt is highly suspect. The year 9 campaign alone lists - through faulty arithmetic - some 89,600 (the correct total is 101,128), a grossly exaggerated figure. Janssen has determined that Egypt could not support such a large number of slaves, based as it was on an agrarian economy.<sup>154</sup> What Janssen calls "open resources," or resources which require and can support slavery, were absent in Egypt during the New Kingdom.<sup>155</sup> Several factors have led some scholars to assign this booty list to the campaign of year 7; among them the short length of the year 9 campaign, the overly large numbers, and the mention of Nuḥaššians, a Syrian race more likely related to the events of year 7 than of year 9.<sup>156</sup> But Janssen's hypothesis precludes the vast numbers of prisoners from applying even to *all* of

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 157, 167; cf. Yeivin, *JARCE* 6, 125, who assigns 122 days for the campaign.

<sup>151</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 167.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 167. Aheroni accepts this proposition, *JNES* 19, 178.

<sup>153</sup> For some recent reinterpretations of Egyptian booty and tribute terminology, cf. E. Bleiberg, "Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III," *JASSEA* 11, 1981, 107-10; idem, "The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: an Examination of *INW*," *JARCE* 21, 1984, 155-67; R. Müller-Wollermann, "Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen," *GM* 66, 1983, 81-93; idem, "Ein Tribut an die Methode," *GM* 77, 1984, 51-55, and D. O'Connor, in B. Trigger et. al. *Ancient Egypt; A Social History*, 226. For a recently published fragmentary text of possibly related interest from Amenophis II's Karnak alabaster shrine, cf. Van Siclen, *GM* 82, 61-64, and *Alabaster Shrine*, 31-33, pls. 26, 55.

<sup>154</sup> J.J. Janssen, "Eine Beuteliste von Amenophis II. und das Problem der Sklaverei im alten Ägypten," *JEOL* 17, 1963, 141-47.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>156</sup> Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 167; Spalinger, *JASSEA* 13, 89, 92-94, 100-101; compare idem, *Military Documents*, 151,

Amenophis' campaigns put together. Perhaps the numbers show simple error, gross exaggeration for propagandistic reasons, and/or some kind of census list of the occupied Syrian towns.<sup>157</sup> According to Janssen, the gathering of the peoples mentioned in the booty list at the end of the year 9 account<sup>158</sup> might support this view.<sup>159</sup> Less convincing is Spalinger's suggestion that the large numbers reflect an urban culture's perception of countless semi-nomadic peoples.<sup>160</sup> If the numbers are to be taken at all seriously, then it may indeed be safest to conclude that they refer to peoples still residing in their homelands and not deported to Egypt. But perhaps the most important lesson to be learned here is that Egyptian numbers are not to be trusted, and should certainly not be used as foundations for further conclusions.<sup>161</sup>

The Memphis stela concludes with an account of Egypt's three major adversaries competing with each other to appease the pharaoh with offerings (M. line 33 = *Urk.* IV, 1309.13ff.). Mitanni, the Hittites and the Babylonians<sup>162</sup> all hear of Amenophis' victories and hastily seek the "breath of life" from his Majesty. If we attach significance to this passage, then Amenophis' campaign must have been successful, for the above-mentioned adversaries would otherwise hardly have made such a journey. But while some scholars reject the historicity of this passage,<sup>163</sup> others have gone so far as to suggest the conclusion of a treaty between Egypt and Mitanni.<sup>164</sup> Though no evidence for such a treaty exists, the passage in question

<sup>157</sup> Janssen, *JEOL* 17, 147.

<sup>158</sup> Peoples mentioned include (*Urk.* IV, 1309.1-8; Wilson in *ANET*, 247 and n. 47):  *Apiru* (see Gardiner, *AEO* I, 184\*);  *Shasu* (Beduin in southern Palestine);  *Kharu* (Horites from northern Syria);  *Neges* (possibly Nugasheans from northern Syria; see Gardiner, *AEO* I, 168\*-71\*).

<sup>159</sup> Janssen, *JEOL* 17, 147.

<sup>160</sup> Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13, 100.

<sup>161</sup> Chapter I has already reviewed several problems of numbering, including Tuthmosis III's Battle of Megiddo, and the order of Amenophis II's "campaigns of victory." For mathematical errors in a recently published papyrus see, W.K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner IV*, Boston 1986, description of Section A.

<sup>162</sup> On *s3ngr* see Gardiner, *AEO* I, 209\*ff.

<sup>163</sup> See for example, Wilson in *ANET*, 247 n. 52, and R. Givon, "Tuthmosis IV and Asia," *JNES* 28, 1969, 54; Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 173.

<sup>164</sup> Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 1 with n. 5; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jt. v.u. Z.*, I: *Nordsyrien*, Berlin 1965, 39; M. Drower, *CAH*<sup>3</sup> II, i, 462-63. Helck is more cautious, *Beziehungen*, 161f., as is C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 17, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 20 n. 85. Spalinger takes the meeting in Egypt seriously, *JSSEA* 13, 93-94.

contains much of the diplomatic language typical of international negotiation, and a state visit by the foreign kings (each one termed *p3 wr*) might be construed as testament to some form of agreement or arrangement.<sup>165</sup> B. Bryan suggest that a treaty would explain the lack of further Egyptian campaigning in Syria-Palestine under Amenophis II after year 9.<sup>166</sup> Tempting as this proposition may seem, however, it cannot at present be substantiated. No international marriages are mentioned in any of Amenophis' records. One might assume that the Egyptians would have included any formal arrangements or agreements in the Memphis text, once they had deemed the visit of the foreign kings itself worth recording (*Urk.* IV, 1309.13ff.). Furthermore, it is in fact only the argument of silence which supports a peaceful reign for Amenophis after year 9. We have already seen that the Takhsy campaign may have had more significance than the account preserved today suggests. And the lists of foreign place names mentioned under Amenophis' reign contain numerous entries unassociated with the three campaign reports currently known (see Appendix II).<sup>167</sup> An interesting but sadly fragmentary text from Coptos(?) mentions our king in the lands of the *Fnhw* and *3mw*, but assessment of the role of this stela likewise remains obscure.<sup>168</sup> Thus until positive evidence for an international treaty appears, such as exists for Tuthmosis IV (EA 29, 16-18), the suggestion must be set aside.

Two recently published fragments are noteworthy here in conjunction with this discussion on the events concluding Amenophis II's campaigns. In 1904, the Fourth Pylon at Karnak revealed two red granite blocks carved in sunk relief with four tableaux in two registers, one above the other (fig. 22).<sup>169</sup> The scenes depict the king in his chariot with bound captives upon his

<sup>165</sup> See Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 60-63, 140.

<sup>166</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 423-25. See also her attempt to equate such an agreement with the Kurustama treaty, 424 n. 59.

<sup>167</sup> Much work remains to be done on topographical lists to determine which texts merely copy earlier compendia and which might refer to regions actually subjugated during the given king's reign.

<sup>168</sup> A. Barucq, "Deux fragments d'une stèle historique d'Aménophis II au Musée Guimet de Lyon," *ASAE* 49, 1949, 183-205; *Urk.* IV, 1318.17.

<sup>169</sup> Now exhibited back to back in the Cairo Museum under the number JE 36360; see A.-H. Zayed, "Une représentation inédite des campagnes d'Aménophis II," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Makhtar* I, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 5-17 (listing additional bibliography on p. 5); *Urk.* IV, 1368.10-19; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 63 (these last two references apparently unbeknownst to Zayed).

<u>SYLLABIC ORTHOGRAPHY</u>	<u>TRANSLITERATION</u>	<u>MODERN NAME</u>
1	ʔ-p-q	Ras el-ʔAyin
2	ja-ḥ-má	Jemma
3	má-pá-si-n	Wadi el-Hawōret?
4	ḥá-tá-ši-n	" " "
	sú-kú	Socho
5	ʔa-tu-ri-n	Tell eg-Drur?
6	ma-k-tá-la-j2-n	Tell eg-Drur? El-Madjel?
7	ʔá-nù-ḥar-tá	Tell el-Ajjul
8	hu-ʕ-k-tá	—
9	q-ba-ʕa-sú-mi-n	Tell el-ʕAmer

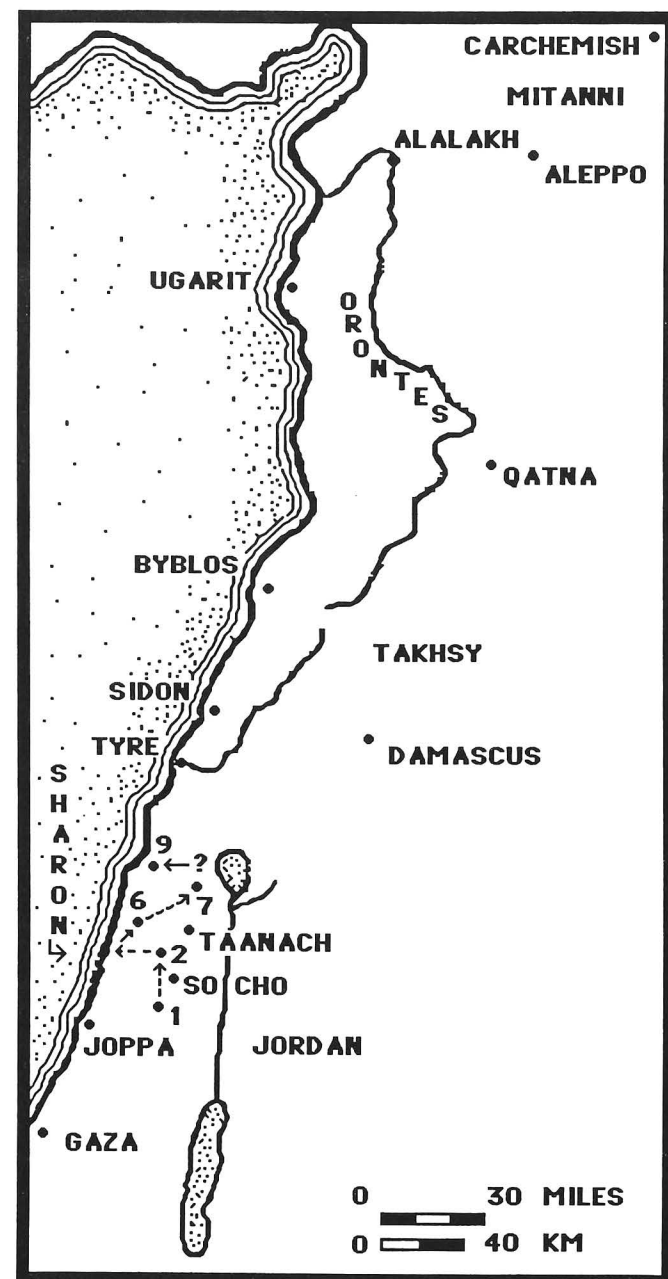
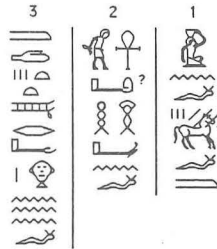


FIG. 21. THE CAMPAIGN OF YEAR 9 OF AMENOPHIS II.

horses<sup>170</sup> and tied to the chassis (below right), binding and smiting prisoners (below left and above left respectively), and standing before Amen-Re<sup>c</sup> (above right). In addition to the usual titularies and epithets to the king and Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, the text in the lower register above the prisoners on horseback reads:



(1) He has loaded<sup>171</sup> his span with (2) captives,<sup>172</sup> having placed (3) upon the *drwt*<sup>173</sup> those who were disloyal to him.

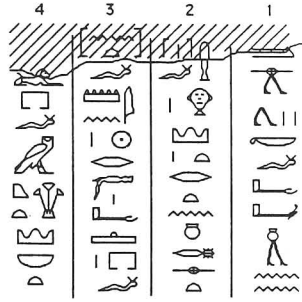
The upper register text, above the bound captives between the two figures of Amenophis, reads:

<sup>170</sup> A similar representation may be found on a stela of Amenophis III in Cairo CG 34026, P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CG), Cairo 1909, 59 and pls. 20-21.

<sup>171</sup> *štp m*; see Zayed's discussion in *Mél. Mokhtar*, 10.

<sup>172</sup> The sign erroneously taken as  $\triangleleft$  by Zayed, *Ibid.*, 10, was more likely either  $\curvearrowright$  or  $\curvearrowleft$  in the original hieratic (note however the clear difference from the  $\curvearrowleft$  with much thinner stick in the word *nbt* in the upper scene before Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>. On the confusion of all these signs in hieratic, with special reference to *sgr*, see Posener, *Princes et pays*, 26-28, and additionally *Urk. I*, 133.15 (Pepi-nakht); these last references kindly suggested by Lanny Bell. Helck, *Übersetzung*, 63 n. 3 replaces the  $\curvearrowleft$  of *Urk. IV*, 1368.18 with  $\triangleleft$ .

<sup>173</sup> The writer is unable to determine precisely which part of the chariot this word refers to; neither do the parallel passages cited by Zayed, *Mél. Mokhtar*, 10, and by *Wb. V*, 585.7 throw much light on the problem. Zayed relates *drwt* with <sup>c</sup> "pole(?)" and associates it with the prone figure of the captive attached to the chariot's beam. But this figure seems much more likely part of the chariot's decoration rather than an actual person; if the passage refers to actual prisoners, a more logical choice would be the two small-scale Asiatics in the car next to the king himself. Compare the related passages in the Memphis stela, lines 13 (*hr drwj n wrwt=f*, *Urk. IV*, 1304.12) and 14 (*hr ndr w<sup>sic</sup> [doubtless for drwj] n wrwt=f*, *Urk. IV*, 1304.19). Perhaps the text deals with the respective sides of the chariot and the tether which Amenophis holds in his left hand. (The expression *wšh drt* "to lay one's hands on, to designate," *Wb. I* 253.17-18, Lesko, *LED I*, 102, is unlikely here due to the interfering preposition *m*.) Helck's logical translation, *Übersetzung*, 63 ("...und er belegte (sie) mit den Händen derer, die nicht auf seiner Seite standen.") unfortunately necessitates the restoration of a direct object.



(1) Presenting the spoils which (2) his [Maj]esty brought back from the vile foreign land of Retenu (3) [for] his [father], Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, in order to fill<sup>174</sup> his house and (4) his [ma]gazine<sup>175</sup> with booty from every foreign land.

Zayed associates these two scenes with the Takhsy campaign of year 3, citing in particular the passage on the smiting of the seven chiefs of this town.<sup>176</sup> This association must remain conjectural at best; the number of "chiefs," if chiefs they are on these two fragments, varies from a constant seven, and nowhere are they identified with a labelling caption, although there is plenty of free space around the prisoners for such a text.<sup>177</sup> Sheer lack of information on the Takhsy campaign might tend to favor association with either of the two later campaigns of Amenophis, if association is necessary, and these scenes are not to stand merely for symbolic representations of the king's military successes. Perhaps more blocks from this Karnak structure will one day settle this question.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Interesting orthographic features of the verb *mḥ* here include the stroke, and the book-roll without the two ticks (to judge from Zayed's drawing, transcription and photograph).

<sup>175</sup> There is no arm (D 36) between the lion and the house determinative, as per Helck, *Übersetzung*, 63 n. 2, which is in turn a correction of *Urk.* IV, 1368.16.

<sup>176</sup> Zayed, *Mél. Mokhtar*, 16; see the discussion on the Takhsy campaign above in Part I of this chapter.

<sup>177</sup> Compare for example later labelling texts of Dynasty 19, *The Epigraphic Survey, Later Historical Records of Ramesses III*, Medinet Habu II, OIP 9, Chicago 1932, pl. 75.

<sup>178</sup> In the meantime there is little doubt these two blocks derive from the same building as did the famous "archery stela" of Amenophis II, found in the Third Pylon and currently on exhibit in front of the Luxor Museum (J. 44; see below, Chapter IV). All three blocks are carved in sunk relief in red granite, and show similar iconographic details, such as Amenophis' typical wig cut back high across the neck; on the *ibes*-wig, cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, 62. The evidence suggests that this building bore much unique decoration; cf. Zayed, *Mél. Mokhtar*, 17.

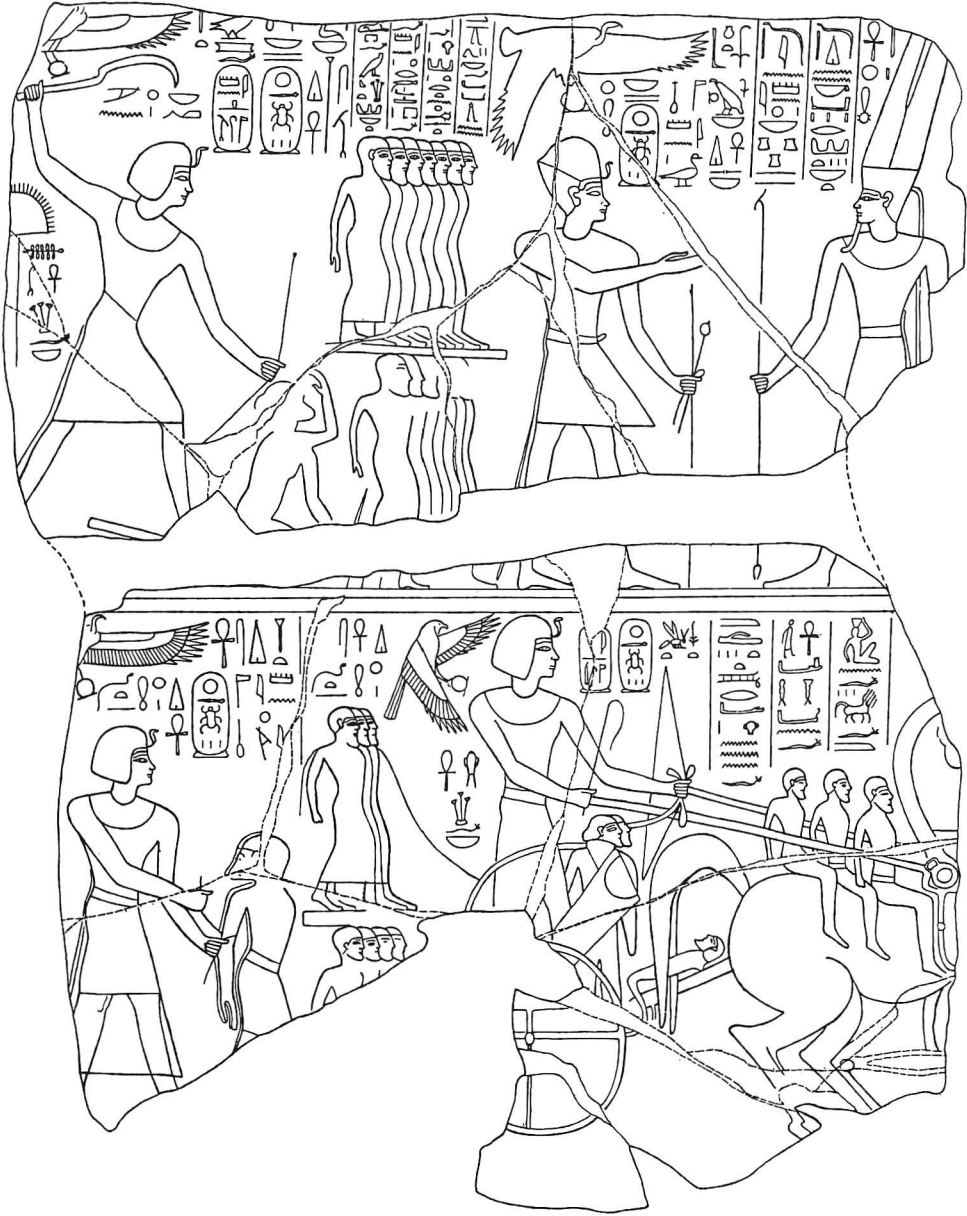


FIG. 22. JE 36360; TWO RED GRANITE BLOCKS FROM THE FOURTH PYLON AT KARNAK;  
DRAWING BY ZAYED, *MELANGES MOKHTAR* I, PL. 2 (AFTER P. 17).

What was the ultimate significance of Amenophis' military exploits in Syria-Palestine? It is precisely here that one would like to know whether the remaining seventeen years of his reign were indeed peaceful, or if we merely lack records of additional campaigns. At least two of Amenophis' three known expeditions may be termed actual campaigns. The campaign of year 7 was by far the most thorough, although that of year 9 apparently also proved effective, albeit in a much more localized area. The extent and results of the Takhsy campaign are less clear, due to uninformative references in the Amada and Elephantine stelae. But despite the rhetoric in all of the campaign texts, and especially the references to Amenophis' heroic and athletic exploits, none of the expeditions proved as ambitious or successful enough to rival those of his father, Tuthmosis III, or of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I. Whether Amenophis was trying to emulate these two kings by similarly hanging enemies from the prow of his ship and, as Helck contends, by trying to reach the Euphrates in year 7, remain for the present unanswered.<sup>179</sup>

To judge from the inscriptional evidence, one must conclude that the campaigns were in general fairly successful, even if their effect was to preserve the status quo rather than expand the empire.<sup>180</sup> Helck, however, takes a more negative stand, crediting Amenophis with at best "buying time" for a declining Egyptian empire.<sup>181</sup> He notes that Mitanni under Saustatar, and later his son, Artatama I, never retreated from Retenu but eventually began to expand southward into the Egyptian sphere of influence.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, there seem to be hints in Amenophis' accounts that Egypt could not effectively control the entire region as far north as the Euphrates; one almost gains the impression that the king was at times scurrying from site to site attempting to fill one crack in the Egyptian wall after another.<sup>183</sup> Helck places the border of the Egyptian sphere to the south in the Qatna region by the time of year 7.<sup>184</sup> But it is not entirely clear on what he bases this shrunken sphere of influence. In fact, such a continually deteriorating situation is unwarranted so early in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 9.5 and Helck, *Beziehungen*, 158.

<sup>180</sup> Should one always take the phrase *swšj tššw* "broaden the borders" (*Urk.* IV, 1301.16; *Wb.* IV, 75.2-4) literally?

<sup>181</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 163-64.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1304.10ff.; 1312.7ff.

<sup>184</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*, 163f., with n. 129. He contends that the Byblos area marked Egypt's northernmost expansion by the reign of Tutankhamen; see his map on p. 165 illustrating Egypt's northern borders during Dynasty 18.

As noted above, the evidence surrounding Amenophis' campaigns certainly reveals unrest, but the Egyptian presence remained for many years a dominating force in Syria-Palestine.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, from her study of the succeeding reign of Tuthmosis IV, B. Bryan contends that

It is presently impossible to prove that the Asian holdings of Egypt at the end of Tuthmosis' reign were not similar to those of Amenhotep II. And it is similarly impossible to demonstrate that Artatama I could have been dealing from a position of strength when he decided to strike a treaty with Tuthmosis IV.<sup>186</sup>

Hence we may credit Amenophis II with at least the preservation of the Egyptian empire in Syria-Palestine during his twenty-six years on the throne.<sup>187</sup> If he acquired no new territories and indeed failed to "broaden the borders" of Egypt, at least he is responsible for the account of a number of interesting and partially unique events during his three campaigns in Syria-Palestine.


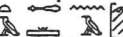
### Part III: Additional Campaign Evidence

**A.) The Taanach Letters.** Two inscriptions have recently been reassigned to the events of Amenophis' third year. Two of the letters discovered at Taanach, nos. 5 and 6, appear to belong to the period under discussion,<sup>188</sup> as is shown by both a Middle Bronze Age archaeological

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Giveon, *JNES* 28, 54ff.

<sup>186</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 443.

<sup>187</sup> For a different interpretation cf. Yeivin's claim that the significance of the campaigns lies in their indication of pressure on Syria-Palestine by semi-nomadic and other tribal and ethnic groups early in the second half of the 15th Century, *JARCE* 6, 128. On the year 9 campaign alone, cf. Spalinger, *JSSSEA* 13, 101.

<sup>188</sup> The letters were first published by B. Hrozný in E. Sellin, *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'anek in Palästina*, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 52, no. III, Vienna 1906, 36-38. See also B. Maisler (Mazar), "The Taanach Tablets," in *Klausner Volume*, Tel Aviv 1937, 44-46 (in Hebrew), and more recently A. Rainey, "Verbal Usages in Taanach Texts," *JOS* 7, 1977, 33-64, and idem, "The Military Camp Ground at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," *Eretz Israel* 15, 1981, 61\*-69\* (note letter no. 5 on p. 63\* is apparently labelled letter no. 6). References and discussion are to be found in Spalinger, *JSSSEA* 13, 91 n. 12, 97-98 with notes 43-50. Taanach occurs in pLeningrad 1116A, dated to Amenophis II, written  (line 72) and  (line 189); cf. W. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques...*, St. Petersburg 1913, and W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1963, 623, 628; and idem, *Beziehungen*, 166.

context and certain literary and palaeographical features.<sup>189</sup> Both letters are addressed to Talwisher, prince of Taanach, from a certain Amenhotpe.<sup>190</sup> In letter no. 6, Amenhotpe accuses Talwisher of failing to report to him in Gaza. Letter no. 5 apparently dates later than no. 6, and contains an order to send troops to Megiddo. The translation of both letters is given below:

Letter no. 5: "To Talwisher. Thus (speaks) Amenhotpe: May the storm god protect your life. Send your brothers together with their chariots, and send your quota of horses and the tribute, and all the *šširū*-troops who are with you; send them tomorrow to Megiddo."

Letter no. 6: "To Talwisher. Thus (speaks) Amenhotpe: May the storm god protect your life...Further, in the garrison there are none of your retainers, and you do not come to me, nor do you send your brother. Further (even when) I was in the town of Gaza, you did not come to me..."<sup>191</sup>

It was Albright who first assigned the Taanach epistles to the reign of Amenophis II. In 1924 he tentatively suggested that Amenophis II himself was the author Amenhotpe who, prior to his accession, served his father as viceroy in Palestine.<sup>192</sup> If Amenophis actually served in such a capacity, then we might ask why no mention of this post occurs in the Great Sphinx stela which documents his early years (*Urk.* IV, 1276-83). In the latter part of Tuthmosis III's life, Amenophis was most likely too preoccupied with commanding the naval base, dockyard and residence of Peru-nefer (near Memphis) to fulfill a second official post in Palestine.<sup>193</sup> Albright himself soon abandoned this view in favor of equating Amenhotpe with the Amenhotep who was later to become viceroy of Nubia under

<sup>189</sup> On the dating of the letters see W.F. Albright, "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C.," *BASOR* 94, 1944, 12-27; idem, "Amen-hotpe, governor of Palestine," *ZAS* 62, 1927, 64, and Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13, 101.

<sup>190</sup> Called so here in order to avoid confusion with Amenophis II. Albright's transcription gives *A-ma-an-ha-at-pe*, *BASOR* 94, 23-24.

<sup>191</sup> Translations based on Rainey, *Eretz Israel* 15, 63\*, idem, *IOS* 7, 45, 50, 59; and Albright, *BASOR* 94, 23-25; cf. Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13, 98.

<sup>192</sup> Albright, "Egypt and the Early History of the Negeb," *JPOS* 4, 1924, 140 n. 2.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, New York 1959, 141; Helck, in *LA* IV, 990.

Tuthmosis IV.<sup>194</sup> While there is no evidence to support such a conclusion, Albright emphasized the much higher value of the Nubian post; thus a promotion would logically have carried Amenhotpe/Amenhotep *from* Palestine *to* Nubia, and not vice versa.

More recently, scholars seem independently to have returned to Albright's original contention that the Taanach author is Amenophis II, even if he never held a post in Palestine. Landsberger concludes that both style and content indicate the royal nature of the Taanach letters.<sup>195</sup> From this point, A. Malamat goes on to assign the texts to the year 9 campaign of Amenophis II.<sup>196</sup> According to Malamat, the body of the letters implies that the author's permanent residence was not in Palestine. This implication, coupled with the condescending tone of both letters typical of that of a king toward his vassal, suggest to Malamat that Amenophis II and Amenhotpe may actually be one and the same man.<sup>197</sup> And as for the geographical correlation between the letters and the campaign of year 9, a glance at the account of the second campaign above reveals that the Egyptians were indeed in the general vicinity of Taanach.<sup>198</sup> Spalinger is more cautious, preferring to see Amenhotpe as merely an Egyptian official stationed abroad.<sup>199</sup>

The major stumbling block to identifying Amenhotpe with king Amenophis II lies in the occurrence of the personal name unadorned by any royal designation. In the Amarna letters one finds a well-developed and standardized system of titles used in international correspondence.<sup>200</sup> By

<sup>194</sup> Albright, *ZAS* 62, 63-64; cf. idem, *BASOR* 94, 27; idem, "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography, 1500-1200 B.C.," *JNES* 5, 1946, 9; W. Wolf, "Amenhotep, Vizekönig von Nubien," *ZAS* 59, 1924, 157-58. Other "Amenhoteps" of the New Kingdom who are unlikely candidates are given by A. Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 219, n. 3.

<sup>195</sup> B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und dunkler Zeitalter," *JCS* 8, 1954, 59, n. 123

<sup>196</sup> Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 218-27.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-20, and n. 9.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 225-26. For potential archaeological evidence of Amenophis II's activities in this region, see the Egyptian vase discovered with a scarab of this king; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza II*, London 1932, 9 sec. 43 (tomb 1037), and pl. 8, 112. Note, however, the names of several other royal personages present as well, among them Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Queen Tiye.

<sup>199</sup> Spalinger, *JSEEA* 13, 97-98.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. for example EA 99, 162, 163, in J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig 1915, and S.A.B. Mercer, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets I-II*, Toronto 1939; and nos. 367, 369, and 310; A.F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets<sup>2</sup>*, AOAT 8, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, 359-71; idem, *JARCE* 10, 73; Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 226-27, and n. 31.

contrast, the name of Amenhotpe appears almost naked for the name of a pharaoh. Malamat overcomes this problem by arguing that Amenophis' correspondence predates that of the Amarna period, and is therefore prior to the titulary conventions evident later on. In addition, Malamat notes the unusual circumstances under which the letters were drafted:

...according to our supposition, these letters were sent to the prince of Taanach during Amenhotep's campaign in Canaan, when he was surrounded by enemies and therefore was in need of assistance from the local rulers...Faced with this delicate situation it is not surprising that the Pharaoh eschews the stiff language of official protocol to greet the prince of Taanach with a brief and restrained blessing.<sup>201</sup>

In a more recent discussion of the Taanach letters, Rainey remains convinced of royal authorship but returns to the Takhsy campaign of year 3 as the most likely subject of the correspondence.<sup>202</sup> Although he cites the year 9 campaign as another possibility (one kept open by Spalinger<sup>203</sup>), Rainey asserts that the account of that campaign would never have omitted such an important event as the contact with the Taanach prince. Furthermore, so Rainey, had the Taanach prince actually failed the king in his hour of need, some mention would have been made about his punishment, as it was in the case of the prince of *q-ba-ʿa-sú-mi-n* in the Memphis stela (*Urk.* IV, 1308.12-14). By so eliminating the year 9 campaign, Rainey seeks to emphasize that of year 3 as a likely alternative.

It is necessary at this point to retrace our steps and rediscover what is known and what is conjectured about Taanach nos. 5 and 6. Unhappily, a sober look at the letters reveals that we know next to nothing about them. The facts are few and may be summarized:

- 1) Two letters, found in a Middle Bronze Age context at Taanach, from an Amenhotpe to Talwishar, prince of that city.
- 2) Stylistically and orthographically, the letters may be firmly dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>201</sup> Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 227.

<sup>202</sup> Rainey, *JARCE* 10, 73-74.

<sup>203</sup> Spalinger, *JSSSEA* 13, 98.

From the facts, several conjectures have been formulated:

- A) The letters are royal.
- B) Amenophis II was their author.
- C) The letters concern the military activities of Amenophis II.

Albright was originally the only scholar to suggest a non-royal author - the Amenhotep who later served Tuthmosis IV as viceroy of Nubia. This suggestion was treated above; no evidence supports it and a suggestion it remains. But the hypotheses of Malamat and Rainey are both based solely on the conjectures above, none of which is likely, and the first two well-nigh impossible.

Concerning conjecture A), it is inconceivable that the letters are royal; no pharaoh would write only his nomen to a Palestinian vassal, or to anyone for that matter.<sup>204</sup> If the letters were severely damaged one could perhaps make a case for the absence of royal designation which would link them with a specific king. But they are in good condition and nowhere are we told that a king is speaking. Nevertheless, Malamat and Rainey are willing to explain away this point and proceed to conjecture B), that the author was Amenophis II. This conjecture is based, not on any secure evidence, but on conjecture C), that the letters of necessity relate to military campaigns. We shall consider Malamat's position first.

In the passage from his article quoted above, Malamat notes the unusual circumstances which supposedly led to such an unorthodox royal epistle. But he paints a picture of a king cornered as if by a pack of dogs with barely enough time to scribble his name on a note demanding emergency aid. Such a conception is surely wide of the mark. In the first place nothing in the Karnak or Memphis accounts suggests such dire straits for Amenophis.<sup>205</sup> Secondly, not the king himself but, the king's scribes would have copied and dispatched the letters; if they had enough time for such correspondence at all, why would they be pressed to omit the king's title? Thirdly, if we suppose for a moment along with Malamat that Amenophis were in such a precarious situation, would this not be precisely the time to *emphasize*

<sup>204</sup> In the Amarna letters the Egyptian kings refer to themselves and are addressed (by other kings and vassals alike) by their throne names, cf. EA 1-3 to name but a few examples, Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 60-71; Mercer, *Tell El-Amarna Tablets* 1, 2-13.

<sup>205</sup> However, it might of course be argued that such adverse events would be omitted from these propagandistic accounts.

one's rank and superiority, in order to obtain the much-needed troops and aid as fast as possible? Would such an "anonymous" royal letter obtain as fast a response as one which clearly stressed the superior status of the Egyptian king? And finally, although the period under discussion did see an increase in religious cults of foreign deities in Egypt, might we not ask why an Egyptian pharaoh would commence his correspondence with "May the storm god (Baal) protect your life"?

Malamat's explanation cannot be accepted. Malamat himself must have seen the difficulties of his position for in a footnote he tenders an alternate suggestion, namely a reassignment of the Taanach letters to Amenophis' Takhsy campaign of year 3.<sup>206</sup> In this case, according to Malamat, the king's untitled name may refer to the period before his accession, that is, the period of his coregency with Tuthmosis III. Appealing as this suggestion might seem, problems arise here too which are similar to those associated with a year 9 designation. A king's son in similar circumstances (i.e. Amenophis II, son of Tuthmosis III) would most likely emphasize his position no less than would a king. Whether Amenophis was coregent with his father at the time of the Taanach letters is irrelevant to the absence of royal designation in the text. What is relevant is whether Amenophis' accession itself - in either capacity, as coregent or sole ruler - had already taken place by the time the two epistles were drafted, for "Kingship in Egypt, once granted, was complete and absolute..."<sup>207</sup> One need only observe the royal titulary on all the pertinent texts to see that Amenophis' three military campaigns were all mounted certainly after his accession (as coregent at least, if not as sole king). Thus Malamat's second solution solves the problem no more convincingly than his first.

Nor can we accept Rainey's view, for it is based on the same unsubstantiated conjectures. According to Rainey, the letters are royal; since they are royal, they belong to Amenophis II; since they are of military import, they belong to either the year 3 or the year 9 campaign; and since year 9 is considered unlikely, year 3 is the only possible answer. But we have seen that the letters, which lack a royal titulary, simply cannot be taken as royal documents. Neither, then, can they be placed with certainty in Amenophis II's reign. Why not in the reign of Amenophis I, III or even IV for that matter? And to go one step further to conjecture C), what evidence do we have to define the two texts as military? The Egyptians were a dominating force in Syria-Palestine for some two centuries. Within that time all manner of economic and other civil transactions must have taken

<sup>206</sup> Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 227 n. 31.

<sup>207</sup> Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago 1977, 244.

place. In letter no. 5, is it certain that the request for a labor force was not being issued for some construction work? Or in the case of letter no. 6, how can we determine if some Egyptian delegates were not simply passing through the region on some official (or private?) affair? At the very least, we have little grounds for placing the two letters within a specific royal military campaign.

Let us leave all this aside for the moment and examine Rainey's point. He asserts that, since there is no mention in the Karnak and Memphis year 9 account of either contact with Taanach itself or punishment of its delinquent chief, such events cannot have occurred in this campaign. In other words, Rainey assumes Amenophis' military inscriptions to be complete records; what is not written did not take place. But this study has repeatedly discussed the selected excerpts which make up the military documents of the New Kingdom (see Chapter I). One need only examine the sparse and intermittent dates given in the Karnak stela to see that it is clearly an incomplete record. Further parallels are provided by the Annals of Tuthmosis III.<sup>208</sup> Therefore, events may by all means have been omitted from the account of the campaign of year 9. Ignoring the selective nature of the texts, however, Rainey contradicts his argument with his own logic. We must assume, according to him, that the Taanach correspondence belongs in year 3 because it is not described in year 9. But neither is there mention of Taanach in year 3; indeed nothing is mentioned in the Amada and Elephantine texts but Takhsy itself.

Can we conclude anything from the Taanach letters? Unfortunately, the data is simply too fragmentary. We are thrown back upon our first and only two facts: the letters came from an Amenhotpe to Talwishar, and belong somewhere in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The names themselves help us but little. Even the reading given here of the Taanach prince's name is not universally accepted,<sup>209</sup> and as for the Egyptian *Jmn-htp*, the name was naturally one of the most common throughout the Dynasty. It is entirely possible that we have here an Amenhotpe who is completely unknown from other sources.

The only logical conjecture to be made here is that Talwishar and his superior Amenhotpe knew each other, or of each other so well, that no identifying titles or other designations were necessary. One thus gains the impression that Amenhotpe may have spent a large amount of time in

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<sup>208</sup> *Urk.* IV, 647ff.

<sup>209</sup> Compare the various forms: Albright, *BASOR* 94, 16, n. 20; idem, *ZAS* 62, 63; Malamat, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 220 and n. 7; Rainey, *Eretz Israel* 15, 63\*.

Palestine, whatever his actual position was (perhaps *rabisu?*). Even this modest conjecture precludes an equation of Amenhotpe with any king, for what pharaoh would be so personally acquainted with a local prince as to forego his royal titulary?<sup>210</sup>

**B.) A Fragmentary Inscription from Galilee.** Some writers have attempted to align another inscription, this time from Khirbet el-<sup>c</sup>Oreimeh, ancient Chinnereth, with the campaigns of Amenophis II. The piece is a mere fragment, 27 cm. x 18 cm., broken in antiquity and used as a door socket.<sup>211</sup>

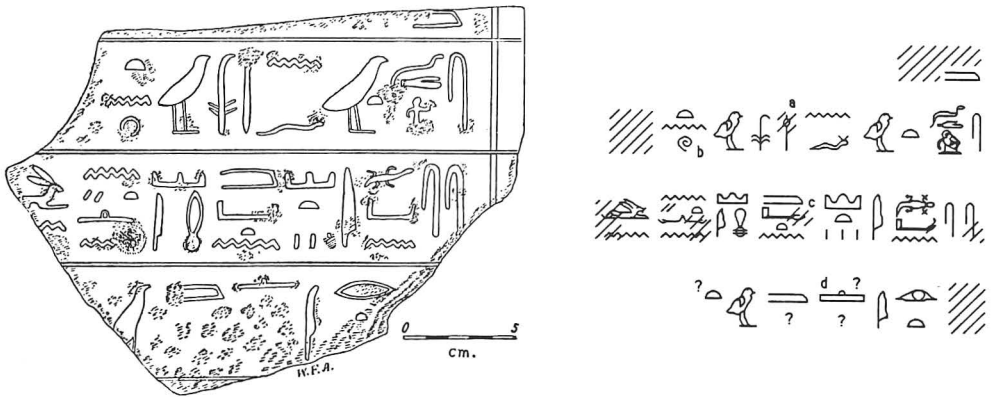






FIG. 23. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM GALILEE; DRAWING BY ALBRIGHT, FROM ALBRIGHT AND ROWE, *JEA* 14, 281, FIG. 1.

- a) Or perhaps  ? Cf. Albright and Rowe, *JEA* 14, 282 n. 1.  
 b) Or perhaps a circular sign?  
 c) It is unclear which hand sign is used; both  and  are attested for Mitanni, cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 173\*, and Albright and Rowe, *JEA* 14, 282.  
 d) Or possibly  ?

<sup>210</sup> One might argue that the Egyptian princes often grew up at court in the company of foreign royal children with some of whom they no doubt became well-acquainted, cf. Albright, *BASOR* 94, 17, n. 20. But such a "friendship" would not warrant dispensing with royal formality; even Amenophis' colloquially written letter to Usersatet, who enjoyed an upbringing alongside the king, retains all the standard royal formulae (see Chapter III Part II (Usersatet), and fig. 37).

<sup>211</sup> W.F. Albright and A. Rowe, the original editors of the fragment, contend that it belonged in Chinnereth and was not transported from another site, "A Royal Stele of the New Empire from Galilee," *JEA* 14, 1928, 281, from which the drawing in fig. 23 is taken, and pl. 29, 2; cf. also *Urk.* IV, 1347.10-15.

- 2 The royal decree was reported to him...<sup>212</sup>  
 3 its...<sup>213</sup> (when?) I repressed<sup>214</sup> the foreign lands<sup>215</sup> of Mitanni like that  
 4 which had never been...  
 ...that which I have done...

The second line led the original editors to date the text to the reign of Tuthmosis III, after his eighth campaign:

The expression...belongs to the early stage of hostile relations between Egypt and Mitanni, before the victories which were claimed by Amenophis II. A later date is hardly possible, since a vague claim of supremacy is all that we find in inscriptions of Amenophis III, the ally of Mitanni. A still later date is absolutely impossible, unless we assume a deliberate copying from an older text. The language of our fragment does not exhibit any characteristically New Egyptian forms or spelling.<sup>216</sup>

Aharoni, on the other hand, assigns the Chinnereth piece to Amenophis II's campaign of year 9, since Tuthmosis III describes no conflict with that city in his Annals.<sup>217</sup> Aharoni prefers to read defeat into Amenophis' military exploits.<sup>218</sup> He counters the similar omission of any clash with Chinnereth in Amenophis' texts by suggesting that the king was defeated by Mitanni, and that this loss was then naturally censored from the Karnak and Memphis stelae. In this connection, Aharoni notes that the winter season of the ninth year campaign was:

<sup>212</sup> A confused grouping for *wj nswt*? On the variant spellings of this term cf. H.G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part I *Reversals*, Egyptian Studies II, New York 1977, 57-61. An alternative translation, as pointed out by W.J. Murnane, might take *sw* as a pronoun, hence *wj sw tnw*... "It was commanded at each...?"

<sup>213</sup> Albright and Rowe restore a *t* here, hence *st sꜥsꜥ.n=j*..., *JEA* 14, 282.

<sup>214</sup> This meaning of *sꜥsꜥ*, rather than "to police, guard" (Faulkner *CDME*, 215) is the only one which fits our context; cf. *Wb.* IV, 55.11-12, and Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 92\*-93\*.

<sup>215</sup> Or possibly *ḥꜣstyw* "foreigners," Albright and Rowe, *JEA* 14, 282 n. 2.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>217</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 155-56.

<sup>218</sup> Compare, for example, Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, maps 35-36.

an unusual time for executing a military operation, and indicates that this was mainly a defensive manoeuvre aimed at repelling a serious threat posed against Egyptian supremacy in Canaan.<sup>219</sup>

This argument from the silence of the respective military texts is inconsistent in rejecting Tuthmosis yet confirming Amenophis as the king of the Chinnereth fragment. And once again we must bear in mind the selective nature of Egyptian annalistic texts. Furthermore, as Aharoni himself admits, Chinnereth is indeed mentioned in Tuthmosis' topographical list (no. 34), even if it does not occur in his Annals.<sup>220</sup> The tendency to force all manner of data into a coherent, yet unsubstantiated picture is a dangerous one, especially when applied to inscriptions as fragmentary as the Chinnereth block. To reconstruct military defeat from three broken lines of hieroglyphs and an unusual winter season campaign date involves too much speculation. In addition, a simple explanation already mentioned above in Part II might clarify the seasonally late campaign date, namely that Amenophis knew all along his year 9 expedition would remain a short one with none of the more comprehensive ambitions of two years earlier. As for the Chinnereth fragment itself, the possibility remains that the text might even represent a private monument, and not a royal stela at all. This particular *wꜥ nswt*, if indeed that is the correct reading, might be recorded here in the private votive stela of some Egyptian official as testimony to his deep involvement in or exemplary execution of pharaoh's affairs. But concrete evidence linking these three lines with a specific campaign of our king is not yet available.

**C.) Amenophis II and the South.** Only the briefest of references to Kush and, to the southeast, the land of Punt, inform us of Egypt's southern expeditions under Amenophis II. The most specific mention of the king's campaigning in Nubia comes from shrine no. 4 at Ibrim, which belongs to Amenophis' Nubian viceroy, Usersatet. On the south wall of the shrine appears a figure of the king seated on a dais within a kiosk and attended by various retainers.<sup>221</sup> He surveys the presentation of Nubian tribute, and the accompanying inscription reports that the scene takes place in Thebes. We quote here the appropriate passages:

<sup>219</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 156.

<sup>220</sup> Simons, *Handbook*, 111, no. 34.

<sup>221</sup> R.A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, London 1968, 67ff., pls. 28, 30-32.

...glorious arising of his Majesty in the interior of (2) Thebes upon the great Throne-platform, in order to proclaim wonders for his army, [victorious?] and steady in the fray. The expedition...every(?)...that stood in the presence of his Majesty and brought the tribute (3) of the southern foreign lands in front of this perfect god, while the courtiers gave praise and this army revered his Majesty. They said: Your might is great, O' perfect god, rich in monuments, abundant in wonders; this tribute is larger than (that of) the Lowlands; (4) this has not been seen since (the time of) the ancestors: those who were aforetime did not effect it, but our lord has brought it about.<sup>222</sup> (A list of those bearing tribute follows.)

It is clear that the text records a successful military campaign and not merely the delivery of regularly exacted taxes or produce. Indeed, the list of tribute bearers includes "those who were carrying chariots, 50 men" (lines 5-6), so even part of the spoils of battle seem to be accounted for. At the very least, one should note that chariots rarely appear in the tribute procession from Nubia.<sup>223</sup> Below the inscription just quoted, an additional, though badly damaged, text continues the military tone with references to the "southern foreign lands," and the "mighty arm" (presumably of the king).<sup>224</sup> The many references, then, to the army, an expedition (*wdyt*) and the power of his Majesty leave little doubt that Amenophis was at some point active in the south. His personal letter to Usersatet, dated to year 23, betrays both a disdain and an almost superstitious distrust of the Nubians (see below, Chapter III).<sup>225</sup> Unfortunately, no dates survive which we might coordinate with Asiatic campaigns of the early part of the reign. Hence no conclusions may be drawn on the order in which Amenophis dealt with the various northern and southern adversaries bordering on his country.

Several of Usersatet's officials are in turn attested in the region of the First Cataract and elsewhere. Two of his deputies (*jdhw*) were named *Sn-nfr* and *Mh*, but his charioteer's (*kghw*) name is lost.<sup>226</sup> More interesting, however, is a second "overseer of southern foreign lands," (*P3*)-*hq3-m-*

<sup>222</sup> After Caminos, *Ibid.*, 67-68. See also *Urk.* IV, 1345.9-18 (less accurate copy); T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, Lund 1941, 206-207.

<sup>223</sup> See Caminos' discussion, where only one other possible example is mentioned (from the Theban tomb of Huy, TT 40), *Ibrim*, 68 and n. 3.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-70, pl. 32.

<sup>225</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1344.11-20.

<sup>226</sup> On *Sn-nfr* see L. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan," *Kush* 5, 1957, 18, fig. 2 inscr. 5, p. 22 and R.A. Caminos and T.G.H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, London, 1963, 33; for *Mh* Habachi, *Kush* 5, 21 fig. 6 inscr. 11; for the charioteer, p. 18 fig. 3 inscr. 6.

ḥꜣ=sn, whose monuments were gathered by Dewachter.<sup>227</sup> His double stela from Tombos depicts him adoring the cartouche of Amenophis II (ḥꜣ-ḥꜣprw-rꜥ).<sup>228</sup> Dewachter suggests a special interest in the region might account for two contemporary overseers, i.e. both Usersatet and Heqaemsasen; unfortunately, nothing can be gleaned on the precise relationship between the two men.<sup>229</sup> Other relevant archaeological material includes an additional statue of Hekaemsasen and a fragment of a sphinx of Amenophis II, both of which were discovered by Reisner at Gebel Barkal.<sup>230</sup>

Two references help to pinpoint Egypt's southern boundary at Napata on the Fourth Cataract.<sup>231</sup> The first comes from the Amada and Elephantine stelae, discussed above in Part I, in which one of the seven unfortunate chiefs of Takhsy is singled out to hang upon the gate of Napata rather than that of Thebes (*Urk.* IV, 1297.13-16). This is the earliest occurrence of *Npt* in Egyptian texts.<sup>232</sup> The second reference might also indicate a formal Egyptian presence so far south. The Tura inscription of Minmose, also mentioned in Part I and dated to year 4 of Amenophis II, states that Minmose erected stelae for his Majesty in the foreign lands of Naharin and *Ary*, or Karoy, another name for Napata.<sup>233</sup> However, we have already quoted Gardiner's view that the passage refers to Tuthmosis III's reign.<sup>234</sup> Gardiner's contention seems to be the only plausible explanation for the chronological chaos between Amenophis' years 3 and 7-9 dates, and

<sup>227</sup> M. Dewachter, "Un fonctionnaire préposé aux marches méridionales à l'époque d'Amenophis II: (Pa)-Heka-emsasen," *CRIPPEL* 4, 1976, 55-57.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 with n. 19, where Dewachter suggests that Heqaemsasen may have served as a sort of frontier deputy to Usersatet, who was of course ultimately responsible for the affairs of the region. For a new interpretation comparing the Egyptian administration of Nubia to that of Western Asia, see S. Israelit-Groll, "The Egyptian Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty," in M. Görg, ed., *Fontes Atque Fontes* (Fs. H. Brunner), *ÄAT* 5, Wiesbaden 1983, 234-42.

<sup>230</sup> Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," *JEA* 6, 1920, 74 no. IV, 75; D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples*, Boston 1970, 28 no. 9, 30 fig. 24 and pl. 27d-f; Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal," *ZÄS* 66, 1931, 81 no. 19. For the sphinx of Amenophis II cf. Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 25 no. 3, 26 fig. 18, 50 no. 13; Reisner, *ZÄS* 66, 81 no. 4.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. Hayes, *Scepter* II, 141; Simons, *Handbook*, 44; O'Connor in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 258.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. S. Wenig, "Napata," in *LÄ* IV, 343.

<sup>233</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1448.13; note that Breasted's restoration of the name is "Minhotep" rather than "Minmose," *ARE* II, 315 S 800; "Minhotep" also appears in Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 156. On Karoy, cf. Wenig, in *LÄ* IV, 342-44; Breasted, *ARE* II, 421 S 1020; H. Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh* III, pl. before p. 95, and our following note below.

<sup>234</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* I, 150\*-51\*, and 176\*.

Minmose's year 4 stela. Perhaps the Naharin-Karoy reference should not be taken too seriously; some scholars view it as a stock phrase (roughly meaning something like "the ends of the earth"), devoid of historical value.<sup>235</sup> But in this writer's view, the architectural context here lends more historical weight to the passage than would, for example, a military boast of conquest from Karoy to Naharin; thus we include it here in the event that alternative explanations may yet link the text with Amenophis II rather than Tuthmosis III.

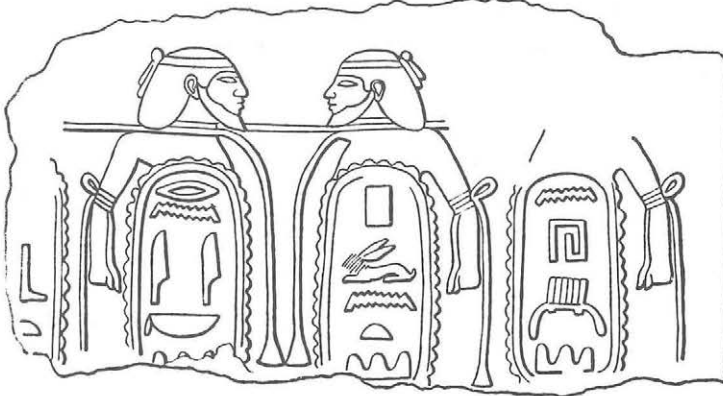


FIG. 24. BLOCK FROM TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST NAMING THE LAND OF PUNT, REUSED OUTSIDE THE LUXOR TEMPLE PRECINCT; FROM FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37, 51, FIG. 9.

More information on our king's southern activities is at present unavailable. We can therefore draw few conclusions on the nature and motivation of the Egyptian presence in Nubia under Amenophis II. It is a fairly secure assumption, however, that economic motives, principally access to the south's unique trade products, played a primary role in shaping at least this one side of Egyptian foreign policy in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>236</sup> On Amenophis' building activity, see Appendix III.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 176\*. Against this view, and in favor of taking the mention of Karoy seriously, see our Chapter III Part II below (section on Minmose); Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 156, where any evidence for Amenophis II's penetration further south than Napata is convincingly discarded. For more on Karoy, see J. Leclant and J. Yoyotte, "Les obélisques de Tanis III," *Kemi* 14, 1957, 72 n. a, and K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*, TAVO Reihe B 1, Wiesbaden 1972, 162-63.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. O'Connor in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt; A Social History*, 258; B.J. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575-1087 B.C.)," in P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, eds., *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978, 19, 28. On the character of Egyptian imperialism vis à vis Nubia in general, see Frandsen, in *Power and Propaganda*, esp. 168-74.

<sup>237</sup> On the economic significance of Egyptian temples and temple towns in Nubia, cf. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire," 31-33; and Frandsen, in *Power and Propaganda*, 172-74, and 176-77.

If the evidence for Amenophis' affairs in Nubia is meager, that for the land of Punt is even more elusive. Only two references to Punt are currently known to this writer, and neither occurs in a context which unquestionably dates to our king's reign. The first appears on a block inscribed with foreign people and place names found in the region of Luxor temple.<sup>238</sup> The name is surrounded by the characteristic ring and surmounted by the figure of a bound, bearded semitic-looking prisoner (fig. 24). Since no additional context is available, and even the date of the fragment has recently been disputed (see below, Appendix II), we proceed no further here than to cite the fragment.

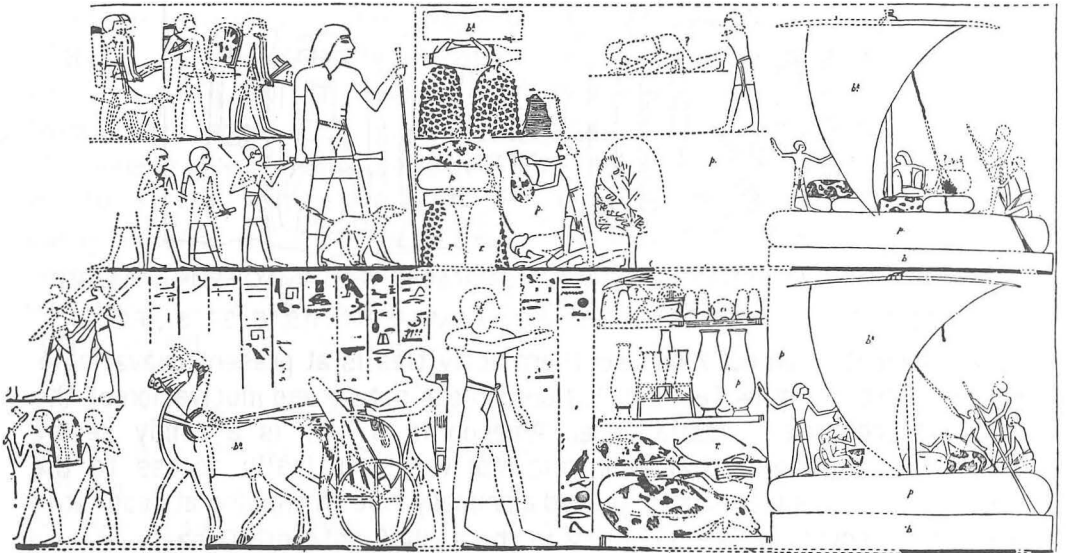


FIG. 25. EXPEDITION TO THE LAND OF PUNT; FROM THEBAN TOMB 143; DRAWING BY DAVIES, *BMMA* NOV. 1935, SECTION II, 48, FIG. 3, AND IN SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *THE NAVY*, 24, FIG. 6.

The second reference is hardly more informative. Theban tomb 143, whose unknown owner is thought to have lived under Amenophis II, contains scenes from a Puntite expedition.<sup>239</sup> Two oddly shaped craft presumably transport goods from Punt to the Egyptian coast (fig. 25). Once again, however, we

<sup>238</sup> A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor," *ASAE* 37, 1937, 51, fig. 9, no. 1.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy*, 22-25, figs. 5-6; N. de G. Davies, "The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition," *BMMA* Nov. 1935, Section II, 46-49.

may draw few conclusions. If both the tomb scene and the Luxor fragment do actually date to Amenophis II's reign, then the most we may assume is that contact with Punt continued apace during his reign.



## CHAPTER III

### THE ADMINISTRATION UNDER AMENOPHIS II

Although numerous officials are known from the reign of Amenophis II, the ambitions and accomplishments, allies and enemies of even the most famous among them are at best obscure. Furthermore, the same names occur over and over, thus it is often difficult to determine precisely which individuals are mentioned in which contexts.

This chapter attempts to organize the administrators under Amenophis II with a brief checklist arranged according to the institutions which they served. It is certainly not complete, and should be consulted as a starting point, rather than an exhaustive treatise. The small number of officials listed in Section IV on the Theban Administration, for example, can by no means reflect the actual situation in that ancient metropolis. Part I lists the officials grouped into such categories as the Military, Theban Administration, Priesthood, and so on. Such a division is of course somewhat artificial, given that the Egyptians most likely did not conceive of their administrative apparatus as isolated groups of individuals without overlapping responsibilities. A quick glance at all the overlapping titles listed below confirms this point. Others would doubtless choose different systems of categorization,<sup>1</sup> but it is hoped that officials have been grouped corresponding to their primary responsibilities. Within each category the names are listed alphabetically. Some cross-referencing is supplied but a balance has been sought between thorough organization and endless redundancy. At the end of each institutional category is a chart of the officials in question which is intended to provide a quick overview as well as indicate some hierarchical relationships where possible. Here again, however, the system of organization is experimental, and there will doubtless be additions, for which some free space has deliberately been left.

As indicated on the sample entry below, each individual is listed with name in transliteration, service titles only (honorary titles and epithets are omitted) and most basic references. Since the tenure of many officials is

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<sup>1</sup> See for example D. O'Connor's chart in B.G. Trigger et. al., *Ancient Egypt; A Social History*, Cambridge 1983, 208.

obscure, and several reigns are often involved, references to reign (Temp.) are added wherever possible. There is no extensive commentary on spouses and family trees; in many cases the reader will find these dealt with in other publications.<sup>2</sup>

Part II of this chapter takes a closer look, almost in outline form, at some of the major officials of Amenophis II. Unfortunately, the importance of the official in question often fails to correspond to the amount of our information about him. However, pertinent historical/biographical texts are included in the hope of offsetting part of the wooden effect which dominates such catalogues of individuals. Finally, Part III will briefly summarize some patterns and policies of Amenophis II regarding his administrators.

### Part I: Catalogue of Officials of Amenophis II

#### List of Institutions by order of presentation

- I. The Vizierate
- II. The Priesthood
- III. Local Administration
- IV. Theban Administration
- V. The Military
- VI. The Treasury
- VII. The Estate and Person of the King
- VIII. Construction and Architecture
- IX. The Mortuary Temples
- X. The Gold-Working Industry
- XI. The Granary
- XII. Miscellaneous

#### Sample entry:

Personal name

Title(s): major title(s) in translation only

List of service titles in:

---

<sup>2</sup> More complete lists of families may be found for certain officials in W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, PöA 3, Leiden - Cologne 1958, 433-533 (chapter 23).

Selected bibliography

Temp.: date by reign

Occasional comments

## I. The Vizierate

### I.1. *Jmn-m-jpt* called *P3-jry*

Title(s): Overseer of the city; vizier.

<i>jmy-r j3t [hntt]</i>	overseer of foremost offices
<i>jmy-r njwt, t3ty</i>	overseer of the city, vizier
<i>hm-ntr m3ct</i>	priest of Maat
<i>hry s3t3 n jmy-wrt</i>	master of secrets of the west
<i>hry-tp n t3 r dr=f</i>	chief of the entire land
<i>hrp 3ndyt nb</i>	controller of all kilts
<i>s3h nswt</i>	king's dignitary
<i>s(t)m</i>	se(te)m-priest
<i>sdm hwwt wrwt 6</i>	who hears in the six great houses

**Bibl.** TT 29; *PM* I, i, 45-46; P. Newberry, *PSBA* 22, 1900, 60; N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, London 1913, pl. 43 (= *Urk.* IV, 1439); also owner of tomb 48 in Valley of Kings; *PM* I, ii, 565; *Urk.* IV, 1438-40; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 297-98, 439-40.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

For further discussion, including remarks on Amenemopet's predecessor, Rekhmire, see below, Part II.

### I.2. *Rh-mj-r3*

Title(s): Vizier.

<i>jmy-r j3wt hntt</i>	overseer of foremost offices
<i>jmy-r jmyw-r pr</i>	overseer of stewards
<i>jmy-r pr n [Jmn]</i>	steward of [Amen]
<i>jmy-r pr nswt (?)</i>	steward(?) of the palace (Davies, p. 98, title no. 18)
<i>jmy-r pr(wy) nbw</i>	overseer of the double gold treasuries

*jmy-r pr(wy) ḥd*

overseer of the double silver  
treasuries

*jmy-r njwt*

overseer of the city

*jmy-r ḥwwt wrt 6*

overseer of the six great houses

*jmy-r ḥmwt*

overseer of crafts

*jmy-r ḥmwt nbt nt Jmn*

overseer of all crafts of Amen

*jmy-r sšw*

overseer of archives

*jmy-r šn<sup>c</sup> n [Jmn]*

overseer of the

*jmy-r kšwt*

storehouse/workshop of Amen

*jmy-r kšwt nbt nt [Jmn]*

overseer of construction works

overseer of all construction works  
of Amen

*ḥd-mr spwt*

administrator of the nomes

*wr mšw m pr wr*

greatest of seers in the great  
house

*ḥm-ntr mš<sup>c</sup>t*

priest of Maat

*ḥry sštš*

master of secrets

*ḥry sštš n pr nswt*

master of secrets of the palace

*ḥrp wḥw...*

controller of altars...

*ḥrp šngyt nbt*

controller of all kilts

*ḥrp kšwt nbt m jpt swt*

controller of all construction  
works in Karnak

*sšb*

judge

*s(t)m*

setem-priest

*s(t)m n pr nsr*

setem-priest in the *pr nsr*

*sš n ḥtpw-ntr tpy n Jmn*

chief scribe of divine offerings of  
Amen

*sšm ḥš? nb? n nswt*

director of every hall(?) of the  
king

*tšyty*

he of the curtain

*tšty*

vizier

*tšty n njwt rsy*

vizier of the southern city

*tšty n bnw*

vizier of the residence

**Bibl.** TT 100; *PM* I, i, 206-14; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re<sup>c</sup> at Thebes*, New York 1943, esp. 63-66; idem, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re<sup>c</sup> at Thebes*, New York 1935; *Urk.* IV, 1071-1175; esp. 1159-60; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 293-96, 437-38.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

South	North
Rb-mj-r <sup>c</sup>	Nfr-wbn / Pth-ms
↓	
Jmn-m-jpt	

FIG. 26. SECTION I: THE VIZIERATE.

## II. The Priesthood

### II.1. *Jmw-nfr*

Title(s): High priest of Thoth, mayor of Hermopolis ---> III Local Administration, no. 1.

### II.2. *Jpw*

Title(s): First king's son of Amen; first king's son; bearer before Amen.

*s3 nswt tpy, rmn m h3t [Jmn]*

*s3 nswt tpy n [Jmn]*

**Bibl.** Kees, *ZAS* 85, 1960, 46; Schmitz, *Königsson*, 278 and n. 5; *Urk.* IV, 1951.7, 1952.3.

**Temp.** Amenophis II - Tuthmosis IV.

### II.3. *Jmn-m-h3t*

Title(s): High Priest of Amen.

*jmy-r pr n pr Jmn*

*jmy-r pr(wy) nbw*

*jmy-r pr(wy) hg*

*jmy-r hmw-ntr nw Sm<sup>c</sup>w, Mhw*

*jry-p<sup>c</sup>t hg n Gb*

steward of the house of Amen

overseer of the double gold treasury

overseer of the double silver treasury

overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt

hereditary prince of the white

*jt ntr*  
*jt ntr tpy n Jmn*  
*r hry tpy m jpt swt*  
*hm-ntr tpy n Jmn*  
*hry sst3 m jpt swt*  
*hry-tp t3 r dr=f*  
*hrp nsty m jrty n nswt*

chapel of Geb  
 god's father  
 first god's father of Amen  
 first chief mouth in Karnak  
 high priest of Amen  
 master of secrets in Karnak  
 chief of the entire land  
 controller of the two thrones in  
 the eyes of the king

**Bibl.** TT 97; *PM* I, i, 203-204; A.H. Gardiner, *ZAS* 47, 1910, 87-99; Gebel Silsileh shrine no. 25, R. Caminos and T.G.H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, London 1963, 79-85, pls. 61-66; *Urk.* IV, 1408-1414; Hermann, *Stelen*, 27\*-29\*; Kees, *Priestertum*, 17-18, Nachtrag 17; Bryan *Tuthmosis IV*, 336-37.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?).

#### II.4. *Jmn-htp*

Title(s): Overseer of priests of Onuris; mayor of This ---> III Local Administration, no. 2.

#### II.5. *Jmn-htp* called *Hpw*

Title(s): First king's son of Nekhbet.

*jmy-r? ss mdt ntr?*

overseer of scribes of the god's  
 word?

*jmy-st-c hr s3 nb*  
*hm-k3 n nswt c3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>*  
*hm-k3 n nswt dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*  
*hm-k3 n hmt nswt J<sup>c</sup>hms*  
*hm-k3 n hmt-ntr J<sup>c</sup>hms Nfrtry*

assistant for every phyle  
 ka priest of king Amenophis II  
 ka priest of king Amenophis I  
 ka priest of the royal wife Ahmose  
 ka priest of the god's wife  
 Ahmose-Nofretari

*bry-hb c<sup>q</sup> c3 n st wrt n Nht*

great lector priest who enters the  
 great place of Nekhbet

For other titles, see the reference  
 to Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* below.

**Bibl.** El Kab tomb no. 2; Kees, *ZAS* 85, 1960, 47 Nr. 5; idem, *Priestertum*, 49-50; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, pl. 43 a-b, Text IV, 46-47.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### II.6. *Pn-jn-hrt*

Title(s): Second Priest of Onuris.

<i>jmy-r 3hwt n ntrw nbw T3-wr</i>	overseer of fields of all the gods of Thinis
<i>jmy-r pr</i>	steward
<i>jmy-r šnwty</i>	overseer of the double granary
<i>hm-ntr snw Jn-hrt</i>	second priest of Onuris
<i>sš</i>	scribe

**Bibl.** Abydos statue Cairo 711, *Urk.* IV, 1496-97.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

N.B. For an Amenhotep, or Mayro, chief priest of Onuris, and possible owner of TT A.19, see C.C. Van Siclen III, *NARCE* 91, Fall 1974, 35.

### 11.7. *Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb*

Title(s): High priest of Amen.

<i>jmy-r j3t...</i>	overseer of the office(s) of...( <i>hntt</i> ? cf. <i>Urk.</i> IV, 927.4)
<i>jmy-r pr(wy) nbw</i>	overseer of the double gold treasury
<i>jmy-r pr(wy) hd</i>	overseer of the double silver treasury
<i>jmy-r mrt(?) nswt bjt</i>	overseer of weavers(?) of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (cf. Davies, <i>Menkheperasonb</i> , 14 n. 1)
<i>jmy-r hmw-ntr nw Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mhw</i>	overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>jmy-r šnwty [n Jmn]</i>	overseer of the double granary of Amen
<i>jmy-r k3wt m ts-h<sup>c</sup>-Jmn</i>	overseer of construction works in Tjes-kha-Amen
<i>hm-ntr tpy n Jmn</i>	High priest of Amen
<i>hry sšt3 n nbty</i>	master of secrets of the two ladies
<i>hry-tp jmyw-r hmwt</i>	chief of overseers of craftsmen
<i>hry-tp 3 m pr nswt</i>	great chief in the palace
<i>[hrp] nsty ntr</i>	[controller] of the god's two thrones

**Bibl.** TT 86 and 112; *PM* I, 1, 157-59, 229-30; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another*, London 1933, 1-26; *Urk.* IV,

926-36; S. Farid, *ASAE* 58, 1964, 98, pl. 14; Kees, *Priestertum*, 121, 299; G. Lefèbvre, *Grands prêtres*, 82-89.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

Although Menkheperasonb served under Tuthmosis III, his statues show that he survived into the reign of Amenophis II; see Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 15; *Urk.* IV, 936.

### II.8. *Mnw*

Title(s): Mayor of This, overseer of priests of Onuris---> III Local Administration, no. 7.

### II.9. *Mnw-ms*

Title(s): Overseer of construction works in the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt---> VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 3.

### II.10. *Mnw-ms*

Title(s): High priest of Onuris.

*hm-ntr tpy n Wsjr*

**Bibl.** Appears on back of British Museum triple statue 2300, belonging to his father, the architect Minmose (see VIII Construction and Architecture); H. De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 315-19, pls. 50-51.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?) (since his father Minmose served most of his career under Tuthmosis III).

### II.11. *Mry*

Title(s): High priest of Amen.

*jmy-r 3hwt n Jmn*

overseer of the fields of Amen

*jmy-r jhw n Jmn*

overseer of cattle of Amen

*jmy-r pr Jmn*

overseer of the house of Amen

*jmy-r pr(wy) nbw*

overseer of the double gold treasury

*jmy-r pr(wy) hꜣ*

overseer of the double silver treasury

*jmy-r hmw-ntr nw Šmꜥ, Mhw*

overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt

*jmy-r šnwty n Jmn*

Overseer of the double granary of Amen

*jt ntr n st wrt*

god's father of the great throne

*hm-ntr tpy n Jmn*

high priest of Amen

*hry-tp, jmy-r Šmꜥw*

chief, overseer of Upper Egypt

**Bibl.** TT 95; *PM* I, i, 195-97; usurped TT 84; *PM* I, i, 167-70; *Urk.* IV, 1414-15; Kees, *Priestertum*, 16ff., 52, 62, 77.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

A certain Djehuty, overseer of the house of Mery, and scribe of the offering table, served as Mery's retainer; see TT 45, *PM* I, i, 85-86. On Mery's usurpation of TT 84, see N.M. and N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 27, 1941, 96, n. 2. Although the succession of Menkheperassoneb, Mery and Amenemhat remains unclear, Mery seems to have been the most important high priest under Amenophis II. He may also have been a foster brother of the king, along with Qenamun and Kaemheryibsen; see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 297.

### II.12. *Mh (Mꜥh)*

Title(s): Second priest of Amen.

*hm-nꜥr snw n Jmn.*

**Bibl.** Represented in TT 88 of Pesukher (see V the Military, no. 4) where he offers a bouquet; *PM* I, i, 180 (6); *Urk.* IV, 1460.20; Kees, *Priestertum*, 20 and n. 2, 317.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

### II.13. *Nb-wꜥwy*

Title(s): High priest of Osiris.

*jmy-r pr n Wsjr*

steward of Osiris

*hm-nꜥr n hqt*

priest of Heqet

*hm-nꜥr tpy n Wsjr*

high priest of Osiris

**Bibl.** Stelae from Abydos: *Urk.* IV, 1494-96.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

### II.14. *Nfr-htp*

Title(s): Fourth priest of Amen.

*hm-nꜥr 4nw n Jmn (with variant**jt nꜥr ? 4nw n Jmn)*

**Bibl.** Kees, *Priestertum*, 320. Cf. *PM* I, i, 235 (possibly the father of Amenemhat, owner of TT 122?).

**Temp.** Amenophis II (according to Kees).

**II.15. *Sny-nfr***

Title(s): Overseer of the royal apartments ---> VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 16.

**II.16. *Sr-[Jmn]***

Title(s): High priest of Haroeris and of Sobek, lord of Ombos.

*hm-ntr tpy n Hr wr, n sbk nb nbwyt*

**Bibl.** Represented in Silsileh shrine no. 11, Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 32 and pl. 23.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since the viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, appears in this shrine).

**II.17. *K3-m-hry-jb=sn***

Title(s): Third priest of Amen.

*hm-ntr 3nw n Jmn*

**Bibl.** TT 98; *PM* I, i, 204; A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 34, 1934, 83-86; *Urk.* IV, 1500-1 (from TT 98 and the tomb of his brother, Qenamun, TT 93); Kees, *Priestertum*, 16, 24, 46, 318.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

**II.18. *Dhwty-ms***

Title(s): Priest of Khnum.

*hm-ntr n Hnmw*

**Bibl.** Represented as someone's (perhaps Senynefer's?) brother in Silsileh shrine 11, Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 32 and pl. 23.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since the viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, appears in this shrine).

**II.19. Anonymous**

Title(s): High priest of Nekhbet.

*hm-ntr tpy n Njbt*

**Bibl.** Mentioned in Silsileh shrine 11 (text: *p3 n hm-ntr tpy n Njbt*, denoting the destroyed figure of the son), Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 32 and pl. 23..

**Temp.** Amenophis II (or perhaps earlier; the viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, appears in this shrine, hence the date).

Amen	Osiris	Haoeris	Nekhbet	Onuris	Toth	Mentu
Mry high pr.	Mnw-ms high pr.	Sr-[Jmn] high pr. of H. & of Sobek	anonymous high pr.		J3mw- nfr high pr.	
Jmn-m- h3t high pr.	Nb-w <sup>c</sup> wy high pr. of O., & of Heqet			Mnw O. of priests of O.; mayor of This		Mnw-ms . O. of priests of M.
Mn-bpr- r <sup>c</sup> -snb high pr.						
Jpw 1st king's son of A.			Jmn-htp called Hpw 1st king's son of N.			
Mh 2nd pr.				Pn-jn- hrt 2nd pr.		
K3-m- hrj-jb= sn 3rd pr.						
Nfr-htp 4th pr.						Khnum
Sny-nfr w <sup>c</sup> b- priest in 1st phyle						Dhwty- ms priest of K.

FIG. 27. SECTION II: THE PRIESTHOOD.

### III. Local Administration

#### III.1. *Jsmw-nfr*

Title(s): Mayor of Hermopolis (Nefrusy).

<i>jmy-r hmw-nfr</i>	overseer of priests
<i>w<sup>cb</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>cb</sup></i> -priest
<i>w<sup>cb</sup> [c3]</i>	great <i>w<sup>cb</sup></i> -priest
<i>wr 5 m pr 8</i>	great one of the five in the house of eight
<i>wr 5 m [pr] Dhwtj</i>	great one of the five in [the house of] Thoth
<i>h3ty-c</i>	mayor
<i>h3ty-c n Nfrwsy</i>	mayor of Hermopolis
<i>hm-nfr tpy n Dhwtj</i>	high priest of Thoth
<i>hry-tp c3 n wnt</i>	nomarch of the Hare nome
<i>sš htpw-nfr</i>	scribe of divine offerings
<i>[sš] n htpw-nfr n Dhwtj</i>	[scribe] of divine offerings of Thoth
<i>sš n htpw-nfr n Dhwtj nb Hmw</i>	scribe of divine offerings of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis

**Bibl.** Father of *Sw-m-njw*t, royal butler, owner of TT 92; *Urk.* IV, 1455; Kees, *Priestertum*, 53, Nachtrag 55.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

On Nefrusy, see Gardiner, *AEO* II, 83\*-84\*. On the mayor of the Fayum, Sobek-hotep, the administration of the region, and the relation of the governors to the royal residence there, cf. B. M. Bryan, "The Administration of the Fayum in the mid-18th Dynasty," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, 1981.

#### III.2. *Jmn-htp*

Title(s): Mayor of This, overseer of priests of Onuris.

<i>jmy-r hmw-nfr n Jn-ht</i>	overseer of priests of Onuris
<i>h3ty-c n Jny</i>	mayor of This

**Bibl.** TT A 19 (now lost), *PM* I, i, 453; C.C. Van Siclen, *Sarapis* 5, 1979, 17-20; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 221 n. 4.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### III.3. *Wsr-Stt*

Title(s): King's son; overseer of the southern foreign lands; child of the nursery.

*jmy-r pr m mryw Jtm(?)*

*jmy-r n mr-Jtm*

*jmy-r ḥꜣswt rsy(wt)*

*whm nswt*

*rꜣ ḥrj wr m tꜣr dr=f*

*ḥꜣwty*

*brd n kꜣp*

*sꜣ nswt*

*snnj*

steward in Meryu Atum (Medum)(?)

overseer of Mer Atum (Medum)

overseer of the southern foreign lands

royal herald

chief spokesman in the entire land

leader (Ibrim shrine 4)

child of the nursery

king's son

chariot soldier

**Bibl.** *Urk.* IV, 1343-46, 1484-90; W.K. Simpson, in *LA* VI, 901-903; D. Dunham and J.M.A. Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, Boston 1960, 17, 43-44, pls. 39c, 82 (cf. fig. 37 below); Helck, *JNES* 14, 1955, 22-31; idem, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KÄT, Wiesbaden 1975, 132 no. 139; idem, *Verwaltung*, 100; idem, *Das Bier im alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1971, 69; L. Habachi, *Kush* 5, 1957, 17-22; idem, *Kush* 7, 1959, esp. 61 n. 81; idem, *JARCE* 13, 1976, 113-16; Ch. Maystre, *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo 1935-38, 662ff.; E. Gáal, *Studia Aegyptiaca* II, 207-13; M. Dewachter, *CRIPPEL* 4, 1976, 55, 57; idem, *Archéologia* 72, July 1974, 54-58; C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, San Antonio 1982, 37 fig. 18, 47; J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 4, 1956-57, 72 no. 10; Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 7 n. 1, 30 n. 1, 33-34; Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, London 1968, 59-75; H. Gauthier, *Rec. Trav.* 39, 1921, 191-92; G. Reisner, *JEA* 6, 1920, 32(4); Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 1945, 27; Kees, *Priestertum*, Nachtrag 78.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

For a translation of the text from Usersatet's cenotaph at Qasr Ibrim, see Chapter II Part III C. For further discussion, see Part II of this chapter.

#### III.4. (*Pꜣ*)-ḥqꜣ-m-sꜣ=sn

Title(s): Overseer of the southern foreign lands.

*jmy-r rwy*

*jmy-r ḥꜣswt*

*jmy-r ḥꜣswt rsywt*

*tꜣj ḥw*

overseer of the portal

overseer of foreign lands

overseer of the southern foreign lands

fan-bearer

**Bibl.** Khartum statuette 1848, D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples*, Boston 1970, 28 no. 9, 30 fig. 24, pl. 27 d-f; Cairo group statue CG 989, L.

Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, Cairo 1934, 17; two funerary cones, Davies and Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford 1957, nos. 267, 324; Tombos stela, Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Text V, 244; M. Dewachter, *CRIPEL* 4, 1976, 55-60; Reisner, *JEA* 6, 1920, 74 (iv).

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

The Tombos stela shows a standing figure adoring a cartouche of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{-ḥprw-}^{\text{c}}$ . Paheqaemsasen's exact relationship to the viceroy Usersatet remains unclear, cf. Dewachter, *CRIPEL* 4, 57 and n. 19.

### III.5. *Prw-nfr*

Title(s): Mayor of Memphis.

$\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ṯy-}^{\text{c}}$  *Mn-nfr*

**Bibl.** Leiden Stela, P. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung...* VI, 3. Abteilung: *Stelen*, The Hague 1913, 2 no. 4, pl. 8.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?) (based mainly on the personal name).

### III.6. *Mꜣy*

Title(s): Overseer of the storehouse/workshop of Peru-nefer.

$\text{jmy-r ṣn}^{\text{c}}$  *n prw-nfr*

overseer of the  
storehouse/workshop of Peru-  
nefer

$\text{ḥry ṣn}^{\text{c}}$

chief of the storehouse/workshop

**Bibl.** Sakkara stela, CG 34050, *Urk.* IV, 1504-6; P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Cairo 1909, 86-90.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

### III.7. *Mnw*

Title(s): Mayor of This; overseer of priests of Onuris.

$\text{jmy-r n pr n Jn-ḥrt}$

steward of Onuris

$\text{jmy-r mš}^{\text{c}}$  *n jtrw jmnty*

general of the western river

$\text{jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr}$

overseer of priests

$\text{jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n Jn-ḥrt}$

overseer of priests of Onuris

$\text{jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n Wsjr}$

overseer of priests of Osiris

$\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ṯy-}^{\text{c}}$  *n Jny*

mayor of This

" $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ṯy p}^{\text{c}}\text{t}$ " *whṣt*

"mayor" of the oasis (Khargeh)

" $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ṯy-p}^{\text{c}}\text{t}$ " *n Jny*

"mayor" of This

$\text{ḥry-tp, jmy-r Ṣm}^{\text{c}}\text{w}$

chief, and overseer of Upper Egypt

$\text{ḥrp k}^{\text{c}}\text{ṯt ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{[t}^{\text{c}}\text{ m nšmt]}$

controller of [secret] works [in the

**Bibl.** TT 109; *PM* I, i, 226-27; Virey, *MMAF* V, 2, 362-70; *Urk.* IV, 976-82; Kees, *Priestertum*, 52-53, 322; B. Bryan, *JSSEA* 9, 1979, 119.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III.

Although Min served Tuthmosis III and not Amenophis II, one scene in his tomb shows him instructing the latter in archery prior to his accession (fig. 42). This is not the same Min from the Fayum who served as treasurer, see Helck *Verwaltung*, 352, nor is he the mayor of This who was doubtfully brother to Qenamun, *ibid.*, 221 n. 4, 366, 480; see also Van Siclen, *Sarapis* 5, 1979, 18.

### III.8. *Mh* (*Mch*)

Title(s): Adjutant of the king's son Usersatet.

*jdhw n sš nswt Wsr-stt*

**Bibl.** Gebel Tingar graffito, L. Habachi, *Kush* 5, 1957, 21 fig. 6 inscr. 11, pl. 6 and p. 22.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (through association with Usersatet).

### III.9. *Nb-sny*

Title(s): Steward(?) of Peru-nefer.

*[jmy-r?]pr n prw-nfr*

**Bibl.** Statuette from Thebes, *Urk.* IV, 1506.11-17; H. Gauthier, *BIFAO* 6, 1908, 140.

**Temp.** Probably Amenophis II (due to occurrence of name of Peru-nefer).

### III.10. *Sn-nfr*

Title(s): Adjutant of the king's son...Usersatet.

*jdhw n sš nswt jmy-r hšswt  
rsy [Wsr]-stt*

Adjutant of the king's son and  
overseer of the southern foreign  
lands Usersatet

**Bibl.** Sehel graffito, Habachi, *Kush* 5, 1957, 18 fig. 2 inscr. 5 and p. 22.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (through association with Usersatet).

There is no reason to identify this Sennefer with the Seny-nefer of Silsileh shrine 11, cf. Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, London 1963, 33.

Peru-nefer	Memphis	Medum	Hermopolis	This	Kush
<p>Qn-Jmn O. of house of P.</p> <p>M<sup>c</sup>y O. of storehouse/ working establ.</p> <p>Nb-sny steward(?) of P.</p>	<p>Prw-nfr mayor</p>	<p>Wsr-Stt O. of Mr-Jtm</p>	<p>J3mw-nfr Mayor of Nefrusy</p>	<p>Mnw "mayor;" "mayor" of Oasis (Tuth- mosis III)</p> <p>Jmn-htp mayor</p>	<p>Wsr-Stt O. of southern foreign lands; king's son</p> <p>(P3)- hq3-m- s3=sn O. of southern foreign lands</p> <p>Mh Adjutant of the king's son, User- satet</p> <p>Sn-nfr Adjutant of the king's son, User- satet</p> <p>anonymous charioteer of the king's son, User- satet</p>

FIG. 28. SECTION III: LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

III.11. *Qn-Jmn*

Title(s): Chief steward of the king; overseer of the house of Peru-nefer.

*jmy-r j3t hntt*

*jmy-r jryw 3 n snwty n Jmn*

*jmy-r jhw n Jmn*

*jmy-r 3b*

*jmy-r whmt*

*jmy-r pr wr n prw-nfr*

*jmy-r pr wr n nswt*

*jmy-r pr wr n nswt m prw-nfr*

overseer of foremost offices  
 overseer of door-keepers of the  
 double granary of Amen  
 overseer of cattle of Amen  
 overseer of horned cattle  
 overseer of hooped cattle  
 chief steward of Peru-nefer  
 chief steward of the king  
 chief steward of the king in Peru-  
 nefer

*jmy-r pr n prw-nfr*  
*jmy-r pr(wy) nbw*

*jmy-r pr(wy) ḥq*

*jmy-r pr ḥq*  
*jmy-r nfrt*  
*jmy-r nfrt n Jmn*  
*jmy-r šn<sup>c</sup> n Jmn*

*jmy-r k3t nb*  
*jry-p<sup>c</sup>t r ḥq n Gb*

*hm-nṯr n ḥwj pdt 9*

*hm-nṯr n ḥwj rṯnw*

*hry jhw*  
*hry pdt*  
*hry sšt3*  
*hry tp n t3 r dr=f*  
*s<sup>c</sup>h [šps smrw n wn] m3<sup>c</sup>*

*smr tpy n šnyw*  
*s(t)m*  
*sn mn<sup>c</sup>y n nb t3wy*

*sn n mn<sup>c</sup>y n nswt*  
*[sh]m smr*  
*sš nswt*  
*t3j ḥw*  
*t3j ḥw n nb t3wy*

*t3j ḥw hr wnm n nswt*

For five additional titles, probably belonging to this same individual, see Barakat's article cited below.

steward of Peru-nefer  
 overseer of the double gold  
 treasury  
 overseer of the double silver  
 treasury  
 overseer of the treasury  
 overseer of *nfrt*-cattle  
 overseer of *nfrt*-cattle of Amen  
 overseer of the  
 storehouse/workshop of Amen  
 overseer of all construction works  
 hereditary prince for the white  
 chapel of Geb  
 priest of (the statue) "who strikes  
 the nine bows"  
 priest of (the statue) "who strikes  
 Retenu"  
 head of the stables  
 troop commander  
 master of secrets  
 chief of the entire land  
 true [august] dignitary [of the *smr*-  
 courtiers]  
 chief companion to the courtiers  
 setem-priest  
 foster brother of the Lord of the  
 Two Lands  
 foster brother of the king  
 [con]troller of the *smr*-courtiers  
 royal scribe  
 fan-bearer  
 fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two  
 Lands  
 fan-bearer on the right of the king

**Bibl.** TT 93, *PM* I, i, 190-94; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1930; *Urk.* IV, 1385-1408; Hermann, *Stelen*, 26\*-27\*; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 365-67, 479-81; idem, in *LA* III, 386; H. Wild, *BIFAO* 56, 1957, 203-37; C.C. Van Siclen, *NARCE* 91, Fall 1974, 35; idem, *Sarapis* 5, 1979, 17-20; Kees, *Priestertum*, 16, 46; A.E. Barakat, *Etudes et Travaux* 12, 1983, 86-91; Bryan, *JSSEA* 9, 1979, 117-23.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

For further discussion, see Part II below.

### III.12. Anonymous

Title(s): Charioteer of the king's son Usersatet.

*kḏhw n sꜣ nswt Wsr-stt*

**Bibl.** Sehel graffito, Habachi, *Kush* 5, 1957, 18 fig. 3 inscr. 6.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (through association with Usersatet).

## IV. Theban Administration

### IV.1. *Jmn-m-jpt*

Title(s): Vizier, overseer of the city ---> I Vizierate, no. 1.

### IV.2. *Jmn-m-ḥꜣt*

Title(s): Scribe who counts the grain of Amen.

*jmy-r pr*

steward

*jmy-r pr n ꜥꜣty*

steward of the vizier

*jmy-r pr n ꜥꜣty n njwt [rsyt]*

steward of the vizier of the southern city

*jmy-r ḥbsw*

overseer of *ḥbsw*-farmlands

*jrr ḥry ḥr ḥt=f nb*

who acts as controller over all his property

*ḥry mrt*

chief of weavers

*ḥry mrt n Jmn*

chief of weavers of Amen

*ḥsb ꜥḥwt*

who counts the fields

*ḥsb jt n Jmn*

who counts the grain of Amen

*ḥsb jt Ṣmꜥw n Jmn*

who counts the Upper Egyptian grain of Amen

*ḥsb jt m Ṣnwt ḥtpw-nꜥr (n Jmn)*

who counts the grain in the granary of divine offerings (of Amen)

*ḥsb wnnt*

who counts what exists

*ḥsb rmt*

who counts the people

*ḥsb ḥmt*

who counts the copper

*smsw ḥꜣyt [n pr Jmn?]*

elder of the portal [of the house of Amen?]

šš  
 šš n ḥṣty  
 šš ḥsb jt

scribe  
 scribe of the vizier  
 scribe who counts the grain

**Bibl.** TT 82; *PM* I, i, 163-67; N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, London 1915; *Urk.* IV, 1043-64; cenotaphs at Gebel Silsileh west, F. L. Griffith, *PSBA* 12, 1889-90, 96-97; Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 58, pl. 46; Newberry, *JEA* 18, 1932, 142 no. 5.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

Amenemhat is assigned to the reign of Amenophis II as well as that of Tuthmosis III based primarily on his stela at Gebel Silsileh, which is "probably contemporaneous with an empty grotto nearby bearing the cartouches of Amenophis II," Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 2. His tomb stela is dated to year 28 of Tuthmosis III, but the indication is that Amenemhat survived into the reign of Amenophis II, even if most of his career was by that time behind him, *ibid.*, 8. Although the reading of the name is disputed, one of his children apparently bore part of the prenomen of Amenophis II (ḥṣ-ḥprw-ms; see Gardiner, *Amenemhet*, 6 and the references cited there). Beside the many titles referring to institutions of Amen, there is little additional evidence to firmly associate Amenemhat with the Theban administration.

#### IV.3. Bṣkj

Title(s): Secretary to the mayor of the southern city.

šš šḥt n ḥṣty-ḥ n njwt rsyṯ Sn-nfr secretary to the mayor of the southern city, Sennefer

**Bibl.** Mentioned in TT 96 (Sennefer); *Urk.* IV, 1434.14.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since he served Sennefer).

#### IV.4. Rḥ-mj-rḥ

Title(s): Vizier, overseer of the city ---> I Vizierate, no. 2.

#### IV.5. ḥḥ-m...

Title(s): Secretary to the mayor of southern city.

šš šḥt n ḥṣty-ḥ n njwt rsyṯ Sn-nfr secretary to the mayor of the southern city, Sennefer

**Bibl.** Mentioned in TT 96 (Sennefer); *Urk.* IV, 1434.15.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since he served Sennefer).

IV.6. *Sn-nfr*

Title(s): Mayor of Thebes; overseer of the gold lands of Amen.

<i>jmy-r ʒhwt n Jmn</i>	overseer of the fields of Amen
<i>jmy-r ʒhwt n gnwt</i>	overseer of fields in(?) the granary(?)
<i>jmy-r jhw</i>	overseer of cattle
<i>jmy-r ʕt nt ht nt Jmn</i>	overseer of the orchard of Amen
<i>jmy-r pr n [Jmn]</i>	steward of [Amen]
<i>jmy-r pr n Dsr-kʒ-rʕ</i>	steward of Djoser-ka-re (Amenophis I)
<i>jmy-r nfrt nt Jmn</i>	overseer of <i>nfrt</i> -cattle of Amen
<i>jmy-r hm-ntr jʕh-ms Nfrt-jry</i>	overseer of priests of Ahmose-Nofretari
<i>jmy-r hmw-ntr n hmt ntr</i>	overseer of priests of the god's wife (=Ahmose-Nofretari)
<i>jmy-r hmw-ntr Hr nb qsy</i>	overseer of priests of Horus, lord of Qus
<i>jmy-r hntyw-š n Jmn</i>	overseer of tenant farmers of Amen
<i>jmy-r šnwty n Jmn</i>	overseer of the double granary of Amen
<i>mh jb n nswt hr jmy-wrt n njwt</i>	royal favorite in the west of Thebes
<i>hʒty-ʕ n njwt rsyt</i> (var. <i>hʒty-ʕ m njwt rsyt</i> , cf. <i>Urk. IV, 1436.18</i> )	mayor of the southern city
<i>hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m Mn-swt</i>	high priest of Amen in <i>Mn-swt</i> (mortuary temple of Ahmose-Nofretari)
<i>hry-tp ʕʒ n njwt rsyt</i>	great chief of the southern city
<i>hry-tp smrw ʕh</i>	chief of <i>smrw</i> -courtiers of the palace
<i>hry-tp Šmʕw, Mhw</i>	chief of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>hrp nfrt nt Jmn m Dsr-dsrw</i>	controller of <i>nfrt</i> -cattle of Amen in Djoser-djeseru (Deir el-Bahari)
<i>sʕh šps smrw</i>	august dignitary of the <i>smr</i> -courtiers
<i>sšm hb n Jmn</i>	festival leader of Amen
<i>sšm hb n ʕʒ-hpr-kʒ-rʕ</i>	festival leader of ʕAkheperkare (Tuthmosis I)
<i>sqʒwty bjt</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt

**Bibl.** TT 96, *PM* I, i, 197-203; W.K. Simpson, in *LA* VI, 855-556; Ch. Desroches Noblecourt et. al., *Reconstitution du caveau de Sennefer dit "Tombe aux Vignes"*, Paris 1985; M. Nelson and F. Hassanein, *Le caveau de Sennefer no. 96 B, dit "Tombe aux Vignes,"* in press; possibly also owner of tomb 42 in the Valley of the Kings, *PM* I, ii, 559; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, New York 1959, 79, 146; *Urk.* IV, 1417-38; pBerlin 10463, Caminos, *JEA* 49, 1963, 29-37; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 423-24; P. Newberry, *PSBA* 22, 1900, 59-61; Kees, *Priestertum*, 55-56, 71, 78, 322; signed statue: E.L.B. Terrace and H.G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum*, London 1970, 113-16, no. 24; C.C. Van Siclen, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1982, 10-19.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (cf. also Murnane, *Coregencies*, 260 n. 76 for possible service under Tuthmosis III as well).

Sennefer was a brother of the vizier Amenemopet. For further discussion, see Part II below.

#### IV.7. *Ddj*

Title(s): Overseer of the lands west of Thebes.

<i>jmy-r jmntt W3st</i>	overseer of the western region of Thebes
<i>jmy-r ḥ3st hr jmntt njwt</i>	overseer of the lands west of Thebes
<i>wꜥw n mry-Jmn</i>	captain of the ship "Mery-Amen"
<i>wpwty nswt hr ḥ3swt nbt</i>	royal messenger in all foreign(?) lands
<i>hry md3yw</i>	chief of police
<i>hry n p3 s3w n pr-ꜥ3</i>	commander of the phyle of pharaoh
<i>t3j srjt n s3w n hm=f</i>	standard-bearer of the phyle of his Majesty

**Bibl.** TT 200, *PM* I, i, 303-304; *Urk.* IV, 995-96, 1515-39 B; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53 (d).

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

#### IV.8. Anonymous

Title(s): Secretary to the mayor of the southern city; scribe.

<i>mḥ jb n st=f</i>	especial favorite
<i>sš...</i>	scribe

*sš šꜥt n hꜣty-ꜥ n njwt rsyt*

secretary to the mayor of the  
southern city

**Bibl.** Mentioned in TT 96 (Sennefer); *Urk. IV*, 1434.12.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since he served Sennefer). Cf. *Bꜣkj* and *Hꜥ-m-...*, both secretaries listed in this section.

Rb-mj-Rꜥ vizier, O. of the city	Sn-nfr mayor of the southern city			Ddj O. of the lands west of the city
Jmn-m-jpt vizier, O. of the city	Bꜣkj secretary to the mayor of the southern city	Hꜥ-m-... secretary to the mayor of the southern city	anonymous secretary to the mayor of the southern city	
Jmn-m-hꜣt scribe who counts the grain of Amen; steward of the vizier				

FIG. 29. SECTION IV: THEBAN ADMINISTRATION.

## V. The Military

In general, see also W. Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, UGAÄ 14, Leipzig 1939; A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, Berlin 1964; A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 9, New Haven 1982.

**V.1.** *Jmn-m-hb* called *Mꜥhw*

Title(s): Captain, adjutant of the army

*jdhw*  
*jdhw n mšꜥ*  
*wꜥw*

adjutant  
adjutant of the army  
captain

*wꜥw m Jmn wsr-ḥꜣt*  
*ḥꜣty jry rdwy n nb tꜣwy*

captain of the boat Amen-userhat  
first companion to the Lord of Two  
Lands

*hry pꜥt*  
*hry-tp n jmyw ḥt=f*

troop commander  
foremost of those in his (*jnpw*,  
royal child's) following  
child of the nursery

*brd n kꜣp*  
*tpy n jryw=f*  
*tpy n smrw=f*

chief of his (the king's) guards  
chief of his (the king's) *smr*-  
courtiers

**Bibl.** TT 85; *PM* I, i, 170-75; Virey, *MMAF* V, 2, 224-85; *Urk.* IV, 889-919; W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Washington 1906, pls. 33-39; Breasted, *ARE* II, 227-34, §§ 574-92, 318-19, §§ 807-809; Wilson in *ANET*, 240-41; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 153\*-158\*; J.R. Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 37, 1976, 21-25; J.D. Cooney, *CMB* 52, 1965, 2-6.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

For further discussion, see Part II below; cf. also the singer with the glorious harp of Amen, Amenemheb called Mahu in VII The Estate and Person of the King, no. 3. For texts of the wife of the owner of TT 85, the chief royal nurse of Amenophis II, *Bꜣky*, see *Urk.* IV, 919-25.

## V.2. *Jmn-ms*

Title(s): Troop commander.

*jmy-r ḥꜣswt mḥtt*  
*jrty nswt n ḥꜣst Rḥnw*

overseer of northern foreign lands  
eyes of the King of Upper Egypt in  
the foreign land of Retenu

*msgrwy bjt hr ḥꜣst Rḥnw bst*

ears of the King of Lower Egypt in  
the vile foreign land of Retenu

*hry jḥw n nb tꜣwy*

stable-master of the Lord of the  
Two Lands

*hry pꜥt*

troop commander

**Bibl.** TT 42, *PM* I, i, 82-83; Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 27-34; *Urk.* IV, 1507-8; D.B. Redford, *JEA* 51, 1965, 115-16; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

## V.3. *Pꜣ-sr*

Title(s): Troop commander; child of the nursery; companion of his Majesty.

*hry pgt (n nb t3wy)*

troop commander [of the Lord of the Two Lands]

*hry šmsw n hm=f  
brd n k3p*chief of retainers of his Majesty  
child of the nursery

**Bibl.** TT 367; *PM* I, i, 430-31; A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 43, 1943, 389-414; idem, *ASAE* 47, 1947, 44-45; *Urk.* IV, 1455-57; G. el-D. Mokhtar, *Ihnāsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna)*, BdE 40, Cairo 1983, 106, notes 6-7.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### V.4. *Pḥ-sw-ḥr* called *Ḥn-n-nw*

Title(s): Adjutant of the king; fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands.

*jry pgt n nb t3wy*

chief of bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands

*jdhw n mšc cš3w*

adjutant of the multitudinous army

*jdhw n nswt*

adjutant of the king

*jdhw n hm=f*

adjutant of his Majesty

*t3j ḥw*

fan-bearer

*t3j ḥw n nb t3wy*

fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands

**Bibl.** TT 88; *PM* I, i, 179-81; Virey, *MMAF* V, 2, 286-310; *Urk.* IV, 1459-63; Hermann, *Stelen*, 20\*-24\*; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 282 (where Pehsukher is also called a *ḥbs bḥt*); Van Siclen, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio, 1982, 31 and fig. 26.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

#### V.5. *Nb-Jmn*

Title(s): Commander of the Nubian troops.

*hry pgt nḥsy*

**Bibl.** Base of statue found near the Sphinx at Giza; S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, Cairo 1953, 66 fig. 59; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo 1976, 123-25, pl. 8.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III(?) Amenophis II(?)

#### V.6. *Nḥt*

Title(s): Standard-bearer.

*hry Nḥsyw n k3 m T3-Sty*

chief of the Nubians of (the

*pdty? ʕ3-ḥprw-rʕ*

regiment) "Bull in Nubia"  
 bowman? of Amenophis II?  
 (alternatively *pdṯ*, troop of same)  
 standard-bearer of the Lord of the  
 Two Lands

*ṯ3j srjt n nb ṯ3wy*

standard-bearer of (the regiment?)  
 "Bull in Nubia"

*ṯ3j srjt n k3 m ṯ3-Sty*

**Bibl.** Two statues, *Urk.* IV, 1492-93; Faulkner, *JEA* 20, 1934, pl. 19, 154-56; British Museum 466, *Hieroglyphic Texts* V, pl. 21; G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, Hildesheim 1953, 83; B. Schmitz, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Fs. W. Westendorf) II, 848.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

### V.7. *Hr-m-ḥb*

Title(s): Royal scribe; scribe of recruits.

*jmy-r 3ḥwt n Jmn*

overseer of fields of Amen

*jmy-r jḥw n Jmn*

overseer of cattle of Amen

*jmy-r ʕb*

overseer of horned cattle

*jmy-r whm šwt nšmt*

overseer of hoof, feather and  
 scales

*jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr m Šmʕw, Mḥw*

overseer of priests in Upper and  
 Lower Egypt

*jmy-r ssmṯ*

overseer of horses

*jmy-r sšw nswt nb n mšʕ*

overseer of all royal scribes of  
 the army

*jmy-r k3wt n Jmn*

overseer of construction works of  
 Amen

*sš nfrw*

scribe of recruits

*sš nswt*

royal scribe

*sš nswt m3ʕ*

real royal scribe

*ṯ3j ḥw ḥr wnm nswt*

fan-bearer on the right of the king

**Bibl.** TT 78, *PM* I, i, 152-56; U. Bouriant, *MMAF* V, 2, 413-34; A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, Mainz am Rhein 1980; *Urk.* IV, 1589-97; Kees, *Priestertum*, 80-81; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 360-62.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

Bryan postulates Horemheb's acquisition of certain titles under the reign of Amenophis III, since they occur only in the inner room of his tomb. For which titles belong to which reign, see Brack, *Haremhab*, 81-82.

**V.8. Qn-Jmn**

Title(s): Overseer of the house of Peru-nefer, troop commander ---> III  
Local Administration, no. 11.

**V.9. T3-n-ny**

Title(s): Overseer of the army; overseer of scribes of the army.

<i>jmy-r mš<sup>c</sup></i>	overseer of the army
<i>jmy-r mš<sup>c</sup> n nswt</i>	overseer of the king's army
<i>jmy-r sšw</i>	overseer of scribes
<i>jmy-r sšw mš<sup>c</sup></i>	overseer of army scribes
<i>jmy-r sšw mš<sup>c</sup> wr n nswt</i>	great overseer of the king's army scribes
<i>jmy-r sšw mš<sup>c</sup> n nswt</i>	overseer of king's army scribes
<i>jmy-r sšw n nswt</i>	overseer of king's scribes
<i>sš mš<sup>c</sup></i>	army scribe
<i>sš mš<sup>c</sup> wr n nswt</i>	great scribe of the king's army
<i>sš n mš<sup>c</sup> 𓆎</i>	scribe of the great army
<i>sš nfrw</i>	scribe of recruits
<i>sš nfrw n t3 pdt pr-𓆎</i>	scribe of recruits of the palace troop
<i>sš nswt</i>	royal scribe
<i>sš nswt mš<sup>c</sup></i>	real royal scribe

**Bibl.** TT 74; *PM* I, i, 144-46; V. Scheil, *MMAF* V, 2, 591-603; A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, Mainz am Rhein 1977; *Urk.* IV, 1002-1018.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Tuthmosis IV.

Seals with the name of Amenophis II discovered in Tjanuni's tomb suggest that its construction was already in progress under that king's reign. On this point, as well as Amenophis II's close relationship with his officials, see Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 82-83.

**V.10. Anonymous**

Title(s): Troop commander, overseer of horses and recruits.

<i>jmy-r ssmwt</i>	overseer of horses
<i>jmy-r 𓆎mw</i>	overseer of recruits
<i>hry pdt</i>	troop commander

**Bibl.** Fragment of a statue in Florence no. 1504, *Urk.* IV, 1493 no. 466.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Ἰᜫ-n-ny O. of the army	Jmn-m-ḥb/ Mḥw captain; troop commander; adjutant of the army	Jmn-ms troop commander  Qn-Jmn troop commander  pᜫ-sr troop commander  anonymous troop commander	Pḥ-sw-ḥr chief of bowmen of Lord of 2 Lands; adjutant of king; fan- bearer	Ḥr-m-ḥb scribe of recruits	Nḥt standard- bearer
		Nb-Jmn commander of Nubian troops			

FIG. 30. SECTION V: THE MILITARY.

## VI. The Treasury

### VI.1. *Jmn-m-ḥᜫt*

Title(s): High priest of Amen ---> II Priesthood, no. 3.

### VI.2. *Jḥw*

Title(s): Chamberlain, overseer of the treasury.

*jmy-r pr ḥd*

overseer of the treasury

*jmy ḥnt*

chamberlain

*jry ᜫt*

keeper of the chamber

*wᜫb*

*wᜫb*-priest

*wᜫb n Jmn*

*wᜫb*-priest of Amen

*ḥry mrt*

chief of weavers/servants

*ḥry mrt n Jmn*

chief of weavers/servants of  
Amen

**Bibl.** Double statue, British Museum 31, *Urk.* IV, 1503-4; *Hieroglyphic Texts* VIII, pl. 7.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

Itju's son, Neferhebef, probably served the mortuary temple of Amenophis II, since he is named on his father's statue as a second priest of <sup>c</sup>Akheperure; this would place Itju's years roughly around those of Amenophis II. See IX The Mortuary Temples, no. 16 below.

**VI.3.** *Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb*

Title(s): High priest of Amen ---> II Priesthood, no. 7.

**VI.4.** *Mnw*

Title(s): Chief treasurer.

*jmy-r sḏḥt*

*wḏ<sup>c</sup> ryt n Tḏ-mḥw*

*hry-tp ʿḏ m Šm<sup>c</sup>w*

chief treasurer

judge in Lower Egypt

great chief in Upper Egypt

**Bibl.** Possibly the owner of TT 143; *PM* I, i, 255-57; cenotaph at Gebel Silsileh, Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 19-21, pls. 3, 4, 13-15; *Urk.* IV, 1027-29; Borchardt et. al., *ZÄS* 70, 1934, 31 (funerary cone); Helck, *Verwaltung*, 352, 468-69.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III.

Min appears to have served towards the end of Tuthmosis III's reign, for his son, Sobekhotep (TT 63; publication in process at this writing by E. Dziobek), was mayor of the southern lake and the lake of Sobek under Tuthmosis IV. Min came from the Fayum, perhaps from Gurob where there may have been a palace, and is not to be confused with Min, the owner of TT 109 (above III Local Administration, no. 7); see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 352, and B.M. Bryan, "The Administration of the Fayum in the mid-18th Dynasty," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, 1981.

**VI.5.** *Mnw-htp* called *Hw-tw-tw*

Title(s): Scribe of the treasury; royal scribe.

*jmy-r ḥrp n Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mḥw*

*jry-p<sup>c</sup>t (j)r(y) ḏnbw wsḥt*

*[hsb] bḏkt tḏwy, ḥrpt Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mḥw*

overseer of controllers of Upper and Lower Egypt

*jry-p<sup>c</sup>t* and(?) keeper of the boundary marker of the broad courtyard (*Urk.* IV, 1513.13; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 135; see below)

[who counts] the revenues of the Two Lands and the dues of Upper and Lower Egypt

*hrp Šm<sup>cw</sup>, Mhw m hwt-wšht*

controller of Upper and Lower  
Egypt in the broad chamber  
child of the nursery  
scribe of the treasury  
scribe of [recruits]  
royal scribe  
royal scribe of recruits  
festival leader of Ptah

*hrd n kšp*

*sš pr-hd*

*sš [nfrw]*

*sš nswt*

*sš nswt nfrw*

*sšm hb n Pth*

**Bibl.** Stela from Abusir, now in Cairo, G. Daressy, *ASAE* 19, 1920, 127-30; *Urk.* IV, 1512-14; pLeningrad 1116B, Vs. 39, Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques... de l'Ermitage Impériale à St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg 1913. On the title *jry-p<sup>ct</sup> (j)r(y) dnbw wšht*, see Helck, *Orientalia* 19, 1950, 431-32; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*, London 1984, 79; A.J. Spencer, *JEA* 64, 1978, esp. 54 n. 21.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### VI.6. *Mry*

Title(s): High priest of Amen---> II Priesthood, no. 11.

#### VI.7. *Mrj-r<sup>c</sup>*

Title(s): Chief steward of the king ---> VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 8.

#### VI.8. *Rḥ-mj-r<sup>c</sup>*

Title(s): Vizier ---> I Vizierate, no. 2.

#### VI.9. *Qn-Jmn*

Title(s): Overseer of the house of Peru-nefer ---> III Local Administration, no. 11.

#### VI.10. *Dhwtj-nfr*

Title(s): Overseer of the treasury; royal scribe.

*jmy-r pr-hd nb tšwy*

overseer of the treasury of the  
Lord of the Two Lands

*hry-tp m pr nfr*

chief in the funerary workshop

*hry-hb*

lector priest

*sš nswt*

royal scribe

**Bibl.** TT 80 and 104, *PM* I, 1, 157-59, 217-18; A.-G. Shedid, *Untersuchungen zum Malereistil und zum Problem der Künstlerhandschriften thebanischer Beamtengräber in der Zeit Amenophis' II. im Rahmen einer vergleichenden*

*Untersuchung von TT 80 und 104*, Ph.D. dissertation Munich, in press; *Urk.* IV, 1475-76 (TT 80); Hermann, *Stelen*, 30\* (TT 104); Helck, *Verwaltung*, 402, 510 (cf. the titles there).

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Djehuty-nefer is possibly the owner of the Cairo Museum statues 138 and 921.

Dḥwty-nfr O. of treasury of Lord of 2 Lands	Jmn-m-ḥ3t O. of double gold and silver treasuries	Jtḥ O. of the treasury	Mnw chief treasurer	Mnw-ḥtp called Ḥw-tw-tw scribe of the treasury
	Mn-ḥpr-r <sup>c</sup> -snb O. of double gold and silver treasuries			
	Mry O. of double gold and silver treasuries			
	Mry-r <sup>c</sup> O. of double gold and silver treasuries			
	Rb-mj-r <sup>c</sup> O. of double gold and silver treasuries			
	Qn-Jmn O. of double gold and silver treasuries			

FIG. 31. SECTION VI: THE TREASURY.

## VII. Estate and Person of the King

### VII.1. [Jmn]-wsr-ḥ3t

Title(s): Butler, clean of hands (according to *PM*).

**Bibl.** TT 176; *PM*, I, 1, 281-83.

**Temp.** Amenophis II – Tuthmosis IV.

**VII.2.** *Jmn-m-h3t*

Title(s): royal scribe.

*sš nswt*

**Bibl.** Statue from the temple of Mut at Karnak, Cairo 566; *Urk.* IV, 1510-11.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**VII.3.** *Jmn-m-hb* called *Mhw*

Title(s): Great chief/chamberlain in the palace, overseer of singers.

*jmy-r hsw n Jmn*

*jmy-r hsw nb nw Šmꜥw, Mhw*

*hsw m bnt špst nt Jmn*

*hsw nswt*

*bry-tp ʕ3 m pr nswt*

overseer of singers of Amen  
 overseer of all singers of Upper  
 and Lower Egypt  
 singer with the glorious harp of  
 Amen  
 royal singer  
 great chief/chamberlain in the  
 palace

**Bibl.** British Museum stelophorous statue 22557; *Hieroglyphic Texts* VIII, 35-36, pl. 30; Oriental Institute stela 12294, C. Kuentz, in *Recueil d'études... dédiées à... Champollion*, Paris 1922, 601-10; E. Brovarski, *Serapis* 6, 1980 (Fs. C.F. Nims), 29-33.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

See also the army commander Amenemheb called Mahu above in V Military, no. 1.

**VII.4.** *Wsr-h3t*

Title(s): Royal scribe, child of the nursery ---> XI Granary, no. 2.

**VII.5.** *Pth-m-h3t*

Title(s): Fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two lands.

*brd n k3p*

*t3j hw n nb [t3wy]*

child of the nursery  
 fan-bearer of the Lord of the [Two  
 Lands]

**Bibl.** TT 77, *PM* I, 1, 150-52; *Urk.* IV, 1599-1601 (name incorrectly restored to *Jmn-m-hb*); Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 369.

**Temp.** Amenophis II – Tuthmosis IV.

**VII.6.** *M33-nht=f*

Title(s): Chief steward of the king.

*jmy-r 3hwt n nb t3wy*

overseer of fields of the Lord of  
the Two lands

*jmy-r jhw n ntr-nfr*

overseer of cattle of the perfect  
god

*jmy-r pr wr n nswt*

chief steward of the king

*jmy-r pr n Mntw nb W3st*

steward of Mentu lord of Thebes

*jmy-r pr nb n nswt*

steward of all the king's (property)

*jmy-r mrt nbt nt nswt*

overseer of all servants of the  
king

*jmy-r hsbw t nw Sm<sup>c</sup>w, Mhw*

overseer of bread apportioners of  
Upper and Lower Egypt

*jmy-r shtyw*

overseer of farmers

*jmy-r šnwty n nswt r Sm<sup>c</sup>, Mhw*

overseer of the double granary of  
the king in Upper and Lower Egypt

*jmy-r dhr n Jmn*

overseer of leathers/hides of  
Amen

*wb3 n nswt w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>wy*

butler of the king, clean of hands

*wb3 nswt*

royal butler

*brd n k3p*

child of the nursery

**Bibl.** Medamud statue, E. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1926. Les inscriptions*, FIFAO, Cairo 1927, 49-51; *Urk.* IV, 1484; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 367, 481-82; Kees, *Priestertum*, 78.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**VII.7.** *Mntw-jy-wy*

Title(s): Royal butler.

*wb3 nswt (w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>wy)*

royal butler (clean of hands)

*b3k n jpt nswt*

servant of the royal apartments

**Bibl.** TT 172; *PM* I, i, 279-80; *Urk.* IV, 1466-68; Hermann, *Stelen*, 40\*-41\*.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III – Amenophis II.

**VII.8.** *Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>*

Title(s): Chief steward of the king.

<i>jmy-r pr wr n nswt</i>	chief steward of the king
<i>jmy-r pr(wy) nbw</i>	overseer of the double gold treasury
<i>jmy-r pr(wy) hd</i>	overseer of the double silver treasury
<i>sšm hb n Jmn</i>	festival leader of Amen

**Bibl.** W. Wreszinski, *ZÄS* 67, 1931, 132-33, pl. 9-10 (statue); S.R.K. Glanville, *JEA* 18, 1932, 56-57, pl. 7 (scribal palette BM 5512); H. Gauthier, *BIFAO* 6, 1908, 135 (funerary cone); *Urk.* IV, 1614-15; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 321-22.

**Temp.** Perhaps Tuthmosis III - IV; see Bryan's comments cited above.

### VII.9. *Nb-Jmn*

Title(s): Chief physician of the king.

<i>wr swnw</i>	chief physician
<i>wr swnw n nswt</i>	chief physician of the king
<i>swnw</i>	physician
<i>swnw n nswt</i>	physician of the king
<i>sš</i>	scribe
<i>sš nswt m Wšst</i>	royal scribe in Thebes

**Bibl.** TT 17; *PM* I, i, 29-31; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Oxford 1957, 22-32; H. Wild *ASAE* 57, 1962, 107-109; P. Ghalioungui, *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt*, Cairo 1983, 28 no. 85.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

### VII.10. *Nb-n-Kmt*

Title(s): Fan-bearer.

<i>hry jhw</i>	stable-master
<i>brd n kšp</i>	child of the nursery
<i>tšj hw</i>	fan-bearer

**Bibl.** TT 256; *PM* I, i, 340-41; *Urk.* IV, 996-97; C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, San Antonio 1982, 49 D.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

### VII.11. *Nfr-rmpt*

Title(s): Overseer of the food/wine-producing establishment of the Lord of the Two lands.

*jmy-r (j)st n nb t3wy*

**Bibl.** TT 43; *PM* I, i, 83-84; Helck, *MDAIK* 17, 1961, 99-110.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**VII.12.** *R<sup>c</sup>-ms* called *3my*

**Title(s):** First royal herald; fan-bearer on the right of the king.

<i>whm nswt tpy</i>	first royal herald
<i>wd<sup>c</sup> ryt m t3 mj qd=f</i>	judge in the entire land
<i>t3j hw</i>	fan-bearer
<i>t3j hw n nb t3wy</i>	fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands
<i>t3j hw hr wnm n nswt</i>	fan-bearer on the right of the king

**Bibl.** TT 94; *PM* I, i, 194-95; *Urk.* IV, 1464-65.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

**VII.13.** *Hr-m-hb*

**Title(s):** scribe of recruits ---> V Military, no. 7.

**VII.14.** *Hq3-ršw*

**Title(s):** Royal nurse.

<i>jt ntr?</i>	god's father?
<i>mn<sup>c</sup> n (n3) msw n nswt</i>	nurse to the royal children
<i>mn<sup>c</sup> nswt</i>	royal nurse (to Tuthmosis IV before his accession)
<i>brd n k3p?</i>	child of the nursery?
<i>t3j hw n nswt?</i>	fan-bearer of the king?
<i>t3j hw hr wnm [n] nswt?</i>	fan-bearer on the right of the king?

**Bibl.** Possibly the owner of TT 226, despite Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 325-26; cf. the opinions in P. Frandsen, *Acta Orientalia* 37, 1976, 5-10 (certainly not the owner of TT 64); Habachi, in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift S. Schott*, Wiesbaden 1968, 61-70; Helck, *Militärführer*, 35; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Text III, 260-61; W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 65, 1930, 98-100; Newberry, *JEA* 14, 1928, 82-85; *Urk.* IV, 1572-75. For some additional titles, see *Urk.* IV, 1574.10-14 (was he *jmy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*, overseer of all construction works of the king? Cf. Frandsen, 9).

**Temp.** Probably Amenophis II.

On the likelihood that the statue CG 923 was made during Amenophis II's last years, see Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 56.

### VII.15. *Sw-m-njwt*

Title(s): Royal butler, fan-bearer.

<i>[jmy-r hmw-ntr] n ntrw nbw</i>	overseer of priests of all the gods
<i>wb3 n nswt (w<sup>c</sup>b cwy)</i>	royal butler (clean of hands)
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	royal butler
<i>wah [n Jmn]</i>	offering-bearer [of Amen]
<i>t3j hw</i>	fan-bearer

**Bibl.** TT 92; *PM* I, i, 187-89; *Urk.* IV, 1449-52; Kees, *Priestertum*, Nachträge 53.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Suemniut was son of Iamunefer, mayor of Nefrusy (Hermopolis); see III Local Administration, no. 1.

### VII.16. *Sny-nfr*

Title(s): Overseer of the royal apartments.

<i>jmy-r jpt nswt</i>	overseer of the royal apartments
<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n [Jmn]</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b</i> -priest of [Amen]
<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n [Jmn] hr s3 tpy</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b</i> -priest of [Amen] in the first phyle
<i>hry t3 c<sup>t</sup> pr-c3 n njwt rsyt</i>	chief of the department of the great house in the southern city

**Bibl.** Gebel Silsileh shrine no. 11; Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 30-34, pls. 6, 22-25.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since the viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, appears in this shrine).

### VII.17. *Qn-Jmn*

Title(s): Chief steward of the king ---> III Local Administration, no. 11.

### VII.18. *I3-n-r (TI)*

Title(s): Chief lector priest, royal scribe (Davies); [royal butler] (*PM*).

<i>wr m j3wt=f m pr nswt</i>	great in his offices in the palace
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**Bibl.** TT 101; *PM* I, i, 214-15; N. de G. Davies, *BMAA* Nov. 1935, Section II, 54; *Urk.* IV, 1474-75.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**VII.19.** *Dw3-r-nhh*

**Title(s):** Chief steward of the Lord of the Two Lands.

*jmy-r pr wr*

chief steward

*jmy-r pr wr n nb [t3wy]*

chief steward of the Lord of the Two [Lands]

**Bibl.** Stela from mortuary temple of Amenophis II at Thebes; *PM* II, 430; Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, London 1897, 28-29, pl. 15; *Urk.* IV, 1480-81; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 367, 481; for the name cf. Ranke, *PM* I, 398.26 (*dw3.wj(?)r-nhh*)

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**VII.20.** *Dhwty-ms*

**Title(s):** Royal butler (*PM*).

**Bibl.** TT 205; *PM* I, i, 305.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

M33-nbt=f chief steward of the king	Sny-nfr O. of royal apartments	Hq3-ršw royal nurse; fan-bearer on right of king	Nfr-rnpt O. of food/wine estab. of Lord of 2 Lands	Nb-Jmn chief physician of the king
Mrj-rc chief steward of the king				
Qn-Jmn chief steward of the king				
Dw3-r-nhh chief steward of the Lord of the 2 Lands				

<p>Ḥr-m-ḥb fan-bearer on right of king; royal scribe</p> <p>Rꜥ-ms called ꜥꜣmy fan-bearer on right of king; 1st royal herald</p> <p>Pth-m-ḥꜣt fan-bearer of Lord of 2 Lands</p> <p>Nb-n-kmt fan-bearer</p> <p>Sw-m-njwꜥ fan-bearer; royal butler</p>	<p>Jmn-m-ḥb called Mḥw great chief/ chamberlain in the palace</p>	<p>Jmn-m-ḥꜣt   royal scribe</p> <p>Wsr-ḥꜣt royal scribe</p> <p>ꜣꜣ-n-r royal scribe royal butler?</p>	<p>Mnꜥw-jy-wy royal butler</p> <p>[Jmn]-wsr-ḥꜣt butler, clean of hands (PM)</p> <p>Dḥwty-ms royal butler (PM)</p>	
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FIG. 32. SECTION VII: THE ESTATE AND PERSON OF THE KING.

## VIII. Construction and Architecture

### VIII.1. *Bnjꜣ* called *Pꜣ-ḥqꜣ-mn*

Title(s): Overseer of construction works, child of the nursery.

*jmy-r ḥmwt nt nb tꜣwy*

overseer of craftsmen of the Lord  
of the Two lands

*jmy-r sgꜣwtyw*

overseer of seal-bearers

*jmy-r kꜣwt*

overseer of construction works

*brd n kꜣp*

child of the nursery

**Bibl.** TT 343; *PM* I, i, 410-12; H. Guksch, *Das Grab des Benja, gen. Paheqamen*, Mainz am Rhein 1978; idem, *MDAIK* 38, 1982, 195-99; *Urk.* IV, 1468-72; Hermann, *Stelen*, 46\*-47\*.

**Temp.** Early Dynasty 18, perhaps Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II (cf. Guksch, *Benja*, 42-43, who opts for Tuthmosis III).

VIII.2. *Mn-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb*

Title(s): High priest of Amen ---> II Priesthood, no. 7.

VIII.3. *Mnw-ms*

Title(s): Overseer of construction works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.

*jmy-r jḥw n Jmn*

overseer of cattle of Amen

*jmy-r nfrt nt Jmn*

overseer of *nfrt*-cattle of Amen

*jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n pr Mnṯw nb W3st*

overseer of priests in the house of Mentu Lord of Thebes

*jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n Mnṯw nb W3st*

overseer of priests of Mentu lord of Thebes

*jmy-r k3wt 3w m r-prw nw nṯrw  
Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mḥw*

overseer of great construction projects in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt

*jmy-r k3t m r-pr.pn*

overseer of construction works in this temple (*Urk.* IV, 1447.13)

*jmy-r k3t m r-prw nw nṯrw  
Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mḥw*

overseer of construction works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt

*jmy-r gs pr n ḥmt nṯr*

overseer of the administrative district of the god's wife  
adjutant of the king?

*jḥw? n nswt*

*w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest

*w<sup>c</sup>b*

*wn r3 m ḥm*

opener of the mouth in Letopolis

*wr w3d*

great one of the papyrus scepter

*wr w3d m pr B3stt*

great one of the papyrus scepter in the house of Bastet

*ḥm-nṯr*

priest

*sš nswt*

royal scribe

*sšm ḥb n Wsjr*

festival leader of Osiris

**Bibl.** Statues found at: Medamud: E. Drioton, *Médamoud 1926, Les Inscriptions*, FIFAO, Cairo 1927, 52-56; Nebeshe (=Tell Faroun): now in Ashmolean Museum, Petrie et. al., *Tanis* II, London 1888, pl. 10, 5; Karnak(?): *Urk.* IV, 1447; Tura: H. Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh* III, London 1842, pl. before p. 95, Breasted, *ARE* II, 315 § 800; *Urk.* IV, 1441-48; British Museum triple statuette 2300, H. De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 37, 1981

(Fs. L. Habachi), 315-19; Kees, *Priestertum*, 33-35, 46, 61-62, 154, Nachtrag 35.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

For Minmose's like-named son, who was high priest of Osiris, see II Priesthood, no. 9. For further discussion, see Part II below.

#### VIII.4. *Rḥ-mj-r<sup>c</sup>*

Title(s): Vizier ----> I Vizierate, no. 2.

#### VIII.5. *Hr-m-ḥb*

Title(s): Scribe of recruits ----> V Military, no. 7.

#### VIII.6. *H<sup>c</sup>*

Title(s): Overseer of construction works.

*jmy-r k3wt*

overseer of construction works

*hry st 3*

chief of the great work

establishment

*s3 nswt*

royal scribe

**Bibl.** TT 8; *PM* I, i, 16-18; Vandier-d'Abbadie, *MIFAO* 73, Cairo 1939, 1-18; E. Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, Turin 1927; *Urk.* IV, 1509-10.

**Temp.** Amenophis II - Amenophis III.

For other officials mentioned in Kha's tomb, see *PM* I, i, 16-18.

#### VIII.7. *S3-mwt*

Title(s): Overseer of construction works of Amen-Re<sup>c</sup> in Karnak.

*jmy-r k3t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> m jpt-swt* (hieroglyphs not seen).

**Bibl.** TT 142; *PM* I, i, 255.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

#### VIII.8. *Qn-Jmn*

Title(s): Overseer of the house of Peru-nefer ----> III Local Administration, no. 11.

<p>Mnw-ms O. of constr. works in the temples of the gods of U. &amp; L. Egypt; O. of constr. works</p> <p>Bnjꜥ called Pꜥ-ḥqꜥ-mn O. of constr. works; O. of craftsmen of Lord of 2 Lands</p> <p>Qn-Jmn O. of all constr. works</p> <p>ḥꜥ O. of constr. works</p>	<p>Rḥ-mj-rꜥ O. of all constr. works of Amen</p> <p>Ḥr-m-ḥb O. of constr. works of Amen</p> <p>Sꜥ-mwt O. of constr. works of Amen-Reꜥ in Karnak</p>	<p>Mn-ḥpr-rꜥ-snb O. of constr. works in ṯs-ḥꜥ-Jmn; chief of overseers of craftsmen</p>
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FIG. 33. SECTION VIII: CONSTRUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE.

## IX. The Mortuary Temples

N.B. For additional officials employed in the mortuary temples of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, but not necessarily from the reigns of those kings, see Helck, *Materialien*, 94-98; Kees, *Priestertum*, 138 (= TT 31 of *Nfr-ḥtp*); *Urk.* IV, 1642 (TT 248 of *Dhwty-ms*); TT 224 of *Jḥ-ms* (father of Sennefer), Helck, *Materialien*, 88; TT 21 of *Wsr*, *ibid.*, 90; *ḥꜥ-bꜥw*, Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 193; *Nfr-ḥꜥt*, Boeser, *Stelen*, pl. 4 no. 13 (Helck, *Materialien*, 98).

### IX. 1. *Jḥ-ms*

Title(s): High priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*ḥm-nṯr snw n Jmn-Rꜥ*

second priest of Amen-Reꜥ

*ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn m ḥnkt-ḥḥ*

high priest of Amen in the  
mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III

**Bibl.** TT 121, *PM* I, i, 235; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 297; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 118; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 2.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?).

**IX.2.** *Jmn-m-mrw=f(?)*

Title(s): Adjutant of the temple of Menkheperre.

*jdhw n pr Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 31; Boeser, *Stelen*, pl. 14 no. 3.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.3.** *Jmn-m-hb*

Title(s): Steward of Menkheperre; steward in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*jmy-r jhw n Nfrt-jry  
jmy-r pr n Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>  
jmy-r pr n hnk-t-<sup>c</sup>nh*

overseer of cattle of Nofretari  
steward of Menkheperre  
steward in the mortuary temple of  
Tuthmosis III

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 29; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, Cairo 1906, 68-69 (CG 42120).

**Temp.** Amenophis II - Amenophis III.

**IX.4.** *Jmn-ms*

Title(s): *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Amenophis II in Thebes.

*w<sup>c</sup>b n Jmn m hwt <sup>c</sup>3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup> m W3st*

**Bibl.** Berlin stela 19777; *PM* II, 430; *Urk.* IV, 1503; Helck, *Materialien*, 98.

**Temp.** Amenophis II and later(?)

**IX.5.** *Jmn-htp*

Title(s): *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*w<sup>c</sup>b n Jmn m hnk-t-<sup>c</sup>nh*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 12; *Urk.* IV, 1501-2.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.6.** *Jmn-htp*

Title(s): *k3*- priest of the statue of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre in his procession (*hnt*); *k3*- priest of the perfect god, Menkheperre.

<i>jmy-r h3swt n Jmn</i>	overseer of foreign lands of Amen
<i>jmy-r šnwty n [Jmn]</i>	overseer of the the double granary of [Amen]
<i>jmy-r [šnwty?] n nswt</i>	overseer of the [double granary?] of the king
<i>jmy st-<sup>c</sup> n [Jmn] hr s3 snw</i>	attendant of Amen in the second phyle
<i>jry <sup>c</sup>t n [Jmn]</i>	keeper of the storeroom of [Amen]
<i>h3t? jmy-r hmw-ntr n Mnw, n Jst</i>	foremost? overseer of priests of Min and of Isis
<i>hm-k3 n ntr nfr <sup>c</sup>3-hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>k3</i> -priest of the perfect god Tuthmosis I
<i>hm-k3 n ntr nfr Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>k3</i> -priest of the perfect god Tuthmosis III
<i>hm-k3 n ntr nfr Dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>k3</i> -priest of the perfect god Amenophis I
<i>hm-k3 n twt n nswt bjt Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> m hnt=f</i>	<i>k3</i> -priest of the statue of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Tuthmosis III in his procession
<i>hry mrwt n [Jmn]</i>	chief of the weavers of [Amen]

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 25; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 172, fig. 94.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?).

#### IX.7. *Jr-h3t=sn*

Title(s): Unknown. Probably an employee in the mortuary temple of Amenophis I.

<i>šms nb=f m jwt=f</i>	one who follows his lord in his travels
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**Bibl.** Stela with Irhatsen offering to Amenophis I; *Catalogue of the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*, Cairo 1979, 71, fig. 54 (no. 91).

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

**IX.8.** *ḫpr-rꜥ-snb*

Title(s): Second priest of...Menkheperre.

*hm-nṯr snw...Mn-ḫpr-rꜥ*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 6; de Buck, *JEOI* 15, 1957-58, 7.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.9.** *Wsr-ḥꜣt*

Title(s): Overseer of weavers, listener to the call of Menkheperre.

*ḥry mrwt*

chief of weavers

*sdm ḫꜣ n Jmn*

listener to the call of Amen

*sdm ḫꜣ n Mn-ḫpr-rꜥ*

listener to the call of Menkheperre

**Bibl.** Hermitage stela 1093; Cairo stela CG 34045, Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel empire*, 78-79; British Museum 346; National Museum of Stockholm 42, M. Mogensen, *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*, Copenhagen 1919, 31-32; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, 1966, 108-16, and table, n. 40.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Userhat's wife, Henetnofret, also possesses a stela depicting Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, presumably as coregents; see Chapter I Part II, fig. 14 (no. 41 of the source list there).

**IX.10.** *Pꜣ-wꜣḥ*

Title(s): *wꜣb*-priest of Menkheperre in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*wꜣb n Mn-ḫpr-rꜥ m ḥnkt-ḥḥ*

*wꜣb*-priest of Menkheperre in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III

*ḥry-ḥb n(?) sꜣ n nswt Wꜣḏ-ms*

lector priest of the king's son Wadjmose

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 13; Gardiner, *Orientalia* 6, 1937, 358-59.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**IX.11.** *Mry*

Title(s): *wꜣb*-priest of Menkheperre in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*wꜥb n Mn-hpr-rꜥ m hnkꜥt-ꜥnh*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 16; Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 19, 1897, 87.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

Not to be confused with the high priest of Amen by the same name, II Priesthood, no. 10.

**IX.12.** *Nb-Jmn*

Title(s): *wꜥb*- priest of Menkheperre.

*wꜥb n Mn-hpr-rꜥ*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 11; Weigall, *ASAE* 7, 1906, 130.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**IX.13.** *Mn-hpr*, or *Mn-hpr-rꜥ-snb*

Title(s): *wꜥb*-priest in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*jmy-r šnwty*

overseer of the double granary

*jmy-r šnwty n nb tꜥwy*

overseer of the double granary of  
the Lord of the Two lands

*jmy-r šnwty n nb tꜥwy n Jwnw mh*

overseer of the double granary of  
the Lord of the Two Lands in  
Heliopolis

*jmy-r šnwty n Šmꜥw, [Mhw]*

overseer of the double granary of  
Upper and Lower Egypt

*wꜥb n Jmn m hnkꜥt-ꜥnh*

*wꜥb*-priest of Amen in the  
mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III  
royal scribe

*sš nswt*

scribe of offerings of Amen in the  
mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III

*sš htpw-nꜥr n Jmn m hnkꜥt-ꜥnh*

**Bibl.** TT 79; *PM* I, i, 156-57; Virey, *MMAF* V, 322-36; in preparation by H. Guksch; *Urk.* IV, 1190-1205; 1515-38; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 388-89, 498-99; Kees, *Priestertum*, 75; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 39; Legrain, *ASAE* 7, 1906, 187; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 118; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 90.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**IX.14** *Nb-n-mꜥꜥt*

Title(s): Temple scribe in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*sš hwt n hnkꜥt-ꜥnh*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 38; *Urk.* IV, 1201.14.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.15.** *Nb-sny*

Title(s): Overseer of the [ ? ] of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*jmy-r..... n Jmn m hnk-t-ꜥnh*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 34; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 197; Helck, *Materialien*, 97.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.16.** *Nfr-hb=f*

Title(s): Second priest of ʿAkheperure.

*hm-nꜥr snw n ʿꜥ-hꜥrw-rꜥ*

**Bibl.** Known only from statue of his father, the chamberlain (*jmy-hnt*) *Jtꜣw*, British Museum no. 31, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VIII, 6-7; *Urk.* IV, 1503-4; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 54, Kees *Priestertum*, 19, 73.

**Temp.** Amenophis II(?)

Another(?) Neferhebef is mentioned in the tomb of Kha, VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 6; *PM* I, i, 16; see also the following entry.

**IX.17.** *Nfr-hb=f*

Title(s): *wꜥb*-priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*wꜥb n Jmn m hnk-t-ꜥnh*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 17; Weigall, *ASAE* 7, 1906, 134.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

See also the preceding entry.

**IX.18.** *Rꜥ*

Title(s): High priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*hm-nꜥr tꜣy n Jmn m mn-st*

high priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Ahmose-Nofretari

*hm-nꜥr tꜣy n Jmn m (hwt) hnk-t-ꜥnh*

high priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III

*hm-nꜥr tꜣy n Jmn m dsr-ꜥht*

high priest of Amen in the

*hm-nṯr tpy n Jmn m dsr-st*

mortuary temple of *dsr-ḏḥt*  
(at Deir el-Bahari)

high priest of Amen in *dsr-st* (in  
Medinet Habu)

*hm-nṯr tpy n Jmn n Mn-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup> m  
hntk-ḥnḥ*

high priest of Amen, of Tuthmosis  
III in the mortuary temple of  
Tuthmosis III

high priest of Tuthmosis III

*hm-nṯr tpy n Mn-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup>  
hm-nṯr tpy n Hwt-hr hryt-jb  
hntk-ḥnḥ*

high priest of Hathor who dwells  
in the mortuary temple of  
Tuthmosis III

**Bibl.** TT 72; *PM* I, i, 142-43; *Urk.* IV, 1368, 1457-59; Kees, *Priestertum*,  
Nachtrag 72; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table n. 1; G. Legrain, *ASAE* 7, 1906, 187.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### IX.19. *Hwy*

Title(s): Second priest of Tuthmosis III(?); priest of Amen; perhaps:  
offering-bearer of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*hm-nṯr snw n Mn-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup>  
hm-nṯr n Jmn*

second priest of Tuthmosis III(?)  
priest of Amen

**Bibl.** Upper part of votive stela in Denver; *PM* VII, 163; Helck, *Materialien*,  
96; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 9.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis III.

#### IX.20. *Hwy*

Title(s): *w<sup>cb</sup>*-priest, scribe of the temple...Amenophis II in the west.

*w<sup>cb</sup>  
sš hwt-nṯr ..... ḥḥ-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup> hr jmntt*

**Bibl.** Inscription on base of sphinx of Amenophis II, CG 42078; G. Legrain,  
*Statues et statuettes* I, 45-46.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

#### IX.21. *Hwy*

Title(s): Offering-bearer of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III;  
perhaps second priest of Tuthmosis III(?).

*f3j wch n Jmn m (hwt) hntk-ḥnḥ*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 37; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 50.  
**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**IX.22.** *Hḥ-m-W3st*

Title(s): Listener to the call of Tuthmosis III.

*sdm ḥḥ n Mn-ḥpr-rḥ*

**Bibl.** Name occurs in TT 248 of *Dḥwty-ms*, (*PM* I, i, 335),. *Urk.* IV, 1642.10; Helck, *Materialien*, 97.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.23.** *Hḥ-m-nṯr*

Title(s): *wḥb*-priest of Amenophis II.

*wḥb n ḥ3-ḥprw-rḥ*

**Bibl.** Name occurs in TT 248 of *Dḥwty-ms*; *Urk.* IV, 1642.6; Helck, *Materialien*, 98.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.24.** *S-ḳd*

Title(s): Second priest of Menkheperre.

*hm-nṯr snw n (Mn-ḥpr-rḥ)*

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 7; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 118 (son of *K3-m-Jmn*); Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 590.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.25.** *S3-mwt*

Title(s): Chief confectioner of Menkheperre in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*jry bnrtj Mn-ḥpr-rḥ*

confectioner of Menkheperre

*hry jry bnrtj (Mn-ḥpr-rḥ) m hntk-ḥnḥ* chief confectioner of Menkheperre  
 in the mortuary temple of  
 Tuthmosis III

**Bibl.** Hermitage stela 1093; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, 1966, 108-16, and table, n. 35; Stuttgart stela, W. Spiegelberg and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine*

*und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen* I, Strassburg 1902, 17, pl. 17, no. 30; double statue of *S3-mwt* and his wife *Mwt-nfrt*, Louvre A53, Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, 113, n. 26.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III (Amenophis II?).

**IX.26.** *K3-m-Jmn*

Title(s): Second priest of Menkheperre; second priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III.

*hm-ntr snw n Jmn m (hwt) hntk-ꜥnh* second priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III

*hm-ntr snw n Mn-hpr-rꜥ* second priest of Menkheperre

*hm-ntr 4-nw n Jmn* fourth priest of Amen

**Bibl.** Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 5; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 118; Kees, *Priestertum*, 73; A. de Buck, *JEOL* 15, 1957-58, 6; Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*, nos. 228, 590 (father of *S-ꜥd*).

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**IX.27.** *Dhwty-ms*

Title(s): Adjutant of the house of Tuthmosis III.

*jdhw n pr Mn-hpr-rꜥ*

**Bibl.** Appears on Hermitage stela 1093, Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, 1966, 108-116, and table, n. 30; probably the same man represented on Leiden stela 3, P.A.A. Boeser, *Stelen*, pl. 14, no. 3.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

**IX.28.** *Dhwty-ms*

Title(s): Offering-bearer to Menkheperre.

*wah n Mn-hpr-rꜥ*

**Bibl.** TT 248, *PM* I, i, 335; *Urk.* IV, 1642; Bogoslovski, *VDI* 4, table, n. 26; Helck, *Materialien*, 97.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

On the possible addition of one *Ndm*, *wꜥb*-priest in the temple of Amen and scribe, cf. *PM* II, 430.

## Tuthmosis III

## Amenophis II

J <sup>c</sup> h-ms high pr. of Amen	R <sup>c</sup> high pr. of Amen		
Jmn-m-hb O. of the temple of T. III	Nb-sny O. of [?] of Amen		
ᶜ3-ḥpr-r <sup>c</sup> -snb 2nd pr. of [?] T. III	S-qd 2nd pr. of T. III	K3-m-Jmn 2nd pr. of Amen & T. III	Hwy 2nd pr. of T. III(?)
Wsr-h3t O. of weavers; listener to the call	S3-mwt chief con- fectioner of T. III		Hwy scribe of the temple; w <sup>c</sup> b-priest
Jmn-m-mrw=f(?) Adjutant	Dḥwty-ms Adjutant		
Nb-n-m3ct scribe of the temple	Jmn-ḥtp ka-priest of the statue of the king		
Jmn-ḥtp w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of Amen	P3-w3h w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of T. III	Mn-ḥpr-(r <sup>c</sup> -snb) w <sup>c</sup> b-priest	Jmn-ms w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of Amen
Mry w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of T. III	Nb-Jmn w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of T. III	Nfr-hb=f w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of Amen	H <sup>c</sup> -m-ntr w <sup>c</sup> b-priest of A. II
Hwy offering-bearer of Amen	Dḥwty-ms offering-bearer of T. III	H <sup>c</sup> -m-W3st listener to the call of T. III	Jr-h3t=sn service titles unknown

FIG. 34. SECTION IX: THE MORTUARY TEMPLES.

## X. The Gold-working Industry

### X.1. *Wr-sw*

Title(s): Overseer of the gold mines of Amen.

*jmy-r h3swt*

overseer of the highlands

*jmy-r h3swt nbw n Jmn*

overseer of the gold mines of  
Amen

**Bibl.** Known only from Coptos statue, F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 2, 1915, 5-7; *Urk.* IV, 1490-92.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (cf. Griffith, 5, based on stylistic parallels).

### X.2. *Nb-sny*

Title(s): Overseer of goldsmiths of Amen.

Hieroglyphs not seen (unpublished funerary cone; *jmy-r nbw n Jmn?* )

**Bibl.** TT 401; *PM* I, i, 444; A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 46, 1947, 34.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

### X.3. *Nfr-rnpt* probably called *Kfy3*

Title(s): Goldworker, portrait-sculptor.

Hieroglyphs not seen.

**Bibl.** TT 140, *PM* I, i, 254.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II.

### X.4. *H3t-Rc*

Title(s): Overseer of goldsmiths of the temple of Re<sup>c</sup>.

*jmy-r nbw*

overseer of goldsmiths

*jmy-r nbw n pr Rc*

overseer of goldsmiths of the  
temple of Re<sup>c</sup>

*jt ntr n Jwnw*

god's father of Heliopolis

*jt ntr n Jtm*

god's father of Atum

**Bibl.** Block-stature Louvre E 25550, J. de Cenival, *RdE* 17, 1965, 15-20; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 136-37 no. 145.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Hatre's statue mentions the East Delta towns of *T3lw*, *Msn*, and *Jmt*, and concerns artisans in the area. On its relation to the Nebesheh statue of Minmose, and a possible sanctuary of Amen in the vicinity, see de Cenival, 20.

### X.5. *Sn-n3*

Title(s): Overseer of goldsmiths of Amen.

Hieroglyphs not seen.

**Bibl.** TT 169; *PM* I, i, 278-79.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Wr-sw O. of gold mines of Amen		
Nb-sny O. of goldsmiths of Amen	Sn-n3 O. of goldsmiths of Amen	H3t-rc O. of goldsmiths in the temple of Re <sup>c</sup>
Nfr-rnpt, probably called Kfj3 goldworker, portrait sculptor		

FIG. 35. SECTION X: THE GOLD-WORKING INDUSTRY.

## XI. The Granary

### XI.1. *Jmn-m-h3t*

Title(s): Scribe who counts the grain in the granary of divine offerings of Amen ---> IV Theban Administration, no. 2.

**XI.2.** *Wsr-h3t*

Title(s): scribe who counts the bread (rations) in Upper and Lower Egypt; child of the nursery.

*jmy-r nfrt n Jmn*

overseer of *nfrt*-cattle of Amen

*jdnw n whmw*

adjutant of heralds

*brd n k3p*

child of the nursery

*sš nswt*

royal scribe

*sš hsb t m Šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mhw*

scribe who counts the bread (rations) in Upper and Lower Egypt

**Bibl.** TT 56, *PM* I, i, 111-13; R. Mond, *ASAE* 6, 1905, 67-69; *UrK*. IV, 1476-80.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

The speech of Userhat's daughter, *Nbt-t3wy*, in TT 56 refers to the mortuary temples of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. His wife Mutnofret was a lady of Dendera, as was his second daughter, *Hnwt-nfrt*. Cf. the stela of Henetnofret in Leiden, Chapter I, fig.14.

**XI.3.** *Pn-Jn-hrt*

Title(s): Second priest of Onuris; overseer of the double granary ---> II Priesthood, no. 6.

**XI.4.** *M33-nht=f*

Title(s): Overseer of the double granary of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt; chief steward of the king---> VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 6.

**XI.5.** *Mn-hpr* or *Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb*

Title(s): Overseer of the double granary of the Lord of the Two Lands; *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III ---> IX Mortuary Temples, no. 13.

**XI.6.** *Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb*

Title(s): High priest of Amen; overseer of the double granary of Amen--> II Priesthood, no. 7.

**XI.7.** *Mry*

Title(s): High priest of Amen; overseer of the double granary of Amen--> II Priesthood, no. 11.

**XI.8. Nfr-htp**

Title(s): Overseer of the double granary.

*jmy-r šnwty*

**Bibl.** TT A.5, *PM* I, i, 448-49; L. Keimer, *RdE* 4, 1940, 49-58.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

**XI.9. Sn-nfr**

Title(s): Overseer of the double granary; mayor of Thebes----> IV Theban Administration, no. 6.

Sn-nfr mayor of Thebes; O. of double granary	M33-nbt=f O. of double granary of the king in U. & L. Egypt	Mn-ḥpr=(r <sup>c</sup> -snb) O. of double granary of Lord of 2 Lands	Mry high pr. of Amen; O. of double granary
Pn-jn-ḥrt O. of double granary	Mn-ḥpr-r <sup>c</sup> -snb O. of double granary of Amen	Nfr-ḥtp O. of double granary	
Jmn-m-ḥ3t scribe who counts the grain in the granary of divine offerings of Amen		Wsr-ḥ3t scribe who counts the bread in U. & L. Egypt	

FIG. 36. SECTION XI: THE GRANARY.

**XII. Miscellaneous**

**XII.1. B3kj**, son of *Kysn* of *ḥwt-šm* (in the Sistrum nome of Upper Egypt)

Title(s): Tenant farmer.

*shwty*

**Bibl.** Addressee of a letter written by the mayor of Thebes, Sennefer (see below, Part II), pBerlin 10463, R.A. Caminos, *JEA* 49, 1963, 29-37.

**Temp.** Amenophis II (since dated to Sennefer).

## XII.2. Name lost

**Bibl.** TT A.9, *PM* I, i, 450.

**Temp.** Amenophis II.

Painted tomb with adoration scene of Amenophis II; cartouches now cut out.

## XII.3. Name lost

**Bibl.** TT 143; *PM* I, i, 255-56; *Urk.* IV, 1472-73; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53-55, n. 94.

**Temp.** Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II(?)

## XII.4. Name lost

**Bibl.** B.V. Bothmer, *Karnak V*, 1970-72, 115-18.

Compare also B. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 308, 334 (TT 63 Sobekhotep, currently under study by E. Dziobek); 351 (TT 108 Nebseny); 354 (Amenhotep-si-se's father Ahmose in TT 75); and 402 n. 314; C.C. Van Siclen, *NARCE* 91, 1974, 35.

\* \* \*

## Part II: Some Major Officials of Amenophis II

### Amenemopet (I Administration, no. 1)

The details of Amenemopet's career are completely lost to us. His predecessor, Rekhmire, certainly survived into the reign of Amenophis II, for scenes in his well-known tomb at Thebes (TT 100) show him sailing to Hutsekhem (modern Hu) to visit the new king, presumably after

Tuthmosis III's death.<sup>3</sup> The transition from Rekhmire to Amenemopet was an historically significant event, for Rekhmire was the last member of a family which had occupied the vizierate since the time of Hatshepsut. Rekhmire's uncle was Useramen, vizier during parts of the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, and his grandfather, Ahmose, had served under Hatshepsut.<sup>4</sup> It would be interesting to know if Rekhmire's family had become too powerful, consequently forcing Amenophis II to install Amenemopet, an individual with less influential family ties. As the representations in TT 100 show, Rekhmire certainly did not lack for sons, so the problem was definitely not the absence of a male heir.<sup>5</sup>

Following the departure of Rekhmire's family from the scene, Amenemopet and his relatives flourished under Amenophis II. With Amenemopet himself as vizier, and his brother Sennefer as mayor of Thebes (IV Theban Administration, no. 6) this nouveau riche family must have exercised considerable influence over much of the contemporary administration. Their association with the king was of the closest nature, for their father was Ahmose-Humay, overseer of the harem and instructor of the king (= the future Amenophis II).<sup>6</sup> In addition, both Ahmose and his son Amenemopet married women of the king's harem, and Sennefer's wife was a royal nurse.<sup>7</sup>

The greatest honor bestowed upon Amenemopet and his brother consisted of a tomb, or at least some sort of sepulchre, for each man in the Valley of the Kings, despite the fact that neither was of royal blood, and both already possessed tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.<sup>8</sup> Non-royal individuals were buried in the Valley so seldom that this privilege, coupled with the rest of

<sup>3</sup> See P.E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmire*, Westminster 1900, 20; *Urk.* IV, 1159-60. Van Siclen dates this episode to the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Urnarti*, San Antonio 1982, 49, but his suggestion cannot be substantiated. On the date of the vizier texts in Rekhmire's tomb, see W.C. Hayes in *CAH*<sup>3</sup>, II, i, 355, and more recently G.P.F. van den Boorn, "On the Date of 'The Duties of the Vizier'," *Orientalia* 51, 1982, 369-81.

<sup>4</sup> See the genealogy in Helck, *Verwaltung*, 435 (besonderes Blatt).

<sup>5</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes II*, New York 1943, pls. 9, 10, 70-71, 75, 77, 85, 95, 103.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmose's tomb is TT 224; note Helck's inaccurate remarks in *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Dynastie*, Leipzig 1939, 35 n. 1, which he corrects in *Verwaltung*, 297 n. 1 with additional references.

<sup>7</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 297.

<sup>8</sup> Tomb no. 48 for Amenemopet, *PM* I, ii, 565; no. 42 for Sennefer (or Tuthmosis IV), *ibid.*, 559.

the family's honors, labels Amenemopet's clan as perhaps the most trusted of all by Amenophis II.<sup>9</sup>

Although Amenemopet and his familial generation rose to power, no children or other descendants obtained influential status comparable to his. Indeed, so far as we know, his family disappears politically with his death. Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about his accomplishments during his tenure as vizier.

### Usersatet (III Local Administration, no. 3)

In contrast to Amenemopet, Usersatet is known from a multitude of inscriptions found at such sites as Semna, Amara west, Wadi Halfa, Sehel, Qasr Ibrim and Deir el-Medineh. Usersatet enjoyed close association with his king as a *brd n kꜣꜣ*, "child of the nursery." His father, Sa-Amen, carried no particular titles, but his mother, Nenhermenetes (*Nn-hr-mnt=s*), was a lady of the harem. As a child of the nursery, Usersatet grew up with the future king and other members of the royal family. He may have shared his sovereign's interest in horses and archery and perhaps even accompanied him on his visits to the Pyramids of Giza.<sup>10</sup>

Usersatet began his career as a royal herald (*whm nswt*), and in this capacity may have accompanied Amenophis to Takhsy in year 3.<sup>11</sup> It is unclear whether he participated in the campaigns of years 7 and 9. At some point after his military exploits, he was promoted to "overseer of the house of Medum."<sup>12</sup> Apparently a royal residence was established there, but no other references to it are known. It must have been inferior to the residence at Peru-nefer, for the latter pervades the documents of both

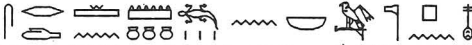
<sup>9</sup> Another example is the tomb of Maiherperi, no. 36; *PM* I, ii, 556-57. Although his mummy wrappings bear Hatshepsut's cartouche, and he is usually dated to the queen's reign, W.S. Smith calls him a contemporary of Amenophis II; see *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*<sup>6</sup>, Boston 1960, 124.

<sup>10</sup> See the great Sphinx stela of Amenophis II, translated below in Chapter IV.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter II Part I, and Helck, "Eine Stele des Vizekönigs *Wsr-Št.t.*," *JNES* 14, 1955, 30. In line 5 of this (Semna) stela, he is called *snnj*, "chariot-soldier," *ibid.*, 26 (k), and *Urk.* IV, 1344.1; on the word in general, see A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, *MÄS* 6, Berlin 1964, 59-62 (this last reference from L. Bell).

<sup>12</sup> British Museum stela no. 623, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII, pl. 34 line 5; *Urk.* IV, 1487.2.

Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.<sup>13</sup> For which king the house of Medum was originally built, and for how long it was in use is also unknown.

After his service at Medum, Usersatet received his final and highest promotion to "King's son and overseer of the southern foreign lands," or viceroy of Nubia.<sup>14</sup> Tuthmosis III's viceroy, Nehi, occupied the position from year 23-52 at least, but no evidence concerning Usersatet's assumption of the post is forthcoming.<sup>15</sup> Whether another viceroy served in between Nehi and Usersatet is likewise unclear. Despite the abundance of Usersatet's stelae, we learn little of his accomplishments in Nubia. In a stela from Amara west, Usersatet reports only that  (I) erected many monuments for (my) lord, this perfect god (Urk. IV, 1485.13).

One monument, however, provides evidence of Amenophis II's military activity in Nubia. This is Usersatet's Ibrim shrine no. 4, whose texts were interpreted above in Chapter II Part III C as evidence of actual campaigning in the south and not mere tribute-collection.<sup>16</sup> And at Uronarti, it has recently been suggested that Usersatet may have overseen the third and final building stage of the chapel of Sesostris III, which apparently dates to the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.<sup>17</sup>

By far Usersatet's most interesting and informative document is his stela from Semna fort, discovered by the Boston Museum expedition in 1924, and

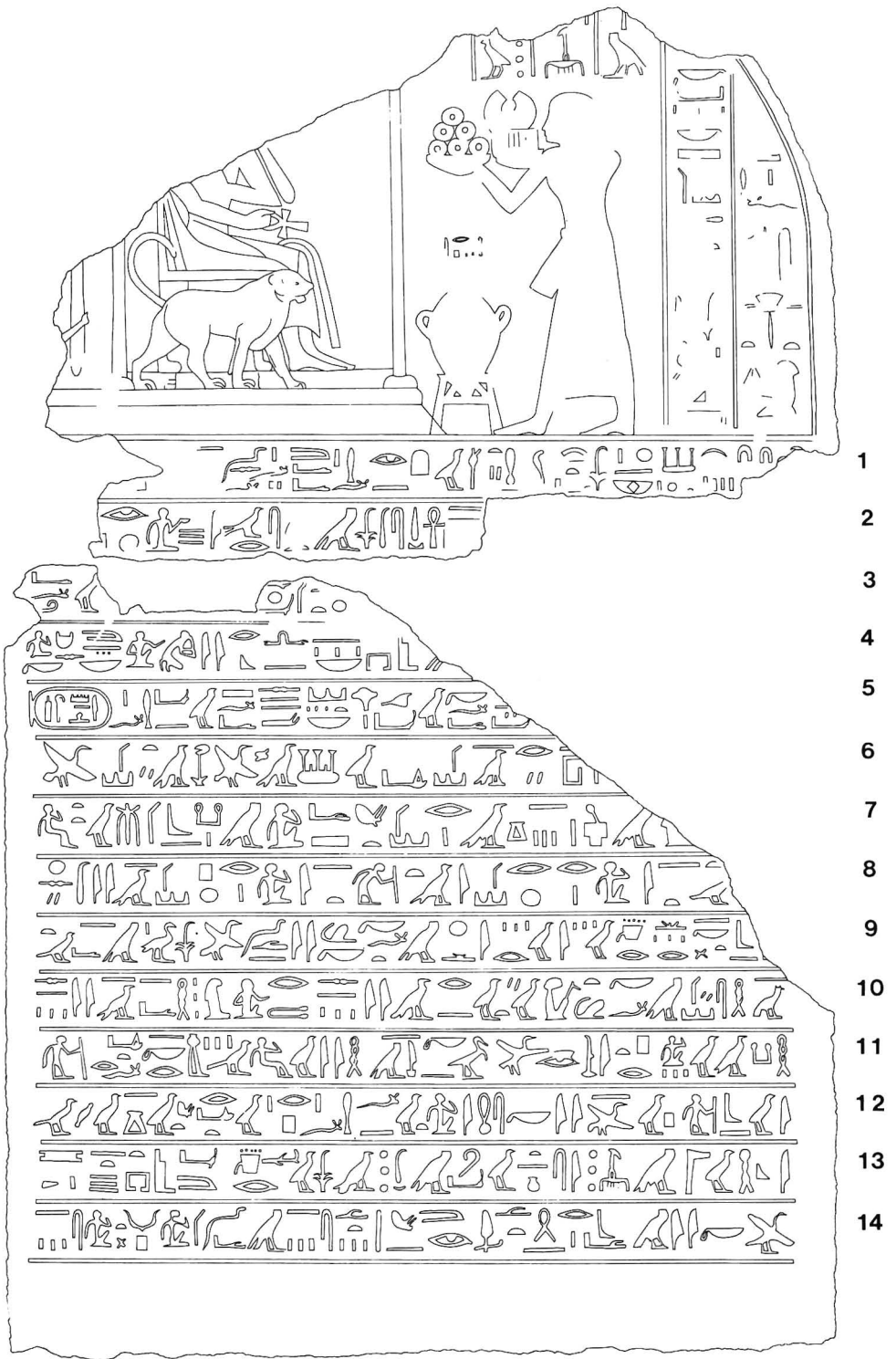
<sup>13</sup> See S.R.K. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056," *ZAS* 66, 1931, esp. 108-109; and in general W. Helck, "Perunefer," in *LA* IV, 990.

<sup>14</sup> The fuller version of the title "King's son of Kush" (*sš nswt n Kš*) first appears under Tuthmosis IV; G. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," *JEA* 6, 1920, 78; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 316.

<sup>15</sup> Helck, *JNES* 14, 30-31; R.A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, London 1968, 75. On Egyptian administration of the south in general at this period, see now D. O'Connor in Trigger et. al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 252-70.

<sup>16</sup> Caminos, *Ibrim*, 59-75.

<sup>17</sup> Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 37 fig. 18; 41-42, 47(G); M. Dewachter, *Archéologia* 72, July 1974, 54-58.



0 5 CM

PDM

FIG. 37. MFA 25.632; SEMNA STELA OF USERSATET.

now in the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 37).<sup>18</sup> At the top of the stela, Usersatet offers to Amenophis II, who sits enthroned under a canopy with a pet lion by his side. A large jar of wine<sup>19</sup> stands between the two figures. The important chronological aspects of the text, in particular its year 23 date and mention of IV 𓃏t 1 as the king's accession day, have been discussed in Chapter I. Unfortunately, by the time the stela was drawn for publication in 1980, the three strokes in the year number "twenty-three" were no longer visible.

Usersatet's Semna stela provides one of the rare glimpses into the character of Amenophis II's personality, as well as his relationship with one of his highest officials and closest friends. Rather than the formal tone of the king's other official inscriptions, this text contains a personal letter from Amenophis to Usersatet, written in the contemporary colloquial language. A full translation of the text below the lunette follows.

(1) Year 23, fourth month of 𓃏t, day 1, the day of the festival of the king's accession. Copy of an order which his Majesty made with his own two hands for the [king's son, Usersatet]...(2)...of Pharaoh<sup>20</sup> - Life! Prosperity! Health! - while sitting and drinking, and making holiday. (3)...might, brave with strong arm, who binds (4) [the northerners, and who overthrows the southerners(?)] in all of their places. There are no enemies (left) in any land.

You sit (5)...a brave one, who takes plunder from all lands, a chariot-soldier who fights for his Majesty, Amenophis, who-rules-in-Heliopolis...(6)...Neharin, who gives orders to Pꜣḥꜣty<sup>21</sup>; the (7) [possessor of a wo]man from Babylon, and a servant from Byblos, of a young (8) maiden from Alalah and an old lady from Arapha. The people of Takhsy (9) are completely worthless. Of what are they<sup>22</sup> trustworthy?

<sup>18</sup> MFA 25.632; expedition no. 24-2-319; Helck, *JNES* 14, 22-31; D. Dunham and J.M.A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, Boston 1960, 17, pl. 82. See also a second stela in Boston from the same expedition, *ibid.*, 43-44, pl. 39c. The author is indebted to W.K. Simpson for permission to publish this monument here. Another recent translation may be found in R.J. Leprohon, *Stelae II*, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> Probably *jrp nfr* "good wine," cf. Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, 17 and our fig. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Helck's restoration, *Urk.* IV, 1343.12; *idem*, *Übersetzung*, 50.

<sup>21</sup> Or "the Hittite"? Cf. D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten The Heretic King*, Princeton 1984, 32. Redford goes on to metaphorically equate the following list of cities with the women assigned to them.

<sup>22</sup> On this early example of the use of the third person plural suffix =w, see B. Kroeber, *Die Neuegyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*, Tübingen 1970, 38. An alternative translation of this passage (*Urk.* IV, 1344.3-8) may be found in C.C. Van Siclen, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 2.

Further speech to the king's son: Do not trust<sup>23</sup> (10) the Nubians, but be wary of their people and of their (11) magicians. Watch the servant of private citizens whom you have brought in order to promote him; (12) although he is not an official of your (stature?, nevertheless) let him be reported to his Majesty<sup>24</sup>, in order to<sup>25</sup> cause (the proverb) to be heard: "In the absence of (13) a battle-axe of fine gold, bound with bronze, a staff from the canal bank (14) is as good as one from acacia." Do not listen to their words, and pay no heed to their message.<sup>26</sup>

On the one hand, Amenophis denigrates the inhabitants of Takhsy; on the other, he warns his viceroy of the danger of Nubian magicians. Gardiner calls this "A typically Egyptian combination of naïveté and boastfulness!"<sup>27</sup> More importantly, however, the king seems to be reminiscing over his early years, as he sits back and imbibes during his accession feast. Memories of his exploits with Usersatet in Retenu appear to have raised a desire to contact his now distant friend and viceroy in the south. The letter certainly lacks official orders or instructions, at least of a normal royal nature, and can hardly be an example of everyday correspondence. Towards the end of the text the king seems to offer some concrete advice in dealing with the southerners, but these admonitions are tied to a proverb(?) whose meaning may ever escape us. Proud of his close relationship with the king, Usersatet ordered the letter cut in stone and erected in Semna fort.

It would be interesting to learn the outcome of this relationship. Several representations of Usersatet have been willfully erased and destroyed, leading some scholars to suggest a fall from favor.<sup>28</sup> Whether this occurred under Amenophis II, during the period of Tuthmosis IV's succession, or later at the hands of private individuals is unknown. His tomb has never been found, and the reasons for this are also uncertain. Usersatet's enemies may have destroyed it, or the viceroy may have constructed it in a region other than Thebes, such as in Nubia, or even possibly Medum.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Infinitive *nꜣjt* after vetitive *m*, *ibid.*, 174.

<sup>24</sup> Alternatively, "whom you could have reported to his Majesty," Helck, *JNES* 14, 25; Kroeber, *Neuägyptizismen*, 133, 189.

<sup>25</sup> Kroeber takes *rꜣ-pw* as marking a new sentence, *ibid.*, 55, as does Helck, *JNES* 14, 25.

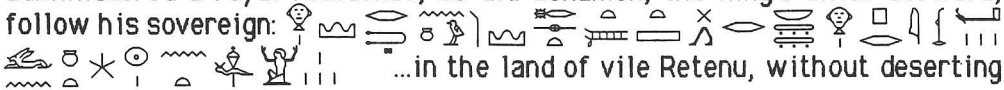
<sup>26</sup> Late Egyptian vetitive *m jr* followed immediately by the classical form *m*, *ibid.*, 186.

<sup>27</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, 199.

<sup>28</sup> See Helck, *JNES* 14, 31; L. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan," *Kush* 5, 1957, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Habachi, *ibid.*, 22 suggests Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan as the most likely place for Usersatet's tomb.

Qenamem (III Local Administration, no. 11)

Just as Usersatet accompanied Amenophis II to Retenu and later administered a royal residence, so did Qenamem, the king's chief steward, follow his sovereign:  ...in the land of vile Retenu, without deserting the Lord of the Two Lands upon the battlefield, in the hour of repulsing the myriads."<sup>30</sup>

Once again, one of Amenophis' highest officials was also a personal acquaintance of the king. Qenamem was a foster brother of Amenophis, as were his two brothers, Kaemheryibsen and possibly a mayor of This whose name is destroyed.<sup>31</sup> Qenamem may have stepped directly into his father's shoes, for the latter also served as steward, though his name is lost. Qenamem's mother, Amenemopet (not to be confused with the king's vizier), was a royal nurse.

More than eighty titles and epithets belong to Qenamem, but his most important duty was the administration of Peru-nefer, Amenophis' naval base and royal residence near Memphis.<sup>32</sup> The relationship of Qenamem's Peru-nefer to Usersatet's house of Medum is unclear, but the two residences were presumably no great distance apart, and the two officials were probably in contact with each other. Effective organization and communication would have been especially necessary when the king was absent from Egypt, such as during the campaigns of years 7 and 9. As noted earlier, in Lower Egypt the more important residence was most likely Peru-nefer, for it is mentioned numerous times, while Medum appears only as a title of Usersatet's.<sup>33</sup>

Other positions which Qenamem filled include troop commander (*hry pdt*) and overseer of all construction works (*jmy-r k3wt nb*). The former title refers to Qenamem's earlier service in the military before his assumption of the stewardship. Amenophis was particularly fond of archery, as many of

<sup>30</sup> From the tomb of Qenamem (TT 93), N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1930, pl. 44, line 5; *Urk.* IV, 1405.10-11.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the remarks above III Local Administration, no. 7 *Mnw.*

<sup>32</sup> For a recent translation of the investiture text of Qenamem, see Redford, *Akhenaten*, 32-33.

<sup>33</sup> For more on Peru-nefer, see Davies, *Ken-Amun*, 12 n. 1, and our note 13 above.

his texts report (see Chapter IV Part II), and Qenamem's skills in this area may be related to his responsibility for the king's favorite residence. The second title lists architectural duties for Qenamem, in which capacity he may have consulted with Amenophis' chief builder, Minmose (VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 3). But although this title is a most important one, Qenamem seems to have held it in an honorary capacity; Minmose was by far the more active and influential architect.<sup>34</sup>

Honored as Qenamem was, the names and figures in his massive tomb (TT 93) show intentional mutilation similar to that of the monuments of Usersatet. If he "fell" from favor, no clues allow a determination of when or why he fell. In his tomb one must distinguish between secular erasures, and Atenist erasures; the latter are particularly numerous here since Qenamem's name is compounded with that of the god most despised by Akhenaten.<sup>35</sup>

#### Sennefer (IV Theban Administration, no. 6)

Amenophis II's Theban mayor, Sennefer, was mentioned above in connection with his brother Amenemopet. Like Amenemopet, Sennefer seems to have received the honor of a tomb or cenotaph in the Valley of the Kings (no. 42), perhaps rendering his subterranean sepulchre at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, with its famous grape-arbor ceiling, superfluous. The Valley of the Kings tomb was originally intended for Tuthmosis II, but was subsequently abandoned.<sup>36</sup>

Sennefer possessed many titles beyond that of Theban mayor; but the chronology of his acquisition of these titles is difficult to untangle. He associates himself with the town of Qus, to the north of Thebes, and some have suggested that this was his birthplace.<sup>37</sup> In TT 96 he names a certain second priest of Hareris of Qus, Nu, as his "father," although Ahmose-Humay and the lady of the harem, Nebu, were his actual parents. He himself bore the title of "overseer of priests of Hareris Lord of Qus."<sup>38</sup> In addition,

<sup>34</sup> Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, 13, no. 18.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, pls. 43, 60.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, New York 1959, 79, 146. See also *PM I*, ii, 559; H. Carter, *ASAE* 2, 1901, 196-200; Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty of Egypt*, Princeton 1935, 7-10, 15-16. Foundation deposits for Queen Merytre-Hatshepsut were found outside the entrance.

<sup>37</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 423; Kees, *Das Priestertum im altägyptischen Staat*, PdÄ 1, Leiden - Cologne 1953, 55.

<sup>38</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 526.

a hieratic letter links Sennefer to Qus (see translation below). One problem with identifying Qus as Sennefer's birthplace, however, is the fact that no other members of his family mention the town at all.

Sennefer's earliest employment was in the temple of Amen at Karnak, where he was responsible for gardens, plantations, and wood supplies. A papyrus of unknown provenance, now in the Berlin Museum (no. 10463) contains a letter from Sennefer (as mayor) to a tenant-farmer in the Upper Egyptian Sistrum nome, requesting the above-mentioned materials.<sup>39</sup> Sennefer may have been writing about a private affair, but more likely was requisitioning materials for the temple of Amen; the papyrus itself was found with seal intact, and was thus presumably never read by its intended recipient. What follows below is essentially Caminos' translation, and the reader may consult his article for lexical and grammatical notes.

Recto: (1) The mayor of the southern city Sennefer speaks to the tenant-farmer Baki son of Kysen as follows: This letter is brought to you by way of saying that I shall (2) approach you when one will land at He-sekhem within three days. Do not let me find fault with you (3) concerning your post. Do not have it lacking in good, good order. Also pick for me many plants, lotus blossoms and flowers (4)... fit to be offered. Also cut 5000 boards (?) and 200...; then (5) the boat which is to come carrying me will fetch them, seeing that you have not cut wood in this year. Now mind, you shall not slack; (6) if you are not allowed to cut you shall approach Woser, the mayor of Hu. Look here, the herdsman of Qus (7) and the herdsman of the cattle which is under my authority, fetch them for yourself in order to cut wood along with the workmen who are with you.

Verso: (1) Also give command to the herdsman in order to cause them to have milk made ready in new jars (2) in anticipation of my coming. Now mind, you shall not slack, for I know that you (3) are sluggish and fond of eating lying down. (4) (Address:) The mayor of the southern city Sennefer to // the tenant farmer Baki.<sup>40</sup>

Unfortunately, no dates associated with Sennefer's name allow us to pinpoint his tenure under Amenophis II. In fact, he is the first mayor of Thebes known to us since Qenamun from the reign of Hatshepsut (not to be confused with Amenophis II's chief steward (III Local Administration, no. 11). None of his other titles provides any aid in this connection, though they

<sup>39</sup> Published by R.A. Caminos, "Papyrus Berlin 10463," *JEA* 49, 1963, 29-37. Also of interest is Van Siclen's monograph on the garden and granary of Amen as represented in the tomb of Sennefer (among others), *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1982, 10-19.

<sup>40</sup> Caminos, *JEA* 49, 31.

are numerous.<sup>41</sup> Sennefer was married twice, once to a Meryt with no particular titles. Another wife, the royal nurse Senneferet (= *Snt-nšy?*)<sup>42</sup> is represented in TT 96 much more frequently than Meryt.

### Amenemheb (V The Military, no. 1)

The biographical inscription in Amenemheb's tomb (TT 85) is an Egyptian text of considerable assistance to the ancient historian. It is perhaps refreshing to read of the campaigns of Tuthmosis III, rather than some of the more bombastic language which fills many biographical inscriptions. Unfortunately for our study, most of the text applies to Tuthmosis III's reign, although it is in Amenophis II's presence that Amenemheb recites his autobiography.<sup>43</sup> At the end of the inscription, Tuthmosis' death, Amenophis' accession, and Amenemheb's service under the latter are described. Although parts of these passages were quoted in Chapter I, the entire final section of the biography is translated here.<sup>44</sup>

When dawn broke in the morning, (39) the sun shone forth, and heaven grew bright, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperure, son of Re', Amenophis, ruler of Thebes, given life (40) was established upon the throne of his father; he assumed the royal titulary; all of his...<sup>45</sup> he joined the *qst* <sup>46</sup> ... (41) the Red Land. He cut off the heads of their chiefs, having risen as the Horus, son of Isis.


<sup>41</sup> Compare our list above, IV Theban Administration, no. 6, and see esp. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 526.

<sup>42</sup> *Snt-nšy* is the only name to occur on monuments outside of TT 96. Helck's name *Snm-j'ḥ* appears to be a misreading. The author is indebted to C. Roehrig, University of California, Berkeley, for information gathered during her examination of the upper portion of TT 96 in 1985.

<sup>43</sup> The biography was thought to describe some five different campaigns of Tuthmosis III in particular order. See Breasted, *ARE* II, 227-28, SS 574-75. Gardiner, however, sees only one campaign, the eighth (of year 33), in the entire account, *AEO* I, 153\*-58\*. See also in general J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, 240-41; and R.O. Faulkner, "The Euphrates Campaign of Tuthmosis III," *JEA* 32, 1946, 39-42.

<sup>44</sup> *Urk.* IV, 896.4 - 897.17; Breasted, *ARE* II, 318-19, SS 807-809.

<sup>45</sup> ; *Urk.* IV, 896.10; *Wb.* V, 355.9.

<sup>46</sup> ; *Wb.* V, 5.2 suggests a foreign people or place name. Traces on Metropolitan Museum photograph 2573 reveal what are very possibly the legs of a bird after the bound prisoner determinative; enough room may also be left over for three strokes before the bird, thus forming the plural of *qst*. The expression *šbh m*, often means to "join (something) with/to (something)," *Wb.* I, 8.9, and one wonders if an enemy people is not somehow being punished in the desert. Compare Burkhardt, *Übersetzung*, 313: "Er zog zu den Qat-Leuten...rotes (Land?)"



The Military, no. 4), married a certain Neith who was both chief royal nurse and "governess of the God."<sup>50</sup>

How long Amenemheb survived into the reign of Amenophis II is an open question, but his advanced age at the time of Amenophis' accession indicates that he may not have lived to participate in the campaigns of years 7 and 9.<sup>51</sup> At present, no other monuments of significance equal to the biographical inscription have come to light for him. The only object to survive from his tomb is a part of his folding stool, with an identifying inscription. In his publication of the piece, Harris discusses the significance of the folding stool, the "seat of authority par excellence," as well as the title "bearer of the folding stool of the Lord of the Two Lands."<sup>52</sup>

### Minmose (VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 3)

This last official to be discussed here also served two pharaohs. Like Amenemheb, Minmose pursued most of his career under Tuthmosis III. The son of comparatively undistinguished parents, a certain Naiy (N3jy) and his wife, Rennefer<sup>53</sup>, Minmose eventually rose to fill the office of chief architect of the entire country, that is, "chief of construction works in the temples of all the gods."<sup>54</sup> As such, Minmose was responsible for one of the most important features of Egyptian society, the construction, restoration and maintenance of the buildings in which the gods themselves dwelled.

<sup>50</sup> Both Baki and Sennefret bore the title *šrt ntr* as well.

<sup>51</sup> Accepting Gardiner's theory that Amenemheb's biography describes only the eighth campaign of Tuthmosis III (in his thirty-third year), we would still arrive at quite an advanced age for the soldier by Amenophis II's reign. If in year 33 he was as young as twenty-five, by the death of Tuthmosis III, he would have been forty-six. Though the chronology of Amenophis' accession and campaigns is less than clear (see Chapter I), Amenemheb must needs have reached his middle fifties by the time of the king's military expeditions. While the architect Minmose had a long and productive career, one might logically assume his position to have required less physical exertion than campaigning in foreign lands with the king. For remarks on the longevity of some Middle Kingdom officials, cf. W.K. Simpson, "Historical and Lexical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions," *JNES* 18, 1959, 33.

<sup>52</sup> J.R. Harris, "The Folding Stool of a Famous Soldier," *Acta Orientalia* 37, 1976, 21-25; see also in general O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis. The Folding Stool. An Ancient Symbol of Authority*, Copenhagen 1980, 1ff. (this last reference courtesy M. Eaton-Krauss).

<sup>53</sup> Minmose is shown with his parents in a group statue from Nebesheh (Tell Faraoun); *Urk.* IV, 1445-46. See also Kees, *Priestertum*, 33 with n. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1443.1. A variant form is "overseer of construction works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt," *Urk.* IV, 1448.14.

Kees suggested that such a sacred occupation required, in addition to high status as an architect, distinguished religious rank as well.<sup>55</sup> This would explain the preponderance of religious titles which Minmose assembled; among other positions he was overseer of priests of Mentu of Thebes,<sup>56</sup> and opener of the mouth (= high priest) in Letopolis.<sup>57</sup> It is quite possible, however, that these titles were honorary, for on all of his monuments, Minmose gives primary concern to his architectural responsibilities.

Most likely early in his career, Minmose accompanied Tuthmosis III on various campaigns. His name has already appeared in Part I of Chapter II in connection with his remarks on Takhsy. In addition, he claims he watched his sovereign overthrow Nubia.<sup>58</sup> But apparently less interested in the life of a soldier, Minmose spent relatively little time in the military. This comes as no surprise, for his Medamud statue alone lists some nineteen different sites at which he was involved in temple construction. The final town listed is Byblos, where a temple to Hathor was located. Indeed, the inscription translated below credits Minmose with construction work stretching from Naharin in the north to Karoy, near Napata (Gebel Barkal) in Nubia. One might take such a claim as merely a literary device, for it names the contemporary northern and southern boundaries of Egypt, almost "the ends of the earth" to the New Kingdom Egyptian. However, the Medamud list eliminates any cause for suspicion by naming a string of sites credited to Minmose which practically do stretch from Naharin to Karoy.<sup>59</sup>

The only monument of Minmose which definitely belongs to the reign of Amenophis II is a limestone stela at one of the quarries of Tura. It is dated to Amenophis' fourth year, and concerns, among other things, Minmose's supervision of the construction of his sovereign's mortuary temple at Thebes.<sup>60</sup> He must have been near the end of his career by this point for, as we have seen, the majority of his accomplishments fell in Tuthmosis III's reign. Part I of Chapter II mentioned Gardiner's claim that this text

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<sup>55</sup> Kees, *Priestertum*, 34.

<sup>56</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1441.12.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1444.11.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1441.18.

<sup>59</sup> On this point see also Chapter II Part III C.

<sup>60</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1448.4-14; also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text I, 20; Daressy, "Inscriptions des carrières de Toureh et Mésarah," *ASAE* 11, 1911, 258; H. Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh* III, London 1842, pl. before p. 95; Breasted, *ARE* II, 315 S 800 (name incorrectly restored as *Mnw-htp*). Bryan, however, favors dating Minmose's Cairo statue to the coregency or sole reign of Amenophis II, *Tuthmosis IV*, 61-62.

described events under Tuthmosis III, even though the stela itself clearly dates the piece to Amenophis II.

(1) Year 4 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>c</sup>Akheperure, son of Re<sup>c</sup>, [Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis], given life. His Majesty commanded to open quarries anew, (2) in order to cut good limestone for the construction of his temples of millions of years, after his Majesty had found the quarries which are in Tura (3) beginning to decay [since the time] of the ancestors, by his Majesty anew (i.e., the opening of the quarries).

He acted that he might be given life, stability and dominion like Re<sup>c</sup> [eternally]. (4) Executed under the authority of the hereditary prince and count, favorite of the king in restoring his monuments, who is vigilant concerning the temples of the gods, who erects stelæ...(5) [in] the foreign land of Naharin and [Karo], the overseer of construction works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, the royal scribe, Min[mose].

Although not a child of the nursery or foster brother of the king, Minmose nevertheless enjoyed close relations with the court. His statue from Karnak shows him with two princes, one named *Ndm*, the other *Wbn-[snw]*.<sup>61</sup> Kees suggests that this stela is Minmose's latest,<sup>62</sup> i.e. dates *after* the Tura stela of year 4, and it is likely that the two princes, who are otherwise unknown, were sons of Amenophis II. It has been suggested that Minmose was eventually entrusted with the care of some of the royal children as a final honor for many years of service.<sup>63</sup>

After so much architectural achievement, it is perhaps ironic that the location of Minmose's own tomb, which might well have been one of the more impressive private structures of the period, is unknown. Since Minmose was apparently a northerner, he may have chosen a Delta site instead of the traditional Thebes. Another possibility is that his tomb is actually no. 59 at Thebes, later usurped by one Henetawy.<sup>64</sup> It would be interesting to see what this architect designed for his own house of eternity, and how he chose to cope with the inevitable problems threatening a successful and uninterrupted afterlife.


<sup>61</sup> The second name is restored from  ; *Urk.* IV, 1447.20.

<sup>62</sup> Kees, *Priestertum*, 35.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. H. De Meulenaere, "Le directeur des travaux Minmose," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 319; Kees, *Priestertum*, Nachträge 35. See also B. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 63-64, who fixes the birth of princes Webensenu and Nedjem within the first five years of Amenophis II's reign.

<sup>64</sup> *PM* I, ii, 628 tomb 59; De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 37, 319 n. 25.

## Part III: Summary Notes on the Administrative Policy of Amenophis II

Several aspects of the administration of Amenophis II are noteworthy. Among the numerous and often perplexing titles of Egyptian officials, one, namely  "fan-bearer on the right-hand side of the king," appears for the first time in Amenophis II's reign.<sup>65</sup> The title "fan-bearer" itself, of course, precedes Amenophis but the extended form of the title, held only by high officials, first occurs with such dignitaries as Genamen (III Local Administration, no. 11), Suemniut (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 15), and Ramose (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 12). An even greater title, though by no means original to Amenophis II's reign, was *jmy-r jhw n Jmn*, "overseer of the cattle of Amen."<sup>66</sup> The administration of Amen's estates, herds, and property was a task entrusted only to the upper echelons; under Amenophis II the cattle overseers included Genamen (III Local Administration, no. 11), Sennefer (IV Theban Administration, no. 6), and the architect Minmose (VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 3). A noteworthy future line of research might focus on how many individuals can hold the same title simultaneously; even within the small corpus above there are many titles which repeatedly occur under numerous officials.<sup>67</sup>

One office remains unaccounted for under Amenophis II. The policy of appointing two viziers, one for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, commenced with the reign of Tuthmosis III; Rekhmire seems to have administered the south, while Neferweben and/or Ptahmose commanded the north. The only vizier known for Amenophis II, however, once Rekhmire disappeared, is Amenemopet (I Vizierate, no. 1). Whether he controlled the entire country, or whether we simply have not found his northern counterpart is a question which must for the present go unanswered.

C. Aldred has often argued the existence of two separate courts, one for each coregent, and the appointment of totally new administrative personnel with the succession of each new Egyptian king. The argument has already come to bear indirectly upon Chapter I Part III above, where its validity was

<sup>65</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 282. On the cultic significance of feathers and fans, see L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," *Mélanges G.E. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 31-59. The author gratefully acknowledges Dr. Bell's permission to read this article in manuscript.

<sup>66</sup> On this title, see Kees, *Priestertum*, 33; Caminos, *JEA* 49, 35-36.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 303.

rejected.<sup>68</sup> A brief glance at the officials of Amenophis II alone provides sufficient evidence to counter Aldred's point further, for several of the king's top aids served Tuthmosis III earlier. Officials such as Amenemheb and Minmose led *most* of their respective careers under Tuthmosis.<sup>69</sup> After the death of his father, Amenophis II must have recognized their worth and experience and kept them in power. As the previous footnote shows, many of these men were members of the army.

Hand in hand with this respect for his father's best men, however, went Amenophis' newly initiated policy of surrounding himself primarily with officials he had grown up with and knew personally.<sup>70</sup> Either the king was simply exhibiting human nature by favoring familiar faces, or he was trying to tighten up the administration with men whose loyalty could be trusted; both factors may well have played a role here. Was there some kind of internal intrigue during Tuthmosis III's last years? Redford has already noted that Amenophis II was not the originally intended heir.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence is too meager to draw any firm conclusions. Neither has sufficient research been done on other reigns to determine to what extent Amenophis II may have set a trend with this policy. The problem is only compounded by the often unclear distinction between actual service, and merely honorary titles. But the numbers of successful royal acquaintances under Amenophis II seems excessive, and several families boasted many high officials all of the same generation. Amenophis' vizier, Amenemopet, and the mayor of the Theban capital Sennefer, were brothers, and both were evidently awarded some kind of sepulchre in the Valley of the Kings. Qenamun, the king's chief steward at Peru-nefer (III Local Administration, no. 11), could boast at least one brother in a position of influence. Kaemheryibsen, third priest of Amen (II Priesthood, no. 17), and possibly an (otherwise unknown) mayor of This as well.<sup>72</sup> Finally, children of the nursery, those raised at court with the king, abound under Amenophis II: Mentuiwy (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 7), Minhotep (VI The Treasury, no. 5), Paheqamen (VIII Construction and Architecture, no.

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<sup>68</sup> See Chapter I, note 81.

<sup>69</sup> Others who definitely served both kings include: Nebwawy (II Priesthood, no. 13); Dedi (IV Theban Administration, no. 7); Amenemhet (IV Theban Administration, no. 2); Amenmose (V The Military, no. 2); Pesukher (V The Military, no. 4); Tjanuny (V The Military, no. 9); Horemheb (V The Military, no. 7); Neferronpet (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 11); Samut (VIII Construction and Architecture, no. 7); Nebseny (X The Gold-working Industry, no. 2), and Neferronpet (X The Gold-working Industry, no. 3).

<sup>70</sup> Against this view, see Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 328–29.

<sup>71</sup> Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51, 1965, 108.

<sup>72</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 366.

1), Userhat (XI The Granary, no. 2), Nebenkemet (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 10), Usersatet (III Local Administration, no. 3), Paser (V The Military, no. 3), Heqareshu (VII Estate and Person of the King, no. 14), and Maanakhtef (VII Estate and Person of the king, no. 6). All of these men followed up their education at court with important service to the king. But no sources tell us whether these appointments were smooth ones, or the result of some kind of purge of previous administrators. Only through further study of New Kingdom officials, their relationships to their respective kings, and the significance of their titles, will we learn more of Egyptian administration and in particular, of the transition periods from one reign to the next.



## CHAPTER IV

### A CLOSER LOOK AT THE PERSON OF AMENOPHIS II

Up to this point our study has concentrated on the events and individuals pertinent to the reign of Amenophis II. This chapter returns to the focus of our discussion - the figure of the king himself.<sup>1</sup> What can we determine, if anything, about the character of Amenophis II, his interests, abilities and personal achievements, that cannot be said for other pharaohs of the dynasty? As the pharaonic tradition developed in its own way during the New Kingdom, rhetoric and repetition in the historical texts could almost be said to be the rule rather than the exception. Since so many kings claim the same capabilities, the same accomplishments and epithets, one could gain the impression that individual characteristics are lost in a blurred succession of monarchs. Of course, the paucity of textual material contributes to this impression of the royal line, but the Egyptians for their part intentionally perpetuated such repetition; their purpose was not only to achieve dynastic continuity but also to bolster the legitimacy of a given family by associating it with its predecessors. The task at hand then, in addition to discussing more mundane features of our king's youth and upbringing, is to extract the originality from the cliché, to define how the character of Amenophis II might have differed from that of other rulers of the first half of the New Kingdom. The larger question of how Amenophis fits into his dynasty, whether he is a cautious, conservative product of his family, or an innovator, is thus the underlying theme of this chapter.

Part I considers the king's youth and family, and contains a full translation of his famous Sphinx stela. This text also plays a critical role in Part II, a discussion of the "sporting tradition," or concept of the athletic (and military) king in the Eighteenth Dynasty. No one would deny that this concept is of central importance in defining the nature of the monarchy in

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent study concluding that the name "Amenophis" for the kings of Dynasty 18 reflects an error for "Amenemopet" in the transmission of Manetho, cf. J. Quaegebeur, "Amenophis, nom royal et nom divin; Questions méthodologiques," in S. Schoske, ed., *Fourth International Congress of Egyptology, Abstracts of Papers*, 26 August - 1 Sept. 1985, Munich 1985, 181-82, and idem, "Aménophis ou Amenhotep?" in *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie* 101 Jan. 1986, Egypte - Louqsor Temple du Ka Royal, 10 (inset). See also in general E. Hornung, "Amenophis II," in *LAI*, 203-206

this period,<sup>2</sup> and it is here that we hope to gain some insight into Amenophis II's character.

In conjunction with this chapter, Appendix III contains a source list briefly summarizing the construction projects undertaken by Amenophis II.

### Part I: The Family and Youth of Amenophis II

Amenophis II was apparently not the originally intended heir to his father's throne. Although he was the son of the great wife, Meryetre-Hatshepsut (II),<sup>3</sup> a previous wife of Tuthmosis III named *Sṣt-jḥ* seems at an earlier time to have born a son named Amenemhat, although filiation is not specifically stated.<sup>4</sup> In Tuthmosis III's twenty-fourth year, this Amenemhat was called the "king's eldest son," and was appointed to the position of overseer of the cattle of Amen, according to an inscription from the king's festival hall at Karnak.<sup>5</sup> At this time (year 24), Tuthmosis' great wife was still *Sṣt-jḥ*, who probably lived into the king's fourth decade on the throne.<sup>6</sup> Within the decade between years 24-35, prince Amenemhat died, *Sṣt-jḥ* disappeared and Tuthmosis married the non-royal Meryetre-Hatshepsut (II), Amenophis II's mother.<sup>7</sup> Tuthmosis' marriage probably

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. C. Hayes, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the death of Amenophis III," *CAH*<sup>3</sup> II, i, 333-38; and in reference to Amenophis II in particular, L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in *Mélanges Gamal Edtin Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 32.

<sup>3</sup> See Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 287, no. 52, and W. Seipel, "Hatshepsut II.," in *LA* II, 1052.

<sup>4</sup> D.B. Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51, 1965, 108. *Sṣt-jḥ* was daughter of the royal nurse Ipu, cf. A. Mariette, *Abydos*, Paris 1880, pl. 53b; cf. also Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 272-73; Breasted, *ARE* II, 244-45 S 612. On the lack of evidence for marriage between Neferure and Tuthmosis III see S. Ratié, *La Reine Hatchepsout. Sources et problèmes*, *Orientalia Monspeliensia* I, Leiden 1979, 313-14; Redford, "Thutmosis III.," *LA* VI 544.

<sup>5</sup> See *Urk.* IV, 1262.1 = our Chapter I Part II, no. 1 of source list, and also A.H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31, 1945, 16, and idem, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amen," *JEA* 38, 1952, 9, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Redford, *LA* VI, 544.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 1 with n. 2, and 2 n. 11. Meryetre-Hatshepsut is shown together with *Sṣt-jḥ* and the relatively unknown *Nbtw* in the tomb of Tuthmosis III; cf. V. Loret, "Le tombeau de Thoutmès III," *BIE* 3ème série no. 9, 1898 (Cairo 1899), 96, pl. 6. TT 24 belongs to the steward of Nebtu, Nebamen; *PM* I, i, 41-42; this in correction to Redford, *LA* VI, 544 n. 19 (and kindly pointed out by G. Robins).

occurred around the middle of his fourth decade.<sup>8</sup> As the Sphinx stela reports, Amenophis II was eighteen years old at his accession, thus his father's marriage indeed probably dates to late in his reign (see below).

Gauthier lists one other possible brother for Amenophis II named Tuthmosis,<sup>9</sup> and G. Robins has drawn attention to a certain prince Menkheperre represented on the British Museum seated statue of *Hwy*, no. EA 1280.<sup>10</sup> Amenophis' sister, Merytamen,<sup>11</sup> also born to Meryetre-Hatshepsut, was "king's daughter" (of Tuthmosis III), and "king's sister" (of Amenophis II). Helck has shown that contrary to previous belief, she was never married to Amenophis.<sup>12</sup>

Before moving on to Amenophis' youth, we should briefly name his wife and children. Amenophis' great wife was Tia (Tjꜣꜣ), who bore the additional titles of "god's wife," and "king's mother."<sup>13</sup> Her parents' identity is unclear; Hayes calls her a half sister of the king, while Redford notes the absence of the title "king's daughter," and merely assumes she was a daughter of Tuthmosis III.<sup>14</sup> At any rate, she was definitely the mother of Tuthmosis IV, as well as all of Amenophis II's other sons. She may also

<sup>8</sup> Compare Redford, *JEA* 51, 108, with idem, *LA* VI, 544.

<sup>9</sup> Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 274 no. 67B; A.H. Gardiner, "A statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose," *ZAS* 43, 1906, 56.

<sup>10</sup> G. Robins, "Meritamun, Daughter of Ahmose, and Meritamun, Daughter of Thutmose III," *GM* 56, 1982, 82-83.

<sup>11</sup> Not Ahmose-Merytamen; cf. W. Helck, "Zu den Königinnen Amenophis' II.," *GM* 53, 1982, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 23-25; see also H.E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1932, 60. On the possible additional sisters *Jst*, and another(?) Merytamen, likewise shown on BM statue EA 1280, cf. Robins, *GM* 56, 82-83, and Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 2 n. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C.M. Zivie-Coche, "Tiaa," *LA* VI, 552-55, and for a recent discussion of two statue fragments with several archaizing titles, originally set up by Tia's son Tuthmosis IV in the Harmakhis temple at Giza, see idem, "Une curieuse statue de la Reine Tiꜣꜣ à Giza," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II, BdE 97/2, Cairo 1985, 389-401. There is a curious lack of attestation for Tia under Amenophis II's own reign; cf. Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 2 with n. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, New York 1959, 146; Redford, *JEA* 51, 115 n. 3; on the immediate family of Amenophis II in general, see E. Hornung, "Amenophis II.," in *LA* I, 203-4, and Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 287-90. Variant spellings of Amenophis II's name have been gathered by J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20, Berlin 1984, 85, 228. See also the list of names and epithets in Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 55, and the long discussion on Tia and her monuments in B. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 119-40.

have born a daughter to Amenophis named *Jrt*, although the latter could alternatively be a daughter of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>15</sup>

Some princes are more securely attributed to Amenophis II than others, and the problem is compounded by the recurrence of the name *Jmn-htp* on numerous monuments throughout this period. Examples include the Amenhotep mentioned in p.B.M. 10056 ("king's son and se(te)m-priest"); with the nurse Heqaerneheh in the latter's Theban tomb 64; in several Konosso graffiti, and perhaps even on the New Kingdom so-called "stela B" from Giza.<sup>16</sup> According to Redford, this prince Amenhotep was born during the first five years of Amenophis II's reign, since he held office by the king's twentieth year, and therefore would have been older (and thus closer in line to the throne) than the future Tuthmosis IV.<sup>17</sup> Not all scholars, however, ascribe each of the above occurrences to one and the same Amenhotep, as did Redford. B. Schmitz calls the Amenhotep of p.B.M. 10056 an older brother, rather than a son, of Amenophis II,<sup>18</sup> while B. Bryan is reluctant to date the papyrus with certainty to Amenophis II's reign in the first place.<sup>19</sup> In Chapter I above we have nevertheless assigned the papyrus to our king's reign, and thus stand by the identification of prince Amenhotep with a son of Amenophis II.<sup>20</sup>

Year 10 of Amenophis II's reign is the earliest possible reading of the disputed B.M. papyrus date.<sup>21</sup> This fact has led some to dissociate the papyrus' relatively "old" Amenhotep from the supposedly younger man occurring in some of the other monuments listed above. Bryan, for example, notes the arrangement of princes and nurses in the Konosso graffiti representations, dated by her to year 8 of Tuthmosis IV. Vertical

<sup>15</sup> Cf. B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt "Königssohn,"* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke 2, Bonn 1976, 292, 309-10; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 302; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, chapter 3 section 3.3; J.R. Harris, "Contributions to the history of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *SAK* 2, 1975, 95-96.

<sup>16</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 112-14; on p.B.M. 10056, S.R.K. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard in the Time of Tuthmosis III," *ZAS* 66, 1931, 105-21, and *ibid.*, 68, 1932, 7-41. For the stela of "prince B" see C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo 1976, 96-104, and the references cited on p. 96. For TT 64 of Heqaerneheh, *PM* I, i, 128-29, and 327; P.E. Newberry, "The Sons of Tuthmosis IV," *JEA* 14, 1928, pl. 12; *Urk.* IV, 1572-73; P.J. Frandsen, "Heqareshu and the Family of Tuthmosis IV," *Acta Orientalia* 37, 1976, 5-10. On the Konosso graffito see Newberry, *JEA* 14, 85, figs. 3-4; *Urk.* IV, 1575.

<sup>17</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 111, 114-15.

<sup>18</sup> Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 300.

<sup>19</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 93.

<sup>20</sup> This view is shared by Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 2 no. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Redford, *JEA* 51, 110, and Glanville, *ZAS* 66, 120 n. 3.

inscriptions over the now invisible figures of princes Amenhotep and  $\text{ḥprw-r}^c$  (as opposed to horizontal bands over the larger-sized tutors Heqareshu and Re<sup>c</sup>) demonstrate to Bryan that these princes are minors, and hence too young for identification with Amenhotep of p.B.M. 10056.<sup>22</sup> The same argument applies to the Amenhotep shown standing near Tuthmosis IV in TT 64. Bryan concludes that the Konosso and TT 64 Amenhotep cannot be identified with any man fully grown (i.e. Amenhotep of p.B.M. 10056) before Tuthmosis IV's later years. She and others prefer to call Amenhotep and his brother  $\text{ḥprw-r}^c$  sons of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, one cannot so readily accept for our purposes Bryan's dating of the Konosso graffiti by association to year 8 of Tuthmosis IV. This date derives from a large stela of that king nearby,<sup>24</sup> but one should refrain from automatically sweeping the princely graffiti under the same chronological rug. At the very least, one should not draw further conclusions based on such a tentative association, such as creating several "Amenhoteps" where only one seems to provide the simplest and most logical solution.

While we have understood Heqaerneh's TT 64 scene of prince Amenhotep to represent a son of Amenophis II, one should note that others identify him with the future Amenophis III.<sup>25</sup> It is also believed that some kind of court struggle may have occurred among Amenophis II's children resulting in (an originally unintended) Tuthmosis IV gaining the throne.<sup>26</sup> The Sphinx stela erected by Tuthmosis IV contains a propagandistic tale perhaps designed to bolster his legitimacy as the new king, as well as to associate him "physically" with the monuments of his father, Amenophis II, nearby.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 68-69.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 72-74; Newberry, *JEA* 14, 85; Habachi, "Tomb No. 226 of the Theban Necropolis and its Unknown Owner," in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott*, Wiesbaden 1968, 66, 69; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another*, London 1933, 40.

<sup>24</sup> J. de Morgan et. al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I, Vienna 1894, 66, gives a date of year 8, while Lepsius, *Denkmäler* Text IV, 128 gives year 7; cf. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 68.

<sup>25</sup> Newberry, *JEA* 14, 83-84; W. Wolf, "Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte der 18. Dynastie," *ZAS* 65, 1930, 98-99; Frandsen, *Acta Orientalia* 37, 9-10.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. for example, Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 407-9.

<sup>27</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 115; Hayes, *Scepter* II, 147; C. Zivie, "Princes et rois du Nouvel Empire à Giza," *Studia Aegyptiaca* I, 1974, 428-29 with n. 17; W.H. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History*, New York 1971, 265. For the text see *Urk.* IV, 1539a-44. Against this view and in favor of Tuthmosis IV as the originally intended and fully justified heir to the throne, cf. Harris, *SAK* 2, 97-98, and Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 48-49.

In this connection, we mention several stelae, each belonging to a prince, discovered by S. Hassan, in Amenophis II's Sphinx temple at Giza.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, the present location of three of these stelae is unknown. They have, however, received considerable attention in recent years, thus merely a brief discussion will suffice here. References to full translations and lengthier remarks will be found below. Since the names on all but one stela are destroyed, Hassan designated them princes A, B and C. Despite the similar characteristics of stelae A and B, Zivie correctly rejects Hassan's suggestion that they both belong to the same man.<sup>29</sup> Beyond the fact that Amenophis II's cartouche is visible, prince A's stela allows no secure identifications with any other individual, and his anonymous designation is therefore retained here. Several factors allow us, however, to equate prince B with the prince Amenhotep discussed above, despite the willful mutilation of his name on his stela. As Redford has pointed out, prince B was a king's son, son of Amenophis II, and a Memphite se(tem)-priest.<sup>30</sup> The similarities with the Amenhotep of p.B.M. 10056, to name only the most obvious parallel, are quite apparent.<sup>31</sup> Bryan interprets the erasure of these stelae as supporting evidence of the struggle for the throne, and suggests another prince *Wbn-snw* (to be discussed below) as the most likely candidate for prince B.<sup>32</sup> A third but tentative possibility is the "king's son and stablemaster" (*hry jhw*) *Hf-m-Wst*, known only from two Sehel graffiti, and perhaps a statue now in the Vatican.<sup>33</sup>

The only princely name still preserved in these texts is to be found on the third stela: prince C's name was *Jmn-m-jpt*, an otherwise unknown son. This stela bears a different style from those of princes A and Amenhotep and is naos-shaped, but there is no reason to date it to the later New

<sup>28</sup> S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, Cairo 1953, 83-91; idem, *The Sphinx. Its History in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, Cairo 1949, figs. 39-41; Zivie, *Giza*, 93-110; Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 302-6; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 81-96.

<sup>29</sup> Zivie, *Giza*, 266.

<sup>30</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 113-14; for the text, Zivie, *Giza*, 96-104.

<sup>31</sup> For an opposing view which rejects the identification of stela B's owner with any Eighteenth Dynasty prince at all (and raises doubts about prince A as well), see Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 304.

<sup>32</sup> Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 93, 406.




<sup>33</sup> Cf. de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 44; Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 274; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 89 and esp. n. 182; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, pl. 63B; A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1889, pl. 70 nos. 5, 8 and text, 23; on the Vatican statue, see A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, Gotha 1884, 376, esp. n. 8.

Kingdom.<sup>34</sup> Nor is there sufficient grounds for citing yet a fourth Giza stela in support of a supposed struggle for the throne upon Amenophis II's death. Bryan suggests that the erased royal figure on the stela of Tuthmosis IV's royal butler *Jwty* was perhaps an additional son of Amenophis II who actually dared depict himself dressed as pharaoh; Tuthmosis IV supposedly erased his threatening figure, while on the other hand content with erasure of merely the *names* of the other princes.<sup>35</sup> All of the mutilations of these four stelae certainly seem to indicate some disagreement among Amenophis II's children, but the *Jwty* stela alone does not allow us to hypothesize anyone else actually on the throne, or representing himself thus, between Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV. It is prudent to return to earlier interpretations of *Jwty's* stela, namely that enemies of Tuthmosis IV, and not Tuthmosis IV himself, were responsible for the initial erasure of the scene.

Two other princes, *Wbn-snw* and *Ngm*, appear on a damaged statue of the well-known architect Minmose.<sup>36</sup> The names are partially destroyed, and *Ngm* is otherwise unattested, but *Wbn-snw's* name is found elsewhere. While Minmose did serve Tuthmosis III for many years, this particular statue dates to late in Minmose's life; there is thus no reason to designate the two princes as children of anyone but Amenophis II.<sup>37</sup> Canopic jars and a funerary statuette of *Wbn-snw* were also found in Amenophis II's tomb in the Valley of the Kings (no. 35), where one of his titles mentioned is "king's son and overseer of horses."<sup>38</sup> We have already noted the possibility that *Wbn-snw* was the prince B of the Giza stela discussed above.

<sup>34</sup> As does Schmitz, *Königsohn*, 305; cf. Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 51 n. 21. Another unlikely solution equates this Amenemopet with the same-named Theban viceroy under Seti I, A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, Cairo 1948, 105, with Zivie's reply in *Giza*, 265 n. 2.

<sup>35</sup> The recut inscriptions name Tuthmosis IV; stela JE 72268; Hassan, *The Great Sphinx*, 81 and fig. 66; Zivie, *Giza*, 166-68; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 407-9.

<sup>36</sup> CG 638; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, Berlin 1925, 186-87, pl. 117 ; *Urk.* IV, 1447.18, 20 . *Wbn-snw's* name is restored from .

<sup>37</sup> See our discussion of Minmose above in Chapter III Part II, as well as H. De Meulenaere, "Le directeur des travaux Minmose," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 315-19; Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 57-64; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im altägyptischen Staat*, PdA 1, Leiden-Cologne 1953, 35.




<sup>38</sup> CG 24269-73; we mention here funerary statuettes CG 24269 and 24271: , , *Urk.* IV, 1494.1; G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Cairo 1902, 103-104; on the canopics: CG 5031: *s3 nswt jmy-r ssmwt* ; *ibid.*, 244; in general see *PM* I, ii, 556; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 289-90(E); V. Loret, "Le tombeau d'Amenophis II," *BIE* 3ème série no. IX, 1898 (Cairo 1899), 98-112; E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, Princeton 1966, 80.



FIG. 38. PRINCES WITH THE TUTOR HEQAERNEHEH (TT 64); FROM NEWBERRY, *JEA* 14, PL. 12.

Prince Khaemwaset has already been mentioned as a dubious candidate for ownership of stela B from Giza. This leaves only two more individuals, the problematical  $\text{ḥ}3\text{-ḥ}prw\text{-r}^c$  (also touched on above) and prince  $\text{Ḥ}mn\text{-m-ḥ}3t$ . The latter appears in Theban tomb 64 as the only identifiable figure in the group of six princes standing behind the larger figure of prince Amenhotep and his tutor Heqaerneheh (fig. 38).<sup>39</sup> We have already designated Amenhotep as a son of Amenophis II, and the argument for shifting parents

<sup>39</sup> Newberry, *JEA* 14, pl. 12.

from Amenophis II to Tuthmosis IV, all within the same scene, is unpersuasive. All princes represented in this scene are here understood as sons of Amenophis II.<sup>40</sup>

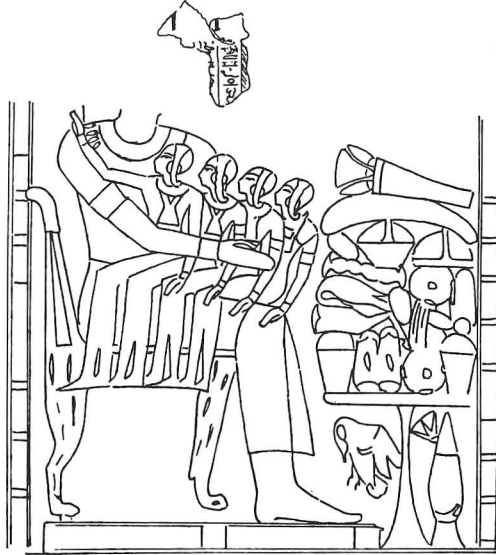


FIG. 39. TT 226; FOUR PRINCES ON THE LAP OF THEIR TUTOR; FROM HABACHI, *FS* SCHOTT, 64, FIG. 3.

As far as  $\text{ḥ}3\text{-ḥ}prw\text{-}r^c$  is concerned, all manner of suggestions have surfaced to harmonize the Konosso graffiti (mentioning the king's sons Amenhotep and  $\text{ḥ}3\text{-ḥ}prw\text{-}r^c$ ) with two fragmentary names compounded with  $\text{ḥ}3\text{-ḥ}pr\text{-}[\text{?}]\text{-}r^c$  in TT 226. This scene shows a male nurse seated with no less than four princes upon his lap.<sup>41</sup> Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III

<sup>40</sup> Compare the remarks by Frandsen, *Acta Orientalia* 37, 9–10, n. 28; less committed is Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 78.

<sup>41</sup> The fragment with this scene is at this writing (1985) stored in TT 83; the author is indebted to C. Roehrig for this information. On the owner of TT 226's identity, here assumed to be Heqarehu, following Habachi and Frandsen, see Davies, *Menkheperresonb*, 37; Newberry, *JEA* 14, 82–83 n. 4; Habachi in *Fs. Schott*, 70 and Frandsen, *Acta Orientalia* 37, 9. For Davies' drawing of the scene in question cf. *BIMM* Dec. 1923, Section II, 42 fig. 3; in general see *PM* I, i, 327; *Urk.* IV, 1879.

are all potential fathers of the children,<sup>42</sup> and the available evidence does not suffice for determining whether it is the same individual at both Thebes and Konosso. Bryan has wisely reiterated Davies' caution that the exact name of  $\epsilon\text{3-}\text{hprw-}r^c$  cannot be read with absolute certainty in TT 226; the elements of the name actually visible could be restored to form many other prenomen. It is safest to ascribe the Konosso  $\epsilon\text{3-}\text{hprw-}r^c$  to Amenophis II and withhold judgment on the individuals represented in TT 226.

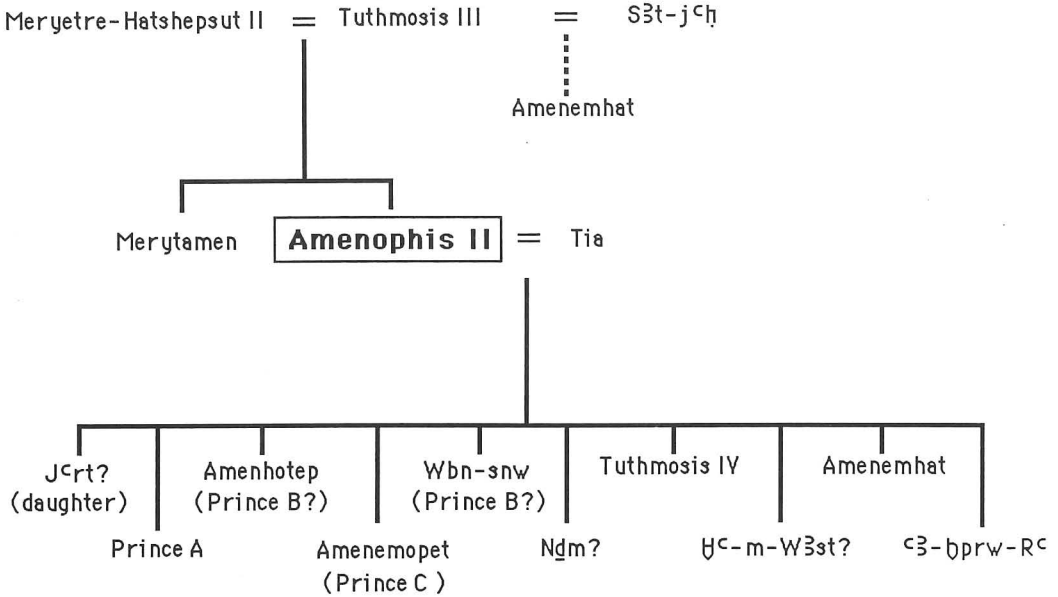


FIG. 40. THE CHILDREN OF AMENOPHIS II.

While the princes discussed above may be attributed to Amenophis II, there are two more individuals who should be removed from Gauthier's list of royal children. Gauthier calls the king's Nubian viceroy Usersatet one of Amenophis' sons, but we now know that his parents were not members of the royal family.<sup>43</sup> And finally, a certain  $R^c$  should be removed from

<sup>42</sup> On Amenophis II see Redford, *JEA* 51, 113; on Tuthmosis IV, see Newberry *JEA* 14, 82-85, and Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 293 n. 5. On Amenophis III, see Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 39-40 (with Tuthmosis IV as father of the Konosso princes). See the discussion in Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 78-81.

<sup>43</sup> For references see the discussion in Chapter III Part I, Local Administration no. III.3, and Part II (Usersatet).

Gauthier's list, since it was a misreading which designated him a *ss<sup>3</sup> nswt* in the first place.<sup>44</sup> A list of Amenophis II's children is given in fig. 40.<sup>45</sup>

Leaving familial considerations behind, we may now return to Amenophis' youth and upbringing. The great Sphinx stela is by far the most important document on this subject. It is also the major source for Part II of this chapter on the royal sporting tradition of Dynasty 18. For this reason, a translation of the stela follows below, instead of in an appendix. Since the text has received much attention in recent years, an effort has been made to keep the commentary minimal. Selected additional discussions, as well as translations of the less important and smaller, second Sphinx stela of Amenophis II, which duplicates the beginning of the larger text,<sup>46</sup> are given in the following list.

### The Great Sphinx stela of Amenophis II

Text: C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70 Cairo 1976, 66-69 (best edition); *Urk.* IV, 1276-83; S. Hassan, *ASAE* 37, 1937, 129-34 (original edition); Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* III, 68.

Translations: Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 39-43; Zivie, *Giza*, 64-89; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 24-28; Wilson, in *ANET*, 244-45 (minus the introduction); W. Decker, *SAK* 5, 1977, 4-6 (minus the introduction); G. Steindorff and K.C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East?*, Chicago 1957, 67-69; E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e Poesia dell'Antico Egitto*, Turin 1969, 253-57; B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the later Eighteenth Dynasty* I, Warminster 1982, 19-22.

Selected Discussions and Additional Bibliography: *PM* III, i2, 39-40; A. Varille, *BIFAO* 41, 1942, 31-38, pl. 1; S. Hassan, *The Sphinx. Its History in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, Cairo 1949, 36-37, 176-85, fig. 38; idem, *Le Sphinx à la lumière des fouilles récentes*, Cairo 1950, 25, 110-15, fig. 38; idem, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, Cairo 1953, 32, 74ff., pls. 21, 28; B. Van de Walle, *CdE* 13, 1938, 234-57; B.

<sup>44</sup> Newberry, *JEA* 14, 85 P.S.; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 289 D.

<sup>45</sup> Compare other genealogical tables in Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 313-14; Redford, *JEA* 51, 115. We omit Redford's theoretical prince Dḥutmose, cf. *ibid.*, 114 n. 4; Harris, *SAK* 2, 98 n. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1283-86; Zivie, *Giza*, 89-93; cf. also S. Hassan, "A representation of the solar disk with human hands and arms and the form of Horus of Behdet, as seen on the stela of Amenhetep II in the mud-brick temple at Giza," *ASAE* 38, 1938, 53-62.

Bruyère, *CdE* 19, 1944, 194-206; W. Decker, *Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Ägypten*, St. Augustin 1975, 53-61, with bibliography on p. 54; D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt* I, MÄS 17, Berlin 1969, 168-69; Decker, *SAK* 5, 1977, 1-20; C. Zivie, *Studia Aegyptiaca* I, 1974, 425-29; M. Defossez, *GM* 85, 1985, 25-36. For additional bibliography, see W. Decker, in *Stadion* III, 2, 1977, 320.

## Translation

### Introductory hymn

- (1) Live the Horus, mighty bull, great of strength, the Two ladies, powerful in splendor, who is made to arise in Thebes, Horus of gold, who takes with his power from all lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, "Akheperure, son of Re", Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, son of [Amen], whom he created for himself; child of Horakhty, shining seed of the god's body, whose form (2) Neith created; whom the ancient one of the lands begot to take the rule which he has taken.

He himself (= Amen) crowned him king upon his throne of the living.

He allotted him the Black Land for his following, and the Red Land as his servants.

He ordained<sup>47</sup> for him the inheritance forever, (3) and kingship eternally.

He gave him the throne of Geb, and the exalted rank of Atum, the portions of Horus and Seth, and the shares of the Two Ladies, their years consisting of life and dominion.

He placed his daughter upon his breast.

He established his uræus upon his head.

He trampled the bowmen under his sandals; (4) the northerners bowing down because of his might, every foreign land in fear of him.

He bound the chiefs of the Nine Bows.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1276.19: *swd=f*. Most of the phrases beginning new thoughts in this long prologue use the *sgm.n=f* form; in English, however, we have employed first tense translations in most cases for the sake of clarity. Exceptions, i.e. *sgm=f* forms, which apparently fail to mark any particular divisions, such as new "paragraphs," are the above-mentioned *swd=f* (line 2); *dm [Jmn] ds=f* (line 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1277.8); *iw...hntyw-t3* (line 10 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.3); and *jt=f* (line 11 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.6) with Zivie, *Giza*, 76(q).

<sup>48</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1277.5: *dm3.n=f tpw pwt psjt*. Taking the flax determinative (Sign List M 36-38) seriously seems to require this rendering. Additional examples may be found in: the Sphinx stela itself, line 26 = *Urk.* IV, 1283.9 (*h3st nbt dm3 br tbt=f*); the small Sphinx stela of Amenophis II, line 7 = *Urk.* IV, 1286.1 (*dm3.n=f tpw pwt psjt*); The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* II, OIP 9, Chicago 1932, pl. 101.8 (*wy=k dm3 m tp hrwyw=k*); idem, *Khonsu* I, OIP 100, Chicago 1979, pl. 21.11 (*dm3 wrw=sn br tbt=k*). The alternative is the spelling of *dm3* with the knife determinative (T 30), hence *dm3 tpw*, "cut off the heads," for which cf. *Urk.* IV, 896.12 (biography of Amenemheb: *dm3.n=f tpw wrw=sn*), and The Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal*, RIK 3, OIP 74, Chicago 1954, pl. 3.7 (*rdjt.n=(j) dm(3) tpw=sn*). Compare Defossez's discussion, *GM* 85, 27-29.

The Two Lands are in his hand. The people are in dread of him,<sup>49</sup> and all the gods bear love for him.

[Amen] himself appointed (him) chief of what his eye encircles, and what the disk (5) of Re<sup>c</sup> illuminates.

He has taken all of Egypt.

Upper and Lower Egypt are under his counsel.

The Red Land presents its tribute to him.

Every foreign land is under his protection.<sup>50</sup>

His boundaries (extend) to the limit of heaven, the lands in his hand being in a single knot, he having risen as King upon the great throne.

(6) He has joined the two uræi, the Double-crown well-disposed upon his head, and the *3t*-crown upon his brow.

His face is adorned with the Upper Egyptian crown and the Lower Egyptian crown. He has taken the fillet and the Blue crown; the great plumed *jbs*-crown is upon his head, (and) the *nms*-headdress embraces (7) his shoulders.

The crowns of Atum have assembled; allotted to his statue according to the command of him who made the gods, [Amen], the ancient one of the Two Lands, who crowned him.

He commanded that he take every land entirely, with no exceptions, the son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, heir of Re<sup>c</sup>, [son of Amen], shining (8) seed, divine egg of the god's body, a high dignitary whom one respects.

Having come forth from the womb, he wore the White crown.

He conquered the land when he was still in the seed.<sup>51</sup>

Egypt is under him, without any enemies in what the eye of Atum<sup>52</sup> illuminates.

The strength of Mentu (9) pervades his limbs.

His might is like (that of) the son of Nut.

He has united the reed and the papyrus.

The northerners and southerners are in dread of him.

















































































































His portion consists of what Re<sup>c</sup> illuminates.

To him belongs what the ocean encircles.<sup>53</sup>

























































There is no hindrance to his messenger throughout all the lands of the *Fnbw*.

<sup>49</sup> Defosse prefers to take *nrtw* as the verb III<sup>ae</sup> inf. "to protect," and the *rmrtw* as the Egyptian people, *GM* 85, 25-27. But rather than merely a semantic parallel between foreigners and Egyptians, one might emphasize the juxtaposition of mortals and divinities: *rmrtw br nrw=f; nrtw nbw br mrt=f* (*Urk.* IV, 1277.6-7).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. W. Decker's remarks in his review of Zivie, *Giza*, in *Stadion* III, 2, 1977, 317-18.

<sup>51</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1278.11. Note the unusual use of the strong-armed sign (D 40) below the *m*                            , versus the typical spelling                            , cf. *Wb.* II, 36.4-5. Our example and an additional one from Silsileh East dated to Amenophis III (*Urk.* IV, 1679.7) serve to attest the word earlier than "Dynasty 19" as given in *Wb.* Note also Zivie's determinative                            , *Giza*, 67, versus the more accurate                            , to judge from Hesson's photograph, *ASAE* 37, pl. 1 (opp. p. 134).

<sup>52</sup> Correct Amen to Atum in Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41.

<sup>53</sup> The stela incorrectly gives                             for                            ; cf. Zivie, *Giza*, 75(m).

(10) He has no equal, to the pillars<sup>54</sup> of Horus; (one) without the protection of others.<sup>55</sup>

The southerners come to him bowing,<sup>56</sup> the northerners on their bellies.  
He has gathered them all into his fist.

His mace has crushed their heads, (11) according to what the lord of the gods,  
[Amen]-Re<sup>c</sup>, and Atum ordered.

He has taken the lands with justification once and for all.<sup>57</sup>

### Narrative proper

Now his Majesty<sup>58</sup> arose as king, as a fine youth, who was well-developed,<sup>59</sup> having completed eighteen years upon his thighs<sup>60</sup> in bravery. He was one who knew<sup>61</sup> (12) every work of Mentu,<sup>62</sup> without equal on the battlefield.<sup>63</sup> He was one who knew horses; one whose like did not exist in this numerous army. There

<sup>54</sup> Zivie, *Giza*, 75-76(n) clearly shows the word  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  to refer to pillars of heaven, and notes the confusion between the signs  $\text{𓂏}$  (O 30),  $\text{𓂏}$  (Aa 26), and  $\text{𓂏}$  (T 13). See also Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41 n. 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.2:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . Zivie, *Giza*, 76(o) takes the key word *dhjt* to denote "part, portion" (*Wb.* V, 465.9ff.), rather than "protection, barrier, dam" etc. (*Wb.* V, 464-65), despite the determinatives  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏}$ . Precisely such determinatives, however, would seem to better fit the notion of force, restraint or protection. Hence the implication is that the king can accomplish his tasks without the need of aid of any kind from others; the word "protection" is here chosen for *dhjt* to convey the sense in English. Compare Lichtheim's "He is not hemmed in by other people," *AEL* II, 41, based on Faulkner's interpretation of our passage, *CDME*, 314, "hold back, restrain."

<sup>56</sup> Correct the *nb*-basket (V 30) in Zivie's copy, *Giza*, 67.10 to a *k* (V 31).

<sup>57</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.6: *nn whm.ty=fy dt*, literally "without him who could repeat (it) forever;" *sdm.ty=fy* form with preposed negative, Gardiner, *EG<sup>3</sup>*, 313, § 394. On the rhetorical and military tone of this prologue, see Zivie, *Giza*, 76(r).

<sup>58</sup> There is no stroke after the *hm* club as per Zivie, *Giza*, 67.11.

<sup>59</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.9:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , following Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41; cf. also Zivie, *Giza*, 77(u); Wilson in *ANET*, 244 and n. 10 "when he had matured," lit. "when he had counted his body;" D.B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, Toronto 1967, 7 n. 19.

<sup>60</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.10: *hr mnty=f*. Note the indirect association of the king with Horus through this word, *Wb.* II, 68.10-12.

<sup>61</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.11, 13: *rh sw...* (twice); dependent pronoun as subject after adjectival predicate, cf. Gardiner, *EG<sup>3</sup>*, 46 § 44.3.


<sup>62</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.11: *k3t nbt nt Mntw*; cf. C.E. De Vries, *Attitudes of the Ancient Egyptians toward Physical-recreative Activities*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago 1960, 191-201, where he refers to Mentu as "the god whose works are all the skills of competition based on physical training and conditioning" (p. 201). A dissertation on the god Mentu from the earliest attestations to the end of the New Kingdom is at this writing in preparation by E.K. Werner.



<sup>63</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.12: *hr pgs*; De Vries, *Attitudes*, 199-201, interprets the term in a wide competitive sense, "field, field of contest."

was not one<sup>64</sup> there who could draw his bow, nor could he be approached in running.

(He is) strong-armed, one who would not tire (13) whenever he took up the oar. As the stroke-*oar*<sup>65</sup> for two hundred men he maneuvered<sup>66</sup> at the stern of his falcon-bark. One paused after they had travelled half a mile,<sup>67</sup> becoming weak, their limbs limp; (14) they were unable to breathe, while his Majesty was strong under his oar of twenty cubits in length. He paused and landed his falcon-bark (only) when he had gone three miles in rowing without resting (15) from movement. Faces were aglow in watching him as he did this.

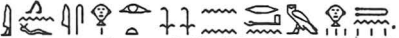
He drew 300 strong bows in comparing the work of their craftsmen, in order to know the unskilled ones from the skilled. Now he returned from doing this, (16) which has been brought to your attention.<sup>68</sup> When he entered his northern garden, he found erected for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and the next one. Thereupon his

<sup>64</sup> Note the vertical writing of *w<sup>c</sup>*  1, *Urk.* IV, 1279.15. See also *m sp w<sup>c</sup>* below in line 17 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.17.

<sup>65</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.19:  , following Wilson in *ANET*, 244 and n. 13; Decker, *Die physische Leistung Pharaos*, Cologne 1971, 75-76, and Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41, and 43 n. 8. Wilson suggests the root *šš* "to predestine, determine," *Wb.* IV, 402-3, Faulkner, *CDME*, 260-61. The same word may occur in *pWestcar* 5, 15 where one of pharaoh's maidens is  *r šš*, "at the stroke oar(?)" cf. Lichtheim, *AEL* I, 216; A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin 1890, 36-37, pl. 5. This translation, while hardly certain, seems more likely than Faulkner's "complement," *CDME*, 262, followed by Zivie ("équipement"), *Giza*, 79(cc). On *wsr* in the immediately preceding phrase (line 13 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.18) as "steering oar," see Decker, *SAK* 5, 5 n. 14; idem, *Stadion* III, 318; idem and J. Kluwek, "Königliche Bogenschießleistungen in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie," *KBSW* 3, 1974, 52 n. 34.

<sup>66</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1279.19. Extraposition of the clause "as the stroke-*oar* for two hundred men" for purposes of emphasis with the geminating form *bnn*. For *bnj* "maneuver" cf. Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 75.

<sup>67</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1280.1: *jt<sup>rw</sup>*, the so-called "river measure," or schoenus; cf. Gardiner, *EG<sup>3</sup>*, 199 S 266.2; and A. Schlott-Schwab, *Die Ausmaße Ägyptens*, *ÄAT* 3, Wiesbaden 1981, 101-22, who concludes that no single fixed length is meant by the term. On the dubious dependability of Amenophis' feat, see Zivie, *Giza*, 80(ce).

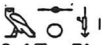


<sup>68</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1280.11:  . Zivie, *Giza*, 81-82(jj, kk) emends this difficult passage, restoring an infinitival *ḏt* after the first *hr*, hence: *jj.n=f js hr [ḏt]: jr.t(w) nn rdj.n=(j) m hr=tn*, "...et alla en disant: 'qu'on fasse ce que je vous ai commandé'" (p. 72). One hesitates, however, to alter a text which is already grammatically sound; cf. Decker, *Stadion* III, 318. Furthermore, the text gives no indication that it was Amenophis who ordered the erection of the targets; in such a case one might have expected a statement such as \**one acted in accordance with what his Majesty commanded.*" Instead we have only the verb *gm*, stating that the king *found* the targets erected for him.

Both Zivie's and Wilson's (*ANET*, 244) translations throw a rather un-Egyptian first person narrator into the text. We have taken *nn* to refer to the king's past rowing endeavors, which have already been related, hence *rdj.n* is a *sgm.n=f* relative form with subject left unexpressed. One could conceivably relate the passage to the following events, as did Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41: "He also came to do the following, which is brought to your attention." In either case, no emendations are necessary; *hr* plus infinitival *jt<sup>rw</sup>* may be taken as it stands, and the dubious sudden insertion of a first person is avoided.


Majesty appeared in his chariot<sup>69</sup> like Mentu (17) in his power. He took up his bow and grabbed four arrows at once.<sup>70</sup> He rode<sup>71</sup> northward shooting at them, like Mentu in his panoply, his arrows coming forth from their back-sides as he shot<sup>72</sup> another post. Now it was a (18) deed which had never been done before, nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came forth from it and landed on the ground, except by the king powerful in splendor, whom [Amen] had strengthened, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, "Akheperure, strong-armed like Mentu.


(19) Now when he was (still) a youth, he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. He was determined<sup>73</sup> to<sup>74</sup> work them, to learn their nature, to be skilled in

<sup>69</sup> *htr* is translated both "horses" (line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.13) and "chariot" (line 16 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.15) in this text, each time according to context. W. Decker concludes both the span of horses and chariot are included in the phrase *hr htr*, and translates "auf dem Streitwagen," *Physische Leistung*, 142-44. His collection of examples omits, however, passages such as that above in line 12 (= *Urk.* IV, 1279.13), where *rh sw htr* hardly means that the king knew chariots. Cf. H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, "Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstraße," *SAK* 9, 1981, 72-73(aa), who take *hr ssmwt* to equal *hr htr*. For a direct parallel of *htr* as "chariot," see the so-called archery stela of Amenophis II translated below (*Urk.* IV, 1321.20, and fig. 44). See also the Karnak and Memphis texts translated in Appendix I and discussed in Chapter II Part II, as well as Zivie, *Giza*, 82-83(oo). The other word for horses, *ssmt*, is used below in the Sphinx stela, lines 19 = *Urk.* IV, 1281.9, and 22 = *Urk.* IV, 1282.8; H. von Deines notes its occurrence in the feminine form with *-t* ending only here and in the biography of Amenemheb, *Urk.* IV, 894.5, "Die Nachrichten über das Pferd und den Wagen in den ägyptischen Texten," *MIO* I, 1953, 4. For a curious spelling of *ssmw* in Dynasty 26, see H.S.K. Bakry, "Psammetichus II and his Newly-Found Stela at Shellâi," *Oriens Antiquus* 6, 1967, 227 line 6 (bottom).

<sup>70</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1280.17: , *m sp w<sup>c</sup>*; compare the vertical *w<sup>c</sup>* sign with that above in line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.15. Zivie, *Giza*, 69(vvv) corrects Helck's  to , but Hassan's photograph, *ASAE* 37, pl. I (opp. p. 134) seems to show a raised surface in the center.

<sup>71</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1280.18. It is interesting to note that the verb *hdi*, more often connotating transportation by water, must suffice for the Egyptians here since the chariot was not a native invention with its own Egyptian vocabulary repertoire; cf. *Wb.* III, 354.16, 355.4-5.

<sup>72</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1281.1: , the verb normally used for taking booty and captives, *Wb.* V, 121.2-9; Faulkner, *CDME*, 285; for a description of the scene as well as parallel passages, see Zivie, *Giza*, 83(rr), and Part II below. On this episode in general, see Decker's remarks and references in *Stacton* III, 318.

<sup>73</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1281.11: , lit. "stout of heart," cf. Faulkner, *CDME*, 148.

<sup>74</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1281.11-14. The preposition *hr* may do quadruple duty here, making infinitival forms out of the following verbs: *b3k* (transitive), *rh*, *šš3*, and *ʿq*; cf. Defosse, *GM* 85, 32.







(23) Now afterwards, the king's son was ordered to look after<sup>85</sup> horses of the king's stable. Indeed, he did what he had been told. Reshep and Astarte rejoiced over it, doing all that his heart desired.

(24) He raised horses without parallel, which did not tire when he grasped the reins, and which did not sweat in the gallop. He yoked (them) in Memphis<sup>86</sup> 'secretly' (?)<sup>87</sup> and stopped at the resting-place of (25) Harmakhis. He spent time there leading them around<sup>88</sup> it and observing the excellence of this resting-place of Khufu and Khafre, justified. His heart desired to cause their names to live, (but) he put (it only) in his heart<sup>89</sup> until that which his father Re<sup>c</sup> had commanded for him (26) happened.<sup>90</sup>


After this his Majesty was made to arise as king,<sup>91</sup> and the uraeus took its place upon his brow; the image of Re<sup>c</sup> was established at its post. The land as before was in peace under their lord, 'Akheperure. He ruled the Two Lands, and every foreign country was bound under (27) his sandals. Then his Majesty remembered the place which had pleased him in the vicinity of the Pyramids and of Harmakhis. One (i.e. the king) commanded to have made a resting-place there and to set up a stela of limestone in it, its face being engraved<sup>92</sup> with the great name of 'Akheperure, beloved of Harmakhis, given life eternally.

85 *Urk.* IV, 1282.13. Note the spelling of *mkj* here , versus  above in line 22 = *Urk.* IV, 1282.11.

86 *Urk.* IV, 1282.19: .

87 *Urk.* IV, 1282.19. Zivie reads , *Giza*, 68(xxx), instead of the usually accepted , clearly visible in Hassan's photograph, *ASAE* 37, pl. 1 (opp. p. 134). This allows her to translate "secretly;" cf. *Giza*, 87(qqq). While an encouraging parallel from Tuthmosis IV's Sphinx stela supports this interpretation, , *Urk.* IV, 1541.15, the *D*-determinative remains a problem. One wonders if a derivative of *ḥsm* "bandage," hence "harness, strap" may not be the correct translation; cf. Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 42, Helck, *Übersetzung*, 27 n. 6, *Wb.* V, 354.15.

88 *Urk.* IV, 1283.1: . On this partially reduplicated trilateral verb see Zivie's discussion and collection of references, *Giza*, 87-88(sss).

89 *Urk.* IV, 1283.4: ; emphatic construction with the nominal form *dtj*; for a discussion of the use of *m* before emphasized objects in nominal constructions see D. Silverman, "An Emphasized Direct Object of a Nominal Verb in Middle Egyptian," *Orientalia* 49, 1980, 199-203.

90 Doubtless a reference to Amenophis' impending accession to the throne.

91 See the discussion below for *ḥ<sup>c</sup>* in line 11 (= *Urk.* IV, 1279.8) versus *sh<sup>c</sup>w* in line 26 (= *Urk.* IV, 1283.5). On the verb in general, see Redford, *History and Chronology*, 3-27, and R. Salem el-Nadoury, *The Egyptian Term ḥ<sup>c</sup>-nswt and the Problems of the "Accession" of the Egyptian King*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago 1953, and most recently M. Schunck, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm ḥ<sup>c</sup>*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 5, Bonn, 1985, esp. 63-86.

92 . The determinative  is written horizontally, like a *k*; cf. Hassan's photograph,

*ASAE* 37, pl. 1 (opp. p. 134), Zivie, *Giza*, 69 and Varille, *BIFAO* 41 (line drawing), versus, *Urk.* IV, 1283.14. On the verb itself, cf. *Wb.* III, 347-48.

\* \* \*

The internal chronology of the narrative deserves some clarification. We are first told in line 11 that "His Majesty arose (*jst h<sup>c</sup>.n hm=f*) as king..." (*Urk.* IV, 1279.8). Then line 26 (*Urk.* IV, 1283.5) states that "his Majesty was made to arise as king (...*sh<sup>c</sup>w hm=f*).<sup>93</sup> Redford has noted the two possible relationships between these two appearances.<sup>94</sup> First of all, one could take both passages to refer to one accession only. In this case, lines 11-18, the description of the feats of rowing and archery, would refer to Amenophis' accession as sole ruler and the period immediately following. The next part of the text, beginning with line 19 ("Now when he was (still) a youth..."), the account of Amenophis' talented horsemanship, would actually hark back to his days as a prince, before the death of his father. Thus, the "appearance" in line 26 merely repeats the event of Amenophis' accession.

Redford, however, prefers to see reference to two different accessions in the text. According to him, the "appearance" in line 11 (*h<sup>c</sup>*) marks Amenophis' accession as coregent, and that of line 26 (*sh<sup>c</sup>w*; "After this, his Majesty was made to arise...") his assumption of sole rule immediately following the death of Tuthmosis III. If one accepts a two and one-third year coregency, the discussion between lines 11-19 would concern those very years.<sup>95</sup>

Examination of these two sections of the text indicates that this second interpretation is the most plausible. Between lines 11 and 26 the stela refers to Amenophis mostly with the vocabulary of youth.<sup>96</sup> The text then reverts to national concerns after line 26, assuring the reader that the Two

<sup>93</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 117 n. 5, discusses *sh<sup>c</sup>w* (not *sh<sup>c</sup>* l) and whether to take it as a passive causative, as we have here, with the divine agent, presumably Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, left unexpressed. Compare the small Sphinx stela, line 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1285.10: *sh<sup>c</sup>.n=f sw m nswt ds=f...*, "He caused him to arise as king himself..."

<sup>94</sup> Redford, *JEA* 51, 117-18.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 117-18, and *idem*, *History and Chronology*, 3-27 (on the verb *h<sup>c</sup>j* ), esp. 16, 18.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Zivie, *Giza*, 76-77(s), noting the terms *jnpw*, *s<sup>3</sup> nswt* and *s<sup>3</sup> nswt smsw*. Against this point, however, note line 18, which tells us that arrows which pass clean through copper targets could only be shot by "the king powerful in splendor (*nswt wsr f<sup>3</sup>w*; *Urk.* IV, 1281.6).

Lands remained peaceful; in other words, the change of leadership had passed smoothly. Even if this was in fact not the case - and we have already noted in passing some evidence (see above) for another heir apparent - the reference here is still to Amenophis' sole rule. Furthermore, line 27's description of Amenophis' reminiscence of his youth at Giza and his return there to erect a stela makes more sense for a king who has since become engaged in the affairs of state, rather than for a prince who has only recently ended his days of riding at the Pyramids and Sphinx. Finally, Barta has written on the use of separate accession (*Thronbesteigung*) and coronation (*Krönungsfeier*) rites, the first marking the start of a coregency, and the second the inheritance of sole rule.<sup>97</sup> This scheme might fit well with the two different verb forms *h<sup>c</sup>* and *sh<sup>c</sup>w*, as well as with the chronological and historical evidence for a coregency discussed above in Chapter II Part II. For our purposes here, the problem of absolute and relative dates bears comparatively little on the discussion of Amenophis' early years.

Especially in his youth, Amenophis II's personality was characterized by a fondness for sport and outdoors. As we shall see in Part II of this chapter, Amenophis excelled in all manner of military and athletic endeavors. Although he was not the originally intended heir to the throne (until the death? of his elder brother, Amenemhat, see above), Amenophis seems to have enjoyed the full benefits of instruction by some of Tuthmosis III's most experienced men, such as Min and Ahmose (see Chapter III). A determined student, he ignored the "thirst of the body," or licentious behavior, if we have interpreted the text correctly (line 21 = *Urk.* IV, 1282.3). Although this line may be pure rhetoric or simply a reference to Amenophis' youthful nature, it is interesting nevertheless to compare one possible image of the sturdy, abstinent prince with the later one of the king "sitting, drinking, and making holiday," as reported in the Semna stela of Usersatet.<sup>98</sup> Do we have here a glimpse, however brief, into not only the personality of Amenophis II, but also part of the development of that personality? Both texts contain personal accounts found only rarely in Egyptian documents; they are accordingly of prime importance for the study both of our king's reign, and of the Egyptian monarchy in general.

Unfortunately, the details of the rest of Amenophis' youth are obscure. At some point, Tuthmosis III saw fit to put his son in charge of the royal stables (line 22 = *Urk.* IV, 1282.7ff.) Since his inscriptions focus on his

<sup>97</sup> W. Barta, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme," *SAK* 8, 1980, 33-53.

<sup>98</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1343.13; see our fig. 44 above in Chapter III Part II.

responsibilities at Peru-nefer and his love for Giza, he may have remained in the Memphis area for most of his early years. As discussed in Chapter II Part IIIA, there is no evidence to suggest that Amenophis II ever served his father as an administrator in Syria-Palestine.<sup>99</sup> Tuthmosis III himself says that his son was "not (yet) at the age of executing the work of Mentu" (line 21 = *Urk.* IV, 1282.2), which might be taken to mean Amenophis was not yet old enough to administer affairs of state by himself.

It is unclear just what the function of the royal residence at Medum (which Usersatet once supervised) was at this time (see Chapter III Part II). Since Usersatet's Wadi Halfa stela is the only known reference to the place, we cannot be sure whether the residence existed during Amenophis' youth, or whether the king built it himself at some later date.

The rest of the Sphinx stela contributes much more significant information for the so-called sporting tradition of the New Kingdom than it does for Amenophis' youth. For this reason, the remainder of the text is considered in Part II of this chapter.

## PART II: The Sporting Tradition in the Reign of Amenophis II - Cliché or Innovation?

As was mentioned above, Amenophis II's texts emphasize his love for athletics far more than any other aspect of his personality. Not only is the sporting tradition the focus of any study of Amenophis' character, but conversely, Amenophis' reign is the focus of any study of the sporting tradition. The wealth of pertinent material for this king surpasses that available for any other pharaoh. Whether this material is original and indigenous to Amenophis' reign, or is simply an expanded recapitulation of the feats and abilities of his predecessors is the question we shall explore in this section.

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<sup>99</sup> Cf. W.F. Albright, "Egypt and the Early History of the Negeb, *JPOS* 4, 1924, 140 n. 2.

On the basis of royal texts and representations, and for the sake of simplicity, royal athletics are separated below into four categories:<sup>100</sup>

A.) Rowing

B.) Running

C.) Horsemanship

D.) Archery

The categories will be treated individually. For each one, a brief list of the relevant passages from the reign of Amenophis II (with translations) is included, followed by a discussion of selected parallels from preceding, and in some cases, succeeding reigns.

### A.) Rowing

#### 1.) Sphinx stela, lines 12-15 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.17-1280.8.<sup>101</sup>

(He is) strong-armed, one who would not tire (13) whenever he took up the oar. As the stroke-oar for two hundred men he maneuvered at the stern of his falcon-bark. One paused after they had travelled half a mile, becoming weak, their limbs limp; (14) they were unable to breathe, while his Majesty was strong under his oar of twenty cubits in length. He paused and landed his falcon-bark (only) when he had gone three miles in rowing without resting (15) from movement. Faces were aglow in watching him as he did this.

The king as oarsman is the least-attested of the four sports under discussion; unfortunately, the only parallel derives likewise from Amenophis II's reign and is not a royal example. The soldier Amenemheb briefly discusses his rowing skills, as well as his king's appreciation of them. The passage quoted here also appears in Chapter III Part II:

<sup>100</sup> For other schemes of division and discussion of additional sports, see for example W. Decker, *Physische Leistung*, and De Vries, *Attitudes*. See also Decker's general discussion on the subject, "Sport," *LÄ* V, 1161-69.

<sup>101</sup> Zivie, *Giza*, 71-72; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 26; Lichtheim, *AEZ* II, 41; Decker, *Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Ägypten*, St. Augustin 1975, 59; idem, *SAK* 5, 4-5. On the subject in general, see C.D. Jarrett-Bell, "Rowing in the XVIIIth Dynasty," *Ancient Egypt* March 1930, 11-19, as well as the references cited in Decker, "Rudern," in *LÄ* V, 314-15; idem, *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Sport im alten Ägypten*, St. Augustin, 1978 (hereafter abbreviated *ABSA*), 93-96, with periodical updates in *Stadion*, e.g. vol. V, 2 1979, 161-92.

Now his Majesty saw me rowing with him in his bark (44) "[It is] Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in Thebes] who rises in the bark" being its name. I was rowing...[with?] both hands at the beautiful feast of Luxor, and likewise to Djeser-(45)-[Akhet]. (1) [lan]ded...<sup>102</sup>

While Amenemheb himself was indeed rowing, the same cannot be said for Amenophis II. Previous interpretations failed to realize that the king was at the steering oar determining the boat's course, not actually rowing to outlast two hundred competitors.<sup>103</sup> In fact, the text itself removes all doubt by mentioning the king's oar as being 20 cubits in length, too long for a suitable rowing oar.<sup>104</sup>

Although parallels and precedents for the king as oarsman are lacking prior to Amenophis II's reign, the roots of the sport are probably based on a very old tradition. Decker attempts to associate rowing, as indeed he does almost all royal athletic activity, with the *hb-sd* festival and/or jubilee celebration of the king.<sup>105</sup> Decker takes this view to extremes in the case of the Sphinx stela, for he views most of the text as a sort of commemorative accession and jubilee document, emphasizing the sporting element of these rituals. No one can dispute the mythological *topos* of the healthy, vigorous - and at this period particularly athletic and military - Egyptian king. The concept of the active pharaoh able to lead a campaign against the forces of chaos, and guarantee the natural order of his country formed the foundations of legitimate rule in Dynasty 18.<sup>106</sup> Yet we must refrain from reading mythological symbolism into every physical action taken by the king, let alone associate it with specific accession and jubilee rituals. As Zivie has pointed out, precious little is known about the actual

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<sup>102</sup> *Urk.* IV, 897.1-5.

<sup>103</sup> See the references listed above in the Sphinx stela translation, esp. Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 74-75. Located at the stern of the boat (which sloped upwards), the steering oar had of course to be longer to reach the water; controlling this instrument was where the challenge lay. See the illustrations in B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, London 1970, 100ff.; J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1980, 68-69.

<sup>104</sup> Line 14 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.4; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 77.

<sup>105</sup> Decker, *SAK* 5, esp. 14-15; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 79. See also K. Martin, "Sedfest," in *LÄV*, 782-90; W.J. Murnane, "The Sed Festival: A Problem in Historical Method," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 369-76; and E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* I, Geneva 1974.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten The Heretic King*, Princeton 1984, 30-32; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 151-56; W.C. Hayes, in *CAH<sup>3</sup>*, II, i, 333-38 ("The Sporting Tradition"); J.A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt (= The Culture of Ancient Egypt)*, Chicago 1951, 199-200; De Vries, *Attitudes*, 370-71, 374-75.

procedure of these two rituals; nor can one refer to them interchangeably.<sup>107</sup> How then can we ascribe all of these narrated feats to particular ceremonies, or even assume most of them occurred in the space of the same day?<sup>108</sup> De Vries has also cautioned against overinterpreting the athletic evidence in favor of mythology.<sup>109</sup> It seems wiser, therefore, to hold to a more conservative course for the present and view the athletic evidence on its own terms.

This approach reveals little that compares suitably with Amenophis II's rowing exploit passage. Three other references to oarsmanship deserve brief mention, but none quite fits the context of the present discussion. Sneferu's outing on a pleasure-lake in pWestcar is perhaps the first reference that comes to mind.<sup>110</sup> However, this tale does not apply to our sporting tradition here, for Sneferu was enjoying more the spectacle of his maidens rowing than any personal feat of athletics. Neither do the references to the king conveying (*bnj*) the god Amen in his bark during the Opet festival as depicted in Luxor Temple, for it is unlikely that pharaoh himself was ever at the oar.<sup>111</sup> Finally, parallels involving private individuals, such as Ahmose son of Ebana, do little to help us assess the royal situation.<sup>112</sup>

Although other royal inscriptions which have not survived may have provided parallels for Amenophis II's rowing description, for the present we may nevertheless assume that the Sphinx stela utilizes no clichés here. The king as oarsman, then, in a specifically *athletic* context appears for the first time in the reign of Amenophis II.

<sup>107</sup> C.M. Zivie, "La stèle d'Amenophis II à Giza; à propos d'une interprétation récente," *SAK* 8, 1980, esp. 279-80.

<sup>108</sup> Decker, *SAK* 5, 3-4, 16; cf. Zivie's response, *SAK* 8, 276-79.

<sup>109</sup> De Vries, *Attitudes*, 258, 371-72. This is not, however, to agree wholeheartedly with Zivie, who in our view overinterprets the purpose of the Sphinx stela to serve as a pilgrimage memorial and a decree for the foundation of Amenophis II's Sphinx temple, cf. *SAK* 8, 283-84, and idem, *Giza*, 89(cccc); 262-64, 321-22. See Decker's remarks in *Stadion* III, 319-20.

<sup>110</sup> A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, 35-37; W.K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, New Haven 1973, 19-22; Lichtheim, *AEL* 1, 216-17, and further references cited there.

<sup>111</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2037.8, 11; 2038.16; 2040.17-18; 2041.13; 2042.2, 9, 14. The publication of the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple is in preparation by the The Epigraphic Survey; cf. W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*, Leipzig 1931, 11-18, 29-36; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 77-78.

<sup>112</sup> *Urk.* IV, 6.17, 8.4.; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 79.

B.) Running

1.) Sphinx stela; line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.16.<sup>113</sup>

He could not be approached in running.

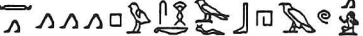
One phrase is not much to go on in assessing tradition versus innovation. On the side of tradition, however, the king as a runner is more securely based in the *sd*-festival and the earliest concepts of the Egyptian monarchy than he is as an oarsman. Part of the king's jubilee ceremony required that he run a set course, presumably intended to demonstrate his sound condition, and through it, the sound condition of the entire land.<sup>114</sup> In the south tomb of the Step Pyramid complex at Sakkara appears a well-known scene of Djoser captured in mid-stride during just this ceremony.<sup>115</sup> So long as the king's physical vigor was secure, so also was the kingdom he dominated. In just such a context Sinuhe praises Sesostris I in the former's famous tale. Among the laudatory verses near the beginning of the story, Sinuhe says of the king: "He is a fast runner; he smites the fleeing."<sup>116</sup>

Although earlier inscriptional material refers to this activity, Sinuhe's account gives us our first reference to pharaoh as a runner.<sup>117</sup> Thereafter, our passage from the Sphinx stela provides the next earliest description. Amenophis II heads a long list of rulers, mostly from the New Kingdom,

<sup>113</sup> See also Zivie, *Giza*, 71, 78(aa); Lichtheim, *AEL* II 41; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 26; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 58-59 = idem, *SAK* 5, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Martin, *LA* V, 786; I.E.S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, Baltimore 1961, 43-44. For general references on the subject, see Decker, *ABSA*, 67-71, esp. 67 no. 148 = D. Wiedemann, *Der Sinn des Laufes im alten Ägypten*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vienne 1975, and idem, "Lauf," in *LA* III, 939-40.

<sup>115</sup> See for example J.-P. Lauer, *Sakkara*, London 1976, pl. XII; Edwards, *Pyramids*, pl. 3 b; Decker, *SAK* 5, 10-13, esp. 12 n. 43.

<sup>116</sup>  Sin. B 56; compare translations: Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 62; idem, *Quellentexte*, 28: "Ein schneller Läufer ist er, der den Fliehenden vernichtet;" idem, *SAK* 5, 28; Lichtheim, *AEL* I, 225: "Wide-striding he smites the fleeing;" Simpson, *Literature*, 62: "He steps wide when he annihilates the fugitive." For the text see A.H. Gardiner, in A. Erman, *Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches*, Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin 5/2, Leipzig 1909, pl. 6; A.M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* I, BA II, Brussels 1932, 19.11.

<sup>117</sup> See Decker's discussion, *Physische Leistung*, 60-62; idem, *Quellentexte*, 28 n.2.

praised for their running capabilities. Among them are Amenophis III, Tutankhamen, Seti I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Ramesses III, Taharqa, and Ptolemy II Philadelphus.<sup>118</sup>

Amenophis II's rowing exploits are rather fully described in the Sphinx stela. By contrast, the single phrase quoted above appears quite insufficient to spearhead an entire *topos*. Even if our king is the first "runner" of the New Kingdom, Sesostris I's talents must not be overlooked as our earliest "running pharaoh," at least as far as surviving textual examples go. And even the Pyramid Texts are not without reference to running.<sup>119</sup> More and fuller documentation is necessary before we ascribe the creation of this particular *topos* to any one monarch. By the same token we refrain from Decker's extended association of the Sphinx stela passage with the *sd*-festival and coronation ceremony.<sup>120</sup> The evidence in this case is too meager to permit a determination of the originality of Amenophis II's passage. Suffice it to say that the tradition of pharaoh as runner extends back to the earliest times, and Amenophis, aware of this tradition, chose to use it for his own monument(s); whether he expanded the genre is for the present uncertain.

### C.) Horsemanship

1.) Sphinx stela; line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.13; lines 19-26 = *Urk.* IV, 1281.8-1283.4.<sup>121</sup> The reader is referred back to the translation of these rather long passages above in Part I of this chapter.

<sup>118</sup> Decker has conveniently gathered the texts, *Physische Leistung*, 63-66, and idem, *LÄ* V, 1163. On the recently published Dahshur stela of Taharqa, describing military running exercises in which the king participates, see H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, *SAK* 9, 57-84, esp. 73-74(bb), and A.M. Moussa, "A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur," *MDAIK* 37, 1981 (Fs. L. Habachi), 331-37.

<sup>119</sup> Pyr. 1672b (utterance 602): following R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, 248: "May he who is among the falcons run for the king's ka." The verb used is the trilateral *sjn*, *Wb.* IV, 38-39; see in general J.P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2, Malibu 1984, 28-35.

<sup>120</sup> Decker, *SAK* 5, 13-14; cf. Zivie, *SAK* 8, 280.

<sup>121</sup> Decker, *Quellentexte*, 53-61; idem, *SAK* 5, 4-6; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 128-30; Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 42; Wilson in *ANET*, 244-45.

For our purposes, the term "horsemanship" applies to the use of the chariot, and not horseback riding.<sup>122</sup> However, only those passages specifically referring to the training and handling of horses are considered here. Collecting every example of pharaoh in his chariot would amplify and generalize our sample without sufficient benefit.<sup>123</sup>

Relative to the other sports discussed in this section, horsemanship was assimilated into the athletic tradition rather late for the simple reason that chariots did not appear in Egypt until the end of the Hyksos period.<sup>124</sup> The first textual reference to horses derives from the second Kamose stela (*t3 nt htrj*), and the first representation belongs to Tuthmosis I.<sup>125</sup> The very fragmentary pTurin 1940-41 may refer to Tuthmosis III providing "[hay] for the mouth(s) of my horse(s)," but the passage stands practically without context.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>122</sup> For discussions of horseback riding, see A.R. Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom," *JNES* 16, 1957, 263-71; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 135-44, including his excursus on the expression *hr htr*; idem, *LA* V, 1163-64. See also the discussion above in the translation notes on the Sphinx stela passage in question. For a newly discovered title with a hieroglyph of a man on horseback possibly representing the word for cavalry or similar, see A.-P. Zivie, "Cavaliers et cavalerie au Nouvel Empire: à propos d'un vieux problème," *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 379-88.

<sup>123</sup> Many references on the subject are gathered by Decker, *ABSA*, 108-16 (nos. 414-72). See also N. de G. Davies, *BMFA* Nov. 1935, Section II, 49-53, and on the Near East in general, W. Nagel, *Der mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im ostmediterranen Bereich*, Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 10, Berlin 1966; more recently Decker, "Bemerkungen zur Konstruktion des ägyptischen Rades in der 18. Dynastie," *SAK* 11, 1984 (Fs. W. Helck), 475-88; idem, "Die Inschrift auf einem Wagen des Tutanchamun," in F. Junge ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Fs. W. Westendorf) II, Göttingen 1984, 869-81; J.F. Romano, "A Youthful Archer from El Amarna," in H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme, eds., *Artibus Aegypti* (Fs. B.V. Bothmer), Brussels 1983, 129-35, with refutation by H. Brunner, "Kein Amarna-Prinz, sondern ein Gott," *GM* 78, 1984, 49-50.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. H. von Deines, *MIO* 1, 6; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 125; D. O'Connor, in B.G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, Cambridge 1983, 189-90; L. Störk, "Pferd," in *LA* IV, 1009-10. On this point one should update the works of Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 171, and Wilson, *Burden*, 155.

<sup>125</sup> On *t3 nt htrj* see L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, *ADAIK* 8, Glückstadt 1972, 36 (line 13 of the text); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden 1975, 93, line 7. For a green jasper scarab of Tuthmosis I, see H.R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs Etc., in the British Museum I, Royal Scarabs*, London 1913, 50 no. 475; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un petit monument commémoratif du roi athlète," *RdE* 7, 1950, pl. 9 fig. 8. Note that Ahmose son of Ebena describes the capture of only a single horse and chariot under Tuthmosis I, *Urk.* IV, 9.17-10.1, while later on Tuthmosis III claims to have fought against 330 chiefs *hr htrw=sn*, *Urk.* IV, 1234.11; cf. Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 128.

<sup>126</sup> G. Botti, "A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Tuthmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940-1941)," *JEA* 41, 1955, 65 (page 1, recto, line 6 and fig. 1).

These short references to horses aside, a good case may be made for original contribution on the part of Amenophis II to this *topos*. In fact, to judge from the surviving inscriptions, he may well have elevated horsemanship from casual reference to true royal tradition. Even representations of this facet of the king's character are preserved.<sup>127</sup>



FIG. 41. BRITISH MUSEUM 4074; AMENOPHIS II FEEDS ONE OF HIS HORSES; AFTER HALL, *CATALOGUE OF SCARABS*, 161, NO. 1640.

Nowhere else in the New Kingdom do we find as detailed an account and as many lines devoted to pharaoh's equestrian exploits as in Amenophis' Sphinx stela. Yet there is no misnomer in terming horsemanship a royal "tradition," for several kings after Amenophis II followed his lead in their own inscriptions. In the case of Tuthmosis IV's Sphinx (or Dream) Stela, desire for recognized legitimacy in acceding to the throne may well be the underlying significance of the text. Evidence of this desire includes: (1) the dream itself whereby Tuthmosis IV links himself with his ancestors, (2) the choice of the site of Giza, a favorite location of Amenophis II's (his own temple and stela stand immediately north of the Sphinx<sup>128</sup>), and (3) the description of certain athletic talents which are reminiscent of those of his father:

<sup>127</sup> See, for example, the plaque (fig. 41) showing a seated Amenophis II offering fodder to a horse; Hall, *Egyptian Scarabs*, 161 no. 1640.

<sup>128</sup> *PM* III, 39-40; for Tuthmosis IV's stela, see *Urk.* IV, 1539a-44, and Zivie, *Giza*, 125-45.

...hunting lions and wild game, travelling in his chariot, his horses swifter (6)  
than the wind... 129

The inscription on Tutankhamen's well-known feathered fan praises his horses,<sup>130</sup> and Seti I assures us his horses have received enough to eat.<sup>131</sup> Ramesses II's horses helped him face his enemies supposedly all alone at Kadesh, and Ramesses III provides us with a description of his stables which reminds us of Tuthmosis III's appointment of Amenophis II to the royal stables of Memphis:

Appearance of the king, the equal of Mentu; his strength like (that of) the son of Nut, in order to inspect the horses which his own hands raised for the great [stable?] of the palace, which the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Mery-Amen (Ramesses III) made.<sup>132</sup>

Compared to Amenophis II's lengthy discussion of horsemanship, the references summarized above hardly bear convincing testimony to the literary originality of the pharaohs in question. In fact, it is only after the New Kingdom in the Ethiopian period under Pi(ankh)y that we find any substantial passages on a par with those of Amenophis II. During his march northward to defeat the Libyan Tefnakht, Pi(ankh)y besieged Hermopolis, and after its surrender, inspected the stables of his enemy, Namlot:

His Majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the steeds. He saw that...(65) they suffered hunger, and he said, "I swear, as Re<sup>c</sup> loves me, and as my nostrils are refreshed with life, it is more painful in my heart (66) that

<sup>129</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1541.11-13; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 66. In favor of Tuthmosis IV's legitimate claim to the throne without any need for such propaganda, see Harris, *SAK* 2, 97-98, and more generally Bryan, *Tuthmosis IV*, 48-49.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Decker, *Quellentexte*, 71-72, and more generally L. Bell, *Mélanges Mokhtar* I, 32-59. The author is indebted to Dr. Bell for permission to read this article in manuscript.

<sup>131</sup> R.A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, London 1968, 85 (line 5 of the text), pl. 40; *KRI* I, 99.3-4; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 131.

<sup>132</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, pl. 109.6; W.F. Edgerton and J.A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, SAOC 12, Chicago 1936, 137; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 84-85, fig. 11; *KRI* V, 112.6-7. References to the passages mentioned above and more may be found in Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 130-35. On the possibility of later royal pilgrimages to Giza beside those of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, cf. Zivie, *Studia Aegyptiaca* I, 429.

my horses have suffered hunger, than any (other) crime which you have committed... 133

This passage from Pi(ankh)'s victory stela comes in the middle of a campaign account, an episode of no crucial importance to the narrative itself. One can accept its historicity more easily since it thus appears all the more consciously inserted into Pi(ankh)'s text, and is not merely one of a string of epithets in a laudatory inscription. A representation of a horse is even included in the lunette of the stela.<sup>134</sup> One is therefore tempted to trust Pi(ankh)'s and Amenophis II's texts, but remain skeptical of the shorter, more stereotyped passages of most of the pharaohs in between.<sup>135</sup> Amenophis II may certainly be credited both with genuine equestrian capabilities, and with the creation of a much more detailed version of this aspect of the sporting king.

#### D.) Archery

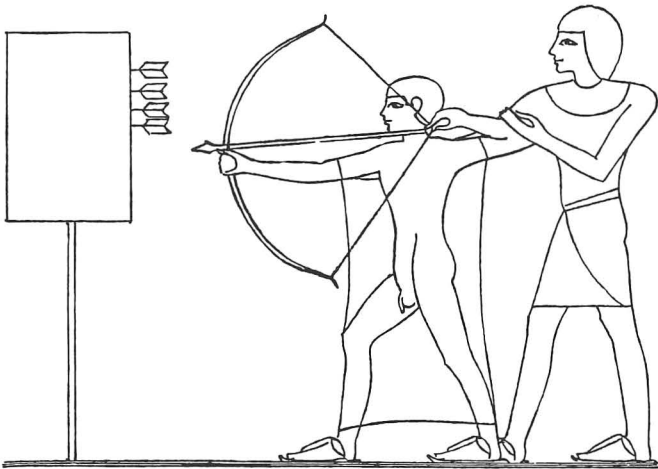
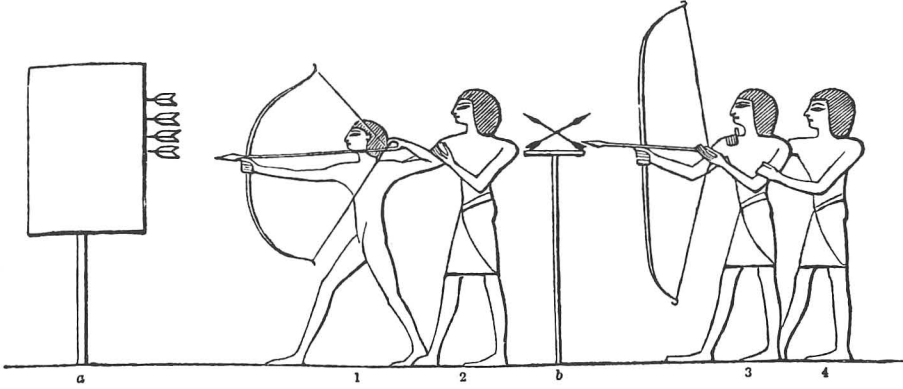
1.) Theban tomb of the mayor of This, Min (TT 109); the mayor instructs prince Amenophis II in archery; *Urk.* IV, 976-77, fig. 42.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>133</sup> *Urk.* III, 21-22; see N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh) au Musée du Caire (JE 48862 et 47086-47089)*, MIFAO 105, Cairo 1981, 69, and esp. 74-75 n. 198 on the immediately following phrase *m kf3 jb=k/nb* as a negative imperative rather than preposition plus substantive. See also Lichtheim, *AEL* III, 73; Breasted, *ARE* IV, 429 S 850, and Decker, *Quellentexte*, 93.

<sup>134</sup> Grimal, *Stèle triomphale*, pls. 1 and 5.

<sup>135</sup> Additional, if brief, references to horsemanship by Amasis, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and private individuals are quoted by Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 134-35.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. H. Schäfer, "König Amenophis II als Meisterschütz," *OLZ* 32, 1929, 240(d); idem, "Weiteres zum Bogenschießen im alten Ägypten," *OLZ* 34, 1931, 89-92; B. Van de Walle, "Les rois sportifs de l'ancienne Egypte," *CdE* 13, 1938, 244, fig. 1; N. de G. Davies, *BIMM* Nov. 1935, Section II, 52-53, fig. 7; A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, MÄS 21, Berlin 1969, pl. 8(1); Decker, *Quellentexte*, 52-53; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 106-7; idem and J. Kleuck, *KBSW* 3, 24-25; H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden 1957, 24-25, 164 (new edition in press at this writing). On Min himself, see our Chapter III Part I, Sec. III Local Administration, no. 7. For general references see Decker, "Bogen," in *LA* I, 842-44; P. Behrens, "Pfeil," in *LA* IV, 1005-7; R. Lepsius, "Der Bogen in der Hieroglyphik," *ZAS* 10, 1872, 79-88; L. Keimer, "Bemerkungen zu altägyptischen Bogen aus Antilopenhörnern," *ZAS* 72, 1936, 121-28; O. Keel, "Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol. Einige unveröffentlichte Skarabäen aus Ägypten und Israel zum Thema Jagd und Krieg," *ZDPV* 93, 1977, 141-77; E. Brunner-Traut, "Atum als Bogenschütze," *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 20-28; and Decker, *ABSA*, 78-80.



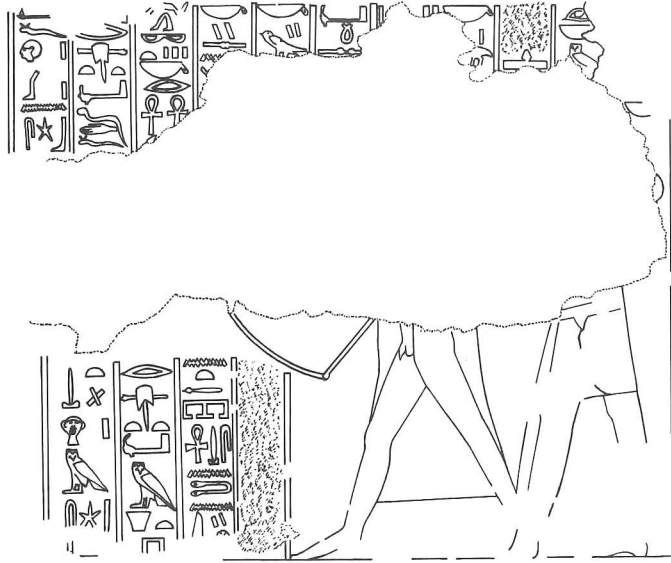


FIG. 42. TT 109; MIN GIVES AN ARCHERY LESSON TO PRINCE AMENOPHIS II; DRAWINGS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM BY: WILKINSON, FROM SCHÄFER, *OLZ* 34, 89; BY DAVIES, *BMAA* NOV. 1935, SECTION II, 52, FIG. 7; AND BY THE AUTHOR AFTER SCHOTT PHOTOGRAPH 5768 = RADWAN, *DARSTELLUNGEN*, PL. 8(1).

In front of the figure of Amenophis II:

(1) Enjoying a lesson (2) in shooting in the courtyard (3) of the palace - L.P.H.  
- of This (4) [by the king's son Amenophis].

Above the figure of Min:

(5) (*Urk.* IV restores name and title of Min). (6) He gives instruction for a lesson (7) in shooting. (8) He says: "Stretch your bow to your (9) ears... make strong(?)<sup>137</sup> (10) both your [arms?]...great(?)...(11) arrow. (12-13) your... 0' [king's] son (14) [Amen]ophis, (15) you ect in/as (16)...all(?)<sup>138</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Schäfer, *OLZ* 34, 92 n. 1 restores the determinative as  (Sign List M 3) instead of the  (T 9) understood by most translators.

<sup>138</sup> The author is indebted to C. Roehrig, whose examination of this wall in TT 109 in 1984 revealed the possibility that the final sign is *nb* (V 30) rather than *k* (V 31).

2.) Sphinx stela; line 12 = *Urk.* IV, 1279.15; lines 15-18 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.9-1281.7.<sup>139</sup>

There was not one there who could draw his bow...

He drew 300 strong bows in comparing the work of their craftsmen, in order to know the unskilled ones from the skilled. Now he returned from doing this (16) which has been brought to your attention. When he entered his northern garden, he found erected for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and the next one. Thereupon his Majesty appeared in his chariot like Mentu (17) in his power. He took up his bow and grabbed four arrows<sup>140</sup> at once. He rode northward shooting at them, like Mentu in his panoply, his arrows coming forth from their back-sides as he shot another post. Now it was a (18) deed which had never been done before, nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came forth from it and landed on the ground, except by the king powerful in splendor, whom [Amen] had strengthened, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Akheperure, strong-armed like Mentu.

3.) Fragment from Medamud; *Urk.* IV, 1322-23, and fig. 43.<sup>141</sup>

(1) ...of 3/4 (of a palm?) in its thickness. Then he pierced it with his first arrow; he caused to come out of the back 7/9 of the shaft<sup>142</sup> which was in this target...(2)... saying: "Anyone who can pierce this target as deep as the arrow of his Majesty shall receive these things." Then they shot at this target...

<sup>139</sup> Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 87-91, 116; idem, *Quellentexte*, 53-61; idem, *SAK* 5, 4-5; Zivie, *Giza*, 71-72; Wilson in *ANET*, 244; Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 41.

<sup>140</sup> On the coincidence of a similar passage from the Middle Kingdom desert hunting scene at Meir, see Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 51 n. 18; A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* I, London 1914, pl. 6.

<sup>141</sup> F. Bisson de la Roque and J.J. Clère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1927*, FIFAO Cairo 1928, 145-46 no. 471, fig. 87; Schäfer, *OLZ* 32, 234; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 64-65; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 93-95; idem and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 27-28.

<sup>142</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1322.18:  $\square$  nbjt (*Wb.* II, 243.15-19), and not  $\int$  *db*<sup>c</sup> "finger;" see Edel's discussion, "Bemerkungen zu den Schiessporttexten der Könige der 18. Dynastie," *SAK* 7, 1979, 29-30, improving on Helck, *Übersetzung*, 44, and Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 94, notes 632, 637; cf. Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 52 n. 29.

4.) "Stela" from the Third Pylon at Karnak; Amenophis II in his chariot piercing a copper target with his arrows; *Urk.* IV, 1321-22, and fig. 44.<sup>143</sup>

#### Upper text:

(1) The perfect god, great in strength, who acts with his two hands in the presence of (2) his army,<sup>144</sup> the mighty bowman who shoots to hit<sup>145</sup> and whose arrows do not (3) go astray; (4) when he shoots at a target of (5) copper, he splits it as (6) (one splits) papyrus, without (even) considering (using) any wooden one to...<sup>146</sup> (7) on account of his strength.<sup>147</sup> Strong of arm, whose equal (8) has never existed; Mentu, when he appears (9) in the chariot.

#### Lower text:

(1) The great target of (2) foreign<sup>148</sup> copper (3) at which his Majesty shot, (4) of three fingers in thickness. (5) The one great of strength pierced it with

<sup>143</sup> *PM* II, 79(k); *Catalogue of the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*, American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo 1979, 68-69, no. 88, fig. 53; H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1927-28," *ASAE* 28, 1928, 126, fig. 5; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 43-44; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 91-93; idem, *Quellentexte*, 63-64; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 26-28; Davies, *BMFA* Nov. 1935 Sec. II, 51 and fig. 4; Van de Walle, *OAE* 13, 246 fig. 2; H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, Wiesbaden 1965, pl. 16. A detail photograph of the king's face may be found in K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, pl. 44 fig. 103. The "stela" is to be related to the additional fragments found in the Fourth Pylon and now in the Cairo Museum, JE 36360, discussed above in Chapter II Part IIB; cf. *PM* II, 74, 79(k); *Urk.* IV, 1368.10-19; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 51 n. 24, and the recent publication by A.-H. Zayed, "Une représentation inédite des campagnes d'Aménophis II," *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1, 5-17. The drawing in fig. 44, completed and collated in 1985, is based on Oriental Institute photograph 6050, for use of which the author is indebted to L. Bell.

<sup>144</sup> The vertical sign behind the *ms<sup>c</sup>* figure (Sign List A 12) must represent three vertical plural strokes, but seems to be carved nevertheless in the form of the *brw* oar (P 8), if the bulge at the bottom of the sign is to be taken seriously. *Urk.* IV shows plural strokes, 1321.15, while Chevrier's original drawing (see preceding note) retains the shape reproduced in our fig. 44. It is doubtful that the sign continues the club held in the *ms<sup>c</sup>* figure's hand.

<sup>145</sup> *Stj r mdt*, *Urk.* IV, 1321.16, and *wj r mdt* (below in line 8 of the target inscription = *Urk.* IV, 1322.6) bear the same meaning of shooting with accuracy, never missing. As Edel has shown, there is no such word \**mdt* "target," *SAK* 7, 23-28, correcting Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 92 n. 627, and 103-5.

<sup>146</sup> Clearly not to be restored to  $\langle \text{[} \text{⋈} \text{]} \rangle$ , "at all," as in *Urk.* IV, 1321.18; Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, pl. 16. Cf. Faulkner, *CDME*, 153; *Wb.* II, 453.17. Examination of the now worn area on older photographs in the Centre Franco-Egyptien at Karnak revealed that the sign below the  $\langle \text{⋈} \rangle$  is most likely either another  $\langle \text{⋈} \rangle$  or an  $\langle \text{⋈} \rangle$ . The writer is grateful to M. J.-C. Golvin, Director of the Centre Franco-Egyptien, for kind permission to examine these photographs.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Edel, *SAK* 7, 33-34.

<sup>148</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1322.2; on *hr ḥ3st=f* see *Wb.* III 235.15-17.

(6) many arrows; he caused (7) three palms' (thickness) to come forth<sup>149</sup> at the back of this target; (8) one who shot to hit every (9) time he aimed, the hero, (10) lord of strength. His Majesty did this pleasure (11) before the entire land.

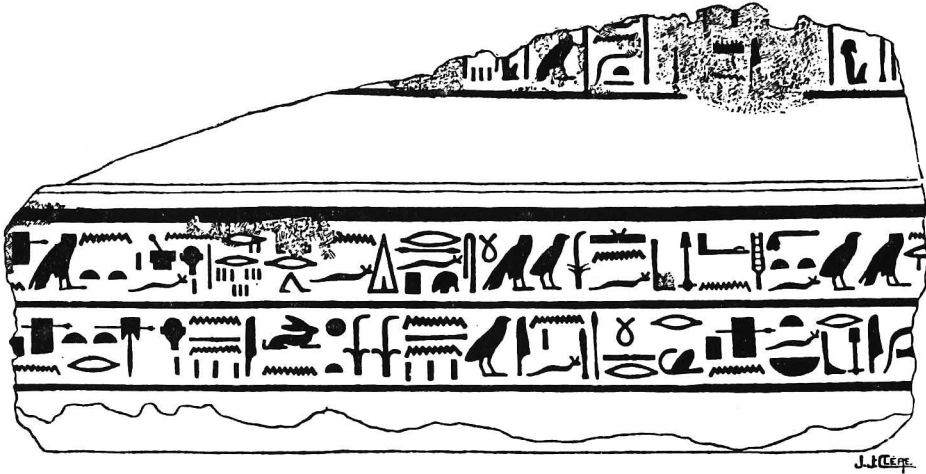


FIG. 43. FRAGMENTARY ARCHERY TEXT FROM MEDAMUD; DRAWING BY CLERE; FROM BISSON DE LA ROQUE AND CLERE, *MEDAMOUD* 1927, 146, FIG. 87.

5.) Amada stela, dated to year 3; lines 2-3 = *Urk.* IV, 1290.3.150

There is no one who can draw his bow among his army, (3) among the rulers of foreign lands, (or among) the chiefs of Retenu.

6.) Memphis stela; archery episode from the campaign of year 7; line 11 = *Urk.* IV, 1304.3-4.151

Then his Majesty shot two targets of hammered copper in their presence, at the southern side of this town.

<sup>149</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1322.5. A less likely solution would involve an unexpressed third person plural suffix =w referring to *ssrw*, hence "he caused them to come forth three palms..." On the third person plural suffix cf. Edel, "Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptisch. Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural -w," *ZAS* 84, 1959, 17-38, and B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*, Tübingen 1970, 35-40.

<sup>150</sup> Wilson, in *ANET*, 247; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 30.

<sup>151</sup> Decker, *Quellentexte*, 61-62; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 97; Wilson in *ANET*, 246; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 37.

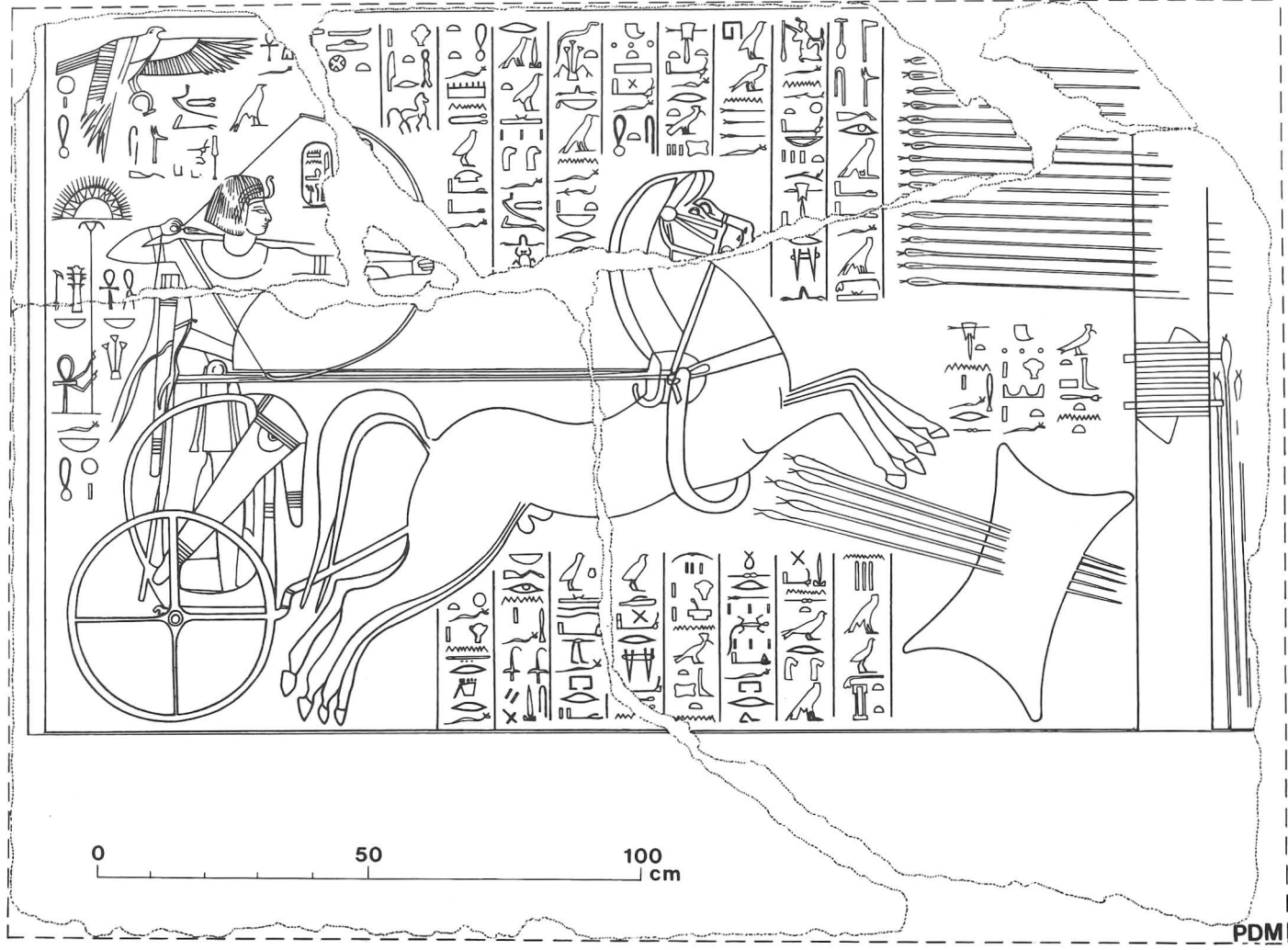


FIG. 44. LUXOR MUSEUM J. 44; ARCHERY "STELA" FROM THE THIRD PYLON AT KARNAK; AFTER ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PHOTOGRAPH 6050.

7.) Fragment of a stela from Coptos(?); line 11 = *Urk.* IV, 1318.10.<sup>152</sup>

When he shoots at a copper target, (it is) like one who...<sup>153</sup>

8.) Theban tomb of Re<sup>c</sup> (TT 72); representation of Amenophis II hunting ibex, ostrich etc., in the desert (almost completely destroyed); *PM* I, i, 142; Davies *BMMA* Nov. 1935, Sec. II, 49-50.

9.) Theban tomb 143 (name lost); representation of Amenophis II(?) shooting an arrow; see Chapter I Part II, no. 14 of source list, and fig.15; *PM* I, i, 255.<sup>154</sup>

10.) Green jasper plaque, Louvre E 6256, representing Amenophis II on one side shooting at enemies from his chariot; fig. 45; Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, *RdE* 7, 1950, 37-46.

The multitude of texts and representations listed above indicates that archery was by far the most favored sport of Amenophis II; no other is described in as much detail, mentioned or represented as frequently in his documents. He is not the only pharaoh to do this: one might well call archery the most important sport at which the kings of Dynasty 18 could excel.<sup>155</sup> How much of Amenophis' discussion of archery is mere rhetoric taken from "files"(?) of laudatory narrative compiled over the reigns of his predecessors, and how much is new material pertaining to his actual skills

<sup>152</sup> A. Barucq, "Deux fragments d'une stèle historique d'Aménophis II au Musée Guimet de Lyon," *ASAE* 49, 1949, 183-205.

<sup>153</sup> Emphatic form *stt=f*; Edel restores the end of the phrase with [*hr stt mhyt*], hence "Daß er einen Kupferbarren durchschießt, (tut er), wie einer, der [ein Papierblatt ('Papyrus') durchschießt]," *SAK* 7, 35.

<sup>154</sup> See also Davies, *BMMA* Nov. 1935, Sec. II, 51 and fig. 6; Van de Walle, *Ode* 13, 244 n. 1. Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 31-32 suggest Tutankhamen and Ay are actually the kings represented; Keel also opts for a "later sketch" dating to Tutankhamen, *ZDPV* 93, 154 and 155 fig. 16.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 49; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 80-122, 155; idem, *LA* V, 1163; Hayes, *CAH*<sup>3</sup>, II, i, 333-38. On Egyptian archery's possible influence on the later Greek tradition, see W. Burkert, "Von Amenophis II. zur Bogenprobe des Odysseus," *Grazer Beiträge* 1, 1973, 68-78; Decker, "Zur Bogenprobe des Odysseus," *KBSW* 6, 1977, 149-53; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 51 n. 23.

and accomplishments? While the number of his archery texts far exceeds that for any other pharaoh, we can hardly credit the king with the invention of a new royal pastime. Earlier references to archery in other contexts are known,<sup>156</sup> but target-shooting makes its first appearance,<sup>157</sup> if we can trust Sethe's restoration, in the time of Tuthmosis I. In Tuthmosis' fourth year, we read that the king's eldest son Amenmose went forth on an excursion, "enjoying himself [in shooting (arrows)]..."<sup>158</sup>

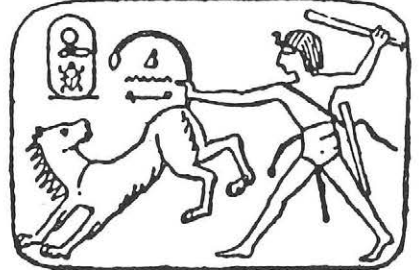


FIG. 45. LOUVRE E. 6256; FROM DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *RDE* 7, 38.

Tuthmosis III also practiced archery. His Annals include the passage:

Then his Majesty enjoyed himself in shooting... 159

<sup>156</sup> See Decker's corpus, including references from the Pyramid Texts (Teti 684), Ankhaf, Snuhe and Sesostris III, *Physische Leistung*, 81-83.

<sup>157</sup> See, however, a curious fragment of raised relief depicting two arrows stuck in a target, found among the re-used blocks from Amenemhet I's pyramid at Lisht, H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, New York 1971, 139-40 no. 85; Decker, *Stadion* III, 318.

<sup>158</sup> *Urk.* IV, 91.12-14: restoring [𓂏 𓂏 𓂏]; first published by E. Grébaud, "Inscription inédite du règne de Thotmès Ier," *Rec. Trav.* 7, 1886, 142; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 44-45; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 84-85 (with 𓂏 omitted after *jmy-r ms<sup>c</sup>*); Decker and Klauk, *KBSW* 3, 50 n. 4; Zivie, *Giza*, 55(c) suggests *n stt* instead of *m stt*. On *sdj-hr* see H. Schäfer, "Die kupferne Zielscheibe in der Sphinxinschrift Thutmosis des IV.," *ZAS* 67, 1931, 92-95.

<sup>159</sup> *Urk.* IV, 676.10; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 85.





Far more important, however, is another parallel, from which Amenophis II and his scribes must have drawn heavily. A detailed passage on archery is to be found in the Armant stela of Tuthmosis III:160

He then (4) shot at a copper ingot, all wooden ones having been split like papyrus.<sup>161</sup> Then his Majesty donated a sample thereof in the temple of Amen - a target of hammered copper three fingers in thickness, his arrow (stuck) therein, after it had pierced it (=the target), for he had caused (it) to protrude three palms through (5) at the back of it, that he might fulfill the wish of (his) retinue (as/for?) the success of his two arms in valor and victory. I am telling you(?)<sup>162</sup> what he used to do - without falsehood<sup>163</sup> or misstatement therein - in the actual(?)<sup>164</sup> presence of his entire army, and there is no word of exaggeration in it. If he spends (6) time enjoying himself<sup>165</sup> hunting in any desert, the quantity of what he brings back is greater than the spoils of the entire army. He killed seven lions by means of shooting, in the completion of a moment.


Of the three separate references to the thickness of the copper targets in Amenophis II's inscriptions, two match the measurements in the Armant stela exactly.<sup>166</sup> Regarding Amenophis' three corresponding measurements of arrow protrusion out of the back of the target, one mirrors Tuthmosis'

<sup>160</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1243-47; R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, London 1940, 182-84, pls. 11 fig. 5, 88 fig. 8, and 103; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 50; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 85-87; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 24; Edel, *SAK* 7, 31-33; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 13; E. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, 237-38.

<sup>161</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1245.3-4; emphatic form *stt=f* with the copper ingot as adjunct; *ht nb* "each wooden one" refers to targets already destroyed, not the king's arrows. On this passage, see Edel, *SAK* 7, 31-35.

<sup>162</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1245.9: ; emphatic form with either an incorrect  for , due to the hieratic original, or corrupt restoration by Seti I. Mond and Myers try to associate the passage with the well-known phrase *hr mw=f* (*Wb.* II, 52.17-19), *Temples of Armant*, 184(f); Helck, *Übersetzung*, 13 n. 3 emends  = *m3ct*.

<sup>163</sup> *Grg* has been incorrectly restored by Seti I to ; *Urk.* IV, 1245.9 n. c; Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 184(g).

<sup>164</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1245.10: , with the particle *m* (*Wb.* II, 4-5) before the compound preposition *hft-hr*? On the compound preposition *m-hft-hr*, missing from most of the grammars (and falsely transcribed for *n-hft-hr* in Erman, *Näg.*, 321, S 647.4 = Amenemope 6,10), see *Wb.* III, 275.23, Meeks, *AL* 3, 1979, 79.2198, and *KRI* II, 558.13.

<sup>165</sup> Compare the similar passage in Tuthmosis IV's Sphinx stela, *Urk.* IV, 1541.8-9.

<sup>166</sup> Tuthmosis III pierced a target of three fingers' thickness (line 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1245.6); the Sphinx stela is the only one to differ (no. 2 of the above list, line 16 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.13), listing a thickness of one palm (i.e. four fingers). The Medamud fragment (no. 3; line 1 - *Urk.* IV, 1322.16) gives 3/4 of a destroyed unit, which is in all probability one palm, hence three fingers; for another interpretation, see Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 120-22. The Karnak archery stela (no. 4; line 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1322.3) has three fingers. See Edel's chart in *SAK* 7, 38. On measurements in general, see Gardiner, *EGJ*, 199 S 266.2.

Armant text, the second reaches through 7/9 of the length of the shaft, and the third penetrates all the way through to land on the ground.<sup>167</sup>

Amenophis II seems then much less original with regard to archery than he is with his equestrian abilities, and our first impression is to suspect, along with Gardiner, the validity of his inscriptions.<sup>168</sup> However, several elements of Amenophis' texts point against a mere use of stock clichés with no basis in reality. The Sphinx stela (no. 2 of the list above) describes the king's personal inspection of three hundred bows in search of superior craftsmanship.<sup>169</sup> The episode appears in the texts of no previous king. Similarly, the subsequent account of Amenophis' target-shooting demonstration *from a racing chariot* is likewise unparalleled before his reign. While riding a parallel course in front of four targets spaced at least ten meters apart, the king would have had to fire four successive arrows in perhaps under ten seconds, hardly an unimpressive accomplishment.<sup>170</sup> Not even his father, Tuthmosis III, claimed any special prowess in shooting from a moving vehicle.

Perhaps most interesting of all of Amenophis II's archery texts is the one from Medamud (no. 3), in which he throws out a challenge to all in the vicinity to try to best him in marksmanship. To this writer's knowledge, no other inscription from any dynasty reports such a contest in which pharaoh actually pits himself against his mortal retinue. Most of the sporting activities included in the Egyptian repertoire were individual, rather than competitive ones, making our text all the more exceptional.<sup>171</sup> Nor can it be compared to the military genre of pharaoh consulting with his generals (part

<sup>167</sup> Tuthmosis III's arrow reaches twelve fingers' width (lit. palms) through the target (*Urk.* IV, 1245.7), as does Amenophis II's arrow discussed in his Karnak archery stela (also three palms; no. 4 of the above list, line 7 = *Urk.* IV, 1322.5). Amenophis' Medamud text gives the shaft measure of 7/9 (literally 2/3 + 1/9; no. 3, line 1 = *Urk.* IV, 1322.18), while the arrows of the Sphinx stela pass through their target completely (no. 2, lines 17-18 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.19, 1281.5). Tutankhamen claims to have accomplished this last feat as well, *Urk.* IV, 2047.6; cf. Edel, *SAK* 7, 38-39; and Decker's chart, *Physische Leistung*, 105, 121-22.

<sup>168</sup> Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 198: "...unhappily the like had been related of Tuthmosis III, though with less detail, so that we are not without excuse for skepticism."

<sup>169</sup> On the physical aspects of drawing bows ancient and modern, see Klauck's contribution in Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 36-49, and Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 112-17.

<sup>170</sup> For more detailed discussion of this episode, including the orientation of the targets to meet the king's arrows head-on, see Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 88-91, and Zivie, *Giza*, 83(rr).

<sup>171</sup> See De Vries, *Attitudes*, 363, 375.

of the so-called "Königsnovelle") on the eve of some battle.<sup>172</sup> It is true that both examples share the same ultimate goal of praising the king; nevertheless, no specific crisis is at hand in the Medamud text. The subject is sport, not war.

The glorification of the athletically capable monarch normally involves little more than "shining faces" from whatever spectators might be present.<sup>173</sup> The king performs within his own isolated royal context. Thus the highly original Medamud text challenge motif is a major stumbling block for those who would read an abundance of religious symbolism into the Egyptian king's every athletic move. It is hardly logical that the divine king, perfect and superior by definition, would even consider the possibility of facing a mortal opponent who could match him.<sup>174</sup> We should then see in the Medamud text a unique passage, another glimpse, albeit brief, into the personality of Amenophis II, not unlike that afforded by his letter to his Nubian viceroy Usersatet (Chapter III Part II, fig. 37). Even the skeptical Gardiner admits that some examples of Amenophis' athletic prowess are "too individual to be rejected out of hand."<sup>175</sup>

From a modern perspective, it is perhaps refreshing to read of some of Amenophis II's uniquely original athletic exploits. In the case of archery, however, it was not long after his reign before the rhetoric returned to the royal monuments. Tuthmosis IV marks the third generation within Dynasty 18 to emphasize the sporting tradition, but his texts already betray the beginnings of a more standardized narrative. His own Sphinx stela devotes a mere two lines to archery:

Now he used to practice sport, enjoying himself upon the highlands of the Memphite nome, upon its southern and northern way, shooting at a target of copper, hunting lions and wild game, and travelling in his chariot, his horses

<sup>172</sup> On the Königsnovelle see now A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven 1983, 101-14; and D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King Lists, Annals and Day Books*, supplement to *JSSA* vol. 14/1, (forthcoming at this writing).

<sup>173</sup> Such as those mentioned in the Sphinx stela, line 15 = *Urk.* IV, 1280.8.

<sup>174</sup> Regardless of whether the outcome (the king's triumph and increased glory) was the real intention behind the challenge or not. Against this view and in favor of religious interpretation of these athletic texts, see Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 154, 156; idem, *SAK* 5, 1-20, with reply by Zivie, *SAK* 8, 269-84. See also De Vries, *Attitudes*, 258, 371-72.

<sup>175</sup> Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 198. For an opposing view which sees Amenophis II at the end of a line of development, cf. Helck, "Überlegungen zur Geschichte der 18. Dynastie," *Oriens Antiquus* 8, 1969, 311-12.

faster than the wind, with only one of his retainers, none of the people knowing it.<sup>176</sup>

The rest of the Dynasty 18 archery references are isolated stock phrases, mostly of Amenophis III and Tutankhamen.<sup>177</sup> Only under Ay do we find a beaten gold fragment showing the king in his chariot once again piercing an ingot. The influence of Amenophis II's Karnak archery stela (no. 4 of the above list, fig. 44), is obvious, although new additions include four enemies, two bound to a post and two others praying for mercy.<sup>178</sup> Additional phrases, often in a military context, are supplied by Seti I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Ramesses III, and Ptolemy son of Lagos under Alexander II (IV) in the Satrap stela.<sup>179</sup>

\* \* \*

The foregoing remarks have briefly considered the originality of Amenophis II's contribution to the sporting tradition. Amenophis can, of course, in no way be hailed as the creator of this tradition; that honor goes to his predecessors. Chief among them was his father, Tuthmosis III, with his archery exploits, elephant hunts and other feats. However, it is fair to cite Amenophis as the most vigorous advocate of athletic endeavors, and he certainly extended the parameters of this particular literary genre with some truly original and very detailed passages, especially in the cases of rowing, horsemanship and archery. These unparalleled passages lend credence to a relatively accurate description of this aspect of his character. Yet there remains the separate question of the degree of truth versus

<sup>176</sup> Lines 5-6 = *Urk.* IV, 1541.8-15; Decker, *Quellentexte*, 65-66; idem, *Physische Leistung*, 97-98; Helck, *Übersetzung*, 141; Zivie, *Studia Aegyptiaca* I, 424. On Tuthmosis IV's target see H. Schäfer, *ZAS* 67, 92-95. On a bronze ring now in Wuppertal, this king is shown seated, bow in hand, cf. Decker, "Ein Ring mit dem Namen Thutmosis' IV," *OdtE* 44, 1969, 195-99; see also Van de Walle, *OdtE* 13, 255, fig. 4 = Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 111, fig. 24.

<sup>177</sup> Collected by Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 99. Of related interest at this period is the papyrus dubbed "The Sporting King," which dates palaeographically to late Dynasty 18, but may relate an outing of Amenemhet II; see R.A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, Oxford 1956, 22-39; De Vries, *Attitudes*, 321-28.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Van de Walle, *OdtE* 13, 250, fig. 3; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 99-100, fig. 17; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 32, fig. 7. For a stela of Amenophis III showing bound prisoners upon the backs of the king's chariot horses, see P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* I, Cairo 1909, 59-61, pls. 20-21 (CG 34026).

<sup>179</sup> R.S. Bianchi, "Satrapenstele," in *LÄV*, 492-93; Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 83-84, 112, 119-20; idem, *Quellentexte*, 68-73.

exaggeration in the athletic texts. Could Amenophis II actually pierce copper targets, and successfully wield an oar twenty cubits in length?

The extraordinary feats described in the various inscriptions leave us suspicious on more than one occasion. In regard to the copper targets, an interesting attempt has been made by Decker and Klauck to recreate the ancient conditions described in the texts for assessing the feasibility of the pharaonic boasts discussed above.<sup>180</sup> The discovery of numerous copper ingots in a shipwreck off Cape Gelidonya has greatly aided in this research.<sup>181</sup> While no doubt remains on the proportions of these ingots described in the texts, Klauck concluded that it was highly unlikely that the Eighteenth Dynasty kings could actually have performed the feats of archery of which they were so proud. Edel has reached the same conclusion.<sup>182</sup>

Modern materials will never recreate the ancient situation exactly,<sup>183</sup> and detailed as Amenophis II's inscriptions are at times, crucial information is nevertheless absent which might give us a clearer picture of the episodes described. But if we choose to remain dubious of the veracity of Amenophis' texts, this royal exaggeration on the part of the king does little to change our conclusions here. Indeed the archaeological record corroborates the textual evidence. Amenophis' tomb in the Valley of the Kings (no. 35) produced a composite bow of wood and horn once richly ornamented with mosaic patterns.<sup>184</sup> Most likely, a combination of truth and hyperbole make up the athletic inscriptions of Amenophis II, or in one scholar's words, "A true portrait of an individual has been exaggerated by the sweeping brush strokes which painted an age."<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 36-50; see also in general Decker, "Schleßscheiben," in *LÄ* V, 601.

<sup>181</sup> See D. O'Connor, "Model Ingots in Egyptian Foundation Deposits," in G.F. Bass, "Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 57, 8, Philadelphia 1967, 172-74; G.F. Bass, "Cape Gelidonya and Bronze Age Maritime Trade," in H.A. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident* (Fs. C.H. Gordon), *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 22, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 29-38.

<sup>182</sup> Edel, *SAK* 7, 39.

<sup>183</sup> As Decker and Klauck freely admit, *KBSW* 3, 49-50.

<sup>184</sup> *PM* I, ii, 556; G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Cairo 1902, 68, pl. 19 (CG 24120); *Urk.* IV, 1363. On composite bows, see Decker, *Physische Leistung*, 80-81, idem, *LÄ* I, 842-44; Decker and Klauck, *KBSW* 3, 28-31, and W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Tutankhamun's Tomb Series III, Oxford 1970. See our text above, nos. 2 and 5 of the list of Amenophis II's archery passages for references to his bow.

<sup>185</sup> Wilson, *Burden*, 198.



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing pages attempt to gather some basic source material relevant to the reign of Amenophis II, and present it in a concise and accessible form. It is hoped that the source lists and accompanying discussion will serve both as a basis for expansion on the those topics included here, and perhaps as a starting point for those which are omitted.

Examination of the chronological evidence resulted in the exclusion of several of the lunar dates previously utilized for conclusions on absolute and relative dating. Both Tuthmosis III's second *psdntjw* date and Amenophis II's *psdntjw* from pLeningrad 1116A were shown to contain too many variables to be reliable for modern chronological purposes. Only the Megiddo date of Tuthmosis III was accepted as valid, since it alone requires no emendation or other alteration. Possible absolute dates for the reign of Tuthmosis III were summarized in fig. 3.

A long list of "shared" monuments, as well as the numbering of certain campaigns, seems to leave no room for doubt of a coregency between Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. Although numerous alternative possibilities were briefly discussed, the traditionally assumed coregency of two and one-third years remains the most likely of them. A coregency between Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, on the other hand, was rejected for lack of evidence. Based on our current knowledge, it is unwise to assign Amenophis II more than his presently attested twenty-six years on the throne.

Amenophis II's military campaigns were taken in a more positive light than they are by other scholars. Even if expansion was minimal, most of the king's undertakings abroad proved successful, and Egypt lost neither ground nor influence under his reign. (His concern for rhetoric and propaganda also came close to matching that of his father and grandfather.) The case for reading defeat between the lines of his military texts is unconvincing. Three separate Asian campaigns are assigned to Amenophis II, the first of which, in the region of Takhsy, was probably the least significant, and may well have taken place while Tuthmosis III was still alive. The Taanach letters and the Chinnereth fragment cannot be assigned with any certainty to Amenophis II's reign, nor even to any specific military context. The king's activity in Nubia seems much more limited than his Asian exploits, but a military campaign of some sort is certainly referred to by Usersatet

in shrine no. 4 at Ibrim. Very few of Amenophis' place names can be said to appear for the first time under his reign (see Appendix II).

Amenophis II left no evidence behind to suggest he was incapable of administering the country effectively. By surrounding himself with a tightly knit core of trustworthy officials, many of whom he had grown up with at court (several of them were *brdw n kꜣp*), Amenophis seems to have stepped into his father's shoes and insured his position on the throne with a minimum of competition or disorder. Additional research into other reigns might focus on his policy of installing childhood companions in key administrative positions, in order to determine just how original Amenophis II was in this connection. It should be noted, however, that no evidence is forthcoming for any kind of purge of the officials who served his father.

Unfortunately, we catch only glimpses of the events surrounding the king's accession and death; one would like to know more about the royal succession at both ends of the reign. Furthermore, the argument of silence plays too large a role in assessing Amenophis II's policies, for not a single text has survived which describes a major act or decree of any historical significance, at least from the point of view of the modern historian. There are as yet no texts for our king to be compared to the contract of Ahmose-Nofretari, the restoration stela of Tutankhamen, the decree of Horemheb, or the Nauri decree of Seti I.<sup>1</sup>

In architectural activity, Amenophis II failed to match the achievements of pharaohs such as his father, Tuthmosis III. It should be remembered, however, that in Tuthmosis, Amenophis was succeeding one of the most energetic builders the country had known up to that point in time. Tuthmosis III also enjoyed the advantage of ruling twice as long as his son, with of course twice as much time to cover the land with his monuments. Nevertheless, the discovery of blocks from buildings of Amenophis II all over Egypt testifies to the kings' widespread, if more modest construction efforts.<sup>2</sup> Many of them suffered the fate of being dismantled for reuse in the buildings of later kings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this corpus of texts compare the remarks by A. Théodoridès, "Dekret," in *LA* I, 1037-43; W. Helck, "Gesetze," in *LA* II, 570-71; and E. Martin-Pardey, "Tempeldekrete," in *LA* VI, 379-84.

<sup>2</sup> See Van Siclen's brief discussion of Tuthmosid architecture in *The Alabaster Shrine of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 3-4

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 5-6, and 44.

While a well-rounded view of Amenophis II's character is certainly not discernible from the available evidence, there remain nevertheless more glimpses of his personality than are found for many other Egyptian monarchs. These glimpses are most often bound together with the *topoi* of the sporting tradition and military king so prevalent in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Amenophis' penchant for athletic prowess might almost characterize him as a "lover of the outdoors" in the modern sense. Few other pharaohs have left us such detailed accounts of their favorite pastimes in youth, such as Amenophis' description of his visits to the Pyramids of Giza, and his various sporting competitions. This *topos* is not without its crueler side, as is evident from the king's treatment of some of his Takhsian prisoners, and his preference for association with deities such as Mentu and Reshep.<sup>4</sup> While the concept of the military king long predates this particular reign, Amenophis II certainly extended and partially redefined the tradition with original contributions to the literary genre.

One of the many subjects not treated in the foregoing pages is the royal iconography of Amenophis II.<sup>5</sup> Some progress has already been made in this area. Vandier was the first to write on the three-dimensional representations of our king,<sup>6</sup> followed by Müller, and then by Bothmer who focused his attention on the kneeling limestone statuette shared between the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (head) and the Louvre (torso).<sup>7</sup> Bothmer was able to divide the three-dimensional representations of Amenophis II into two categories, one earlier and one later. The earlier phase displays more youthful and individualized features coming close to true portraiture,

<sup>4</sup> See J.F. Borghouts, "Month," in *LA* IV, esp. 201 notes 28-29; W.K. Simpson, "New Light on the God Reshep," *JAOs* 73, 1953, esp. 86 n. 4; idem, "Reshep in Egypt," *Orientalia* 29, 1960, esp. 63-66; idem, "Reschef," in *LA* V, 244-46; Helck, "Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten," *Oriens Antiquus* 5, 1966, 1-14, esp. 5; E. Hornung, "Amenophis II.," in *LA* I, 204; J. Leclant, "Astarte," in *LA* I, esp. 204; and our Chapter II n. 3 above.

<sup>5</sup> For discussions of the development of New Kingdom royal statuary predating Amenophis II, see I. Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 5, Stockholm 1984, with bibliography on pp. 74-77; and J.F. Romano, "Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture," *JARCE* 13, 1976, 97-111.

<sup>6</sup> J. Vandier, "Deux têtes royales du Nouvel Empire," *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires* 43, 1949, 3-9.

<sup>7</sup> MFA 99.733; cf. B.V. Bothmer, "Membra Dispersa. Amenhotep II Making an Offering," *BMFA* 52, 1954, 11-12, idem, "Amenhotep II - Restored," *ibid.*, 41. See also H.W. Müller, "Ein ägyptischer Königskopf des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur Stilentwicklung der Plastik der 18. Dynastie," *MABK* 3, III-IV, 1952-53, 67-84. Müller ascribes the Louvre piece to Amenophis III, *ibid.*, 72 n. 9. For remarks on some other pieces of sculpture, see J.D. Cooney, "Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin," *JNES* 12, 1953, 6-7, no. 19, pl. 16; and W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, New York 1959, 140-46.

The later phase is more mature and stylized, moving away from an individual likeness, with broader mouth, and square, firmly set chin.<sup>8</sup> Vandier later collected some thirty-two statues of the king, and reassigned the Boston and Louvre piece to Tuthmosis III.<sup>9</sup> The last word has not been written on the subject, and the many extant portraits of our king would certainly repay thorough reexamination. Bothmer's two categories, for example, would counter the assumption of some scholars that the earlier representations of a pharaoh can tend to resemble those of his predecessor until he (or his craftsmen) is able to establish his own particular style.<sup>10</sup>

The two-dimensional representations of Amenophis II present different problems.<sup>11</sup> K. Myśliwiec has established separate characteristics for relief sculpture versus painting. The king's relief sculpture gradually evolves away from similarities to that of Tuthmosis III, with less juvenile features and increasing sensitivity of modelling and serenity of expression.<sup>12</sup> These works may be attributed to a "Karnak school," an earlier phase with a style more individual than what was to follow. Painted representations, on the other hand, betray a more official, less personal representation, and may even hark back to certain features of Amenophis I.<sup>13</sup> Myśliwiec names this later phase the "tomb of Amenophis II school" at western Thebes, and representative examples are found in the king's sepulchre in the Valley of the Kings and in the private

<sup>8</sup> Bothmer, *BMFA* 52, 19-20 with references to examples from each group.

<sup>9</sup> Based on, among other features, the slightly elongated visage and smiling expression more characteristic of Tuthmosis III than of Amenophis II, Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, Paris 1958, 305-307. While it is of course possible that the piece was initially created for Tuthmosis III and was later completed for Amenophis II, examination of the head reveals the same well-rounded face and distinctive nose found in many portraits of Amenophis II, and the author is inclined to agree with Bothmer's position. Cf. especially the companion piece in identical pose in the Metropolitan Museum, Bothmer, *BMFA* 52, 13-14, figs. 5-6, and Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, 143 fig. 79.

<sup>10</sup> See the general remarks and bibliography in H. Altenmüller, "Königsplastik," in *LA* III, 570, and K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, esp. 140-41; and C. Vandersleyen, "Portrait," in *LA* IV, 1074-80. For additional comments on statuary of Amenophis II, see I. Lindblad, "Four Pieces of Royal Sculpture from the New Kingdom at Stockholm," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 19, 1984, esp. 24-38; and E. Hornung, "Amenophis II.," in *LA* I, 205 with n. 28.

<sup>11</sup> For a new general study on New Kingdom religious iconography up to the Amarna period, see now K. Myśliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty Before the Amarna Period*, Iconography of Religions XVI, 5, Leiden 1985, with bibliography on pp. vii-x; representations of Amenophis II may be found on pls. 17.2 and 19.2.

<sup>12</sup> Myśliwiec, *Portrait royal*, 60; a good source list is provided on pp. 58-59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-62.

tomb of the Theban mayor Sennefer (TT 96).<sup>14</sup> The short (or so-called *jbs* ?)<sup>15</sup> wig makes its appearance under our king and occurs in his Karnak jubilee temple between the IXth and Xth Pylons in raised relief representations, while more traditional wigs appear in sunk relief. As a dating criterion, this feature could serve to roughly delineate earlier and later stages of Amenophis II's reign.<sup>16</sup>

An additional topic omitted from the foregoing chapters is the innovation in the private artistic tradition which took place in the Theban necropolis under Amenophis II and his successor, Tuthmosis IV. We have already noted in passing some stylistic similarities between Amenophis' own tomb and that of Sennefer. It would be interesting to know more about this "west Theban school," which seems so independent from the Karnak tradition, and its involvement in royal versus private monuments. In the private tombs themselves, the period in question saw a general relaxation of some of the more rigid restrictions on the Egyptian artist, resulting in a new liveliness, freer composition and more experimentation. It is to be hoped that this subject will receive the attention it deserves.<sup>17</sup>

Many of the problems outlined in the preceding pages will only be solved after more comparative work between different periods of the New Kingdom, and indeed of Egyptian history in general, has been undertaken. Determination of the normal from the abnormal, of gradual trends as opposed to sudden developments, will always hinge upon a sufficient corpus of comparanda. If this collection of isolated aspects of one particular pharaoh's reign makes such future comparative research more accessible, and leads to answers where herein were posed only questions, then it will have served its purpose.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 62. On Sennefer in general, cf. Chapter III Part I, Section IV.6.

<sup>15</sup> Attestations of this word predating the Greek period appellation of *Wb.* I, 64.18 may be found in Meeks, *AL* I, 23, no. 77.0232 (this reference courtesy L. Bell); cf. also the Sphinx stela, line 6 = *Urk.* IV, 1277.20 (discussed above in Chapter IV Part I).

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps even first as coregent and later as sole ruler; cf. Myśliwiec, *Portrait royal*, 62, 144, with figs. 101-105 (fig. 103 = our fig. 44 in Chapter IV Part II. Another iconographic innovation under Amenophis II is the motif of the "artificial tree placed between two animals;" cf. W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, revised by W.K. Simpson, Harmondsworth 1981, 242, fig. 238, and the references cited there.

<sup>17</sup> N.B. A.-G. Shedid, *Untersuchungen zum Malereistil und zum Problem der Künstlerhandschriften thebanischer Beamtengräber in der Zeit Amenophis' II. im Rahmen einer vergleichenden Untersuchung von TT 80 & 104*, Ph.D. dissertation, Munich, in press. See for now A. Mekhitarian, *Egyptian Painting*, Geneva 1954, 53-65; and M. Wegner, "Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber," *MDAIK* 4, 1933, 38-164, and esp. 114-24.



## APPENDIX I

### THE KARNAK AND MEMPHIS STELAE OF AMENOPHIS II

#### Selected Bibliography

##### 1) On both the Karnak and Memphis stelae:

- *Urk.* IV, 1299-1316.
- W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, Berlin 1961, 32-41 (no. 375).
- E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69, 1953, 97-176, with Nachträge in *ZDPV* 70, 1954.
- J.A. Wilson in *ANET*, 245-47.
- C. Lalouette, *Textes sacrés et textes profanes de l'ancienne Egypte*, UNESCO 1984, 104-108.
- A. Alt, "Neue Berichte über Feldzüge von Pharaonen des Neuen Reiches nach Palästina," *ZDPV* 70, 1954, 39-62.
- K. Galling, ed., *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, Tübingen 1968, 28-34.
- A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven 1982, esp. 142-52, 176-82.
- B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the later Eighteenth Dynasty I*, Warminster 1982, 28-35.

##### 2) On the Memphis stela alone:

- A.M. Badawi, "Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II.," *ASAE* 42, 1943, 1-23.
- E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e Poesia dell'Antico Egitto*, Turin 1969, 248-52.
- W. Decker, *Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Ägypten*, St. Augustin 1975, 61-62.
- E. Drioton, "Notes diverses," *ASAE* 45, 1947, 57-61, with *post scriptum*, 99-106.
- B. Grdseloff, "Sur deux passages de la nouvelle stèle d'Aménophis II trouvée à Memphis," *ASAE* 45, 1947, 107-20.

- K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, pl. 42, fig. 100 (detail of lunette).  
 -V. Vikentiev, "La traversée de l'Oronte. La chasse et la veillée de nuit du Pharaon Aménophis II, d'après la grande Stèle de Mit-Rahineh," *B/E* 30, 1947-48, 251-307.

### 3) On the Karnak stela alone:

- Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 98-103 (survey of all previous work).  
 -Champollion Le Jeune, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux* II, Paris 1844, 185-86 (lines 1-11 only).  
 -G. Maspero, "Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'histoire," *ZÄS* 17, 1879, 56-58 (lines 3-11 only; following Champollion).  
 -E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé*, Paris 1877, 175-76.  
 -A. Wiedemann, "Texts of the Second Part of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *PSBA* 11, 1888-89, 422-23.  
 -U. Bouriant, "Notes de Voyage," *Rec. Trav.* 13, 1890, 160-61.  
 -J.H. Breasted, *ARE* II, 305-309, §§ 781-90.  
 -A. Erman, "Der syrische Feldzug Amenophis II.," *ZÄS* 27, 1889, 39-41 (emendations by Erman).  
 -G. Legrain, "La grande stèle d'Aménôthès II à Karnak," *ASAE* 4, 1903, 126-32.

### Translation of the Memphis stela

(1) Year 7, first month of *šmw*, day 25 under the Majesty of the Horus, Mighty Bull, sharp of horns, the Two Ladies, powerful in splendor, who is caused to arise in Thebes, Horus of gold, who takes with his power from all lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Akheperure, son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Lord of diadems, strong-armed one, Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, given life eternally; (2) the perfect god, likeness of Re<sup>c</sup>, son of Amen, upon his throne, who had fashioned him with greater power and might than that which had been. His mace has struck Naharin, and his bow has trampled the Nubians,<sup>1</sup> (he is) one who takes with might and power like Mentu when he is adorned with his weapons. (3) His heart is content when he has seen them, after he has cut off the heads of the rebellious.

<sup>1</sup> Or "Tahsy," according to Rainey, *JARCE* 10, 1973, 71-73. It seems, however, that the text may be referring to the duality of the northern and southern borders of Egyptian control, in which case, "the Nubians" would still make better sense (cf. above, Chapter II Part II).



His Majesty reached  $^2(a)-k\bar{u}-ta_2$ , and he surrounded all those who had defied him. He dispatched them like those who have not existed,<sup>9</sup> being put on (their) side prostrate. He returned therefrom with satisfaction, (for) this entire land was his servant.<sup>10</sup>

(9) Resting in the tent of his Majesty in the vicinity of  $šf-k\bar{u}-h\bar{e}$  to the east of  $š\bar{e}-š-ra-m$ . The settlements of the  $ma-n-s\bar{u}-t$  were plundered. When his Majesty reached  $h-šf-ri-š\bar{e}$ , its chief came forth in peace to his Majesty, (10) bringing his children and all of his property. Submission was made to his Majesty by  $ja-n-qa$ .

When his Majesty reached Kadesh, its chief came forth in peace to his Majesty. They were made to take the oath of fealty, and all their children likewise. (11) Then his Majesty shot two targets of hammered copper in their presence, at the southern side of this town. Excursions<sup>11</sup> were made in  $ja-b-^2u$  in the forest. Gazelle, deer, (12) hares and wild(?) donkeys were brought back without limit.

His Majesty proceeded by horse to  $h\bar{e}-š\bar{e}-bu$  alone and without a companion, and he returned from there in a short while. He brought back sixteen living *maryannu*-warriors (13) at the side<sup>12</sup> of his chariot, twenty hands at the brow of his horses, and sixty cattle, being driven before him. Submission was made to his Majesty in this town.

Now when his Majesty went south inside the valley of (14) Sharon, he found a messenger of the chief of Naharin carrying a letter sealed with clay around his neck. He brought him back as a prisoner at the side<sup>13</sup> of his chariot. His Majesty went forth from *sjbyn*<sup>14</sup> by horse to Egypt, (15) the *marye*-warrior being a prisoner at the span alone with him.

His Majesty reached Memphis, his heart glad, the mighty bull. List of this booty: *maryannu*-warriors: 550; their wives: 240; Canaanites: 640; (16) chiefs' children: 232; chiefs' children, female: 323; musicians of the chiefs of every foreign country: 270 women, including their instruments of entertainment of silver and gold at their shoulders; total: 2214; horses: 820;

<sup>9</sup> Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 82 no. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 98 no. 9.

<sup>11</sup>  $\overline{\text{Hr}} \overline{\text{drw}} \overline{\text{j}}$  (*Urk.* IV, 1304.5), following Wilson in *ANET*, 246.

<sup>12</sup>  $\overline{\text{Hr}} \overline{\text{drw}} \overline{\text{j}}$  (*Urk.* IV, 1304.12); compare the representation of the king in his chariot with prisoners and the accompanying text  $w\bar{z}h.n=f m \overline{\text{drwt}} \overline{\text{tm}} \overline{\text{rdj}} \overline{\text{hr}} \overline{\text{mw}}=f$ , *Urk.* IV, 1368.19, and A.-H. Zayed, "Une représentation inédite des campagnes d'Aménophis II," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* 1, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 10-11, pls. 1-2, and the discussion above in Chapter II Part IIB.

<sup>13</sup> *Ndrw* sic for  $\overline{\text{drw}} \overline{\text{j}}$  (*Urk.* IV, 1304.19); see the preceding note.

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1305.1. Wilson suggests "by a track," from the Hebrew *shebîl*, in *ANET*, 246 n. 27, but a reference to a place or area fits the context better; cf. Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 144. The word is apparently determined by two plants:  $\overline{\text{Hr}} \overline{\text{drw}} \overline{\text{j}}$  instead of the expected  $\overline{\text{Hr}} \overline{\text{drw}} \overline{\text{j}}$  determinative. The passage is damaged in the Karnak text, *Urk.* IV, 1314.5.

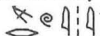
chariots: 730; (17) and all their fighting weapons. Now the God's Wife, King's Wife, and King's (mother?/daughter?)...<sup>15</sup> beheld the victory of his Majesty.

Year 9, third month of *ḥt*, day 25. His Majesty proceeded to Retenu on his second campaign of victory, against the town of Apeh. It came (18) forth in peace because of the great victories of Pharaoh - Life! Prosperity! Health! His Majesty went forth by horse, equipped with weapons of battle against the city of *ja-ḥ-mé*. His Majesty plundered the village of *má-pá-sí-n*, together with (19) the village of *ḥá-tá-sí-n*, two towns to the west of Socho. Now the ruler raged like a divine falcon; his horses flew like a star of heaven. His Majesty entered, and (20) its chiefs, its children and its women were brought off as prisoners, and all its retainers likewise, all its property without limit, its cattle, its horses, and all the goats which were before him.

His Majesty (21) rested and the majesty of this noble god, Amen, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, came before his Majesty in a dream, in order to bestow bravery upon his son, Akheperure. His father Amen-Re<sup>c</sup> is the protection of his limbs, guarding the ruler.

His Majesty (22) went forth by horse at dawn against the town of *ḥa-tu-ri-n* as well as *ma-k-tá-la-j<sup>2</sup>-n*. His Majesty triumphed - Life! Prosperity! Health! - like the triumph of Sakhmet, and like Mentu in Thebes. He brought back their chiefs: 34, *mrwyn*.<sup>16</sup> 57 (23); living Asiatics: 231; hands: 372; horses: 54; chariots: 54 in addition to all the weapons of war, all the might of Retenu, their children, their women, and all their property. After his Majesty inspected (24) the great and plentiful booty, they were forced to become prisoners. Two ditches were made with

<sup>15</sup> A possible restoration is that of King's [mother Meretre] according to Helck, *GM* 53, 1982, 24. This view is independently supported by G. Robins, personal communication, whose studies on the sequences of queen's titles in Dynasty 18 reveal a preferred order of *sḥt nswt*, *snt nswt*, *hmt ntr*, *hmt nswt (wrt)*, *mwt nswt*. Hence one would expect here *mwt nswt*, i.e. the king's mother Meretre, rather than *sḥt nswt*. Since *Tj<sup>c</sup>* was not a *sḥt nswt*, it seems difficult to imagine how the damaged title should read, if it must be taken as referring to her. Those favoring a restoration of *Tj<sup>c</sup>* include Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, 287-88; M. Gitton and J. Leclent, "Gottesgemahlin," in *LA* II, 803 no. 12; Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 16(b); and A. Spalinger, "The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenophis II," *JSSA* 13, 1983, 94 n. 29. On *Tj<sup>c</sup>* in general, see C.M. Zivie-Coche, "Tiaa," in *LA* VI, 552-55.









<sup>16</sup>  (Urk. IV, 1307.7); most a likely corrupt writing for *maryannu-warriors* or *mrt "serfs"*; cf. Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 122.

everything pertaining to them,<sup>17</sup> and one filled them with fire; and his Majesty kept watch over them until day-break, while his (25) battle-axe was in his right hand, alone, without anyone with him. For the army was far from him, as well as the retainers of Pharaoh.<sup>18</sup>

Now after day-break on the second day, his Majesty went forth by horse in the morning, equipped with the panoply (26) of Mentu, on the day of the festival of the coronation of the kingship of his Majesty. *ḥ-nu-ḥar-tá* was plundered. List of booty of his Majesty alone on this day: living *maryannu*-warriors: 17; children of chiefs: 6; living Asiatics: 68 (27); hands: 123; spans: 7; chariots of silver and gold: 7, in addition to all their weapons of war; bulls: 443; cows: 370; and all (kinds of) cattle without number. Then the entire army presented (28) the great and abundant plunder without limit.

His Majesty reached *hu-ḥ-k-tá*. The chief of *q-ba-ḥ-sú-mi-n*, whose name was Qaqa, was brought away, his wife, his children and all his servants likewise, and another chief was appointed (29) in his place.





His Majesty reached the town of Memphis, having vented himself upon every land.<sup>19</sup> All foreign lands were under his sandals. List of booty which his Majesty brought back: chiefs of Retenu: 127; brothers of chiefs: (30) 179; Apiru: 3,600; living Shasu: 15,200; Kharu (Syrians): 36,300; living Nugashians<sup>20</sup>: 15,070, and their adherents(?):<sup>21</sup> (31) 30,652; total: 89,600 men; likewise for their property without limit, all small cattle belonging to them; all (kinds of) (32)

17   (Urk. IV, 1307.12). *M qd* is usually equated here with    (Wb. V, 78.10, Faulkner, CDME, 282) "around," but note the bookroll determinative in place of walking legs in our (unfortunately restored) passage. The plural form =*sn* must refer to the prisoners and not to the dual *šdy*-ditches; this vitiates the tempting interpretation that two "identical trenches" were built. To ignore the variant spelling would be to assume the prisoners were merely kept at bay by walls of fire. But to take the spelling with  literally, as we have, seems to imply the prisoners and all their belongings ended up in the ditches, thus producing a fiery holocaust. *M qd* is a relatively rare construction, and cannot be automatically equated with its far more frequent counterpart *mj qd* (Wb. V, 76.10ff.). On the other hand, the spelling variation should be taken seriously since both forms (with  and ) are attested. The alternate meaning of *m qd* "likewise" (Wb. V, 76.14-15) does not fit our context. Most likely then is a (plural) parallel statement to the (grammatically singular) *m qd wḥ* "together" (Wb. V, 77.8; Urk. IV, 1823.8); i.e. *m qd=sn nb* "with all of them, all pertaining to them, all their belongings." See also the discussion above in Chapter II Part II B. The author has benefited from the insights of W.J. Murnane on this passage, and it is largely his suggestion which has been adopted above.

18 *Sdmw-ḥš n pr-ḥš*; Urk. IV, 1307.17.

19 *Jb=f jḥ* (old perfective) *m ḥšst nbt* (Urk. IV, 1308.17); cf. Faulkner, CDME, 10.

20 Cf. Spalinger, JSSEA 13, 99.

21  (Urk. IV, 1309.4); taken as *ḥt*, cf. Edel, ZDPV 69, 124, 136; Badawi, ASAE 42, 22; Helck, Übersetzung, 40; Wilson in ANET, 247. Alternatively, could the word be a derivative of *ḥt* "to slaughter, destroy," cf. Wb. I, 238-39; Faulkner, CDME, 51? While the sign is usually reproduced as , Sign List W 8, presumably for , Sign List V 26 (Urk. IV, 1309.4; Badawi, ASAE 42, 21 and pl. 1; variants of the sign are in the *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique de l'imprimerie de l'IFAO*, Cairo 1983, 442-43), close examination of a photograph from the archive of Labib Habachi reveals a form closer to , reminiscent of the shape of copper ingots; for the form cf. fig. 44 in Chapter IV above, and N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reḥ at Thebes II*, New York 1930, pls. 19-20, 22-23, 53.

cattle, without their limit; chariots of silver and gold: 60; painted chariots of wood: 1,032; in addition to all their weapons of war, being 13,050, through the power of Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, the noble father whom he loves, "who is your<sup>22</sup> protection," and who has ordered bravery for him.

(33) When the chief of Naharin, the chief of Hatti, and the chief of Sanger (Babylon) heard of the great victory which I had made, each one resembled his neighbor in presenting all kinds of offerings of all foreign lands. They said in their hearts to (34) the father of their fathers, to beg peace from his Majesty, that the breath of life might be sent to them: "We are carrying our tribute for your palace, O' son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Amenophis, the God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, ruler of rulers, raging lion in every foreign land, and in this land forever."


### Translation of the Karnak Stela

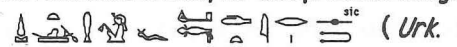


(N.B. For the sake of simplicity, restored passages essentially follow those of *Urk.* IV, with occasional variants based on Edel, *ZDPV* 69.)

(1) [The living Horus, Mighty Bull, sharp of horns, son of Amen], image of Atum, Two Ladies, powerful in splendor, who is caused to arise in Thebes, Horus of gold, who takes according to his desire from all lands; (2) [the good God who performs the kingship of Re<sup>c</sup> in the palace of] Karnak, <sup>c</sup>Akheperure, the strong-armed one, who subdues the Nine Bows, son of Re<sup>c</sup> of his body, Lord of all foreign lands, Amenophis, the-God-who-rules-in-Heliopolis, given life like Re<sup>c</sup> eternally. (3)...the town of Shamesh-Edom. His Majesty performed a heroic act there; he took booty all by himself. Indeed he was like a fierce lion who roams the foreign lands of Retenu, (4)...(being) its name.<sup>23</sup> List of booty of his Majesty himself on this day: living Asiatics: 18; bulls: 19.

First month of *šmw*, day 26. His Majesty proceeded to ford<sup>24</sup> the Orontes on this day. Now [his Majesty] proceeded (5) [to ford] the waters of the Orontes by horse, raging<sup>25</sup> like the strength of Mentu the Theban. His Majesty turned to see the end of the land.<sup>26</sup> Thereupon his Majesty saw a

<sup>22</sup> The switch from third to second person when the context involves the king's relation to the gods is not uncommon, cf. *KRI* I, 8.12 (...*jt=f Jmn wd [n=k] qnj nht...*), and 12.7 (*jt=f Jmn wd.t(?) n=f qnj nht...*)(this last reference courtesy W.J. Murnane).

<sup>23</sup>  (Urk. IV, 1310.14); probably restored incorrectly. Compare with Memphis stela line 4 (Urk. IV, 1302.3), and our note 2 above, with special reference to Edel, for this probable designation of the king's chariot.

<sup>24</sup>  (Urk. IV, 1310.18); cf. Wilson in *ANET*, 245 n. 8. *Msd* is written with  not  as in *Urk.* IV.

<sup>25</sup> See note 4 above.

<sup>26</sup> Or, according to Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 127, "the rearguard of his army" (Urk. IV, 1311.3).


few Asiatics who had come by horse<sup>27</sup> (6) [from the town] of Qatna; (they) came creeping.<sup>28</sup> Now his Majesty was equipped with his weapons of war; his Majesty charged after [them li]ke Mentu in his hour. They became weak when his Majesty looked upon them one (7) [after the other]. His Majesty overthrew<sup>29</sup> their commanders himself with his axe. Now every enemy fled from this. (But) see he brought back the Asiatic at the sides (8) [of his chariot], his span, his chariots, and all his weapons of war. His Majesty returned content [li]ke Men[tu the brave] and he celebrated.<sup>30</sup>

List of the booty of his Majesty on <this><sup>31</sup> day: (9) *maryannu*-warriors: 1; horses: 2; 1 chariot; 1 coat of mail; bows: 2; 1 quiver full of arrows; 1 *hr*(?)... 1 *mššqw*(?); 1 inlaid horse's reigns.<sup>32</sup>

Second month of *šmw*, day 10. Returning (10) southwards to Egypt. His Majesty proceeded by horse to the town of Niya. Now the Asiatics of this town, men as well as women, were upon their walls, adoring his Majesty, [their faces (11) staring]<sup>33</sup> at the perfect god. Now his Majesty heard talk that a few of the Asiatics who were in the town of *ʔ(a)-kú-ta<sub>2</sub>* were conspiring to make a plan to expel the garrison of his Majesty (12) [outside of] the town, and to overthrow the [chief of *ʔ(a)-kú-ta<sub>2</sub>*], who was loyal to his Majesty.<sup>34</sup> Thereupon his Majesty knew it in his heart. Then he rounded up all those who had rebelled against him in this town, and he (13) [slaughtered] them immediately.<sup>35</sup> He pacified this town, and he cooled off the land entirely...all of *šf-ḫ-há*

Second month of *šmw*, day 20. (14) [Now] he was in the camp made [for his Majesty] at the town of *šf-ḫ-há*... (lines 15-17 lost)...(17) [One] caused (18) [that they take the oath of fealty]...[Then his Majesty shot at a target...]<sup>36</sup> before (19) [them on the south side of this town]...(20)...

(21) [Second month of *šmw*, day 2 + X. His Majesty proceeded by horse to *ḫá-šá-bu*, alone, without his companion. Now he brought back the chief of this town], with his child. List of booty (22) [of his Majesty on this day:...] of this [town, tribute] upon [their] backs (23)... The (24) [army presented the great and numerous booty...except for the booty of his Majesty on] this day.

27  ( *Urk.* IV, 1311.4), or perhaps "on horseback"?

28 *Urk.* IV, 1311.5; Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 50 no. 6, and cf. note 5 above ( *Urk.* IV, 1302.9).

29 *Ibid.*, 85, no. 18 ( *Urk.* IV, 1311.9).

30 *Ibid.*, 98, no. 8 ( *Urk.* IV, 1311.13).

31 The *p* of *pn* has been omitted.

32 *ḫšnw šḫnw* ( *Urk.* IV, 1311.17), following Edel, *ZDPV* 69, 142.

33 See note 8 above.

34 *Urk.* IV, 1312.7-11. Spalinger discusses this passage in his chapter on the military *ju=tw* formula, *Military Documents*, 23 no. 34, and also 60 no. 2 (top).

35 *Ibid.*, 82 no. 4 ( *Urk.* IV, 1312.14).

36 Cf. Edel's reconstruction, *ZDPV* 69, 119, 130 and pl. 7.

(25) [Third month] of *šmw*, day 6. [Now his Majesty went southwards in the plain of Sharon. He found a messenger of the chief of Naharin (who was) [carrying a letter (26) of clay] about his ne[ck. He brought him back as a prisoner at the side of his chariot.

His Majesty went forth from *sjbyn* <sup>37</sup> by horse to Egypt, the *marya*-warrior as a prisoner at his char]iot.

(27) Third month of *šmw*, [day X. ...which he brought back from the foreign land of Retenu]. List of the booty: (28) *mary[annu*-warriors: 550; their wives: 240]; Canaanites: 640; [their children...horses,...chariots...as well as the weap]ons of war without limit.

(29) [Year 9, third month of *ḥt*, day 25. His Majesty proceeded to Retenu on his second campaign of victory, to the town of Apeh]. His Majesty went forth equipped with weapons (30) [against *ja-h*]-*mā*...

Now his Majesty [plundered] the settlement of *ḥā-tā-šī-n*, ... total: 2... (31)...Now, the chief...the town through fear of his Majesty. There were brought back its chiefs, its women, its children, (32) all [of its property]<sup>38</sup> and all of its retainers likewise. List of the booty of his Majesty himself [on this day]...its horses.

(33) [...*šm*] *w*, day 26. His Majesty went forth from Peru-nefer and proceeded [by chariot]<sup>39</sup> to Memphis with the booty which he had brought back from the foreign land of Retenu. List of the booty:<sup>40</sup> living *maryannu*-warriors: (34) 550; their women: 240; Can[eanites...]; works of gold: 6800 *deben*; copper: 400,000 *deben*;...first quality, 100,000 + X *deben*; total: ...2 heads; horses: 210; chariots: 300. The entire land saw the victory of his Majesty, (35) by the perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the ritual, [strong-armed one] who is in Thebes, beloved of Amen, the avenger of him who is in Thebes, who causes festivals in the temple of Amen, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, to occur on the (proper) day, the son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Tuthmosis,<sup>41</sup> shining off [appearances, given life] like Re<sup>c</sup> [eternally].

<sup>37</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1314.5; see above, note 14.

<sup>38</sup> Following Edel's [*brw=f*] *nb*, *ZDPV* 69, pl. 7, over *Urk.* IV, 1315.5: [*m sgr-ḥb b*]r...

<sup>39</sup> Following Edel's [*hr ḥtr r*], *ZDPV* 69, pl. 7, over *Urk.* IV, 1315.11: [*m ḥtr r*]...

<sup>40</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1315.13ff. Cf. Edel's discussion of the booty lists, *ZDPV* 69, 167-73; also Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, 203; Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 151, and idem, *JSSSEA* 13, 92-94, and the comments given above in our Chapter II.

<sup>41</sup> Colophon bearing the name of Tuthmosis IV.



## APPENDIX II

### LIST OF FOREIGN PLACE NAMES FROM THE REIGN OF AMENOPHIS II

The list below is an attempt to gather all the place names recorded during the reign of Amenophis II. Although limits of space prohibit any discussion of the localization of these names, three sections nevertheless separate the northern (Section A, Asian and Mediterranean terms) from the southern (Section B, Nubian and Puntite regions), from the fragmentary or otherwise unclassified toponyms (Section C). An asterisk (\*) before a name indicates that the author was unable to find occurrences earlier than the reign of Amenophis II. The system chosen for transliteration of the syllabic orthography roughly follows Helck, *Beziehungen?*, 567-75. Other systems abound, for example, E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten* (see below for full reference), 87-90; M.C. Astour, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 749; W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven 1934; and M. Görg, *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palästinischer Ortsnamen*, Bonn 1974, 211-14 (index). Likewise open to alternative systems is the alphabetization of the entries, but cross-references are provided for the more confusing names, and it is hoped that the order proves logical enough for handy use. In general, the standard transliteration is given first, followed by the syllabic orthography (where it applies).

When an official served more than one king, the place names mentioned on his monuments need not date specifically to Amenophis II. It is for this reason that the list below omits names such as those occurring in the Theban tomb of Tjanuni (no. 74, A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, Mainz am Rhein 1977, 37-38, pl. 29a). Common general designations like *rtnw* for Syria are likewise omitted. A group of fragments from the Luxor Temple area with many of the names contained in this list have recently been reassigned by some scholars, primarily on stylistic grounds, to Dynasty 25; cf. J.-Cl. Golvin, S. Hegazi, M. Reddé, M. el-Saghir, and G. Wagner, *Le Camp romain de Louxor*, IFAO (forthcoming), chapter on "Blocs pharaoniques réemployés dans les portes du camp romain." However, Amenophis II's precise association with Luxor Temple, and the possible transportation of blocks from his Karnak buildings, is not yet clear. Working at Luxor Temple, the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, has discovered several blocks of this king within the triple bark shrine of Hatshepsut; cf. L. Bell, *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1983-84*,

8-9. The "suspect" blocks are therefore included in the list below but marked with a ampersand (&).

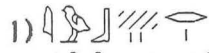


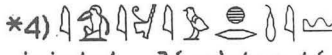
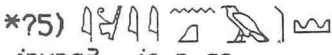
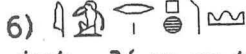
An interesting result of this brief survey indicates that out of some 150 or more names, less than 20 appear in Egypt for the first time under Amenophis II. while the internal order of Amenophis' various lists does not merely copy that of Tuthmosis III, the majority of the names themselves nevertheless does seem to derive from the latter kings' monuments. The evidence is too sketchy to conclude either that Amenophis never dealt with most of these toponyms, or that additional campaigns took place for which we have no other surviving records. The numbers do, however, throw doubt on the actual significance of many of the names for Amenophis' own military exploits.


### Bibliography and List of Abbreviations

- Amenmose = scenes from tomb of Amenmose TT 42; N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another*, London 1933.
- Astour = M.C. Astour, "Place-Names from the Kingdom of Alalab in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography," *JNES* 22, 1963, 220-41.
- Breasted = translation of names in topographical list; *ARE* II.
- Davies = scenes from the tomb of Qenamun, TT 93; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York 1930.
- Edel = E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69, 1953, 97-176.
- Eg. Res. = W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I-II, Washington 1906-1910; contains topographical lists; vol. II contains a Ptolemaic copy of a topographic list.
- Fakhry = blocks from a topographical list, A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor," *ASAE* 37, 1937, 39-57. Recently reassigned to Dynasty 25 (see the reference above to J.-Cl. Golvin et. al.); marked with an ampersand (&) in the list below.
- Gauthier = H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, 7 vols, Cairo 1925-31.
- Helck = pLeningrad 1116A, W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reichs*, Wiesbaden 1963.
- K. = Karnak stela.
- M. = Memphis stela.
- Mentuwyw = scenes from the tomb of Mentuwyw, TT 1272; *Urk.* IV, 1466-68.
- Minmose = Medamud statue of Minmose; *Urk.* IV, 1441-45.
- Minmose = Tura statue of Minmose; *Urk.* IV, 1448.

- Ortsnamen-  
listen = E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, Bonner  
Biblische Beiträge 25, Bonn 1966.
- pL. 1116A = W. Golénisheff, *Les papyrus hiéroglyphiques nos. 1115, 1116A, et 1116B de  
l'Ermitage Impériale à St. Pétersbourg*, St. Petersburg 1913.
- Simons = Topographical lists; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical  
Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937.
- TT 143 = scenes from Theban tomb 143; *Urk. IV*, 1472-73.
- Usersatet = Semna stela of Usersatet; *Urk. IV*, 1343-44.
- Zibellius = K. Zibellius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und  
hieratischen Texten*, TAVO Reihe B 1, Wiesbaden 1972.

## A) Northern Place Names


- 1)   
*jwbl Ir, ʔu-bl Ii-ra* *Eg. Res. II, 66 no. 2.*
- 2)   
*jpwan, ʔá-pu-q-n* *Eg. Res. II, 66.*
- 3)   
*jq, ʔ-p-q* *Year 9; M. Urk. IV, 1305.15*
- \*4)   
*jn jwḥrt, ʔá-nù-ḥar-tá* *Year 9; M. Urk. IV, 1308.5; Helck,  
Beziehungen, 131 no. 52.*
- \*75)   
*jnyqz, ja-n-qa* *Year 7; M. Urk. IV 1303.18.*
- 6)   
*jrph, ʔá-ra-pa-ḥa* *Usersatet; Urk. IV, 1344.7; Astour, 233 no.  
(Arapha) 114.*

7)   
*jrrh*, *ʿá-ra-r-ha*,  
 (Alalakh)


Usersatet; *Urk.* IV, 1344.6; Astour, 235 no. 129.

8)  (perhaps )  
*j[swr?]* (Assyria)


Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1337.5 no.3; cf. Helck, *Übersetzung*, 48 no. 386; Gauthier I, 105.

9)   
*jsqn*, *ʿas-qu-lú-na*  
 (Ashkelon)

Helck, 623, 629; pL. 1116A, line 76, 186.

10)   
*jšwšhn*, *ʿa-šu-ša-han?*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

\*11)   
*jkšty*, *ʿ(a)-kú-ta*  
 (unless = Ugarit)

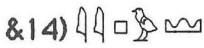
Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV. 1303.9.

12)   
*jtjrw*, *ʿá-tá-rú*  
 (= the following entry?)


*Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 1.

13)   
*jtwrn*, *ʿa-tu-ri-n*

Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1307.4; cf. *Ortsnamenlisten*, 90-91.


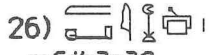

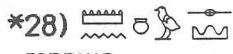





&14)   
*ypw*, *ja-pu*

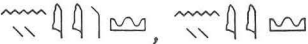
Fakhry, 50 fig. 7 no. 1.

15)   
*yrš*, *ja-ra-sá*


*Eg. Res.* II, 66.



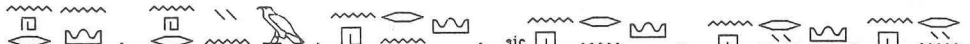
- 25)    
*fnhw* Karnak pillar, *Urk. IV*, 1358.17; Coptos text, Barucq, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 189 line 15, 200 = *Urk. IV*, 1318.17; Sphinx stela line 9 = *Urk. IV*, 1278.20.
- 26)    
*m<sup>c</sup>jh3s3?* *Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 12; Gauthier III, 12.
- 27)    
*mpsn, má-pá-si-n* Year 9; M. *Urk. IV*, 1305.18.
- \*28)    
*mnnws* Davies, 23, pl. 54; Gauthier III, 37.
- \*29)    
*mndwt, ma-n-sú-t* Year 7; M. *Urk. IV*, 1303.15.
- 30)    
*mkt* (Megiddo) Helck, 623, 628; pl. 1116A, lines 68, 185.
- 31)    
*mktrynt,*  
*ma-k-tá-la-j<sup>2</sup>-n* Year 9; M. *Urk. IV*, 1307.5; cf. *Ortsnamenlisten*, 90-91.
- 32)    
*mṭn*, (Mitanni) Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1337.1 no. 2; cf. also Chinnereth fragment, *Urk. IV*, 1347.13.
-    
*mṭnw...* (Mitanni) Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1337.4 no. 1.

33)   
*nyy, ni-ja (Niya)*

Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1303.5; K. *Urk.* IV, 1312.3.

34)   
*nꜥmꜥnꜥ*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 30 and cf. the place name to its left.

35)   
*nhrn (Naharin)*

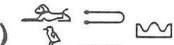
Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1304.17; TT 8 (Kha), *Urk.* IV, 1509.13 (same spelling as year 7 campaign); Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1301.9 and 1309.13; Van Siclen, *GM* 82, 1984, 63 col. 10; Davies and Davies, *JEA* 27, 1941, 97.

36)   
*ngꜥw?*

Amenmose, 38, pl. 36; *Urk.* IV, 1508.7.

37)   
*ngbw, n(a)-g(a)-bu*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

&38)   
*rwꜥn*

Fakhry, 50 fig. 7 no. 3.

39)   
*rbjꜥ, ra-ba-ꜥe*


*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

40)   
*rbjw, la-b-ꜥu*

Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1304.15.

41)   
*nm, ra-na-m*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

42)   
*rn[r?], rú-n-[rú?]*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1337.5 no. 2; cf. Helck, *Übersetzung*, 48 no. 386.

&43)   
*rgdš, ra-g(a)-sá*


Fakhry, 48 fig. 6 no. 6.

&44)   
*hšr, ha-ra*


Fakhry, 48 fig. 6 no. 4; *Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 24.

\*45)   
*hwšktj, hu-š-k-tá*

Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1308.11.

46)   
*hrmr?*


*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

\*47)   
*hšršy, h-š-ri-šá*

Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1303.16.

48)   
*hmwt*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 3.

\*49)   
*hswr, ha-sú-ra*

Helck, 623, 629; pl. 1116A, 77, 187b; Gauthier IV, 22.

&50)   
*hdt, há-di-tá*

Fakhry, 48 fig. 6 no. 3; *Eg. Res.* II, 66.

51)   
*hšr, há-sá-ra (Hazor?)*

Simons, 129 no. 18; *Eg. Res.* I, 40, pl. 54; Gauthier IV, 24.

52)   
*hrbw, há-ra-bu*


Simons, 129 no. 13, and 130 no. 3; Breasted, 314 S 798A no. 13 ("Aleppo"); *Eg. Res.* 1, 40, pl. 54 no. 13.

53)   
*hšbw, há-sá-bu*


Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1304.10.

54)   
*htš, ha-ta*

Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1309.13.

\*55)   
*httñ, há-tá-ší-n*

Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1305.18; K. *Urk.* IV, 1315.1; Gauthier IV, 163.

56)   
*swkš, sú-kú*


Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1306.2.

57)   
*sngř, šá-n(a)-g(a)-ra*

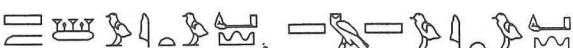
Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1309.13.

58)   
*srnš, šá-rú-na*

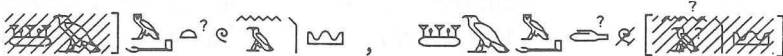






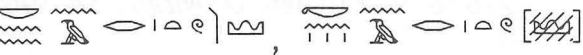
Helck, 623, 628; pL. 1116A lines 75, 185b; *Ortsnamenlisten*, 13-14 no. 11 (= *šmqw sšwrnš*?).

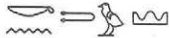
\*59)   
*sgr, šá-sá-ra*

Simons, 129 no. 15; Breasted, 314 S 798A no. 15; *Eg. Res.* 1, 40 pl. 54 no. 15; Astour, 226 no. 39; Kitchen, *Orientalia* 34, 1965, 3-4.

60)   
*šmšw-jtwm, š-m-šu-ʔa-tu-m*

Year 7, M. *Urk.* IV, 1302.1; K. *Urk.* IV, 1310.11.

- \*61)   
*šmtn, [šj]-m-ru-na,*  
*ša-m-ru-[na]* (Shimron) Helck, 623, 628; pL. 1116A, lines 71, 188  
 (\* unless = Simons, 111 nos. 18, 35  
 (Tuthmosis III)).
- \*762)   
*ššrm, šá-š-ra-m* Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1303.14; Yeivin, *JARCE*  
 6, 123.
- 63)   
*qb<sup>c3</sup> swmyn,*  
*q-ba-<sup>c</sup>a-sú-mi-n* Year 9; M. *Urk.* IV, 1308.12.
- 64)   
*qchš<sup>3</sup>* Year 7; K. *Urk.* IV, 1311.5.
- 65)   
*qds<sup>3</sup>* Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1303.19.
- 66)   
*kpnj* (Byblos) TT 143, *Urk.* IV, 1472.16; Usersatet,  
*Urk.* IV, 1344.5; Minmose Medamud, *Urk.* IV,  
 1443.19.
- 67)   
*kftjw* (Crete) Davies, 23, pl. 12.
- 68)   
*knnr<sup>t</sup>, kan-n-na-ra-t*  
 (Chinnereth) Helck, 623, 628; pL. 1116A lines 69, 186.

69)   
*knṯw*



Fakhry, 50 fig. 7 no. 2; *Eg. Res.* II, 66.

70)   
*gwt*


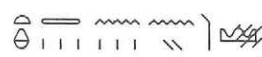
Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1337.2 no. 1; cf. Simons, 126 no. 1.

71)   
*t3mnw*

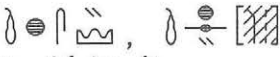

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1337.3 no. 2; cf. Simons, 126 no. 5.

72)  ,   
*t3nky, [ta]-sa-na-ki*  
 (Taanach)

Helck, 623, 628; pL. 1116A, lines 72, 189.

\*73)  ,   
*tnny, ti-nu-ni(?)*

Helck, 623, 628; pL. 1116A, lines 74, 190;  
 Gauthier VI, 21.

74)  ,   
*tḥsy, tá-ḥa-si*



Year 3; *Urk.* IV, 1297.3-4; Usersatet,  
*Urk.* IV, 1344.8 and Helck, *JNES* 14, 1955,  
 27(p); Gardiner, *AEO* I, 152\*.

75)   
*tswrtj, tá-sù-ra-tá*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66 no. 7.

76)   
*tnpw, sà-n(a)-pu*

Simons, 129 no. 16; Breasted, 314 S 798A  
 no. 16; *Eg. Res.* I, 40 pl. 54.

77)  ,   
*trḥ, šl-r-ḥá*

Year 7; M. *Urk.* IV, 1303.13; K. *Urk.* IV,  
 1312.17.

\*78)   
*dbnw*


*Eg. Res.* 11, 66 no. 19 (\* unless =  
 Tutmosis III no. 98).

79)   
*ghy, sa-hi*

Helck, 623; pl. 1116A line 67.

## **B) Southern Place Names**


80)   
*zrk, a-ra-k(a)*; see under *trk, ti-ra-k*

&81)   
*jz, ze*

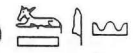
Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no.1; Zibelius, 72.

&82)   
*j<sup>c</sup>dm, za-sa-a(?) -sa-m*  
 (Punt area)

Fakhry, 53 fig. 12 no. 3.

83)   
*jwtjw-sty*


Davies, 23, pl. 12; *Urk.* IV, 1334.15.

&84)   
*jsj, u-sa-sa*


Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 5.

&85)   
*jb, za-ba*

Fakhry, 55 fig. 15 no. 4.

&86) <sup>sic</sup>   
jft


Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 2.

&87)   
jzm, jmz, ʿa-má


Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 7.

&88)   
jknns


Fakhry, 52 fig. 10 no. 3; *Urk.* IV 1335.10 no. 10.

&89)   
jrmj

Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 7; *Urk.* IV, 1335.9 no. 5.

&90)   
ʿwzh


Fakhry, 53 fig. 11 no. 2; Zibelius, 98 for variant spellings.

&91)   
ʿwhwr, ʿu-hu-r

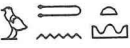
Fakhry, 53 fig. 12 no. 2.

&92)   
ʿhzw

Fakhry, 51 fig. 9 no. 2; Zibelius, 100.

93)   
wp tš

Van Siclen, *GM* 82, 1984, 63 col. 7; Gauthier I, 194-95.


&94)   
wnt

Fakhry, 55 fig. 15 no. 1.

&95)   
*wḏrtt*; see under *hmrtt*

&96)   
*bjm*, *ba-ʔa-m*


Fakhry, 55 fig. 15 no. 2.

&97)   
*bpstj*, *ba-pa-ša-tá*


Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 4.

&98)   
*brbrtj*, *ba-ra-ba-ra-t*

Fakhry 51 fig. 9 no. 4.

99)   
*bhn* (Buhen)

Caminos, *Ibrim*, 63, pl. 27.

&100)   
*bš*, *ba-ša*


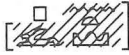
Fakhry, 57 fig. 18 no. 4; Zibelius, 110-11.

101)   
*bkk*, *bu-kú-k(a)*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1335, no. 4.

102)   
*bgššgʃ*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1335. 10 no. 12; Zibelius, 113.

&103)  ,   
*pwnt* (Punt)

Fakhry, 51 fig. 9 no. 1; and TT 143, *Urk.* IV, 1473.11.

&104)   
*mšwtš*, *má-w-ta*

Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 3.

&105)   
*mās*

Fakhry, 57 fig. 18 no. 5.

106)   
*mjc̄m*


Caminos, *Ibrim*, 63, pl. 27.

&107)   
*mbwtw, m-bu-tu*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 13 no. 1.

&108)   
*mm̄tw (restored)*

Fakhry, 53 fig. 12 no. 4.

&109)   
*mnsjw, m-n-ša-ʔu*

Fakhry, 53 fig. 11 no. 1.

110)   
*mntjw-stt(?)*

Davies, 23, pl. 12.

111)   
*mrmdjm*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66; cf. Fakhry, 50 fig. 8 no. 2.

112)   
*mrkrw, m-ra-kú-rú*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1335 no. 13.

\*&113)   
*mhgmw*


Fakhry, 53 fig. 12 no. 1; Gauthier III, 58  
 (perhaps = *mhgm̄*<sup>c</sup> which occurs under  
 Tuthmosis III).

&114)   
*msht*

Fakhry, 52 fig. 10 no. 4.

&115)  or  ?  
*mst*

Fakhry, 55 fig. 15 no. 3.

116)   
*mtwrtj, m-tu-ra-tá*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1335, no. 16.

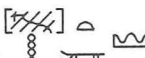
&117)   
*mḡš, m-sá*

Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 6.

\*118)   
*npt* (Napata)


Year 3; *Urk.* IV, 1297.15-16; Gauthier III, 86.

&119)   
*nhšw*; see under *ḥšw*


&120)   
*nhtm*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 14 no. 1; Zibelius, 142.


&121)   
*rnyk*; see under *srnyk* 

&122)   
*hbw*

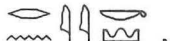
Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 5.

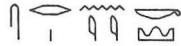
&123)   
*hmrṯt*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 13 no. 2; Zibelius, 146-47.

&124)   
*hkšwhṯ*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 14 no. 2.


&125)  ,  
*srnyk*,  
*ša-r-n(a)-ja-k(a)*




Fakhry, 51 fig. 9 no. 3; *Urk. IV*,  
 1335, no. 2; Zibelius, 150-51.

&126)   
*stbhw*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 13 no. 3.

&127)   
*stšw*

Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 6.

&128)   
*šjdtm*

Fakhry, 54 fig. 13 no. 4.

129)  ,  ?  
*ary*, *q(a)-r-ja*

Mentuwywy, *Urk. IV*, 1467.12; Minmose Tura,  
*Urk. IV*, 1448.13.


&130)   
*gch?*

Fakhry, 53 fig. 11 no. 3; Zibelius, 169-70.

&131)  ,   
*gwrbw*, *gu-r-bu*

Fakhry, 52 fig. 10 no. 2; *Urk. IV*, 1335.10 no.  
 9.


132)   
*gbššgjj*; see under *bgššgj*

&133)   
*grss*


Fakhry, 56 fig. 17, no. 1; *Urk. IV*, 1335, no.  
 6.

134)  [XXXX]?  
*tām[k]r*

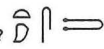
Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1335.10 no. 11.

&135) —   
*tā smj*

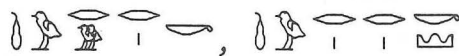
Fakhry, 57 fig. 18 no. 6.

136) —   
*tā sty*


Year 3; *Urk. IV*, 1297.13-14.

&137) ,   
*tāst*

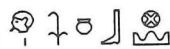
Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 2.

&138)   
*twrwrk,*  
*tú-ruu-ra-k(a)*

Fakhry, 52 fig. 10 no. 1; *Urk. IV*,  
 1335.9 no. 8.

&139)   
*twh, tu-h(a)*


Fakhry, 56 fig. 17 no. 3; Zibelius, 189 (*dwh*).

&140)   
*tp nhb*

Fakhry, 57 fig. 18 no. 3.

141)   
*trk, ti-ra-k*


Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1335, no. 7; Zibelius,  
 178-79.

142)  [XXXX]  
*[tr]twā, [tá-ra]-t-wa*


Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1335.11 no. 14.

143)   
*tkāwrw*

Topo. list; *Urk. IV*, 1335.8 no. 4;  
 Gauthier VI, 63 (normally *tkā-rw*)

&144)   
*t)hnw*

Fakhry, 57, fig. 18 no. 1; Gauthier VI, 81.

&145)   
*ttn3, sa-t-na*

Fakhry, 55 fig. 16 no. 4.


&146)   
*dds, sa-sa-sa-nu*

Fakhry, 57 fig. 18 no. 2.


### C) Unclassified Place Names

147)   
*ja...*


*Eg. Res.* II, 66.

148)   
*jrf is?*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.9.

149)   
*jqtw?*

*Eg. Res.* I, pl. 54 no. 20.

150)   
*wn...*

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.8.

151)   
*b3... ?*

*Eg. Res.* II, 66.




161)   
 ...ššjšr, ...šá-ʿe-ra

pL. 1116A, line 73 (absent from Helck).

162)   
 kú-...-na

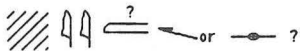
Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.9 no. 6.

163)   
 ...-ga-ra

Topo list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.9 no. 7.

164)   
 ...-a

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.9 no. 9.

165)   
 ...ym?

Block west of Luxor temple; to be published by the Epigraphic Survey.

166)   
 ...[w]

Topo. list; *Urk.* IV, 1336.9 no. 10.



## APPENDIX III

### THE CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY OF AMENOPHIS II

The significance of royal construction projects has already received brief mention in the discussion of the architect Minmose (Chapter III Part II). The amount of building undertaken and successfully completed by a pharaoh is one of the best indicators both of his ability to organize the country and of the economic conditions of the period.<sup>1</sup> However, problems arise in the examination of any one king's architectural history. Factors such as the usurpation of royal monuments, their desecration and dismemberment (for religious or economic reasons; in antiquity or in the modern era), and of course, the effects of time all obscure an otherwise productive area of study for the comparison of one reign with the next. As a small step toward such comparison, this appendix cursorily documents Amenophis II's later life through his architectural accomplishments. It is certainly not exhaustive, but should provide a starting point for further study of the king's monuments and temples. Nor could space be taken here for thorough treatment of Amenophis' different levels of accomplishment, from building a new building to repairing one already in existence, to merely adding his cartouches to a monument.

The sites in this brief source list are arranged alphabetically with cross references given geographically south to north at the end.<sup>2</sup> For sites where actual foundations or other elements no longer exist, occasional use of textual evidence has been made. Stelae and statuary of Amenophis II, however, have in general been omitted. One should note that the Medamud statue of the architect Minmose lists many locations at which he supervised construction on the part of the king. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the king involved was Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II. For this reason, the sites are omitted from this list.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. W.K. Simpson, "Bauwesen," in *LA* I, 668-72.

<sup>2</sup> Such an arrangement of sites south to north is also followed in J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, New York 1980, 198.

<sup>3</sup> See *Urk.* IV, 1441-45; Chapter III Part I, Construction and Architecture, section VIII.3, and Part II (Minmose).

The architecture of Amenophis II at each site is briefly identified, and basic references are given. The appendix makes no attempt at detailed analysis of the king's buildings, their styles or decoration; much progress in this area has already been made by C.C. Van Siclen.<sup>4</sup> For the present we can state that in either number or grandeur, Amenophis II's buildings certainly fail to approach those of his father, Tuthmosis III. It must be remembered, however, that a fundamental factor of the construction activity of any king is of course the length of his reign.<sup>5</sup> At the least, Amenophis achieved a fairly wide distribution for his monuments throughout the country, as the list below demonstrates.<sup>6</sup>

For additions and corrections to the entry on Karnak, the author is indebted to F. Le Saout and C.C. Van Siclen.

### Amada

Temple of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II; *PM* VII, 65-73; E. Otto, in *LA* I, 169-70; *Urk.* IV, 1348-51; H. Gauthier, *Le Temple d'Amada*, Cairo 1913; M. Aly, P. Bargout, F. Abdel-Hamid, M. Dewachter, A. Abdel Hamid Youssef, H. El Achiery, J. Černý, *Le Temple d'Amada*, CDEAE 1967; S. Curto, *Nubia. storia di una civiltà favolosa*, Novara 1965, 237-52; L. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 2, Cairo 1938, 41-44.

### Argo Island

Reused blocks from a temple with the cartouches of Amenophis II (as well as those of Tuthmosis II-IV, Amenophis III, Ramesses II, and others); *PM* VII, 180; H. Jacquet-Gordon, in *LA* I, 434-35; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 38, 1969, 291-92; Ch. Maystre, *BSFE* 55, 1969, 8.

### Armant

Inscribed fragments of Amenophis II, one showing the beginning of Tuthmosis III's titulary on its opposite end; *PM* V, 151-61, esp. 157, 160; E.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular his works listed below under Thebes and Uronarti.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Hornung, "Amenophis II.," *LA* I, 205-6; W. Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, Leiden - Cologne 1968, 163-64.

<sup>6</sup> Despite Helck's assertion, *ibid.*, 163, that "Die Bautätigkeit Amenophis II. scheint nicht sehr umfangreich zu sein..."

Edgebrecht, in *LA* I, 435-41, esp. 437; R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, London 1940, 3, 174, pls. 100 nos. 4-5; 101 nos. 2, 5; C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, San Antonio 1982, 51; N.M. and N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 27, 1941, 96 n. 4.

Barkal ---> Gebel Barkal

Basta ---> Tell Basta

Bigei Island

Pink granite seated state of Amenophis II, JE 35878; *PM* V, 258; E. Winter, in *LA* I, 792-93; C.C. Van Siclen, *GM* 87, 1985, 85-88.

Bubastis

Red granite block, scene of Amenophis II before Amen-Re<sup>F</sup> of Peru-nefer, reused by Seti I, British Museum 1103; *PM* IV, 30; L. Habachi, in *LA* I, 873-74 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1356 no. 3; E. Naville, *Bubastis*, London 1891, 30-31, 56, pl. 35(D)(not 26[A] as per *PM*); T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, Uppsala 1946, 37-39.

Buhen

Northern temple possibly dedicated to some or all of the deities Horus, Min, Isis, and Hathor, built on the site of a temple of Ahmose; fragmentary pillar inscriptions; *PM* VII, 129-31; L. Habachi, in *LA* I, 881; *Urk.* IV, 1362 nos. 11-12; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *JEA* 35, 1949, 55-56; C.L. Woolley and D. Randall MacIver, *The Museum Journal*, University of Pennsylvania 1, 1910, 22-28; idem, *Buhen*, Philadelphia 1911, 6, 84, 89, 94, 103, 131; R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, London 1974, I, 3; II, 105-8, 112; J. Karkowski, *Faras V; The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Warsaw 1981, 69 n. 309. Doorjamb and lintel found in the southern temple; H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen; The Inscriptions*, London 1976, 124 no. 1588 (with Amarna modification; this information courtesy L. Bell), 156 no. ST 10.

Coptos

Fragmentary stela from Coptos(?) mentions the construction of mortuary temple of Amenophis II; *PM* V, 123-34 (in general); H.G. Fischer, in *LA* III, 737-40 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1317-18; Barucq, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 183-84.

Deir el-Medineh ---> ThebesDendera

Alabaster jars from foundation deposit, and various votive objects in faience, possibly indicating construction at the temple of Hathor; C.C. Van Siclen, "Amenhotep II at Dendera (Iunet)," *VA* 1, 1985, 69-73.

Elephantine

Pair of obelisks of Amenophis II; one formerly in the collection at Alnwick Castle (now in Durham?); *PM* V 244; *Urk.* IV, 1354-55; C. Kuentz, *Obélisques*, (CG) Cairo 1932, 31, Bibl.; S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London 1880, 345-46.

Upper part of red granite obelisk (once a threshold of a Nubian private dwelling), now in Cairo, JE 17015; Kuentz, *Obélisques*, 30-31, pl. 10; Engelbach, *ASAE* 23, 1923, 163-64, figs. 1, 2; L. Habachi, *JEA* 36, 1950, 13. Additional blocks with cartouches of Amenophis II; *PM* V, 225-26, VI, 256; *Urk.* IV, 1356 nos. 1-2 and 1360-61 no. 10; L. Habachi, *JEA* 36, 1950, 13; J. de Morgan, *Cat. des mon.* I, 115; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 39, 1970, 346; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 50(L); Berlin Museum 20736 (*PM* V, 244). Torso of Amenophis II; W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 26, 1970, 139.

Esna

Block with cartouche of Amenophis II; *PM* V, 165-67 (in general); S. Sauneron, in *LÄ* II, 30; idem, *ASAE* 52, 1954, 36 fig. 2.

Faras

Sandstone fragments with name of Amenophis II; *PM* VII, 126; J. Lipinska, in *LÄ* II, 114-15 (in general); J. Karkowski, *Faras V: The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Warsaw 1981, 3, 69 no. 309, 276 n. 292. Other blocks seen by Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Text V, 181.

Gebel Barkal

In his Tura stela, Minmose states that he erected stelae for Amenophis II from Naharin to Karoy; *Urk.* IV, 1448.13; cf. Chapter III Part I section VIII.3,

and Part II (Minmose). A fragment of a statue of Amenophis II as sphinx or lion was found in Temple B. 500; *PM* VII, 222; S. Wenig, in *LA* II, 437 (in general on Temple B. 500).

### Giza

Temple dedicated to the Sphinx, including several stelae; *PM* III, 39-40; C.M. Zivie, in *LA* II, 607; S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, Excavations at Giza 8, Cairo 1953, 31-50; C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo 1976, 110-22, esp. the references cited on p. 111; S. Hassan, *ASAE* 38, 1938, 53-62. Foundation deposit plaques etc., possibly from Sphinx temple; *Urk.* IV, 1355 no. 5; J. Capart, *CdE* 21, 1946, 46-47.

### Heliopolis

Obelisk of Amenophis II, as well as various blocks; *PM* IV, 60, 64; L. Kákosy, in *LA* II, 1111-13 (in general); Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, Leiden 1968, 164 n. 1. Louvre statue E. 25550 of the overseer of goldsmiths, *Hst-r<sup>c</sup>*, mentions works constructed in the temple of Re<sup>c</sup>; J. de Cenival, *RdE* 17, 1965, 16, and Chapter III Part I section X.4.

### Hermopolis

Inscription from Theban tomb of Kha (TT 8) states that Amenophis II built a palace at Hermopolis in two days; *PM* IV, 169-75 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1510.3; D. Kessler, in *LA* II, 1138; G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, Hildesheim 1959, 83; E. Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, Turin 1927, 168, figs. 155-56.

Alabaster vase mentioning sanctuary *ḥ3-ḥprw-r<sup>c</sup> m Ḥmnw*; E. Young, *BMMA* March 1967, 281 fig. 9; J.D. Cooney, *JNES* 12, 1953, 7 and pl. 19 no. 22 (these last references from M.R. Bell).

### Imet ---> Nebesheh

### El-Kab

Temple outside the walls of El-Kab once contained the cartouches of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II next to each other. A separate, smaller temple of Amenophis II was later enlarged by Ramesses II; *PM* V, 173-74; H. De Meulenaere, in *LA* I, 1225-27 (in general); D.B. Redford, *JEA* 51, 1965, 116; Somers Clarke, *JEA* 8, 1922, 24-26. W.J. Murnane suggests that this temple was built during the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago 1977, 57; C.C. Van Siclen,

*Uronarti*, 49(F); idem, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 11 with n. 20. For foundation deposits of Amenophis II, cf. J.E. Quibell, *El Kab*, London 1898, 16-17, 20.

### Kalabsha

Late Period offering scene of Amenophis II cited, along with a statue of Tuthmosis III, as possible indications of origins of the temple complex; *PM* VII, 14; E. Henfling, in *LÄ* III, 295, esp. notes 4-5; H. Gauthier, *Le Temple de Kalabcha* I, Cairo 1911, 218; II Cairo 1914, pl. 76B (not pl. 32 as per *LÄ*).

### Karnak

(For a new list of Amenophis II's Theban monuments, see now C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 44-45.)

Lintel and part of a column discovered some three kilometers northeast of the temple; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 44 with n. 1.

Blocks from the Colonnade of Taharqa in the Grand Court; *PM* II, 24-25 (in general); J. Lauffray, *Karnak* III, 1971, 144 fig. 24, and R. Sa'ad and C. Traunecker, *ibid.*, 165-68 fig. 1; two red granite door jambs from in front of the Second Pylon; S. Adam, and F. El-Shaboury, *ASAE* 56, 1959, 39 and pl. 5 A; Van Siclen, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1982, 15-16, fig. 10.

Blocks of a red granite building, dismantled and reused in the temple of Khonsu; *PM* II, 244; *Urk.* IV, 1341-42 no. 389; C.C. Van Siclen, *Oriental Institute News & Notes* \*9, June 1974, 3; idem, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 18; idem, *Theban Varia I: The Red Granite Chapel of Amenhotep II from the Temple of Khonsu*, forthcoming.

Miscellaneous blocks from the Third Pylon: *PM* II, 74; includes so-called archery stela, now in Luxor Museum, cf. Chapter IV Part II(D); P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak*, Cairo 1962, 85, 94. Scenes of Amenophis II binding Syrian captives and smiting a prisoner, from the Fourth Pylon and now in Cairo, JE 36360, cf. Chapter IIB, *Urk.* IV, 1368, and A.-H. Zayed, *Mélanges G.E. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 5-17.

Alabaster shrine, probably in or near courtyard before Fourth Pylon, dismantled for fill of Third Pylon; M. Pillet, *ASAE* 24, 1924, 57-59, pl. 1;

historical text, C.C. Van Siclen III, *GM* 82, 1984, 61-64; idem, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*.

Wadjet Hall of Hatshepsut, Fourth - Fifth Pylons; southern half of hall, obelisk shafts, column inscriptions, doorway texts, fragmentary topographical lists; small chapel; *PM* II, 82-83 ("Colonnade of Tuthmosis I"); *Urk* IV, 1324-32, 1334-48; Barguet, *Temple*, 91, 97, 101, 115, 131, 144, 311, 316, 317, pl. 14B; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 44-45 with n. 9. For the small chapel, from which twelve blocks are currently stored on the northern mastabas, cf. *PM* II, 85-86, loc. 222(d); Barguet, *Temple*, 104-105; W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Washington 1906, 40, pls. 54-55; G. Legrain, *ASAE* 5, 1904, 34-35; Van Siclen, "A Chapel for the Statue Called "Amenhotep II (is) Amun's Holy Image which Appears," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Washington D.C. 1986, abstracts, p. 45; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937, 45, 129-30. Additional references include Ch. Wallet-Lebrun, *BIFAO* 84, 1984, 323-24; G. Bjorkman, *Kings at Karnak*, Uppsala 1971, 97-99; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 51; C. Loeben, *Karnak VIII*, 1986 (forthcoming), annexe on east wall cartouche. For commemorative scarabs mentioning two obelisks (from here?), cf. Barguet, *Temple*, 78-79, 105 with n. 1; *Urk* IV, 1366.13; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 11; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *ASAE* 50, 1950, 258-59. Block with upper part of a scene of Amenophis II receiving life from hawk-headed deity, once lying in passage XXIV of granite sanctuary, and now block no. D2.5.0-19 on south mastabas B4-E-4/5; *PM* II, 107; Barguet, *Temple*, pl. 16A. Fragment of gate inscription; *Urk* IV, 1360 no. 9; north side inscriptions near gate of Tuthmosis III; *Urk* IV, 1336-37.

Cycle of some twenty scenes lining the way from (southern) Wadjet Hall to entrance of Akh-menu, dismantled, on mastabas south of main axis; Barguet, *Temple*, 114; cf. C.C. Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 10, and idem, forthcoming.

Court of the Cachette; blocks reused by Ramesses IX; cf. F. Le Saout, *Karnak VII*, 1982, 233, pl. IX, 9 (from a chapel of Amen of Peru-nefer? Cf. Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 11 with n. 22).

Eighth Pylon scenes and texts, including flagstaff niche inscriptions, *Urk* IV, 1332; *PM* II, 175-77; Barguet, *Temple*, 259-61.

Ninth-Tenth Pylons, "Heb-Sed" temple, with much construction by Seti I; *PM* II, 185-86; Barguet, *Temple*, 249-52; *Urk.* IV, 1316 no. 377 (doorpost), 1358-59 no. 8 (pillars); M. Azim, *Karnak* VI, 1980, 154-56; J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte, Domaine du divin*, Paris 1979, 143-44, fig. 111; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les Temples de Karnak* II, Paris 1982, pls. 400-404; Bjorkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 97-98; Helck, *Geschichte*, 163-64; L. Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, Cairo 1938, 61-66; C.F. Nims, *JNES* 14, 1955, 116; M. Pillet, *ASAE* 23, 1923, 125-29, idem, *ASAE* 24, 1924, 80-81, pls. 10-11; P. Gilbert, *CdE* 10, 1935, 233-36; detail views of pillars in K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, pl. 43 fig. 102; pl. 47 fig. 111.

Miscellaneous blocks reused in the temple of Opet; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 19 (correct his reference to: C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak* III, BA 13, Brussels 1968, vii).

Karnak North, so-called gateway of Tuthmosis I; *PM* II, 166; L.A. Christophe, *Karnak-Nord* III, Cairo 1951, 71-80; actually built by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, with Amenophis II replacing the cartouches of Hatshepsut, cf. C.C. Van Siclen, *GM* 80, 1984, 83. Pteripteral chapel for the bark of Amen near the treasury of Tuthmosis I; idem, *Alabaster Shrine*, 44 with n. 2. Block from temple of Mentu; *PM* II, 10; *Urk.* IV, 1357 no. 7; additional blocks from a pteripteral chapel for the bark of Mentu; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 44 with n. 3. For other structures, including a possible incense storehouse, mud brick palace and Maat(?) temple, see *ibid.*, 44 with notes 4-6.

On the garden and granary of Amen in the time of Amenophis II, cf. C.C. Van Siclen, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1982; and for a limestone gateway, idem, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 13.

For blocks with topographical lists (possibly dating to Amenophis II), originally from either Karnak or Luxor, cf. *PM* II, 85-86, 338; A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 37, 1937, 39-57; J.-Cl. Golvin, S. Hegazi, M. Reddé, M. El-Saghir, and G. Wagner, *Le Camp Romain de Louxor*, IFAO forthcoming, and our Appendix II.

On the development of Karnak up to Amenophis II, see Barguet, *BIFAO* 52, 1953, 145-55; and idem, *Temple*, 335-36.

Kumma

Enlargement of the New Kingdom temple of Khnum; door-jambs, statue fragments and other inscribed architectural elements; *PM* VII, 152-55; K. Zibelius, in *LA* III, 871-72 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1357 no 5; D. Dunham and J.M.A. Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, Second Cataract Forts I, Boston 1960, 49, 116, 118, 120-21, 124; C. de Wit and P. Mertens, *Kush* 10, 1962, 118-49; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Text 5, 206-17; III, pls. 66-67. For two statues from here which were removed to Wadi Ben Naga (*PM* VII, 263) as well as a third one now in Khartoum, see J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 5, 1957, 5-7. For foundation deposits, cf. F. Hinkel, *Kush* 13, 1965, 100 and pl. 29.

Murnane suggests a date during the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago 1977, 57; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 49(F).

Luxor

Luxor Temple; fragment with resting bark of Amen with figures of kings holding open fans on either side; a type known both for Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, presumably belonging to the Hatshepsut shrine; cf. *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1983-84*, 8-9. Miscellaneous fragments reused in the tripartite shrine of Ramesses II in the first court, unpublished (kindly brought to my attention by L. Bell and W.R. Johnson); *PM* II, 301-39 (in general). The colossal statues of Ramesses II in the first court were usurped from Amenophis III, not from Amenophis II, as per *PM* II, 311, and *LA* III, 570, n. 253. See additionally Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with notes 21-22.

For blocks with topographical lists (possibly dating to Amenophis II), originally from either Karnak or Luxor, cf. *PM* II, 85-86, 338; A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 37, 1937, 39-57; J.-Cl. Golvin, S. Hegazi, M. Reddé, M. El-Saghir, and G. Wagner, *Le Camp Romain de Louxor*, IFAO forthcoming, and our Appendix II.

Medamud

Various fragments of gates and other elements; *PM* V, 144, 149; F. Gomaà, in *LA* III, 1252-53 (in general); F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamud 1925*, Cairo 1926, 97-100, figs. 73-75; idem, *Rapport... 1926*, Cairo 1927, 69 no. 1837; idem, *Rapport... 1927*, Cairo 1928, 47-49, fig 32; 145-46 no. 471 = *Urk.* IV, 1322 no. 381 = Chapter IV Part II D., no. 3 (archery text). For the statue of Minmose relating the construction of numerous buildings, cf. *Urk.* IV, 1441-45.

Medum

The only reference to buildings of Amenophis II comes from a stela of the *jmy-r pr n Mr-Jtm*, Usersatet found in the Wadi Halfa; *PM* VII, 141; D. Wildung, in *LA* IV, 9-13 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1487.2; *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII, pl. 34; Chapter III Part II, section III.3 and Part II (Usersatet).

Mesen ----> Tell Abu SefaNebeshah

Louvre statue E. 25550 of the overseer of goldsmiths, *H3t-r5*, mentions monuments constructed by the king "for Amen, in this place, for Horus, Lord of heaven, Lord of Mesen, for the goddess Wadjet in Imet..."; J. de Cenival, *RdE* 17, 1965, 16-17, 19 n. b; Chapter III Part I, section X.4; *PM* IV, 7-9 (in general); K. Martin, in *LA* III, 140-41 ("Imet").

Peru-nefer

Royal residence, naval base, and dockyard (near Memphis); W. Helck, in *LA* IV, 990; S.R.K. Glanville, *ZAS* 66, 1931, 105-21 and *ZAS* 68, 1933, 7-41; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, Uppsala 1946, 37-39; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, PdÄ 5, Leiden 1967, 104; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo 1976, 86-87; additional references in F. Le Saout, *Karnak* VII, 1982, 233 n. 118; and our discussion on Qenamun, Chapter III Part I, section III.11 and Part II (Qenamun). Block from Tell Basta with name of Amenophis II mentions Peru-nefer; cf. references under Bubastis.

Qamula

Two blocks, possibly from a temple of Amenophis II; *PM* V, 119; F. Gomaà, in *LA* V, 40; G. Roeder, ed., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II, Leipzig 1924, 602.

El-Qantara ----> Tell Abu Sefa

Qasr Ibrim

Sandstone door jamb with names of Amenophis II found in the area east of the temple church, possibly indicating the existence of a New Kingdom temple on the site; *PM* VII, 92-94 (in general); R.A. Caminos, in *LA* V, 44; J.M. Plumley, *JEA* 61, 1975, 12, 13 fig. 1 and pl. 7(4) (the latter incorrectly labelled Amenophis III).

Quft ----> CoptosSai Island

Small temple or chapel to the north of the fortress. Upper part of a pillar or door-jamb, along with various statue fragments; *PM* VII, 165; *Urk.* IV, 1357 no. 6; K. Zibelius, in *LA* V, 353-54 (in general); J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 4, 1956, 78; idem, *CRIPPEL* 1, 1973, 21-23; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 42, 1973, 428 pl. 30 fig. 46.

Sehel Island

Small chapel cut into the eastern side of Gebel Kudi, cased with slabs of quartzite bearing cartouches of Amenophis II; F. Junge, in *LA* V, 827 n. 10; L Habachi, *JEA* 37, 1951, 17-18. For graffiti dating to Amenophis II, cf. *PM* V, 250-51.

Semna East ----> KummaSile ----> Tell Abu SefaTell Abu Sefa

Louvre statue E. 25550 of the overseer of goldsmiths, *H3t-r5*, mentions monuments constructed by the king "for Amen, in this place, for Horus, Lord of heaven, Lord of Mesen..."; J. de Cenival, *RdE* 17, 1965, 16-17, 20 n. i; Chapter III Part I, section X.4; *PM* IV, 6-7 (in general); M. Bietak, in *LA* III, 205-206 ("Isthmus von Qantara"); F. Gomaà, in *LA* V, 946-47 ("Sile").

Tell Basta ----> Bubastis

Thebes

(For a new list of Amenophis II's Theban monuments, see now C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II*, San Antonio 1986, 44-45.)

For East Bank, ---> Karnak, and ---> Luxor

West Bank

Valley of Kings: Tomb no. 35; *PM* I, ii, 554-56; W. Helck, in *LA* III, 520; *Urk.* IV, 1362-64; G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Cairo 1902, 63-279; P. Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, MIFAO 60, Cairo 1932; E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, Princeton 1966, 77-78; V. Loret, *BIE* 3ème série, no. 9, 1898, 98-112; E.K. Werner, "Montu and the Decorated Polychrome Panels on the Boat Models from the Tomb of Amenhotep II," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Washington D.C. 1986, abstracts, p. 47; L. Bell, *Mélanges G.E. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 44 n. 23, and 46 n. 45. Study of the burial objects from this, as well as other royal tombs, is at this writing in progress by C.N. Reeves.

Mortuary temple: *PM* II, 429-31; *Urk.* IV, 1355 no. 6; W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, London 1897, 4-7; C. Ziegler, *RdE* 36, 1985, 187 (alabaster jar). On the name of the temple, probably *šsp(t) ḥnḥ*, see Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, New York, 1959, 141; W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden, 1961, 97-98; R. Stadelmann, in *LA* VI, 710; idem, *MDAIK* 34, 1978, 173.

Fragments of red granite stela of Amenophis II found at Medinet Habu, probably from his mortuary temple (now almost completely illegible), U. Hölscher, Excavations at Medinet Habu II, *Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, OIP 41, Chicago 1939, pl. 23. This stela is not listed in *PM* although its companion piece, belonging to Tuthmosis III, (*ibid.*, pl. 22) is (under the entry on Tuthmosis' own mortuary temple, *PM* II, 428).

Deir el-Bahari: mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III with Hathor shrine shows traces of completion by Amenophis II; *PM* II, 380-81; D. Arnold, in *LA* I, 1023 C.; E. Naville et. al., *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari* I, London 1907, 63-67, esp. 66, pls. 27-31; Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45

with notes 24-25; J. Lipinska, *The Temple of Tuthmosis III. Architecture*, Deir El-Bahari I, Warsaw 1977, 63; H. Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung 3, Cairo 1939, 28-32, esp. 31. For a possible temple at the mouth of the bay of Deir el-Bahari, cf. Van Siclen, *Alabaster Shrine*, 45 with n. 23.

Deir el-Medineh: Tentative suggestion of a possible temple for Tuthmosis III - Amenophis II; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 50(H). For a granite lintel with Amenophis I and Amenophis II offering to the androsphinx Amen-Re<sup>c</sup> of Luxor, cf. *PM* I, ii, 695-96; B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1935-1940* I, Cairo 1948, 17; II Cairo 1952, 41 fig. 119, 92-93 (no. 105); L. Bell, in *Mélanges G.E. Mokhtar*, BdE 97/1, Cairo 1985, 40-41.

### Tjalu ---> Tell Abu Sefa

### Tod

Pillar from eastern side of temple of Tuthmosis III with cartouche of Amenophis II; *PM* V, 167-69 (in general); F. Gomaà, in *LA* VI, 615 esp. n. 7; J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 50, 1952, 77-78; F. Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd 1934 à 1936*, Cairo 1937, 130; P. Barguet, *BIFAO* 51, 1952, 84 fig. 5; 95-96, pls. 7a, b; Van Siclen, *Uronarti*, 49(F); idem, *Alabaster Shrine*, 11 with n. 20.

### Tura

A stela of Minmose states that Amenophis II reactivated some of the quarries for various projects, such as the construction of his mortuary temple at Thebes; *PM* IV, 74 no. 2; *Urk.* IV, 1448.4ff.; H. Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh* III, London 1842, pl. before p. 95; C. Meyer, in *LA* VI, 807 n. 16; see Chapter III Part I, section VIII.3, and Part II (Minmose).

### Uronarti Island

Third stage of construction on the chapel of Sesostris III attributed to Amenophis II, possibly during his coregency with Tuthmosis III; C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, San Antonio 1982, 23-35, 41-42; *PM* VII, 143-44 (in general); K. Zibelius, in *LA* VI, 893 n. 4; D. Dunham, *Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa*, Second Cataract Forts II, Boston 1967, 5, 14, 16, 33.

### Valley of the Kings ---> Thebes

Wadi Halfa

Inscription from "mud brick" temple; *PM* VII, 140-41 (in general); *Urk.* IV, 1356. no. 4.

Construction Activity in Syria-PalestineChinnereth (= Tell el Oreimeh)

Fragment of a stela, only possibly attributable to Amenophis II; *Urk.* IV, 1347 no. 393; W.F. Albright and A. Rowe, *JEA* 14, 1928, 281-87; Chapter II Part IIIB and fig. 23.

Naharin

The Tura stela of Minmose, dated to year 4, states that he erected the king's stelae from Napata (Karoy) to Naharin; *Urk.* IV, 1448.13; Chapter III Part I, section VIII.3, and Part II (Minmose).

\* \* \*

CROSS - REFERENCE LIST OF PLACE NAMES GEOGRAPHICALLY FROM SOUTH TO  
NORTH

Cataracts 4 and 3

Gebel Barkal  
Argo Island

Cataracts 3 and 2

Sai Island  
 Kumma  
 Uronarti Island (Geziret el-Melikh)

Cataracts 2 and 1

Wadi Halfa  
 Buhen  
 Faras  
 Qasr Ibrim  
 Amada  
 Kalabsha

First Cataract and Upper Egypt

Bigeh Island  
 Sehel Island  
 Elephantine  
 El-Kab  
 Esna  
 Tod  
 Armant  
 Luxor, Karnak, Thebes, Valley of Kings, Deir el-Bahari  
 Medamud  
 Qamula  
 Coptos  
 Dendera  
 Hermopolis

Lower Egypt and the Delta

Medum  
 Peru-nefer (near Memphis)  
 Tura  
 Giza  
 Heliopolis  
 Bubastis  
 Nebesheh  
 Tell Abu Sefa

Syria Palestine

Naharin

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# INDICES

Owing their nature, Appendix II-III have not been indexed below. Similarly, much of the bibliographical information provided in Chapter III (such as references to *Urkunden*) has not been duplicated below, although officials and titles have been listed (Indices 2 and 6). Names occurring in both transliteration and translation have been listed separately for reasons of alphabetical simplicity. The reader should therefore consult, for example, *Wsr-Stt* (Index of Personal Names) as well as *Usersatet* (General Index) when seeking the Nubian viceroy.

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- jmy-r mrt(?) nswt bjt*, overseer of weavers(?) of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, 105
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- jmy-r sšw*, overseer of archives, 102, 124
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- jmy-r sšw mšc wr n nswt*, great overseer of the king's army scribes, 124
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- jmy-r sšw n nswt*, overseer of king's scribes, 124
- jmy-r sšw nswt nb n mšc*, overseer of all royal scribes of the army, 123
- jmy-r sḏšwtwy*, overseer of seal-bearers, 135
- jmy-r sḏšt*, chief treasurer, 126
- jmy-r šn<sup>c</sup> n Jmn*, overseer of the storehouse/workshop of Amen, 102, 115
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- jmy-r [šnwty?] n nswt*, overseer of the [double granary?] of the king, 140
- jmy-r šnwty n nswt r Šm<sup>c</sup>, Mḥw*, overseer of the double granary of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt, 130
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- jmy-r gs pr n ḥmt nfr*, overseer of the administrative district of the god's wife, 136
- jmy-r ḏnr n Jmn*, overseer of leathers/hides of Amen, 130
- jmy-r ḏšmw*, overseer of recruits, 124
- jmy ḥnt*, chamberlain, 125, 143
- jmy-st-<sup>c</sup> n [Jmn] ḥr sš snw*, attendant of Amen in the second phyle, 140
- jmy-st-<sup>c</sup> ḥr sš nb*, assistant for every phyle, 104
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- jry bnrtj Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup>*, confectioner of Menkheperre, 145
- jry-p<sup>t</sup> (r) ḥd n Gb*, hereditary prince for the white chapel of Geb, 103, 115
- jry-p<sup>t</sup> (j)r(y) ḏnbw wsḥt*, *jry-p<sup>t</sup>* and(?) keeper of the boundary marker of the broad courtyard, 126-27
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- jrty nswt n ḥšst Rtnw*, eyes of the King of Upper Egypt in the foreign land of Retenu, 121
- jt nfr*, god's father, 104, 132(?)
- jt nfr n Jwnw*, god's father of Heliopolis, 148
- jt nfr n Jtm*, god's father of Atum, 148
- jt nfr n st wrt*, god's father of the great throne, 106
- jt nfr tpy n Jmn*, first god's father of Amen, 104
- jḏhw*, adjutant, 120
- jḏhw n wḥmw*, adjutant of heralds, 150
- jḏhw n pr Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup>*, adjutant of the temple of Menkheperre, 139, 146
- jḏhw n mš<sup>c</sup>*, adjutant of the army, 120
- jḏhw n mš<sup>c</sup> ššw*, adjutant of the multitudinous army, 122
- jḏhw n nswt*, adjutant of the king, 122, 136(?)
- jḏhw n ḥm=f*, adjutant of his Majesty, 122

*jdhw n s3 nswt jmy-r h3swt rsy [Wsr]-stt*,  
adjutant of the king's son and  
overseer of the southern foreign  
lands Usersatet, 113  
*jdhw n s3 nswt Wsr-stt*, adjutant to the  
king's son Usersatet, 113  
*hwtwy*, tenant farmer, 152  
*gd-mr spwt*, administrator of the nomes,  
102  
*wcw*, captain, 120  
*wcw m Jmn wsr-h3t*, captain of the boat  
Amen-userhat, 121  
*wcw n mry-Jmn*, captain of the ship  
"Mery-Amen"  
*wcb, wcb-* priest, 110, 125, 136, 144  
*wcb [c3]*, great *wcb-* priest, 110  
*wcb n Jmn*, *wcb-* priest of Amen, 125, 133  
*wcb n Jmn m hnk-t-eh*, *wcb-* priest of  
Amen in the mortuary temple of  
Tuthmosis III, 139, 142-43  
*wcb n Jmn hwt c3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup> m W3st*, *wcb-*  
priest of Amen in the mortuary  
temple of Amenophis II in Thebes,  
139  
*wcb n [Jmn] hr s3 tpy*, *wcb-* priest of  
[Amen] in the first phyle, 133  
*wcb n c3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>*, *wcb-* priest of  
Amenophis II, 145  
*wcb n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, *wcb-* priest of  
Menkheperre, 142  
*wcb n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> m hnk-t-eh*, *wcb-*  
priest of Menkheperre in the  
mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III,  
141  
*wb3 n nswt (wcb cwy)*, royal butler,  
(clean of hands), 130, 133  
*wb3 nswt*, royal butler, 130, 133  
*wpwty nswt hr h3swt nbt*, royal messenger  
in all foreign(?) lands, 119  
*wn r3 m hm*, opener of the mouth in  
Letopolis, 136  
*wr w3d*, great one of the papyrus scepter,  
136  
*wr w3dm pr B3stt*, great one of the papyrus  
scepter in the house of Bastet, 136  
*wr m j3wt=f m pr nswt*, great in his offices  
in the palace, 133  
*wr m3w m pr wr*, greatest of seers in the  
great house, 102  
*wr swnw*, chief physician, 131  
*wr swnw n nswt*, chief physician of the  
king, 131  
*wr 5 m pr 8*, great one of the five in the  
house of eight, 110

*wr 5 m [pr] Dhwtwy*, great one of the five in  
[the house of] Thoth, 110  
*whm nswt*, royal herald, 111, 154  
*whm nswt tpy*, first royal herald, 132  
*wdh [n Jmn]*, offering-bearer [of Amen],  
133  
*wdh n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, offering-bearer to  
Menkheperre, 146  
*wdf ryt m t3 mj qd=f*, judge in the entire  
land, 132  
*wdf ryt n t3-mhw*, judge in Lower Egypt,  
126  
*b3k n jpt nswt*, servant of the royal  
apartments, 130  
*pdy?* *c3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>*, bowman? of  
Amenophis II? (or *pdt*, troop of  
same), 123  
*t3j wdh n Jmn m (hwt) hnk-t-eh*,  
offering-bearer of Amen in the  
mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III,  
145  
*mwt nswt*, king's mother, 225 n. 15  
*mn<sup>c</sup> n (n3) msw n nswt*, nurse to the royal  
children, 132  
*mn<sup>c</sup> nswt*, royal nurse, 132  
*mh jb n nswt hr jmy-wrt n njwt*, royal  
favorite in the west of Thebes, 118  
*mh jb n st=f*, especial favorite, 119  
*msdrwy bjt hr h3st Rtnw bst*, ears of the  
King of Lower Egypt in the vile  
foreign land of Retenu  
*r(3) hry wr m t3 r dr=f*, chief spokesman  
in the entire land, 111  
*r(3) hry tpy m jpt swt*, first chief mouth  
(spokesman) in Karnak, 104  
*rmn m h3t [Jmn]*, bearer before Amen, 103  
*h3wty*, leader, 111  
*h3t? jmy-r hmw-nfr n Mnw, n Jst*,  
foremost? overseer of priests of Min  
and of Isis, 140  
*h3ty jry rdwy n nb t3wy*, first companion to  
the Lord of the Two Lands, 121  
*h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, mayor, 110  
*h3ty-<sup>c</sup> Mn-nfr*, mayor of Memphis, 112  
*h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m/n njwt rsy*, mayor of the  
southern city, 118  
*h3ty-<sup>c</sup> n Nfrwswy*, mayor of Hermopolis,  
110  
*h3ty-<sup>c</sup> n Jny*, mayor of This, 110, 112  
*"h3ty p<sup>c</sup>t" wh3t*, "mayor" of the oasis  
(Khargeh), 112  
*"h3ty p<sup>c</sup>t" n Jny*, "mayor" of This, 112  
*hm-nfr*, priest, 136

- hm-ntr 4-nw n Jmn*, fourth priest of Amen 107 (with var. *jt ntr? 4-nw n Jmn*, 146)
- hm-ntr m3<sup>c</sup>t*, priest of Maat, 101-102
- hm-ntr n Jmn*, priest of Amen, 144
- hm-ntr n hwy pdt 9*, priest of (the statue) "who strikes the nine bows," 115
- hm-ntr n hwy rfnw*, priest of (the statue) "who strikes Retenu," 115
- hm-ntr n Hqt*, priest of Heqet, 107
- hm-ntr n Khmw*, priest of Khnum, 108
- hm-ntr 3-nw n Jmn*, third priest of Amen, 108
- hm-ntr snw Jn-hrt*, second priest of Onuris, 105
- hm-ntr snw n Jmn*, second priest of Amen, 107
- hm-ntr snw n Jmn m (hwt) hntk-<sup>c</sup>nh*, second priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 146
- hm-ntr snw n 3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>*, second priest of <sup>c</sup>Akheperure, 143
- hm-ntr snw...Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, second priest of... Menkheperre, 141
- hm-ntr snw n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>*, second priest of Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, 138
- hm-ntr snw n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, second priest of Tuthmosis III(?), 144-46
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn*, high priest of Amen, 104-106
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m Mn-swt*, high priest of Amen in *Mn-swt* (mortuary temple of Ahmose-Nofretari), 118, 143
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m hntk-<sup>c</sup>nh*, high priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 138, 143
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m dsr-3ht*, high priest of Amen in the mortuary temple of *dsr-3ht*, (at Deir el-Bahari), 143
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn m dsr-st*, high priest of Amen in *dsr-st* (in Medinet Habu), 144
- hm-ntr tpy n Jmn, n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> m hntk-<sup>c</sup>nh*, high priest of Amen, of Tuthmosis III in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 144
- hm-ntr tpy n Wsjr*, high priest of Osiris, 106-107
- hm-ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, high priest of Tuthmosis III, 144
- hm-ntr tpy n Nht*, high priest of Nekhbet, 108
- hm-ntr tpy n Hwt-hr hryt-jb hntk-<sup>c</sup>nh*, high priest of Hathor who dwells in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 144
- hm-ntr tpy n Hr wr, n sbk nb nbwy*, high priest of Haroeris and of Sobek lord of Ombos, 108
- hm-ntr tpy n Dhwtj*, high priest of Thoth, 110
- hm-k3 n nswt 3-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>*, ka priest of king Amenophis II, 104
- hm-k3 n nswt dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, ka priest of king Amenophis I, 104
- hm-k3 n ntr ntr 3-hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, ka priest of the perfect god Tuthmosis I, 140
- hm-k3 n ntr ntr Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, ka priest of the perfect god Tuthmosis III, 140
- hm-k3 n ntr ntr Dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, ka priest of the perfect god Amenophis I, 140
- hm-k3 n hmt nswt J<sup>c</sup>hms*, ka priest of the royal wife Ahmose, 104
- hm-k3 n hmt-ntr J<sup>c</sup>hms Nfrtry*, ka priest of the god's wife Ahmose-Nofretari, 104
- hm-k3 n twt n nswt bjt Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> m hnt=f*, ka priest of the statue of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Tuthmosis III in his procession, 140
- hmt nswt (wrt)*, king's (great) wife, 225 n. 15
- hmt ntr*, god's wife, 225 n. 15
- hry jry bnrty (Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>) m hntk-<sup>c</sup>nh*, chief confectioner of Menkheperre in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 145
- hry jhw*, head of the stables, 115, 131, 176
- hry jhw n nb t3wy*, stable-master of the Lord of the Two Lands, 121
- hry pdt*, troop commander, 115, 121, 124, 159
- hry pdt [n nb t3wy]*, troop commander [of the Lord of the Two Lands], 122
- hry pdt nhsy*, commander of the Nubian troops, 122
- hry mr(w)t*, chief of weavers, 116, 125, 141
- hry mrt n Jmn*, chief of weavers of Amen, 116, 125, 140
- hrymg3yw*, chief of police, 119
- hry n p3 s3w n pr-3*, commander of the phyle of pharaoh, 119

- hry Nhsyw n k3 m T3-Sty*, chief of the Nubians of (the regiment) "Bull in Nubia," 122
- hry sst3 n nbtj*, master of secrets, 102, 115
- hry sst3 m jpt swt*, master of secrets in Karnak, 104
- hry sst3 n jmy-wrt*, master of secrets of the west, 101
- hry sst3 n pr nswt*, master of secrets of the palace, 102
- hry sst3 n nbtj*, master of secrets of the two ladies, 105
- hry sst3 r-prw*, master of secrets of the temples, 149
- hry st 3*, chief of the great work establishment, 137
- hry smsw n hm=f*, chief of retainers of his Majesty, 122
- hry sn*, chief of the storehouse/workshop, 112
- hry t3 3 pr-3 n njwt rsyt*, chief of the department of the great house in the southern city, 133
- hry-tp jmyw-r hmwt*, chief of overseers of craftsmen, 105
- hry-tp, jmy-r Smw*, chief, overseer of Upper Egypt, 107, 112
- hry-tp 3 m pr nswt*, great chief in the palace, 105
- hry-tp 3 m Smw*, great chief in Upper Egypt, 126
- hry-tp 3 n wnt*, nomarch of the Hare nome, 110
- hry-tp 3 n njwt rsyt*, great chief of the southern city, 118
- hry-tp m pr nfr*, chief in the funerary workshop, 127
- hry-tp n jmyw ht=f*, foremost of those in his (*jnpw*, royal child's) following, 121
- hry-tp n t3 r dr=f*, chief of the entire land, 101, 115
- hry-tp smrw 3h*, chief of *smrw*-courtiers of the palace, 118
- hry-tp Smw, Mhw*, chief of Upper and Lower Egypt, 118
- hry-tp t3 r dr=f*, chief of the entire land, 104
- hsw m bnt 3pst nt Jmn*, singer with the glorious harp of Amen, 129
- hsw nswt*, royal singer, 129
- hsb3hwt*, who counts the fields, 116
- hsb jt n Jmn*, who counts the grain of Amen, 116
- hsb jt m snwt htow-ntr (n Jmn)*, who counts the grain in the granary of divine offerings (of Amen), 116
- hsb jt Smw n Jmn*, who counts the Upper Egyptian grain of Amen, 116
- hsb wnt*, who counts what exists, 116
- [hsb] b3kt t3wy, hrpt Smw, Mhw*, [who counts] the revenues of the Two Lands and the dues of Upper and Lower Egypt, 126
- hsb rmt*, who counts the people, 116
- hsb hmt*, who counts the copper, 116
- hrp wdhw...* controller of altars..., 102
- hrp nfrt nt Jmn m Dsr-dsrw*, controller of *nfrt*-cattle of Amen in Djeser-djeseru (Deir el Bahari), 118
- hrp nsty m jrty n nswt*, controller of the two thrones in the eyes of the king, 104
- [hrp] nsty ntr*, [controller] of the god's two thrones, 105
- hrp Smw, Mhw m hwt-wspt*, controller of Upper and Lower Egypt in the broad chamber, 127
- hrp 3ndyt nb(t)*, controller of all kilts, 101-102
- hrp k3wt nbt m jpt swt*, controller of all construction works in Karnak, 102
- hrp k3t 3t3 m nsmt*, controller of s[ecret] works [in the *nsmt*-bark](?), 112-113
- bry-hb*, lector priest, 127
- bry-hb 3 3 n st wrt n Njbt*, great lector priest who enters the great place of Nekhbet, 104
- bry-hb n(?) s3 n nswt W3d-ms*, lector priest of the king's son Wadjmose, 141
- bry-tp 3 m pr nswt*, great chief/chamberlain in the palace, 105
- brdn k3p*, child of the nursery, 111, 121-22, 127, 129-31, 132(?), 135, 150, 154, 216
- s3 nswt*, king's son, 111, 177 n. 38, 181, 189 n. 96
- s3 nswt n K3*, king's son of Kush, 155 n. 14
- s3 nswt smsw*, king's eldest son, 189 n. 96
- s3 nswt tpy*, first king's son, 103
- s3 nswt tpy n (Jmn)*, first king's son of Amen, 103
- s3b*, judge, 102
- s3t nswt*, king's daughter, 225 n. 15

- s<sup>c</sup>h nswt*, king's dignitary, 101  
*s<sup>c</sup>h šps smrw*, august dignitary of the *smr*-courtiers, 118  
*s<sup>c</sup>h [šps smrw n wn] mš<sup>c</sup>*, true [august] dignitary [of the *smr*-courtiers], 115  
*swnw*, physician, 131  
*swnw n nswt*, physician of the king, 131  
*s(t)m*, se(te)m-priest, 19, 101-102, 115  
*s(t)m n pr nsr*, se(te)m-priest in the *pr nsr*, 102  
*smr tpy n šnyw*, chief companion to the courtiers, 115  
*smw hšyt [n pr Jmn?]*, elder of the portal [of the house of Amen?], 116  
*sn mn<sup>c</sup>y n nb tšwy*, foster brother of the Lord of the Two Lands, 115  
*sn n mn<sup>c</sup>y n nswt*, foster brother of the king, 115  
*snj*, chariot-soldier, 111, 154 n. 11  
*snt nswt*, king's sister, 225 n. 5  
*[šp]m smr*, [con]troller of the *smr*-courtiers, 115  
*ss*, scribe, 105, 117, 131  
*ss...*, scribe..., 119  
*ss pr-hd*, scribe of the treasury, 127  
*ss mš<sup>c</sup>*, army scribe, 124  
*ss mš<sup>c</sup> wr n nswt*, great scribe of the king's army, 125  
*ss n mš<sup>c</sup> š*, scribe of the great army, 124  
*[ss] n htpw-ntrw n Dhwtj*, [scribe] of divine offerings of Thoth, 110  
*ss n htpw-ntr n Dhwtj nb hmw*, scribe of divine offerings of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, 110  
*ss n htpw-ntr tpy n Jmn*, chief scribe of divine offerings of Amen, 102  
*ss n tšty*, scribe of the vizier, 117  
*ss nfrw*, scribe of recruits, 123-24, 127  
*ss nfrw n tš pdt pr-š*, scribe of recruits of the palace troop, 124  
*ss nswt*, royal scribe, 115, 123-24, 127, 129, 136-37, 142, 150  
*ss nswt m Wšst*, royal scribe in Thebes, 131  
*ss nswt mš<sup>c</sup>*, real royal scribe, 123-24  
*ss nswt nfrw*, royal scribe of recruits, 127  
*ss hwt n hnt-ḥb*, temple scribe in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, 142  
*ss hwt-ntr... š-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> hr jmntt*, scribe of the temple...Amenophis II in the west, 144  
*ss hsb jt*, scribe who counts the grain, 117  
*ss hsb t m šm<sup>c</sup>w, Mḥw*, scribe who counts the bread (rations) in Upper and Lower Egypt, 150  
*ss htpw-ntr*, scribe of divine offerings, 110  
*ss š<sup>c</sup>t n hšty-<sup>c</sup> n njwt rsyf*, secretary to the mayor of the southern city, 117, 120  
*ssm hb n Jmn*, festival leader of Amen, 118, 131  
*ssm hb n š-hpr-kš-r<sup>c</sup>*, festival leader of Akheperkare (Tuthmosis I), 118  
*ssm hb n Wsjr*, festival leader of Osiris, 136  
*ssm hb n Pth*, festival leader of Ptah, 127  
*ssm hš? nb? n nswt*, director of every hall(?) of the king, 102  
*sgšwty bjt*, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, 118  
*sgm š n Jmn*, listener to the call of Amen, 141  
*sgm š n Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*, listener to the call of Menkheperre, 141, 145  
*sgm ḥwwt wrwt 6*, who hears in the six great houses, 101  
*šms nb=f m jwt=f*, one who follows his lord in his travels, 140  
*šst ntr*, governess of the god, 164 n. 50  
*kdnw n sš nswt Wsr-stt*, 93, 116, charioteer of the king's son Usersatet, 116  
*tšty*, he of the curtain, 102  
*tpy n jryw=f*, chief of his (the king's) guards, 121  
*tpy n smrw=f*, chief of his (the king's) *smr*-courtiers, 121  
*tšj ḥw*, fan-bearer, 111, 115, 122, 131-33  
*tšj ḥw n nb tšwy*, fan-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands, 115, 122, 129, 132  
*tšj ḥw n nswt?* fan-bearer of the king? 132  
*tšj ḥw hr wnm [n] nswt?* fan-bearer on the right of the king? 132  
*tšj ḥw hr wnm (n) nswt*, fan-bearer on the right of the king, 115, 123, 132  
*tšj srjt n nb tšwy*, standard-bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands, 123  
*tšj srjt n sšw n hm=f*, standard-bearer of the phyle of his Majesty, 119

- l3j srt n k3 m t3-sty*, standard-bearer of (the regiment?) "Bull in Nubia," 123  
*l3ty*, vizier, 101-102  
*l3ty n njwt rsy*, vizier of the southern city, 102  
*l3ty n bnw*, vizier of the residence

## 7.) EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

- 3bh m*, "join (something) with/to (something)," 162 n. 46  
*3b-mnw*, 7  
*3bt*, *passim*  
*3tp m*, "load with," 79 n. 171  
*j3t mnbt*, "excellent, beneficent office," 163 n. 48  
*jw...hntyw-t3*, 182 n. 47  
*jw<sup>c</sup>yt*, "garrison," 63  
*jb=f j<sup>c</sup> m h3st nbt*, "having vented himself on every land," 226 n. 19  
*jbs*, crown, 183, 219  
*jp.n=f dt=f* "after he had become well-developed," 20  
*jinj phw*, "put an end to," 49 n. 14  
*jinj drw rst...*, "who reaches the utmost frontiers of the Reset (or prisoners?)" 48 n. 11  
*jinpw*, "royal child," 189 n. 96  
*jr p nfr*, "good wine," 157 n. 19  
*jst h<sup>c</sup>.n hm=f*, "His Majesty arose as king," 189  
*jtrw*, "river-measure, *schoenus*," 185 n. 67  
*jt=f*, 182 n. 47  
*janw*, "deputy," 93  
*3*, "pole(?)" 79 n. 173  
*33*-geese, 49  
*3mw*, 78  
*33b*-bowls, 50  
*3wy=k dm3 m tp hrwyw=k*, 182 n. 48  
*3q*, "understand," 186 n. 74  
*3t*, "slaughter, destroy," 226 n. 21  
*3t*, "adherents(?)" 226 n. 21

- w3h.n=f m drwt tm rdj hr mw=f*, "having placed upon the *drwt* those who were disloyal to him," 224 n. 12  
*w3h drt*, "to lay one's hands on," "to designate," 79 n. 173  
*w3s*-scepter, 25  
*w<sup>c</sup>*, "one," 185 n. 64  
*wrrt*, "chariot," 223 n. 2  
*wsr*, "steering oar," 185 n. 65  
*wdj r mdd*, "shoot to hit," 204 n. 145  
*wj*, 8  
*wj nswt*, "royal decree," 91 n. 212, 92  
*wj sw tnw*, "it was commanded at each...?" 91 n. 212  
*wjyt*, "campaign," 93  
*b3*, "hack, destroy," 60  
*b3k*, "work," 186 n. 74  
*bhnt*, "pylon," 50 n. 26  
*p3 wr*, "the chief," 78  
*pr nsr*, 102  
*prt*, *passim*  
*pbr jb*, "turn the heart," 187 n. 75  
*pbh*, "train(?)" 187 n. 75  
*psdhtjw*, Chapter I, *passim*, 215  
*m* (vetitive), 158 n. 23  
*m jr* (negative imperative), 158 n. 26  
*m hsmq*, "raging," 223 n. 4, 227 n. 25  
*m (s) hhw*, "millions," 48 n. 9  
*m-hrt-hr*, compound preposition, 209 n. 164  
*m sp w<sup>c</sup>*, "at once," 185 n. 64, 186 n. 70  
*m qd*, "pertaining to," 73, 226 n. 17  
*m qd w<sup>c</sup>*, "together," 226 n. 17  
*m k13 jb=k/nb*, negative imperative, 200 n. 133  
*m dmj*, 7 with n. 28  
*m33qw*, 228  
*m3trwgt*, "hard granite," 50 n. 22  
*mj wd(t).n jt=f*, 50 n. 35  
*mj qd*, "entire," 226 n. 17  
*mn (jb) hr pgs*, "firm-hearted upon the battlefield," 48 n. 8  
*mr=f nbt*, "he loves strength," 187 n. 79  
*mrwyn* (corrupt writing of *maryannu*-warriors?) 225 with n. 16  
*mrt*, "serf," 225 n. 16  
*mht*, "to fill," 80 n. 174  
*msw wrw*, "children of chiefs," 52 n. 42  
*msdt*, "to ford," 227 n. 24  
*mkj*, "look after," 188 n. 85  
*mkh3.n=f jb dt*, "he ignored the thirst of the body," 187 n. 79  
*n3jt*, "trust" (infinitive), 158 n. 23  
*nb t3wy*, 50 n. 24

- nbjt*, "shaft," 203 n. 142  
*nms*-headdress, 183  
*nn wħm.ty=ty ǵt*, "without him who could repeat (it) forever," 184 n. 57  
*nrw*, "dread," 183 n. 49  
*nht*, "victory, strength," 50 n. 32, 79 n. 172, 187 n. 79  
*nswt*, 21  
*nswt wsr f3w*, "king powerful in splendor," 189 n. 96  
*ntrw nbw hr mrt=f*, 183 n. 49  
*r* (preposition), 5  
*r-mn*, "along with" (preposition), 223 n. 6  
*r nht*, "forever," 51 n. 36  
*r šš*, "at the stroke oar(?)" 185 n. 65  
*r dmj*, 7 with n. 28, 18  
*r-ǵ3wt*, "proportionally to," 49 n. 13  
*r3-pw*, 158 n. 25  
*rmtyw*, "people," 183 n. 49  
*rmtyw hr nrw=f*, "people in dread of him," 183 n. 49  
*rh*, "learn," 186 n. 74  
*rh sw*, 184 n. 61  
*rswt*, "sacrificial victims? prisoners?" 48 n. 11  
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Hildesheim, im März 1987

Arne Eggebrecht

